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**Doctoral Dissertation of Philosophy in Education**

**Development and Education in Tanzania  
1961-1985**

**탄자니아의 발전과 교육, 1961-1985**

**August 2021**

**Global Education Cooperation Major**

**Graduate School**

**Seoul National University**

**Chae-Won PARK**



# **Development and Education in Tanzania 1961-1985**

**Dissertation Adviser: Sung-Sang YOO**

**Submitting a Ph.D. Dissertation of Education**

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**Graduate School  
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To my family  
who provided unconditional love and support  
throughout the Ph.D. program

In the hopes that this work may in some way contribute to  
the discussion on development and education,  
this is dedicated to people who have explored the meaning of  
development and education and have tried to realize it in the world



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## **ABSTRACT**

# **Development and Education in Tanzania 1961-1985**

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This study aimed to propose a conceptual definition of educational development, and to reinterpret the experiment in Tanzania from 1961 to 1985. Based on the presumption that the experiment of Tanzania was a human-oriented national development through education, and that approach can open the possibility of an alternative discussion on education and development, the following question was proposed: What were the characteristics of education and national development plans in Tanzania in from 1961 to 1985? How did education relate to development in Tanzania in education and national development? In order to answer the questions, I collected and analyzed data by adopting documentary and historical analysis. I conducted field research through the duration of a month from March to April in 2019.

Containing critical views on existing development discourse, this study offered a new concept of educational development. The concept of educational development combined Goulet's perspective on development and Freire's

perspective on education, and applied to Tanzania.

The finding is as follows: the government of Tanzania pursued a dialectical process toward development through the emphasis on self-reliance at the national development level. The government carried out a step-by-step development plan. The first long term plan of 1964-1980 was carried out with three five-year plans. Under the first, second, and third five-year Development Plan, the government of Tanzania designed, implemented, and strengthened the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. In order to achieve the national development plan, the government needed the people to understand the direction and philosophy of the country's development and therefore focused on public education for the entire nation. Education was conducted first for self-reliance in primary and adult education, and later for self-reliance in secondary and higher education. The series of processes gradually expanded to foster a sense of self-reliance in all people.

Education practice in Tanzania was itself the process of national development and human development. Education transcended the instrumental role for development. National development plans and education policy interacted. Dimensions of development, such as political, economic, social, and human were reflected in their interaction. The development of Tanzania during this period was a dialectical process of development in line with post-colonialism.

Furthermore, the features of educational development are similarly found in national development plans and education. First, it aimed at the interaction between individuals conscientized through education. The government wanted the people of Tanzania to learn the direction of the country's development. Second, the government of Tanzania wanted to emphasize rural communities and

restore African traditions. Tanzania's development was economic development led by agriculture. Tanzania's leadership believed that rural economic development is the path to independence and self-reliance. Third, Tanzania pursued a dialectical process toward development through the emphasis on self-reliance at the national development level. The government carried out a step-by-step development plan. The first long term plan of 1964-1980 was carried out with three five-year plans.

The dialectical educational development experiment in Tanzania clearly differs from today's discussions on education and development which regard education as a means of development. And it fits the new conceptual framework called "development as education". These attempts and possibilities push the existing development discourse out of the limits and extend the role of education beyond merely the instrumental. Education is not just a means of development but the minimum prerequisite for educational development, as well as development itself.

**Keyword:** Development, Education, Tanzania, Education for Self-Reliance, Ujamaa

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## **LIST OF ACRONYMS**

FYDPI	Five-Year Development Plan 2011/12-2015/16
FYP	First Five Year Development Plan 1964–1969
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNF	Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation
MOE	Ministry of Education
MONE	Ministry of National Education
ROT	Republic of Tanganyika
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SYP	Second Five Year Development Plan 1969-1974/6
TAA	Tanganyikan African Association
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TDV	Tanzania Development Vision
TYP	Third Five-Year Development Plan 1976-1981
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
URT	The United Republic of Tanzania
USARF	University Students African Revolutionary Front



# CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Background

We are living in an era of ongoing development. Every individual, organization, and state pursues their own development. The international community has been working on the Millennium Development Goals (“MDGs”) by 2015 and the Sustainable Development Goals (“SDGs”) by 2030 to pursue this goal. Those who are born and live in an era of development take development for granted, something as natural as eating, wearing clothes, and sleeping.

For those who grew up in Korea, development is even more familiar. It is often said that Korea is a country that received aid, and now develops enough to provide aid. As this expression shows, in the past 70 years since liberation, Korean society has achieved remarkable political, economic, and social development. Development has always accompanied the modern history of Korea, and Koreans have considered development like a natural progression from childhood to adulthood.

However, the problem is that we don’t probe deep enough into what development is and should be. Here is a person who was born and raised in Korea. She has experienced political, economic, and social development during her lifetime and is working in the field of international education development. One day, she is asked to share Korea’s development experience at the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Dar es Salaam (“UDSM”). About 20 professors, lecturers, and graduate students participate in the seminar.

After watching an introductory video on the development of South Korea, a huge number of questions are raised to this Korean. What is the secret to the successful development of Korea, a country which in the 1950s had a lower standard of living than Tanzania? In the light of Korea's development experience, successful development be defined? Which of the hardware or software of education contributed most to Korean development? From the perspective of an education specialist, which should be prioritized for the development of Tanzania, education or development?

This account, of course, is from my own experience. This session started me off on a road to deeper questions about development for the first time in my life. The questions by the Tanzanian intellectuals were about South Korea as well as the future Tanzania. The seminar was a time for both Koreans and Tanzanians to look back on Korea's development and think about Tanzania's development for today.

Interestingly, most of the Tanzanian intellectuals took a critical stance toward the process of development and education in today's Tanzania. And they wished to return to the era of the first president Julius Nyerere, the time soon after their independence. Tanzania went through a drastic transition after independence. Tanzania became independent of the British colonial rule in 1961. In 1967, the government of Tanzania announced Ujamaa, Tanzania's own version of African Socialism<sup>1</sup> to overcome its problems. In 1985, more than two decades later, the

---

<sup>1</sup> With the emergence of newly independence countries in Africa in the 1950s, anticolonial nationalism was no longer useful for uniting Africans. African Socialism was introduced during this period to strengthen African solidarity in the newly independent countries. African Socialism was recognized to have suggested a third way between Western capitalism and Soviet communism by emphasizing pre-colonial Africa's communal values. Its best-known proponents were Léopold Senghor and Mamadou Dia of Senegal, Sékou Touré of Guinea, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Tom Mboya of Kenya, and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania. These

president called socialism in Tanzania a failure, and the country shifted toward a market economy. But while Tanzania has maintained its market economy for the past 30 years, Ujamaa and its advocate Nyerere is still today upheld by the Tanzanian people as the symbol of Tanzania.

I became curious about Tanzania' policy and practice at this particular point in history. In talking with Tanzanian intellectuals about education, I wondered if exploring education in Tanzania could answer questions about the dialectical process of education and development. This study is a journey that started from this idea. This study is an answer to the Tanzanian intellectuals' questions about education and development. It is a new exploration of Tanzania in the post-independence era.

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countries accepted African socialism after independence. However, the Colloquium on Policies of Development and African Approaches to Socialism, a conference of African leaders held in Dakar, Senegal, in 1962, failed to produce a clear definition or a unified vision of African socialism. As a result, each country interpreted African socialism to reflect the varied needs of their respective countries. Here is a comparison of African socialism in Tanzania, Kenya and Ghana (Drew, 2017).

Tanzania and Kenya are the representative African socialist countries. Kenya published a government document *African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya* in 1965, and Tanzania announced the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Chipembere (1981: 107) analyzed the African socialism of the two countries and claims that there was no significant difference in the blueprint for the development of the two countries. The difference was the political system. Kenya aimed for government-directed development and did not emphasize the party's role in national development, while Arusha Declaration was the party's political statement, and Tanzania emphasized the masses or the people in national development.

Tanzania's political system was the same as that of Ghana. Nkruma of Ghana and Nyerere of Tanzania believed that social differences could be reconciled within a single political party. However, the national development policies of these countries were different. Unlike most countries that adopted African Socialism, Ghana stressed development through industrialization and energy resources, and implemented state-led development projects. On the other hands, Tanzania emphasized village-level development in agricultural regions (Drew, 2017).

To sum up, Tanzania was distinct from other African socialist countries in that it emphasized agriculture-oriented community-based development focusing on mass and people. In that sense, Roe (1970: 397) called Ujamaa "Tanzania's own version of African Socialism".

## 1.2. Statement of the Problem

In February 1967, the government of Tanzania published the development blueprint entitled the Arusha Declaration that stated the need for an African model of development. With this declaration, the government of Tanzania committed to Ujamaa (Coulson, 2013). Ujamaa follows the concept of familyhood that arose from rural agrarian societies and calls for village-driven rural development. The Ujamaa ideals have people who live in the community take care of their village community, and the community, in turn, takes care of its people without exploitation and corruption (Kaplan, 1978). Under the Ujamaa philosophy, the policies of the government of Tanzania called for national development through education, health, and food production. The philosophy permeated all the practices of national development in 1961-1985.

Education was a major component and core value of Ujamaa. This political philosophy of Ujamaa went hand in hand with the education philosophy called Education for Self-Reliance<sup>2</sup> (Coulson, 2013). This means that the political philosophy was reflected in the education policy. The Education for Self-Reliance Policy described education as a way of eradicating poverty and

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<sup>2</sup> The concept of self-reliance has not been clearly defined. Hekuran Mara confirmed that the notion of self-reliance was “a permanent revolutionary Marxist–Leninist principle in socialist construction” (Backer, 1982: 356). In relation to development, self-reliance is considered not “merely a necessity but a matter of survival” (Galtung et al., 1980). It has been advanced as a viable alternative strategy to dependent development and donor-led structural adjustment in developing countries in the 1980s and the early 1990s (Gooneratne & Mbilinyi, 1992). Therefore, self-reliance has remained more like an ideal development pattern (Backer, 1982: 355-356). Tanzania is one of the representative countries in the 1960s that identified self-reliance as the goal of national development. The government of Tanzania linked education with self-reliance through the Education for Self-Reliance Policy adopted in 1967. Cases of other countries that introduced self-reliance include Cameroon and its community development (Fonchingong & Fonjong, 2002), and Albania’s national development and socialism (Backer, 1982).

progressing toward prosperity through rural development. It attempted to make education relevant in the lives of the people in the agriculture-led village communities (Havnevik et. al, 2010). Education policy and school curricula focused on rural development through village communities. Schools not only educated but also trained students to be diligent workers and productive members of the community. The idea behind the combination of both political and educational philosophies is that people should be educated to fit into the value of national development (Wabike, 2015).

The drastic transition through Ujamaa has heavily affected the politics, economy, and society of Tanzania since the late 1960s. And its influence persists today. In his resignation speech the president Nyerere stated, “Although socialism has failed in Tanzania, I will remain a socialist because I believe socialism is the best policy for poor countries like Tanzania” (Lupalo, 2016: 121). One might say that Nyerere’s belief has indeed been sustained over the years.

However, there are different positions on the outcome. Scholars who emphasize economic development criticize that the national development plans under Ujamaa has hampered the national development (Lösch, 1990), and as a result, it is responsible for the underdevelopment of Tanzania today. On the other hand, some studies argue that lessons and insights from the post-colonial era are relevant for understanding contemporary challenges of development in Africa as well as development in Tanzania (Zalanga, 2016; Wabike, 2015). However, those arguments do not exactly point out whether the characteristics of Ujamaa have had positive or negative effects on Tanzanian political, economic and social development, how they continue to function today, and how they will contribute toward the Tanzania’s future development.

Furthermore, despite the importance of education in the post-independence era in Tanzania, existing studies on education in Tanzania have following limits:

First, some research covers a century of history concerning education in Tanzania, from the colonial to the post-colonial era (Buchert, 1994; Mushi, 2009). While those studies are helpful as an overview of education in Tanzania, they cannot provide deeper insights beyond education history and into the role of education in the process of nation-building and national development that extend further into the contemporary era. . In order to overcome the limitations of these previous studies, this study explores the role of education in Tanzania in terms of the relationship between education and development focusing on the period between 1961 and 1985.

Second, it is difficult to find research that analyzes education policies and practices in the post-colonial era in political, economic, and social contexts. Several studies focus on specific education policies in the post-colonial era such as universal primary education reform and adult education policy (Mulenga, 2001; Sabates et al., 2012). Those studies are useful to understand certain education policies of that time but do not explain how education has affected the development of modern Tanzania. Therefore, this study explores education in Tanzania in the post-colonial era as a whole, considering political, economic, and social contexts rather than focusing on specific education policies only.

Third, studies on international and comparative education connect the post-colonial with the globalization discourses, highlighting education in Africa and Tanzania in particular (Tikly, 1999; 2001; Crossley & Tikly, 2004). These studies prove the usefulness of post-colonialism as a tool for analyzing current phenomena, but they do not cover the entire historical span of education in

Tanzania. Therefore, this study covers 25 years in the history Tanzania from the early 1960s to the 1980s when the post-colonial trend was not quite noticeable. Much of the literatures on education in Tanzania tend to focus only on the current educational issues and phenomena. However, an understanding of education after independence and up to 1985 must precede any study of education in Tanzania today.

Fourth, education played important role in the process of national development in Tanzania. However, no research has been conducted on national development that deals with education in Tanzania as a case study, focusing on the relationship between education and national development. Rather, studies on this era tend to deal with education as only a small part within the general political and historical research (Cameroon et al., 1970; Morrison, 1976; Coulson, 2013; Fouéré, 2015). Thus, this study examines Tanzania through a new framework, based on the assumption that dialectical relations between education and development have emerged in Tanzania.

Unlike previous studies on education in Tanzania, this study seeks to clarify the correlation between education and national development in Tanzania. Also, this study attempts a new understanding the relationship between education and development through the framework of education and development. Perhaps if the theoretical framework for explaining Tanzania in 1961-1985 is changed, a new interpretation of education and development in Tanzania may result. Under this hypothesis, this study attempts to illuminate Tanzania in 1961-1985 by a new theoretical framework about education and development.

## **1.3 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions**

### **1.3.1 Purpose of the Study**

Based on the Statement of the Problem described above, this study has two research purposes as follows:

First, this study aims to propose a conceptual definition of educational development by examining the relationship between education and development. The relationship between education and development is complicated and controversial. While there is agreement that education and development are related, there exist ongoing debates on how and in what ways they are related continue to be questioned. While there is agreement that education and development are related, there exist ongoing debates on how and in what ways they are related. This study understands the relationship between education and development as a dialectical process. This means that education affects development, and development affects education, ultimately reaching educational development through interaction between the two. In this process, development functions as the thesis, education as antithesis, and educational development as synthesis. Educational development ultimately establishes the relationship in which education equals development. In the existing discourse, education is regarded as a tool or a means of development rather than as an element that interacts with development. Therefore, the approach of this study differs from that of the existing discourse. To illustrate this, among the various discussions on development, this study will focus on both national and human development, then critically examine how education is related to national development, human development. Based on the assumption that the relationship

between education and development is a dialectical process, this study will propose an alternative view of development called educational development. This process will construct a new relationship between development and education.

Second, this study aims to reinterpret experiment in Tanzania 1961-1985 in terms of education and development. Tanzania is a country that closely links its national development plans and educational policies to achieve national development goals such as human dignity, self-respect and self-reliance. Education has played an important role in the development of Tanzania. This study defines Tanzania's historical transition from 1961 to 1985 as an experiment to achieve its national development goals and assumes that the experiment shows the dialectical process of education and development. Despite its importance, however, studies on national development have not considered Tanzania as a case study. Also, no study on Tanzanian education has highlighted education alongside development. Therefore, this study sheds light on Tanzania's national development plans and education based on educational development. It considers experiment in Tanzania as a new educational development experiment and considers the relationship between education and development in an alternative sense.

### **1.3.2 Research Questions**

To this end, this study proposes the following research question:

- What were the characteristics of education and national development

plans in Tanzania in from 1961 to 1985?

- How did education relate to development in Tanzania in education and national development?

The objective of this study is to reinterpret the experiment in Tanzania from 1961 to 1985 in terms of education and development. To meet the objective, through the first research question, this study will explore Tanzania's education and national development plans from 1961 to 1985. The research question will help shed light on Tanzania's 25-year post-independence history in terms of the relationship between education and development.

In addition, this study will examine how Tanzania's education and national development plans interact dialectically in the relationship between education and development, and what implications it provides for explaining the relationship between them. Tanzania is a country where education and national development plans closely interact with each other. The second research question will be useful in interpreting the implementation of education and development in Tanzania from 1961 to 1985 through the proposed concept of educational development.

#### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

This study will add value to education and development in Tanzania as it explores the historical formation of modern education in the country through the proposed conceptual definition of educational development. This study contributes to the theoretical and methodological discussions and expands the

field of Tanzanian education research.

First, this study provides the concept of educational development and sheds new light on the meaning of the dialectical interaction between education and development. To this end, I critically examine the role of education in West-centric concepts of national development and human development is critically examined. For this purpose, this study introduces the concept of educational development that combines the views of development by the Brazilian human development theorist Denis Goulet and the Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire is newly introduced. Educational development criticizes the phenomenon in which education has only been considered a tool for economic growth and economic development in the third world in the latter half of the 20th century, and emphasizes the need to explore alternative meanings of development in the West as well as the Rest.

Second, this study sheds new light on the practice of education in Tanzania from 1961 to 1985 by approaching the issue through historical sociology and anthropology. These approaches are useful for dynamically examining education in Tanzania in the process of state formation and national development soon after independence. From field research data were gathered from government documents, and other educational materials, international organization reports, and speeches by the first president in the 1960s and 1980s in Tanzania. All those collected data were reconstructed regarding education and development by applying sociological imagination and anthropological imagination. Sociological and anthropological approaches to history help to explain Tanzania with a new theoretical framework.

Third, this study broadens the research area of education history in Tanzania

from the perspective of dialectical interaction between education and development. Most studies on education in Tanzania are about explaining the state of education today. On the other hand, studies on the history in Tanzania explain the political and economic significance and limitation of state formation and national development. In other words, studies that focus on state formation and national development do not connect the research with educational policies or the significance of education, and others that pay attention to education during this period fail to link education with national development. This study adopts a newly designed theoretical framework to understand the history of education in Tanzania.

## **CHAPTER II. EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT**

The relationship between education and development is controversial. Many scholars agree that education and development are related, but there are disputes how exactly they are related. There disagreements are on the tightness and directionality of the relationship between education and development (McGrath, 2010: 248). For example, education and development may take various forms such as education in development, development through education, education for development, development for development, development education and so on (Yoo et al, 2016: 3).

This study examines the relationship between education and development and proposes conceptual definition of educational development. This work begins a different discussion, moving away from the existing discourse on national development, which consist of political, economic, and social (cultural) dimensions, and human development.

This chapter provides the results of the literature review on the relationship between education and national development in 2.1 and the relationship between education and human development in 2.2. Then 2.3 outline researcher's views on development and education to design a concept of educational development by incorporating Denis Goulet and Paulo Freire's views on education.

### **2.1 Education for National Development**

The relationship between education and national development is complicated. Education has been developed under the national education system since the

emergence of the nation-state in the modern era and has played various roles. Many theories such as modernization theory, human capital theory, dependency theory, Marxist theory and development, liberation theory, developmental state theory (model) explain the relationship between education and national development or the role of education in national development. Besides, there are attempts to understand the relationship between education and national development, which consist of political, economic, and social (cultural) dimensions, and to explain the role of education at each level. The role of education is explained within these three dimensions of national development according to development theories.

This section reviews the major theories of national development and education. And it explores characteristics of education in national development through the study of Fagerlind & Saha (1983), a representative study about education and state formation. Understanding the theories and dimensions make it possible to explore the relationship between education and national development in political, economic, and social dimensions.

### **2.1.1 Major Theories**

Theories on education and national development arose as the concept of development spread after World War II. In the 1960s modernization theory and human capital theory were the forerunners. But criticisms of the two established theories arose in the 1970s and 1980s in the form of dependency theory, Marxist theory and development, and liberation theory (Adams, 2001). Modernization theory and human capital theory were the West-centric development notions

represented by Europe, and dependency theory, Marxist theory and development, and liberation theory spread primarily in Latin America and the Third World. In the 1990s, the developmental state model emerged, explaining the development of East Asian countries.

Modernization theory arose in the process of forming a new world order after World War II and was used by Western capitalist countries to expand their influence in the form of aid and assistance in newly independent countries. It is an early theory of development that aims to help underdeveloped countries based on the premise that all societies progress through similar stages of development and underdeveloped areas are in similar situations with today's developed regions at some time in the past. In modernization theory, education aims to foster modern human beings. Modernization is possible through educated modernized humans (Adams, 2001). The concept of development education created through this perception of the relationship between national development and education.

The human capital theory emerged around the same time in the 1960s. The theory has promoted economic growth and employment throughout the international community by highlighting human resources and educating skilled workers for hire. Under this theory, education has become a project designed and conducted by international banks and organizations (Jones & Coleman, 2005: 105). This global trend resulted in an expansion of foreign aid centered on technical and vocational education and training (Robertson et al., 2007).

Dependency theory emerged as a critique of modernization theory and human capital theory. dependency theory officially emerged in the late 1960s after World War II when scholars sought the fundamental reason behind Latin

America's lack of development. According to this theory, the world system is divided into peripheral and core states. States in the periphery, which are poor and underdeveloped, are considered politically, economically, socially, and culturally subordinate to the core states. Therefore, the underdevelopment of the Third World cannot be explained separately from the development of the West (Ahiakpor, 1985). In education, the theory is understood in terms of cultural domination, and it is believed that the educational structure and content are used by the core part as a means of control over the periphery. Dependency theory is also employed to identify the cause of the deterioration of education in the Third World and to criticize foreign aid. Martin Carnoy (1974) is a scholar who takes this perspective and considers colonial education as a form of cultural imperialism. Leon Tikly (2004) also discusses the relationship between education and neo-imperialism by focusing on development. He criticizes that the practice of education development cooperation can be seen as a new form of imperialism (Tikly, 2004).

From 1980 to 1990, the end of the Cold War led to the decline of the Communist alternative system and the development of East Asia. In this period the developmental state theory emerged. A developmental state is a term used by international political economy scholars to refer to the phenomenon of state-led macroeconomic planning in East Asia in the late 20th century (Green, 2013). Green (2013) explores the role of education in the process of national formation and national development in East Asia through the theory of the developmental state. Combined with economic growth in East Asia, this theory is useful for explaining the role of nations in the process of education development (Green, 2013: 346). However, this paradigm is also changing in the 21st century. While

developing countries had been discussed mainly with a focus on economic growth, by the end of the 20th century, international interest in the environment began to emerge to complicate the matter (Williams, 2014).

The theories explored so far are based on the assumption that education contributes to national development. The relationship between education and development corresponds to education for development. As mentioned earlier, the relation between the two is not fixed. Fagerlind & Saha (1983) criticizes that education does not necessarily drive national development. They, therefore, propose education and development instead of education for development or development education to go beyond the dominant discourse. However, Fagerlind & Saha (1983) limit the criticism against the tendency to see education as a panacea for national development. They explain the positive and negative effects of education on national development but do not criticize the fact that education is merely a tool for national development.

Scholars continue to see education as functioning on behalf of development because they adopt the development framework and understand education in that frame. Of course, it is undeniable that education has played a significant role in state formation and national development. But one need not follow the existing economy-oriented development discourse to examine the relationship between education and development.

Green (1990; 2013) in his study on education and state formation reminds us of the need to break away from the existing development discourse when considering the relationship between education and development. His first edition in 1990 covers Europe and the United States, and the second edition includes East Asia. Although the first edition does not deal with education and

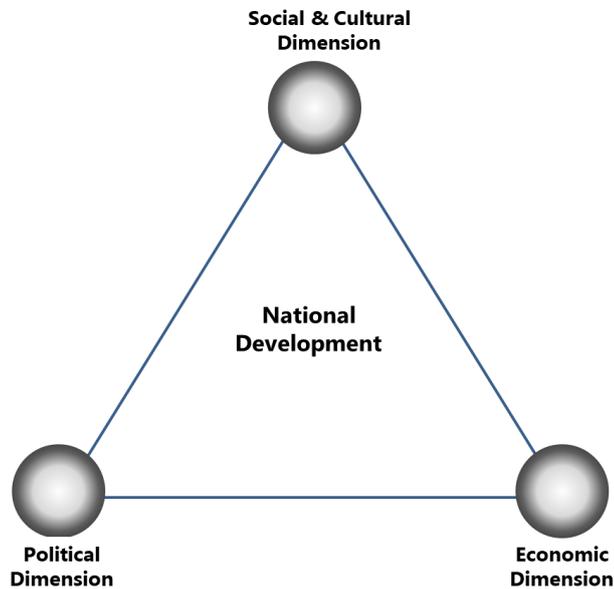
national development, Green (2013) adopts two development theories – late development and developmental states – to explain East Asia. Green reasons that the relationship between education and national formation in East Asia links to national development.

However, Green does not address education and state formation in Africa. Green argues that education in Africa was “less successful” and that the relationship between state formation and education was “more opaque”. He shows passive research attitudes and negative views on state formation and education in Africa (Green, 2013: 298). Above all, he did not analyze African cases because he believes that the relationship between education and national development did not emerge in the African state formation process.

However, if the frame of analysis is changed, the interpretation may be different. Another conclusion may emerge if we look away from existing development theories and look at Africa with a new frame. A new lens is required to explain the relationship between education and national development in the state formation process in Africa.

### **2.1.2 Role of Education and National Development**

When a phenomenon occurs in a state, it is often divided into political, economic, social, and cultural aspects. This study explores three dimensions of national development and finds how education relates to dimensions of national development by adopting the research by Fagerlind & Saha (1983).



<Figure II-1> Three Dimensions of National Development

In the book *Education and National Development*, Fagerlind & Saha divides the relationship between education and national development into economic, social, and political dimensions as Figure II-1 shows. Economic growth and employment are elements of the economic dimension, modernization, and quality of life belong to the social dimension, and the political dimension includes political mobility and development. The elements mentioned by Fagerlind & Saha are not necessarily limited to each dimension, but each element does significantly show the characteristics of each dimension.

### ***Economic Dimension***

The crucial elements in national economic dimension are economic growth and employment (Fagerlind & Saha, 1983). In Europe, nation-states emerged after economic development through the Industrial Revolution. Economic

development through economic growth and employment is more pronounced in the newly independent states that have undergone industrialization in the post-World War II process, especially in East Asia (Green, 1990; 2013). In the 1990s, developmental state theory emerged to explain East Asian development based on economic development. But despite its importance, the represented economic development-related theory since the 1960s is still the human capital theory. It has driven economic growth and employment promotion throughout the international community by using education to foster skilled human resources.

Under the theory of human capital, education has become a project designed and conducted by international banks and international organizations (Jones & Coleman, 2005: 105).<sup>3</sup> This global trend resulted in the expansion of foreign aid centered on technical and vocational education and training (Robertson et al., 2007). Most of the new countries, including South Korea and other East Asia, wanted to emphasize technical and vocational education and training and linked education to national economic development (Chung, 2010). The goal of education in these countries was to contribute to the economic growth and development with skilled workers. Against this trend, McGrath (2012) argues that technical and vocational education and training should adopt a human-centered approach, but the approach did not spread widely in the 20th century.

### ***Social Dimension***

Modernization is the main character of national social dimension (Fagerlind & Saha, 1983: 107). Strictly speaking, modernization and modernization theory

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<sup>3</sup> In the early 1960s, the Human Capital Theory was not dominant (Jones & Coleman, 2005: 105).

is different. As mentioned earlier, Western capitalist countries adopted modernization theory to develop their influence on newly independent states through international aid, whereas modernization refers to the style and quality of life. However, the two cannot be considered separately, given that modernization theory has presented a blueprint for modernization as the direction for the development of newly independent states.

Education is significant in the process of modernization. Modernization recognizes education as a useful tool for acquiring modern attitudes and values (Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Fagerlind & Saha, 1983: 96). Inkeles & Smith's (1974: 304) case study of six developing countries<sup>4</sup> shows that school education enabled modern lifestyles and value acquisition. Also, school education contributed to the formation of students into an image of modern humanity. However, in this process of modernization, the role of education has not been completely positive. This is also related to the reason why colonial education is controversial. The two rationales behind colonial education were to support colonial rule by fostering subservient people and to enlighten and modernize the colonized (Whitehead, 1995). Modernization's emphasis on the importance of education is connected to the latter rationale of colonialism.

### ***Political Dimension***

Political mobilization and political progress are the main elements of political dimension. Specifically, political dimension includes national unity, development, and integration of national identity, achieving democracy, and fostering political

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<sup>4</sup> The six countries are Argentina, Chile, India, Israel, Nigeria, and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).

leaders and elites (Fagerlind & Saha, 1983). The correlation between education and national development has been historically remarkable in the period of nationalism in Europe. In particular, national print languages connected education and national development. Benedict Anderson (1991), Eric Hobsbawm (1992), and Nicos Poulantzas (1980) pointed out the significance of language in European nationalism and nation-state formation.

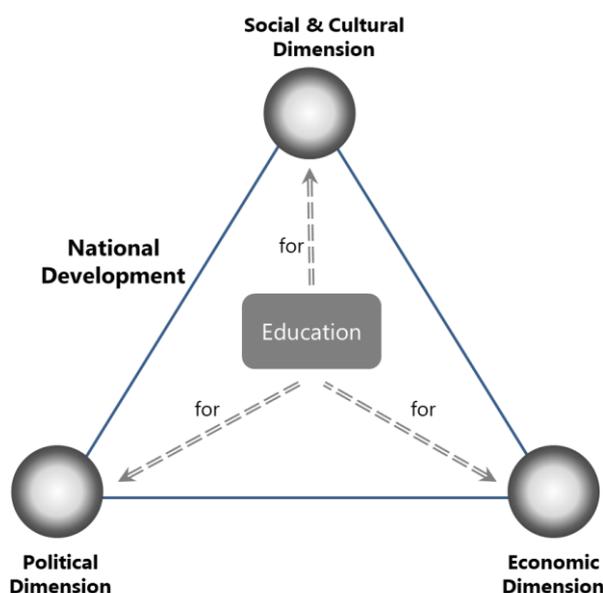
According to Hobsbawm (1992), nation-building comes first, and national bonds follow. As public school systems formed to educate in a common language that can produce national unity, people of different ethnicities speaking different languages could learn one common language and the common national values (Anderson, 1991). Furthermore, language affects political identity and mobilization. Poulantzas calls this “language imperialism” (Poulantzas, 1980).

