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Adult Education in a Village in Tanzania

by
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Preface

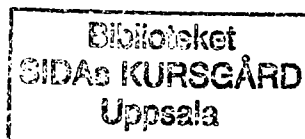
Adult Education in various forms has often been seen as one of the main prerequisites for the development of prosperity and democracy. It has been part of Swedish international development cooperation for more than two decades. Currently SIDA gives assistance to Adult Education programmes in countries such as Tanzania, Botswana, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe.

In order to reach a more profound understanding of this field of education SIDA also supports the dissemination of experiences and research. In its series "Education Division Documents" SIDA has published a number of studies on Adult Education, including reports on national literacy programmes on Tanzania (No 9) and Mozambique (No 27), "Adult Literacy in the Third World" (No 32), reviews objectives and strategies.

As a complement to these studies Dr A. N. Kweka's report on Adult Education in Orngadida Village, Tanzania, gives a thorough description on how the villagers actually make a living and what their ambitions are.

This study will undoubtedly help us to better understand the setting of an education process and contribute to the on-going debate on the potential of Adult Education.

Lennart Wohlgemuth
Head of Education Division.



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ABBREVIATIONS

CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi (Revolutionary Party)
CRDB	Cooperatives and Rural Development Bank, formerly TRDB
IAE	Institute of Adult Education
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICAE	International Council for Adult Education
MNE	Ministry of National Education
NAEAT	National Adult Education Association of Tanzania
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TRDB	Tanganyika Rural Development Bank, later CRDB
UWT	Umoja wa Wanawake wa Tanzania (Union of Women in Tanzania)

CHAPTER ONE - PURPOSE AND SCOPE OF STUDY

1.1 Adult Education for What?

The work presented here is part of a major study which examined the practice of adult education in Tanzania in relation to the main task of socialist transformation. Three villages and one factory were studied between 1981 and 1983. Here we shall focus on one of the villages. But since the village does not form an independent system there is need to explain the practice of adult education at the village by relating it to the social system at the district, regional, national and even at the international level..

Former President Nyerere, the architect of the philosophy of adult education and socialist development in Tanzania, had placed emphasis on the important role of adult education in building socialism. Socialism, according to him, is a social system based on "equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by every one and exploitation by none" (Nyerere, 1968:272).

In 1967, just after the promulgation of Arusha Declaration, President Nyerere issued a document entitled "Education for Self-Reliance" which emphasized the need to change the formal educational system so that it encouraged the growth of socialist values and "development of a proud, independent, and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development and which shows the advantages and problems of cooperation" (Nyerere, 1968:290). The schools were called upon to inculcate values which were appropriate to a socialist society and to teach production skills that would emphasize self-reliance in development.

Adult education was seen in the same way as contributing to the development of socialism in Tanzania. One year after "Education for Self-Reliance" President Nyerere stated:

We have defined our policies in education, in rural development, and have listed our expectations of leadership. Our work

has only begun. Of particular priority are the outstanding tasks of socialist adult education and of strengthening the people's self-confidence and pride (Nyerere 1968:32).

This meant that the formal educational system and adult education were called upon to serve socialist objectives, that is, to enable workers and peasants in Tanzania to build a socialist society.

The idea of adult education for socialism started with the Arusha Declaration which pointed out the need for Party members to get thorough teaching on Party ideology so that they might understand it and live up to its principles (Nyerere 1968:250). According to President Nyerere this was not a call for the organization of special classes under special instructors. The main task was to integrate adult education with socialist construction. A look at his writings on education and socialism reveals his thinking that socialism needs adult education, and adult education to be real, must lead people to the type of goals advocated under socialism.

In 1969, President Nyerere proposed ways of integrating adult education and socialist construction (Nyerere, 1969 b:30-31). In his proposal three stages were necessary:

- (a) Education and training of leaders in the ideology, purpose and methods of establishing Ujamaa villages. The content of this education would be based on Nyerere's writings on socialism and it would be organized by, or with the full cooperation of TANU and Kivukoni College.
- (b) Educating the people in order that they see the relevance of socialism "to their own desires and their own needs". There was need for cooperation between TANU, Community Development Division, extension staff and rural based organizations of Government, local authorities and voluntary agencies.
- (c) Implementation of the plans would require the various agencies to help people carry out the activities they had planned to do.

This proposal put emphasis on the role of the Party in coordinating this form of adult education and to ensure cooperation of all government and voluntary agencies. However, according to Nyerere it was felt that the school teachers possessed some rare qualities for the revolution. They understood what the revolution was all about, they were experts in teaching not only children but adults as well, and more important, they were "sons of the poor" (Nyerere, 1969 a:7). As a result the school teachers were given the responsibility of organizing adult education activities in cooperation with TANU (United Republic of Tanzania, 1969:158). The involvement of the Party in this task is important because of the demands of the integration of adult education and socialist revolution.

This proposal was not based on class analysis of Tanzania. There would be, according to the proposal, cooperation of Party leaders, government extension staff and voluntary agencies' staff. The primary school teachers were seen as "sons of the poor" but this does not mean that their class interests were the same as those of the poor. Some studies in Tanzania, however, revealed that teachers with other extension staff cooperated with rich peasants (kulaks) to safeguard their privileges (van Velsen, 1973:173). The assumption was that all the extension staff, the rich and poor peasants would cooperate in building socialism.

Adult education, according to Nyerere, should be a tool for liberation, as he once emphasized:

The ideas imparted by education or released in the mind through education should therefore be liberating ideas: skills acquired by education should be liberating skills. Nothing else can be called education. Teaching which induces a slave mentality or a sense of importance is not education at all, it is attack on minds of men (Nyerere, 1976:4).

The idea of adult education as a tool for liberation calls for the merger of theory and practice where theory or knowledge is tied up with solving existing problems. To Nyerere the purpose of

development ought to be greater freedom and well-being of the people. This includes aspects like national freedom, personal freedom, and freedom from hunger, disease and poverty (Nyerere, 1973:58). He sees that the constraints to development and freedom are both natural and social and that men must cooperate with others in society in order to liberate themselves (Nyerere, 1976:5). This was the task of education.

In practice, adult education in Tanzania since 1967 expanded quantitatively in terms of adult education institutions, financial commitment by the government and parastatals, enrolment and personnel (Hall, 1975:137) to the extent that some educators equated it to an "adult education revolution" (Kassam, 1978:ix). Kassam also points out that Tanzania is recognized in many parts of the world as having made exemplary headway in the promotion and organization of adult education for development. This international recognition of its efforts in the promotion of adult education has won Tanzania a number of awards from international institutions dealing with adult education. These awards include Nadeshda K. Krupskaya Prize (USSR) and Mohammad Reza Pahlavi Prize (Iran),

This then means that various programmes of adult education have been conducted in the country. At this juncture there is a need to draw a distinction between the quantitative aspects such as expansion of adult education programmes on the one hand and the qualitative aspects of adult education programmes based on their role in empowering the workers and peasants in their struggle to change the social system on the other hand. These two areas have been emphasized in various official documents on adult education. This study will look at the practice at the village level to find out to what extent adult education has been directed towards socialist change.

The main argument in this study is that the practice of education, including adult education, is in the main, determined by the socio-economic conditions with their inherent class struggles in a particular society. The neo-colonial relations of production

in Tanzania are characterized by features of income drain, dependence on the international capitalist system and distorted foreign oriented economy with its concomitant social structure (Szentcs, 1973; Rweyemamu, 1973; Shivji, 1975). These features have shaped the practice of education, including adult education, in favour of the exploiting and dominating classes at the national and international levels. At the same time contradictions and class struggles within a neo-colonial situation influence adult education practice. Workers' and peasants' struggles against oppression and exploitation, and other forms of struggles, at the factory or village, will determine their reactions to various adult education programmes. The struggle for socialism must be seen as a move to counteract various forms of oppression and exploitation and establish new (socialist) relations of production based on mutual cooperation and self-reliance. Adult education for socialism must be seen in the context of class struggles of the workers and peasants against their oppressors and exploiters at the local, national and international levels.

In order to concretise and explain the nature of adult education practice, it was decided to look at material production and the relations of production that have developed at various levels of the social system. Adult education practice at the village or factory, in Tanzania, was understood to be determined or influenced by the following factors:

- (i) Historical development of school education in the area.
- (ii) Level of productive forces.
- (iii) Social relations of production at local, national and international levels together with the organization of the labour process.
- (iv) The political system with its strategy for development.

1.2 Conceptual Framework

In order to understand the process and role of adult education for socialist transformation of society it is necessary to develop a framework that will explain the society to be trans-

formed. The concept of "social formation" is an essential concept as it helps to show the relationships of various categories of political economy such as productive forces, relations of production and superstructure. However, the relationships of the various categories must be seen in a dynamic process of interaction where "everything is relative and nothing absolute".

Education as an element of the superstructure is used to develop the productive forces and maintain the relations of production. In developing the productive forces various skills and types of knowledge are taught in relation to objects of labour, means and human labour. The teaching of science and technology can contribute much in the development of productive forces. But the improvement of the productive forces is influenced by the existing relations of production. Besides improving the productive forces, the educational system under capitalism imparts the values of the existing relations of production and inculcates in the individual the type of behaviour expected of him or her, as a worker in a factory or a peasant in a neo-colony. The teaching of social sciences promotes in one way or another the social values upheld by the ruling class and this is because of its position in the relations of production. Miller and McGuire in their evaluation of liberal adult education activities in the United States had this to say:

The long history of adult education in this country shows an overwhelming pre-occupation with the problems of adjusting new Americans to the strange social environment they face, or of preparing the labour force to meet rapidly changing demands in industry and business for new and more complex skills. That history to be sure has been punctuated at sporadic intervals by peaks of concern for individual growth in such areas as political understanding or the arts (Miller & McGuire, 1961:5).

This makes it clear that adult education prepares the individuals for the demands of capital (capitalist industry and business) by teaching knowledge, skills and values which will reproduce the

exploitative relations of production. In such a situation efforts to educate workers in support of their struggles against capital would be rejected by the capitalist state apparatuses.

On the other hand, and under socialism, adult education will impart to workers and peasants knowledge, skills and values relevant to their struggle against exploitation and oppression, and how to establish non-exploitative and mutual relations of production. This new role, or position in relations of production, occupied by the adult requires a different type of education that puts emphasis on the integrated development of the worker or peasant who can fight against a system which manipulates and alienates human beings. President Nyerere maintained a similar view, that adult education would enable people "to fight for freedom from the abuse of power, and from the dangers of manipulation by ambitious, dishonest and selfish men", and at the same time enabling them to actively participate and control the development of their society (Nyerere, 1968:32).

In brief this study intends to focus on four main factors. First, it will analyze the socio-economic system at the village and how this is related to the national and international systems, with particular emphasis on the development of productive forces, the relations of production and the class struggles or any other forms of struggles. Second, it will analyse the relationship of the socio-economic system at the village level and the historical development of school education and adult education in the area. Third, it will analyze views of peasants and leaders on various programmes of adult education. Fourth, it will analyze the political system and its involvement in adult education and development at the village level.

1.3 Overall Methodology

The nature of the problem to be studied and the way we understand it has affected the method of this study. The main task was therefore to develop a theoretical framework which would help to focus the problem of adult education in relation to socialist transformation of an underdeveloped country. Contradictions and

class struggles in a neo-colonial situation with Tanzania's strategy towards socialism were examined (Kweka, 1986:83-100). Adult education, as was the case in China and Cuba, was to be directed to the exploited classes, raising their political consciousness and equipping them with knowledge and skills with which to wage war against the exploiting and dominating classes.

In Tanzania, some elements of adult education can be looked at as part of the "official" educational system which from 1967 was supposed to serve socialist transformation. Other elements could be seen as supporting the capitalist system or feudal ways of life. Its practice has been affected by a number of factors which form part of the contradictions and class struggles of a neo-colonial society.

The first part of the study on theoretical analysis, and the historical development of adult education sought information from government documents and related written material on Tanzania. This was enriched by discussions held with adult educators at the Institute of Adult Education, Kivukoni Party Ideological College and University of Dar es Salaam.

This background study provided the framework which then guided the empirical investigation itself and its interpretation. Explicit reference has not been made to much of education literature covered, despite its extremely valuable and significant contribution for the overall research. This has however been referred to in the list of references.

The major approach to data collection was intended to be participatory research. The main characteristic of this approach is that both the researcher and the people investigate social reality and participate in a programme of social action with the aim of changing that reality (Hall, 1981:6-17). The approach maintains the unity of theory and practice. At the same time there is the question of philosophical perspective and class outlook of the researcher himself, and the need to look at the social formation and all the aspects of social relations of production which

enables the researcher to explain the nature of class struggle in society. Instead of simply talking about the "people" or "adults" it analyses the social structure in terms of classes. With this approach the researcher sides with the exploited to find out the causes of their underdevelopment and the socialist path to social development. This is possible in a political movement or in adult education study circles, provided the participants are members of the exploited classes.

Other methods of data collection used at the village included informal interviews, documentation study and participant observation.

The study was very much involving and required constant planning of research activities in order to grasp the dynamics of social change in the village. The researcher encountered a number of constraints like shortage of time, constant changes in village development policy, poor maintenance of village records and the problem of the "outsider". All in all the results of this study reveal quite clearly the various contradictions in social development at the village level.

CHAPTER TWO - ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Views about education and social development can be classified, on a very general level, into two major philosophies, namely Idealism and Materialism. Idealism asserts that thought, consciousness and attitudes are the determinants of social development and therefore what is needed in education is to change the thinking or attitudes of the people for development. On the other hand, Materialism asserts that matter or being is primary and determines social development and therefore what is needed for development is a change in the material conditions. The following sections will show some various schools of thought on education and development, and how they are reflected in the adult education literature in underdeveloped countries with particular emphasis to Tanzania.

2.1 Idealism and Structural/Functional Theories

Idealism tends to look at the individual or group of individuals in isolation and outside the relations of production. There is also a tendency to look at structures in society as self-regulating transformational totalities with specific functions to perform in society (hence structural/functional theories). In this way the educational system is studied without reference to the political, social and economic relations in a society. As a result education for social development emphasizes one or more of the following aspects: changing attitudes, adaptation to new changes; maintaining social equilibrium or harmony; producing people to fit the deeply determined social structure; education as a solution to social and economic problems and education for equality through reforms in the educational system.

These views were developed over a long period of time by many social scientists when looking at the problems of the poor in their own countries or in underdeveloped ones. The views they held about development, and the way to achieve it, influenced their studies about the poor and conclusions on the role of education in social development. This also includes the views of

the religious leaders (Christians and Moslems) who saw that they were saving the "pagans" from damnation and creating religious communities which would bring about development. (See Chapter Four.)

Some missionaries and colonialists had a unilineal conception of human culture. Africa, in their eyes, was at a very low stage of cultural development while Europe was at the highest stage and hence showing other countries the way to civilization. There was no systematic study of African societies or the use of their cultural achievements for purposes of education. To be fair, one could point out that studies in social science had not reached a level where the dynamics of change and development in underdeveloped societies could be comprehended.

The development of monopoly capitalism with its economic crises at home and in the colonies gave rise to social theories trying to explain the various social problems. Famous social scientists, from these societies, such as Aguste Comte, Emil Durkheim, Carl Mannheim, B. Malinowski, Max Weber and Talcot Parsons showed the need to study man in the relationships and structures of a given society. In trying to explain human activity and social change they put more emphasis on the non-economic conditions such as thoughts, attitudes, beliefs, ideas and values. Although in their analysis of social structure they also look at the economy, they do not analyse the social process of reproduction and the relations of production. Society is described purely in terms of values and beliefs of its members (Hagen 1962:85-86).

In the underdeveloped countries, societies were treated as homogenous "traditional" societies with something lacking either psychological or sociological, and therefore they must be provided with what was lacking in order for them to develop (Hager, 1962:86). The concern with what is lacking in the personalities of the poor makes the idealists compare the rich and the poor, thus concluding that the poor lack entrepreneurship, market incentives, universalism, achievement motivation and functional specificity (Parsons, 1951).

The need for achievement is seen as "a key factor in the rise to and fall of the economic base of civilization" (McClelland, 1961:157). The solution was to increase "n-achievement" of the poor. Related to this is the so-called Protestant Ethic with emphasis on frugality and saving for future needs (Weber, 1930). However, frugality and saving has taken place in non-protestant countries such as Japan.

In this context the role of education was therefore to change the inner psychological and sociological element of individuals in society so that they acquire the desire to develop or "catch up" with the rich. The modernisation theorists emphasized this aspect and saw that there was a need to change traditional attitudes into modern attitudes such as "particularism" to "universalism", "ascription" to "achievement orientation", and "functional diffuseness" to "functional specificity". (See McClelland, Parsons, Hoselitz and Hagen). Certain social institutions such as schools, factories and the mass media were seen as carriers of modernity (Blakemore & Cooksey, 1981:169-172). One of the problems with modernisation theory is that some of the attitudes which are taken as traditional are also found in modern societies, for example particularism in private interest. But more important, modernisation theory focuses on the individual without recourse to the social relations of production. Social institutions do not always promote modernity and some of them can be very conservative. Much depends on the power structure in society.

In another theory education was seen as a way out of underdevelopment by raising the level of scientific level in the population. It was shown that developed countries had more education than the underdeveloped ones and therefore investing in education would contribute to economic growth (see Dore, 1976:84-97, Blakemore & Cooksey, 1981:193-195). This view attracted many African leaders (including Nyerere) in the 1960s who thought that they would achieve economic growth by investing in human capital (see Chapter Three). Expansion of school education and adult education were supported by national governments and international institu-

tions. Although it has not been possible to show a direct relationship between education and development, the World Bank still holds this view. The need to analyze education in its socio-economic context is crucial in understanding its role in development.

In underdeveloped countries, in particular, adult education was seen as a tool of adaptation or "to widen and deepen the capacity of the society to absorb the changes as they occur" (Prosser, 1967:3). Adult education was defined as:

that force which, in its ideal application, can bring about a maximum of readjustment of attitude within a society to any new and changed situation in the shortest possible time, and which helps to initiate change which evolves and imparts new skills and techniques required and made necessary by the change (Prosser, 1967:5).

The changes which were brought about by the capitalist system were not analysed and their impact on the development of these societies was not shown.

One important feature of adult education programmes for the poor was that the programmes were developed by the adult educators under the assumption that they knew what was needed, that is, "appropriate values, skills and meaningful knowledge". But in the end the position of the poor did not change (Rauch, 1972:5).

This failure in changing the position of the poor was sometimes attributed to the educators' lack of understanding of the real needs of the poor. The solution to this was to call in adults to participate in the preparation of adult education programmes which would then solve their problems. This was in line with the capitalist conception of workers' participation in management. But the real problem with the "needs" of the poor lay in their meaning (McMahon, 1972:30). The concept of "need" was influenced by the educators' own philosophy, sponsors' objectives and the power structures in society to the extent that what is termed the

"needs of the poor" turns out to be the "needs of the rich" to contain the social system.

Adult education for the needs of the poor goes with a number of titles such as remedial education (basic and literacy), vocational education (including agriculture), social welfare (health and family education), civic and political education, and education for self-fulfilment (Ely, 1950; Coombs, 1974 & 1978; Rauch, 1972). These programmes have much to do with efforts to maintain social equilibrium or harmony in a class society since the poor are taught to accept that their poverty is something of their own making (Thompson, 1983:43).

Another related feature of adult education for change is the view that what the poor need is reforms in education which will give them access to the privileges enjoyed by those already educated. According to this theory the poor did not make it through the formal school system and therefore they should be given a second chance. Adult education is seen as the "last gamble on education" to enable the underprivileged to get or retain employment commensurate with their real ability" (Mezrow, 1975:3). The socially oppressed adults hope that adult education will provide them with skills which will enable them to survive in the system. The cause of poverty is thereby ignored. Even if the poor got employed they would only remain "poor workers" for the social system that created "the rich" had to create its opposite, "the poor".

In the Nordic countries, for example, the educational system in the 1960s was structured under the social democrats' ideology which emphasized democracy and equal opportunity in a capitalist setting. The national policy on adult education in Sweden, according to some interpretations, is aimed at equalization of living conditions through the redistribution of cultural, economic, political and social resources (Rubenson, 1980:7). This means those with low or no economic resources will, through participation in adult education, increase possibilities to compete for a job that would improve the economic resources, use

political resources to change the creation of jobs or setting of salaries, and finally this brings about the redistribution of economic resources. The solution to the problem of the poor was therefore the expansion of educational facilities. But this was not able to change the position of the poor. As Rubenson noted:

The equalization of life chances by the expansion of the formal education system has been prevented by two simultaneously occurring and interrelated processes: Institutional differentiation and tracking. Institutional differentiation refers to the process whereby at the time that the lower strata improve upon their proportional share in the educational institutions of the post primary level, the upper strata turned to still higher education institutions or qualitatively better ones. The expansion of higher education was further followed by a strong class-based tracking within the system (Rubenson, 1980:16-17).

The same feature was also observed in adult education at post secondary level where the upper middle class benefitted more than the other classes. At lower socio-economic levels, adult education was used for skill certification and was conducted in study circles, community organizations and churches, while at the higher socio-economic level adult education emphasized job mobility. In this way adult education reproduced the social system that created the poor.

2.2 Materialism or Revolutionary Theories

As regards social development, materialism puts emphasis on changing the material conditions or more specifically the relations of production. The role of education is primarily to contribute to the struggle of the exploited and oppressed in establishing socialist relations of production. Adult education is seen as part of the class struggles that exist in any class society.

The revolutionary theories emanate mainly from the thinking of Karl Marx which links the demands for social justice of the

proletariat to a scientific class analysis of capitalist society. To comprehend the variations of revolutionary theories put forward by different social scientists, which is beyond the scope of this study, one needs to look at the social context and the different forms of struggles which give rise to those theories. However, many social scientists using this paradigm have failed to maintain the synthesis of science and morality in their theories (Hirsh, 1981:3-4).

In the debates that have ensued some social scientists have taken refuge in the "young Marx" or in the "mature Marx" while others have tended to defend both (see Mandel, 1971; Novack, 1978). In the "young Marx" they see issues like consciousness, alienation, praxis, regaining the essence of man, revolutionary will, intentions and common interests (in sum "humanism") while in the "mature Marx" they see issues like productive forces, relations of production, social formation (in sum "structuralism").

Marxist humanism arose as a reaction to bureaucratic rule in communist countries and hence the call by these social scientists for freedom and socialist democracy for the workers (Novack, 1978:39-58). The question of alienation and democracy has attracted other social scientists such as existentialists, critical theorists (Frankfurt School) and even Catholic writers (Mandel, 1971:164). For Marxist humanists raising the level of class consciousness is crucial in the struggle against alienation and for socialist democracy as Lukacs concluded:

For a class to be ripe for hegemony means that its interests and consciousness enable it to organize the whole of society in accordance with those interests (Lukacs, 1968:52).

Education is here regarded as a tool for raising the consciousness of the workers and peasants and improving their technical competence. It is in this context that Gramsci emphasized the role of praxis with two tasks:

to combat modern ideologies in their most refined form, in order to be able to constitute its own group of independent intellectuals; and to educate the popular masses, whose culture was medieval (Gramsci, 1971:392).

Gramsci saw that raising of proletarian consciousness could be achieved by training proletarian intellectuals and creating proletarian culture. Paulo Freire has done much on conscientization of peasants and his work will be mentioned later.