### ***Cross-Cutting Features***

Although this study has looked at the elements of economic, social, and political dimensions of national development so far, it is not easy to distinguish clearly each dimension as Fagerlind & Saha (1983) classify. It is because economic, social, and political dimensions are interconnected. For example, emphasizing the ideological aspect of education in social dimension connects to political dimension concerning national integration in a broad sense, and emphasizing modernized quality of life in social dimension links to economic dimension. Thus, Cox (1968) sees modernization as a concept that encompasses all categories of politics, economy, and society, suggesting that social stratification, political leadership, educational policy, and economic growth as

the four elements of modernization. Each element is closely connected and exhibits integrated features (Cox, 1968: 311). Considering the interaction among different dimensions is useful in examining the process of national development. Its importance will be described in a later section on education and development (section 2.3) with Goulet’s concept of development.

What is important here is the relationship between education and national development. Fagerlind & Saha’s work shows that education has functioned in three dimensions of national development, and education ultimately contributes to national development. In other words, education is a tool for economic, social, and political dimension in a nation <see Figure II-2>.



<Figure II-2> The Relationship between Education and National Development

The idea that education is a tool for national economic, social, and political development is to understand the relationship between education and national development as education *for* development. However, as mentioned earlier, this

view limits the interpretation of the relationship between education and national development. The limitation stems from viewing the relationship strictly in light of development. Therefore, it is necessary to point out some limitations to the development discourse.

### **2.1.3 Critics to Economy-oriented Development**

Although national development is divided into three dimensions as shown in Fagerlind & Saha, the economic dimension is often most significant for national development. That is because the international community has pursued development based on capitalism since the end of World War II. The models of successful capitalism are Europe and the United States. The fact that among the various development theories, human capital theory and modernization theory emerged at the forefront of development theory in the 1960s proves this assertion. Above all, those who emphasize social or political dimension tend to consider multiple dimensions whereas those who emphasize economic dimension consider the economy as the main factor of development (Fagerlind & Saha, 1983: 92). This trend makes economic dimension more pronounced in national development.

Historically, the same has been in education. Many studies on education and national development have understood development as economic development or economic growth. Besides, international organizations, a leading player in development in the international community, have supported these trends (Cox, 1968).

Harbison & Myers (1964) focus on education, manpower, and economic

growth and distinguish the stages of education development. The national development stage is divided into four levels: underdeveloped, partially developed, semi-advanced countries, and advanced. The national level of development is related to the level of education from secondary to higher education. Their conclusion is that higher education cannot develop in underdeveloped or less developed countries. Harbison & Myers (1964) highlights how economic growth has been emphasized in national development and how it has influenced education development (Harbison & Myers, 1964).<sup>5</sup>

As such, existing discussions on education and national development have looked at education as a tool for development. Such discussion is often limited to economic-centered growth and development under a capitalist society. Then what should education be? The exploration of the relationship between education and development continues to cast questions about the role of education in development.

## **2.2 Education for Human Development**

Exploring the discussion on education and human development is crucial to understand the relationship between education and development. While

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<sup>5</sup> Harbison & Myers (1964) analyzed data in 75 countries, then considered the qualitative experience of representative countries in each of the four levels of human resource development: underdeveloped, partially-developed, semi-advanced and advanced. They describe the typical country at each level in terms of their economy, education system, training opportunities, and stage and quality of human resource development. ① For the underdeveloped country they prescribed expansion of secondary education, ② for the partially developed country, expansion of free or public secondary education and reform of the curriculum, ③ for the semi-advanced country, a shift in emphasis at the college level from law and the humanities to science and technology, and ④ for the advanced country, improvement in the quality of higher education and postgraduate education.

discussions on education and national development have continued since the 1960s, discussions on education and human development have emerged relatively recently. Therefore, this section examines the relationship between education and human development and its limitations.

### **2.2.1 Paradigm Shift in the Concept of Human Development**

Academically, human development deals with human lifespan and explains the biological state and abilities of humans at different stages. Human development includes physical, cognitive, and social dimensions in the stages of fetal, adolescent, and adult development, and includes maturational theory, psychoanalytic theory, Erikson's psychosocial theory, behaviorism, biopsychosocial theory, cognitive development theory, and ecological systems theory. Until now, human development has been a natural science focused on the biological growth or status of humans, so the social sciences dealing with national development did not deal with human development. Human development had nothing to do with the context of political, economic, and social dimensions of national development that covered only the collective social units such as the state and society.

In the 1990s, this trend changed. The concept of human development extended from natural science to social science, and the state and society were also included as the object of development. The human development approach and the capability approach emerged as new theoretical paradigms to dominate the development discourse (Nussbaum, 2011: x). The economist Amartya Sen contributed to the change. In the late 1980s, Sen emphasized human life and the

need for human development beyond economic development (Sen, 1980; 1988). Sen was not a pioneer in the discourse of human development, as anti-developmental scholars such as Wolfgang Sachs, Ivan Illich, and Arturo Escobar had already developed the theoretical discussions. However, the flow of discourse did change ever since Sen's ideas were included in the development discourse.

The paradigm shift and the emergence of new approaches had a significant influence on national policy and international organizations, which are core policy implementers in the international community (Nussbaum, 2011: x). In the early 1990s, the UNDP introduced the Human Development Index. The United Nations defines human development as “a process of expanding people's choices”. And to expand individual freedom to choose, it emphasizes the right “to lead a long and healthy life, to be educated, to enjoy a decent standard of living,” and “political freedom, other guaranteed human rights and various ingredients of self-respect” (UNDP, 1997: 15). In the process, education contributes to expanding individual choice. The Human Development Index measures human development in three aspects: a long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and having an adequate standard of living according to the UN's definition of human development.<sup>6</sup>

Sen's capability approach, which presents a new paradigm, pursues development by expanding the freedom of choice in life according to individual values. Martha Nussbaum who invented the capability approach with Sen understands human progress in terms of individual choices and expanding

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<sup>6</sup> Refer to <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi>

opportunities. She presents ten “central human competencies”<sup>7</sup> from this point of view, and when it comes to education, she suggests that “to do these things (to imagine, think, and reason) in a ‘truly human’ way” necessitates being “informed and cultivated by an adequate education” (Nussbaum, 2011: 33-34).

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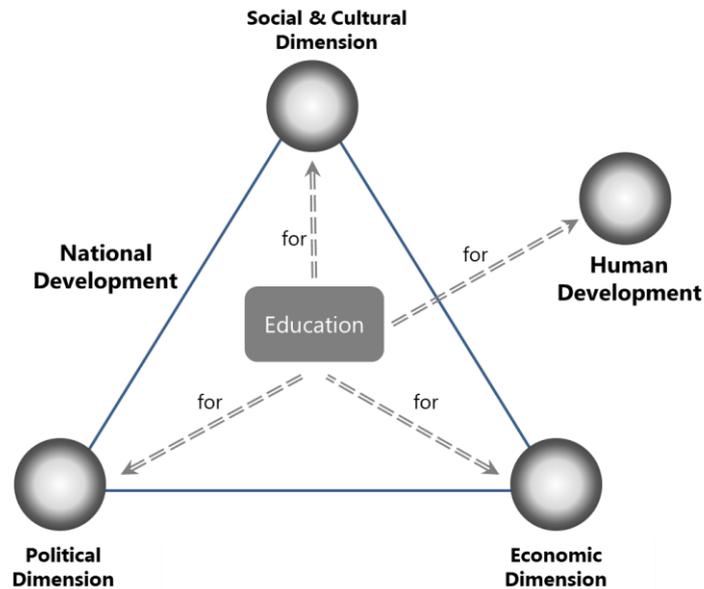
<sup>7</sup> The ten central human competencies are as follows:

- ① Life. Being able to live to the end of a human life of normal length; not dying prematurely, or before one's life is so reduced as to be not worth living.
- ② Bodily Health. Being able to have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
- ③ Bodily Integrity. Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for sexual satisfaction and for choice in matters of reproduction.
- ④ Senses, Imagination, and Thought. Being able to use the senses, to imagine, think, and reason-and to do these things in a “truly human” way, a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training. Being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise. Being able to have pleasurable experiences and to avoid non-beneficial pain.
- ⑤ Emotions. Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us, to grieve at their absence; in general, to love, to grieve, to experience longing, gratitude, and justified anger. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety.
- ⑥ Practical Reason. Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life.
- ⑦ Affiliation. (a) Being able to live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other humans, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another. (b) Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others. This entails provisions of non-discrimination on the basis of race, sex, sexual orientation, ethnicity, caste, religion, national origin and species.
- ⑧ Other Species. Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
- ⑨ Play. Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
- ⑩ Control over one's Environment. (a) Political. Being able to participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association. (b) Material. Being able to hold property (both land and movable goods), and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others; having the freedom from unwarranted search and seizure. In work, being able to work as a human, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition with other workers. (Nussbaum, 2011: 33–34)

### **2.2.2 Role of Education and Human Development**

Human development overlaps with the purpose of education in many aspects (Yoo & Lee, 2016: 121). In the 2000s, studies on human development in the education sector were published by scholars such as Unterhalter (2003) and Saito (2003). Education has both the intrinsic and the instrumental role (Robeyns, 2006:70), and human development significantly includes not only the instrumental but also the intrinsic role of education (Unterhalter, 2003: 9; Robeyns, 2006: 78). Intrinsic means having a value or role in itself, not a means for another purpose (Korsgaard, 1983). Taking into account the intrinsic role of education in human development means that education is not only a tool for development but has value beyond the instrumental role.

However, even as the intrinsic role of education is included in human development, the instrumental role of education also remains according to the definitions and concepts designed by the UN or the capability approach. When defining human development as an expansion of choice and opportunities, education is just one of the few factors that open up opportunities and possibilities for people to choose. From that perspective, Figure II-3 explains the relationship between education and human development.



<Figure II-3> The Relationship between Education and both National and Human Development

Figure II-3 shows that education functions as a development tool by adding human development to Figure II-2. However, there is no interaction between national development and human development. Education contributes to national development and human development. Such a relationship between education and development corresponds to the conception of education *for* development.

### 2.2.3 Limitations

Assuming that a new paradigm is necessary to give a new perspective on the relationship between education and development, human development has limitations in two aspects:

First, human development emphasizes economic aspects. As mentioned earlier, the discussion on national development is limited to or emphasizes the economic dimension. And while human development is focused on individuals,

it has not deviated from the same economic framework as national development. Compared to the human capital theory which best illustrates the role of education in the economic dimension, human development seems to place less emphasis on the economic side because it involves the intrinsic role of education. Moreover, discussions about human development are likely to be further expanded as there have been attempts to address the concept in ethics and philosophical studies. But what should not be overlooked is that Sen is an economist and human development is designed on an economic basis. Robertson et al. (2007) pointed out the significance of Sen's theory as "a broader perspective on the social as well as economic dimensions of development" (Robertson et al., 2007: 135). As if to prove this, measurements of human development indices or indicators designed by the UN as well as the capability approaches include quantifiable metrics. Therefore, human development is limited in that it is an approach designed primarily from an economic point of view.

Second, human development emphasizes individuals and overlooks communities. Sen's human development begins with the criticism that Bentham's utilitarian view, referred to in conventional welfare economics, has created oppressive situations for individuals. Hence, Sen sees the aim of human development as the acquisition of freedom for individuals who so far have been oppressed in the state, society, or community. Sen's emphasis on democracy can be considered within the process of expanding freedoms (Sen, 1999). Thus, Sen expects the capability approach to allow oppressed individuals to gain freedom and to overcome individual inequality. However, the criticism of utilitarianism by emphasizing the individual overlooks the importance of community and excludes the space in which individuals can interact with community and society.

A new perspective of development is required to show the harmonious development of individuals and communities.

### **2.3 Educational Development**

Until now, this study has explored the relationship between education and national development, and between education and human development, discovering the limitations of their perspectives on development. In 2.1, this study pointed out that the discussion on education and national development is based on an economy-oriented view of development, and that there is a limit to explaining the relationship between education and national development in countries in Africa where education is considered underdeveloped. In 2.2, this study confirmed that the scope of development since the 1990s extends from state-centered development to human-centered development. Nevertheless, it is still being discussed from an economic point of view. And there is a limitation that human development overlooks utilitarianism and does not consider the importance of the community.

The limitations of existing theories require the exploration of new theories. This section discusses the concepts of development and education to explore an alternative approach then designs a new concept of education development. However, the concept has not yet been defined academically. Other conceptual definitions are possible depending on how the relationship between education and development is defined (Robeyns, 2006). However, despite the open possibilities, the concept of development itself has been limited, as explained in 2.1 and 2.2, and education is recognized only as a tool for development,

consequently limiting the discussions on education and development. Therefore, alternative discussions on education and development are required to consider new ways to regard the new relationship between education and development.

This study adopts the works by the human development theorist Denis Goulet and an educator and philosopher Paulo Freire for a new exploration of education and development. Goulet was a philosopher who pioneered the field of development ethics. While examining development ethics within the global context, he argued that a combination of global-level and local-level focus and loyalties is needed (Gasper, 2011). Goulet believed that each group has a core value inherent in its history and cultural context. For him, development means changing of community values and is a cultural achievement. Goulet's view of development opens up critical potential to change the current West-centric development discourse.

Goulet expresses his support for Freire's critical literacy of the people of the Third World, emphasizing that the people should protect their dignity and freedom and decide their own destiny (Goulet, 1971). Freire is a leading critical pedagogue. Freire argues that social transformation must be achieved through individual conscientization in order for humans to escape the oppressive structure. This process is development. Thus, leaders must become familiar with the culture and language of the oppressed people and must lead to conscientization and action through cooperative dialogue based on the language of the people. For Freire, social transformation can be realized on the cultural basis of the people.

This study assumes that Goulet's view of development and Freire's view of education are against the existing development discourse and holds the potential

to be an alternative discourse. Therefore, in this section, first, this study explores Denis Goulet's critical approach to development and Paulo Freire's critical approach to education. Then this study synthesizes a critical view of development and education, redefining the concept of educational development and placing the concept above existing development discourse.

### **2.3.1 What should development be?**

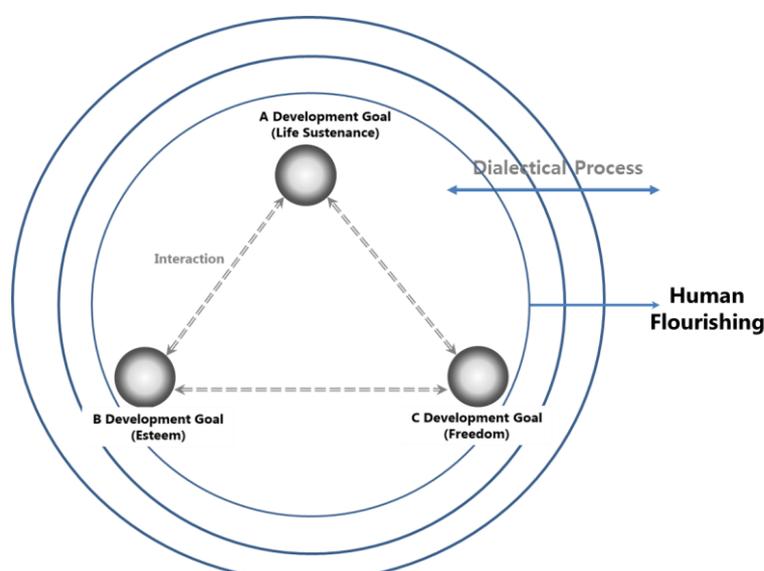
The definitions and elements of development vary and are difficult to define. Even in the three dimensions of national development the elements of each dimension are different. Human development also has historically changed and expanded its meaning. By definition, development is a process and an aim that includes concepts of growth, progress, and change. While starting with this dictionary definition of development, in this section this study will examine the perspective of the critical human development theorist Denis Goulet. Goulet's approach will enable new exploration of the relationship between education and the development of the conventional concepts of both national and human development.

#### ***The Dialectic of Development***

As a human development theorist Denis Goulet interprets development as a dialectical process (Goulet, 1971: 108). Goulet analyzes states as units. Each state develops when life sustenance, esteem, and freedom are guaranteed. Life sustenance, esteem, and freedom are development goals of each state and the goals interact with each other. The development of each state towards the three

development goals ultimately contributes to the global development goal of human flourishing. In sum, each state must take steps toward the global development goal of human flourishing, and the development of each state is achieved by guaranteeing life sustenance, esteem, and freedom.

Goulet's view of development is shown in Figure II-4 below. The goal of development is to achieve human flourishing through the constant dialectical process of interaction between life sustenance, esteem, and freedom.



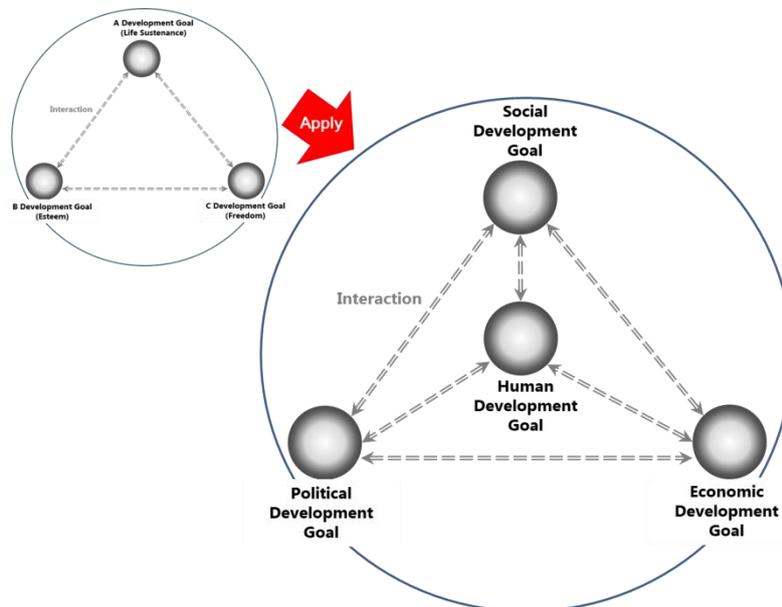
<Figure II-4> Goulet's View of Development

What is noteworthy in Goulet's view of development is that the degree of development in each state is not taken into account when measuring development. Since the ultimate goal of development lies in human flourishing, it is evaluated only against the ultimate goal of development at the global level. The goals of life sustenance, esteem, and freedom that each state has to achieve, are not evaluated at the national level because they are not outcomes, but ongoing interactions and dialectical processes themselves (Goulet, 1995; 48). So

it does not matter how much each country guarantees these elements.

Goulet's view of development provides a new perspective on the target and process of development. The international community has generally measured the level of development in countries and categorized them as developed, developing, and underdeveloped. Recently, the terms Global North and Global South are used depending on the degree of development. This distinction evaluates the development of individual countries. It contrasts with Goulet's view of development that considers the whole human community. From Goulet's point of view, it is not appropriate to classify each country's level of development. It is impossible to develop countries through economic growth. Therefore, Goulet's perspective of development cannot evaluate national development. Only human flourishing can be evaluated.

Second, it is a new perspective on the process of development. From Goulet's point of view, national development and human development are not independent of each other. They have interactive development goals in a dialectical process toward human flourishing. Three dimensions of national development are also three cogwheels that drive development. If replacing the three dimensions of national development with each development that has each goal, life sustenance, esteem, and freedom in Goulet's perspective of development can be replaced by the goal of economic development, social development, political development, and human development. This is illustrated in Figure II-5.



<Figure II-5> Applying both National and Human Development to Goulet's View of Development

Taken together, economic development, social development, political development, and human development are intermediary development goals that dialectically interact with each other and advance to the higher-level goal of human flourishing.

### *Approach to the Relationship between Education and Development*

Goulet's view of development is useful for re-establishing the relationship between education and development. Earlier, this study criticized how education has been a tool for national development and human development and argued that a new paradigm is needed to shed light on the relationship between education and development. A critical approach is needed for a new paradigm to emerge. Goulet's view of development opens up the possibility for a critical

approach. Within Goulet's concept of development, education may interact with national development and human development to contribute to each other. But for such interaction to be possible, education itself should also have a development goal as an independent development concept. That's why in 2.3.3, this study will devise a new concept called educational development.

Additionally, Goulet's approach to development is useful for examining Tanzania in Africa. Earlier, this study criticized Green's study which argued that it is difficult to discern the relationship between education and state formation in Africa. Green interprets the relationship between education and state formation in East Asia with development theories. However, he failed to explain Africa with an economic-centered development idea. But if the scope of development need not be economy-oriented, taking advantage of Goulet's view of development, there is a possibility to shed new light on the relationship between education and national development in Africa.

Thus, through Goulet's view of development, this study conceptualizes development as follows: the degree and stage of development should not be distinguished because it is not about imposing a linear standard. It is a series of processes in which dimensions of development interact with each other. The main agents of development should include not only individuals but also communities and collective units that mutually interact. This concept will be used to devise the concept of educational development in later sections.

### **2.3.2 What should education be?**

Defining education is difficult. There are several branches of the field of

Education. What is clear is that no matter how it is defined, modern nation-states have provided education for their people and education is understood within the national education system. The system of education includes the national education system, education policy, and school education. This has been the mainstream of education in the modern era. However, as a critique of the national education system, education policy, and school education gradually arose, alternative education, non-formal education, and lifelong education appeared and now coexist within the scope of education.

This study examines the main trends in education and development so far and confirms that education has functioned as an educational tool for a certain kind of development. Considering how Robeyns (2006: 70) divides the role of education into intrinsic and instrumental according to the nature of education, education has so far failed to play an intrinsic role in the relationship with development. However, education should be independent in itself rather than a mere instrument for other purposes. Therefore, this section aims to examine the discourse of critical education. This approach will help newly understand the nation-state and development and establish the concept of educational development.

### ***Education as a Process of Liberation***

Paulo Freire is an educator and philosopher who was a leading advocate of critical pedagogy. Freire understood education as the process of dialogue between human beings, not as a system or school. The room where education takes place is not a space for acquiring pre-packaged education, but a space for

social change. Social means the civil society or the community that coexists with and opposes the state. The purpose of education is not only for individuals to acquire knowledge and change their perspectives, but also to cultivate the power to change an individual's community towards a new direction. Therefore, through education, humans create a new power to change the society in which they belong. Freire calls this the politics of education (Freire, 2000).

Freire criticizes market-tailored education, instrumented education, and cramming education which blocks human interaction inhibits the development of critical and imaginary capacities. In the language of Marx, such education causes human alienation. Freire refers to such education as “banking” education and defines banking as “the scope of action allowed to the students” that is limited only to “receiving, filing, and storing the deposits” (Freire, 2000: 72). Freire also criticizes the education system represented by the banking concept of education. However, he does not deny the education system itself. Instead, he focuses on the nature of education inside and outside of the system.

Freire understands education by focusing on human characteristics. The ultimate purpose of education is the realization of humanization and human liberation based on his understanding of humanity. According to Freire's view of education, every human being has the power to change his or her consciousness through interaction with others. What makes this possible is not banking education, but “problem-posing” education. Problem-posing education is a process of change that happens through dialogue between humans. Through this process, humans can develop the power to change their consciousness first and then lead their communities in new directions. This ultimately leads to the realization of humanization and human liberation. Therefore, the educational

space either in or out of school does not matter to Freire; both are educational spaces. What is important is whether or not problem-posing education is realized in practice (Freire, 2000, 71-86).

Freire was concerned about the practice of education under neoliberalism during and after his long exile. Thus, while he criticized the education system he did not completely discard it. With his education theory, Freire developed national education systems in Latin America and Africa during his exile (Gadotti & Torres, 2009). After returning to his home country of Brazil, he served as the Superintendent of Sao Paulo, conducting educational experiments to see his theory of education in practice (Yoo, 2002). Freire's thoughts on education were in a constant state of construction and experimentation.<sup>8</sup>

Freire's significance is not just in pedagogy. His theory that moves toward education as the practice of freedom spread across Latin America to Africa and Asia. Furthermore, it has expanded beyond pedagogy to a wide range of knowledge fields, ranging from political science, sociology to health (Gadotti & Torres, 2009: 1265). Freire's ideas on education and is useful to form a broad understanding of the relationship between education and development.

### ***Approach to the Relationship between Education and Development***

Freire's view of education provides a new perspective on the role of education in the relationship between education and development. He does not see education as a means for something. Education is not a tool for development.

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<sup>8</sup> His best illustration of this is *Pedagogy in Process: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau* (Freire, 1978). The book contains Freire's ideas on the state formation of the former Portuguese colony of Guinea-Bissau, as well as national development and education in the socialist system.

His definition of education is much wider than the scope of education mentioned in national development or human development. Rather, education is something that gives the power to change society. Freire emphasizes that education reform cannot happen before the social change but social change requires education. If the dictionary definition of development is “the process in which someone or something grows or changes and becomes more advanced”, education is itself development.

Freire’s view of education is also significant in that it considers both individuals and communities as the main agents of development. Education facilitates change of consciousness in individuals. Then the community as a group of educated individuals may move toward a new direction. But in the concept of national development, only the state is the agent of development. Only the state develops, and education merely supports its development. Economic, social, and political developments’ goal is national development, and education is used to achieve the same goal. On the contrary, human development emphasizes individuals. The goal of human development is to restore individuals who have been erased by the emphasis on the community and to expand individuals’ opportunities. In the process, communities are overlooked. However, Freire’s view of education supplements the limitations of national development and human development by involving both communities and individuals. In the movement from individual development to community development, education becomes development itself.

Therefore, in this study, education is summarized as follows based on Freire’s view of education. By interacting with each other, humans can have the power to change individual consciousness and enact social change. This process is

education. Education makes change possible for both individuals and communities. Through education, individuals and communities ultimately move toward the realization of humanization and human liberation.

### **2.3.3 Conceptual Definition: Educational Development**

This section devises a concept of educational development by combining Goulet's perspective on development and Freire's perspective on education. This section will also explain how the newly designed concept of educational development relates to national development and human development.

#### ***The Concept of Educational Development***

Based on the thoughts of Goulet and Freire, development and education can be conceptualized as follows. Diverse development goals interact with each other and move dialectically toward the ultimate goal of human flourishing. Development can be determined not through the achievement of individual development goals but the achievement of human flourishing. Education is the interaction between humans. Education facilitates change in individual consciousness, and then these groups of individuals form communities that enact change in the society. The ultimate goal of education is the realization of humanization and human liberation.

Education and development have two similarities. First, the components interact and undergo dialectical processes. In development, development goals interact, and in education, humans interact. Second, components move dialectically toward the ultimate goal. The development aims for human

flourishing and the goal of education is to realize humanization and human liberation.

There are also differences between education and development. First, the units of analysis of development and education are different. For development, it is the nation-state while education analyzes the human individual and community. Second, the interacting subjects are different. In development, the specific goals (i.e. life sustenance, esteem, freedom) interact, and in education, individuals interact. Third, the ultimate goal is different. The ultimate goal of development is human flourishing, and the ultimate goal of education is the realization of humanization and human liberation.

These concepts of education and development are merged to derive the following. Educational development presupposes human interactions, that is, the state of critical consciousness of the individual. Educational development can only be based on what Freire calls conscientization, the change of consciousness through interaction between humans. The unit of analysis in educational development is the community. A community is a collection of conscientized humans who interacted with each other. The scope of a community is not limited. Community sizes range from small groups of individuals to global communities. Various communities interact with each other. Communities are the agents of interaction. Each interacting community moves toward the ultimate goal through a dialectical process. The ultimate goal is to realize a community in which unoppressed humans coexist.

Goulet sees the ultimate goal of development as human flourishing, and Freire regards the ultimate goal of education as human liberation. This study does not choose human flourishing or human liberation but instead argues that

the ultimate goal of educational development is to realize a community where free humans coexist through a dialectical process. Both human flourishing and human liberation depend on the coexistence of free humans. But this raises the question about the definition of freedom. This study does not limit the scope of freedom. When Freire argues for human liberation, his theory presupposes Marx's dichotomous structure of capitalists and workers, the oppressor and the oppressed, and the consequences of human alienation. However, understanding the scope of freedom within a dichotomous structure is limited in explaining the different concepts of freedom that individuals or certain groups are aiming for today and the different situations that hinder the execution of those freedoms. So, this study leaves the definition of freedom open.

The ultimate goal, that is, the realization of a community where free humans coexists reminds one of a utopia. The image of a utopia has been religiously and ideologically diverse in history. The conditions of free humans appear in utopia in various. Not belonging to a religious philosophy or political philosophy, this study does not explain the image of free humans and their community. This study merely identifies the ultimate goal of educational development as the realization of a community where free humans coexist. And educational development is a dialectical process of conscious individuals toward this ultimate goal.

### ***Educational Development as a Dialectical Process***

The reason why this study defined and proposed the concept of educational development earlier was, first, to criticize the way education has been considered in the existing development discourse as a means or tool for other development,

and second, to present a new concept of educational development through a broader sense to education and then to explore an alternative conception of development.