Marxist humanists have been accused by the Marxist structuralists of having emphasized alienation and cultural phenomena as determinants of social change at the expense of relations of production. Louis Althusser, for example, sees that Marx abandoned humanism, and rejects concepts of alienation, praxis and negation (Glucksmann, 1974). His emphasis is on the social structure and that the social structure has no subject who creates it. According to Althusser, human beings are simply the bearers of social structures (Hirsh, 1981:165). He sees that the social formation is a complex internally structured totality of various layers and levels between the economic base and the superstructure, where elements of the latter have relative autonomy (Althusser, 1971: 246). He drew a distinction between theoretical practice and political practice; and between science and ideology. He finally failed to merge theory and practice (Hirsh, 1981:167; Glucksmann, 1974:128).

Other Marxists, both humanists and structuralists, often referred to as Neo-Marxists, have looked at the problem of socialist transformation in different situations such as those in advanced capitalist societies in Europe and those in underdeveloped countries. In Western Europe this has led to the rise of Eurocommunism where it is argued that the overwhelming difference between Czarist Russia and contemporary advanced capitalist societies call for a new strategy for socialism. The working class should develop alliances with other sectors of the population which give the former a leading role in advancing democratic control over all spheres of public life (Hirsh, 1981:179). This

strategy would include election of a left government with communist participation. The working classes are required to intervene in the ongoing changes in capitalism in order to transform the structures and power relationships (Gorz, 1964). This, however, requires a working class that is technically competent with a high level of political consciousness.

In underdeveloped economies, the Neo-Marxists have tried to show the structures of underdevelopment (Paul Baran, Paul Sweezy and André Gunder Frank). It is argued that underdeveloped countries are dependent on the developed capitalist countries and hence do not have an autonomous capacity for change. However, the "dependency theorists" have been accused of failing to analyze contemporary capitalism and the class structures in both developed capitalist countries and the underdeveloped ones (Culley, 1977:92). Underdevelopment is discussed in the following chapter and its penetration in the rural areas will be shown in Chapter Four.

The idea of man changing material conditions is tied up with the question of theory and practice, each interacting with the other. Action and reflection are so much united that one cannot bring about change without the other. The merger of theory and practice is an important aspect in adult education for the exploited and oppressed classes since what they need is a means of changing the social process that undermines their position. In other words what they need is a combination of reflection and action or social praxis (Freire, 1970:75).

The main task in education is to acquire necessary knowledge and skills for changing the social system. This knowledge and skills are developed in the process of change by the participants as they analyze the situation as it has been developing, as they participate in social action.

Adult education for social action is one of the most difficult areas of educational practice where the adult educator is required to understand the power structure in society (McMahon, 1972:45-48). The social actions taken will be political (Nyerere,

1976:7; Kidd, 1976:12). Therefore as a condition for social action there is need to examine the support or involvement of the political parties in adult education activities. In other words where there is a political party that is determined to construct socialism, adult education for social action will be supported by the political party as this would fulfil some of the tasks set by the party.

There is extensive literature on education for socialism, and this creates a problem on how to make use of it. This literature could be classified into two categories, namely:

- (i) the socio-economic system to be changed; and
- (ii) the target population.

For example there are those scholars who focus on construction of socialism within a strong capitalist society like the United States of America (Bowles & Gintis, 1976) or within underdeveloped countries like Brazil, India and Tanzania (Freire, 1970). There are also those scholars who are thinking of developing socialism in societies which are already in transition to socialism like Cuba, China or Yugoslavia (Price, 1970; Gillette, 1972; David, 1962). The role of education in these sets of countries is quite different because of the various factors to be dealt with in each case.

Some scholars focus on the school system and how the school system can contribute to the creation of a socialist society (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). Others have looked at the working people and how education for socialism can help in their struggle against exploitation and oppression (Horton & Adams, 1975; Gorz, 1968). Without this classification there is the risk of using ideas or suggesting patterns that do not fit into the socio-economic system that needs to be changed. A good example is how Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Kidd & Kumar, 1981) has been interpreted and sometimes reduced to psycho-social methods for transformation of perspective in a capitalist society without looking at how to transform the system itself.

Paulo Freire deals with education in underdeveloped societies. He studied the relationship between the metropolitan societies and the dependent ones and how the process of alienation, domination and oppression had maintained a "culture of silence" in the latter. The dependent society was economically and culturally serving the interests of the metropole. He shows the dialectical relations of oppression and exploitation where the oppressor prescribes to the oppressed, and the oppressed internalizes the image of the oppressor and adapts himself to the structure of oppression. In education (banking education), "the interests of the oppressors lie in changing the consciousness of the oppressed, not the situation which oppresses them" (Freire, 1970:47). It is only through critical reflection and action (praxis) that the oppressed can begin to recognize their dependence and commit themselves to transforming it. The adult educator must renounce his class and join the working class and peasantry in the revolution. Freire developed his methodology of teaching illiterate adults in response to the concrete realities of Latin America. The ruling class considered him such a threat to the political system that they forced him to live in exile though eventually he was allowed to return to Brazil.

2.3 Adult Education and Social Development in Tanzania

The existing literature on post-Arusha Declaration policy and practice in adult education and social development shares all the different views discussed above. The structuralists/functionalist see the role of adult education as changing attitudes, adaptation to new changes, maintaining harmony and solving social and economic problems. On the other hand the revolutionaries see adult education as reproducing the social system of underdevelopment.

2.3.1 Structural/Functional Theories

The idea of changing the attitudes of the adult was first given by former President Nyerere who maintained that the attitudes of the adults had an impact on economic development (Nyerere 1964:xi). This position was later emphasized by one minister, then responsible for adult education, that:

...We have reminded ourselves that man is guided and motivated into action by certain truths, ideas, aspirations, philosophies or whatever we may call them. Thus for men to act ideas have first to be put into his mind (Mgonja, 1971:15).

In this context adult education would be diverted towards changing the "mind" or "heart" of the individual so that he or she acquires the prescribed socialist attitudes like cooperative endeavour, selflessness, equality and respect.

A prominent adult educator (Mbunda, 1975) also observed that the purpose of adult education was to provide adults with the necessary mental attitudes, skills and knowledge for immediate use. His concept of education is tied up with "enlightenment". Hence he states, "A politically conscious citizenry will see the sense of our socialist economic planning and implementation" (Mbunda, 1975:37). The idea of dialogue does not arise in him, but instead "man must be made to see the meaning of his own development". Recognizing that the Party was in support of adult education, he saw that what was needed was coordination and implementation at the ward level where people were required, according to him, to change their attitude to life (Mbunda, 1975:41).

The concern with "attitude" and "thought" is shared by other adult educators who mainly look at the policies without looking at the socio-economic conditions which give rise to these ideas. For example Yusuf Kassam looks at the philosophy of adult education as propounded by President Nyerere and then goes on to demonstrate the proliferation of adult education institutions in the country. But one can see problems emanating from his philosophical standpoint and misconstruction of basic concepts like "development" and "liberation". He sees that development is:

dominated by the more dynamic element of liberation, a term which underlies the process of consciously striving to break away from the mental and physical strangle-hold that is responsible for underdevelopment (Kassam, 1978:11).

This amounts to saying that underdevelopment is internal and natural, since according to Kassam, it is a question of mental and physical constraints, and as a result adult education will only be directed against these constraints. If one looks at underdevelopment as being due to mental and physical stranglehold he will turn to individuals to change their mental frames as Kassam did in another book.

But underdevelopment is basically a question of the social relations of production and requires socialist revolution if society is to be liberated. It has been shown how Nyerere looked at education for liberation as fundamentally education "for cooperation" against constraints of nature and also "those imposed upon men by his fellow men" (Nyerere, 1976). This point is crucial when looking at social problems and particularly so when thinking of socialist construction which needs the cooperative efforts of the exploited and oppressed classes in society.

It is also claimed by Kassam that in the area of people's attitudes, great changes have occurred and the masses have "discarded their fatalistic outlook on life and have emerged with more self-confidence and hope in the possibilities of improving their living conditions" (p. 18). If one could show how people had been mobilized for development and how this had increased their self-confidence and hope, this would be seen as the greatest contribution by adult education. This study did not move to the masses to find out if what was being said in some official documents reflected the concrete material conditions of life of the masses. This same position was shared by Ng'wandu in his study of adult education and needs of Ujamaa villages (Ng'wandu, 1973).

In another book, Kassam tries to demonstrate how new literates have been "liberated" and concludes:

In short, to use President Nyerere's words, they have liberated themselves from many of the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependence. I believe that it is these kinds of qualitative changes brought about by literacy that make a much

more significant and profound impact on the development of the people rather than the superficial quantitative changes. These qualitative changes can best be understood by using the anthropocentric approach based on the dialogue method (Kassam, 1979:58).

The problem with this study is that it is based on what new literates say rather than what new literates do to change their conditions of existence. In other words emphasis is on the word rather than action and hence an idealistic view of literacy. He dissociates himself from Freire's "Cultural Action and Conscientization" (p. vii) and goes on to look at individuals in isolation without even trying to look at the relations of production and what is being done to change them.

Socialism is not a "voice" but an "action" for liberation. "Voices" can be made by individuals in isolation but "actions" need cooperation of the exploited. Individuals cannot liberate themselves in isolation, as Nyerere wittily remarks: "for in isolation man is virtually helpless physically, and stultified mentally" (Nyerere, 1976:5). Furthermore, Kassam is stretching the concept of literacy too far by equating it with liberation. In order to do this he should show how literacy is related to raising social consciousness and how this helps in bringing about changes in the social system.

Another important aspect in the literature of adult education in Tanzania emphasizes adaptation and harmony, as illustrated by the following:

When political, economic and social changes occur, people must be ready for them. They should be able to receive and accept new ideas, and to make the necessary adjustments as rapidly as possible. If this does not happen, development is greatly slowed down (IAE 1973:5).

This view is common where changes are always initiated from above and nothing comes from below. The adults are required to under-

stand and implement policies which originate from the centre. The Arusha Declaration ends with that message. Nyerere emphasized that one of the objectives of adult education "must be to have every one understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance" (Nyerere, 1969:3). Adult education would include "education and politics and responsibilities of the citizen" (United Republic, 1969:157).

Victor Mlekwa (1975) has with great care examined the policy and practice of adult education since 1970, looking particularly at six aspects, namely: policy interpretation, agencies and personnel involved, programmes offered, adult learners and adult literacy, teaching materials and costs, and problems and prospects. This study shows the historical causes of underdevelopment and points out that socialism is meant to counteract the system of underdevelopment. According to Mlekwa, the implications of the Arusha Declaration on adult education are that "there should be equal educational opportunity to all citizens" and that "policies of self-reliance and rural development required full participation of all the citizens" (p. 22). This view was also held by government leaders (Kawawa, 1975:13, Mwakawago, 1975:17). This perception of the role of adult education pushed Mlekwa's study slightly away from socialist construction of society as he put it:

What this study addresses itself to is not the transformational capacity of adult education programmes planned, but to whether or not those adult education programmes which have been planned are actually implemented in consonance with the formulated policies (Mlekwa, 1975:4-5).

Since the study was not based on changing society, the social structure and the relations of production in the district were not seen as factors which would explain the practice of adult education. The main reason given for not implementing the policy of adult education is that the policy was not understood or was given various interpretations. This view is shared by other scholars too when trying to explain why policies have not been

implemented (see for example Kondo, 1977:212; Maliyamkono & Msekwa, 1979:45). The other reason given by Mlekwa was that the programmes were not related to the needs and interests of adult learners (p. 218). Although Mlekwa concludes that "political and sociological factors may come into play", he did not show how they manifest themselves in his case study. These factors must be studied before conclusions on implementation are made.

A similar study on implementation of the workers' education policy was carried out by Kassim Kondo who focused his study on workers' education and their participation in management, and saw this as a solution to the "dehumanizing" conditions of the workers:

Hence the Party and government considered that workers' education could be used to educate the workers and management on socialist methods of work so that ultimately bureaucratic techniques should be replaced by participatory techniques which would restore the dignity of the common workers and they would all feel to be part of the management (Kondo, 1977:11).

Workers' education for socialist transformation was seen in terms of learning "socialist methods of work" which emphasize participatory techniques at the work place. But in a socialist revolution the workers need to go further than this and analyse the relations of production in order to change them.

Budd L. Hall (1975) attempted to show the relationship between adult education and development of socialism in Tanzania up to 1972. He documented the development of adult education network since 1961 showing the role it was expected to perform in the socio-economic structure, and the changes that had taken place since the Arusha Declaration. He concluded that major changes had occurred in the following areas:

- (i) increased number of official statements on adult education;
- (ii) proliferation of adult education agencies;

- (iii) increased enrolment figures;
- (iv) increased number of adult educators;
- (v) increased financial commitments.

He saw that the increased emphasis on adult education was related to the new socialist direction to which Tanzania was committed (Hall, 1975:132).

This study did not however analyze the social structure of Tanzania, and the increased emphasis on adult education is likened to the mass education programmes in Cuba, China and the earlier development of Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (pp. 133-135) where the workers had already taken over power. The term "people" is used in place of "workers and peasants" and adult education is seen as essential to "the need for a more informed and educated population in order to create the climate for democratic socialism and steady increases in agricultural productivity" (p. 124).

Popular participation in decision making was an important indicator of a country committed to socialist development (p. 132). The Tanzanian policy of socialism and self-reliance was seen as a clearly structured ideology of development although it did not address itself to the question of underdevelopment and social structure of the Tanzanian society without which the struggle for socialism may not come by.

The main problem with the foregoing studies is that they do not look at the relations of production and see how the workers or peasants have struggled to change the exploitative system. The village situation is regarded as homogeneous, without differentiation or conflicts (Ishumi, 1974; Vella, 1979) and in this way the dynamics of adult education at the village are left out.

2.3.2 Revolutionary Theories

Marjorie Mbilinyi (1976) sees that the educational reforms in Tanzania have not been discussed with an analysis of class struggle, the reproduction of the capitalist system, changes in

the relations of production and distribution in Tanzania as well as in other underdeveloped countries, and the process of underdevelopment (p. 1185). As a result the material conditions of underdevelopment limit the meaning and consequences of the reforms, educational reforms reproduce the material conditions of underdevelopment and education becomes a weapon of the ruling class. She looks at specific reforms like education and work, eradication of illiteracy and universal primary education from the point of view of the socio-economic system of underdevelopment and class struggles. The Tanzanian economy depends on aid and agricultural primary goods for export. The school system is pyramidal, and imparts knowledge, skills and values of a stratified society. She emphasizes:

We have found that the school system is structured in a way consistent with a capitalist system and therefore contributes to the reproduction of capitalist relations of production and distribution (Mbilinyi, 1976 a:1148).

The Tanzanian educational system produces a few people to man the petty-bourgeois position (such as University lecturers, school teachers, technical experts, managers and other civil servants). The struggle at the primary and secondary school levels is directed to that position. But the official aim of education at primary is to equip them with relevant skills in agriculture so that they could go back to their local communities as future peasants.

Mbilinyi also looks at the reforms in adult education such as literacy campaigns, vocational training centres, Folk Development Colleges and various radio campaigns. Some of these campaigns were not implemented as planned and the local people had no say on those programmes. According to her, the adult education structure was similar to the formal education structure and serves the same functions of increased productivity within the capitalist relations of production. Her conclusions emphasize that education functions to reproduce the social system, education serves the interests of the ruling class, and that the educational system is

used to penetrate peasant production system by the state and by capitalist forces (pp. 1219-1227). This means that the relations of production have not changed and hence the superstructure serves the economic base. However, this was basically a functionalist approach which did not show us how the struggles of the workers and peasants at the village level, for example, determined the practice of adult education.

Another penetrating study along similar lines was carried out by the Christian Council of Tanzania (1977). This study looked at rural vocational education for youth. With a clear knowledge of the socio-economic system of underdevelopment in Tanzania, the team traced the development of vocational education since colonialism and its functions in social reproduction. They found out that vocational education was in line with the prevailing conditions of underdevelopment and dependence, and continues to reproduce those same conditions. Training contents and methods were borrowed from industrialized capitalist countries, and skills taught were determined by the available means of production. The economy was not expanding and could not therefore absorb increased vocational skills. The team recommended some revolutionary changes such as: education must serve proletarian politics; revolutionary alliance among student teachers and working class leadership; a new revolutionary education system; and integration of vocational education centres with villagers.

However, to understand the practice of adult education, one needs to go further to the workers and peasants to see how they were responding or reacting to this situation after their leaders had declared their intent to build a socialist society. Since 1967 the objectives of socialism have been propounded through the mass media and even in adult education programmes.

The introduction of the policy of socialism and self-reliance (1967) and the consequent Party documents on socialism, such as TANU Guidelines (1971) and CCM Guidelines (1981) have intensified the struggle against the system of underdevelopment. Success in bringing about changes has not been achieved and this is due to

the weakness of the revolutionary forces at this time in history. This does not mean that the workers and peasants have given up the struggle against oppression and exploitation. They have devised various tactics in the struggle such as not selling their cash crops to the established marketing authorities, not increasing production of certain cash crops or resorting to non-participation in social and political programmes put up by the Party and government. In this way the system finds it difficult to reproduce itself in the normal way. Even so not every struggle by the workers and peasants is progressive or a struggle for socialism.

A look at the Party Guidelines shows what the Party members should fight against and this can help raise the class consciousness of the workers and peasants. For example CCM tells its members:

Socialist construction is not a dinner party, it is a struggle, a permanent struggle against capitalism and exploitation, against counter-revolutionaries, political parasites, and pseudo-politicians; against economic saboteurs, robbers, thieves, loafers and swindlers (CCM, 1981:17).

Declaring war against capitalism in an underdeveloped economy creates conditions which are different from a country that has not. In the case of Tanzania, indiscipline has persisted as revolutionary forces clash with reactionary ones. The leaders fear instituting capitalist discipline as the workers and peasants will call them "wanyapara" (degraded form of bosses) or "wakoloni" (reminiscent of the colonial masters). Some leaders have pointed out the TANU Party Guidelines (1971), particularly paragraph 15 as the source of indiscipline in places of work. At the same time socialist discipline cannot be practiced since the relations of production are still capitalist. In this case the ideological state apparatuses fail in their role to reproduce or consolidate the social system and therefore the ruling class resorts to the repressive state apparatuses to reproduce itself, for example, by setting by-laws for increased production and

outlawing strikes. In other words there are struggles at the ideological, political and economic levels. Adult education as an ideological state apparatus is used in the struggles taking place in the village or factory as we shall try to show in this study.

CHAPTER THREE - HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

3.1 Development of the Tanzanian Society

In order to understand the "adult learner" in Tanzania there is need to study the socio-economic conditions which have come to shape this adult. But it is not possible to go into the details here and we shall only limit ourselves to the salient features of the Tanzanian socio-economic system.

Before the coming of colonialism in Tanzania there were many independent societies at different levels of development. Their development can better be understood by looking at the way man in these societies struggled against nature and against other men to get access to the available resources. In the next chapter we shall try to illustrate this point in the case of Orngadida Village.

The socio-economic activities which led to the integration of Tanzania within the international capitalist system were begun by a number of foreign forces along the coast, well before effective German colonization in the 1890s. Zanzibar and the coastal areas had become important trading centres in the 16th and 17th centuries (Alpers, 1969:35-56). Arab and Indian merchants had established trade links with the interior of East Africa and the outside world.

In the nineteenth century Zanzibar was well known for its trade in slaves, ivory and gum copal; and Sultan Seyyid Said signed commercial treaties with the United States in 1833, Britain in 1839 and France in 1844 (Anorld, 1980:53). In 1860 Zanzibar was for example importing cloth, firearms, beads, wire and kerozene in exchange of ivory, cloves and gum copal. These trading activities brought in, directly or indirectly, the activities of two major religions, namely: Islam and Christianity. These two religions have played an important role in the provision of school education and adult education and need to be studied in each

local community. In the nineteenth century then, trade and religions linked East Africa with Europe, United States, Middle East and India.

The colonial system of production arose out of the nineteenth century imperialism in Western Europe when there was a tendency for the average rate of profit to fall due to the high organic composition of capital. In order to ward off this crisis of declining rate of profits there was a need to look for other areas which would provide cheap raw materials, markets for manufactured goods and investment outlets. The activities of the colonialists show quite clearly how they were related to these basic aims. Various methods of structuring the economies of the colonial countries were used.

The German colonial government decided to establish a plantation economy for the European settlers and a peasant economy for the Africans. Peasant agriculture was easier to establish than plantation agriculture since the former did not require a large administrative structure or massive injection of capital (Brett, 1974:217). The family production unit, with a hoe, was all that was required to establish a peasant economy. On the other hand the colonial government assisted Europeans to establish large plantations in Usambara, Kilimanjaro, Meru, Morogoro, Southern Highlands and along the coast. These large plantations required labour, and various methods, including taxation of the African populations, were devised to ensure that this labour was forthcoming.

The pattern of crop production established by the German colonial government has only changed slightly. The main task of the colonial regime was therefore to organize labour for peasant production and the plantation economy. The colonial regimes decided which areas would provide labour to the plantations and which ones would concentrate on peasant production.

The plantation economy demanded labour from different parts of the country. The European settlers were mostly concentrated in

the north-east, that is the high rainfall areas between Tanga and Arusha. They also settled in Morogoro and the Southern Highlands. Labour was recruited from other regions which had no plantations or which had not been selected for peasant agriculture.

The labour exporting regions and districts such as Ruvuma, Rungwe, Mtwara, Lindi, Kigoma, Tabora, Singida and Dodoma lost their most energetic population to the labour importing regions. There were also labour migrations to outside countries like South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe and in the Indian Ocean islands. Africans in the labour importing regions began to commercialize their agriculture, while those in the labour exporting regions "tended to stagnate or even retrogress" (Ilfiffe, 1979:151). The main feature of the plantation economy in Tanzania was the creation of structures of uneven development.

In establishing the peasant economy the relations of production became rather complex. Peasants were forced to produce cash crops for export within the pre-capitalist modes of production. They were at the same time required to fulfil certain local obligations as they continued to produce cash crops. More specifically the peasants produced crops for their own food and crops for export or for sale to other people in the non-agricultural occupations which were being instituted. This arrangement ensured that the peasant was exploited to the maximum. The peasant was not able to draw a distinction between necessary and surplus labour product. The peasant family produced its own means of livelihood and the prices paid for its crops could not pay for the labour expended in their production. As a result the peasant could not specialize on the production of cash crops alone since the income from these crops would not meet the costs of the maintenance of the family.

The following were some of the steps taken by the colonial regimes, German and British, to ensure that the peasants would produce for export:

- (i) Use of force to make the peasants produce cash crops. Later on the Native Authorities were required to impose various "orders and rules" on agricultural development. They emphasized anti-erosion measures, improved methods of cultivation, and compulsory production of certain crops.
- (ii) Provision of forms of agricultural education to peasants. This was done mainly by the Department of Agriculture and Livestock, schools, some cooperative societies and some mission stations.
- (iii) Establishment of cooperative societies for the marketing of their produce in place of the Asian traders. Although the peasants were fighting against exploitation of the middleman by establishing their own cooperatives, they did not effectively control the operations of the cooperatives. The establishment of the cooperatives was however seen as the "beginning of voluntary participation in cultivation of export crops on the part of some of the peasants", and the colonial government recognized that "cooperatives can assist administration policy" (Bowles, 1976:73).
- (iv) Encouragement by the government of "progressive farmers" as a basis for social differentiation in areas like Urambo, Kongwa, West Kilimanjaro, Mbulu and Isimani (Iringa). This was in addition to what had been taking place in all other areas practicing commercial agriculture.
- (v) Establishment of cheap transport enabled the peasants to take their crops to the markets with relative ease. Those areas which were not served with good means of transport could not participate fully in commercial agriculture.