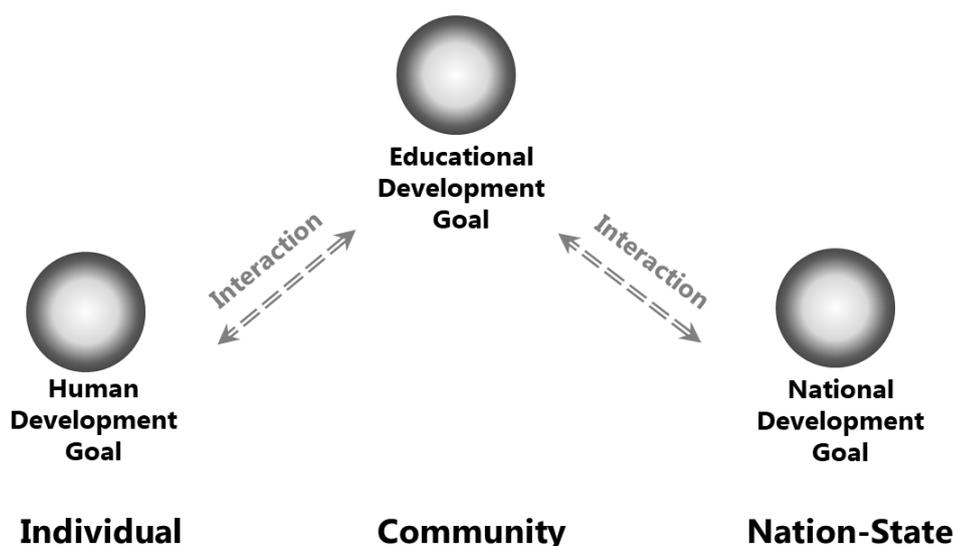
The reason why this study defined and proposed the concept of educational development earlier was, first, to criticize education for functioning as a means or tool for other development within existing development discourse, and second, to present a new concept of educational development through a broad sense to education and then explore an alternative development.

This study has so far explored the relationship between education and development and illustrated them in figures. Firstly, this study concludes that education plays a role as a tool contributing to national development and human development and illustrates the relationship in Figure II-3 “The Relationship between Education and National Development & Human Development”. In Figure 2.3, there is no interaction between each development and education functions only on behalf of other developments.

Secondly, this study introduces Goulet’s view of development as Figure II-4 “Goulet’s View of Development” shows. It shows that the various goals of development interact, which leads to Figure II-5 “Applying both National and Human Development to Goulet’s View of Development”. Figure II-5 shows the goals of economic development, social development, political development and human development interacting with each other and moving toward the ultimate development goal through a dialectical process.

In addition, this study freshly defines educational development and makes it have independent development goals alongside human development and national development. Since the educational development that this study designed is the

development of its own, it also can interact with other developments, which can be expressed in Figure II-6 “Interaction between Educational Development and Other Developments”. The figure shows that educational development interacts with other existing developments.



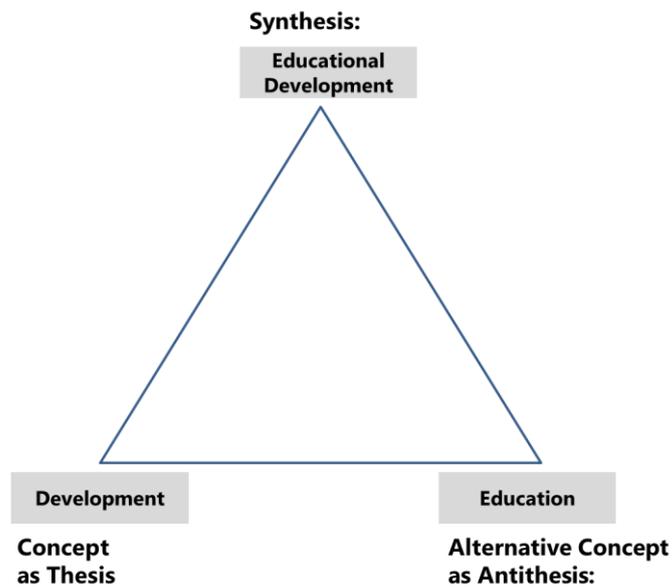
<Figure II-6> Interaction between Educational Development and Other Developments

As Figure II-6 shows, the goal of educational development mediates the goals of human development and national development through interactions with both. The unit of educational development is the community. Between human development on the individual level and national development on the state level, educational development is placed in between on the community level, thereby forming a structure in which development encompasses the individual and expands to the nation-state.

First, human development extends the object of development from individuals to communities through interaction with educational development. This allows human development to overcome the utilitarian criticism. In addition,

national development can develop its three dimensions evenly rather than becoming biased to the economic, for example. It also places the goal of national development as not merely the development of the nation but the development of various communities that make up the nation. This will allow the government to go beyond the limitation of assessing national development only through economic indicators. Such educational development that mediates between human development and national development may be distinguished as “small” educational development.

However, this study also goes a step further to consider educational development as a larger compound that encompasses human development and national development. This larger concept may be called “large” educational development. This study understands the relationship between education and development as a dialectical process. It means that education influences development, that development influences education, and ultimately, they reach the larger sense of educational development.



<Figure II-7> Dialectical Process of Educational Development

As Figure II-7 shows, the concept of development is the thesis, the alternative concept of education is the antithesis, and the “large” educational development is the synthesis. Development, or the thesis, includes human development, national development, and “small” educational development. Education as the antithesis covers what Freire calls education in its broad sense as well as all educational factors that enable educational development. Educational development is then the “large” educational development that aims for the state in which education equals development.

Educational development does not depend on national development or human development. Instead, it is an alternative concept for development discussions by accepting, encompassing, and integrating the existing discourses on development. These attempts and possibilities push the existing development discourse out of the limits and extend the role of education beyond merely the instrumental. Education is not just a tool or means of development but the minimum

prerequisite for educational development. This approach moves education that in the development discourse had been confined in discussions of national education systems or school education toward a more philosophical realm.

## **CHAPTER III. RESEARCH METHODS**

This chapter consists of two sections. The first section explains the scope and focus of this study. This section examines how previous research distinguishes education in Tanzania from 1961-1985 and explains how the validity of the suggested timeline classification was ensured for this study. The second section discusses how this study was designed and describes the process of data collection and analysis. This is a historical study of documentary analysis through sociological imagination. There was continuous effort to improve the validity of data during the process of designing and conducting the research.

### **3.1 The Scope of the Study**

Dividing the time period in the post-independence era Tanzania helps to examine how education in the country changed and the role education played in the process of national development. This section analyzes how the education period of President Nyerere from 1961 to 1985 was divided into previous studies and reports, and, in comparison, suggests a new periodic division.

#### **3.1.1 Literature Reviews on Education History in Tanzania**

Previous studies and reports on education in Tanzania have divided education in the post-independence era into approximately three to five periods. The major political and educational events that become reference points for the time-division include the independence of Tanganyika in 1961, the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance Policy in 1967, the Musoma Resolution in

1974, and the Universal Primary Education Policy in 1977. The following section examines some of the major divisions and analyzes the periodic characteristics.

Cameron & Dodd (1970) focus on the development of the education system in Tanzania from 1945 to 1966 before and after independence. As for education in the colonial era, they divide the period from 1945 to 1956 and from 1957 to 1961 describing how modern education was formed in Tanzania. For the post-independence period, they explain the national development plan, the education reform, and the education ordinance from 1961 to 1966, and the kinds of development that had been achieved compared to the colonial period. They also highlight the 1967 Arusha Declaration as an important event. The study by Cameron & Dodd (1970) is useful in that it interprets education in Tanzania after independence as a development process.

Carr-Hill's (1984) study on primary education in Tanzania divides the timeline into three periods: post-Independence (1961-1967), post-Arusha (1967-1974), and post-Musoma (1974-) to describe changes in the primary education curriculum in Tanzania. Although this study is limited to primary education, the division of the time period is significant in that it regards as inflection points the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance Policy in 1967, and the Musoma Resolution in 1974, which are the two leading events in the history of education in Tanzania.

Most other previous studies also consider the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance Policy as the first watershed event (see Galabawa, 1990; Buchert, 1991; Samoff, 1994; Schmitz, 2010; Mushi, 2011). This period is expressed and named in slightly different ways in each study. Galabawa (1990)

calls it “Political and Qualitative Change”, Buchert (1991) “The philosophy and practice of ujamaa”, Samoff (1994), and Mushi (2011) “Education for Self-Reliance”, and Schmitz (2010) “Education for Ujamaa”. But all these studies see the Education for Self-Reliance Policy, which emerged after the 1967 Arusha Declaration, as the first major change in modern education in Tanzania.

After the mid-1970s and the Musoma Resolution, there are different opinions on periodic classifications. Few scholars besides Carr-Hill (1984) and consider the Musoma Resolution as decisive events. Samoff (1994) is one of the few who describes the Musoma Resolution as “Education for Socialism”. Buchert (1991) also calls the period between 1976 and 1981 “From social information to social redistribution”, but it is unclear if the author considers the Musoma Resolution as a key event as he focuses primarily on national building and economic development rather than education. Schmitz (2010) does not classify the mid-1970s or later into a new period. Schmitz (2010) analyzes the research by Samoff (1994) to present a new period division as follows:

However, the period of 1967-1981 that I have termed ‘education for Ujamaa’, he divides into two periods. He titles them “Education for Self-Reliance” between 1968 and 1974 and “education for socialism” from 1968 until 1980. Samoff treats these as two distinct periods because the government’s main policy changed in 1974 from Education for Self-Reliance to a policy of Universal Primary Education. This thesis does not divide this period because it argues that while the policy was changed, the dominant development ideology of Ujamaa was consistent for the entire period. This dominant

ideology was the guiding force behind the policy switch in 1974 and continued to guide policy until 1981.

(Schmitz, 2010: 7)

Schmitz (2010)'s reasoning is valid. Education for Self-Reliance Policy continues in the mid-1970s. As in the analysis of Schmitz (2010), the government of Tanzania has maintained a socialist regime since 1967, and national policies have been based on Ujamaa until the end of Nyerere's presidency in 1985. But Schmitz's approach lacks an understanding of education policies and institutions. Ujamaa was a national development policy and an important milestone to national development. Therefore, it occupies a very important position in Tanzania's history. However, Ujamaa was not an education policy or educational system. It was a factor that affected education policies and institutions, but Ujamaa alone does not explain changes in education. Therefore, when looking at the education history of Tanzania in terms of policy and system, it is not appropriate to distinguish periods of education in Tanzania by the Ujamaa policy.

In that sense, Samoff's division between 1967 and the mid-1970s is a little more reasonable. The Musoma Resolution is not an individual event. This is because the 16th Tanganyika African National Union ("TANU") National Conference in 1973 before the Musoma Resolution was announced reviewed the practice of the previous Education for Self-Reliance Policy. Based on the review, the TANU National Executive Committee adopted the resolution in November 1974. Even as the national development aim has consistent with the policy of Ujamaa since 1967, education in Tanzania underwent a major shift after the

Musoma Resolution. The National Education Law was revised in 1978 with the introduction of the Universal Primary Education Policy in 1977. Education Law was revised twice in 1969 and 1978.

[Table III-1] Timeline Classification in Previous Literature

<b>Classification</b>	<b>Soon after Independence</b>	<b>1960s</b>	<b>1970s</b>	<b>1980s</b>
Cameron & W. Dodd (1970)	The Development of Education, 1961-1966	Five Year Development Plan, 1964-1969 Education for Self-Reliance, 1967		
Carr-Hill (1984)	post-Independence 1961-1967	post-Arusha 1967-1974	post-Musoma 1974-	
Galabawa (1990)	Expansion and Extension of Formal Schooling 1961-1969 Social and Economic Development 1964-1970	Political and Qualitative Change 1967-	Evaluation and Efficiency 1970s	
Buchert (1991)	1961-1967	1967-1976	1976-1981	1981-1986
Schmitz (2010)	Education for Modernization: 1961-1967	Education for Ujamaa: 1968-1981		Education for Liberalization: 1982-1999
Mushi (2011)	Early Post-Independence Development	Education for Self-Reliance	Educational Development Between 1970 and 1980	
Samoff (1994)	Manpower planning/ education for modernization (Independence-1967)	Education for self-reliance (1968-1974)	Education for socialism (1974-1980)	Education for survival (1980-1986)

Therefore, this study analyses the Samoff (1994) that is meaningful in the periodical division of education in Tanzania as a reference for the periodical division of this study.

### **3.1.2 Timeline Classification by J. Samoff**

Samoff (1994)'s view of education in Tanzania from 1961 to 1985 is critical. He mentions that Tanzania was that of a peripheral capitalist state, a state in transition, and a nascent socialist state. But they were not really the images, goals, or ideologies of the nation rather a contest for the control of state power. Inconsistent educational policies were the results of such contestation (Samoff, 1994: 90).

Arguing that the main mechanism for setting national education agenda had changed in Tanzania in the three decades from the 1960s to 1980s, Samoff (1994) divides education in Tanzania in the post-colonial era into four major periods (Samoff, 1994: 99). Each period is meaningful. But the most important aspect of Samoff's research is that it views the Education for Self-Reliance Policy in 1967, and the Musoma Resolution in 1974 – the two key events in the history of education in Tanzania – as major turning points. Samoff's division is as follows:

- Manpower planning/education for modernization (Independence-1967)
- Education for self-reliance (1968-1974)
- Education for socialism (1974-1980)
- Education for survival (1980-1986)

This section reviews the periodic division of education in Tanzania and uses the review as evidence for this study's timeline.

### ***Manpower planning/education for modernization (1961-1967)***

According to Samoff's division, the first period was from 1961, the year of independence, to 1967, the year that the Arusha Declaration was announced. Samoff cites Arkadie's (1969), *Guiding the Agenda for Education*, noting that education was focused on skills development and vocational preparation (Samoff, 1994: 100), and names the characteristics of this period as manpower planning/education for modernization.

Samoff's work, which calls the first-period manpower planning/education for modernization, is appropriate. From 1961 to 1967, the Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964 ("Three Year Plan") was implemented, and the first Five Year Development Plan 1964-1969 ("FYP") was established and implemented in Tanzania. One of the three main priorities of the Three Year Plan was the development of technical and secondary education (Mushi, 2011: 89). Before independence, the World Bank was dispatched to establish the Three Year Plan. The priority of education in Tanzania was fostering skilled human resources. That is why Samoff classifies this period as manpower planning/education for modernization.

However, it is questionable whether this period should be extended as far as 1967. Samoff may demarcate this period up to 1967 because there were no significant events in education before 1967. 1967 was marked based on a distinctive event. As already seen, most other research also uses 1967 when

Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance Policy emerged as the first turning point in modern Tanzania education. It is clear that 1967 was an important year for education.

However, if the focus is on the relationship between national development plans and changes in the educational system, 1964 should rather be noted. That was the year when the government of Tanzania united Zanzibar and proclaimed the Republic of Tanzania. On May 12, two weeks after the declaration of the Republic of Tanzania, the government announced the FYP. Samoff reasons that although the development plan was not mandated by the World Bank like the Three Year Plan, it still retained the emphasis on vocational training and included input from international economic experts. His interpretation is also valid. However, this does not explain the context from which the Arusha Declaration arose and how it was implemented in the aftermath.

Since 1964, the government of Tanzania sought to break away from the trend of manpower planning/education for modernization. The government mentions this development plan as follows: “drawn up by an international team of economists, discussed and launched by a People’s National Assembly”, “there certainly was a different approach to the problems facing the nation” (URT, 1967: 4). The noteworthy expression here is “a different approach”. The government worked to solve the problems faced by the state after independence, and FYP was this new approach. This development plan includes the period of preparation, publication, and implementation of the Arusha Declaration which formed the basis for the Education for Self-Reliance Policy that guided education in Tanzania over the next 20 years. As Samoff pointed out, the FYP emerged when the government wanted to become an independent state through its national

development plan, and education was the prime field in responding to such changes in Tanzania.

### ***Education for Self-Reliance (1968-1974)***

Samoff's second period is from 1968, the year after the Education for Self-Reliance Policy was announced, to 1974 when the Musoma Resolution was adopted and calls this period education for self-reliance. This was the period of implementation of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. Samoff points out that as the previous two development plans failed to achieve their expected goals, discussions arose among leaders in Tanzania about the inadequacy of modernization on which the previous two development plans were based (Samoff, 1994: 93). It's not just Samoff's criticism. Criticism of early education in Tanzania is clearly expressed in President Nyerere's speech on education for self-reliance. The government of Tanzania decided that the last seven years of education was centered on elite-oriented education, and thus changed course to now provide mass education for the many through the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. In addition, the government tried to break away from an existing emphasis on technical training. Therefore, the government now expanded educational facilities for all citizens and reformed the education curriculum. Racism in schools was also officially abolished.

It is appropriate to distinguish the second period between 1968 and 1974 and call it Education for Self-Reliance. There is consensus that this is an important historical moment for education in Tanzania. Samoff also follows this trend. At this time, the government of Tanzania set up education policies for national

development and enacted education laws. Various educational changes also occurred. Institutional characteristics of this period will be further explained in more detail in Chapter IV of this study.

The concept of self-reliance that emerged during this period may be understood in two levels: individual and national. On the individual level, self-reliance means that every citizen, not just the elites, becomes self-reliant through education. On the national level, it means to move away from colonial legacies and become an independent and self-reliant country. In sum, this was the period in which Tanzania began to take real steps to become a new country.

#### ***Education for socialism (1974-1980)***

Samoff marks the third period from 1974 to 1980 and calls it Education for Socialism. In the Arusha Declaration, the government of Tanzania announced that the country will transform itself into a socialist country and continued to refine its socialism until the 1970s. Education also gradually changed into education for socialism. Samoff analyzed that in 1974 the government emphasized the need to build a socialist country to overcome its situation as a peripheral capitalist underdevelopment (Samoff, 1994: 94).

Therefore, until the end of the 1970s schools became the place to implement education for socialism (Samoff, 1994: 94). In this decade the government of Tanzania emphasized the achievement of universal primary education, and tried to achieve the goal by 1977, much earlier than 1989 as previously planned (Samoff, 1994: 101). In addition, interest in secondary education and technical education also increased. Samoff explains that Tanzania's policymakers believed

that modernization (human resource development), self-reliance, and socialism would take place one after another in sequence, and therefore began to pay attention again to skills development as in the first period (Samoff, 1994: 94).

Education in Tanzania did undergo a lot of changes in this period based on the Musoma Resolution. Samoff's division for the third period is reasonable. At this period, the government of Tanzania established goal of national development and education to build a socialist state, and revised the Education Act No. 25 of 1978. However, it is difficult to find a clear reason for marking this period until 1980. Samoff mentions that school education served the purpose of socialist education. However, this argument is inappropriate. Samoff argues that he focused on changes in the key mechanisms that set up national education agendas (Samoff, 1994: 99). But from the Musoma Resolution until 1985, no clear national education agenda appeared. Therefore, this study argues that education in Tanzania needs to be explained with new theories, perspectives, or criteria rather than changes in education agenda. Above all, looking at the transition to socialism as a "peripheral capitalist underdevelopment" contains Samoff's view of interpreting Tanzania according to the world systems theory.

#### ***Education for survival (1980-1986)***

Samoff calls the fourth period Education for survival. Tanzania's economy began to deteriorate in the mid-1970s and continued until the early 1980s. The economy directly impacted education. Samoff mentions that the goal of education then changed to system maintenance. Despite the poor economic conditions, the government of Tanzania had been aiming to achieve universal

primary education. Due to the lack of financial resources, it was difficult to expand secondary and higher education, let alone conduct adult literacy programs (Samoff, 1994: 95).

Samoff's argument is reasonable. Tanzania's economy has been deteriorating since 1975. The economic impact on education cannot be ignored. However, it is somewhat disappointing to evaluate that education in this period was merely for survival or for maintaining the existing education system. Samoff does not provide an exact numerical analysis on the economy's impact on education, the government of Tanzania report shows that the percentage of national expenditure on education was maintained at around 10% or partially reduced. However, since independence, the national budget overall had been gradually increasing and education continued to expand. While Samoff states that the government in this period was only focused on achieving universal primary education, educational expansion continued in secondary, technical, and teacher education.

### ***Conclusion***

So far, this study has critically reviewed Samoff's education timeline in Tanzania. The overall division is reasonable. However, Samoff's division, though it contains distinct characteristics of each period, does not have any theoretical or academic criteria. If each period is interpreted according to new standards, the distinctions and titles may be changed. Therefore, this study will suggest a new timeline classification on education in Tanzania based specifically on changes in educational policies and their relationship with national development.

### **3.1.3 Suggested Timeline Classification in terms of Education and Development**

This study proposes a new timeline classification for education in Tanzania based on the literature review. The timeline classification proposed in this study is as follows.

- 1961-1964 Coexisting Inherited Education and New Education System
  - Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964
  - Education Ordinance (1961)
  
- 1964-1969 Designing Education for Self-Reliance Policy
  - The First Five Year Development Plan 1964-1969
  - Education Act No. 50 of 1969
  
- 1969-1976 Implementing Education for Self-Reliance Policy
  - The Second Five Year Development Plan 1969-1974/76
  
- 1976-1981 Strengthening Education for Self-Reliance Policy
  - Third Five Development Plan 1976-1981
  - Education Act No. 25 of 1978
  
- 1981-1985 Continuing Education for Self-Reliance Policy
  - The absence of the Five-Year Development Plan

Following on the proposed classification, this study divides findings of this study into two: Chapter IV. National Development Plan in Tanzania 1961-1985 and Chapter V. Education in Tanzania 1961-1985.

Chapter IV discusses the findings of this study in terms of national development plans in five sections. The first section examines the characteristics and changes in the national development plan after independence, the second, third and fourth sections examine the 15-year process which incorporated the first long term plan 1964-1980. The fifth section explores the limitations and barriers caused by the deepening international economic downturn.

Chapter V discusses the findings of the study in terms of education dividing into five periods. The first period shows the characteristics and changes in education soon after independence. The second and third period explains the 10-year process in which new education laws, systems, and policies emerged and were practiced in the new country. The fourth and fifth periods show the new advancements as well as limitations and barriers that emerged through the subsequent decade.

This timeline contributes to this study in the following ways:

First, through the classification, education in Tanzania soon after independence can be reconsidered from a new perspective: the relationship between education policy and national development plans. Most studies on national development or education in Tanzania have not mentioned the relationship between the two. For example, many prior studies have identified the Education for Self-Reliance Policy in 1967 and Musoma Resolution in 1974 as boundaries and as main events in education, but have not clearly stated why. Given the relationship between education policies and national development

plans, both events are of great importance in education history in Tanzania. After each event, the government of Tanzania institutionalized changes in education that were distinct from the previous period. And the changes were directly related to the direction of national development. Since the introduction of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy in 1967, the first education law was enacted in 1969, and after the adoption of the Musoma Resolution in 1974, the national education law was amended in 1978. After these changes new national development plans were announced each time. However, many studies focus on the watershed events but on not the historical contexts and causal relationships. Therefore, this new classification is useful for examining the relationship between education policy and national development policy.

Second, the concept of educational development devised by this study can be applied to Tanzania. This study previously presented an alternative concept that could explain the relationship between education and development. This alternative concept will then be applied to Tanzania. The timeline classification on education in Tanzania based on the relationship between education policies and national development plans is useful in that it shows the characteristics and changes in education development in Tanzania at each period. Therefore, this timeline ultimately helps to explore the relationship between education and development by providing a comprehensive perspective and interpretation on the implementation of Tanzania's education policies and national development plans over the span of 20 years.

## **3.2 Research Methods**

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of this study is to propose a new theoretical framework through a conceptual definition of educational development by examining the relationship between education and development, and then to reinterpret education in Tanzania in 1961-1985 with the proposed framework. To this end, this study adopts historical research conducted from the historical, sociological, and anthropological disciplinary perspectives. This approach is useful to explain the education changes in the national development process in Tanzania after the independence and illuminate the historical dynamics of experiment in Tanzania 1961-1985.

### **3.2.1 Research Design**

Before entering the Ph.D. program, I had decided to conduct studies on education in Tanzania soon after independence. However, defining the research topic and designing the research concept was quite difficult. The biggest challenge was accessing historical materials to help understand the Tanzania situation of the time. At the beginning of the research design, it was only possible to get the data online. The accessible data were history books, academic articles, international organizations' reports, and President Nyerere's speech collections. Through the data that could be collected in Korea and online, it was difficult not only to conduct the historical research on Tanzania but also to determine whether the research was possible or not. To overcome the data collection issues, preliminary field research was planned before the research

proposal presentation to examine the possibility of data collection and the feasibility of the study.

The purpose of the preliminary fieldwork was to find research-related data, verify research feasibility, make a concrete and sophisticated research design, and to network with people. Since this study adopts historical research, it was necessary to have data that reflect Tanzanian voices and ideas that are not described in documents. With the help of the European-African Institute of Hanyang University, which opened the Korean Studies Center at UDSM, I contacted the local research partner and visited Tanzania as a research associate from March to April in 2019.

The month-long preliminary field research helped identify collectible data and establish specific directions for the study. After the field research, the research proposal was presented in June 2019, where I explained the plan to conduct the main fieldwork plan for about six months in 2020. The purpose of the fieldwork was to prove the results of documentary analysis and to supplement the findings with unrevealed facts. Based on an analysis of the collected data, I planned to identify and list additionally required information, places to visit, and the interview participants.

However, with the spread of COVID 19 around the world in early 2020, the research could not be conducted as planned and had to be modified. Considering the importance of data collection in historical research, I must acknowledge the limitations of this study on data fidelity. However, these limitations have been overcome through the social science research methodology of sociologist Wright Mills' sociological imagination and anthropologist John Comaroff's anthropological imagination. Furthermore, through the local network established

during the preliminary field research, I was able to fill the gaps in research resulting from the non-execution of the main fieldwork.

### **3.2.2 Field Research and Data Collection**

As mentioned earlier, only one fieldwork at preliminary stage was conducted for this study. Therefore, the preliminary field research will be mainly described here.

Preparation for the field investigation was not easy, involving selecting a visiting institution in Tanzania to obtain a research visa. Since research in Tanzania required research permission from universities or the government, I formally submitted a research plan to the UDSM. After receiving the research permission and an invitation letter from the university, the Embassy of Tanzania in Korea issued a research visa. Becoming the first research associate of KSC-UDSM took several months.

Once I arrived in Tanzania, it took another week to get my student ID and enter the library. I spent most of my time on campus as well as in large and small bookstores on campus and downtown Dar es Salaam as well as archive sites. I purchased fifty social science books containing the modern history of Tanzania and the critical biography of Julius Nyerere. These books helped to understand the political and social transformation and changes in Tanzania in the last few decades. They also were useful to make the list of organizations to visit and people to meet. During the time, I met with professors and researchers of the Department of Education and the Department of History. They were intellectuals who directly and indirectly participated in the education practice with President

Nyerere and others who attended school in the 1970s and the 1980s.

Specifically, Prof. Yusufu Lawi in the Department of History and Prof. Afrael Sarakikya in the Department of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam, and Prof. Ikaweba Bunting, the president of Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation (“MNF”), told vivid stories of Tanzania’s historical situation and its education and the time and shared their experiences and ideas. In particular, Prof. Ikaweba Bunting who was a prominent political figure in the Nyerere era gave a vivid description. The MNF had a plan to establish a library with the restored video and audio files from President Nyerere’s era. The restoration of the vast data could contribute to studies on Tanzania, including this study. Also, a former professor at the University of Dar es Salaam, Prof. Marjorie Mbilinyi, took me back to the 1970s and the 1980s. She even gave me some of her publications on education as a gift. The interviewees I met were all very interested in this research topic and were surprised that a graduate student from South Korea was interested in President Nyerere and was studying education in Tanzania. All of them helped tremendously in this study.

It was also interesting to meet with education recipients who attended school in the 1970s and the 1980s. Most of the people the researcher met attended elementary school in the early and mid-1980s. Interestingly, they explained that the education they received in the 1980s was much more useful and practical than what their children receive today. For example, their children are good at counting and speaking languages, but they were not acquiring the necessary life skills. They opined that education in the 1980s, which went hand in hand with daily life, would contribute more to Tanzania’s national and social development than the current education, criticizing current education as mere rote learning.

They reminded me of the question of the definition of development raised in the seminar at the Institute of Development Studies at the UDSM.

I spent most of my time in the East African Studies section of the Old Library of the UDSM. The library had much more historical data than the Tanganyika Library Service, which is the national public library. There were several documents published more than six decades ago such as newspapers and government publications. After receiving the student ID card, the researcher stayed almost every morning and evening to collect the following data. Government publication including annual reports of the Ministry of Education from 1957 to 1990, national plans, national policy papers, and policy implementation evaluation papers from the 1960s to the 1980s, a guidebook for teachers, textbooks, international organization publications, academic articles, and fairytales for children. Even though most of the documents were in English, there were some data in Swahili. To read the data written in Swahili, I used a translator program and learned Swahili.

In addition, data collection continued at the Julius Nyerere Archive (locally called Kavazi) supported by the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation in the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). There were many photographic materials and books related to President Nyerere as well as government correspondences domestically and overseas. Due to time constraints, the majority of the government correspondence could not be reviewed.

If I could have carried out the main field research, I would have been able to interact with my contacts much more and collect more reliable data. But I was able to share my research progress and collect input as well as gather further opinions on education in Tanzania from the local contacts through online

correspondence. This study includes conversations and exchanges with them in the form of indirect quotations.

### **3.2.3 Analysis and Interpretation**

This study adopts documentary analysis. Documentary analysis is a form of qualitative research. Documents help us to learn what happened in the past and why. Interpretation of a researcher gives voice and meaning around an assessment topic (Bowen, 2009). It generally involves the use of texts and documents as resource materials: government publications, newspapers, certificates, census publications, novels, film and video, paintings, personal photographs, diaries, and innumerable other written, visual and pictorial sources in a paper, electronic, or another hard copy form (Scott, 2006).

Sources are often categorized as primary and secondary materials. Primary documents provide materials made by people who experienced a particular event or were present at the scene. Those who collected or read primary documents compile the documents to produce secondary documents (Bailey, 1994). This study adopts both primary and secondary documentary analysis. The primary data in this study are original records by historians, government publications (laws, policy papers, annual report, national plans, correspondences, statistic data, textbooks, etc.), school-related data, organization reports, and other documents published in the 1950s to the 1980s, including President Nyerere's speeches and autobiographies. Secondary materials are history and social science books and research papers scholars or researchers interpreting the primary materials.

Validity in qualitative research shows how well the research was carried out.

It can be assured by employing tentative procedures throughout the whole process of research from data collection to interpretation (Glesne, 2016). To ensure validity of the research process and findings, I selected the guidelines at the beginning stage of my research and embedded them into the whole process of research from research design to data analysis.

My strategies to improve the validity of research are verifying the evidence and researcher reflexivity. In terms of evidence verification, this study adopts an external analysis of historical studies for a critical review. The author, the time frame, place, category of document, and the audience are analyzed in primary and secondary data following Bélanger (2006)'s guide:

- a. The author: Who is the author? What do we know about the author? What motive (purpose) might the author have had in writing this document? What biases or assumptions might color the views of the author? What is the degree of familiarity of the author with the subject discussed in the document? Was the author a direct observer of the event/issue or was the information obtained second-hand? Had the author any personal involvement in the events/issues described? Do we have any reason to think that the author does not describe what he/she believes to be true?
- b. The time frame: When was this document produced? Is it contemporary to the events/issues it describes? In what context was it produced? How has it come down to us? Could it have been tampered with?
- c. Place: Where was this document produced? Does the geographical location influence the content? Was this document meant to be public or private?
- d. Category of document: What is the category in which this document falls?

How would the type of writing affect the content and believability of the document? Is the document in the original language in which it was produced? Is the translation authoritative?

e. Audience: What is the intended audience of this document? Was the author representing a specific group? Or addressing the document to a specific group (or speaking to a specific group)?

In addition to Bélanger (2006)'s guide, from the lens of the researcher, I have tried to verify the evidence in the process of interpretation through social scientific imagination. The idea of social scientific imagination comes from C. Wright Mills' sociological imagination and the anthropologist John Comaroff's anthropological imagination.

Mills defines the sociological imagination as "the vivid awareness of the relationship between personal experience and the wider society." (Mills, 1959: 6). Mills argues that individuals should have a macro-historical perspective related to their lives beyond their familiar personal situations. Social phenomena had not been viewed from a historical perspective until recently due to a lack of sociological imagination. In particular, Mills describes how researchers can produce intelligent products through their files. For Mills, a file is the beginning and the end of every research plan and a study is the output of the file's cleanup process (Mills, 1959).

Similarly, the historical anthropologist Comaroff says, "A historical ethnography must be by constructing its own archive." He believes that documentary evidence is a culture of global modernism in itself, and argues that researchers must strive for new reconstructions within and outside official

records, and inside and outside of society's protected memories (Comaroff, 1992: 34).

Comaroff's "its own archive" is similar to Mills' "such a file". It applies both to researchers who want to look at current phenomena within a historical context, such as Mills, and to researchers who reconstruct historical facts, such as Comaroff. Therefore, I examined a phenomenon critically while building my files or archives. By building "its own archive" and "such a file", I have tried to critically examine the rough, immature, and rugged materials from various angles. It was a process of expanding my small personal experience in the world through sociological imagination and an attempt to reconstruct Tanzania and its educational practices 60 years ago in terms of education and development.

In addition, as I tend to have a natural proclivity to find confirming evidence that fit into my framework, another validity procedure—researcher reflexivity—was brought in. I have critically reviewed various previous studies that understood and interpreted the experiment in Tanzania from frames that differ from this study. In particular, I explored research that were skeptical of the relationship between national development and education in Tanzania, or critically viewed Tanzania's implementation of education. To do this, I expanded the scope of data collection to secondary data in addition to primary data. I have crossed the government's reports, the works of Tanzanian intellectuals, and reports by international organizations published at the time period, and academic research, and verified the data to avoid indulging in arbitrary interpretation. The results of this process were used as comparative data in the interpretation of this study and are included in Chapter VI and Chapter V.

## **CHAPTER IV. NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN IN TANZANIA 1961-1985**

This chapter discusses the findings of this study in terms of national development plans in five sections. The first section examines the characteristics and changes in the national development plan after independence, shows a mixture of continuation and termination of colonial legacy. The second, third and fourth sections examine the 15-year process which incorporated the first long term plan 1964-1980. In the last section this study looks at the limitations and barriers caused by the deepening international economic downturn.

### **4.1 The First Period: From 1961 to 1964**

This section discusses the characteristics of Tanzania's national development plan from 1961 to 1964. The government of Tanzania announced the Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964 ("Three Year Plan") as the first national development plan immediately after independence. This was the transition period after independence until the government declared the Republic of Tanzania in 1964.<sup>9</sup> Tanzania, like other newly independent countries, seems to have gone through many difficulties at this time. In the process of forming and developing the nation-state, rather than boldly terminating colonial legacies, the new government inherited certain colonial elements while seeking out a new direction

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<sup>9</sup> Strictly speaking, the period between 1961 and 1964 was the period of Tanganyika. But since this study does not deal with the struggle with Zanzibar and the process of unification into the Republic of Tanzania, this study refers to the period after independence until 1964 as concerning Tanzania. Whenever it is determined that the distinction between Tanganyika and Zanzibar is necessary, they were described and explained separately.

for the country. This section examines the main characteristics of the Three Year Plan.

### ***Background***

According to the World Bank Mission Report, the Three Year Plan was drafted by the British government, passed the Tanzanian National Assembly, and was announced shortly before independence. It had three major targets in agriculture, education, and information and communications, and relied on foreign aid for 96 percent of its financial resources. The plan did not consider Tanzania's fiscal and economic size. This period contained many problems and limitations later criticized by the government of Tanzania. However, through this transitional period, the government was able to create a new blueprint for the country's development and plan for the next 15 years.

After independence, the government experienced many difficulties in all aspects of politics, economy, and society. Politically they lacked the leadership to run a nation, the economy lagged behind neighboring countries, and social inequality issues that originated in colonization dominated the general society. Even though TANU had prepared for independence in 1954 and became independent in 1961, it was not clear whether it had the power and the capacity to run the country (Hunter, 2015: 78). The government had to form and develop a new country while carrying colonial remnants.

The government published the Three Year Plan to solve these problems the nation faced. Strictly speaking, however, this development plan passed through the National Assembly just before Tanzania's independence. TANU, which led

Tanzania to independence, had already held parliamentary seats since 1958 and exercised political influence. The Development Committee of the Council of Ministers (“Development Committee”)<sup>10</sup> of the British Administration drafted the development plan and consulted with TANU. Since the Legislative Council was upgraded to National Assembly in 1960, TANU was able to announce its national development plan in the National Assembly just before independence.

### ***The Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964***

The biggest problem with the Three Year Plan was that it did not consider Tanganyika’s financial and economic size. The Development Committee tried to overcome the lack of budget and technical means by consulting with the government of Tanzania and examining the possibility of receiving external support. Thus, an aid department was established under the Ministry of Finance (Great Britain Colonial Office, 1960: 158). However, the scale was unrealistic. 24 million pounds were drawn up for the Three Year Plan, of which only a million pounds was expected of “miscellaneous local revenue”. 23 million pounds would be procured in the form of grants (£7.5 million), and loans (£15.5 million) (Wright, 1962: 4). This was a much larger budget than Tanzania’s economy. Furthermore, only 4.5 million of the total budget was granted by the British Colonial Development and Welfare, while all other finances were to be from international aid (Wright, 1962: 3).

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<sup>10</sup> The Development Committee of the Council of Ministers consisted of the Minister for Finance, the Minister for Agriculture and Co-operative Development, the Minister for Communications, Power, and Works, the Minister for Education, the Minister for Health and Labor, the Minister for Home Affairs, and the Minister for Commerce and Industry.

[Table IV-1] Budget Allocation of Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964

Classification		Amount in £ million)
Grant	U.K. Colonial Development and Welfare	3.5
	Other Sources	3.0
Miscellaneous Local Revenue		1.0
Loan	Internal Borrowing	4.0
	External Borrowing	11.5
Total		24.0

Source: Wright, 1962: 4.

The fact that Tanzania was able to bear only about 4 percent of the national development budget shows how underdeveloped the economy was at that time. Foreign dependence was inevitable. However, the fact that the development plan takes into account the country's economic situation was problematic. This awareness of problems and yearning for national development become a long-cherished task of the government during the 20 years of the Nyerere administration.

Since then, the government of Tanzania has recognized the limitations of the Three Year Plan. The government had no choice but to include plans for capital expenditure rather than come up with a comprehensive economic development plan because it was established by the World Bank Mission (URT, 1967: 4). It is not known how much of the government's position was reflected in the development plan proposed by the British government and approved by the Tanzanian National Assembly. However, there is a possibility that the government of Tanzania was under pressure from the international community and the British administration, as it was about to become independent.

Such possibility is apparent in education. As the British administration established the Ten-Year Plan for African Education 1947-1956 in the

Tanganyika region, it focused on primary education and planned that it would pay attention to secondary education in the next decade. However, the British administration turned to secondary education by announcing the Five-Year Development Plan for African Education 1957-1961 instead of a ten-year plan. The Three Year Plan also emphasized secondary education in particular. Given that the Three Year Plan was established by The Development Committee of the British Executive Department, the original goal of a ten-year education for 1957-1966 might have been reflected in the Three Year Plan.

The Three Year Plan aimed at expanding agriculture, education, and information and communications (Moshi, 2011: 89). Much of the budget was heavily invested in the three main objectives. Investment in education was high relative to the other two goals. Cameron & Dodd (1970: 171) criticize that the education budget was not high due to the emphasis on telecommunications, electricity, public works, and agriculture. But education budget was high accounting for 13.7% of the total budget, which was third-highest budget overall. Three main objectives were as follows:

- a) Development of agriculture and the livestock industry with its subsidiary task of development of water supplies and irrigation;
- b) Improvement and development of communications; and
- c) Development of secondary and technical education.

[Table IV-2] Budget Allocation of Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964 (by sector)

<b>Sector</b>	<b>Amount (£)</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Agriculture	2,355	9.8
Veterinary	319	1.3
Forestry	533	2.2
Water Supplies and Irrigation	2,291	9.6
Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation	507	2.1
Trunk Roads	3,217	13.5
Feeder Roads	950	4.0
Aerodromes	193	0.8
Power	1,800	7.5
Development Corporation	600	2.6
Industrial Credit	80	0.3
Geological Mapping	147	0.6
Mineral Surveys	125	0.5
Education	3,270	13.8
Health	954	4.0
Co-operative Development	265	1.1
Community Development	229	1.0
Township Development	1,154	4.8
Lands and Surveys	170	0.7
Game and Preservation of Wildlife	354	1.4
Police and Prisons	2,180	9.1
Army	200	0.8
Government Buildings	1,027	4.3
Housing	694	2.9
Information Services and Broadcasting	152	0.6
Miscellaneous	164	0.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>23,930</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Wright, 1962: 4.

There are three reasons why the Three Year Plan emphasized secondary and technical education. First, it stems from the government of Tanzania's criticism of colonial education. The government criticized colonial education for not establishing secondary schools and failing to accommodate the influx of students

into secondary education (Hunter, 2015: 80). Considering the low-quality basic education that the colonial education system provided, the nation's interest in secondary and technical education before and after independence seems inevitable.

Second, there was the need for human resources. The basis for investment in secondary and technical education was also found in Tanzania's first Manpower Survey in 1962.<sup>11</sup> The government of Tanzania recognized substantial demand for the supply of trained human resources (Msekwa & Maliykmkono, 1979: 24). Confirming that the expansion of secondary education is related to human resource requirements, the government in 1964 abolished tuition fees to expand access to secondary education (URT, 1967: 6).

Third, the international community's interest in technical training was high. The theory of human capital was emphasized worldwide in the 1960s, and economic development and vocational training were emphasized not only in Tanzania but also in various emerging countries. Tanzania was the same. The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development research report, which was used as a reference for the drafting of the Three Year Plan, also noted that economic development for national development is inevitable and skilled labor is required (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 171). These facts show that the government of Tanzania had to pay attention to technical training under the influence of the international community.

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<sup>11</sup> The government of Tanzania seems to have carried out its own Manpower Survey in 1962, but according to Galabawa (1990: 8), a similar survey was carried out by the World Bank and UNICEF in 1960-1961. The next Survey was conducted in 1974.

## **4.2 The Second Period: From 1964 to 1969**

This section discusses the characteristics of Tanzania's national development plan from 1964 to 1969. The government of Tanzania criticized the limitations of the Three Year Plan and announced the first Five-Year Development Plan 1964-1969 ("FYP") which incorporated the first long term plan 1964-1980. In the meantime, the government announced the Arusha Declaration in 1967, which contained a blueprint for national development, and the Socialism and Rural Development Policy, and the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. The introduction of political declarations and new policies, evaluated as Tanzania's most prominent political statements, served to guide Tanzania's national development and announce its development philosophy both domestically and internationally. This section examines the main characteristics of the FYP.

### ***Background***

In this period, the government of Tanzania criticized the colonial administration's development plan as well as the limitations of the Three Year Plan, and established the first long term plan 1964-1980. Criticism was largely against deepened dependence on foreign aid and economic development based on capitalist industrialization. The government was interested in reducing dependence on foreign countries and increasing self-reliance. As a result, the government envisioned national development that combines traditional African lifestyles and modernized Western technologies. During this period, large and small experiments were conducted for emphasizing rural economic development.

Most of the Three Year Plan's development goals were not achieved due to unrealistic planning. Colonial influence and foreign intervention also led to the Three Year Plan's failure (MacDonald, 1966: 78). In particular, the government concluded that the Three Year Plan, which was established according to the opinions of external experts, was not suitable for the reality of Tanzania (URT, 1967: 5). A new plan was needed to reflect the reality of Tanzania.

### ***The First Five Year Development Plan 1964-1969***

On May 12th 1964, the government of Tanzania announced the vision for the next 15 years and the FYP at the National Assembly and criticized the industry-led development plan under the influence of colonial rule. Instead, agriculture-led economic growth through community development became the goal. The government announced that for the first time, it was able to establish an independent development plan (URT, 1967: 5). *The Annual Report of the MOE 1964* describes the significance of FYP as follows:

But there certainly was a different approach to the problems facing the nation. The Three Year Plan was based on the survey undertaken by a World Bank Mission. It was a programme for capital expenditure rather than a comprehensive economic development plan. On the other hand, the Five Year Development Plan was a really comprehensive attempt at developing a country drawn up by an international team of economists, discussed and launched by a People's National Assembly. To this extent, therefore, 1964 stood on the threshold of a period determined by an independent, sovereign

state.

(URT, 1967: 4)

The government of Tanzania gave much meaning to the establishment and implementation of the FYP which they believed would show that Tanzania is a sovereign state. The government also believed that with this plan that the country had chosen for itself, the nation had ensured the dignity of its people and achieved independence. President Nyerere's speech at the time often contained his desire for Tanzania.

“This is as vital to future of our union as the attainment of independence itself. Independence asserted our dignity and established our opportunity. This opportunity has now to be used and it will require the active participation of every member of our society.” – in Nyerere Speech -

(MacDonald, 1966: 78)

Tanzania was a country that achieved independence by maintaining relatively moderate relations with its colonizer (Lösch, 1990). Unlike other African countries, there was no armed independence movement or bloody struggle in the process of independence. However, it did not mean that there was no problem of colonization that needs to be cleared. Tanzania was lagging behind other British colonial states and had lower levels of economic development. The fact that the Three Year Plan was forced to rely on foreign funding fully illustrates the situation in Tanzania. The government of Tanzania decided that it would not be able to achieve independence if it relied entirely on foreign aid. Nyerere hoped to

reduce Tanzania's foreign dependence and move toward economic self-reliance.

We made a mistake in choosing money —something we do not have — to be the big instrument of our development. We are making a mistake to think that we shall get the money from other countries; first, because in fact we shall not be able to get sufficient money for our economic development; and secondly, because even if we could get all that we need, such dependence upon others would endanger our independence and our ability to choose our own political policies. - in 'The Arusha Declaration' -

(Nyerere, 1968: 405)

To be realistic, therefore, we must stop dreaming of developing Tanzania through the establishment of large, modern, industries. For such thing we have neither the money nor the skilled manpower required to make them efficient and economic. We would even be making a mistake if we think in terms of covering Tanzania with mechanized farms, using tractors and combine harvesters. - in 'The Purpose is Man' -

(Nyerere, 1968: 319)

But the reason why the government of Tanzania wanted to achieve independence by lowering its dependence on foreign countries was not simply for national development or economic development. At the time of President Nyerere's speech in announcing the FYP, he mentioned the need for the independence of the government as follows:

“Our people wanted independences for two reasons: to establish their human dignity and self-respect; and to get an opportunity to create their own future”

(URT, 1967: 5)

The government of Tanzania’s method of decreasing foreign dependence was unique. Their idea of independence was to accept modern Western methods while maintaining African traditions. This vision became the key pillar of Tanzania’s national development policy over the next 15 years. The FYP was the first national development plan to reflect this vision. *The Annual Report of the MOE 1964* stated referring to the FYP, “1964 stood on the threshold of a period determined by an independent, sovereign state”. The desire for independence was clearly expressed in this concrete plan for national development.

Our task, therefore, is to modernize the traditional structure so as to make it meet our new aspirations for a higher standard of living. This can be provided we hold fast to the basic principles of traditional living, while we adapt its techniques to those of the twentieth century. - in ‘After Arusha Declaration’ -

(Nyerere, 1968: 405)

The chosen system was different from other countries. The government of Tanzania, which judged that capitalist, industry-led development hindered the development of Tanzania, emphasized rural economic development that seemed to go against the times. The government emphasized the production of agricultural crops (MacDonald, 1966: 95). The total budget for the FYP was

approximately 700 million dollars,<sup>12</sup> but 100 million, was allocated for rural economic development. Considering infrastructure construction such as 30 million dollars for power plants, 35 million dollars for communication, and 35 million dollars for railways and harbors, investment in rural economic development was relatively high as a single item. The education budget was 33 million dollars (MacDonald, 1966: 93-97).

The mistake we are making is to think that development begins with industries. It is a mistake because we do not have the means to establish many modern industries in our country. We do not have either the necessary finances or the technical know-how. - in 'The Arusha Declaration' -

(Nyerere, 1968: 241)

Agricultural progress is indeed the basis of Tanzanian development and thus of a better standard of living for the people of Tanzania - in 'Agriculture is the Basis of Development' -

(Nyerere, 1968: 104)

In 1965, the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture was changed to the Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development, showing its commitment to rural development. In addition, the government introduced the improvement approach and the transformation approach for rural development. The improvement approach was a joint campaign aimed at

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<sup>12</sup> The overall budget for the FYP was 4,920 million shillings (Tsh) in total (Malima, 1979: 45). For reference, the exchange rate as of 1964 was 1 £ = 2.795 USD, 1 USD = 7.1 Tsh.

promoting better practices among individual peasant households by way of agricultural extension and community development. The transformation approach proposed to create new large-scale villages to practice modern techniques and organization by regrouping and resettling farmers (MacDonald, 1966: 95; Buchert, 1991: 11). This approach was concretized and widely utilized after Arusha Declarations in 1967.

The Declaration is generally referred to as the most important event regarding post-independence national development. It is often said that with the Arusha Declaration the government decided on agriculture-led economic development. But such perception does not take into account the significance of the FYP in 1964 in which agriculture-led economic development was already revealed. And this feature also appeared in the part about the role of education in connection to national development.

(...) the importance of 1964 stems from the fact that it was the first year of implementing a programme that would determine the future of this nation. The role which the Ministry of Education is to play in this great task makes the inaugural year all the more significant.

(URT, 1967: 5)

Another significance of the FYP is that the government began to link national development and education. 1964 is especially important for historians of education in Tanzania because the FYP faithfully included the goals of development in education (Hinklel, 1970). Since 1964, education gradually merged with rural development. If education immediately after independence

was centered on secondary education and technical education, later education expanded to link with rural development. The Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance Policy published during the FYP's implementation period, demonstrate this.

### ***Arusha Declaration 1967***

The Arusha Declaration is the essence of the national development policy. With the Arusha Declaration the government issued a full-fledged statement on the direction of the country based on the direction presented in the FYP. In the statement, the government declared that the country's direction of national development will shift to socialism and emphasized self-reliance. The statement was distinct in that it introduced Ujamaa based on African tradition and declared that self-reliance must be achieved through education and rural-oriented economic development.

The development plans in the FYP were concretized three years later in the 1967 Arusha Declaration. The Declaration was a political party statement drafted by President Nyerere and amended by TANU party officials. Through the statement, TANU announced a wider vision for the country.

The Arusha Declaration consisted of Part I: The TANU Creed, Part II: The Policy of Socialism, Part III: The Policy of Self-Reliance, Part IV: TANU Membership, Part V: The Arusha Resolution. By presenting Tanzania's major policy direction as socialism and self-reliance in Part II and Part III, the statement became the turning point declaring the ideology of Tanzania's politics.

The first sentence of the Arusha Declaration, which is also the first sentence

of the TANU Creed, began with “The policy of TANU is to build a socialist state”. Tanzania’s idea of socialism is moderate socialism (Lösch, 1990).<sup>13</sup> The government of Tanzania called it Ujamaa. Ujamaa aimed to free itself from capitalism and feudalism and restore African traditions.<sup>14</sup>

This is the objective of socialism in Tanzania. To build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities; in which all can live at peace with their neighbour’s without suffering or imposing injustice, being exploited, or exploiting; and in which all have a gradually increasing basic level of material welfare before any individual live in luxury. (···) We must take our traditional system, correct its shortcomings, and adapt to its service the things we can learn from the technologically developed societies of other continents. - in ‘Socialism and Rural Development -

(Nyerere, 1968: 340)

In African Society in particular this is very important. Traditionally we lived as families, with individuals supporting each other and helping each other on terms of equality. We recognized that each of us had a place in the community (···). – in ‘Principle and Development’ -

(Nyerere, 1968: 198-199)

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<sup>13</sup> Lösch (1990) categorizes socialism in Africa into three categories, and Tanzania was the first generation of socialism that had no bloody struggle and maintained a smooth relationship with the colonies.

<sup>14</sup> Part II: The Policy of Socialism consists of four sections: “(a) Absence of exploitation, (b) The major means of production and exchange are under the control of the peasants and workers, (c) The existence of democracy, (d) Socialism is a belief” (Nyerere, 1968: 233-234).

The TANU Creed reflects this new ideology of the government of Tanzania. The Creed consists of nine statements of belief and twelve principal aims and objects of TANU. The Creed began with the first tenet: “TANU believes that all human beings are equal” and listed the political, social, and economic rights of the people—freedom of expression, life and property rights, labor rights, etc.<sup>15</sup> The principal aims and objects included the nation’s overall direction of state affairs in politics, society, economy, and diplomacy, and began with the first principal aim “to consolidate and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people”.<sup>16</sup>

The government believed that in order for this political ideology to be

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<sup>15</sup> Nine statements of belief were as follows: “(i) That all human beings are equal; (ii) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect; (iii) That every citizen is an integral part of the Nation and has a right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level; (iv) That every citizen has a right to freedom of expression, of movement, of religious belief and of association within the context of the law; (v) That every individual has a right to receive from society protection of his life and of property according to the law; (vi) That every citizen has a right to receive a just return for his labor; (vii) That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants; (viii) That in order to ensure economic justice the State must have effective control over the principal means of production; and (ix) That it is the responsibility of the State to intervene actively in the economic life of the Nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with a classless society” (Nyerere, 1968: 231-232).

<sup>16</sup> The twelve principal aims and objects were as follows: “(i) To consolidate and maintain the independence of this country and the freedom of its people; (ii) To safeguard the inherent dignity of the individual in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; (iii) To ensure that this country shall be governed by a democratic socialist government of the people; (iv) To cooperate with all the political parties in Africa engaged in the liberation of all Africa (v) To see the government mobilizes the resources of this country towards the elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease; (vi) To see that the Government actively assists in the formation and maintenance of cooperative organizations; (vii) To see that wherever possible the Government itself directly participates in the economic development of this country (viii) To see that the Government gives equal opportunity to all men and women irrespective of race, religion or status; (ix) To see that the Government eradicates all types of exploitation, intimidation, discrimination, bribery and corruption; (x) To see that the government exercises effective control over the principal means of production and pursues policies which facilitate the way to collective ownership of the resources of this country; (xi) To see that the Government co-operates with other States in Africa in bringing about African Unity; (xii) To see that the Government works tirelessly towards world peace and security through the United Nations Organization” (Nyerere, 1968: 232-233).

implemented, it must be truly independent and self-reliant. Part III: The Policy of Self-Reliance contained specific government positions on how to stand on its own. This part in particular revealed the government's idea of development.

- a) Do not let us depend upon money for development
- b) Gift and loans will endanger our independence
- c) We have put too much emphasis on industries
- d) Let us pay heed to the peasant
- e) The people and agriculture
- f) Agriculture is the basis of development
- g) The conditions of development: (a) hard work, (b) intelligence
- h) Hard work is the root of development; foundations: (a) the land, (b) the people, (c) good policies, (d) good leadership -in 'Arusha Declaration' -

(Nyerere, 1968: 235-248)

It is stupid to rely on money as the major instrument of development when we know only too well that our country is poor. It is equally stupid, indeed it is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources. - in 'Arusha Declaration' -

(Nyerere, 1968: 239)

With the Arusha Declaration, the government of Tanzania further strengthened its position to eliminate dependence on foreign aid and achieve agriculture-led economic development based on peasants and workers. The

government believed that development through foreign aid was foolish and therefore cannot help them escape poverty. For development, there must be four prerequisites: (a) the land, (b) the people, (c) good policies, and (d) good leadership. The government would develop through intelligence and hard work based on the four prerequisites. In addition, the declaration included policy initiatives on leadership qualifications and the measures for public ownership to transform into a socialist state.

Like the FYP the Arusha Declaration also linked national development with education. The Declaration presented hard work and intelligence as the conditions of development. It emphasized the importance of education by stating, “unintelligent hard work would not bring the same good results”. The government believed that progress can be made if hard work is done at a stage where a certain level of intelligence is guaranteed. This was how the government began to connect education and development. The FYP clearly stated why:

The people must understand the plans for the development of his country; they must be able to participate in the changes which are necessary. Only if they are willing and ready to do so will this Plan succeed.

(URT, 1964: xi-xii)

In order to properly to implement the policy of self-reliance, the people have to be taught the meaning of self-reliance and its practice. – in ‘Arusha Declaration’ -

(Nyerere, 1968: 347)

The government believed that understanding the direction of the country's development was more important than anything else. By mentioning the people as one of the four prerequisites for development, the government believed that the main agent of national development should be the people. In order to achieve such national development, they desperately needed the people to understand the development vision. The government was clearly aware of this. Rather than attracting the people under the leadership of the government, the leadership hoped to bring about development through changes in the people themselves. This was why the government emphasized the self-reliance of the people.

To sum up, the government wanted to achieve two things through the Arusha Declarations: eliminate colonial legacies and achieve independence and self-reliance through rural economic development; promote and achieve the development of its people by strengthening their self-reliance.

### **4.3 The Third Period: From 1969 to 1976**

This section discusses the characteristics of Tanzania's national development plan from 1969 to 1976. This was the time when the Second Five Year Development Plan 1969-1974/6 ("SYP") was announced. The plan followed after the Arusha Declaration of 1967. The government needed the people to understand the direction and philosophy of the country's development in order to achieve the national development plan, and therefore focused on public education for the entire nation. This section examines the main characteristics of the SYP.

## ***Background***

This is the second period of implementation of the first long term plan 1964-1980. The direction of the government's national development was the self-reliance of the people and the country through education and rural development. The government recognized limits in planning and implementing FYP, and announced the SYP. During the implementation period of the SYP, the government began implementing community-based rural economic development. The government's goal was first to achieve national self-reliance and second to achieve agriculture-led national development through community-based voluntary organizations of the people. That desire was embodied through policies such as the Ujamaa villagization program.

The government settled on its vision of national development with the FYP, then concretized in win the Arusha Declaration. The FYP was a blueprint for national development, but had many limitations in implementation. Some criticized the plan as still too unrealistic (Roe, 1970: 397). For example, the FYP aimed to increase gross domestic product by 6.7% per year. The government also wanted to change the structure of domestic production to reduce the proportion of agriculture to 50% and increase the proportion of industries to 7.5% by 1970 (Malima, 1979: 41). However, this goal could not be achieved with an annual growth rate of 5%. That is because most of the goals should have been on a much longer time period (Malima, 1979: 42).

The development goals were clarified with the Arusha Declarations. As the government's experience in implementing policies in the Three Year Plan and the FYP accumulated, expectations increased. The government announced the SYP

reflecting these expectations (Roe, 1970: 397).

### ***The Second Five Year Development Plan 1969-1974/6***

The SYP was in full agreement with the previously announced Arusha Declaration (January 1967) and the Socialism and Rural Development Policy (September 1967). The SYP was also more specific than the two previous plans, (Roe, 1970: 397). SYP had the following goals:

- a) to bring about development through self-reliance and hard work, meaning that Tanzania's development was to come primarily from her own resources, including the efforts of her people;
- b) to strive for socialist development in order to ensure that there are no undue and excessive inequalities in income and wealth among people;
- c) to encourage the establishment and development of socialist and cooperative economic activities;
- d) to work for regional economic cooperation among African countries; and
- e) to raise the gross domestic product at the rate of 6.5% per annum.

(Malima, 1979: 42)

When the FYP was established, the government's strategy was focused on community development rather than on rural development. However, as the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture changed to the Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development in 1965, and with the announcement of the Arusha Declaration, the government began to

implement agriculture-led economy development in earnest. The key program in this plan was Ujamaa villagization.

There were many situations in which the government of Tanzania had no choice but to pay attention to rural development. One of the clearest reasons, however, was the widening gap between the rich and the poor between urban and rural areas. Urban workers' wages increased by about 80 percent between 1960 and 1966, while farmers' per capita purchasing power increased by less than 5 percent between 1961 and 1966 (Msekwa & Maliyuzmkono, 1979: 38). The government determined that such a structure would not allow for national development. Therefore, through the Rural Development Policy and its implementation program of Ujamaa villagization, the government wanted to relieve economic inequality by classes and region.

Ujamaa was Tanzania's national development philosophy in the Arusha Declaration. It was based on the belief that economic resources should be shared in the traditional African way (Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003). President Nyerere believed that traditional African values should be the foundation of national development, and hoped to achieve national development in accordance with the Ujamaa principles.