The major concern of the colonial governments was therefore to ensure increased production of cash crops mainly for export. Use of force in effecting this in some areas was commonly suggested (Ilfiffe, 1971:17-23; Mihyo, 198x:17) and in the struggle for

political independence TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) mobilized the peasants against the colonial agricultural policy until the government was forced to abandon its rehabilitation schemes and other agricultural orders and rules. The support given to the peasants by TANU in their struggle against the colonial system made matters rather difficult for the independence government when it wanted the peasants to produce more and apply conservation measures. Adult education was required to play an important part in this respect as we shall see later on.

It can be said that the Tanzanian economy was firmly articulated into the international capitalist system to the extent that problems at the metropole spiralled out to the villages in Tanzania, as the following case in 1930 from the then Lindi Province illustrated. The crops were on the whole good except in Tunduru and Liwale but they faced difficulties because:

The world-wide financial depression has reflected itself here in shortage of money. The Indian traders in the greater part of the province are reported to be dealing with natives solely by barter. The prices paid for cotton have been only a third of the 1929 price. In the meantime the sisal estates which employ numbers of natives from Lindi, Mikindami, Newala, Masasi and Tunduru have considerably reduced the number of employees, and reduced all wages by fifteen to twenty per cent (Tanganyika Territory, 1930:40-41).

The link between the peasant and the international system was mainly maintained by the colonial regime with its repressive and ideological apparatuses, that is, all the politico-legal, social and public service institutions which were manned by people like the chiefs, messengers, teachers, medical auxiliaries, junior administrative staff and artisans. The colonial education system was aimed at producing enough people to fill these occupations. The missionary educational system aimed at more or less the same group with a few more functionaries for their religious institutions. These then acted as a very important "link" between the peasants and workers on one side and the colonial regime on the other.

In the 1950s the colonial state struggled to ensure that capitalist penetration through the organization and control of peasant production for export would continue to be promoted by the new independent government. In the process of decolonisation, the British tried to look for a social group which would be given political power and maintain those same relations of production (Iliffe, 1979:309). While the British were making sure that there would be a smooth transition from the colonial status to a neo-colonial status, the World Bank was also concerned about the role of the new independent countries under the first United Nations Development Decade. The main objective of the Development Decade was to increase the rate of growth of aggregate national income of 5 % at the end of the decade. The World Bank was thinking in terms of a flow of capital from developed capitalist countries to these underdeveloped ones, hence strengthening the neo-colonial status. But between 1961 and 1968 there was profit outflow which exceeded capital inflow in Tanzania (Shivji, 1975:164).

According to recommendations of the World Bank published in 1961 (IBRD, 1961), the main task for Tanzania was to secure widespread income increase through agricultural and livestock development. Two programmes were recommended by the Bank, namely: (i) Agricultural Improvement, and (ii) Agricultural Transformation. Both programmes laid much emphasis on adult education to the peasants and this will be looked into in a later section of this chapter.

Between 1960 and 1966 the Tanzanian government initiated a number of activities which had a great impact on social differentiation in the urban and rural areas. The most important of these activities were the Africanization programme and the "progressive farmers" programme. But in 1967 the privileges which went to individuals through these programmes were withdrawn and a new policy on socialism and self-reliance was introduced.

The Arusha Declaration (1967) on Socialism and Self-Reliance arose out of the neo-colonial contradictions in economic dependence, income drain, foreign policy and social differentiation

The mission stations were therefore both production and education centres. In these stations the missionaries wanted to bring up "useful members of society" based on their conception of a differentiated society. Their educational system offered literacy education to the brightest; skilled trades like smithing, masonry and carpentry to the average; and manual work for those below average (Oliver, 1952:22 & 61). The mission stations became self-reliant communities engaged in food and cash crop production and building their own infrastructure. However, the activities and conditions in mission stations differed from one place to another, and also from one denomination to the other. In 1885, there were, in the country, missionaries from the White Fathers, Holy Ghost Fathers, Church Missionary Society, Universities Mission to Central Africa and London Missionary Society with centres in Zanzibar, Bagamoyo, Mpwapa, Magila, Tabora, Urambo, Ujiji, Bukumbi, Usambiro, Karema, Masasi and Newala.

Religious educational activities expanded and spread gradually to various parts of the country. In 1968 for example over two thirds of the educational activities were organized by the Christian and Moslem religious institutions. Although the government took over some of the activities of the religious institutions in the country, religious institutions have continued to provide education by establishing private secondary schools, vocational training and other forms of adult education.

3.2.2 Colonial Regimes and Adult Education

When the German colonial regime took over Tanzania, the first task was to train bureaucrats for the new administration. In line with their policy of direct rule they trained Swahili speakers from the coast as clerks, "akidas", interpreters and artisans. This form of education covered a number of areas which would enable the learners to know something about the German government and what it stood for. The "akidas" became very useful to the administration as they collected tax, judged cases among the peasants and communicated government policy to the people under their jurisdiction. The government-owned Swahili periodical, Kiongozi, propagated government policy and entertained the needs of the new literates.

The British government came out more clearly with policies on education for adult education in their communities particularly after the detailed study by the Phelps-Stokes Commission. The main purpose of the Commission was to study the local conditions so that education could be improved. The Commission felt that there were some misconceptions about Africa which tended to limit the investment of capital in African industry and agriculture, hampered the efforts of the colonial governments and discouraged the support of missions (Jones, 1922:1). These misconceptions were in the field of wealth of Africa, health conditions, the African people and the contributions of Europeans and Americans to the people of Africa. The Commission began by showing that Africa was rich in natural resources with a high potential in agriculture. There was nothing particularly wrong about the other features. What was required, according to the Commission, was to adapt the educational system to these local conditions.

Everything that was taught should be related to agriculture and methods of reaching individual farmers should be sought as it had been done among the Blacks in the United States.

The British colonial advisory committee on education in London kept on reminding the colonial government on the objectives of adult education for Africans. In 1935 the committee issued a memorandum on the Education of African Communities (Great Britain, 1935). This memorandum emphasized that schools alone could not bring about the required changes in the community. There was need to educate adults at the same time. The school teachers as well as personnel from voluntary agencies could be used as agents of social change. It also emphasized that the basis of African life would be agriculture, and therefore:

If this is so, one of the primary tasks of African education must be to assist in the growth of rural communities securely established on the land progressing economically and socially, and producing both the crops required for their own subsistence, and, so far as markets and transport facilities permit, crops for export to enable them to pay for the import of

commodities necessary for adequate nutrition and an improved standard of living (Great Britain, 1935:6).

This was a central issue in colonial policy particularly in areas of peasant economy. The memorandum realized the need for a more general programme in education, agriculture and health to serve the growth of the peasant economy.

In 1944, the colonial office issued another memorandum on Mass Education (Great Britain, 1944). The main emphasis would be on adult literacy campaigns and planning educational projects according to the needs of the local community. This memorandum was probably sparked off by the Second World War. Many illiterate people had been conscripted. After the war there was need to demobilize the war veterans by teaching them literacy and some productive skills. At the same time the colonial office was thinking of how to revitalize the economy during and after the war, and the only solution would be more production for export. Mass education was therefore meant to stimulate increased agricultural production with active participation of the masses. The policy statement defined "mass education" as:

a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with active participation, and if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement (Great Britain, 1944:7).

The implementation of this policy depended on the local conditions pertaining to each colony. In Tanzania it was argued that implementation of mass education would produce feelings of discontent if the economic aspect was ignored (Thompson, 1968:319).

In 1948, the major concern was the promotion of western democracy and the colonial office issued a memorandum on Education for Citizenship in Africa (Great Britain, 1948). The policy emphasized that Africans should be taught democracy but realized that

the economic organization could not support western democracy. There was therefore a need for increased production. However in Tanzania, the United Nations Trusteeship Council pushed for democratic reforms and urged the British to prepare Tanganyikans for political independence.

In Tanzania various government and voluntary institutions initiated different programmes in adult education (Millonzi, 1975). For example, the Department of Agriculture, in conjunction with native authorities and some religious institutions taught various agricultural skills to the peasants. Agricultural inspectors were appointed to see that the peasant followed the agricultural instructions and regulations given by either the government or the native authorities. This was the beginning of agricultural extension service in the areas which produced export crops and it has remained as one important form of adult education for peasants.

At the same time the Public Works Department, mission stations and some individuals taught adults various trade skills like smithing, carpentry and masonry. The Department of Education through the school system played an important role in teaching trades that were demanded in the labour market. Many skills were also acquired through on-the-job training or apprenticeship system. These were often highly informal.

In the political field there was need to ensure that the masses accepted the colonial government and its institutions. For this purpose the government created a system of political socialization through the native authorities which tried to ensure political allegiance to the colonial regime. These included seminars and assemblies at the chief's court (baraza) (Millonzi, 1975:45-52).

After the Second World War, the colonial government had to think of how to deal with more pressing problems such as war veterans. In 1949 the government created the social welfare department with the main purpose of re-adaptation of the war veterans to the

local conditions. Welfare centres were established in urban centres and were used as places for dances, meetings, debates, literacy work and libraries. Some adult education classes dealt with English language and commercial subjects for the rising African small businessmen.

The Department of Social Welfare was in 1950 replaced by the Department of Social Development under the Ministry of Local Government. There was greater emphasis on the need to move into the rural areas to "teach people how to improve their way of life". In the rural areas, community development was restricted to literacy, women's education and community self-help projects. In some areas like Singida, literacy and women's education attracted many students, partly because of cooperation between the adult educators and the local political system (Richards, 1960:50-55). UNICEF provided most of the teaching materials for the classes.

3.2.3 Adult Education at Independence

The attainment of political independence in 1961 changed the role of adult education by emphasizing nationhood. Adult education was associated with national development according to the liberal theories of development which were widely advocated with the "UN Development Decade". While the World Bank looked at the economy, UNESCO wanted to make sure that the new independent countries were adopting acceptable educational priorities. In 1961, at the Addis Ababa conference of African Ministers of Education, it was agreed that one of the educational needs was the "promotion of adult education to enable the adults to understand the social and technical changes taking place in Africa" and later in 1964 another UNSECO conference emphasized the part that adult education could play in the economic and social development of their countries (Mate, 1969:5-8).

It is in support of these theories that former President Nyerere spoke of adult education when introducing the First Five Year Development Plan:

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 ... on the other hand, have an impact now; ... only if they are willing and able to do this will this plan succeed. The expanded expenditure on Agricultural Extension work, on Community Development, and also the new scheme for adult education, are all part of this preparation of ourselves for the work we have to do (Nyerere, 1964:xi-xii).

This was also in line with the recommendations of the World Bank on increased agricultural production and the role of adult education in the fulfilment of those objectives. This Bank's view was that the major tasks of development lay in the improvement of agricultural production. This improvement could be achieved through extension work, agricultural credit, market outlets and increase in cash incentives. The extension work should cover crop husbandry, irrigation agronomy, elementary animal, hygiene and health, and establishment of tree plantations on farms. The Department of Community Development, according to the Bank, should be mainly concerned with the organization of intensive community development schemes and provide technical guidance and specialized services to augment community development efforts.

The recommendations of the World Bank sought to rationalize the activities of the two major adult education institutions. The Ministry of Agriculture would continue with its programme of agricultural education (extension work) with agricultural instructors who could handle more technical problems in crop husbandry and livestock development. The Department of Community Development should "win the confidence of the people to stimulate and organize their energies to work for the improvement of their conditions of life" (IBRD, 1966:345). The success of these two institutions would be seen in increased production of export crops. These two institutions were required to cooperate in all their activities but there is no evidence to show that this cooperation was achieved (King, 1967). Instead the Rural Development Division concerned itself with all possible learning activi-

ties that would meet the "needs", of the people, and the Ministry of Agriculture specialized on agricultural production for export.

While these two institutions were entrusted with the main task of adult education, other institutions as well played an important role in educating the masses. Literacy classes were run by school teachers, religious institutions and other volunteer government workers. TANU organized seminars for its members and also for recruitment of new members. At the same time, through meetings, seminars and newspapers, TANU was able to mobilize the masses of the people for political independence and national unity. In this effort TANU was assisted by its affiliated bodies like UWT (Union of Women in Tanganyika) and TYL (TANU Youth League).

However, in the period between 1961 and 1966, there was no clear strategy for development. Although President Nyerere had stated in 1962 that Ujamaa (Socialism) was the basis for the country's development (Nyerere, 1966:162-171), the concept of Ujamaa was not clear in terms of policy and strategy. This uncertainty about the future was a reflection of the socio-economic forces of the early independence period. The changes that were taking place, as a result of Africanization, credits and the relationship with developed capitalist countries, were in favour of a liberal approach to development. It was, in other words, a consolidation of neo-colonial relations.

The ideas expressed in adult education were in line with the neo-colonial relations. The literacy primer, for example, relates the story of two families, namely: Hardworker (Chapakazi) and Trouble-maker (Matata). Mr Hardworker attends a literacy class. He grows cotton and gets money. He goes to see the agricultural instructor because he wants a loan to buy a plough and build a house. He will repay the loan when he gets the money. On the other side we have Mr Trouble-maker who does not do any one of these things and finds himself with his family in great trouble (Viscusi, 1971:15-22). The literacy content is clearly a reinforcement of the concept of the "progressive farmer" (Mkulima wa kisasa).

The progressive farmers were being encouraged to take up loans and expand production. The extension services and agricultural inputs were directed to these few at the expense of the majority. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with encouraging people to work hard or increase productivity. This must be encouraged if development is to take place. The only problem here is the manner through which this is done. If it leads to antagonistic relations of production then there is need to look for ways of helping the oppressed and exploited.

3.2.4 Adult Education and the Arusha Declaration

The contradictions in the economic base led to the promulgation of the Arusha Declaration, stipulating a system of Socialism and Self-Reliance. This declared revolutionary change would require a revolutionary type of education.

The Arusha Declaration required that all Party members be taught the principles of socialism (Nyerere 1967:32) and as a result the Party organized political education seminars for its members throughout the country. In 1968 it had become clear that the seminars were inadequate in preparing the masses for socialism (Nyerere, 1969 a:19). TANU Youth League thought that school teachers were better placed in educating the masses for the revolution and therefore requested the President to talk to the primary school teachers on this new role. The President spoke to the teachers on the principles of socialism and on how the revolution was against exploiters. He pointed out that the opponents of the revolution in the country were the well-to-do (walioshiba) and exhorted them:

You are teachers of the Nation, go into the people's villages and bring about a revolution (Nyerere, 1973:26).

This was the first time school teachers were specifically requested by the government to teach adults. Many school teachers had however been teaching literacy particularly at the request of some voluntary institutions. The leadership was perhaps taking the example of Cuba and China where the school teachers had

helped the youth movement in organizing education of the masses for the socialist revolution (Silverman, 1973; Gillette, 1972; Hinton, 1966; Price, 1973; Snow, 1970). But the Tanzanian leadership did not let the teachers "walk into the villages" as it was done in China and Cuba. In Tanzania this movement was controlled from Dar es Salaam by bureaucrats and technocrats (see IAE, 1973; United Republic, 1969:157-158).

The role of the teachers in adult education was incorporated into the Second Five Year Development Plan, 1969-74. The school was given the task of organizing adult education programmes in the villages. The teachers, TANU and government leaders and the local people would try to find out what the problems of the villages were and find out solutions to the problems. The aim of adult education with its scope was thus stated:

The main emphasis in adult education in this plan period will be on rural development. It will include simple training in agricultural techniques and craftsmanship, health education, housecraft, simple economics and the responsibilities of the citizens (United Republic, 1969:157).

The shift of emphasis is clear here. The teachers were no longer going into the people's villages to bring about a revolution, they were to engage in rural development work. The policy of socialism and self-reliance would be taught under "politics and responsibilities of the citizen". This could be taken to mean that schools were taking up the duties of the Community Development Division as the latter did before the Arusha Declaration.

According to the plan, the primary school had to become a community education centre for both children and adults. The Ministry of National Education made the necessary preparations to ensure that schools performed their new role. This involved the establishment of a new administrative structure and training in manpower. The Ministry of national education established the Directorate of Adult Education with coordinators at the regional, district, divisional and ward levels. These Ministry officials

were supposed to coordinate all adult education activities in their respective areas and also organize seminars for primary school teachers or volunteer teachers on how to conduct adult education activities at the village level.

At each level the coordinators were required to form adult education committees under the chairmanship of the head of government at each level. This brought in the political leaders like the Regional Commissioners, Area Commissioners, Divisional Secretaries, Ward Secretaries and Village Chairmen (IAE, 1973:17-18). These government and political heads were made chairmen of the committees because they "commanded the loyalty of the people of different interests and training" and could implement effectively adult education programmes in their areas of jurisdiction. These committees were required to motivate adults to learn, plan useful programmes for adult learners and encourage attendance (IAE, 1973:19).

After establishing the adult education committees and administrative structure, 1970 was declared "Adult Education Year" (Nyerere, 1973:137-141). In his New Year Eve broadcast to the nation the president explained the philosophy and scope of adult education, methods and organization. The objectives of adult education were stated as:

- (i) to shake ourselves out of a resignation to the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past;
- (ii) to teach us how to improve our lives;
- (iii) to have every one understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance (Nyerere, 1969 c:1-3).

Adult education was defined as "learning about anything at all which can help us understand the environment we live in and the manner in which we can change and use this environment in order to improve ourselves" (Nyerere 1973:138). This definition was too general, for example "to live is to learn", and "to learn is to try to live better". The question that needs to be answered is "What does this mean to the Tanzanian worker or peasant?" People

with different class interests interpreted Nyerere's definition differently. There was need to relate the Tanzanian environment of the worker and peasant to the adult education programmes.

The Ministry of National Education issued a circular to regional and district education officers in January 1970 (EDA, C1/1/5) informing them of the changes in adult education. Literacy was emphasized, and this time they were thinking of "functional literacy". UNDP/UNESCO were experimenting with "functional literacy" in the regions around Lake Victoria. But people could be taught agriculture, politics and health before they were literate. In April 1970, teachers all over the country were required to submit reports on their centres saying how many adults were doing the following subjects: political education, agriculture, health, reading and writing, domestic science, typing, vocational training and any other subjects (EDA, R1/1/2-TEWI). These reports were the backbone of the Ministry's assessment of adult education in the country.

In 1971 there was another shift. In 1970, adult education was for every Tanzanian learning about anything in order to develop our country. In 1971 there was emphasis on eradication of illiteracy, particularly in some six target districts, namely: Dar es Salaam, Kilimanjaro, Pare, Masasi, Mafia and Ukerewe. It has not been possible to obtain reliable figures on attendance, and literacy rates (Kassam, 1978:35). Enrolment figures differed from one district to another. Mafia and Pare managed to enrol 100 % of all known illiterates while Dar es Salaam enrolled only 28.3 % of the estimated number of illiterates. For Dar es Salaam the evaluators of the programme observed that there was need for "full support and understanding of the learners" (Kassam, 1978:37).

The reasons for this shift and emphasis on literacy are not very clear. This can be linked, either with the political needs of having literate members for socialist transformation, or with the renewal of the UNDP/UNESCO functional literacy project which was to expire in 1972. Although much has been said on the former (MNE, 1972; Hall, 1975; Kassam, 1978), a look at what was taught

reveals that it was an extension of the UNDP/UNESCO Functional Literacy Project with its emphasis on monoculture.

The emphasis on literacy teaching required an appropriate measure of reporting on its success. National literacy examinations were set up in 1975, 1977, 1981 and 1983, and established that the adult literacy rate was 61 %, 73 %, 79 % and 85 % respectively. This was a great achievement, however, the field observation showed that there was need to revise those figures. Some of those who had passed the literacy examination had fallen back to illiteracy, while some of the reports were unreliable (see Chapter Five).

Other programmes of adult education for peasants were organized by other government or non-government institutions. These programmes included:

- (i) Agricultural extension service;
- (ii) Livestock extension service;
- (iii) Community Development/Ujamaa and Cooperatives education;
- (iv) Health education programmes;
- (v) TANU/CCM political education programmes;
- (vi) Union of Women in Tanzania (UWT) programmes;
- (vii) Militia Training;
- (viii) Religious services and programmes.

All these programmes can be found at the village as we shall try to show in the case of Orngadida Village.

3.2.5 Adult Education and Agricultural Policies

According to the Arusha Declaration, agricultural extension service was required to change, but its practice can be seen as a reflection of the contradictions inherent in the national agricultural policies, ownership and control of the means of production, mainly land, and the ever declining level of agricultural production.

Agricultural policies in Tanzania were in most cases contradictory, and this affected agricultural extension services. For example in the Second Five Year Development Plan, 1969-1974, the government declared that agricultural education should be extended to communal farms instead of the individual peasant. But due to the struggles between private ownership and communal ownership among the peasantry and even the bureaucrats in government, it had not been possible to establish many large communal farms. In 1981, CCM gave guidelines on agriculture, saying:

Revolution of agriculture in the villages in our country means socialist and modern agriculture which has the following attributes. First, big socialist farms which are owned and run by the villages; second, it is agriculture based on the use of inputs, implements, expertise and skills; and third, it is planned agriculture based on proper work plans which facilitate greater productivity (CCM, 1981:27).

The guidelines emphasized that modern agriculture must be based on large scale farming and that it was quite possible to do this in Tanzania as some villages had demonstrated.

But hardly two years later a new national agricultural policy advocated both private and public ownership in (i) homestead shamba (ii) block farm and (iii) communal farm. But here communal farms are not seen as essential elements of socialist relations of production but as a project which is "a revenue earning source for the village" (Ministry of Agriculture, 1983:3-4). If a communal farm is taken as a source of revenue for a village development fund, some villages might decide to use other sources for such purpose such as a flour mill or a lorry which could be run on capitalist lines in order to generate more profits. In this way the whole purpose of establishing communal farms or projects in order to transform the relations of production is lost. The policy seeks to establish mainly individual land rights. This was perhaps a response to popular demands for land rights after villagization and communalization had been achieved through the use of force. Oppression and exploitation was practised by some village leaders in the communal farms.

The change in agricultural policy will affect the development of agricultural extension service in the village in favour of those with better farms. Agricultural extension services will not serve socialist ends but the interests of the rich peasants. The agricultural extension service is also affected by the state control of agriculture and the research institutions (Raikes, 1979:7.4-7.16). The research stations do not resemble peasant farms. The information from the research stations has always been simplified, leaving out important factors on peasant production such as labour and equipment.

Extension service was also affected by the ever declining production of cash crops. There has been a decline in every crop except for coffee (Kweba, 1983:32). The government's response to this had been to encourage people to produce more by giving them incentives through higher prices, but the situation had not changed. Campaigns for increased production were common but matched by the use of force. For example, in the case of cashew-nut production in Mtwara, the agricultural extension officers were looking for peasants who had not weeded their cashew farms so that they would be punished.

The contradictions also affected other forms of adult education programmes which dealt with the question of production and improved living conditions.

What needs to be emphasized here is that there have been shifts in various policies related to socialist development. In the early period, between 1967 and 1969, a policy on adult education for socialism was clearly emphasized but later it was watered down to functional literacy. Other programmes of adult education emphasized the development of socialist relations of production but at the same time the 1983 policy on agriculture emphasized the development of individual ownership of land. These shifts took place at the centre, and this is a reflection of the struggles within the petty-bourgeoisie in the Party and government. More struggles of a similar nature were found in the villages and showed the difficult task in socialist education of the peasants.