This pattern of living was made possible because of three basic assumptions of traditional life. These assumptions were not questioned, or even thought about; but the whole of society was both based upon them, and designed to uphold them. They permeated the customs, manners, and education of the people. (···) The first of these assumptions, or principles of life, I have sometimes described as 'love' (···) a better word is perhaps 'respect' (···).

While the first principle of the ujamaa unit related to persons, the second related to property. It was that all the basic goods were ha<sup>o</sup>] in common, and shared among all members of the unit. (...) Finally, and as a necessary third principle, was the fact that everyone had an obligation to work. The work done by different people was different, but no one was exempt.

To create this kind of nation we must build on the firm foundations of the three principles of the ujamaa family. (...) We must take our traditional system, correct its shortcomings, and adapt to its service the things we can learn from the technologically developed societies of other continents. - in 'Socialism and Rural Development -

(Nyerere, 1968: 337-340)

If Ujamaa was the national development philosophy, the Ujamaa villagization program was the national development program to apply the philosophy in actual rural regions. After the announcement of the Arusha Declaration, President Nyerere announced the establishment of ujamaa villages in the second post-Arusha policy paper and emphasized that they are “co-operative communities in which people lived together and worked together for the good of all.” (Nyerere, 1968: 337). Ujamaa was important in both agriculture and socialism. It was later described by The Guardian Nigeria News: “With the idea of ujamaa, he (President Nyerere) popularized the idea of self-reliance and non-exploitive development” (Ibhawoh & Dibua, 2003). These values are contained in Nyerere’s speech.

## UJAMAA AGRICULTURE

In a socialist Tanzania then, our agricultural organization would be predominantly that of co-operative living and working for the good of all. This means that most of our farming would be done by groups of people who live as a community and work as a community. They would live together in a village; they would farm together; market together; and undertake the provision of local services and small local requirements as a community. Their community would be the traditional family group, or any other group of people living according to ujamaa principles, large enough to take account of modern methods and the twentieth century needs of man. - in 'Socialism and Rural Development -

(Nyerere, 1968: 351)

## UJAMAA SOCIALISM IN PRACTICE

A nation of such village communities would be a socialist nation. For the essential element in them would be the equality of all members of the community, and the members' self-government in all matters which concerned only their own affairs. For a really socialist village could elect its own officials and they would remain equal members with the others, subjects always to the wishes of the people. Only in relation to work discipline would there be any hierarchy, and then such officials would be merely acting for the village as a whole. - in 'Socialism and Rural Development -

(Nyerere, 1968: 353)

The spread of ujamaa villages during the SYP period was rapid. Around 800

villages were established in the late 1960s. The number increased rapidly between 1969 and 1972, and by the late 1970s there were 2,500 villages.<sup>17</sup> Initially, the government emphasized at the local level initiative, so there was no significant economic support from the government. However, in 1973 the government began implementing a policy of moving thousands of people to ujamaa villages to accelerate population settlement into communities with better access to education and healthcare. This change influenced the 1974 Musoma Resolution and the next development plan, which sought to implement a stronger Self-Reliance policy (Yoon & Mudida, 2020: 216-217).

Roe (1970: 397) and Johnson (1980: 140) note that ujamaa villagization program was clearly different from the village setting initiative by the World Bank at the time based on capitalism. This was because Ujamaa was based on culture and was directly related to the interest of the village community. In addition, the concept had the potential to be applied to non-rural development in that it focused on culture-based growth and cooperative development (Johnson, 1980: 140).

In a similar vein, Ujamaa is often regarded as similar to the Chinese commune that had the most success as a rural development model at the time (Cunningham, 1973: 17; Roe, 1970: 397). However, Tanzania's model was unique in that it applied the collectivist approach and was a unique policy designed without any help from China (Cunningham, 1973: 17). But since similar socialist experiments were being conducted in other parts of the world such as China and Cuba, Tanzania may be gathered some inspiration from these

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<sup>17</sup> Cunningham (1973: 17) mentions that there were 5,000 Ujamaa Villages or collective settings, so the exact tally is not available.

cases (Buchert, 1991: 152).

(...) should worry about what the Tanzanian people think, not what anyone else think (...) They will not worry about the approval or disapproval of other socialists in matters which are of exclusive concern to us. (...) To say that Tanzanian does not need certificates of approval from this country or that does not mean that we cannot learn from non-Tanzanians. This kind of automatic rejection of something because it is said to be American or Chinese (...) we can learn without trying to copy or seeking for their approval.

(Nyerere, 1968)

Wherever the policy inspiration came from, the SYP sought to achieve Tanzania's own national development by faithfully implementing Ujamaa Villagization. And this development direction facilitated educational change.

If the mass of our farmers are to learn from those who graduate from this College, they will learn because they have confidence in the abilities of the graduates. They will get this confidence by seeing, with their own eyes, the work which is done by the graduates. The most effective classroom is an efficient farm. The most effective teachers are the efficient farmers. - in 'Agriculture is the Basis of Development -

(Nyerere, 1968: 105)

Education was considered an essential element of national development through agriculture. The site of agriculture was to be the educational space.

Therefore, the government decided to invest the minimum amount necessary to produce human resources through secondary, technical, and university education (Roe, 1970: 398). This decision later led to the assessment that the SYP invested an insufficient amount in post-primary education, and the subsequent national development plan was redesigned to supplement the lack by bolstering self-reliance in all levels of education.

The SYP was originally planned to end on 30 June 1974. However, considering the economic situation caused by the oil crisis and the number of unfinished projects, the period was officially extended for another year until June 30, 1975. This is why the third plan began in 1976. However, with the Musoma Resolution of 1974, the government was already planning a more forceful shift to self-reliance.

#### **4.4 The Fourth Period: From 1976 to 1981**

This section discusses the characteristics of Tanzania's national development plan from 1976 to 1981. This was the time when the Third Five-Year Development Plan ("TYP") 1976-1981 was announced, the country was affected by the deepening international economic downturn. The national development plan did not make as significant progress as planned and faced realistic limitations. These limits affected subsequent national development plans. This section examines the main characteristics of the TYP.

##### ***Background***

This is the last period of the first long term plan 1964-1980. The government of Tanzania maintained a persistent stance toward the direction of national development but also acknowledged that some of the plans have not been realized over the past decade. In that sense, the TYP was established more realistically than the previous two plans, and the government newly established six major objectives to achieve the goals of the first long term plan. The six objectives focused on achieving self-reliance and included government efforts to reduce external dependence. However, despite the government's ambitious plan, this period was a historically difficult time due to the international situation.

The TYP was established based on the experience and lessons learned from the FYP and the SYP. In 1964, in establishing a 15-year long-term plan, the government established three goals. The TYP was the final puzzle of the first long-term plan 1964-1980. The government considered the possibility of achieving these goals.

- a) to raise the income per capita of Tanzanians to Shs. 900/- per year;
- b) to achieve self-sufficiency in high-level manpower by 1980; and
- c) to raise the life expectancy of Tanzanians from an average of 35 to years.

(Malima, 1979: 41)

The FYP and the SYP had some achievements. However, achieving the long-term goals seemed a long way off. The goal of a 6.7 percent GDP growth rate was only achieved up to 5 percent in the FYP period, and 4.8 percent in the SYP period. The per capita income growth rate also stood at 2.3 percent, contrary to the target of 4.6 percent. The SYP's performance that implemented self-reliance in earnest was somewhat weak. Overall, GDP growth was higher in

the FYP than in the SYP. However, there were some achievements. For example, the proportion of production in primary industries such as agriculture decreased to 39% and the proportion of industrial production increased to 9.7% (Malima, 1979: 42).

Malima (1979) argues that this was the result of the government's extreme lack of essential and comprehensive information on the structure and economic situation of domestic production when establishing a 15-year development plan as well as the FYP and the SYP. Also, Malima also states that despite the implementation of the Manpower Policy since 1964, it would still have been difficult to recruit a high-level human resource in technology and science.

### ***The Third Five Year Development Plan 1976-1981***

The TYP was established based on awareness of these practical limitations and presented the following six objectives:

- a) Self-sufficiency in food requirements by 1981;
- b) Full and efficient utilization of natural resource;
- c) promotion of scientific and technical education, provision of water and power for industrial requirements developing and improving the transport and communication sector, and ensuring that there will be adequate storage capacity;
- d) completing and consolidating universal primary education in 1977, improving water and health services for the urban and rural population, completing the villagization programme and raising the standards of rural

housing;

e) improvement of work relation and discipline, while at the same time involving the people fully in the implementation of various development programmes and encouraging the application of technical and modern techniques of production,

f) the growth of gross domestic product at 6.0% per annum, (...) The target growth rates for agriculture, mining, water and energy are: 5.1%; 9.3%, 9.3% and 10.3% respectively.

(Malima, 1979: 44)

The above six objectives focused on achieving self-reliance. For this purpose, 26,978 340 million shillings were budgeted. The increase was nearly 300 percent of the SYP budget. At that time, the government of Tanzania had been relying on foreign aid for approximately 50 percent of the national budget since the FYP. In the FYP, 2,340 million shillings (48%), in the SYP, 4,543 million shillings (56%), and in the TYP, 13,725 million shillings (51%) were domestic finance sources (Malima, 1979:45). Compared to the FYP, the government expanded its financial support capability by more than five times. It was a remarkable growth comparing to only 4% of domestic funding in the Three Year Plan. However, external dependence was still high, which resulted in difficulties in rebuilding Tanzania's economy.

In the TYP, the proportion of investment for direct production increased compared to the FYP and the SYP. Burchert (1991: 130) explains why this change in resource allocation has occurred. That is because the goal of the development plan changed from social transformation in the SYP to social

distribution in the TYP. The TYP was expected to establish a concrete foundation for locally-based and self-reliant development (Malima, 1979: 47). It means that even if external dependence was increased in social infrastructure investment, the government of Tanzania primarily aimed to reduce external dependence in its direct production sector. The first goal of self-sufficiency in food requirements by 1981 clearly illustrates the position of the government. Specific budget allocations were shown in Table IV-3.

[Table IV-3] Budget Flow from FYP to TYP

	<b>FYP</b>	<b>SYP</b>	<b>TYP</b>
Directly Productive	1,860 (37.80%)	2,909 (35.98%)	12,498 (46.33%)
Economic Infrastructure	1,540 (31.30%)	3,740 (46.26%)	8,288 (30.72%)
Social Infrastructure	1,520 (30.90%)	1,436 (17.76%)	6,192 (22.95%)
Total	4,920 (100%)	8,085 (100%)	26,978 (100%)

Source: URT, 1964: 87-101; 1969b: 208-217; 1978a: 7-10 in Malima 1979: 45.

As in the SYP, the TYP emphasized the importance of education on national development goals. Two of the six goals included achieving universal primary education by 1977 and expanding investment in science and technology education. In other words, education goals were the goals of national development. This fact confirms that the government closely linked national development and educational development.

This specific direction was possible because of Musoma Resolution. Originally, the SYP was planned to be achieved by 1974. The government needed to evaluate the Education for Self-Reliance Policy ahead of its next new

strategy. Thus, in November 1974, the government announced the Musoma Resolution, fundamentally evaluating the implementation and performance of Education for Self-Reliance Policy. The objectives of achieving universal primary education and investing in technical education were presented as a result of its evaluation and were reflected in the TYP.

The implementation from SYP to TYP showed two main characteristics. First, as the scale of the national development plan expanded, external dependence also increased. During the implementation of the SYP, the government already highly relied on external aid. Realistically, all areas related to social infrastructure and technology relied on foreign aid. Between 1969 and 1976, during the SYP's transition period, the government received three times as much aid from Europe's socialist countries Sweden, Norway, and Denmark than from other socialist countries. Meanwhile, as the international economy slowed in the late 1970s, the government had difficulty exporting grain. They thus had to rely on foreign aid for the salaries of government officials and national expenses. The government wanted to reduce the debt by increasing the proportion of grants over loans. As a result, the proportion of grants, which accounted for 13% in 1970, increased to 20% by 1979. Consequently, this external-dependent economic situation failed the government to properly implement its desired development plan (Aminzade, 2013: 183-184).

The second characteristic was government control over the nation's elites. At that time, the government expected the elites to contribute to national development and reduce social inequality. The government also defined the role of intellectuals. Intellectuals had to return their knowledge to the state and participate in agriculture-led economic development. As a result, some university

students and intellectuals resisted the government. A defining event took place in 1970. A socialist club called University Students African Revolutionary Front (“USARF”), established in 1967 in the UDSM, was closed and the publication of their journal *Cheche* was prohibited.

The university administration and the state establishment were deeply annoyed at us, though they dare not directly come out against us. (...) Our magazine not only had a campus wide impact but also spread to secondary schools in the nation. School students led a difficult life and were at that time under the policy of socialism and self-reliance. They did shamba work, raised poultry and other task as their contribution to a socialist society. The policy was good and could have at the least improved nutritional standards of the school meals. But the school authorities often misappropriated the harvest and the funds, and the students hardly got anything. The bred anger, forming a basis for radicalizing the students. (...) Our magazine, which stood for building a socialist society not just based on words but also in deeds circulated in several schools. But at the same time, it created enemies among the authorities.

(Hirji, 2010: 94)

Hirji’s<sup>18</sup> memoirs of the time suggested that USARF’s influence spread relatively quickly nationwide. In addition to publishing the journal, the USARF also planned its own seminars and lectures. In 1970 11 months after *Cheche* was firstly published the government shut down USARF. The shutdown was a result

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<sup>18</sup> Hirji Karim edited the student magazines *Cheche* and *Majimaji* in the 1970s as an undergraduate of UDSM.

of the government's forceful implementation of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy starting in 1969. Since then, conflicts between the government and the intellectuals continued.

#### **4.5 The Fifth Period: After 1981**

This section examines the characteristics of national development plans education during the last years of Nyerere's presidency. The government of Tanzania did not announce a new five-year national development plan during this period. This was because the economic downturn that continued since the mid-1970s greatly affected Tanzania's national situation. This was the time when the government had difficulty meeting its intended objectives due to various external variables such as the economic downturn and increasing foreign dependence. This section examines the main characteristics after the TYP.

During the TYP period, Tanzania's economy continued to suffer. The government had been facing this challenge since the beginning of the TYP. President Nyerere's speech in 1980 already showed that Tanzania faced many difficulties since the mid-1970s.

In 1975, when this Parliament was elected, the economy was described as being in a worse condition than at any previous time since independence. Unfortunately our troubles did not end that year. The whole Five Years of this Parliament has been a period of difficulties. We have had drought, floods, war, and the problems arising from the break-up of the East African Community.

Third World countries we have had to face great increases in the price of oil and in the price of manufactured goods. Therefore this Parliament began at a time of difficulties, and it ends at a time of difficulties. Today I do not intend to give a long description of our progress and our problems during the past five years; nor do I want to survey the statistics of our achievements and future plans.

(Nyerere, 1980)<sup>19</sup>

During the TYP period, the government faithfully implemented its original plan of self-reliant nation-building. With the TYP, the first long term plan of 1961-1980 ended. The government then announced the second long term plan of 1981-2000 in January 1980. The objectives of the plan were “continuing to transform the economy, attaining self-sufficiency in manpower requirement and implementing the policy of socialism and self-reliance more effectively and efficiently” (URT, 1987: 1). The plan shows that the government continued to maintain the policy of self-reliance into the 1980s, even though it faced an economic crisis through the previous decade.

However, the long-term plan was only announced and not implemented. No five-year national development plan was announced to implement the plan because the economic conditions for self-reliance had not been achieved. From the FYP to the TYP, the government’s dependence on foreign aid was still close to 50 percent (Malima, 1979: 45). This difficulty was reflected in the long-term

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<sup>19</sup> Address by President Julius K. Nyerere to the National Assembly, Dar es Salaam, 22nd July, 1980 [https://www.juliusnyerere.org/resources/category/speeches\\_and\\_statements](https://www.juliusnyerere.org/resources/category/speeches_and_statements)

national development planning in the 1980s.

The country's total external debt increase from 2,543.8 million dollars in 1980 to 3,955.3 million dollars in 1986. The ration between total external debt and the gross national product increased from 49.6% percent to 92.5 percent in the same period, and the cost of repayment on the debt increased from 28.8 million dollars in 1976 to 76 million dollars in 1986. Interest payment absorbed an increasing portion of the state budget, and the need for continuing debt servicing and relief gave donors and international financial institutions tremendous leverage in their efforts to force the government to abandon its socialist macroeconomic policies during the early 1980s.

(Aminzade, 2013: 185)

In the 1980s, the government implemented a short-term national program instead of a five-year national development plan (URT, 2011: i). There were a total of four representative programs in sequence: National Economic Survival Programme (NESP, 1981/82), Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP, 1982/83 –1984/85), Economic Recovery Programme (ERP, 1986/87-1988/89), Economic and Social Action Program (ESAP, 1989/90-1991/92) (Wangwe, 1996: 2-3). The government tried to overcome the difficult situation through short national policies lasting one to three years. The government recalled the national situation as follows:

From independence up until the early 1980s, Tanzania used to have long-term and five year plans as a roadmap to realise national aspirations. However,

repeated global economic crises and limited capacity to manage such shocks made the country rely on short-term plans of one to three years duration to guide the economy. Unfortunately, pursuit of long term aspirations and targets were, by and large, compromised.

(URT, 2011: i)

By 1999, the end of the second long-term plan period of 1981-2000, the government announced the Tanzania Development Vision (“TDV”) 2025. However, no five-year national development plan was announced for a decade until 2011. This was because the government continued to implement short-term state programs. While implementing the Three Year Rolling Plan and Forward Budget during 1993/94, the government determined that short-term development plans could not breakthrough this situation, and decided to go back to long-term planning. Therefore, in 1994, the government began developing a national development plan and announced the TDV in 1999. After that, the Tanzania Five-Year Development Plan 2011/12-2015/16 (“FYDPI”) was announced and such five-year development plans have continued since then.

The end of the implementation of the TYP, the government was in chaos. The phrase “national development” disappeared, and the nation was focused on economic recovery and well-being. The emphasis on investment in direct production sectors of the economy reduced spending on social services. The perceived need for privatization and cost sharing reduced public responsibility for education. In education, the need for skilled personnel and emphasis on higher education intensified in place of calls for social equity (Buchert, 1991: 154). As a result, the strong link between education and development maintained

over the 15-year period of the second long term plan (1964-1980) was weakened or made ineffective. The government's aim to strengthen the link between education and development remained but was hardly applied in practice. There was no national interest in education anymore.

### *Summary*

From 1961 to 1985, the government of Tanzania implemented the first long-term plan 1964-1980, and four national development plans: Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964, the First Five Year Development Plan 1964-1969, the Second Five Year Development Plan 1969-1974/6, and the Third Five Year Development Plan 1976-1981. The three five year development plans were conducted under the first long-term plan 1964-1980.

The government evaluated the Three Year Plan as inadequate and inappropriate for Tanzania. In 1964, the government set a new direction of development for Tanzanian's independence and dignity. Under this direction, the government announced the national development blueprint called the Arusha Declaration in 1967, and then emphasized the rural-oriented community-based development through agriculture and self-reliance.

However, in the mid to late 1970s, the government continued to struggle with implementing national development plans due to the global economic downturn. Eventually, the Second Long Term Plan 1981-2000 was established but was not implemented.

The national development plans in Tanzania from 1961 to 1985 can be summarized as Table IV-4 shows.

[Table IV-4] Summary of the National Development Plan in Tanzania

	Year	National Development Plan		Characteristics of Development Plan
		Long-term Plan	Short-Term Plan	
1 <sup>st</sup> Period	1961-1964	-	Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964	Inadequate and Inappropriate Development Plan
2 <sup>nd</sup> Period	1964-1969	The First Long Term Plan 1964-1980	First Five Year Development Plan 1964-1969	Development toward Our Independence and Dignity
3 <sup>rd</sup> Period	1969-1976		Second Five Year Development Plan 1969-1974/6	Development Through Agriculture and Self-Reliance
4 <sup>th</sup> Period	1976-1981		Third Five Year Development Plan 1976-1981	Development Toward Self-Reliance for All
5 <sup>th</sup> Period	1981-1985	The Second Long Term Plan 1981-2000	-	Unfinished National Development

## **CHAPTER V. EDUCATION IN TANZANIA 1961-1985**

This chapter discusses the findings of the research in terms of education in six sections. The first section discusses the pre-Independence period up to 1961 to understand the historical context of education in Tanzania. During this period there were indigenous education, and colonial education. The second section examines the characteristics and changes in education soon after independence, which shows a mixture of continuation and termination of colonial legacy. The third and fourth section examines the 10-year process in which new education laws, systems, and policies emerged and were practiced in the new country. In the fifth and sixth sections, this study looks at the new advancements as well as limitations and barriers that emerged through the subsequent decade.

### **5.1 Pre-Independence Period Before 1961**

Understanding the characteristics of colonial education in Africa is very important because colonial education was the mother of modern education in newly independent countries. Similarly, to understand education in Tanzania immediately after independence, an understanding of education in Tanzania before independence is necessary. Therefore, as a background for understanding modern education in Tanzania soon after independence, this section briefly looks at Tanzania's pre-independence education.

Education in Tanzania is divided into three periods: indigenous education, German colonial education, and British colonial education. Indigenous education was the time before modern education was provided. The characteristics of

indigenous education would later have a significant impact on Tanzania's educational philosophy and policy. German colonial education lasted from the mid-1880s to the First World War in 1914. It was the first European colonial rule in the Tanganyika territory and the government schools were founded under the initiatives of the German government. The British colony is from 1914 to 1961. After independence, the legacy of the British colony directly affected the formation of modern national education systems. This section describes the characteristics of each period.

### **5.1.1. Indigenous Education**

Pre-colonial education is similar across countries. Education during this period is commonly referred to as indigenous education. Education is provided with educational practices in which indigenous knowledge is delivered to children by adults. Education content includes traditions, legends, stories, and knowledge related to rituals carried out in oral language within each tribe, and are closely integrated with the social, cultural, artistic, religious, and recreational lives of the natives (Seroto, 2011: 77; Adeyemi & Adeyinka, 2003: 433-434).

Indigenous education was also in the Tanganyika region. Until 1885, when the German government began its colonial rule, there were no modern schools and educational systems in the region. Since there were no educational institutions, parents and elders taught their children the knowledge they need in real life. The characteristic of indigenous education was learning by learning (Polomé & Hill, 1980:262; Nyerere, 1968: 268), and educational content was concerned with solving community problems (Mushi, 2011:31). Oral tradition

naturally conveys the culture, history, and values of the community (Polé Hill, 1980: 262). Mushi (2011) presents the following features of the function of indigenous African education:

- a) It enabled tribal members to live in a more satisfying and productive environment;
- b) It prepared them to maintain and uphold traditional values, norms, and attitudes;
- c) It preserved the cultural heritage of the tribal members, by transmitting codes of good behavior and other related attitudes;
- d) It prepared members to defend themselves in times of conflict, famine, drought and other social calamities;
- e) It inculcated a sense of self-reliance, respect, obedience, and cooperative spirit;
- f) It prepared young people to perform various social roles and responsibilities in their tribe; and
- g) It imparted moral values to youth to enable them to respect everyone and to discourage them from engaging in crimes or other related unwanted practices.

(Mushi, 2011: 29)

Indigenous education was the basis of modern education in Tanzania. The government of Tanzania adopted the characteristics of indigenous education to devise the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. President Nyerere argues that indigenous education inspired the concept of education for self-reliance.

The fact that pre-colonial African did not have ‘schools’ did not mean that the children were not educated. They learned by living and doing. In the homes and on the farms they were taught the skills of the society, and the behavior expected of its members. (...) Education was thus ‘informal’; every adult was a teacher to a greater or lesser degree. But this lack of formality did not mean that there was no education, nor did it affect its importance of society. Indeed, it may have made the education more directly relevant to the society in which the child was growing up.

(Nyerere, 1968: 268)

It is not easy to secure records of indigenous education in Tanzania. However, the characteristics of indigenous education influenced the educational philosophy and direction of the newly independent Tanzania. The desire for indigenous education was found everywhere, especially in President Nyerere’s speeches and records. It can also be found in Education for Self-Reliance, which was the foundation of Tanzania’s education practice for more than 20 years.

Education in pre-colonial societies in Tanganyika responded to the existing socio-economic, political and cultural practices of the community. The content grew naturally from the environment and it reflected the demands and requirements of the community it served. Therefore, education provided by anyone African society met the requirements of the society at its level of development

(Ishumi & Mmari, 1978: 24)

The stance on indigenous education is similar in Ishumi & Mmari (1978) as well. The analysis that indigenous education relates to the political, economic, social, and cultural practices of the local community means that this education has been faithful to its role. And the view that indigenous education met the social requirements of the time reminds one of the relationships between education and development. This view contrasts with advocacy for colonial education. Colonial education was introduced based on the assumption that indigenous education is backward. But after independence, the government of Tanzania sought to overcome the limitations of colonial education and implement education policy by reviving the indigenous education.

Indigenous education began to disappear gradually in the late 1880s when German colonialism began. However, German colonial education was limited to only certain locations and did not control the entire Tanganyika region at that time. Even though the British colonial period, considering how the illiteracy rate remained high and the majority had no access to schooling, one can assume that indigenous education remained in the form of grassroots education.

### **5.1.2. Colonial Education**

Education in Tanzania is divided into two periods: German colonial education, and British colonial education. German colonial education lasted from the mid-1880s to the First World War in 1914. The British colony is from 1914 to 1961 before independence.

#### **5.1.2.1 German Colonial Education**

Research on German colonial education in the Tanganyika region is relatively limited. The impact of German colonial education in Tanzania was minimal, and today's education in Tanzania mostly retains the characteristics of British colonial education. Above all, German colonial education did not have a long history and overlaps with Christian missionary education.

The first western-style school education in Tanzania was in the mid-1800s through Christian mission schools. The first school in Tanganyika was set up by Christian missionaries in 1862 (Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1995). The purpose of education was to promote Western civilization and Christianity. Settling into local communities, missionary education gradually expanded throughout the Tanganyika territory. In addition to the religious content, the schools gradually included technical training in primary levels (Buchert, 1991; Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1995).

The German government began to rule the Tanganyika region about half a century after the emergence of missionary schools. The German authorities established government schools that distinguished themselves from missionary schools. The first government school was established in the Tanga area in 1892. At that time, schools were established mainly in coastal areas where there was a lot of interaction with Arab merchants in the Tanganyika area, but gradually schools began to open in other areas.

With the establishment of the German government schools, educational institutions were separated by race. Since the purpose of government schools was to foster human resources for colonial industries, Arabs and Indians who influenced economic activities were admitted. The mission schools on the other hand admitted the local indigenous people. Differentiated education eventually

changed their social status. Some Arabs and Indians got jobs mediating between colonial administrators and local rulers (Buchert, 1991).

Arabs and Indians who began to accumulate economic wealth over time began to support government schools. However, Africans did not have the ability to support mission schools. The German government also did not support mission schools. By 1914, a total of 6,200 students had enrolled in government schools. Meanwhile, the total enrollment in missionary schools was 110,000 to 150,000. Although the number of government schools increased rapidly for nearly 20 years under German colonial rule, the vast majority of Africans still relied on mission schools. The gap between the rich and the poor gradually widened due to differences in educational opportunities. However, this education system stagnated with the outbreak of World War I (URT, 1967: 4; Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1995).

#### 5.1.2.2 British Colonial Education

The period of British colonial education in the Tanganyika region can be further sub-divided into three periods<sup>20</sup> the first period from World War I to World War II, the second period under the Ten year plan for African Education 1947-1956, and the third period under the Five-Year Development Plan for African Education 1957-1961.

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<sup>20</sup> URT (1967; 1968; 1970) shows that education during this period is divided into the period of the Mandate 1919-1945 and the period of Trusteeship 1946-1961. However, to emphasize different policies and the emergence of TANU, this study divides the Trusteeship period into Ten Year Plan for African Education 1947-1956 and Five Year Development Plan for African Education 1961-1957.

### *The First Period: Between the World Wars*<sup>21</sup>

After World War I, German colonial education almost collapsed. So when British rule began, African education, including that in the Tanganyika region, needed a substantial new start. At the same time, the Phelps-Stokes Commissions, supported by the US government, were sent to Africa to submit a report on the current situation in Africa. The British Administration accepted many proposals from this report.

First of all, the British Administration established the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on Education<sup>22</sup> in 1924 (Whitehead, 2003b; Windel, 2009) to develop education policies in Africa. In 1925, the law of the system of grants-in-aid was announced to expand education in Tanzania (George, 1960:15; URT, 1967:4). The first African Education Ordinance (No.11 of 1927) was pronounced in 1927 (George, 1960:16). The Tanganyika region was influenced by the above policies and laws. In particular, the ordinance was revised and influenced the Tanzania's education decree after independence.

With the introduction of subsidies, education in Africa made rapid progress. A new program was also introduced in Tanganyika. However, with the outbreak

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<sup>21</sup> During the World Wars, the Legislative Council and the Tanganyikan African Association were established in the region. The Legislative Council of Tanganyika established in 1962 was the predecessor of the National Assembly. The Legislative Council was established under Tanganyika Legislative Council Order, a law enacted by the British Parliament. TAA established in 1929 was the predecessor of the Tanganyika African National Union that led Tanzania's independence. TAA was able to conduct political activities without political divisions by using Swahili, the language of Tanganyika, and expanded its influence by setting up branches across the region (Reid, 2009).