CHAPTER FOUR - LOCATION OF ORNGADIDA VILLAGE

4.1 General Features of the Region

Orngadida is a village in Arusha Region and this section briefly analyses the physical and socio-economic factors which can help to explain the development of the village. Arusha is a border region in the north-east of Tanzania, bordering Kenya on the north, Kilimanjaro and Tanga regions on the east, Dodoma and Morogoro regions on the south, and Singida, Shinyanga and Mara regions on the west. It has an area of 84,428 sq. km with a mild average temperature of 22 °C in the highlands. There is a considerable variation in annual rainfall ranging from 500 mm in the lowlands and 1,000 mm in the highlands.

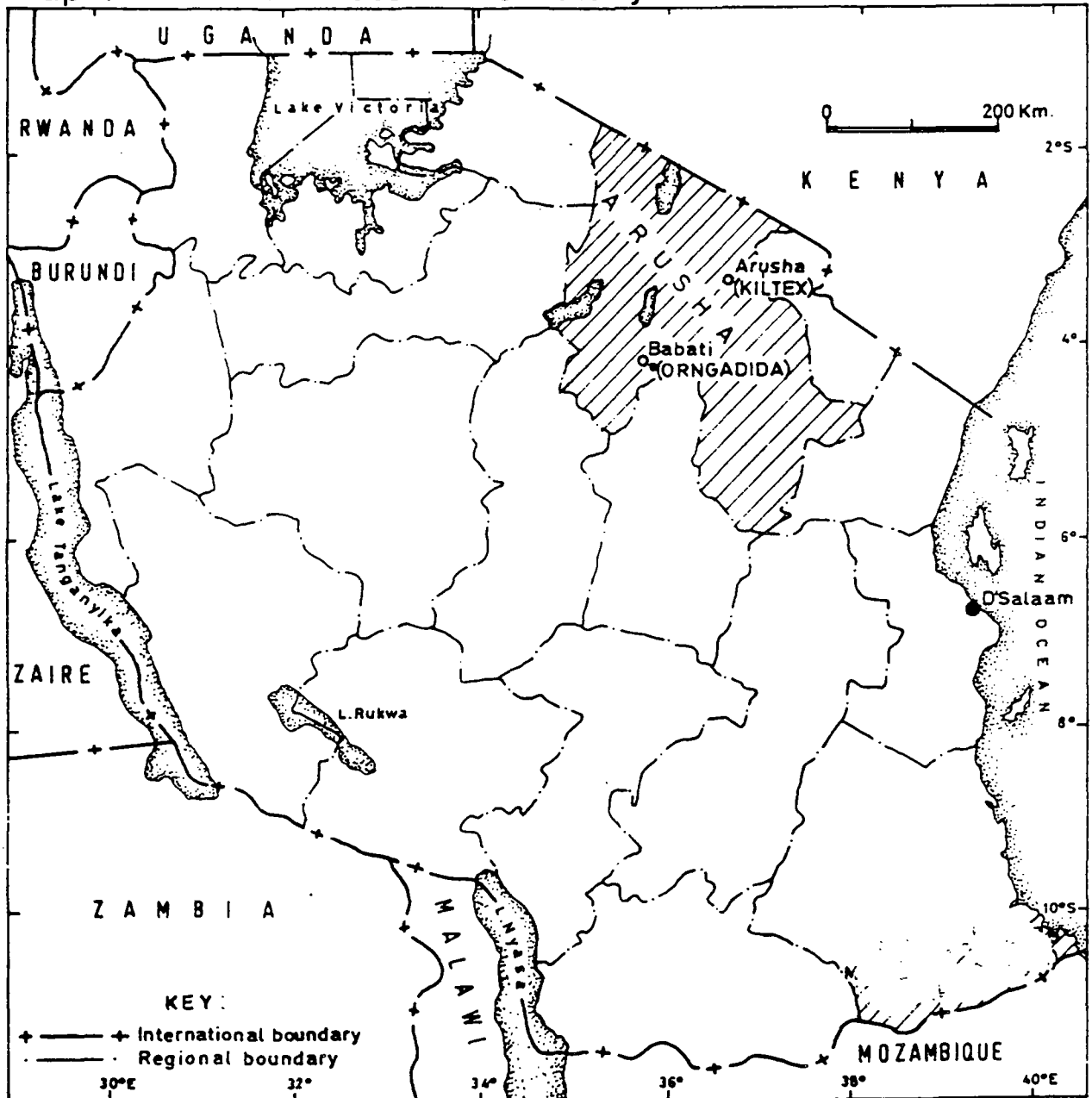
The variation in climate, vegetation and soils gives the region a variety of land uses and population settlement as Table 4.1 illustrates the position in 1981.

Table 4.1 Land use and population settlement in Arusha Region, 1981

District	Population	Area in km ²	Density in km ²	% of land agriculture	% of land pastora- lism
Arumeru	238,020	2,896	82.2	43.2	42.8
Hanang	231,292	8,405	27.5	40.0	29.7
Mbulu	193,775	7,652	25.3	39.2	36.3
Kiteto	59,790	35,156	1.7	0.57	99.4
Monduli	71,725	14,201	5.1	3.7	88.8
Ngoron- goro	47,031	14,036	3.4	1.2	88.9
Arusha Urban	86,845	825	947.9	-	-
Total	928,478	82,428	11.3	10.3	80.7

Source: Regional Commissioner's Office (Arusha) 1981:10-11.

Map 1. TANZANIA: Location of Study Area.



A very large portion of the land area, about 80.7 %, is used for livestock while 10.3 % is used for agriculture. The rest of the land in the region is used for game parks and national forests. Three districts which stretch from the highlands to the lowlands are famous for both agriculture and pastoralism and on the other three, found mainly in the lowland plains, are famous for pastoralism. There has been continual friction among the different land users on issues such as establishing game parks in areas suitable for grazing or cultivating well-watered valleys which had been previously used for grazing during the dryer seasons. There have also been struggles for more arable land by commercial and capitalist farmers including government parastatals and foreign companies. As it will be seen, land shortage among the agriculturalists has forced them to invade a large part of the grazing land which has therefore destabilized the herding system among the pastoralists (Jacobs, 1975; Kjaerby, 1979).

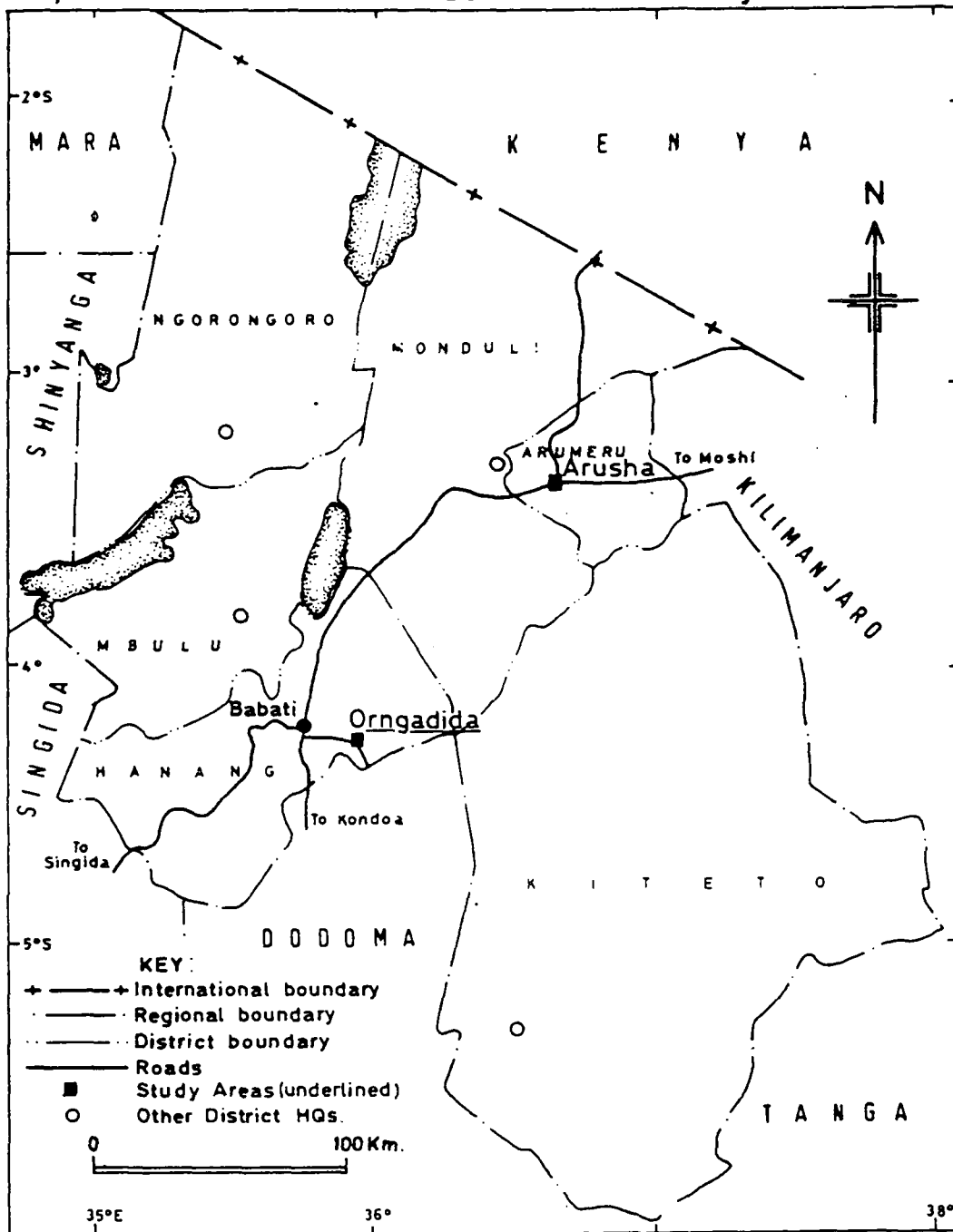
4.2 Arusha and its People

The history of Arusha Region from the 17th century demonstrates how different people came to the region in search of land as either pastoralists or agriculturalists. The process was a gradual one involving small groups of people at a time. This was not simply a question of movement or settlement but also of interaction with other peoples and acquisition of new names and cultures, as John Iliffe observes:

Early nineteenth century Tanganyika was not inhabited by discrete, compact and identifiable tribes, each with a distinct territory, language, culture, and political system. The need to describe makes the use of names inescapable, but they distort and oversimplify a vastly more complex reality (Iliffe, 1979:78).

This means that ethnicity or tribe should not be held as a static category when discussing the development of the people in a particular area. It is more useful to explain man's struggle against nature or fellow men rather than giving special qualities to ethnicity. In this case then it would be better to refer to

Map 2. ARUSHA REGION: Location of Study Area.



the people of Arusha Region as either pastoralists or agriculturalists and have the tribal names for purposes of describing which pastoralists or agriculturalists.

On the eastern part of the region, the first agriculturalists settled on the slopes of Mount Meru in the seventeenth century (Puritt, 1977:92). These early agriculturalists had migrated from Usambara possibly because of famine. The north-ward movement gave them the name 'Varwa' meaning the people who went north. These same people are known as the Meru, a name perhaps derived from their settlement area. The 'Varwa' or Meru were organized in patrilineal clans with leaders who were all under the authority of a chief. Each clan was allocated land where they grew beans and vegetables, and kept sheep and goats. Interaction with other peoples in the nineteenth century enabled them to cultivate new crops like bananas, maize and finger-millet. In their struggle against drought they made use of irrigation ditches and therefore reduced their dependence on the sometimes unpredictable weather conditions.

Land was allocated by clan heads and the organization of production was carried out in the clan or sometimes lineage where the head of household had the ownership and control of the means of production. This organization enabled the head of the household to extract surplus labour or product from the other members of the household that is the wife, children or adopted relatives. The head of the household was sometimes supposed to give tribute (maanga) to the clan head and the chief. Although this was basically subsistence economy in the nineteenth century, regular markets had begun to emerge while sometimes exchange took place in centres of craft production (Iliffe, 1979:68; Puritt, 1977:93).

To the west of Meru in the nineteenth century, there arrived a group of people, the Arusha (Puritt, 1977:93). These were agricultural Maasai speakers, remnants of the agricultural and semi-pastoral Maasai who had lost their war with the pastoral Maasai. The Arusha mixed with the Meru and learned from one another,

particularly the methods of cultivation and rearing livestock. The Arusha prevented the Meru from expanding westwards as they were militarily stronger than the latter. In this way the Arusha had access to fertile land where they grew vegetables, bananas and maize. At the same time they had good grazing land for cattle, sheep and goats. The organization of production was more or less similar to that of Meru where the clan owned and controlled the means of production and extracted surplus labour product from the other members of the household. Towards the end of the nineteenth century some rich peasants acquired firearms and "employed slaves to cultivate while young warriors raided" (Iliffe, 1979:73).

To the west of Mount Meru there is a large stretch of land suitable for grazing. Although pastoralism is known to have existed in East Africa as early as the first millenium B.C., Maasai occupied Ngorongoro Crater and Serengeti Plains in the seventeenth century (Jacobs, 1975; Kjaerby, 1979; Sheriff, 1979). The history of the Maasai is marked by struggles over grazing, cattle and water.

The pastoral Maasai were not organized as a single tribe with a unified political system but instead were divided into sections (oloshu), each with its own territory and an independent political structure based on age-sets. The individual male heads of the extended families secured rights to communal grazing and water within their section's boundaries by initiation into a specific age-set. Families of one section could not graze in the other's territory without the latter's permission. Rights to communal resources were secured only after long residence and participation in specific obligations in the locality. Division of labour was based on age and sex where the uncircumcized boys looked after cattle; the warrior guarded the country, and the married men managed the livestock economy. The women milked the cows, did the household chores and conducted exchange with neighbouring agricultural peoples. The elders held some economic and matrimonial privileges since they controlled cattle.

The pastoralist Maasai tried to maintain a balance between the number of cattle owned with their subsistence needs and the local environment. They also tried to improve the grazing land by burning the bush to stimulate the growth of nutritious grass. As mentioned earlier, loss of land during the colonial period had an adverse effect on the pastoralists' method of production.

To the west of Maasai grassland is the Mbulu plateau where the agricultural and pastoral Iraqw settled many centuries before the birth of Christ (Iliffe, 1979:7). For a long time until around 1890, the Iraqw were confined in Kainam while the rest of the plateau was pastureland used by the Barabaig. For all this time they had been under attack or the threat of violence from the Maasai and Barabaig warriors. The 1890s rinderpest epidemic weakened the pastoralists' economy so much that the weak Iraqw could not expand into the land occupied by the Barabaig pastoralists. This process of expansion and interaction with other people has continued to the present. Many Iraqw have now settled in Mbulu and Hanang districts where they practice both agriculture and pastoralism. The linguistic similarity between Iraqw and Gorowa, who have lived in only one part of Hanang District for a long time, would suggest that both of them have the same origin and split sometime before the Iraqw had settled at Kainam. But what is important is the fact that they both herded and cultivated.

The Iraqw and Gorowa did not have a centralized political system (Iliffe, 1979:21). They had established a tribute paying mode of production through an indigenous religion centered on rainmaking. In each of the tribes there is a rainmaking clan and the head of this clan had to be approached during periods of drought so that he could perform the ritual. But before he could do this people had to bring him cattle and grain. The head of this clan was very much respected and people provided labour (corvée) in his farm. The tradition has survived to the present and has in some areas played an important political role in elections.

Organization of production was based on the household and division of labour was based on sex and age. Men cleared new land and

grazed the cattle while the women were involved in agriculture and the various household activities. It can be said that the major task performed by the Iraqw and Gorowa in the first half of the twentieth century was bush clearing to fight against tsetse fly. In this way some people managed to acquire large farms which they rented to newcomers or cultivated with hired labour.

Besides these, there were minority groups which had relatively small populations below 10,000 in 1931 (Tanganyika, 1932:69). These include the Bantu speaking Mbugwe who lived as pastoralists and agriculturalists in the semi-arid lowlands south of Lake Manyara. Given the harsh geographical environment the Mbugwe could not build a strong economy with political institutions. During the early part of the British rule the Mbugwe were under the administration of Chief Dodo Uo of the Gorowa. Another minority group was the Barabaig who were basically pastoralists. Because of their interaction with other people like Iraqw and Gorowa, some of them had lately taken up agriculture. The Barabaig lived in this area long before the arrival of the Iraqw, Gorowa and Maasai. Many place names in this area, such as Orngadida, are of Barabaig origin. Another small group was the Bantu speaking Sonjo who lived in Loliondo as agriculturalists and constructed irrigation ditches around their farms. At the same time we had the Dorobo (including the Hazabi) who lived in Mbulu, Masailand and part of Singida Region. They were mainly hunter-gatherers.

What needs to be emphasized about the people of Arusha Region is that there had in many cases been interaction and mixing up with other people within the region or from other regions. Marriage played a great role in this process. For example:

Some Arusha parents and guardians, tempted by the large dowries offered by wealthy Maasai, often used undue influence in getting girls to contract marriages with these people (Tanganyika, 1936:39).

Other reasons for intermarriage could be the acquisition of the expertise of the other group mainly between the agriculturalists and pastoralists, with the pastoralists taking the agriculturalists.

However, the relations among these different peoples were not always peaceful. There had always been struggles for grazing land which involved both the pastoralists and the agriculturalists. Among the pastoralists, stock thefts were common and in many cases led into wars with other ethnic groups, for example, between the Barabaig and Nyaturu or Maasai and the Iraqw. It was observed in the field that cattle thefts were on the increase and were posing a great danger to the future development of pastoralism among the peasants.

4.3 Articulation of Modes of Production in Arusha Region

In the previous section it was shown that pre-colonial agriculture was based on the labour of homesteads or villages. Either the chief, clan head, age-set leader, patriarch or head of family owned and controlled the means of production and on that basis was able to extract surplus labour or product from the wife, children and adopted relatives. The level of agricultural technology differed from one place to another, for example while the Arusha and Meru agriculturalists used the hoe the Sonjo agriculturalists used digging sticks and while the Iraqw and Mbugwe cultivated and herded, only the former used manure in their farms. At the same time social differentiation had begun in many societies depending on the way the labour process was organized in the homestead or in the clan. The rich agriculturalists began to take advantage of the situation created by the long caravan trade and the coming of Europeans. For example, the rich Arusha peasants acquired guns with which they fought and defeated the pastoralist Maasai (Iliffe, 1979:52).

Things did not change abruptly with the advent of colonialism. The process of articulating the precapitalist forms of agriculture to the international capitalist system took many years. Land alienation by Europeans and establishment of a plantation economy

in Meru, Arusha, Monduli and Ngorongoro Crater during the German period ushered in the establishment of capitalist forms of production. In 1910 about 37,720 hectares had been alienated in Arusha Region (Ilfiffe, 1979:145). During the early British colonial period more land was alienated in Oldeani, Babati and Mbugwe. Most of the European plantations grew coffee, wheat and sisal for export. Sometimes they grew maize and beans for feeding the growing urban population and plantation workers.

The alienation of African land by European settlers and international companies became a thorny issue throughout the colonial period. After World War II it sparked off protests which nursed the early feelings of nationalism in the struggle for political independence. Land alienation created land hunger among the Arusha, Meru and Maasai. The plantation economy used labour drawn mainly from other regions of the country. The main source of labour in Arusha was Kondoa (Rangi), Singida (Nyaturu) and Dodoma (Gogo). Some of the workers did not go back to their home areas after the expiry of contracts but instead looked for good agricultural land and settled with the local people.

The establishment of the colonial system had gradually drawn the African agriculturalists into commercial agriculture. The Meru and Arusha began to grow coffee for export in 1906 (Puritt, 1977:95; Ilfiffe, 1979:288) when it was introduced there by the missionaries and European settlers. They learnt the use of ox-ploughs and rich peasants began to till large tracts for beans, maize, onions and eleusine in the 1920s. In Mbulu, commercial agriculture was introduced after the 1940s tsetse clearing when the Iraqw began to grow onions and wheat for sale. Arusha Region, after the Second World War was earmarked for wheat and maize production (Raikes, 1977:453).

Development of wheat production was accelerated during the War in order to feed Kenya and the Middle East. To facilitate this the government enacted the 1944 Increased Production of Crop Act which provided European farmers with grants for land clearing and guaranteed prices and credit. During the same period rich African

peasants turned into commercial farmers and began to open up land for maize and wheat growing particularly around Mount Meru (Kingori, Leguruki, Mwakivaruru and Musa). In Mbulu District in 1943 Iraqw commercial farmers were using ox-ploughs and sometimes hiring machinery from European farmers. In 1947 a group of Iraqw wheat growers bought a second-hand tractor. By 1961, about 40 tractors were owned by commercial farmers in Mbulu District. In Arusha District the commercial farmers began to buy tractors in the early 1950s and in 1958 there were 50 commercial farmers with tractors and two combine harvesters. The pioneer grain growers had accumulated savings through various activities such as cattle buying, growing onions as cash crop, working for settlers as tractor drivers, government clerks and large cattle owners.

The Mbulu Development Plan, 1948-53, which aimed at destocking and tsetse clearing boosted the development of African commercial farmers in the area. Tsetse clearing in the Karatu-Murera-Mbulumbulu area between 1945 and 1952 meant more land for grazing, wheat and maize. In 1955 some commercial farmers were allocated blocks of up to 300 acres and credits of up to Sh. 22,000/=. The African farmers had easy access to land while the European farmers had easy access to credit but fixed acreage (Raikes, 1975; Iliffe, 1979). As the African farmers had no access to credit in the amounts required there arose a situation where the African farmer had land and the European farmer had credit in the amounts required. These African farmers "dominated the agriculture of the area, owning large farms of their own and contracting or share-cropping most of the remaining acreage" (Raikes, 1975:91). Later on some African commercial farmers moved out of Arumeru District and Kilimanjaro Region, where there was land shortage, to rent land in various parts of Arusha such as Monduli, Makuyuni, Mto wa Mbu, Magugu, Basotu, Katesh and Galapo. The process went on smoothly in some areas until the 1974 village settlement operation when the large farms were distributed to peasants. In January 1982 one villager in Galapo, who had his large farm distributed to the peasants, was seriously beaten up by peasant women because he threatened to stop the rains until his land was given back. The police came to his rescue.

In 1980/81, the district officials claimed that agricultural production came from three forms of land tenure (see Table 4.2). The table does not tell us the acreage and who actually owns the land. The large farms are run by public corporations (state farms) like the National Agricultural and Food Corporation (NAFCO) which runs large wheat farms in the district. Other large farms are owned by private capitalist farmers or companies. Large farms are normally held under lease and land rent is payable to the government. What is known as peasant farms here refers to the area in the villages. A few small capitalist farmers can be found in the villages together with rich, middle and poor peasants. Commercial farms here refer to village government farms which extract labour from the peasants. Sometimes part of the produce from the communal farms is shared among the villagers and the other part, or sometimes the whole of it, is sold and the money is kept in the village government fund.

Table 4.2 Agricultural Production in Hanang District 1980/81

Crop	Large farms	Peasant farms	Communal farms
Maize	3,915	95,885	1,281
Millet	994	17,858	16
Beans (Food)	504	7,864	199
Beans (Seed)	1,548	-	-
Wheat and barley	2,925	368	82
Bananas	-	3,373	-
Coffee	204	571	-
Pyrethrum	20	-	4
Oil-seeds	-	638	-
Total	10,110	126,557	1,582

Source: Reports in the District Agricultural Development Office, Babati, August 1982

Except for wheat, beans (seed) and pyrethrum, the larger part of agricultural production came from what the officials called "peasant farms". More is produced in large farms than is produced

in communal farms. Hired labour was an important factor in agricultural production in the district, thus paving the way to the development of agrarian capitalism as will be shown in the case of Orngadida.