<sup>22</sup> As the name implies, in the beginning, the Committee was responsible for promoting education in Africa only. However, after the Colonial Office held the Colonial Conference in 1927 (Whitehead, 2003a; 2003b), the Committee was renamed the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (ACEC) in 1929. By 1961, for 37 years, the committee promoted and developed education in all British colonies (Whitehead, 2003a).

of the Great Depression in 1931, education spending continued to decline. The economic situation eventually improved and recovered, but World War II broke out and the education sector was hit hard again. Therefore, British colonial education was carried out in earnest only after World War II (George, 1960: 15)

### ***The Second Period: Ten Year Plan for African Education 1947-1956***

With the end of the world wars, education became a topic of colonial rule. Tanganyika was lagging behind in overall economic and social development, so education was lagging behind as well. The British Administration criticized Tanganyika's backwardness in education and started working on educational reconstruction in this region.<sup>23</sup>

The British Administration published the Ten year plan for African Education 1947-1956 and tried to develop "useful citizens instead of potential malcontents" (George, 1960: 15; Iliffe, 1979: 444). John Iliffe who specializes in the history of Tanzania claims that the Ten year plan for African Education 1947-1956 established by the British Administration was based on four assumptions (Iliffe, 1979: 444). First, the dropout rate from primary education from standards I to IV would be high. Second, Africans would consider four years of primary education sufficient. Third, Africans would want primary schooling that adapted to village

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<sup>23</sup> There are two main reasons why the British were interested in education in the Tanganyika region. The first reason was related to trusteeship. Tanganyika became a British trust territory in 1947 after the UN was established. Article 6 of the Trusteeship Agreement allowed the British Administration to only promote the development of new responsibilities, in other words, developing political institutions appropriate for Tanganyika and promoting residential participation in consultations and legislative bodies for this purpose. The second reason was the increase in foreign aid funds. In the Tanganyika region where the economic and industrial developments were delayed, it was difficult to find internal revenue. However, after World War II, the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds were introduced, and the subsidy increased (Polomé & Hill, 1980:267).

life. Fourth, ten years would be sufficient to prepare for the expansion of secondary education.

As Iliffe's shows, the British emphasized primary education in the Ten year plan for African Education 1947-1956 and secondary education was not considered. The British intended to address secondary education in the next ten year plan, but the next plan turned out to be for only five years in the Five year plan for African Education 1957-1961. There are several reasons why the ten year plan has been shortened to a five year plan, but it suggests that Tanzania may have achieved independence earlier than expected by the British. It means the circumstances changed by the time the five year plan was announced. Tanganyikan African Association ("TAA") which has been operating since 1929 started a new political party called Tanganyika African National Union ("TANU") in 1954 as Tanganyika's first nationalist organization.

Later, after the independence, the government of Tanzania emphasized secondary education (including technical education) in the Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964. The reason why the government became interested in secondary education immediately after independence may be due to criticisms of low quality colonial education. However, the reason also may have been influenced by British assumption that Tanganyika should concentrate on secondary education for at least a decade from 1957.

Back to the Ten year plan for African Education 1947-1956, Iliffe mentions that the British Administration's assumptions were wrong due to following reasons. Between 1947 and 1957 in Tanganyika, the dropout rate in primary school dropped from 40% to 13%. Some Africans argued that four years of education is not enough improve children's literacy and prepare them for work

(Ilfte, 1979:444). Urbanization also began, especially in Dar es Salaam, and independence was achieved much earlier than expected.

Ilfte's criticism that the British Administration's assumptions wrong is also a criticism of colonial education. The British Administration seems to have assumed that Africans have relatively low educational aspirations. Mbilinyi (1979) argues that colonial administrators prevented the expansion of secondary and higher education for Africans. Lawuo (1984) argues that the aim of African education was to adapt Africans to a colonial system of exploitation and to develop a preferred group consisting of patriachs and children of wealthy individuals who could later manage Africans at regional levels. If Tanzania's independence had been delayed and the British Administration could have set up and implement the next decade just as it had planned for the Ten Year Plan for African Education 1947-1956, the British Administration's misguided assumptions could have come true.

### ***The Third Period: Five Year Development Plan for African Education 1957-1961***

The British Administration approved the new education development plan in 1957 (Tanganyika, 1958: 1). The five year plan emphasized, above all, the improvement of the quality of primary schools, the increase of secondary schools, the expansion of technical education, and the delegation of control over educational issues (URT, 1967: 5). With the emergence of TANU and more voices calling for changes in African education, this plan is interpreted as a sign of the British administration beginning to hand over control of education to the colonies (George, 1960: 9).

The British administration began to send education officers to respond to African demand for education. Previously, they had dispatched officers in charge of European education, Indian education, and women's education to Tanganyika. However, ten African education officials were dispatched for the first time in 1957 (Tanganyika, 1958: 1), only four years before Tanzania achieved independence. This shows how indifferent Britain has been about African education. It also shows that TANU's influence had significantly increased since 1954.

Right before independence, the development of Tanzania's education system followed the policy of multiracialism (URT, 1967: 5). There had been little education for Africans since German colonization, so it was difficult to improve in such a short time. Education officers for Africans were sent from Britain, but African schools received the least financial support compared to Europeans and Asians (Galabawa, 1990: 3). The inequality gap in education caused by racism gradually worsened. The education system distinguished by race also posed another challenge to unity in the newly independent country Tanzania.

However, this does not mean that there was no progress before independence. TANU had already started to speak out for education, and there was a movement for racially integrated education before independence. The introduction of the Department of Education's report in 1955-1957 stated "the development of one educational system must be ultimate" (Cameron, 1967: 48). The Development Committee of the Council of Ministers, a unit of the British Administration, recommended the establishment of a unified education board (Great Britain Colonial Office, 1960: 165). As a result, the Committee on the Integration of Education was established in 1959. In the spring of the following year, the

Committee proposed 26 items for a new education system (Cameron, 1967: 48),<sup>24</sup> which would serve as the basis for the government's implementation of an integrated education policy after independence.

## **5.2 The First Period: From 1961 to 1964**

This section discusses the characteristics of education in Tanzania from 1961 to 1964. The government of Tanzania implemented the integrated education policy by proclaiming a new Education Ordinance based on the colonial education ordinance and concentrated on secondary and technical education.

This was the period in which the government needed to solve the problems of colonial education and establish a new education system as a new country. Immediately after independence, the government announced the Education Ordinance and laid the foundation for the education system. In addition, schools and academic systems that had separated by race during the colonial era were integrated. Recognizing the failures of colonial education, the government of

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<sup>24</sup> Cameron (1967: 49) introduces the following nine main suggestions: a) The three Authorities should be abolished and with them the education tax levied on non-Africans; b) These Authorities and the Advisory Committee on African Education should be replaced by an Advisory Council on Education representing all races; c) Admission to all secondary schools should be by competitive examination; d) Where necessary, the names of schools should be changed so that reference to race was included; e) Integration should take effect from January 1, 1962; f) A common syllabus covering the basic subjects of the curriculum should be introduced in all primary schools; g) Any child should be eligible for admission to any school, provided his knowledge of the language of instruction is such that he should be able to maintain his place in the school, and provided that in the case of a primary school, priority in admission should be given to the children of the community for whom the school was established; h) Ultimately the length of the primary course should be eight years in all schools; i) No tuition fees should be charged in Swahili language primary schools. For a period of five years following the introduction of the integrated system, tuition fees should be charged at other primary schools on the same basis as at present (remission of fees being made in necessitous cases), and the position should be reviewed at the end of the five year period.

turned to secondary and technical education neglected by the British colony.

At this time, the government was forced to struggle with colonial remnants. The education decree was established on the foundation of colonial education, and the government tried to fill the gaps in secondary and technical education, which the colonial government did not show interest in. In this respect, education during this period was somewhat different from the education plan established by the government after 1964. However, despite many limitations, this transitional period eventually laid the foundation to build modern education through self-reflection.

### **5.2.1. Introduction of Education Ordinance**

The first thing the government of Tanzania did concerning the development of the education system was to establish an educational ordinance. Pre-independence education was segregated by race, and there were a number of statutes (Great Britain Colonial Office, 1960).<sup>25</sup> The government, which judged that racially segregated education, hinders national integration, wanted to introduce integrated education.<sup>26</sup> Then, on January 1, 1962, under the banner of the new “Ordinance to make provision for a Single System of Education in Territory”, the Education Ordinance and its Supplementary Regulations were

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<sup>25</sup> There were Education African Ordinance, Non-Native Education Ordinance, and Non-Native Education Tax Ordinance.

<sup>26</sup> The government of Tanzania published Government Paper No. 1 of 1960, the Basis for an Integrated System of Education (Cameron, 1967:48). Then, in December 1960, the Legislative Council established the principle that education systems must guarantee development for the future, and approved a government document for the implementation of a new integrated education system (Great Britain Colonial Office, 1960: 165; Cameron, 1967: 48; Hinklel 1970: 36). This was the first Education Ordinance in Tanzania.

declared.<sup>27</sup> It was the first integrated education system in Tanzania (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 174).

The significance of the Education Decree is that it officially eliminated racial differences and discrimination in Tanzania. The multi-racial Advisory Council was established with the integration of the Advisory Committee on African Education and the non-African Educational System (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 174). Schools established for Africans, Asians, and Europeans were open to all children regardless of race, religion, gender, or social background. There was also a reorganization of the school system, which operated differently depending on race. Before independence, primary and secondary education was different according to race.

Until 1961, primary education was six years for Europeans and Asians, and four years for Africans. As a result of continued discussions after independence, primary education was first changed to eight years in 1962 then to seven years in (Galabawa, 1990:6). However, since primary school tuition was maintained until 1973, income inequality limited primary school enrollment, which ultimately hindered entry into secondary education (Mbilinyi, 1976).

Integrated education was applied immediately to secondary school enrollment. Secondary education for Africans was established as a four-year to the six-year course (ROT, 1964: 4). The government abolished secondary education tuition to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor and to increase educational equity (Galabawa, 1990: 6). Africans and non-Africans took the equivalent secondary school entrance examination (Cameron, 1967: 50).

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<sup>27</sup> The new Education Ordinance was approved on 30 October 1961 and went into effect on 1 January 1962.

However, due to differences in education and language, integration was not easy. Language differences were as big a problem as educational standards. Because of racial differences, Swahili, English, and different Asian languages were all used as the language of instruction in primary schools (Galabawa, 1990: 5-6). The government recognized Swahili and English as the language of instruction in 1962, then eventually selected Swahili in 1964. The Swahili language was to be studied starting from standard 3 in primary school (URT, 1967: 7). The government founded the Institute of Swahili Research<sup>28</sup> to promote the usage of the Swahili language (URT, 1967: 19).

In addition, the Education Ordinance enabled new educational administration. First of all, the central government took responsibility for secondary and higher education, and local authorities for primary education. Primary education was handled by Local Education Authorities, and after primary education, the Board of Governors and school committees under the Education Minister. The Education Minister was responsible for secondary education and higher education, and his authority was absolute. For example, the minister had the power to decide who may open a school, who must attend school, who may teach in a school, what may be taught in the school, and when a school could be closed (Hinklel, 1970: 44). Primary education was handled by the Local Education Authority. The Ministry of Regional Administration managed the Local Education Authority and approved the budget used by the Local Education Authority. Each Local Education Authority was required to set up a Local Education Committee consisting of no more than ten members appointed by the Authority and no more than five appointed by the Education Minister after

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<sup>28</sup> The predecessor was the East African Swahili Committee.

consultation with the Authority (URT, 1968: 8)

Tanzania's education policy in this period thus centralized the management of schools and teachers. Primary and post-primary education was a mixture of centralized and decentralized characteristics. In terms of primary education, decentralization was a way to overcome economic and financial limitations, and it was more politically and administratively convenient. The government hoped that decentralized education would better meet the needs of the community. Moreover, rural areas where schools were not provided during the colonial period were already relatively decentralized because there were schools established by the local community (Hinklel, 1970: 45).

### **5.2.2. Manpower Planning: Secondary and Technical Education**

In 1962, the government of Tanzania conducted its first Manpower Survey. Gaging the supply and demand of human resources was necessary to transition to the Three Year Plan. At that time, Tanzania was not in the condition to develop human resources through higher education. The majority of high-ranking personnel in Tanzania were Europeans who had been around since the British colonial era. So the government first focused on developing human resources through secondary and technical education.

#### ***Secondary Education***

The government planned to quantitatively expand secondary education with the Three Year Plan. In order to solve the problem of lack of schools and classrooms, traditional schools operated day and night classes, and boarding

schools were established in rural areas where secondary schools were absolutely lacking (Hinklel, 1970: 57). To increase student enrollment, tuition was abolished for all junior high schools in 1964 (URT, 1967: 6). Unlike primary education whose length of enrollment was controversial, secondary education was decided as a 4+2 year course (Form I-Form VI) in the Education Decree issued in 1962.

[Table V-1] Secondary Education Indicators 1961-1964 (Mainland, Government School Only)

	1961		1962	1963	1964
Nos. of Students	African	6,031	14,175	17,176	19,891
	European	679			
	Indian	9,505			
Nos of Staffs	African	68	810	786	858
	European	104			
	Indian	374			
Expenditure (% of National Expenditure)		£ 850,000 (16.80%)	£ 1,215,000 (17.99%)	£ 1,316,500 (18.52%)	Tsh 31,828,700 (19.76%)

Source: Tanganyika, 1963: iv, v, vii; ROT, 1964: 12, 13, 17; ROT, 1965: 11, 12, 14 & 16; URT, 1967: 29, 34, 44.

Secondary schools had another problem. It was an issue of inequality. Since secondary education accepted only one out of ten primary school graduates, corruption surrounding the entrance examinations for secondary schools occurred frequently (Hunter, 2015: 84). Regional and gender disparities also continued. The language problem deepened such inequality. As everyone studied in one school regardless of race, and wealthier families increasingly tried to send their children to private English schools. Private schools were outside the control

of the government. But as the desire among the wealthy to enter private schools for English increased, the government included Swahili language exams as a requirement for graduation from secondary education. By including Swahili language skills in form IV graduation requirements (Galabawa, 1990:5-6), if anyone did not speak Swahili at a certain level, they could not enter into higher education institutions.

Although the achievement was insufficient, secondary education gradually expanded from 1962 to 1964 <see Table V-2>. As seen in the key indicators of education for 1962-1965, the number of students, the number of schools, the size of expenditure, and the proportion of budget increased. The expenditure on secondary education increased to about 20 percent of total education expenditure. Secondary education expenditure consisted mainly of labor costs, school equipment, dormitory facilities, and student and teacher transportation costs. Around 63% of the 1964 Standard Education Department expenditure (Tsh 20,256,600) was spent on teacher payroll (URT, 1967).

[Table V-2] Government Expenditure on Education 1962-1964

	1962	1963	1964	1965
Administration and General	£ 331,500 (15.88%)	£ 392,500 (18.40%)	Tsh 9,363,140 (10.07%)	Tsh 10,074,759 (8.96%)
Primary Education	£ 489,000 (23.42%)	£ 378,500 (17.75%)	Tsh 41,553,140 (44.68%)	Tsh 48,247,043 (42.90%)
Secondary Education	£ 575,000 (27.54%)	£ 631,000 (29.58%)	Tsh 30,100,000 (32.36%)	Tsh 30,336,452 (26.98%)
Technical Education	£ 184,500 (8.83%)	£ 200,000 (9.38%)	Tsh 3,607,640 (3.88%)	Tsh 4,593,500 (4.08%)
Teacher Training	£ 123,500 (5.92%)	£ 138,500 (6.49%)	Tsh 8,002,780 (18.60%)	Tsh 7,679,799 (6.83%)
Higher	£ 384,500	£ 392,500	Tsh 9,059,500	Tsh 11,525,097

	1962	1963	1964	1965
Education	(18.41%)	(18.40%)	(0.41%)	(10.25%)
Total	£ 2,125,000	£ 2,133,000	Tsh 93,011,200	Tsh 112,456,650

Source: ROT, 1964: 17; ROT, 1965: 16; URT, 1967: 44; URT, 1968: 73.

Expenditures in 1962 and 1963 represented the choice and concentration of the government. Among surrounding African countries Tanzania was the only country that reduced investment in primary education and concentrated on secondary education (Knight, 1966: 72). But after 1964 education budget tended to focus more on primary education than secondary education. Such change was due to the gradual establishment of the nation's educational direction. The government developed a high interest in primary education since 1964 as it began concretized its strategies for nation-building.

### ***Technical Education***

Technical training was not conducted in Tanzania until the establishment of trade schools. There were no companies that could educate workers and no technically skilled workers. The government then began technical training to meet practical needs. In 1959, the first three-year secondary trade schools were established in the Ifunda and Moshi regions, and by 1960, students were taught architecture and engineering. In 1960, the Technical Institute in Dar es Salaam and the Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union College of Commerce were established to foster high-tech talent (ROT, 1964: 8).

After independence technical education became more responsive to the demand for human resources. Technical education was converted into a

secondary education program. Curriculum on brickwork, carpentry, painting, and plumbing, which are necessary for real-life, was adopted. By providing various forms of subsidies for technical training, the government tried to develop necessary technical personnel at the government level and to develop industrial personnel through cooperation with companies. The Ministry of Education (“MOE”) also conducted overseas training through aid programs (Knight, 1966: 48-49). The ministry tried to compare and examine various forms of regular curricula and extracurricular courses to establish a suitable curriculum.

[Table V-3] Sectoral Allocation of the Three Year Development Plan Funds

Sector	Development Funds	Percentage of Total Development Funds
Primary	£ 510,000	17.8
Secondary	£ 1,112,000	38.8
Teacher Training	£ 265,000	9.2
Technical Training	£ 128,000	4.5
Higher Education	£ 850,000	29.7
Total	£ 2,865,000	100

Source: Tanganyika, 1961: 81.

However, implementation was not easy. The government of Tanzania tried to expand technical training facilities to train highly skilled human resources and operate hourly programs in universities, but they were not fully implemented. In addition, they tried to train intermediate-level engineers at the secondary level by reorganizing the academic system, but the demanding work-study requirements were not well received by students. In addition, the government did not have enough budgets to support it. This is just as important a factor as are the critique of colonial education and the influence of the international community. Despite

being mentioned as a priority, technical training was not allocated much budget in the Three Year Plan compared to other areas of education. As Table V-3 shows, the actual percentage of government expenditure on technical training was less than 10%. The investment was lower than that of higher education and teacher training

### **5.3 The Second Period: From 1964 to 1969**

This section discusses the characteristics of Tanzania's education from 1964 to 1969. This period is the first five out of 15 years in which the government of Tanzania tried to establish a national plan and align education to the plan. The government announced the new national development plan in 1964 pointing out that the colonial government failed to provide the education required by the people of Tanzania, and that education in Tanzania right after independence was also not suitable for their reality because it also had legacies of colonial education.

The government established a new policy for education based on such reflections. It was announced in 1967 under Education for Self-Reliance. Although the policy was not implemented in earnest in this period, the foundation was laid for its establishment and implementation. This was also an education philosophy that aligned with the national development philosophy.

#### **5.3.1. Criticism of Inherited Education**

This was a time when colonial legacies were erased and colonial policies

were criticized. The government of Tanzania began to criticize and eliminate colonial education before establishing a new direction for education. President Nyerere pointed out that colonial education was driven by the desire to cultivate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state. Colonial education did not carry out the education required by the people of Tanzania.

The education provided by the colonial government in the two countries which form Tanzania had a different purpose. It was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead, it was motivated by the desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for service of the colonial state. - in 'Education for Self-Reliance'  
- (Nyerere, 1968)

The government's criticism of colonial education had risen before independence. This was seen in the process of TANU preparing for independence during the trusteeship period. The lack of education for the public was a problem, but a bigger issue was the lack of people who recognized the need for independence and were willing to participate in preparation for it. Vilby (2007) describes the situation in Tanzania before and after independence vividly capturing the voices of the people of Tanzania at that time. These testimonies show that before independence the government had recognized the need for a new kind of education. However, it took several years for such criticism to be included in the national development plan after independence.

Bernard Mkanzabi: We expected nothing. It was only as we began to get education that we began to have expectations. Since our leaders were educated they began to push to get independence from the British and gradually we too began to understand what it was about.

(Vilby, 2007: 64)

Sylvester Mazigo: There was a small group of educated people on Ukerewe who had some hopes but most had only fear. Some people who heard about Nkrumah in Ghana and knew that, after Uhuru we had to stand on our own feet and that we couldn't expect help. This created a lot of anxiety. But Mwalimu came here many times and explained and explained.

(Vilby, 2007: 64)

Another criticism against colonial education was individualism. The government of Tanzania claimed that the education needed in Tanzania is cooperative instruction (Mushi, 2011: 108), and raised the need for a new community-based education. The president Nyerere later stated that an education suitable for Africa must restore African traditions and building communities.

Our society, our economy, and the dominant ambitions of our own people are all very different now from what they were before the colonial era. There had been a general acceptance of the social attitudes and ideas of our colonial masters. We have got rid of the foreign government, but we have not yet rid ourselves of the individualistic social attitudes which they represented and taught. - in 'Socialism and Rural Development' -

(Nyerere, 1968: 340)

In traditional African life the people were equal, they cooperated together, and they participated in all the decisions which affected their lives. (···) - in 'After the Arusha Declaration' -

(Nyerere, 1968: 405)

The need for a new direction of education arose not only out of criticism of colonial education but also out of the mistakes of education policy after independence. The Three Year Plan's focus on secondary and technical education was criticized because it was founded on the plan by the World Bank Mission. This education policy before 1964 had maintained the legacies of colonial education and was under pressure imposed by foreign aid.

The independent state of Tanzania in fact inherited a system of education which was in many respects both inadequate and inappropriate for the new state. - in 'Education for Self-Reliance' -

(Nyerere, 1968: 270)

Thus, the government announced a new direction for national development and education development.

### **5.3.2. From Secondary Education to Primary and Adult Education**

Education in Tanzania during this period gradually stabilized under the

Education Ordinance. The government gradually solidified the system through trial and error. Also, the overall number of schools and student enrollment rates increased, and preparations of the supply and demand of necessary human resources began.

### ***Secondary Education***

Like the Three Year Plan, the FYP prioritized secondary education. During this period, secondary education gradually expanded. As of 1967, the total number of secondary school enrollment was 31,542 (public schools 25,551 and private schools 5,991), up 4,000 from 27,628 in 1966, (URT, 1970: 20). Compared to 14,175, the total number of enrolled students in 1962, the number of students increased by nearly 200 percent in five years. The number of schools also increased gradually. There were 62 secondary schools increased in 1962, then by 1967, 100 schools had been established nationwide.

But this was a poor achievement considering how the amount of investment in secondary education in the Three Year Plan. In particular, from 1962 to 1967, the number of public secondary schools increased by only eight nationwide. In addition, Table IV-8 shows a significant increase in private secondary schools between 1965 and 1967. The sharp increase in private schools was due to both internal and external factors, plus the addition of schools that were not previously counted in government statistics before the school registration system was introduced. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether the increase was specifically due to government investment.

[Table V-4] Numbers of Secondary Schools 1962-1967

Classification	1962		1964		1965		1967	
	Public School	Private School						
Nos. of Schools	61	1	63	5	69	7	70	30
Total	62		68		76		100	

Source: URT, 1968: 6; URT, 1970: 66-69.

It is noteworthy that as of 1967, the number of primary schools reached 4,600 while there were still only about 100 secondary schools. This shows that a large number of students who graduated primary schools did not enter into secondary schools. For example, the number of students enrolled in standard VIII for in primary schools was 18,946 (male 14,293, female 4,653) in 1966 (URT, 1969a: 60) but the number of entrants into Form I dropped to 6,635 (male 4,857, female 1,778) in 1967 (URT, 1970: 20). Even accounting for the dropout rate from standard VIII and the number of years between primary school graduation and secondary school enrolment, only one-third of all graduates continued to secondary school. This poor performance in secondary education also affected the direction of subsequent national development plans.

### ***Primary Education***

The government converted all schools into registration systems. All primary and secondary schools were categorized as either public or private. Public schools were included government schools and voluntary agency schools that would receive either government or foreign funding. Private schools were mostly

voluntary agency schools and did not receive government or foreign aid (URT, 1967: 7). The government began to assess the situation of private schools in 1965 (URT, 1970: 57).

Primary schools supervised by the local authorities were further divided into categories A, B, and C schools, depending on the source of financial support. Public schools were under category A and B. Category A schools received a higher percentage of central government support than by the local authorities, and category B was supported only by the local authorities. Category C schools were private schools without government support (URT, 1970: 58).

[Table V-5] Numbers of Primary Schools (Public and Private) in 1967

Classification	Public		Sub-Total	Private	Grand Total
	Category A	Category B	A+B	Category C	
Nos. of Schools	3,659 (79.14%)	206 (4.46%)	3,865	758 (16.4%)	4,623 (100%)

Source: URT, 1970: 60.

As Table V-5 shows, the number of public primary schools was significantly higher than that of private primary schools. However, the government included the assisted voluntary agency school under the public school category, so not all of them were government-run schools. Most of the public schools in Tanzania were Roman Catholic or Islamic voluntary agency schools (URT, 1968: 8).

The high dependence on voluntary agency schools for primary education was inevitable. This is similar to the government's reasoning behind the decision to delegate authority over primary education to the local authorities while making the MOE was in charge of post-primary education. The high percentage of voluntary agency schools had all the problems originated from the colonial

legacy. Despite these limitations, however, primary education in Tanzania continued to expand after independence as Table V-6 shows, and gradually began to stabilize as a seven-year curriculum by 1965 (URT, 1968: 9).

[Table V-6] Public Primary Schools: Student Enrollment & Nos. of Teachers 1961-1967

<b>Classification</b>	<b>1961</b>	<b>1962</b>	<b>1963</b>	<b>1964</b>	<b>1965</b>	<b>1966</b>	<b>1967</b>
Nos. of Student Enrollment	48,670	518,663	592,104	633,678	710,200	740,991	753,114
Nos. of Staff	9,885	10,273	11,100	12,044	13,576	14,809	15,271
Ratio	1:49	1:50	1:53	1:52	1:52	1:50	1:49

Source: URT, 1970: 57.

By 1964, the government made two predictions: First, only 3.2% of the school-age population would enter secondary education in 1970, and second, the goal of increasing secondary education enrollment by 30% by 1980 would not be achieved. Along with these predictions, the government pointed out the importance of primary education, saying that although the priority in FYP is given to secondary education, it does not mean absolute priority (URT, 1967: 6).

### ***Adult Education***

The emphasis on primary education was a different feature of FYP compared to the Three Year Plan. It is noteworthy, however, that the primary education mentioned here did not only mean formal education for children. Primary education also included non-formal adult education. The FYP mentioned the need for adult education.

The purpose of government expenditure on education in the coming years

must be to equip Tanganyikan with the skills and knowledge which is needed if the development of this country is to be achieved. First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for 5, 10 or even 20 years. The attitudes of the adults have an impact now. The people must understand the plans for the development of his country; they must be able to participate in the changes which are necessary. Only if they are willing and ready to do so will this Plan succeed.

(URT, 1964: xi)

At that time, most Tanzanians were either illiterate or were educated up to the primary level, and they were with whom the government had to achieve national development. The people first had to understand then implement the country's development goals. This meant that first because education for children and adolescents would not achieve national development within the necessary timespan, adult literacy education was necessary for national development. Second, primary education alone should achieve a certain level of education. In other words, primary education, which makes national development possible, had to be complete in itself to avoid the need for further education. On the quality of primary education, the government stated,

Standards of quality in primary schools should be maintained at a level adequate to lay the foundation of permanent literacy for pupils who proceed no further

(URT, 1967: 6)

The government entrusted the role to the MOE. The ministry had to “play an unprecedented role in the provision of manpower requirements for nation-building” (URT, 1967: 5). It showed that the government was aware of the importance of education for the formation and development of the country. However, adult education had been in charge of the Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development since 1965 and was only later transferred to the Ministry of National Education (“MONE”)<sup>29</sup> in 1969. This was because the government considered it important to link rural development with adult education.

The government pointed out the importance of adult education, especially literacy education out of certain social contexts. Literacy education during this period emphasized hard work in agriculture (Viscusi, 1971: 15-22) because of widespread racism and economic inequality. These social problems emerged amid political upheaval, and as a result, the government was not very popular among the majority of the public. Many poor people whose living conditions had not improved, began to turn a blind eye to the government (Carr-Hill, 1991: 20). The government needed to put an end to this conflict to achieve national unity for the development of the nation. The government found the answer in education.

Adult education began in earnest in 1964 after the establishment of the Institute of Adult Education in the University of Dar es Salaam (Mushi, 2011: 96). Adult education also began for the first time in Kilimanjaro and Arusha regions. In Dar es Salaam alone, 2,000 registered for adult education in 1964 (URT, 1967: 16-17). Classes ranged from short-term to long-term courses and

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<sup>29</sup> After enacting the Education Act No. 50 of 1969, the government changed the MOE to MONE.

varied in format, including evening classes, weekend schools, daytime classes, and private sessions (URT, 1968: 18). Evening classes were the main offerings run by the Institute of Adult Education. These evening classes gradually expanded, and in 1966, 240 courses opened in four regions, with 5,471 registered students (URT, 1969a: 43). In 1967, 340 courses opened in six regions, with 6,781 enrollments (URT, 1970: 30).

Adult education programs meant training community development workers and cooperative personnel and building district training centers, farmers training centers, and rural health centers (Kassam, 1978: 3). The content was mainly on general knowledge and skills for life, including national development goals, how to fight and prevent disease, how to improve productivity in farms and factories, balanced diet and food, and how to obtain it by own efforts (Galabawa, 1990: 7). Among them, the most widespread adult education program was literacy education with about 600,000 participants from 1961 to 1967 alone (Kassam, 1978:3). Adult education was administered by the Minister for Community Development and National Culture, then handed over to the Ministry of Regional Administration and Rural Development in 1965 after the FYP. As shown by the changes in the ministry, adult education was the most prominent educational effort of this period, and gradually expanded in line with the national development goal of rural economic development.

#### **5.4 The Third Period: From 1969 to 1976**

This section discusses the characteristics of Tanzania's education from 1969 to 1976. The Education for Self-Reliance Policy was now implemented in

earnest. The government established the first Education Act No. 50 of 1969 for this policy. The government called this period the time of revolutionary change. It aimed to implement a different kind of education than ever before by making various changes. The goal of education was to develop the nation through the self-reliance of the people.

The government focused on primary and adult education during this period. The government needed adults who could directly contribute to the development of the country and started to expand adult education. In particular, The government attempted to turn primary schools into community education centers for the development of rural communities as well as primary education. This was the time the government conducted full-fledged educational experiments for the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. This period can be regarded as the high point in Tanzania's education as the country aimed at achieving national and educational development together.