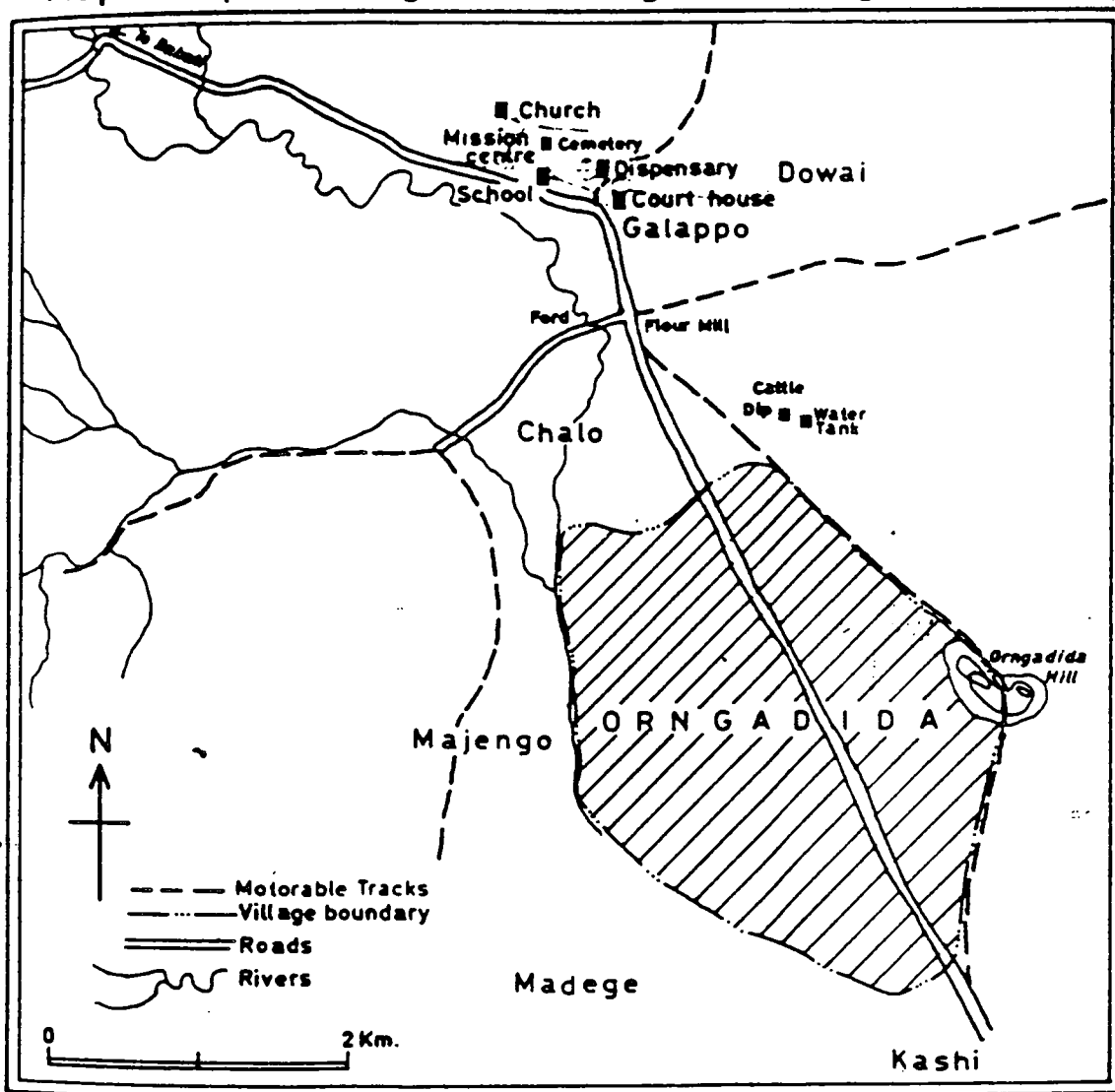
The growth of the population in the region has led to growing land shortage. At present the average farm size per family varies from one district to another. In Hanang it was 2.9 hectares while in Mbulu it was 3.5 hectares and in Arumeru 0.8 hectare. Other studies in the region reveal that there has been an outmigration process from Arumeru to Monduli and Hanang. The whole region is expecting land shortage. The process of looking for agricultural land is an on-going feature in Arusha and has made people from different ethnic groups come together, as is the case in Galapo Ward where we have peasants of the Gorowa, Arusha, Rangi, Iraqw and Barabaig origins.

4.4 Orngadida Village

Orngadida is one of the nine villages lying on the eastern slopes of Mount Ufiome and descending gently into the lowlands in the Rift Valley. In a few places we have small hills which make some areas look fairly flat as the gentle descent is interrupted by the hills. Orngadida is one such place and derives its name from a hill of the same name. To the west of this hill the land is fairly flat while on the eastern side the land slopes gradually into the lowland plains (mbuga). The flat terrain was very fertile and formed the larger part of Orngadida where the majority of people lived and practised agriculture. The eastern slope was not so fertile but provided good grazing land for cattle.

The settlements on the flat terrain were planned, and houses were built in a street-like fashion. Each household was allocated with one acre of land where family houses were built. Besides this, each household had four acres in what was known as the farming area. The eastern part of the village was not so well planned. Houses were far apart, providing a small grazing land and some area for cultivation. People with large herds of cattle moved further east into the grazing land which was shared by all

Map3. Map of Orngadida Village - Hanang District.



pastoralists in this ward. But this common grazing land was slowly being invaded by agriculturalists and the pastoralists were being forced to go far away in search of grass. Further east, the land had been leased by the government to capitalist farmers who recruited labour from the villages. Some rich peasants had also acquired land in this area through the ward secretary. Unless proper administration of this land was adopted conflicts were bound to happen among the rich peasants and farmers, and yet create major conflicts between the agriculturalists and pastoralists.

The population of Orngadida was composed of peasants from different ethnic groups of which the main ones were the Gorowa, Rangi and Iraqw. Orngadida had a fairly young population with 1,254 out of 2,243 under 17 years (see Table 4.3). This meant the need for more land would grow. This would first lead to further encroach-

Table 4.3 Population of Orngadida Village, October 1981

	Male	Female	Total
Adults	487	502	989
Able bodied	381	392	773
Lessabled	37	29	66
Old	58	62	120
Disabled	11	19	30
Children	631	623	1,254
Total (adults & children)	1,118	1,125	2,243

Source: Village records, October 1981

ment on the grazing land unless they instituted regulations to preserve it. About 80 % of the adult population represented the active work force in the village while the rest needed material support from their relatives.

The main occupations were cultivation and cattle keeping. The agriculturalists grew maize, beans, millet and pigeon beans. All

these crops were for food and cash. The major problem that arose from this was that some peasants were tempted to sell most of their produce, and remain with little for consumption. The situation became worse if there was drought, since there was no reserve to fall back on. The rich peasants who kept their grain during this time sold it at exorbitant prices, forcing the poor peasants who bought from them to sell their livestock, if they had, or get into heavy debts. A similar situation had been observed in other areas too (See Sumra, 1976). As a counter measure, the peasants had been advised by government leaders to grow other food crops which were not for sale in this area, such as cassava and sweet potatoes.

The pastoralists differed in the way they kept cattle, depending on the size of the herd. Those with less than ten cows grazed them in the small pastures near their compounds. These sometimes got into the farms and destroyed crops, and to guard against this someone had to accompany them. This was mainly the job of boys of school-going age. Sometimes women and the elderly did the grazing as this did not involve going away into dangerous zones. These animals did not get enough grass until after harvest when they grazed in the farms.

Production in the village was done on an individual basis except for a 70 acre communal farm which was run by the village government. No effort had been taken to organize livestock development on a communal basis although the population of livestock was high (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Population of Livestock in Orngadida

Cattle	1,151
Goats	1,239
Sheep	263
Donkeys	32
Dogs	190
Pigs	28
Total	2,903

Source: Village records, October 1981

The farm implements were also privately owned. In October 1981 there were 64 ox-ploughs, 6 tractors and one planter. The village peasants hired tractors and ox-ploughs from individuals. The hand hoe was only used by the poor and for weeding. Other forms of private property included 4 lorries, and a flour mill. There were a few rich peasants who owned beer (pombe) shops and retail business in the shopping centre in Galapo village as well as houses to rent in Babati town.

The social structure of the village was analyzed on the basis of the ownership of the means of production and the manner of hiring labour. It was observed that one with ten acres of land would hire labour, and also one with ten head of cattle would do the same since he also had five acres of land. But someone with five cattle and five acres of land would merely depend on family labour. Those with less would hire out their labour to the rich peasants. Table 4.5 gives a picture of social differentiation based on ownership of property.

Table 4.5 Social Differentiation and Ownership of Property in Orngadida, 1982

	Land (in acres)	Cattle	Ox- plough	Tractor	Shop/ Busi- ness*	Estimated no. of households
Rich peasants	10+	10	2	1	1	50
Middle peasants	5	5	1	-	1	250
Poor peasants	1-3	0-3	-	-	-	150

Note * Under this heading we exclude petty trade such as selling snuff, ripe bananas and sugar canes in the village market. This was mainly done by poor peasant women and what they got out of these sales hardly sufficed their subsistence needs. Many peasants saw that they could become rich by engaging in business. This had stimulated widespread racketeering in the village and district.

A class analysis of the area looked at the labour process in the village and outside the village where the following classes were identified:

1. Capitalist farmers and rich peasants who hired the labour of the poor and modern tools of production such as tractors and sometimes planters. Capitalist farmers mainly came from outside the village and as far as Arusha and Moshi. They farmed in the common grazing land and got labour from the village. Capitalist farmers did not make use of their family labour while the rich peasants did. The rich peasants had their land in the village.
2. Middle peasants who depended mainly on family labour for various economic activities in the household. They sometimes hired tractors and ox-ploughs.
3. Poor peasants and agricultural workers who sold their labour to the capitalist farmers and rich peasants. The agricultural workers came seasonally from outside the village.

In this village the poor peasants formed a relatively small group because of the distribution of land in 1974 which gave land to the poor. Since then, their number had been increasing as they sold their land to the rich peasants. Unless the relations of production were reversed they would in future outnumber the rich and middle peasants.

All these classes were opposed to the national marketing institutions because of the latter's monopoly and control over prices, and the tendency to delay payments. The peasants, as a result, sold their crops through the black market where they fetched higher prices and got paid on the spot. Peasants in this village were also opposed to the Cooperative and Rural Development Bank (formerly Tanzania Rural Development Bank) because of the interest the bank charged on its loans, and lack of enough information when loans were contracted. Between 1978 and 1981, the Bank had given a loan of Sh. 112,410/= to the village in the form of seeds and insecticides. These were distributed to individual peasants according to needs. By August 1st, 1981 the peasants had paid through the village government a total of Sh. 32,673/75 and there was a balance of Sh. 85,653/85 to be paid. The delay in

payments meant that peasants would pay more as the Bank charged interest at the rate of 8.5 % (TRDB, 1981). The Bank was not prepared to give further loans to the peasants, and the peasants, particularly the rich, were not prepared to pay back the loan. Instead they wanted the village government, the guarantor of the loan, to do it from the village funds. However, the village had contracted another loan with RIDEP for a flour mill. The mill operated for two months and broke down. Spare parts were not available. It was sent to Arusha to be repaired by the RIDEP technicians. Villagers had begun to complain about the new type of machine, saying that it would have been better had they looked for one themselves.

In spite of this, the village had a number of social services such as piped water, dispensary (serving the whole ward) and a primary school. They had a village shop and a cattle market which earned them some money for the village fund.

CHAPTER FIVE - ADULT EDUCATION AT ORNGADIDA VILLAGE

5.1 Relationship between School Education and Adult Education

The provision and level of school education in the villages has a great impact on the practice of adult education. In many cases adult education is directed to peasants and workers who never went to school so that they may "catch up" to a certain extent in knowledge, skills and values which are demanded by the social system. Adult education begins with literacy and efforts are made to structure it more or less like the school system. There is a three tier system, namely:

- (i) Functional Literacy (Stages I-IV);
- (ii) Self-Development (Stages V-VII); and
- (iii) Attendance at the Folk Development Colleges.

This kind of association can create a number of problems in adult education as peasants begin to reflect on the school system and how it has helped those who managed to stay in it for a long time. Education is then linked with off-farm employment. When the adult learner sees that adult education will not be able to provide him or her with some real changes in life she/he stays away. However, the planners do not always consider the way peasants and workers look at the school system and the way it may affect participation in adult education.

School education in the villages cannot clearly be understood by indentifying the activities of one school with a village. A school in a village may draw pupils from a number of villages although the children close to the school have a better chance of registration. The situation is made more complex by changes in village settlements which have been a continuous feature of rural development in Tanzania. The number of schools in a ward or district may therefore give a better picture of the opportunity of schooling for children in the villages even though they might not have identical school-age populations.

5.2 School Education in the Area

Before the Second World War it was difficult to say exactly what levels of education were achieved since many mission schools had not reached the official standardised form of schooling (Tanganyika, 1925:18-19).

The earliest activities in western education in this area were carried out by the Pallottine Missionaries. The Gorowa resisted Christianity as they realized that it would interfere with their culture. The missionaries decided to go for other people in the area, particularly the Rangi. Since most of them had taken up Islam, it was not easy for Christianity to spread in Galapo Ward. There were only a few Christian converts. The missionaries established a Bush School where the Christian and some other peasants sent their children for education.

The majority of the Gorowa and particularly the ruling clan did not accept Christianity nor send their children to the mission school. The ruling clan was looking for ways of containing the situation after the arrival of the colonial officers in the area. Oral traditions maintain that Chief Sige bin Uo had taken up Islam as he found most of the Moslems fluent in Swahili which was necessary for communication with colonial officials. Chief Sige learned Swahili from the Moslem teachers, but before he could speak it fluently he used one of them as an interpreter. The interpreter betrayed the chief to the colonial officials who later dismissed him. His position was taken up by his brother Dodo Uo. This incident angered the ruling clan who then realized that they would face a number of problems if their own people could not communicate with the colonial officials. There was need on their part to learn Swahili and send their children to school. They sent their children to the native authority or government school in Mbulu. For example the son of Chief Dodo, Amri, was sent to school in Mbulu and then Old Moshi. The colonial government supported this idea. In the late 1920s, another government school was built at Babati. Children of rich peasants from Gorowa and Mbugwe divisions attended this school.

Between 1930s and 1950s people with primary education were employed in large numbers as messengers, clerks and foremen in the government sponsored campaigns against tsetse fly in Gorowa. Other school leavers worked with the chief as tax-collectors or messengers and in this way they enjoyed some of the privileges accorded to the chief.

The peasants of Rangi origin could have challenged the authority of the Gorowa in Galapo through the school system but two problems stood in their way. The first was that most of them were poor when they migrated to Galapo and lacked the necessary resources to send their children to the native authority or government schools. They sent their children instead to the mission school at Galapo which was only elevated to the level of government assisted primary school in 1949. The second problem was that the Gorowa ruling clan maintained good relations with the colonial government. Between 1925 and 1933 their chief, Dodo Uo, became the ruler of both the Gorowa and Mbugwe chiefdoms when the young prospective chief of Mbugwe was schooling at Mbulu and Old Moshi. The Gorowa consolidated their traditions and culture in their homeland and were content with this position. There was no evidence to suggest that the ruling clan of the Gorowa used education to achieve other goals.

The figures for school education in Mbulu District (the present Mbulu and Hanang districts) do not show the percentage of children in school or the number of school-age population until 1956. Before this date one can only compare the number of pupils and schools in the district with those in other districts in the then Northern Province to illustrate the small number involved. In 1947 for example Mbulu District had only seven primary schools with 568 pupils while Moshi District had 72 primary schools with 14,259 pupils. In 1952 Mbulu District had 21 primary schools when Moshi had 108 schools. In 1956 it was estimated that the percentage of pupils of school age attending school was as follows: Moshi District 83 %, Arusha District 37 %, Mbulu District 34 % and Masai District 15.5 % (see Kweka, 1986:232-236).

The desire for school education in Mbulu District was low. This could be explained by the kind of economy and the economic activities they practiced. The pastoralists in this area had a fairly strong economy and education was not seen as something that would add to their material well being. The pastoralists needed the labour of their children for grazing as this contributed to the accumulation of wealth.

After independence in 1961 the new government tried to expand secondary and technical education in order to satisfy the higher level manpower needs of the country. However, in many parts of the country local education authorities were eager to expand and extend primary education despite government efforts to control expansion. Such demands for expansion of primary education did not take place in Mbulu District (Morrison, 1976:129). The government even failed to enforce its own regulation on the payment of school fees in the district.

New schools were only opened in the 1970s in response to government efforts to have schools in every village. In Orngadida, for example, children had access to only one mission primary school at Galapo which had been raised to the level of government assisted school (Stds I-IV) in 1949. In 1966 it was extended to Std VII. Other schools in the ward which could enroll children from Orngadida were only established in the 1970s and these were: Qash (1970), Tsamasi (1974), Ayamango (1975), Majengo (1977), Gedmar (1977), and Orngadida (1978). The expansion of primary education had not, however, been able to accommodate every child of school age in the village due to lack of space and poor attendance.

In 1982 it was estimated that there were 590 children between seven and fourteen years of age. Out of these, 324 were registered at Orngadida Primary School, Stds I-V, and 87 children were registered in Stds VI and VII at Galapo and Qash. The total number of children in school was 411 which was 69.8 % of the children of school age. The school authorities had proposed to start another class so that they could achieve universal primary

education but this was constrained by lack of teachers. This meant that unless the village school was expanded, some 30 % of their children would not get access to school.

The second problem in achieving universal primary education was poor attendance. In 1981, for example, school attendance at Orngadida was 73.5 % according to the school attendance registers. The main reasons for non-attendance were truancy, children visiting distant relatives and working in the farms during weeding and harvesting seasons. Pregnancies and early marriages also led to drop-outs of seven girls in 1981.

The number of adults in the village who had received primary education was fairly small compared to the total adult population (see Table 5.1). Out of 1,015 villagers above the age of fourteen, 692 or 68.1 % did not get primary education.

Table 5.1 Number of Adults with their Level of Primary Education at Orngadida, 1982

Level	No. of adults	As % of adult population
Std I	6	0.60
Std II	14	1.38
Std III	6	0.60
Std IV	125	12.32
Std V	3	0.30
Std VI	6	0.60
Std VII	159	15.67
Std VIII	4	0.40
Total with school education	323	31.87
Without school education	692	68.13
Grand Total	1,015	100.0

Source: Village Census, 1982

About half of those who received primary education, or 15.7 % of the adults had reached Std VII, which was a terminal class since 1966 and this consisted of a fairly young group of the adult population of between 14 and 35 years of age. The old group of the population finished at Std IV but this group was fairly small, less than 12 % of the adults in the village. Most of those adults were between 35 and 47 years old. The number of drop-outs, that is those who did not reach the terminal class, was 35 % or 10.8 % of those who entered primary schools.

On the other hand there were 368 adults in the village who were illiterate at level "0". A comparison of this group and the 163 adults who had completed Std VII or VIII gives us a better picture of the pattern of allocation of education (see Tables 5.2-5.4). However, one should be cautious about these figures

Table 5.2 Education of Adults by Sex in Orngadida Village 1982 (Percentage)

	Men (N=498)	Women (N=517)	Total (N=1,015)
Full primary Education	19.5	12.8	17.1
Intermediate	48.6	46.8	47.6
Illiterate	31.9	40.4	36.3

Table 5.3 Education of Adults by Sex and Social Differentiation in Orngadida Village, 1982 (Percentage)

	Men			Women		
	Rich N=55	Middle N=287	Poor N=187	Rich N=59	Middle N=280	Poor N=178
Full primary Education	23.6	18.5	19.9	8.5	12.9	14.0
Intermediate	50.9	54.4	37.2	52.5	51.1	38.2
Illiterate	25.5	27.2	42.9	39.0	36.1	47.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Totals do not always add up to 100 because of rounding off.

Table 5.4 Education of Adults by Religion, Sex and Social Differentiation in Orngadida Village, 1982 (Percentage)

	Christians						Moslems						Indigenous					
	Men			Women			Men			Women			Men			Women		
	Rich (15)	Middle (52)	Poor (44)	Rich (14)	Middle (49)	Poor (43)	Rich (28)	Middle (147)	Poor (50)	Rich (30)	Middle (147)	Poor (63)	Rich (12)	Middle (88)	Poor (62)	Rich (15)	Middle (87)	Poor (72)
Full Primary Education	46.7	51.9	47.7	28.6	42.9	41.9	14.3	10.9	12.0	3.3	7.6	6.3	16.7	11.4	6.5	0.0	4.6	4.2
Intermediate	40.0	26.9	25.0	50.0	30.6	23.3	60.7	68.7	50.0	60.0	66.7	47.2	41.7	46.6	35.5	40.0	36.8	58.3
Illiterate	13.3	21.2	27.3	21.4	26.5	34.9	25.0	20.4	38.0	36.7	25.7	44.4	41.7	42.0	58.1	60.0	58.6	37.5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Totals do not always add up to 100 because of rounding off.

because of the migratory nature of the rural communities in some of these areas. These figures refer only to those who were found in the village.

As regards sex (Table 5.2), about one out of five men (19.5 %) had received full primary education, while one out of seven women (12.8 %) had full primary education. On the other hand, about one out of three men (31.9 %) was illiterate, while two out of five women (40.4 %) were illiterate. This means that a higher percentage of women than of men lagged behind in education.

In connection with sex and social differentiation (Table 5.3), 23.6 % of the rich men had full primary education compared to 18.5 % of middle men and 19.9 % of poor men. But the percentage of rich women with full primary education (8.5 %) was lower than those of middle and poor women. There was need to look at other variables (Table 5.4) to see which groups, among the rich women, were adversely affected in the provision of education. The poor men and women (Table 5.3) had a lower percentage than any of the other two social groups at the intermediate level but had the highest percentages, 42.9 % and 47.8 % respectively, at the illiterate level.

Of the three social groups, Christian men with full primary education formed the highest percentage (Table 5.4). This category was followed by Christian women. Religion was such an important factor that even the Christian poor men and women had each over 41 % of their members with full primary education. The Moslem men and women were clustered at the intermediate level while the Indigenous men and women were mainly found at the illiterate level.

The decision to send a child to school depended also on the perception of the head of the household about the benefits he would derive from schooling. The rich peasants depended on land and cattle. In a good year a rich peasant could harvest up to 150 bags of maize from a ten acre farm. If he sold this maize to the National Milling Corporation in 1981 at Sh. 175/= per bag he

would fetch Sh. 26,250/=, and if he sold this in the black market at Sh. 400/= per bag, this would give him Sh. 60,000/=. He would also have other crops like beans, peas and millet which he could sell. Since the rich peasants also kept cattle their income was very high particularly with the rise in prices of cattle. A peasant with 30 head of cattle could sell ten cows in a year and at Sh. 3,000/= per cow he would fetch Sh. 30,000/= in 1981. This wealth was very tempting when making decisions on utilization of human resources. Employment outside these economic activities would not be so rewarding. The salaried civil servants at the district or regional headquarters were getting much less per year. Therefore in terms of material wealth the rich peasants saw that they were better off than the educated salaried workers. Sending children to school would not change their economic position except when their existing economic resources had been exhausted.