#### **5.4.1. Introduction of Education Act**

Following the Arusha Declaration, the government of Tanzania announced Education for Self-Reliance Policy. Education during the SYP period was to achieve self-reliance. The government named the FYP "a Plan for Consolidation" and the SYP "a Plan for Revolutionary Change". Education was a key element of the revolutionary change. *The Outline of the Second Five Year Development Plan* published by the MOE described that revolutionary changes in the educational system were taking place within the SYP.

The Plan described in this pamphlet is the first phase of a revolutionary change of our system of education whose aim is to carry out our Policy of Education for Self-Reliance as explained to us by the Father of our Nation. The building of our national life on a socialist foundation will only be accomplished if we can give the benefits of education to all our people. In this Plan, we intend to take the first steps on the road to Universal Primary Education. Education is an important pillar for the building of equality between men and between nations.

(MONE, 1968: 3)

For national development and revolutionary change in education, the government first enacted the Education Act No. 50 of 1969. The Education Act was “to provide for the development of a system of education in conformity with the political, social and cultural ideals of the United Republic” (URT 1969b: 3). In addition, the government changed the MOE to the MONE (Kasaam, 1978: 15). Education became a key driver of national development during the implementation of the SYP.

The Arusha Declaration tells us that the Five Year Development Plan should be amended so as to make it fit in with the policy of self-reliance. We shall achieve our goals for the people’s schools, only if the leaders, the people, parents, teachers and pupils as well work shoulder to shoulder to put up the buildings. We shall reach our target of Self-Reliance much sooner if every one of us works hard to educate himself throughout his life and applies his knowledge to serve the people in accordance with the ideals and policies of

our party-TANU.

(MONE, 1968: 3)

Various educational changes arose with the new Education Act and the change in the name of the ministry. Most schools that were operated by voluntary agencies but received government funding were nationalized in 1970. The autonomy of school management and administration of voluntary agency schools disappeared. They had to follow the policies of the MONE. An advisory council was established within the MONE to advise education policy and the ministry made the establishment of an advisory board in secondary schools and a school committee in primary schools mandatory (URT, 1983: 4).

These changes were significant. In the FYP, the government kept authority over post-primary education while delegating primary education to the local authorities. Considering that many schools were still run by voluntary agencies, the government had not intervened in their administration and operation even though they were partially subsidized by the government. However, during the SYP period, the government strengthened its responsibility and authority for primary education and worked on the nationalization of all curriculum.

Through the implementation of Education for Self-Reliance Policy, the government wanted to reduce its dependence on foreign countries (Samoff, 1994: 93). Self-reliance meant individual independence in terms of education, but it also meant the national self-reliance was achieved by educating individuals to be independent. Therefore, the government gradually strengthened its influence over education. In this process, the government in 1972 introduced decentralization.

The purpose of the Decentralization policy of government of Tanzania effected 1972 was to give power to the people. Realistically participation at the grass root level is the only sure approach to the implementation of this approach. Our mass education campaigns are meant to encourage the involvement of group members in decision-making which affect their lives. Theses series of campaigns will build in them the need to be consulted in matters that affect their lives, their villages and their development.

(IAE Journal of Adult Education in Tanzania, 1972: 91 in Mushi, 2011: 133)

The nationalization of education and decentralization seem somewhat contradictory but was inevitable. While the decentralization policy intended to give more political power to the people and lead to stable operation and spread of the Ujamaa Villagization program, education needed to be led by the government for effective operation. These characteristics were more pronounced in the government's policies and changes in primary and adult education.

#### **5.4.2. Emphasis on Primary and Adult Education**

The government focused on primary and adult education during this period, and attempted to turn primary schools into community education centers for the development of rural communities as well as primary education. This was the time the government conducted full-fledged educational experiments for the Education for Self-Reliance Policy.

##### ***Primary Education***

The emphasis on primary education was already apparent in the FYP, but it slightly differed in the SYP. Through the process of nationalization, all schools were made to follow the government's policies and rules. The government was also in charge of school management and administration. Approximately 2,400 primary schools were nationalized (URT, 1983: 6).

The promotion system was abolished and the curriculum was reorganized in primary schools. In order to enter standard V, student in standard IV had to take an examination. But the government abolished the exam to expand enrollment into standards V, VII and VIII. Also, in 1973, tuition became free to expand primary education (Buchert 1991: 151). In addition, the government introduced political education into the curriculum to teach the principles of Education for Self-Reliance and included basic training necessary for community-based agriculture-led economy (URT, 1983: 6).

However, the biggest change in primary education was the transformation of schools into "people's schools" (URT, 1983: 6). The Education for Self-Reliance Policy was an attempt to change the school system (Carr-Hill, 1991: 20). The government wanted to expand the function of primary schools by transforming them into community education centers. Primary schools were to provide education for out-of-school children and adults as well. It was a project to integrate formal and informal education at the village level (Kassam: 1978: 14).

We intend to transform our primary schools into people's schools, which are intimately linked with the lives of the people and which prepare young and old for the responsibilities of Ujamaa. The people's schools shall give our children the educational foundation, which is need for the development of our

country. Our National Ideology will be upheld through the teaching of our policy and culture in all schools and colleges.

(MONE, 1968: 3)

The general principle is to place the main responsibility [for adult education] on the primary school. The school will then become a community educational centre, at which the provision of primary education is only one function. A school so conceived will increasingly become a focal point for the total educational needs of the community rather than serving as a somewhat detached institutions for the educational of children.

(URT, 1969b: 157-158)

Transforming primary schools into community education centers meant that primary education should be a complete education in itself. It was not enough for primary education to serve as a stepping stone to secondary education. The government assessed that the existing system could not result in rapid development and complete self-reliance. Therefore, the promotion examination in primary education was abolished and the curriculum was revised to ensure that all children go through a full seven-year education.

In the light of the plans to provide education for all, previous beliefs that primary education was a preparation for secondary and higher education were generally modified. The main purpose of primary education became the provision of basic knowledge, skills and attitudes needed for active participation in community development work. This change in the objectives

and emphases of primary education involves changes in curriculum contents and medium of instruction; re-writing of school text books; methods of teaching and of assessing pupil progress.

(URT, 1983: 7)

The expansion of primary education during this period occurred as Table V-7 shows. Overall, education achieved remarkable growth in the number of teachers and students. Considering that the number of primary enrollment was 633,678 in 1964 when FYP began, the increase was more than doubled over the next decade. The number of teachers was also only 12,044 in 1964.

[Table V-7] Primary Schools: Student Enrollment & Nos. of Teachers 1970-1975

<b>Classification</b>	<b>1970</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>1972</b>	<b>1973</b>	<b>1974</b>	<b>1975</b>
Nos. of Student Enrollment	827,984	902,609	1,003,596	1,106,387	1,228,886	1,532,953
Nos. of Staff	17,190	19,786	21,956	34,168	25,254	28,783
Ratio	1:47	1:46	1:46	1:48	1:49	1:53

Source: URT, 1983: 33.

However, as the rapid expansion took place, the government of Tanzania suffered various types of difficulties such as lack of resources, difficulties in allocating educational equipment and learning tools, and imbalance in supply and demand of teachers. Most of all, most school-age children were still not enrolled in primary school (URT, 1983: 8-9). To overcome these limitations, the government would later in the Musoma Resolution set a goal to achieve universal primary education by 1977.

### *Adult Education: Focusing on Functional Literacy*

The most radical growth of adult education was during the SYP (Kassam, 1978: 14). The government of Tanzania emphasized adult education as a way to calm social unrest that emerged in the 1960s and consolidate the nation. The government's plan to convert primary schools into community education centers and take charge of adult education was consistent with this direction of national development (Kassam, 1978: 17). The government set the year 1970 as the Adult Education Year. The purpose of adult education was threefold:

- a) to shake ourselves out of a resignation to the kind of life Tanzanian people have lived for centuries past;
- b) to teach us how to improve our lives;
- c) to have everyone understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance.

(Nyerere, 1969: 1-3)

The government wanted to move away from colonial legacies and implement a new way of life by returning to the African way. Adult education was the best and correct way to do this. In this sense, adult education emphasized functional literacy, health, agriculture, and animal breeding.

The main emphasis 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 accounting and education in

politics and the responsibilities of the citizen. (···) Literacy will be included in response to popular demand, as people become aware of its functional importance.

(URT, 1969b: 157)

However, the most powerful goal of adult education was for the people to understand national policies and thus integrate the public into a new political culture (Carr-Hill, 1991: 21). President Nyerere emphasized several times how important it is for the people of Tanzania to understand the direction of the country's development. Various campaigns of adult education emerged.

The third objective of adult education 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 ply our part in making them a success and that we all benefit from them.

(Nyerere, 1969: 3)

I believe that this has been widely misunderstood – by ourselves more than others. Some of our people have spoken and acted as though it meant self-sufficiency in manpower and financial resources. It meant nothing of the kind. We should be extremely silly if we imagined that the Arusha Declaration had caused us to have more qualified doctors, engineers, teachers, administrators, and so on so that the Development Plan target of self-sufficiency in skilled manpower by 1980 had suddenly become irrelevant. Self-reliance does not

mean that self-reliance is not a silly thing. Let us, therefore, be very clear that we do expect now, and what the policy of self-reliance means in the immediate future, and what it does not mean. - in 'After the Arusha Declaration' -

(Nyerere, 1968: 386)

In 1967, 5,860,437 of the 8,155,089 adults were illiterate in Tanzania. This was approximately 69% of the population age 13 or older who did not complete primary education (URT, 1983: 20). However, during the SYP period, adult literacy education expanded drastically. By December 1975, 5,860,437 people had participated in adult education, which was half of Tanzania's total illiterate population. In August 1975, the government conducted a national literacy test for 3,804,528 people (URT, 1987: 52).<sup>30</sup>

[Table V-8] Literacy Test Results 1975

Literacy Stage	Male	Female	Total
Below Stage I	162,489	244,175	406,664
Stage I	273,485	372,368	645,853
Stage II	579,485	768,541	1,348,026
Stage III	416,403	412,706	829,109
Stage IV	306,544	268,332	574,876
Total	1,738,406	2,006,122	3,804,528

Source: URT, 1987: 52.

Adult education was also linked to radio broadcasting and library services. In 1975, the government established Folk Development College to encourage adults to learn life skills. However, as the quantitative expansion was achieved in

<sup>30</sup> At that time, the satisfactorily literate level specified by the Tanzania government was Stage III and Stage IV. (URT, 1983: 25)

various ways, the government faced various problems such as lack of teachers, lack of resources, and lack of transportation facilities to conduct adult education (URT, 1983: 25-26).

## **5.5 The Fourth Period: From 1976 to 1981**

This section discusses the characteristics of Tanzania's education from 1976 to 1981. This was the period when the government of Tanzania reviewed the implementation of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy and subsequently presented a new direction. For about a decade after the policy was announced, it applied mostly to primary and adult education. In the process, the development of secondary and technical education has been relatively slow. Therefore, the government tried to expand secondary and higher education while maintaining success in primary and adult education. This was a time when self-reliance was called for in all areas of education.

The Musoma Resolution contained the government's new direction. The government amended the Education Act in 1978 with values presented in the Musoma Resolution to implement self-reliance in all areas of education. The law was in effect in Tanzania until 1995.

### **5.5.1. Musoma Resolution and Revision of Education Act**

The TYP further emphasized the need to achieve Education for Self-Reliance. To this end, the TYP selected four educational objectives:

- a) Enable all school age children to attend primary education by 1977;

- b) Re-orientate secondary and technical education to emphasize the policy of work being part of education, technical and commercial skills in preparation for the kind of activities students would be expected to do after completing their training and the increased enrollment of girls;
- c) Enable every Tanzanian to be able to read and write so that he/she can use such skills in his/her daily activities;
- d) Emphasize self-sufficiency in high level manpower especially in fields with few or no locally trained personnel.

(URT, 1987: 1)

Education in the TYP was an extension of education in the SYP, but it also showed the challenges facing Tanzania. It was recognized the achievements in primary and adult literacy education but emphasized the expansion of secondary education, higher education, and higher quality human resource, which were not emphasized in the SYP. In addition, discussions on the quality of education were prominent within Tanzania during this period. Although the quantitative expansion of primary and adult education was achieved during the SYP, the quality of education was not guaranteed. The situation called for change.

The Ministry of National Education has established a Committee for the Consolidation of Education in 1978 and considered ways to ensure the quality of education. In this line, in December 1978, the government revised the Education Act based on the Musoma Resolution. The Act aimed “to provide for the Better Development of the System of National Education” (URT, 1978b: 1). The government expected the revised Act to “provide mandate for the formulation, promotion, and execution of national policy on education within the framework

of Education for Self-Reliance and the Musoma Resolution” (URT, 1987: 2).

There are several new features. The Education Act No. 25 of 1978 introduced the terms “adult education”, “adult education center”, and “folk development college” related to adult education and added the description of the new District Development Council under the 1972 decentralization policy. The definitions for the School Board and the School Committee, newly established since the SYP, were also added. In addition, the term “national education” added and defined as:

The instruction or training of persons of all ages in various fields of learning designed to contribute to the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community, and to the attainment of the wider national goals of ujamaa and self-reliance

(URT, 1978b: 6)

The law describes the District Development Council and defines the role of national education as contributing to “the special, moral, mental and physical development of the community”. These show that the law was consistent with the direction of national development.

In addition, there were several changes in definitions of terms that had been used previously. In the revised Act, the definition of school covered all types of education from formal education to non-formal education. In addition, the primary school was regarded as a place that plays a role beyond providing primary education. After the nationalization, public schools had been entirely managed by the government.

[Table V-9] Comparison between Education Act 1969 and 1978

Term	The Education Act No. 50 of 1969	The Education Act No. 25 of 1978
Primary School	means a school providing primary education	means a school providing primary education. But where <b><u>the school concerned provides both primary and secondary education.</u></b> references in this Act to Primary school shall be construed as including that school to the extent to which it provides primary education
Public School	means any school <b><u>maintained by, or assisted</u></b> by any grant from, the government or a local authority and includes a government school	means any school <b><u>maintained by</u></b> the Ministry or by a local authority
School	means an assembly, by whatever name called, in which not less than seven pupils receive education, and any institution or place from which education is imparted to pupils by means of correspondence or otherwise, but does not include (...)	means any assembly, institution, organization or place, by whatever name called, which provides, or where there is provided, for seven or more persons, whether or not at the same time, <b><u>primary, secondary higher education or adult education.</u></b> and in the case of instruction, given by means of correspondence delivered by hand or through postal service, the institution or place where the instruction is prepared or where the work of the pupils is received dispatched or examined, but does not include (...)

Source: URT, 1969c; 1978b.

The government wanted to achieve the national goals of ujamaa and self-reliance by revising the education law.

### 5.5.2. Expansion to Secondary and Higher Education

### ***Primary Education***

During the FYP and the SYP periods, primary education expanded rapidly, but nearly half of school-age children still failed to enter primary school. In the TYP the government of Tanzania set a goal to solve the problem of poor enrollment and achieve universal primary education.

Tanzania of 1975, 46 percent of the children cannot go to school. (...) and perhaps with no hope of going to school in the near future. For how long shall we continue like this? (...) Every time we suggest pen and paper and the calculations of expenses frighten us. We are frightened by the costs of educating all our children.

(Nyerere, 1980: 193)

The government allocated 189,488,600 shillings to achieve universal primary education in 1978 (URT, 1987: 9). It was the largest educational expenditure in a sub-sector in Tanzania's education history. However, this was not enough to achieve the government's goals. Despite this difficult situation, the expansion of primary education continued. In 1976, 506,497 registered in standard I, compared to 878,321 in 1978. After that, from 1979 to 1981, standard I registration rates decreased. This was attributed to the aggressive promotion of primary school enrollment by the government until 1978. The enrollment rate for all grades increased 88.4 percent from 1,874,357 in 1976 to 3,530,622 in 1981 (URT, 1987: 46).

[Table V-10] Primary School Student Enrollment 1976-1981

Year	Standard I		Standard I-VII Total
	Male	Female	
1976	270,424	236,073	1,874,357
1977	287,559	255,688	2,194,213
1978	400,978	417,343	2,912,984
1979	276,570	263,985	3,197,395
1980	246,827	240,038	3,361,198
1981	249,826	248,197	3,530,622

Source: URT, 1987: 46.

However, the quality of education was not insured as the rapid expansion took place. The government describes the quality of education of that time as follows:

By 1981 gross enrollment ratio was 98.3 percent. Despite all these efforts resources were inadequate to meet the demands of primary education expansion. Instructional materials, classrooms, furniture and teachers' houses were still in critical short supply. Qualitatively, impressive advances were made in the preparation of primary school teachers. However, their quality remained to be improved. The poor performance of the economy throughout the reported period contributed greatly to the low investment in education.

(URT, 1987: 9)

The function of primary schools as community education centers, which was emphasized in the SYP, was forgotten. Instead, in relation to adult education, the government implemented new programs on functional literacy, Folk Development Colleges, worker's education, and adult education printing press between 1979 and 1981 (URT, 1987: 16). The registration rate for functional

literacy increased until 1981 and began to decline in 1982. However, with the ever-increasing enrollment rate of the newly introduced post-literacy programs, literacy education was on a successful track to some degree. In fact, Tanzania continued to evaluate adult education in 1977, 1981, and 1983, which showed illiteracy rates of 27% in 1977, 21% in 1981, and 15% in 1983 (URT, 1985: 20).

### ***Secondary Education***

During the SYP period, all education policies were focused on primary and adult education. There was relatively little national interest in secondary and higher education. Therefore, unlike the huge increase in the enrollment rate of primary education, the enrollment rate of secondary education showed a relatively little increase. Above all, 95 percent of the students who completed primary education failed to continue into secondary education (URT, 1987: 4). As Table V-11 shows, even considering the dropout rate of primary education, the rate of secondary school entrance was absolutely low.

[Table V-11] Secondary Education Student Enrollment 1973-1976

<b>Year</b>	<b>Standard VII</b>	<b>Form I</b>
1973	103,807	-
1974	120,366	8,263
1975	138,145	8,586
1976	-	8,620

Source: URT, 1983: 27-28; URT, 1987: 49.

There were many factors. But the most important factor was the absolute lack in the number of schools. In 1967, there were 70 public schools and 30 private schools (URT, 1970). By 1976 there were 81 public schools, and 58 private

schools. Compared to the increase in the number of primary schools from 4,623 in 1967 to 8,367 in 1976, there was not much expansion of secondary education during the implementation period of the FYP and the SYP (URT, 1970; URT, 1987: 48).

In the TYP, the government had to focus on the expansion of secondary education. However, the government rather focused on strengthening self-reliance rather than expanding secondary education. All secondary education was converted into vocational schools. Already since the Arusha Declaration, the government had been operating a new education system for secondary education. The six-year curriculum was divided into the first phase of general education and the second phase of technical education. The second phase was the curriculum on organic culture, teaching, commerce, medicine, technical education, and academics (MOE, 1970: 7). By the TYP, however, the six courses were converted into four courses and all secondary schools became vocational schools. Although there were general education courses, all secondary schools had to specify one of the four courses: agriculture, commerce, technical education, and home economics. The whole curriculum involved theory and practice. Private schools, which previously had not followed the government's academic system, were also switched to vocational schools (URT, 1987: 10-11). As a result, the expansion of secondary education was slow and the resulting dissatisfaction gradually increased.

### ***Higher Education***

Similar aspects were apparent in universities. Since 1967, the government has

tried to eliminate the burden of education costs by providing scholarships to all students enrolled in the UDSM (Ishengoma, 2004: 105). However, since 1975, higher education has faced a serious financial crisis. Government-provided fellowships also became extremely rare. Higher education was effectively part of the public sector, so as the government encountered financial difficulties, higher education also suffered. The impact was greater because, unlike primary and secondary education, support from international organizations and aid agencies was not available (Provini, 2015: 296).

However, the problem facing higher education was not just economic. Intellectual discontent with the government stayed high since the publication of *Cheche* was prohibited in 1970. Criticism of the government prevailed throughout the society. Hiriji describes the society of that time as follows:

Viewed within this context, the order to ban USARF and cheche was not an exceptional event. It followed the general political trends in Tanzania. The public arena was saturated with rhetoric about socialism and respect for human dignity but the real practice contradicted these words and did not respect the right of the people to voice their views and seek their own destiny. Voices challenging this double talk could not thrive in that situation they had to be silenced or contained.

(Hiriji, 2010: 153)

Since the Arusha Declarations, the government used universities as national institutions for national development and sought to limit the role of intellectuals. The government intervened in university functioning, educational content, and

curriculum (Provini, 2015: 286).

The aims of the University of Dar es Salaam must be service to the needs of developing socialist Tanzania. This purpose must determine the subjects taught, the content of the courses, the method of teaching, and the manner in which the university is organized as well as its relations with the community at large. - Nyerere Speech the inauguration of the UDSM in 1970 -

(Schutte, 1972: 75)

In the Musoma Resolution the government evaluated the implementation of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy during the SYP. The government diagnosed that one of the reasons for the failure of the implementation of Education for Self-Reliance in higher education was because formal education ends in secondary education (Biswalo, 1975: 75). Following this diagnosis, the government defined higher education as formal education in the Education Act of 1978. Considering how higher education was not mentioned in the Education Act of 1969, this was a significant change.

“higher education” means full-time or part-time formal education beyond the stage of secondary education provided at or in any school;

(URT, 1978)

And the government newly established several conditions for admission into universities. Applicants had to fulfill one year of National Service and at least two years of work experience. They had to get a letter of recommendation from

their employer and a branch of the TANU. The condition that the government put forward was to change the purpose of higher education. Students could not go to college immediately after graduating from secondary education. Moreover, the government established a direct-entry student system that allowed women and professionals such as farmers and laborers to be admitted. It was intended to create a university of laborers and farmers, not intellectuals (Biswalo, 1975: 75; Provini, 2015: 286).

The government's direction was met with fierce opposition. However, with fewer intellectuals and laborers wishing to enter universities, the policy encountered challenges (Biswalo, 1975: 76). Above all, higher education in Tanzania during this period was not very effective because it was suffering from a sharp financial crisis. Eventually, through the 1980s, the UDSM's mission changed, and higher education took a neoliberal turn (Provini, 2015).

## **5.6 The Fifth Period: From 1981 to 1985**

This section discusses the characteristics of Tanzania's education from 1981 to 1985. In this period, the economic downturn that continued since the mid-1970s greatly affected Tanzania's national situation. There were also difficulties in distributing educational resources, so no new systems or policies appeared. Most studies dealing with Tanzania's education do not specifically address this forgotten period.

However, at this time, the government tried to maintain the existing direction of national development under the revised Education Act. In the 1980s, the budget for education continued to grow, primary education was somewhat on

track, and the Education for Self-Reliance Policy continued to be implemented throughout all levels of education.

This was forgotten period in education history. Most studies dealing with education in Tanzania do not specifically address this period. Because a national development plan was not declared, there were no clear changes in the education policy-making. Education expansion took place during this period, but changes were marked by high external dependence and international pressure.

What best illustrates these characteristics is the government's change of stance on primary and adult education. The government initiatives on primary and adult education during the FYP and the SYP gradually dwindled over subsequent periods. During the implementation of the SYP, the government sought to strengthen control over primary education and combine primary and adult education through the nationalization of private schools. Although these efforts faded by the TYP period, the government still showed remarkable achievement on universal primary education and adult literacy. As a result, the gross enrolment rate in primary schools was 93% in 1983, and the adult literacy rate was over 90% in 1986 (UNESCO, 1989: 3). In other words, expansion continued after the end of the TYP. Faced with financial difficulties, however, the government in the early 1980s delegated responsibility for primary and adult education to local governments and exerted no more pressure for further implementation (Samoff, 1994: 105).

The same was of secondary education. During this period, secondary education continued to expand. The enrollment rate into Form I increased gradually every year from 17,104 in 1982 to 23,414 in 1986, and the total enrollment into forms I-VI also increased from 69,144 in 1982 to 91,742 in 1986.

The transition to vocational schools implemented during the TYP period also continued. However, the focus on vocational education did not give students sufficient opportunity to learn and achieve general education. As a result, the problem of poor quality of education continued (UNESCO, 1989).

In the 1980s, the government confronted under-financing, inadequate management, deficiencies in planning, the declining quality of primary education, and the under-development of secondary education (UNESCO, 1989). Lack of funds made it difficult for the government to implement its plans. As a result, it became difficult to ensure the quality of education in the primary and secondary levels. Also, the government was under increasing external pressure. Spending on social services declined as the World Bank and the IMF stressed investment in direct production sectors of the economy. The government's worsening finances prevented it from continuing its nationalization projects, which naturally led to a phase of privatization. Eventually, the new direction for the market economy shifted educational emphasis toward producing skilled technical personnel rather than achieving social equity that had been pursued previously (Buchert, 1991: 154). Education was inevitably affected by the government's situation.

Even though education was inevitably affected by the nation's economic situation, this did not mean that Tanzania's educational philosophy and values were completely lost. In 1982, the government emphasized that Education for Self-Reliance was the "cornerstone of educational plans and practices" (MOE, 1984, 1). If possible, the government tried to keep "continuing to transform the economy, attaining self-sufficiency in manpower requirement and implementing the policy of socialism and self-reliance more effectively and efficiently", the objective of the second long term plan of 1981-2000. However, in 1985, as

resigning himself from the presidency, President Nyerere reiterated that the values he wanted to embody must be realized in Tanzania.

“Although socialism has failed in Tanzania, I will remain a socialist because I believe socialism is the best policy for poor countries like Tanzania.”

(Lupalo, 2016: 121).

Languille (2015) shows the possibility the realization of socialism through Education for Self-Reliance. In fact, experiment in Tanzania received much criticism and resistance. However, the beneficiaries of education in this period think well of the policy of self-reliance. Languille notes the egalitarian characteristics of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy and documents the voices of various beneficiaries of education. Some voices are quoted as follows:

“[Nyerere] thought of rural people, he thought of poor people. Some people like us couldn’t pay school fees. My father was very poor. But we were educated to university education”. - interview with Curriculum developer, Tanzania Institute of Education-

“I don’t believe that secondary education was for the elite. I don’t. Not during Nyerere’s time... Even at that time, education was for all”. - interview with Official, Direction of Secondary Education, Ministry of Education and Vocational Training -

For President Kikwete, “most of us here, of my generation, would never have

gone to school and reached this far in life had it not been for the far-sightedness and good social policies of our Founding Father”. - Inaugural speech to the Parliament, Dodoma, 30 December 2005 –

(Languille, 2015: 314)

Languille cites these interviews and argues that Tanzania’s education model had characteristics that contributed to the egalitarian development strategy of this era. This is also the reason why this study is reexamining Tanzania’s education and national development in the 1960s.

### *Summary*

From 1961 to 1985, the government of Tanzania showed various changes in education. Three years after independence was the transition period from a colony to a newly independent state. The government implemented an integrated education policy by proclaiming a new Education Ordinance 1961. In that period, the national development plan emphasized secondary and technical education.

Later, the government criticized colonial education and the preceding education policy implemented immediately after independence, and began to closely link education with national development plans focusing on primary and adult education. From 1964, the government designed and implemented the Education for Self-Reliance Policy in line with the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and enacted the Education Act in 1969. The purpose of education was to have the people understand the national policies of socialism and self-reliance. However, because of the failure to achieve of self-reliance in secondary and higher

education, after the assessment in Musoma in 1974, the government strengthened the Education for Self-Reliance Policy for secondary and higher education by revising the Education Act in 1978.

In the early 1980s, the government continued the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. But the government faced strong resistance in higher education, and problems including quality issues in primary and secondary education arose. Education was no longer expanded and upgraded due to the national economic downturn.

Education from 1961 to 1985 can be summarized as Table V-12 shows.

[Table V-12] Summary of Education in Tanzania

	<b>Year</b>	<b>Education</b>	<b>Characteristics of Education</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> Period	1961-1964	Education Ordinance & Integration Education 1961	Coexisting Inherited Education and New Education System
2 <sup>nd</sup> Period	1964-1969	Education for Self-Reliance Policy 1967	Criticism of Inherited Education & Designing Education for Self-Reliance Policy
3 <sup>rd</sup> Period	1969-1976	Education Act 1969 & Musoma Resolution 1974	Implementing the Education for Self-Reliance Policy : Focusing on Primary and Adult Education
4 <sup>th</sup> Period	1976-1981	Education Act Revision: Education Act 1978	Strengthening the Education for Self-Reliance Policy : Expanding to Secondary and Higher Education
5 <sup>th</sup> Period	1981-1985	-	Continuing the Education for Self-Reliance Policy

## **CHAPTER VI. DISCUSSION**

The study examined changes in Tanzania's national development plans and educational systems and policies through 25 years after independence. This shows that the government had a total of four national development plans from 1961 to 1981, and education was closely related to the direction of national development. This study linked the periods of educational change in Tanzania according to each development plan and presented a total of five periods.

Linking Tanzania's national development plans with changes in education, this study found a unique feature of Tanzania. That is, the purpose of national development was to restore human dignity and self-reliance, and the government wanted to achieve all of this on the foundation of education. In practice, this included the concepts of national development and human development, and, by extension, educational development devised by this study. This chapter first examines how experiment in Tanzania was connected to national development, and human development, then applies the case of Tanzania to the proposed concept of educational development.

### **6.1 Nexus of Development and Education in Tanzania**

Tanzania's national development philosophy and implementation process are unique. By the 1960s more than 200 years passed since the Industrial Revolution began in Europe. Tanzania and other African countries experienced colonial rule as a result. Nevertheless, the national development was aimed at developing an agriculture-led economy, or economic development through agricultural

development. Seeking economic development through agriculture rather than industry sounds absurd. Roughly speaking, it sounds like Tanzania has no intention of developing.

However, the government's goal of achieving agriculture-led economic development was based on the unique philosophy of national development. First, it deviated from the Eurocentric, industry-led, capital-intensive development. Second, it restored the community values that existed in Africa before the colonies. The principles of development were clearly to achieve independence and self-reliance apart from external pressure and interference by applying Africa's unique identity and values. The concept of ujamaa contains these principles. The word ujamaa, which means brotherhood, represents the philosophy of national development.