The peasants had examples of families which had sent their children to school without any resulting change on their economic position. One case which was often given by peasants in Orngadida was that of one middle peasant who had two sons and three daughters who had finished primary education. They were looking for wage employment outside agriculture without success. In 1982 one of the sons and his sister were teaching literacy classes as volunteer teachers. Another daughter was working as the adult education reading room attendant at the ward office. One other daughter was working as a religious instructor in primary schools in the ward. No one had been able to secure employment according to their expectations. The solution by the peasants was to buy them cattle to graze.

However, their perception of school education could be altered by changes in their social and political conditions as a result of new organization of economic institutions such as in communal production and marketing where they would require more trained personnel. It was observed in the neighbouring village of Galapo that those villagers who were involved in commercial activities or had salaried posts had a different perception of school educa-

tion. Some of them had sent their children to private secondary schools. The success of their children in education and acquisition of privileged positions would eventually influence the thinking of the peasants in the area.

5.3 Adult Education Programmes in the Village

Different forms of adult education were organized in this village for various purposes by a number of institutions.

5.3.1 Missionaries

The earliest activities in western adult education were carried out by the missionaries at Galapo since 1907. As noted earlier, the Gorowa resisted Christianity and at the same time Islam had spread in Galapo from Kondoa District. However, a few individuals mainly from the poor peasants and the new settlers (Rangi) joined Christianity.

The missionaries trained a few catechists and school teachers who worked at Galapo. They also trained masons, carpenters and gardeners who were employed at the mission station. The missionary activities did not expand much. Since 1907 they only managed a primary school, church and a mission farm which was operated by hired labour. Unfortunately they did not run a hospital, and the dispensary that operated in the area was built by the native authority in the 1960s. In 1981 the Christians built a small church at Orngadida but until 1982 it had not been used.

Despite these setbacks, the mission station raised a small Christian community which seemed to be observing their religion keenly judging from attendance on Sunday services and Wednesday Bible Study sessions. For example, although Orngadida had only 200 Christian adults out of 1,015 adults in 1982, literacy classes were cancelled on Wednesdays to give chance to the few Christian participants to attend Bible Study sessions at Galapo. Although no effort was made to study the content of the Bible study sessions, there was no evidence to suggest that the church supported the Party and government policy on socialist transformation.

5.3.2 Veterinary Department

Government sponsored programmes of adult education were slow in reaching Orngadida. The village elders, however, recalled visits made by the colonial officers (Bwana Shauri) to Galapo to advise the peasants to clear the bush as a measure against tsetse fly in the 1930s and urging people to dip their cattle. Peasants were shown films on cattle dipping and these were supplemented by visits of veterinary field assistants who supervised the actual dipping.

At the beginning the peasants were reluctant to dip their cattle. After some time, they realized that dipping increased their stock and they could have more cattle to sell in the cattle markets which had been established in their district. Later on the government officials came with destocking orders, but the peasants were reluctant to dispose of their cattle beyond a certain minimum. Better animal husbandry through destocking and culling were common lessons in the village. In the 1970s the Veterinary Department established a Dairy Multiplication Centre at Galapo to show the cattle owners that with only a few cattle they would be able to get much more milk than with the many cattle they had.

According to the Ward Livestock Development Officer, people in the village did not adopt the new methods of livestock management as "they were fond of having more animals although they got very little milk from them". There was only one farmer, a capitalist farmer of Somali origin at Galapo who kept dairy cattle. But when the peasants were asked about managing dairy cattle, they said it was impossible for them to manage the crossbred cattle in their local environment. They needed more land, citing the example of the demonstration farm of about 100 acres with only 40 cattle. The farm was fenced, with tap water and good pasture. The peasants asked "Where will one get such facilities in Orngadida? If we get more water even our indigenous cattle will give us milk." Similar problems with crossbred cattle were identified in Usangi-Pare (Mshana, 1977:181).

The peasants were used to keeping beef cattle and there was a flourishing market for them. Keeping dairy cattle would require a different market with a well established infrastructure for handling milk. It was observed that the demonstration farm sold its milk to civil servants in Galapo and the rest was taken to Babati town. The capitalist farmer sold his milk to one hotel in Galapo. The rich and middle peasant did not normally buy milk as they had enough for home consumption from their cattle which gave them, on the average, two litres of milk daily except during the dry season.

The peasants were interested in one aspect of livestock extension service, namely disease control measures. According to the extension officer, the peasants came to see him when their animals fell sick. They were good in describing animal diseases and what they wanted from him was the name of the drug to cure the disease and to be supplied with drug if in stock. The common animal diseases in the area were nagana, east coast fever, rinderpest, anthrax, coccidiocis, liver flukes, foot and mouth disease, black quarter and septicaemia. In most cases the peasants bought drugs from NAPCO, but during the research the peasants complained that NAPCO was not supplying them with drugs. They had to pay exorbitant prices instead for drugs in the black market.

As regards Ujamaa livestock management the cattle owners said that it could not work as it had been tried in a neighbouring village (Qash) and failed. The cause of the failure, as put by the cattle owners, was poor management as people failed to fulfil the communal labour obligations. But the extension officer observed that the cattle owners had not contributed healthy cattle, and as a result many of them died.

5.3.3 Community Development Division

Attempts to reach the peasants in Orngadida as well as other parts of the then Mbulu District had failed during the colonial period (Kweka, 1986:251-252). The Community Development programmes began to attract the local people in the 1960s with the success of the literacy campaigns in the neighbouring Singida

District (Mason, 1962) where the local leaders gave much support to the programme.

In Galapo, as well as in the whole of the then Mbulu District, community development programmes were supported by TANU. Some of those who conducted community development work in the 1960s were holding various political posts in 1982. For example, the member of parliament in 1982 in Hanang District was the District Community Officer in the 1960s; the Gorowa Divisional Secretary was a community development assistant; and the Orngadida Village Chairman in 1982 was a literacy teacher in the village in the 1960s. The programme concentrated on literacy, health care, housekeeping, construction of modern houses and village roads. Although no figures were available on the amount of work carried out, these activities brought some changes in the villages, particularly in the construction of modern houses. The old practice of constructing houses underground was abandoned.

The main purpose of the community development division in Mbulu District was, according to these leaders, to modernize the countryside so that it looked like other developed parts of Tanzania. The people were required to use their wealth for improving their living conditions. Modernization, which was a major aspect for community development work, was one of the strategies for capitalist penetration of the pre-capitalist social formation. The peasants and workers were introduced to bourgeois values and new markets for international capital. However, some elements of modernization, centred on improving living conditions, sharpened the class contradictions and intensified the demands for higher wages, better prices and more social services.

Community development began to decline when it was merged with the marketing cooperatives. The community development staff began to organize programmes for teaching cooperative education to peasants. In 1970, adult education was transferred to the Ministry of National Education and the community development personnel were given a new department of "Ujamaa" and Cooperatives. They were required to give technical advice on village

communal activities together with supervising and auditing village cooperative shops. According to the Hanang District Long-Term Development Strategy (Hanang, 1980), the Department of "Ujamaa" and Cooperatives listed its functions as follows:

- (i) To teach village personnel various skills like village leadership, bookkeeping and commerce;
- (ii) To help villages establish commercial activities, small industries and how to secure loans;
- (iii) To cooperate with other departments in the villages in implementing village projects;
- (iv) To help the villagers in raising their living conditions through building better houses, teaching of domestic science etc.

At Orngadida, the district Ujamaa and Cooperatives personnel audited the village shop and the crop marketing accounts but the reports were not available in the village. The Cooperatives personnel complained that they were overburdened by auditing the village books which were not properly written. The department had, however, trained village bookkeepers for five weeks. The Orngadida village bookkeeper, however, said that he had not received enough training to enable him to prepare a statement of accounts. These duties were therefore performed by the Ujamaa and Cooperatives personnel.

The activities of the Ujamaa and Cooperatives department had shrunk into auditing alone. The auditing and keeping records of village property without a formal contract with the villagers raises serious questions on the ownership of this property, and can easily lead to misappropriation of village funds. The owners of the property should have certain powers to control those who work for them including the auditors.

In 1982 the Ujamaa and Cooperatives department was reorganized. The term "Ujamaa" was dropped in favour of Community Development

and this was seen as a revival of the former concept of community development after studying the aims and objectives of the new department (see Kweka, 1986:256).

These observations lead to the conclusion that Community Development as a government department had the role of ensuring that the peasants followed what the government had decided was appropriate. Under such a situation it was difficult to have a permanent programme originating from the people for developing their skills and values.

5.3.4 Agricultural Extension Service

This was a more direct form of adult education with emphasis on increased productivity of cash crops. Agricultural extension service was begun in the village in the 1960s when maize and beans began to be grown on a large scale in Galapo Ward. These services by the Ministry of Agriculture were supplemented by those of the Tanganyika Seed Company (then a subsidiary of the Commonwealth Development Corporation which was later nationalized in 1973 and became the Tanzania Seed Company); Tanzania Navy Bean Company; Manyara Seed Company; and Pop Vriend (T) Company. The private companies were engaged in seed marketing, and as such they were not interested in peasant production for food. They looked for rich peasants or capitalist farmers who had large tracts of land above 50 acres, and who could follow the agricultural instructions given by their extension staff. These producers would be contracted to sell them good seed.

The extension service by the private firms was given to their clients who had acquired loans for the purchase of tractors, seed, fertilizer and money for hiring labourers. The farmers followed the instructions of the extension staff knowing that if they did not produce standard seed the company would not buy their produce. This programme attracted the rich peasants in the ward and more enterprising Somali, Chagga and the Arusha. With these new incentives in commercial agriculture, land which was formerly used for grazing was grabbed by the agriculturalists. People with big herds of cattle were pushed to the lowland plains (mbuga).

The settlement operations of 1974 took land from the capitalist farmers and part of the land from the rich peasants which was then distributed to the middle and poor peasants on a more or less equal basis. The capitalist farmers with some rich peasants moved to the "mbuga" where there was no village which could establish legal claims. Villagization changed the agricultural extension service. The extension officers were required to help the villages in establishing communal and demonstration farms. But since land had been distributed to individual peasants in Orngadida since 1974 with only 100 acres of communal farm, more attention was paid to the individual farms. These services were not equally shared, however, among rich and poor villagers.

According to the District Agricultural Development Officer, many villagers in Orngadida were following instructions given by the extension staff and their farms were well taken care of. A comparative observation of farms in this village and many other villages in the country supported this view. However, a closer look at the extension service in Orngadida showed that the rich peasants had better farms than the poor peasants because of proper ploughing and weeding.

The main functions of the ward extension officer, according to him, was to help in the setting of crop production targets and seeing that this was achieved through increase of acreage and improved methods of farming such as proper ploughing, use of better seeds, proper spacing and weeding. He looked for individuals who would like their farms to be used as demonstration farms. These farms were ensured better seeds and insecticides which were sometimes in short supply. There were two demonstration farms in the village in 1982. One belonged to a rich peasant and the other to a middle peasant. This approach is sometimes referred to as "betting on the strong" strategy (van Velsen, 1973:174).

According to the extension officer, poor peasants failed to follow instructions, not because they did not know the farming methods, but due to economic and financial constraints. To get a

good harvest the rich peasant ploughed his farm twice before planting, bought better seeds from TANSEED and he weeded early. The question of fertilizer did not arise as the Orngadida soil was still fertile and the use of fertilizers did not affect the yield.

The extension officer advised rich peasants on which insecticides they should use such as DDT, Dieldrin, Theodine Melathione and Endosulphur. These products were manufactured by Twiga Chemical Industries (T) Ltd, and the rich peasants bought them from chemists in Arusha or their agents in Babati. The poor peasants could not easily get these insecticides, and sometimes when they got them it was already late for application. The system of getting loans for the purchase of seeds and insecticides had been discontinued by the Cooperative and Rural Development Bank due to the failure of many rich peasants to repay their loans.

In sum, agricultural extension service goes to individuals, mainly middle and rich peasants. The problem with the poor peasants was that they were not given this education. More important, they faced economic and financial constraints which blocked their ability to put such education to practice.

5.3.5 Ministry of National Education

When primary schools became centres of adult education in 1970, Orngadida was served by Galapo Primary School as there was no school in that village until 1977. Unfortunately, descriptive data on adult education classes before 1980 were not found in the schools nor at the ward office. At the divisional office data was compiled according to wards and reports from headteachers had been misplaced or lost. The school log books, however, provided a rough picture of what took place in the villages.

The log books revealed that adult education classes were irregular although leaders urged villagers to revive them. Payment of honoraria to volunteer teachers was also irregular. Leaders visited villages during national literacy examinations and national campaigns on health and agriculture. Sometimes seminars

were held for adult education teachers, and in some villages vocational adult education classes had been started.

This information was confirmed by the following account which is based on discussions held with school teachers, village leaders and adult education students.

In Orngadida, adult education under the Ministry of Education was begun in 1971. One literacy class was organized by a teacher from Galapo Primary School. It was reported that attendance was very encouraging at the beginning but later on declined, and eventually the class failed to meet. One of the causes of the failure was the school teacher who felt that he could not continue with the adult education classes on top of the normal school work. Efforts to get a volunteer teacher were without avail.

Revival of adult education classes came with the national campaign on "Mtu ni Afya" (Man is Health) between May and July 1973. The main purpose of the campaign was to educate the peasants on how to prevent common diseases. School teachers with other government workers were deployed in the study groups which had been started for the purpose. Two such groups were started in the village but no attendance figures were available. The "Mtu ni Afya" campaign made people forget the literacy classes which had already ceased.

In 1974 there were new efforts to revive literacy classes but these were again interrupted by the settlement operations which began in August 1974. Things did not settle down until the end of the first half of 1975. Another national campaign on "Chakula ni Uhai" (Food is Life) was organized in the same year with the purpose of educating peasants on the need for better food. This campaign was not very successful, according to some adult students, as it fell in the month of Ramadhan when the Moslems were fasting. Another group of adult students said the campaign did not succeed since the peasants thought that they would be taught to eat what they did not produce. The ward officials urged peasants to join the classes but the response was negative.

At the national level this campaign had been very successful with 2.3 million participants (Kassam, 1978:55) but in Orngadida most peasants did not see why they should participate. In the following year another national campaign on "Kilimo cha Kufa na Kupona" (Agriculture as a Matter of Life and Death) was organized to urge people to cultivate more food crops. This campaign was regarded as one aspect of adult education and literacy classes were cancelled during the farming season. According to the Ward Secretary the campaign was well received in the area as people were used to producing enough food and other produce for sale.

Towards the end of 1976, literacy classes were started after recruiting volunteer teachers who had attended a seminar on how to teach adults. In the following year more peasants were enrolled and prepared for the national literacy examinations. It was estimated that 150 adults were enrolled and many of them attempted the national literacy examination. All these activities were organized from Galapo Primary School because of the lack of a primary school in the village. After the national literacy examinations classes did not meet until 1980 when Orngadida Primary School began to organize adult education activities. They nominated volunteer teachers who were given a seminar on methods of teaching adults. A campaign on wiping out illiteracy was conducted and many adults were enrolled as a result (see Table 5.5).

The attendance figures were very encouraging with sometimes 44 % of the village adults in class. However, in October 1980 and March 1981 attendance declined to 16.0 % and 20.6 % respectively. This was in no way related to the farming season and the figures were comparatively very high during the same period of other years. It was later discovered that many volunteer teachers did not submit monthly reports as they had not been paid honoraria for some months.

The manner through which enrolment figures were compiled threw some light on the problem of maintaining correct records. Adults did not turn out to be enrolled but were followed in their homes and a census was taken of all those who could not read and

Table 5.5 Adult Education Attendance in Orngadida, 1980 and 1981

Year	Month	Male	Female	Total	As % of adult population
1980	February	157	182	339	33.4
	March	187	248	435	42.9
	April	188	249	437	43.1
	October	52	110	162	16.0
1981	March	99	119	209	20.6
	August	176	267	443	43.6
	October	191	261	452	44.5

Source: Monthly Returns from Volunteer Teachers, Orngadida, 1982

Note: There were no attendance figures for the other months.

write. Their names were entered in a roll and distributed to classes nearest to their homes (Elimu Arusha, 1981:12). A volunteer teacher was assigned one class and it was his duty, in co-operation with the ten cell leaders, to ensure that the illiterates attended classes. In such a situation there was a tendency to exaggerate the figures, for the ten cell leaders would not like to be blamed for not having urged his people to join classes, while the volunteer teachers knew that they would miss their monthly honoraria if they did not report that they had classes.

The second school teacher who was in charge of the adult education classes in the village was not in a position to check the figures. He needed a bicycle and some time off from his normal school duties to visit these classes which were supposed to meet between 2.00 p.m and 3.00 p.m. The time for classes had been chosen as many of the villagers would be at home after lunch and would not go back to work until around 4.00 p.m. The headteacher had to depend on the reports submitted by the volunteer teachers.

When the researcher visited the 18 registered classes to take part in learning and teaching, he found a wide discrepancy between the enrolment figures and attendance (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Adult Education Enrolment and Attendance in Orngadida, January and February 1982

Class no.	Enrolment			Observed Attendance		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1	8	13	21	2	5	7
2	9	16	25	4	7	11
3	10	20	30	0	6	6
4	13	7	20	0	0	0
5	17	16	35	8	11	19
6	12	14	26	0	0	0
7	6	6	12	0	4	4
8	7	15	22	0	0	0
9	12	14	26	3	5	8
10	15	29	44	7	8	15
11	5	25	30	0	0	0
12	11	21	32	0	6	6
13	7	15	22	0	0	0
14	8	12	20	0	3	3
15	12	10	22	2	1	3
16	20	12	32	0	0	0
17	12	9	21	0	0	0
18	7	5	12	0	4	4
Total	191	261	452	26	60	86

Out of 452 registered adults only a total of 86 were in classes during the visits. Seven classes out of 18 had no students, and the volunteer teachers assigned to these classes did not attend any of the seminars organized for them on a weekly basis for four months. It should also be noted from Table 5.6 that about 70 % of those who were found in class were women. Attendance in adult education classes was a serious problem which will be discussed later.

In the 1981 national literacy examination, many villagers were reported to have sat and passed various levels of performance.

When this was compared with data obtained from a village census (1982) where individuals were required to state the levels they had achieved in literacy examinations the difference was quite great (see Table 5.7).

Table 5.7 Levels of Performance in Literacy by Age, Source of Data and Sex in Orngadida in 1982

Age	Source of data ^x	Level 0*		Level I		Level II		Level III		Level IV	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
-14**	Examination	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Individual	6	10	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
15-24	Examination	-	1	6	24	4	13	2	10	5	5
	Individual	16	24	4	9	5	8	2	7	5	3
25-34	Examination	-	1	15	31	12	37	19	26	19	7
	Individual	26	52	18	25	14	21	6	8	19	10
35-44	Examination	4	4	12	36	13	14	8	12	7	10
	Individual	24	39	16	26	12	8	6	4	12	4
45-54	Examination	-	3	9	25	10	7	12	-	13	2
	Individual	40	43	12	16	7	-	5	2	7	2
55+	Examination	1	1	8	5	5	1	8	1	2	-
	Individual	47	41	7	4	3	1	3	-	4	-
Total	Examination	5	10	50	122	44	72	49	49	46	24
	Individual	159	209	58	83	41	38	22	21	47	19

Notes: * Illiteracy at Level 0 was recorded as "-Level I" in some official reports.

** These are children of school age, at the age of 13 or 14, who registered for adult education classes after failing to go to primary school.

x "Examination" means 1981 national literacy examination results. "Individual" means interviews with these individuals in a village census, 1982.

The discrepancy between the examination results figures and those as stated by individuals is very wide at Level 0, but this could be explained by the fact that most of those at Level 0 had either enrolled in literacy classes or not and did not attempt the

literacy examination. On the other hand, discrepancy at Level IV is fairly small with a difference of 2 in men and 5 in women. At Level III there was a wide difference for both sexes, with less than 50 % of those reported in the examination results agreeing that they had achieved that level. These discrepancies show that the villagers rated themselves lower than the official reports on examination results show.

Despite these discrepancies both sources of data seem to agree on the following aspects:

- (i) There were clearly more women than men at Levels 0 and I, and more men than women at Level IV;
- (ii) As one went up in age at Levels II through IV, one found more men than women in each age cohort.

These two aspects can be explained by looking at the history of these people and the relations between men and women together with the practice of adult education in the village. It had been pointed out that more men than women had access to school education, and that some of those who had gone to school but did not get a school leaving certificate attempted the national literacy examination. This swelled the number of men at Levels III and IV. The predominance of women over men at Levels 0 and I, was a clear manifestation of sex differences in the earlier provision of school education.

Some further analysis of the data by individuals in the village adult education census reveals that many people at Level 0 were fairly old, over 50 % of the men were above 45 and about 57 % of the women were above 35 (Table 5.6). There was a large number of women aged between 25 and 34 or about 25 % who never went to school and who had not made headway in literacy work. This large number for this age cohort could only be explained by trying to find out what happened to these girls who were born between 1948 and 1958 and were supposed to go to school between 1955 and 1965. These were really hectic periods when large scale capitalist agriculture was being developed in the area, and this might have affected the chances of girls for schooling.

The total number of adults at Level 0 was 368 or about 53 % of those who never went to school, that is 692 adults. It was going to be difficult to wipe out illiteracy in the village as the fairly old people at this level seemed to be reluctant to join literacy classes. From the table, literacy classes were most popular to adults between 24 and 44, a very busy group. One would have expected to have more students from the other age groups as they would be having more time at their disposal. It seemed as if work was not the issue. The decision to join adult literacy classes was made on the basis of one's perceptions of the benefits one could derive from the exercise.

To sum, the Ministry of National Education provided adult education as a substitute for school education but it had not been possible to make it a permanent programme due to various disruptions. This substitution did not appeal to many adults and as a result the leaders were looking for various ways, including sanctions and fines, to make people join adult education classes.

5.3.6 Other Institutions

Other forms of adult education at Orngadida included Political Education by the Party (which will be examined separately in another chapter), Health Education and Militia Training.

The teaching of health education was done by the medical staff at Galapo Dispensary. According to the medical assistant at the dispensary, the main purpose of health education was to enable villagers to understand the symptoms of common diseases and how to prevent them. Common diseases in the area included measles, dysentery, malaria, malnutrition, tuberculosis and venereal diseases. Health education classes were organized at the dispensary three times a week in the morning before treating the patients. All patients suffering from various diseases were assembled together on those days and listened to the medical assistant enumerating symptoms of a disease and its causes. Asked why he did not visit the villagers at their homes, the medical assistant pointed out the constraints of manpower, transport and the negative attitude of the local people towards health educa-

tion. He thought the sick were ready to listen as they felt the need for cure. But it was difficult to change their living habits through lectures on health education.

The provision of health education had been restricted to the occurrence of diseases and hence the target population was the sick people. In other words health education had been reduced to a "doctor-patient" affair. The health worker was regarded as the only person with the whole knowledge on health and the sick person was at the mercy of the health worker. This relationship was not restricted to health education alone. In fact all other programmes that were studied had the same relationship between "expert" and the peasant or worker. This was a result of the existing relations of production which subjugated the position of the peasants and workers on issues that actually affected their lives.

Health education, like any other form of education intended to liberate the people, must be carried out with the full participation of the peasants and workers who alone can create conditions for a healthy society. Health education in Tanzania is a reflection of the neo-colonial relations of production.

A new programme for militia training was introduced in the ward in 1982. Each village sent in 80 people, mostly men below the age of 45. The village leaders including ten-cell leaders, and Party branch committee members were all required to attend. There were 17 leaders from Orngadida. The 720 peasants received basic military training with political education for three months. The main purpose of the course, according to the commandant, was to prepare them for national defence. It was not difficult to show them the need for national defence as the experiences of 1978/79 War were still alive in their minds. The participants were highly motivated and this disrupted other adult education classes.

However, militia training should not be related to national defence alone. In the cattle keeping areas militia training could be used against cattle rustlers and more important, the skills

taught could be used for purposes of improving the living conditions of the people. But this could only be achieved if the villagers controlled the training and the militia, otherwise it could be used against those same villagers.

5.4 Level of Material Production and Content of Adult Education Programmes in Orngadida

The productive forces and the relations of production that had emerged at Orngadida had shaped the organization of the labour process in different ways. Peasants were moving from the use of hand hoes to ox-ploughs and tractors. Even some of the poor peasants hired ox-ploughs and tractors to cultivate their two or three acre farms. The use of better tools of production had enabled them to manage relatively large farms. The sexual division of labour was rapidly changing as poor men and women began to sell their labour power to the rich peasants and the capitalist farmers. The household organization of production was undergoing changes as the demand for labour in the large farms increased.

The rich peasants and capitalist farmers from all over the ward went around during periods of heavy farm work looking for labourers, while the poor peasants divided their time between their own farms and those of the rich. Labour in the farms was sometimes organized on a piece rate basis, particularly in those activities which did not require close supervision such as weeding. In other form of farm activity labour was organized on a time wage basis such as in planting, spraying insecticides and harvesting. According to some employers, labourers were not engaged for more than six hours since productivity tended to decline after that point. Payments differed from one employer to another, with the larger farms paying more than the small ones in order to attract more labourers. A few poor peasants looked for better pay so that they could use it to employ other poor peasants in their farms.

The yield per acre in rather dry years was six bags of maize whereas in good years the yield went up to 15 bags per acre. A few rich peasants had managed to harvest up to 20 bags per acre due to their ability to buy more inputs and ensure availability of labour in good time. This meant that with good rains their level of production was the highest in the country (see Kweka, 1986:334). Therefore the problem of agriculture in Orngadida was not of technique of production but one of ownership and organization of production.

In the field of animal husbandry, the peasants in this village did not keep very many cattle due to their involvement in agriculture. It has been mentioned above that peasants did not want to keep exotic dairy cattle because they expected problems in land tenure, and marketing milk which required a well established infrastructure to avoid perishability. The demand for milk, though high in many places in the country, had not created marketing structures that would induce peasants to shift into dairy farming. At the village, there existed room for improved small scale processing of milk into ghee, butter and cheese. The little amount of ghee that was processed by peasants was for home consumption and did not match the standard of other cooking oils in the market. There was need to look into how small industries could help the peasant process the animal products.

The level of production in animal husbandry was fairly high if one was thinking of beef cattle and the existing condition of utilization of pasture land. Improvements in rearing beef cattle could be achieved through the supply of adequate water for the animals and creation of fattening zones before they were sent to the market. But these conditions are based on the assumption that the pastoralists would own and control a well demarcated and legally established pasture which would keep the agriculturalists away.

The village lacked much specialization in industrial activities. They bought locally manufactured articles like knives, sheaths and gourds from other villages. There were only six part-time masons and one carpenter in the whole village. As a result many

of the houses were poorly constructed with burnt bricks, and well made household items like chairs and tables were missing even in houses of rich peasants. In one case the school headteacher had bought school chairs from Babati town since the local carpenters were not skilled enough to make strong chairs.

It was possible to relate these developments in the village with different forms of adult education. For example agricultural extension service by various institutions had played a significant role in the development of commercial agriculture. However, it was not possible to relate adult education programmes with the level of material production if those programmes did not originate from the people and their needs or were not planned in the field.

A look at the functional literacy programme (Elimu, 1972) illustrated this point. At Orngadida adults learned literacy through two primers on "Better Maize Growing" (Kilimo Bora cha Mahindi). Book One started by urging learners to grow maize for food and cash, and it went on to show types of good seed, where to grow and preparation of the maize farm by using ox-plough. The other part of the book dealt with how to plant and proper spacing, weeding and use of insecticides, harvesting and storing of maize. Finally the adult learner was instructed on how to spend his money: paying back the loans for fertilizer and insecticides; buying agricultural implements; buying other types of food for their consumption and animal feeds. The learner was encouraged to practise crop rotation, grow other food crops and keep oxen and donkeys to facilitate farm work.

Book Two taught about agricultural organization in an "Ujamaa" village. The setting was set in a village committee meeting where they discussed increasing the acreage of their communal farm, the agricultural inputs they would require, the need for a loan and organization of work in the communal farm to ensure proper records of work as done by each peasant, and that the distribution of the proceeds was made on the basis of work done. The deliberations were taken to the village assembly and the villa-

gers discussed various aspects of the plan. Finally the book emphasized better methods of agriculture, harvesting, storage, selling and how to use money.

The two primers on maize growing had a wide coverage of the subject (maize growing). However, in the case of Orngadida one could argue that the books did not bring new knowledge to the learners. They had seen in practice most of what they read. The situation could only be saved by teachers who were class conscious and who could discuss with the learners and relate what they had read with what really happened in their village. These discussions would serve as sources of new knowledge which was not contained in the primers. But this was not possible with the low level of class consciousness of the volunteer teachers with limited resources of acquiring knowledge.

One major problem with the primers was that they dealt with the production of only one crop. In reality, many crops were grown, and peasants would have liked to read something about the crops she/he thought she/he could not grow well. In Orngadida, for example, there should be books on cattle keeping, millet and vegetables. Related to this, villagers would have liked to read books on other aspects of life such as good health, better housing and political education. Without such a variety, adult education would be emphasizing monoculture although, in reality, the peasant was required to produce a variety of crops.

5.5 Views of Leaders and Peasants on Development and Adult Education

During the research leaders from the regional level to the ward level and villagers were interviewed on problems of social development and adult education in their area. In many cases the views of the leaders and the peasants were influenced by the economic hardships prevailing during the research period, 1981-82, and they tended to think of short term measures to enable them to solve problems.

Although the researcher had defined what he meant by "social development" to the interviewees, the integrated approach to

development was lacking in their responses. They tended to think of development in terms of compartments such as housing, agriculture, industries, finance and social service institutions. All leaders singled out low production as the main problem in their respective areas. The reasons for low production were given as:

- a) Indifference of peasants
- b) Shortage of extension staff
- c) Poor implementation of plans
- d) Bad weather conditions
- e) Lack of agricultural inputs
- f) Lack of rural credit
- g) Low prices for certain crops
- h) Shortage of foreign exchange
- i) Nationalization
- j) Poor performance of marketing parastatals

On the other hand the peasants gave the following as the main problems of development:

- a) Poor leadership
- b) People do not work hard
- c) God's will and some local beliefs
- d) Villagization
- e) High prices for consumer items

The leaders and the peasants were blaming each other on the problem of development. The leaders talked of peasants' indifference to increase production while the peasants complained of poor leadership which was only interested in enriching itself. This contradiction between the leaders and the led must be resolved by the peasants in order to bring about social development.

As regards adult education and development, many leaders thought that peasants did not develop because of their ignorance, and the role of education was to wipe out ignorance (kufuta ujinga). With literacy, according to the leaders, they would be able to read many books which would increase their knowledge about production

and how to improve their living conditions. The leaders thought that the peasants were indifferent to adult education, the way they had been to increased production. But the peasants who had attended literacy classes saw that there was not much support from the village leadership and that the way adult education was run did not motivate adults. The peasants who had not attended adult education classes looked for excuses, such as their old age and too much work in the family, while they did not fail to point out that they did not see any benefits to be derived from adult education.

The officials of the Ministry of National Education had a difficult time urging people to join literacy classes. They asked Party leaders at all levels, from ten-cell level to the national level, to urge peasants and workers to register for classes and write the national examinations. But even the politicians have not been successful. The adult education coordinators would like to see the institution of sanctions against those who do not attend literacy classes. The Ministry of National Education had suggested that literacy should be one of the qualifications for all who sought elections in Party leadership posts; all those applying for trading licences or seeking employment and Party membership. It also suggested that all citizens should write their signatures to their bank accounts and to their court statements instead of pressing with their thumbs.

CHAPTER SIX - ADULT EDUCATION AND POLITICS IN THE VILLAGE

6.1 The Party in the Village

When CCM was established in 1977 there were only 62 Party members in Orngadida. This number had risen to 255 in 1981, which was about 25 % of the village adult population. There were two types of membership in CCM, namely founder members and trained members. Founder members were those members of TANU or ASP who in 1977 founded CCM. All the other people beyond the age of 18 who wanted to become CCM members were required to successfully complete a three month course of training in Party ideology before they were registered.

Although CCM had declared itself a mass socialist party, its constitution (CCM, 1982:7), among other things, required a member to be "a person who constantly strives to understand, explain, defend and implement the policies of the Party". However, there was no evidence in the village to show that the Party branch did anything to observe this Party regulation as regards Party membership (see Kweka, 1986:343-347).

The Party branch was required, under the 1977 constitution to hold general meetings for their members normally once in three months to discuss all matters relevant to the village. In Orngadida three such meetings were convened in 1981 and two had been convened by August 1982. In these meetings, according to the minutes, they discussed matters related to village projects like the communal farm, village shop, flour mill, urging adults to join literacy classes, Party elections, school buildings and national celebrations. The normal attendance in these meetings was 30 members. There were complaints that the meetings were not properly publicized by some of the appointed announcers.

The Party leadership in the village did not command much respect from the villagers. At Orngadida the poor and middle peasants saw the leaders as collaborating with the rich peasants and the capi-

talist farmers. The peasants associated the leaders with the losses in the village shop and other village projects although they had no evidence to prove it.

6.2 Political Education in Orngadida

The Party branches did not have political education programmes of their own which would enable members to discuss village problems and socialist transformation. They depended on seminars organized from above. One important aspect of political education observed in the village was the three month course for new Party members. The number of participants was bigger than in any other programme which had been conducted in the village for the period of five years. 193 members had trained since 1978.

The course material was prepared by the Party Headquarters in 1978 and revised in 1980. The main purpose of the course was "to enable new members to understand, explain and implement the revolutionary ideology in theory and practice so that they could bring about a revolution for all Tanzanians" (CCM, 1980:iv). The course covers three main areas of study, namely:

- (i) Nationalistic struggles against colonialism in Tanzania
- (ii) CCM Constitution
- (iii) The policy of socialism and self-reliance

The course was supposed to be supplemented by discussions, reading of various Party documents, newspapers, radio broadcasts and practical activities. This meant that the success of the programme would also depend on the ability of the teachers to understand and analyze the concrete Tanzanian situation.

The text of the course provided the learners with the CCM philosophy of building socialism in Tanzania. It began by pointing out that there were three types of parties, namely: capitalist parties, socialist parties and social democratic parties (CCM, 1980:33-34). The socialist parties were divided into two catego-

ries which were: communist parties, which according to the text, were based on the theories of Marx and Lenin, and their members were faithful followers who interpreted their ideas in accordance with place and time. They had a small membership because of the strict code of conduct demanded on new recruits. On the other hand there were socialist mass parties (vyama vya umma vya Kijamaa) which wanted to build socialism without following the ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and their adherents. These workers' and peasants' parties do not demand, the text continued, strict qualifications (mashart magumu) and as a result they had more members. CCM was then categorized as a socialist mass party.

What is more important in this case is not the "name" given to a party but whether or not such a party is capable of building socialism. A party which is not very strict on membership faces the danger of recruiting its very enemies. Moreover, disregard of strict qualifications is not in consonance with CCM constitution on membership qualifications and obligations (CCM, 1982:6-7, 9-10), which require a high level of commitment to socialism. Perhaps this was a condonation of the CCM practice of accommodating the rightists, that is, those supporting capitalism.

However, it was not true that the CCM text did not follow Marxist-Leninist ideas since the third part of the course was mainly based on concepts derived from a study of Marxism. The Marxist categories of mode of production, economic base and superstructure, principal laws of political economy, law of value and the mechanism of capitalist expropriation of surplus value were widely used to describe the exploitative modes of production. However, these categories were not rigorously used to concretely analyze the Tanzanian situation after the Arusha Declaration. Instead the text looks at the strategy adopted by Tanzania for socialism. The text pointed out that Tanzania was not yet socialist and concluded by showing the problems encountered in the following main areas:

- (i) Nationalization: capacity underutilization, decline in productivity, loss of profits and lack of discipline.

The solution to the problem would be increasing efficiency at work places (p. 126).

- (ii) Villagization: Ownership relations have remained private, low productivity, poor leadership and lack of experts. The solution was to elect committed CCM members, who were not exploiters, to leadership positions (p. 126).
- (iii) Power to the people: People had, more than before, made decisions on economic and social issues that affected them but more needed to be done to establish democratic principles and to enlighten people on their responsibilities "to take over power from deceitful exploiters in villages" (p. 127).
- (iv) Education for Self-Reliance: To make it succeed three things need to go together: Education for Self-Reliance, Villagization and Power to the people. Schools should be under the control of the Ujamaa villages and remain integrated in the changing socio-economic conditions (p. 127).
- (v) Basic Industries: There were no capital goods industries and therefore Tanzania depended on capitalist countries for the importation of machines which meant that the country continued to be exploited. Lack of capital goods industries had adversely affected the development of science and technology in the country. The establishment of basic industries must go together with the learning, copying and consolidating of relevant technology (pp. 127-8).

It was obvious that the course dealt with very important issues on social development and that such information was necessary for socialist transformation. However, it was not enough for the purpose. Much would depend on how the teachers were able to integrate the concepts with the concrete local situations and what actions the new members could or would take to effect change. But

this conclusion presupposes clarity on the question of class struggle. Otherwise it was impossible to imagine that the rich peasants, who are also members of CCM, would abandon their large farms and establish communal farms where they would not benefit from the labour of others. Ignoring the class structure of the participants was a major problem in developing liberating or revolutionary programmes in adult education. This problem was crystallised in a class of Party members when discussing the Party Guidelines (1981) which will be described in the next section.

The villagers who went through the programme pointed out that it had a wide coverage and that some of the concepts were rather difficult to them. They mentioned concepts like "superstructure", "mode of production", and "neo-colonialism" as difficult concepts. The problem was that the concepts had not been concretised during the lessons.

The teachers who taught the programme had made the following observations:

- (i) Many students were illiterate and could not refer to Party documents.
- (ii) The students' aim was to get the Party cards rather than to understand the Party ideology, since Party cards were often used in the same way as a government passport for purposes of identification, travelling and sometimes employment in the country.
- (iii) The course did not touch on the local situation and what steps the students should take in the construction of a socialist society at the village level.
- (iv) The time for the course was just too short given the level of understanding of the aspirants.

In sum the course provided an opportunity to educate for liberation but since the local situation was not integrated into the

programme, the peasants were denied the opportunity for social action which would take different forms in different villages. As a result the programme did not foster local initiative and creativity which were essential for the development of an independent and self-reliant community.

6.3 Experiences in Socialist Education for Peasants

One of the objectives of the study was to gain some experience in conducting adult education programmes for socialist development through the existing structures. The Party programmes and the literacy programmes at Orngadida provided this opportunity and the main task for the researcher was how he could effectively take part in them.

6.3.1 The Party Programme

The National Executive Committee had directed that there should be seminars at the branch level to acquaint members with charges that had been effected in the Party Constitution, Party Guidelines (Mwongozo) 1981, Party Elections for 1982 and the National Policy on Productivity, Income and Price. The District Conference in Hanang District had suggested that this seminar should be organized for two days, but when the researcher was discussing this with the ward and village leaders it was agreed that this programme should be given more time. The researcher was requested to plan the programme with the Party members and teach the topics. All the village Party members were required to attend. The programme ran for three weeks and the average attendance was 38 participants.

The researcher was careful not to come out with a detailed programme which would not allow the members to discuss issues of their interest as they found them in the course of the programme. At the end of each day's session, members were given the opportunity to choose which topic to discuss on the following day (see Kweka, 1986:359).

In the discussion that took place in the three weeks, various questions were raised on the following points:

- (i) Equality of man
- (ii) Struggle for socialism in Orngadida
- (iii) Problems of leadership
- (iv) Construction of socialist economy
- (v) Problems of agricultural and pastoral development

The following is a brief account of the nature of the questions asked:

(i) Equality of man

The Party Creed stated that "all human beings are equal", and the participants wanted to discuss the meaning of this concept. Some members maintained that all men, including women, were equal since they were all born and would all die. Their basic needs were similar and each one needed respect. But one rich peasant maintained the God did not create all men equal, there were very many differences, some were tall, others short, some worked hard, others not, some were rich, others not. He stressed "all men are not equal". The whole class laughed and then kept quiet to defend equality by saying that God has created all men equal but some people did not want to admit that fact. At this point it became clear that the concept needed to be examined in some detail.

The teacher asked them to mention all the differences they knew of. They mentioned sex, race, tribe, age, ability to work, culture, education, health and wealth. The teacher agreed that these differences were there and they needed to examine them further. Some of the differences were biological of which man could not change, and among these they mentioned sex, age, race, tribe and health. Some contended that man could change race and tribe through intermarriage but it was heritable. Health could also be influenced through better health care. In this case race, tribe and health were categorized as both biological and social. The other differences such as ability to work, culture, education and wealth were socially created in man's struggle against nature as well as against other men. The developments in those areas

have not been even, and the more the individual was left on his own to struggle for his/her survival and development, the more uneven was the development since man could apply all sorts of means, fair or unfair, to reach a privileged position. This then creates in society social inequalities in various areas such as education and wealth.

The discussion was pushed further by showing how biological differences were used to enhance social inequalities, for example, sex, race, age and tribe could be used to gain certain privileges in education, employment and wealth. This was done through the establishment of social institutions which justified the privileged positions of certain social groups. The rich peasant shouted, "So you agree that we are not equal!" "Yes, we are not equal because of the social inequalities among us". Another participant remarked, "So we are unequal because of education, employment and wealth?" The class was requested to think about this proposition. The class was quiet. They were asked the following question: Are we saying that education, employment and wealth will always make us unequal?" They were to discuss this on the following day.

The class had come to realize that although it had been said that all men were equal, there were many elements of social inequality in our society. The class also maintained the distinction between natural or biological differences and social differences. It was emphasized by the teacher that when we talk of human equality we want to do away with the elements of social inequality. We do not think that we can do something about the natural or biological differences but we must make sure that they were not used by some social groups as a basis of social privileges in various walks of life.

The question of how to achieve social equality had not been tackled however. The group had only singled out some features of social inequalities. After some discussion on how people acquired privileges at Orngadida, they realized that their culture promoted social inequality. They particularly mentioned the belief

that a certain clan had power over rain-making which accorded them a special status in society such as the holding of political office. They observed that it was difficult to fight against this belief as it had won recognition in government circles and no government official would be willing to fight against this local belief. One young man pointed out that they could fight against it in the elections and in non-participation in their rain-making rites.

On other causes of social inequalities, another participant mentioned property ownership. The class discussed how those with more land, tractors and ox-ploughs dominated production in the area and how difficult it was to think of equality under such conditions. Communal ownership of the major means of production was seen as the only way to fight against social inequality. But one participant asked if this meant equality of goods to each one in the village. The answer was in the negative pointing out that "each would be paid according to work done". In other words, nobody would live on the labour of another and this would make everybody work. There would be minor differences on the amount of produce or goods and also in the way people decided to satisfy their basic needs for food, shelter and clothing together with other social needs that would arise.

The class went back to the Party Creed and noted that human equality was only possible under socialism. Before that stage in social development had been achieved, there was bound to be some features of social inequality as villagers had seen them, but it was difficult to define human equality as it did not exist in their society. As a result they resorted to biological or natural characteristics to explain human equality.

(ii) Struggle for Socialism in Orngadida

In a lesson on the role of Party members in socialist construction, as expressed in the Party Guidelines (1981), the class kept quiet most of the time. They had been told that they were required to be the vanguard of the revolution in the village and

that they could not depend on other people to carry out this task. It was up to them to decide what should be done in the village and then think of how to implement it through the village government. At this point another rich peasant wanted to know if socialism had been established in what he called "developed places like Kilimanjaro" and, if not, why they should be the first. This was a difficult question as it was not quite clear as to why he had picked on Kilimanjaro. Was Kilimanjaro their model of development or that they had known that the researcher had come from Kilimanjaro? The latter position would be more serious as it would imply that the researcher who came from Kilimanjaro, did not come from a socialist village yet he was telling them to be in the frontline in socialist construction. It would be wrong to tell them that was what the Guidelines required them to do. There was need to clarify the situation and the whole class was waiting for an answer.

We began by discussing what he meant by "developed places like Kilimanjaro". Kilimanjaro Region was considered by them as developed since there were a few people living in affluence - better houses, more education and wealth. After discussing the socio-economic conditions of Kilimanjaro, they realized that there were also many people who were poor and without adequate means of livelihood. The point was driven home when one of them gave examples of poor peasants from Kilimanjaro who did not look different from other poor people found in the village. So it was concluded that development in Kilimanjaro was for a few people. The workers and peasants in Kilimanjaro were underdeveloped and there was a need for a revolution in order to bring about their own development. Peasants in Kilimanjaro were struggling for equality and there were many cases to prove this. In other parts of the country workers and peasants were struggling for socialism and they had reached various stages. Examples from other villages were given and they seemed to have forgotten that there were similar efforts in Orngadida. It was then pointed out that efforts to establish communal production in Orngadida were good examples of the struggle for socialism. There was need for sacrifice in the struggle as there would always be opposition from the privileged classes.

It was further pointed out that in the struggle for socialism there would also be struggles within the Party since, as the situation was, not all party members were dedicated to socialist revolution. It was therefore necessary for each Party member to understand the position of the other members in order to know who are really going to be the vanguards of the revolution. One middle peasant concluded, "We do not need to wait until we see others move towards socialism so that we copy from them. What is important is to understand our problems and try to solve them, and the earlier the better". The teacher sighed with relief.

(iii) Problem of Leadership

The participants were very vocal on the problem of leadership when they were discussing the Party Guidelines and the Party elections. The leaders were regarded as "men of words" (wanaume wa maneno) according to one old peasant. "What they said was contrary to their actions". Other participants pointed out that some leaders collaborated with capitalists in commercial undertakings. One participant went to the extent of saying that most of the leaders in the district who had urged peasants to go socialist had retired and were big capitalists. It seemed as if everybody, including the village leaders, had something to say against the leadership although they were not specific on who those leaders were.

It was remarked by a participant that the elections would throw most of them out, but another participant observed that not many would be affected by the elections as they knew how to win votes. "What was the solution then?" asked the teacher. One woman came with a solution. She maintained that the problem was difficult but we should not leave it unsolved. She urged other members to choose committed leaders in the village as they knew them, and these leaders would elect other committed leaders at higher levels. "If we fail to elect committed leaders, she continued, then we should not complain."

The Branch chairman stood up to support the idea of electing committed leaders and added that members should not forget that

they should continue to criticize their leaders when they were found to be contravening the leadership code. This could effectively be done in Party meetings, he pointed out. One young man added that members should establish criteria for rejecting people for leadership positions - those who have large farms and who employ labourers should not be accepted for leadership positions as they would not support socialism. The teacher supported this idea and reminded them that the 1982 elections would show how far they had grasped the important ideas discussed in the seminar.

(iv) Construction of Socialist Economy in Orngadida

The discussion on socialist economy was centred on production in the village. A distinction was made between individual production and communal production. Individual production was of two types based on the manner of organization of the labour process, that is, those who hire the labour of others and those who use family labour like the middle and poor peasants. Individual production among middle and poor peasants generated private property mentality which was opposed to communal production. In a society moving towards socialism there was constant struggle between individual and communal production. In other words, there was struggle between capitalist oriented production and socialist oriented production. The class discussed how the 1974 village settlement operation had expropriated land from the Kulaks. Many poor peasants were satisfied when each villager was given a five acre piece of land. Participants were of the opinion that this was a step towards socialism. But one peasant complained about the way the operation was carried out. Many good houses were demolished, and people did not know where to build permanent houses until the whole village had been surveyed by government officials. One other peasant said that the operation had disrupted the development of the villagers. The discussion was then moving against what they had said earlier. It was revealed that not all the peasants had the five-acre piece of land. Through secret deals, some had sold some of their land to rich peasants.

The class discussed this at length, and many went to the extent of condemning the poor peasants for having sold their land. The teacher reminded them to look at the cause of the problem dialectically to see the two parties involved in the transfer of land, instead of blaming individuals. The rich wanted more land and they used whatever means available to get someone to sell them land. When those methods were discussed it became clear that the rich peasants played a greater role in the land transfer, particularly through loans to the poor peasants. Private ownership of land was singled out as the motive force in commoditisation of land. The rich would continue to buy off small peasants unless the system was changed. The distribution of land in 1974 gave private property to more people than had been the case before. It did not basically change the ownership relations as they still remained private, and only a small portion had been taken as a communal property. Following on what the class had discussed this private property would eventually go back to the rich peasants.

The solution to the problem lay in the establishment of large communal farms which should form the basis of the village economy. The villagers should decide how much land should be allotted to individual families and how much should be left for communal production, but the ratio should be worked out in such a way that communal farm would provide a large income for financing village development projects, and providing employment to the youth and all other able-bodied people in the village. The Party Guidelines (1981) on large communal farms (paragraphs 78-87) were read and the peasants realized that they had a long way to go. They realized that their 100 acre farm was just too small for a socialist village.

The problem of acquiring a large communal farm was discussed. The village communal farm was small and since not the whole of it had been cultivated by the village, rich peasants cultivated part of it saying that they would give it back once the villagers were ready. The villagers had not been able to take care of their communal farm. While individual farms produced 15 bags of maize

per acre, the communal farm produced only 7 bags per acre in 1981. Problems of farm management and lack of interest from the peasants were mentioned as the causes of failure in the communal farm. But further discussions revealed that people could manage large farms very well in Orngadida, the real problem was with communal projects whether it was a farm or shop. "This was part of the struggle by the rich to show that communal projects do not succeed", one young participant pointed out. They agreed that it was quite possible for the village to increase the communal farm to 300 acres in 1983 provided they got that much land. The village or Branch chairman promised that land would be available but the ten-cell leaders should make sure that there was proper organization of labour in their respective units.

Conclusions

On the basis of what took place in the seminar the following points could be made:

- a) Although the objectives of the seminar as stated by the National Executive Committee, that is, to educate the Party members on the changes that had been effected, had been achieved, there was no direct evidence to show that the seminar had led to some social action. The elections that followed brought some significant changes in the leadership whereby the incumbent chairman lost to a former branch committee member who was regarded by those who elected him as "simple, straight forward and active". In September, 1982, the new village Party leaders met on several occasions to scrutinize the accounts of the village projects. This was a positive step but it would be difficult to link it with the seminar.
- b) The programme had been related to the local conditions and this enabled the participants to relate theory with practice in the development of their village. This also enabled them to think of what they could do in order to achieve socialist development.

- c) The seminar had been planned for Party members and did not arise from a felt need by the members. Efforts were however made to raise their awareness on the trend of developments in the area and the problems that would arise for the majority of the villagers. This awareness would hopefully stimulate further discussion, on their own, on village development.
- d) The participants (Party members) had different ideas on various social problems. Some of the ideas were at variance with those propagated by the Party. The seminar provided, in a way, a form of struggle between reactionary and progressive ideas, and a continuation of such a struggle could consolidate the position of the progressives.
- e) It was observed that after the seminar the researcher was branded a "socialist" by some villagers and the contacts he had already established with the rich peasants and capitalists at Galapo were no longer as warm. But this was what it meant to side with the poor and oppressed.

6.3.2 Literacy Programme

The other experience in socialist education came after visiting a number of literacy classes and noting the volunteer teachers' problems in teaching literacy. The researcher thought of ways of improving literacy teaching so that it could stimulate discussion on socialist development. He taught some of the classes and tried to encourage discussion on what they read.

In one of these classes, for example, four students (all middle peasant women) were reading a text on how to spend money. Before reading the text we discussed how people spent their money in the village. They listed the items many people bought from shops and markets. They pointed out how prices had shot up through racketeering and how some people were making a lot of money through this practice. They also pointed out how beer drinking fleeced many peasants and that it was advisable to avoid it. The class went on to trace where the money used in buying local beer went.

One of them said it went to the brewer, but another said it did not. The brewers were given millet by rich peasants. For each bag of millet they brewed they were required to give back to the rich peasant a certain amount of money. They gave an example of a bag of millet which sold at Sh 90/= . The brewer would get Sh 250/= from the sales of the beer and would give back Sh 150/= to the rich peasant. The Sh 100/= would be for the brewer's labour of about two days, vessels and firewood. Examples of people with large stocks of millet in the village were given together with those who brewed for them. The class went on to discuss prices in general and how increased production on their part did not result into improved living conditions without a system of controlling prices. After this discussion the students began to read the text.

After teaching a number of classes it was realized that efforts were spread too thin by trying to teach every adult education class that existed. Perhaps another approach could yield better results. It was decided to concentrate on the volunteer teachers who would in turn reach more students. A meeting with the volunteer teachers was convened and attended by eight men and five women. We discussed at length the problem of adult education and how they could help the peasants improve their living conditions through socialist development. It was agreed that there was a need to improve methods of teaching literacy in order to attract more students and that discussions would form an important part of adult education class.

It was agreed that there would be two parts for each adult education meeting. Part One would deal with general discussion on topics of general interest to the villagers. This was termed "Our Life in Orngadida Village" (Maisha Yetu Kijijini Orngadida) and this discussion could be supplemented by articles from the Swahili national daily "Uhuru". Part Two would deal with the literacy primer, which would also include a discussion on what was read. The researcher and the school headteacher met with the volunteer teachers once every week between 3.00 p.m. and 5.00 p.m. to develop the two aspects of an adult education lesson. The

school headteacher agreed to train on methods of adult teaching and the researcher concentrated on the other aspect. The volunteer teachers were keen in this programme and worked hard to complete their assignments, together with their normal teaching of literacy classes. The volunteers were primary school leavers aged between sixteen and twenty-five. All of them came from middle peasant origins and participated fully in the family production units.

The first part of the programme required them to know the history of their village, and at the beginning it was difficult for them to know what had really happened in their village. The researcher had discussed the history of the village somewhere else with three village elders and he thought it would be useful to have one of them come to talk to them. The village elder agreed and gave two talks on the history of the village. The volunteer teachers asked a number of questions which were answered by the village elder. Their history showed how peasants struggled against natural constraints like wild beasts, tsetse fly and drought; and how the indigenous Gorowa had been able to maintain their position of leadership among the various groups of immigrants. The problems of capitalist penetration and the 1974 village settlement operations were brought up in their history.

After the two talks the volunteer teachers began to write a short history of their village showing how peasants had been fighting against natural as well as social constraints and concluding with what needed to be done to bring about socialist development. This work involved writing short stories on what had happened in history and then discussing them thoroughly in class after which they were re-written and finally edited (see Kweka, 1986:549-561). As the objective was to show that history was marked by a series of struggles, this text could help them see what they needed to do in order to achieve socialism. This text could be used as a primer in literacy classes or for training volunteer teachers on how to enable adults to write their own histories in this perspective. It could also be published in the existing zonal adult education newspapers.

In this experience it was evident that much is achieved through discussions with students, and that a new world outlook could be developed using what the peasants already knew. The volunteer teachers tried to use the new approach in discussing aspects of their history of some topical issues from the news media. The response from the adult learners was very encouraging, with increased attendance. With more experience and support the volunteer teachers could turn the literacy classes into revolutionary centres of learning.

CHAPTER SEVEN - ADULT EDUCATION PRACTICE: FOR WHAT AND WHOSE INTEREST?

7.1 Development in whose Interest?

When analysing the views of the peasants on adult education some peasants pointed out that the volunteer teachers were urging them to join classes so that these teachers could be paid honoraria by the government. The peasants did not see how those programmes could help them solve their problems in improving the living conditions. This also meant that some other people, besides the peasants, benefitted from the programmes. There is no doubt these peasants arrived at this conclusion after analysing what was taking place in society. This conclusion could be extended to many other programmes purporting to bring development to the people in the villages.

This study has examined the practice of adult education in a village in Tanzania in relation to the task of socialist construction. This involves an understanding of the present situation of underdevelopment and how it can be changed to suit the aspirations and needs of the workers and peasants. In particular, the system of underdevelopment and its concomitant social structure ought to be analysed to find out the natural and social constraints to social development. This should form the main objective of adult education of the workers and peasants for development. The low level of productive forces in underdeveloped economies encourages dependence on developed capitalist countries. Underdeveloped countries depend on imported science and technology in production, distribution and consumption. This feature hampers the development of a self-sustaining economy.

The character of dependence has created a social structure that is peculiar to these economies, with the international system (who own capital) on one side, and the workers and peasants on the other. During the colonial system the international system operated through the colonial offices in Bonn and London. Since

independence it has mainly operated with and through the World Bank in Washington and various international aid agencies. Major development policies in Tanzania, with the exception of Arusha Declaration and other related policies calling for socialist revolution, have mainly originated from these centres.

The peasants in Tanzania have been encouraged to produce export crops while they produce at the same time their own means of subsistence. Adult education is required to contribute to this. In 1980 for example the volume of export of the major commodities was 34 percent lower than in 1973 (IBRD, 1981:26). The World Bank thought that education could help make people produce more, as it observed:

Farmers and self-employed people in the urban sector are now thought of as contributing more to the country's economy if they have a higher level of education (IBRD, 1981:81).

This form of thinking is not new. It operated throughout the colonial period. When Tanzania achieved independence (1961), the World Bank recommended adult education for increased production of export crops. Functional literacy was conceived in the same way (Viscusi, 1971; Mbilinyi, 1976). The World Bank did not even see that Tanzania had provided more adult education in the 1970s but, there was a sharp decline in agricultural production in that same period.

It has been emphasized in this study that in order to understand the natural and social constraints to development one must analyze the Tanzanian social structure and the struggles that are taking place (see Kweka, 1986:492-497). There were conflicts between the petty-bourgeoisie in leadership positions and the peasants. The peasants and workers referred to the petty-bourgeoisie as "Wakubwa" (the big ones)". They knew the "Wakubwa" could make decisions on matters that affected the lives of the peasants and that it would be difficult for them to change their decisions once made. The villagization programme was cited as an example of the power of the bureaucrats to move peasants from one

settlement to another. The idea of peasants planning for their own development was said to be non-existent. The peasants were required to implement production targets which had been set by leaders at the regional, district, divisional and ward level.

The top-down flow of policy should not be taken to mean that things were easy. Quite on the contrary. For it was not even possible for the bureaucrats to know why policies had not been implemented since the implementors (i.e. peasants) had decided to keep quiet. The situation was aggravated by balance of payment deficits, decline in agricultural and industrial production, low wages for the workers and low prices for agricultural crops which led to the deterioration of the living conditions of the workers and peasants (Green, 1979; Hanevik, 1983; Chachage, 1983). To the workers and peasants the leaders were responsible for all this! Other studies have shown that, as a result of the adverse economic conditions, peasants have withdrawn from further cooperation in national economic and political life (Hyden, 1980; Yeager, 1982).

These problems are partly a reflection of the class struggle within the Party itself, for CCM, as its chairman pointed out, was a party with members holding varied and sometimes opposite political views (Nyerere, 1983). The contradictions within the Party were main stumbling block in the transformation of society in Tanzania and in implementing education for liberation or for socialism. It was easy for the peasants to point out the weaknesses of the leadership in the Party as well as in the government.

The peasants knew that a lot of what was said about socialism in their area was not true. Their point of reference was the behaviour of leadership at various levels. The peasants saw the leaders as being selfish, opportunistic, avaricious (walaji) and uncommitted. Peasants from different social strata pointed out that some leaders were against the policy of socialism and self-reliance, and they could even point out some leaders with large farms near their villages or with other important economic

undertakings like transport companies, guest houses and hotels. The peasants also pointed out that some leaders cooperated with rich peasants and rich businessmen. Leaders were associated with misappropriation of public funds and misuse of public property. In 1980/81 a number of senior government officials were relieved of their duties because of bureaucratic dishonesty. However corruption, racketeering and sabotage among the leaders continued.

When the government cracked down on these elements in 1983, some regional heads and district heads lost their jobs. However there were statements from national leaders that those who were netted were only "small fish". The people were urged to report the hard core saboteurs and racketeers. A special tribunal was established to try the suspects in 1983 and 1984. But it has not been able to reverse the situation.

The problem with such leadership is that peasants lost confidence in whatever this leadership said about socialism and development. The peasants had seen that ideas like "power to the people", "socialism and self-reliance" and "education for liberation" had not been put to practice.

7.2 Adult Education and Class Struggles

Adult education put emphasis on cash crop farming. Ten functional literacy primers were prepared on: cotton, banana, rice, maize, coconut, cashewnut, tea, tobacco, cattle and fishing. The literacy classes in Orngadida concentrated on maize growing, and therefore forgot that peasant agriculture, leave alone peasant life, was more than one crop production. The international capitalist system is interested in the production of commodities whereas the peasant is interested in integrated development, that is, in survival and a raised standard of living. Programmes in adult education did not address themselves to the problem of integrated social development and the theory of underdevelopment.

Functional literacy, agricultural extension and livestock extension put emphasis on commodity production and monetization. For each cash crop the peasant is advised on how to spend the money. For example, for each crop, one lesson runs as follows:

Let us grow ... with modern techniques.

Let us follow modern techniques so that we can get more and better ...

Let us cultivate to get food and money for other needs.

Money helps to satisfy needs like:

- to pay back loans for fertilizer and insecticides.
- to buy modern agricultural implements.
- to buy other kinds of food.
- to build better houses.

Let us make sure that we plan our needs according to the money we have. Let us deposit our money in banks or post office for future use (Elimu, 1973:59).

This is not to suggest that such activities are wrong in themselves but that one should reflect on the existing relations of production. Although the primers are on crop production, they do not mention the activities of the crop authorities, taxation and the problems the peasants face in production and marketing of the the produce. In socialist transformation peasants should discuss these production relations and see how they affect their lives and what could be done to change the situation. In actual fact, it was observed that peasants did discuss these problems in drinking parties.

It is appropriate to conclude that the content and practice of adult education serves to promote increased agricultural production in the system of underdevelopment and there are no suggestions in the programmes on how to get out of underdevelopment. This is a reflection of the existing relations of production where the international capitalist system with the local petty-bourgeoisie want to "force the peasantry into an inorganic environment where they can be effectively manipulated" (Hyden, 1980:255). This makes adult education a one-way process or an

activity imposed on the people with the purpose of showing them what is expected of them. The peasants have not participated in organizing their own programmes of development.

The literacy primers used in Orngadida did not bring new knowledge to the learners for it dealt with agricultural techniques which the villagers were already aware of. This is normally the case in situations where the content of what is learned is controlled from the centre. This primer could be very useful in other places where the production techniques had not improved as much as those in Orngadida. In order for the content of adult education programmes to reflect on the level of material production there was need to have the teaching material prepared locally by adult education committees or by some organization which ensures that the learners participated in drawing up their own programmes of adult education.

The knowledge and skills supposed to be taught on agriculture in the villages was centred on biological and chemical innovations. The functional literacy primers which contain what is also taught in the agricultural extension service deal with type of seeds, seedlings, planting, weeding, use of fertilizers and insecticides. The knowledge of seed production was not taught to the peasants since seeds were sold to the peasants by a parastatal and some private companies. In Orngadida, the poor peasants were employed by capitalist farmers to produce seeds in farms situated outside the village. These maize and bean seeds were sold to the seed companies which in turn sold them to the peasants. In this way the peasants depend on the seed companies for their production. With the problems of distribution in Tanzania, production was adversely affected in the villages. This dependence could only be eliminated by teaching peasants how to grow their own seeds in the village demonstration farm or making the peasants control the seed companies.

The same problem was also observed with the use of fertilizers. The primers put emphasis on the use of fertilizers rather than manure. This again takes the peasant to a market he cannot

control. Even if the government produced fertilizers locally, as will be the case in Arusha, the peasants will pay exorbitantly due to large profits and interests charged by parastatals. But one could start with the use of animal manure or compost manure which would have more or less the same effect on the plants.

The same could be said about the use of insecticides. The peasants complained of non-availability of the insecticides and the high prices paid when obtained. There was no effort to manufacture insecticides by using local raw materials although it was known that some peasants knew some effective insecticides which could be used on a small scale. But here the multinational corporations (Twiga Chemicals and the Imperial Chemical Industries) found a lucrative market, and thus would not support local efforts on making insecticides.

What is taught in adult education on agriculture, aims at making agricultural production dependent on products manufactured from the developed capitalist countries. There was no effort to promote the use of local materials like manure, or the production of better seeds in a village demonstration farm. Since international capital has penetrated agricultural production there arises a need to produce for export in order to get foreign exchange with which to import agricultural inputs.

Development of agriculture cannot be effected through the biological and chemical innovations alone. These innovations must be accompanied by the improvement of the means of labour (tools of production). In many villages in Tanzania, agricultural implements used were based on human muscular power but in Orngadida three types were used, namely: human muscular power (hand-hoe), animal power (ox-plough), and fuel power (tractor). The use of animal power and mechanical power enables the peasant to cultivate a large area of land with more output per peasant. This process of using better tools creates surplus labour in agriculture in places where there is not enough land. This surplus labour released from agriculture could be used in off-farm activities which are essential for the creation of an

independent economy. In other words it is only through the use of better tools of production that we can reduce the number of people who depend on agriculture for their subsistence. The use of better tools of production calls for larger farms such as the village communal farms. But what was taught in agriculture was not directed towards this end.

Government policy on peasant agriculture did not envisage radical changes in the scale of production but instead is based on the preservation of small-holder peasant production organized under the homestead shamba, block farm and communal farm (for raising village government funds). The establishment of large scale farming by public and private institutions as recommended in the 1983 national agricultural policy will clearly affect peasant agriculture by recruiting labour from the villages.

7.3 Politicization of Adult Education

The political leaders in Tanzania have tried to use adult education to achieve certain objectives in the development of the system they have intended to build. This did not come out only with the Arusha Declaration for one can see similar efforts even during the colonial period (Millonzi, 1975). The achievement of political independence brought in some new perspectives in adult education which linked it with the United Nations Development Decade.

The main task in adult education was as pointed out earlier, to educate for increased production. It must be added that there was a political element which can be seen throughout the whole period after independence. This was on the need for people to understand and participate in the implementation of Party and government plans for development. This political element arose out of the need for the sole political party to consolidate its position in society after the petty-bourgeois struggles for Africanization and privilege had disheartened and disillusioned the masses on the benefits of political independence. In this case adult education was expected to increase mass acceptance of the policies of

TANU and its government. The understanding of Party and national goals has often been emphasized in school education as well as in adult education. In 1970 President Nyerere pointed out:

The third objective of adult education, therefore must be to have everyone understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance. We must learn to understand the plans for national economic advancement so that we can ensure that we all play our part in making them a success, and that we all benefit from them (Nyerere, 1970:3).

The political element in adult education was clear. It played a great role in mobilizing the masses because of such Party goals as freedom, equality and democracy - concepts which raise a lot of enthusiasm among the workers and peasants. But it did not take long before these hopes were vanquished. This factor made adult education in the villages an "on and off" activity.

The Party and government leadership controlled the planning process and this ensured that only adult education programmes accepted to the leadership were implemented. In this way it was easy for the Party to propagate its ideology through adult education. For example in a political education primer the following text is produced:

TANU ni Chama

TANU imelata uhuru

TANU imelata usawa

Andika:

Chama cha TANU huleta mema

TANU imeleta uhuru na usawa

Azimio la Arusha ni la TANU

Limeleta Ujamaa

Limeleta Kujitegemea

TANU is a Party

TANU has brought independence

TANU has brought equality

Write:

TANU brings good things

TANU has brought independence and equality

Arusha Declaration belongs to TANU

It has brought socialism

It has brought self-reliance

(Elimu, 1971:4-5)

The problem with these verses is that the peasants and workers realized they were not true. They had not achieved socialism, equality and self-reliance. These verses did not show what was to be done by the workers and peasants in order to achieve socialism.

In functional literacy primers, Book Two, some sections were devoted to how meetings were organized in the village and about making decisions on how much they would grow and the organization of the labour process. But this did not deal with the problems of socialist transformation at the village or national level. This was a good example of banking education.

The leaders were in fact unenthusiastic about promoting adult education but when it came to national campaigns and the national literacy examinations all leaders seemed to be busy encouraging people to join adult education classes. This can be explained by the fact that the performances in the national campaigns like "Mtu ni Afya" (Man is Health), and the national literacy examinations were widely publicised. The former President Nyerere himself was keenly interested in seeing what was done, and these leaders would not like to record poor performances in their areas of jurisdiction. Despite this, in the 1981 national literacy examination, for example, the Ministry of National Education saw that the preparations were not being carried out properly in the regions and thus requested the President to urge the people to join classes and write the national examination.

This underscores the point that there was no dialogue between the bureaucrats and the peasants or workers on issues that affected the living conditions of the working masses. Each side accused the other for retarding development. Peasants and workers had begun to see that the programmes that came from above were not for their interest. Some peasants observed that they were urged to join adult education classes so that teachers should get honoraria.

The Ministry of National Education officials had a difficult task to make things move. They were required to report on progress made so that the donors could decide on how much more to give. The main donor was Sweden who through SIDA had by 1982 donated SEK 162,680,000 (or Tsh 260,288,000) for adult education (Msoffe, 1984:108). In their annual meetings adult education coordinators requested more support from the Party and government leaders, including sanctions against adults who did not want to attend classes.

The Party was able to mobilize many peasants and workers for adult education in the early 1970s with the policy of socialism and self-reliance which promised equality, dignity and improved living conditions for the toiling masses. The failure to achieve those objectives together with the contradictions between the bourgeois and working masses has had a negative impact on the practice of adult education, particularly in the 1980s.

In order to solve these problems, adult education for socialism must be situated in a wider socio-economic context providing knowledge and skills which will enable workers and peasants to analyze the socio-economic system for purposes of changing and controlling it. The Party (CCM) should ensure that its members are regularly screened within the Party organs in order to retain only those who are committed to its objectives and who fulfil the membership qualifications. This is an essential condition if it is to lead the workers and peasants for socialist transformation. At the same time, the Party should ensure that all adult education programmes put up by different institutions do not undermine its policy of socialism and self-reliance.

Furthermore, adult education cadres should be trained from among the revolutionary elements of workers who can mobilize the workers and peasants through intensive programmes of political education as was done by the researcher in Orngadida village. It is necessary to stress that adult education programmes should be centred on the interests of the workers and peasants and they should therefore be involved in planning, preparation of teaching materials and implementing these programmes.

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