Education served as an important mechanism in the process of achieving self-reliance. The government clearly stated its educational goals in its national development plans, and its education policies also consistently emphasized its linkage with the national development plans. Education for Self-Reliance Policy was the key policy that showed that education was closely related to national development. In this study, it was possible to distinguish the characteristics of education for each development period.

[Table VI-1] Linkage of National Development Plan and Education

	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Period</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Period</b>	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Period</b>	<b>4<sup>th</sup> Period</b>	<b>5<sup>th</sup> Period</b>
National Development Plan	Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964	First Five Year Development Plan 1964-1969	Second Five Year Development Plan 1969-1974/6	Third Five Year Development Plan 1976-1981	After the Third Five Year Development Plan
Characteristics of Development Plan	Inadequate and Inappropriate Development Plan	Development toward Our Independence and Dignity	Development Through Agriculture and Self-Reliance	Development Toward Self-Reliance for All	Unfinished National Development
Education Policy and Issues	Education Ordinance & Integration Education 1961	Education for Self-Reliance Policy 1967	Education Act 1969 & Musoma Resolution 1974	Education Act Revision: Education Act 1978	-
Characteristics of Education	Coexisting Inherited Education and New Education System	Criticism of Inherited Education & Designing Education for Self-Reliance Policy	Implementing the Education for Self-Reliance Policy : Focusing on Primary and Adult Education	Strengthening the Education for Self-Reliance Policy : Expanding to Secondary and Higher Education	Continuing the Education for Self-Reliance Policy

### **6.1.1. Economic Oriented Development and Education: 1961-1964**

In the first period in the 25-year history immediately after independence, the goal of capitalist economic development stood out. There was a reason why the term capitalist was attached in explaining this period. During 1961–1985, economic development was never excluded from Tanzania’s national development goals. Therefore, the goal of economic development was not limited only to the first period. But economic development after 1964 was different from the economic development that emphasized capitalism. The economic development after 1964 was converted was agriculture-led, and the government of Tanzania was oriented toward Ujamaa. That is why Pitzer & Askew (2006: 1) also state that Ujamaa ignored the distinction between capitalism and communism that were dominant in the international community.

The Three Year Plan was drafted during the time of the British colonialization before independence. The government had no time to establish a new national development plan immediately after independence, and it had to rely on foreign aid for 96% of the national plan budget. That was why the government distinguished 1964 as a new start. Therefore one cannot claim that the capitalist economic development in this first period was the intention of the government.

At any rate, the government aimed for economic development at this time. The third goal emphasized secondary and technical education, making education a tool for national economic development. Other levels of education were not emphasized in this plan. The government could not cover all levels of education, so primary education was delegated to the local authorities and the central government focused on secondary and technical education that was

underdeveloped during the colonial period. The government wanted to solve the lack of human resources to lead the country by strengthening secondary education. The emphasis on secondary and technical education stemmed from the capitalist economic development plan, but it was also evident that the nation suffered from the lack of human resources to lead the nation immediately after independence.

However, implementation of technical education was not easy. In terms of technical education, Cameron & Dodd (1970) point out that, in reality, there was a lack of national enthusiasm for conducting technical training and that the combination of secondary education and technical training was not suitable for the newly independent country. The government focused on technical training to supplement the limitations of colonial education, but it only resulted in the country having to depend even more on foreign technical support (Cameron & Dodd, 1970:173).

It is clear that Tanzania needed technical education. As evidenced by technical training for civil servants and secondary technical training schools, Tanzania lacked skilled human resources at both the intermediate and advanced levels at that time. Therefore, technical education was mentioned as a priority in the Three Year Plan with secondary education. Cameron & Dodd (1970) point out that the combination of secondary education and technical training was not suitable for a newly independent country. But regardless of its suitability, the combination appeared in most such nations. The human capital theory and international aid that emerged in the 1960s led many newly independent countries to emphasize technical training, which led to the expectation that they would achieve industrialization.

Regardless of the purpose or position the government had for technical training, it did not have enough budgets to support it. This is just as important a factor as are the critique of colonial education and the influence of the international community. Despite being mentioned as a priority, technical training was not allocated much budget in the Three Year Plan compared to other areas of education.

In terms of the mixture of centralized and decentralized characteristics, Cameron & Dodd (1970) speculate that the government originally intended to decentralize. However, the education policy implementation process led to a broader and more effective spread of the central government's reach while the local authorities were not allowed to carry out their development (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 182-183). Hinklel (1970) argues that the centralized and controlled educational administrative measures were similar to the structure of colonial governance, and the authoritarian characteristics of the nationalist government became increasingly evident in Tanzania during the 1960s. However, government control was unavoidable in the process of establishing a new national system.

In terms of primary education, some of the characteristics of decentralization were evident. Decentralization was a way to overcome economic and financial limitations, and it was more politically and administratively convenient. The government hoped that decentralized education would better meet the needs of the community. Moreover, rural areas where schools were not provided during the colonial period were already relatively decentralized because there were schools established by the local community (Hinklel, 1970: 45). The government had no choice but to concentrate its limited resources on secondary education,

which was relatively underdeveloped during the colonial period, as evident in the Three Year Plan's focus on secondary education. In conclusion, the government, which had to rely on foreign aid, tried to overcome the limitations of its financial problems by delegating powers to the central and the local governments.

In addition, the establishment of the Education Ordinance was a legacy of colonialism in that it was not yet developed into stand-alone education law. . The Ordinance still had its limitations in that it did not deviate from the framework and contents of the previous education ordinances. However, it can be said that the government took a step toward integrating education which was separated by race during the colonial era. Also, the government established a new education system through the Education Ordinance.

Education in the first period was impacted by the international situation in the 1960s and was typical of problems faced by newly independent countries. Since World War II, the international community was increasingly interested in the development of the colonies or the newly independent countries. They emphasized economic growth and employment as major factors in national economic development. Although the human capital theory was not yet in full swing in the early 1960s (Jones & Coleman, 2005: 105), the perception of education as a tool for economic growth was already spreading. In drafting the Three Year Plan, the British colonial government referred to the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) report which emphasized economic and industrial development through skilled labor (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 171). As a result, the trends of the international community were reflected in Tanzania's development plan and its implementation.

In this sense, the relationship between education and national development

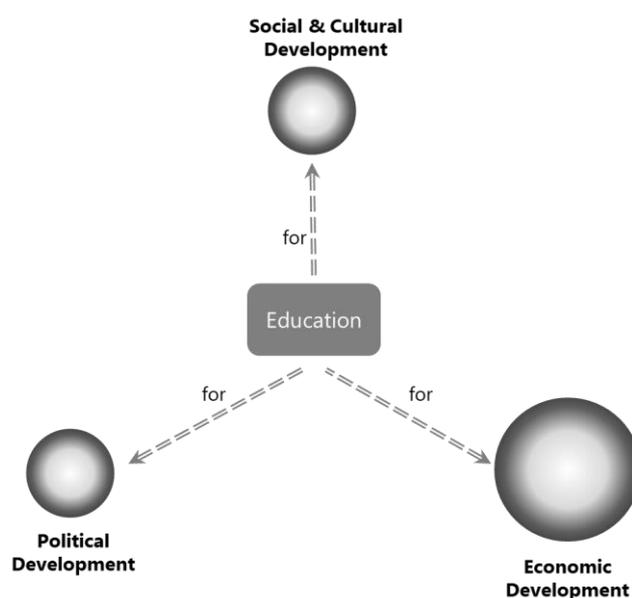
during this period emphasized the economic dimension among the three dimensions of education and national development by Fagerlind & Saha (1983). They identify economic growth and employment as economic factors. The Three Year Plan and its focus on secondary and technical education were all about stimulating economic growth. In addition, the emphasis was placed on fostering skilled labor for hire through education. It is closely related to the principles of economic growth supported by fostering employable human resources.

In addition, Tanzania's attitude toward secondary and technical education in the national development reflected the perception of education as modernization (Samoff, 1994: 91). Fagerlind & Saha (1983) believe that social development takes place through modernization. In modernization, education is useful for acquiring modern attitudes and values (Inkeles & Smith, 1974; Fagerlind & Saha, 1983: 96). Modernization is different from the modernization theory that justified Western colonial rule. Therefore, after independence, the government of Tanzania also emphasized the need for modernized lifestyles. The government believed that modernized lifestyles would make Tanzania healthier and more convenient. However, it was believed that modernization should be achieved on the foundation of African tradition.

Another characteristic of Tanzania regarding education and national development was that the government wanted to achieve national unity through education. As a newly independent nation, the government had a new task of national unity. Colonial education was segregated by race. The colonial education ordinances also distinguished education by race. The government announced the education integration policy by integrating segregated education ordinances into one. Fagerlind & Saha (1983) refer to national unity and identity

integration as elements of political development, and education includes these elements of political development.

In light of the relationship between education and development presented in Chapter II, the relationship between education and development in Tanzania at this time can be expressed as follows.



<Figure VI-1> Relationship between Education and Development in Tanzania (1)

Under the Three Year Plan, education and national development in Tanzania were closely related. The education policy captured the philosophy of national development in terms of political and social development. The national development plan revealed the goal of economic development through education. However, education during this period did not show any characteristics as educational development. It was used only as a tool and a means for political development, social development, and economic development.

### **6.1.2. Dialectical Process of Developments: 1964-1981**

In the second to fourth periods, Tanzania's national development philosophy and education philosophy were very much aligned. It was also the time when the first long term plan of 1964-1980 was implemented with the three five-year plans, the FYP, the SYP, and the TYP. This was the period most examined in this study, as the national development philosophy emphasized human development and education. The period was characterized by national development goals based on the principle of self-reliance. The government of Tanzania planned, implemented, and further strengthened the achievement of self-reliance during this period. By doing so, the government acknowledged that the previous capitalist economic development plan was a mistake.

The direction of the Three Year Plan was not the will of the government, which is evident in the way it criticized the plan as well as the colonial policies immediately after independence. The government also emphasized 1964 as the new beginning. In announcing the FYP in 1964, the government announced that the direction of national development over the next 15 years would be different from the previous one.

Tanzania's choice of self-reliance was unique. The emphasis was on agriculture, not industry, and on the development of local communities, not individual development. It emphasized primary and adult education, not secondary and technical education.

The reason the government chose agriculture was to lower its dependence on foreign finance. The government of Tanzania wanted to free itself from foreign influence and create a self-sufficient country. Industrial development required

economic and technical support from other countries, which means they would not be kept dependent on external forces. This was the lesson of the first five-year period. The government chose agriculture to reduce its dependence on foreign countries and to develop itself.

In choosing agriculture, the government emphasized the community to restore African tradition. The government thought that the West left a problematic legacy of individualism in Africa. Even after independence, there was still a widespread sense of individualism in the national consciousness. The problem of social inequality also remained after the colonial period. But the African tradition the community was the social unit, and the government hoped to restore this tradition to solve the problem of social inequality.

National economic development through agriculture and communalism was not separate from each other. The government of Tanzania hoped to reduce foreign dependence and achieve economic development through small rural development units. Also, the government believed that community-based agriculture could drive national development. The community was the basic unit of development. The Ujamaa Villagization program, which was introduced in the SYP period and gradually expanded during the TYP, contained these government ideas and philosophies. Ujamaa was Tanzania's unique national development principle (Roe, 1970: 397).

The government did not want elite-centered development. The government hoped that all people would understand the direction of national development and make progress in their agricultural communities. However, the Tanzanian people did not understand the direction and philosophy of the national leadership. First, the illiteracy rate was high. Many people did not have the literacy abilities

to understand the direction and philosophy of national development. Second, there was a widespread sense the people kept since the colonial times that development is something that others would achieve on their behalf. President Nyerere pointed out that there was a misconception of national development among the Tanzanian people. Therefore, the government tried to educate the people with basic literacy for them to understand the direction and philosophy of the national development. This is why education during this period focused on primary and adult education.

Adult education in Tanzania was different from what appeared in other socialist countries. Other socialist countries generally introduced socialist ideology and transformation. But the government intentions and national development goals were included in adult political education (Carr-Hill, 1991: 20).

The most powerful goal of adult education was for the people to understand national policies and thus integrate the public into a new political. President Nyerere emphasized several times how important it is for the Tanzanian people to understand the direction of the country's development. Adult education became popular education and various campaigns emerged.

Carr-Hill (Carr-Hill, 1991: 21) notes that to implement the objectives of adult education, the government needed a deep understanding of the socio-economic conditions at the village level, and the way in which national and international production relations work to maintain the status quo. Carr-Hill could not find evidence that adult education had identified various socio-economic conditions at the grassroots level or helped solve their problems. However, considering the direction of national development that the government intended, such criticism

could be hasty. The government wanted to move away from colonial legacies and implement a new way of life by returning to the African way.

The government paid attention to adult education influenced by the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. Freire is commonly known for his involvement in the formation and development of the African state of Guinea-Bissau, but his philosophy was first introduced to Africa in an experiment in Tanzania (Torres, 1993: 128). Freire's philosophy of education influenced the Arusha Declaration and the Education for Self-Reliance Policy and influenced the medium of schooling and adult education (Assié-Lumumba et al., 2019). For Freire, the purpose of education was to change individual consciousness to lead the community toward a new direction. Through education, humans create new forces to change society (Freire, 2000). Through the Education for Self-Reliance Policy, the government aimed for the change of individual consciousness and the development of rural communities.

The government's plan to achieve self-reliance through education, including adult education, is similar to human development. The United Nations defines human development as ensuring long and healthy life, being knowledgeable, and having a decent standard of living.<sup>31</sup> The "truly human way", suggested in the central human capabilities by Nussbaum, means "a way informed and cultivated by an adequate education, including, but by no means limited to, literacy and basic mathematical and scientific training" (Nussbaum, 2011: 33-34). Tanzania's adult education, particularly functional literacy, was aimed at delivering knowledge in various fields of life, in addition to learning the letters. The second purpose of adult education, "to teach us how to improve our lives," shows that

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<sup>31</sup> <http://hdr.undp.org/en/content/human-development-index-hdi>

adult education had a purpose similar to human development.

Swahili was emphasized for primary and adult education. Today, Swahili is a widely used language in East Africa, but not at the time. In the 1960s, Tanzania was the only country that designated Swahili as the lingua franca among the then British colonies of Kenya and Uganda. The government thought that linguistic independence influenced the struggle for cultural, political, and economic independence (Colman, 1971). Since 1964, the government designated Swahili as the language of instruction and included it in the curriculum from standard III in primary education. In addition, the University of Dar de Salaam launched the Institute of Swahili Research to promote the usage of Swahili (URT, 1967: 19). The government wanted to gain public support for integrated education and national development through the Swahili language.

In fact, the importance of language has been emphasized early in the discussion on modern nationalism. Representative scholars on nationalism such as Anderson, Hobsbawm, and Poulantzas argue that language was important in explaining the emergence of modern European nations and the formation of nationalism (Anderson, 1991, Hobsbawm, 1992, Poulantzas, 1980). In particular, Poulantzas calls the phenomenon of language influencing political mobilization or identity “language Imperialism” (Poulantzas, 1980). From this point of view, the relationship between education and national development at this time was close to the political dimension among the dimensions described in Fagerlind & Saha (1983). The role of education for political development includes national unity, identity integration, democracy, and leadership development. The government wanted to achieve national integration and identity integration through education in Swahili. National unity and identity integration were essential tasks of newly

independent nations.

However, nationalism in Tanzania was slightly different from European nationalism and the political dimensions highlighted in Fagerlind & Saha (1983). The role of education for political development presupposes that many people participate in the development of the country led by the elite. However, the government hoped that the people would achieve national development by themselves, without the leadership of the elite. The government hoped that all people would understand the direction of the national development. For the government, development meant the national development achieved by the people from the grassroots, not by the elites or by foreign capital. Such characteristics are not often found in emerging countries that aim for elite-oriented national development. Samoff interprets the Arusha Declaration as the transition from developmental nationalism to radical populism (Samoff, 1994: 91). However, calling this development “populism” is somewhat inappropriate since the government designated the people as the main agents of development.

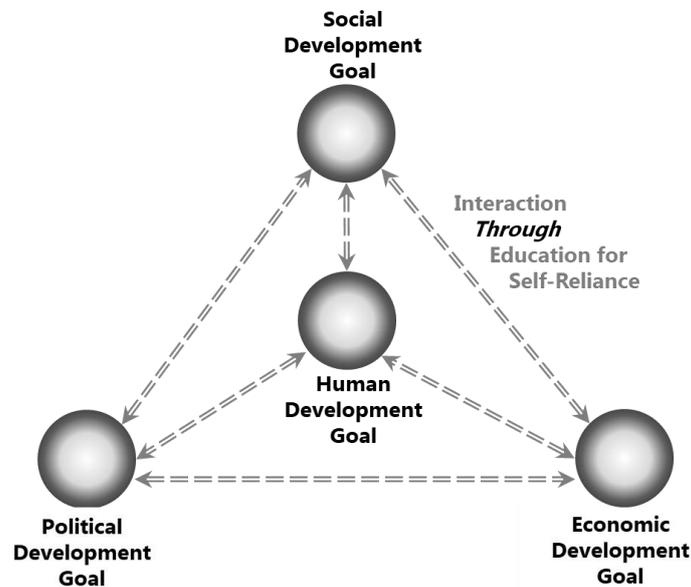
Tanzania’s economic development is also different from the economic dimensions highlighted in Fagerlind & Saha (1983). In the relationship between national development and education, economic development means industry-led economic development based on capitalism, as shown in Chapter 1. However, the government chose agriculture-led economic development. And economic development was naturally linked to community development, a dimension of social development. Social development conceived by Fagerlind & Saha (1983) is achieved through modernization. On the other hand, the government emphasized community-based learning and problem-solving skills necessary for life together. Nkonoki (1977) calls Education for Self-Reliance a rational

education, which clearly shows the link between education and social development.

- a) education must be relevant to society,
- b) the educated individual must serve society,
- c) the educated should be integrated with the masses,
- d) education must involve, not divorce, labour and problem-solving,
- e) education must be vocationalized/diversified
- f) educational institutions must be productive communities

(Nkonoki, 1977, 5-14)

In light of the relationship between education and development presented in Chapter II, the relationship between education and development in Tanzania at this time can be expressed as follows.



<Figure VI-2> Relationship between Education and Development in Tanzania (2)

Education, national development, and human development in Tanzania interacted. Education was not just a tool or a means of development. Education was itself the process of national development and human development. Education transcended the instrumental role for development and interacted with each dimension of development.

The direction of development that the government of Tanzania pursued does not correspond to the characteristics of the existing development theory, namely economic development through industries to ultimately form a modernized and urbanized society. This is why Green (2013) explained East Asia's national formation and education through the development theory but sees no clear correlation between state formation and education in Africa. But Tanzania cannot be described by the existing development theory because it focused on rural regions rather than the urban setting, and the agricultural society rather than the

industrial society. In other words, Green's perspective on Africa was still stuck in the existing theoretical framework that followed the Western view of development.

Samoff (1994) also criticizes that although there were several images representing Tanzania's national development, those were not the national goals or major ideologies. Instead, they were simply used in power and control by the ruling forces. In addition, although the government believed that modernization, self-reliance, and socialism would take place sequentially, that did not happen in reality, and as a result, the policies were inconsistent (Samoff, 1994). However, his criticism is not appropriated. Even though the sequence did not happen in reality, the policies were consistent. The sequence was the government's direction toward self-reliance. The government had the clear development goal of agriculture-led national development and the Education for Self-Reliance Policy under the belief that the people should be the main agents of development. However, the reason why similar criticisms have emerged is that there were limitations in policy and practice, as Mtonga (1993) points out:

What we need to be reminded about, however, is that having a policy statement is one thing, and the implementation of a policy is another. What, then, was the outcome of education for self-reliance? To what extent has it served as a guideline for an educational system charged with the responsibility of developing the political, social, and economic life of the country?

(Mtonga, 1993: 390)

But new theoretical attempts not addressed in general discussions of national development and education may be considered. The government's view of education and national development reminds may be related to post-colonialism. Education practice in Tanzania is sometimes interpreted as a post-colonial approach (Mayo, 2012). Spivak, a leading post-colonial scholar, asks in "Can the Subaltern Speak?" on what grounds and how the subaltern can speak. She also asks, if the subaltern cannot speak, why not, and what mechanisms make them speechless (Spivak, 1988). The reason why Spivak asks these questions is because it is believed that there is an internal line of cultural differences within the so-called same culture apart from the usual mechanisms of class formation (Spivak, 2003).

In countries such as India, which is often classified as the Third World, the ruling class follows the culture of the elite in Europe and falls into the error of mistaking themselves as Europeans. In newly independent countries, people other than the elite are again common grouped as the subaltern. Even if the postcolonial term subaltern is not used, there is a boundary between the elite and the majority who are not the elite. Here, Spivak points out the limitations of reproduction and representation, since there is actually heterogeneity among the non-elite, and making the elite represent the subaltern is problematic. Therefore, Spivak focuses on the boundaries of heterogeneity in culture.

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The government tried to blur the line of cultural differences through the national development philosophy of *ujamaa* and the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. Although the line of cultural differences could not be eliminated, they at least tried to eliminate the people's tendency to depend on external support which had been inculcated since colonial times. It was the task of decreasing external dependence at the national level and elite-oriented development at the

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<sup>32</sup> The term "subaltern" was originally used by the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci to refer to the lower classes of society. By the way, Guha and other historians on the subaltern generalize the term and use it as a name for all Indians other than the elite groups.

<sup>33</sup> Guha criticizes the Europeanized ideas of colonial intellectuals. In *History at the Limit of World-History* Guha criticizes an Indian historian for losing his identity and incorporating it into a European-style project (Guha, 2002).

public level. In this regard, the development during this period was in line with post-colonialism. It was an effort to make the subaltern aware through adult education that they are the agents of national development and that they can indeed speak and lead national development.

But in addition, there is another feature that needs to be noted to explain the relationship between national development and education in Tanzania. It is the establishment and revision of education laws that emerged in the process of national development. The establishment of laws is a feature not noted in the relationship between education and national development by Fagerlind & Saha (1983). However, the establishment of laws shows how the fledgling nation achieved the development of the education sector in line with the development of the nation.

In 1961, the government launched its Education Ordinance. Previous education ordinances were established differently by race under British colonial rule. The Education Ordinance of 1961 still had its limitations in that it did not deviate from the framework and contents of the previous education ordinances. However, it is meaningful that, the first Education Act could be established in 1969 based on the Education Ordinance.

Later, education laws were established and revised in conjunction with the development process of the country. The Education Act was enacted for the first time in 1969 with the implementation of the SYP after the Education for Self-Reliance Policy was introduced in 1967. The objective of the Act was “to repeal and replace the Education Ordinance and to provide for the development of a system of education in conformity with the political, social and cultural ideals of the United Republic”.

Since the adoption of the Musoma Resolution in 1974, the government strengthened its self-reliance policy, and once again revised the Education Act in 1978. The law became more sophisticated and contained the aims of the country's development. Education had now been institutionalized. The objective of the Act was "to repeal and replace the Education Act, 1969, and to provide for the better development of the system of National Education".

As such, two education acts show how the government perceived the relationship between national development and education in the process of state formation. The enactments which took place over 20 years after independence in Tanzania suggest that education was considered important in the process of state formation and national development.

### **6.1.3. Weakening Dialectical Process of Developments: 1981-1985**

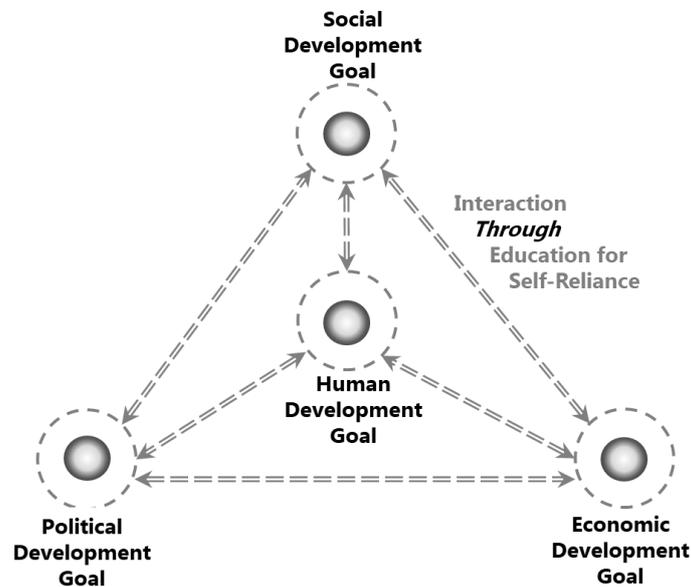
The fifth period is distinct from the first period which emphasized secondary and technical education in pursuit of capitalist economic development. It is also distinguished from the second to the fourth periods pursuing rural-oriented economic development and Education for Self-Reliance. A five-year national development plan was not announced even though the second long term plan of 1981-2000 was established in line with the first long term plan 1964-1980. In the aftermath of the economic downturn, the situation across the country was difficult.

After the resignation of President Nyerere in 1985, Tanzania quickly switched to capitalism. If Tanzania had ignored the dichotomy of capitalism and communism in its ujamaa Ujamaa experiment as Pitcher & Askew (2006) asserts,

then it may not be appropriate to say there was a shift from socialism to capitalism. However, since 1985, Tanzania made a clear transition by breaking from the President Nyerere administration and declaring a market-oriented economy.

Therefore, the fifth period was a transitional phase shifting from agricultural economic development to capitalist economic development. Technically, this was still a period of agriculture-led economic development and Education for Self-Reliance. However, education in this period only managed to continue the existing vein of linkage with national development, and no new education policies or directions emerged.

In light of the relationship between education and development presented in Chapter II, the relationship between education and development in Tanzania at this time can be expressed as follows. The general relationship between education and development was maintained, but the characteristics of each development dimension were not noticeable and the interaction between them was also weak.



<Figure VI-3> Relationship between Education and Development in Tanzania (3)

If a national development and education theory may be applied, the dependency theory is most applicable. As in the first phase, the tendencies of human capital theory or modernization theory were not apparent in the national development policy. However, because changes in the international situation surely affected Tanzania's national development policy and education policy, the global capitalist economy was the core and Tanzania's economy was located in the periphery. However, the dependency theory which emerged in Latin America, does not fully explain the situation in Tanzania. Dependency theory was created because Latin American countries resisted the direct impact of foreign economic stagnation in the process of import-substitution industrialization. The government of Tanzania, on the other hand, had previously attempted to build an independent economy.

### *Summary*

The national development plans and education in Tanzania from 1961 to 1985 can be summarized as Table VI-2 shows.

[Table VI-2] Summary of the National Development Plan and Education in Tanzania

	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Period (1961-1964)</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Period (1964-1969)</b>	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Period (1969-1976)</b>	<b>4<sup>th</sup> Period (1974-1981)</b>	<b>5<sup>th</sup> Period (1981-1985)</b>
National Development Plan	-	The First Long Term Plan 1964-1980			The Second Long Term Plan 1981-2000
	Three Year Plan for Tanganyika 1961-1964	First Five Year Development Plan 1964-1969	Second Five Year Development Plan 1969-1974/6	Third Five Year Development Plan 1976-1981	After the Third Five Year Development Plan
Characteristics of Development Plan	Inadequate and Inappropriate Development Plan	Development toward Our Independence and Dignity	Development Through Agriculture and Self-Reliance	Development Toward Self-Reliance for All	Unfinished National Development
Education Policy and Issues	Education Ordinance & Integration Education 1961	Education for Self-Reliance Policy 1967	Education Act No. 50 of 1969 & Musoma Resolution 1974	Education Act No. 25 of 1978	-
Characteristics of Education	Coexistence of Inherited Education and New Education System	Criticism of Inherited Education and Designing of the Education for Self-Reliance	Implementing Education for Self-Reliance Policy	Strengthening Education for Self-Reliance Policy	Continuing Education for Self-Reliance
Target Level of Education	Secondary and Technical Education	Primary and Adult Education		All Education	-
Dominant Development Theory	Human Capital Theory & Modernization Theory	Theory of Liberation & Post-Colonialism			Dependency Theory

	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Period (1961-1964)</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Period (1964-1969)</b>	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Period (1969-1976)</b>	<b>4<sup>th</sup> Period (1974-1981)</b>	<b>5<sup>th</sup> Period (1981-1985)</b>
Education and Development Relationship	Education for Development	Educational Development			
		Strengthened			Weakened

## **6.2 Educational Development in Tanzania: Dialectical Process**

This section will interpret Tanzania's experiment based on the previously defined concept of educational development. As will be explained, the experiment in educational development has both strengths and limitations. From there this study will expand the analysis a step further to explore whether this experiment can be understood in terms of the concept of "development as education".

### **6.2.1. Characteristics of Educational Development in Tanzania**

The dynamic between education and development revealed in Tanzania's experiment are very unique. The experiment can be interpreted in light of the concept of educational development. Such application is possible because Tanzania's development plans education policies were not separate. The two worked like a single cog. The Education for Self-Reliance Policy was established under the Arusha Declaration that outlined the vision of national development. The government revised education laws according to the national development plans, and gradually expanded the target of education from primary and adult education to secondary and higher education. Thus, Tanzania's case fits the concept of educational development which incorporates Goulet's view of development and Freire's view of education.

The characteristics of educational development devised by this study are as follows. First, educational development presupposes human interactions, that is, the state of critical consciousness of the individual. Educational development can

only be based on what Freire calls conscientization, the change of consciousness through interaction between humans. Second, the unit of analysis in educational development is the community. A community is a collection of conscientized humans who interacted with each other. The scope of a community is not limited. Community sizes range from small groups of individuals to global communities. Third, various communities interact with each other. Communities are the agents of interaction. Each interacting community moves toward the ultimate goal through a dialectical process. The ultimate goal is to realize a community in which unoppressed humans coexist.

These features are similarly found in Tanzania's national development and educational practice.

First, it aimed at the interaction between individuals conscientized through education. Tanzania emphasized adult education because it knew that development begins with a conscientized individual. The development that the government sought was to reach a state of independence and self-reliance. Independence and self-reliance were ways of realizing human dignity and self-respect. The government wanted the people of Tanzania to learn the direction of the country's development, that is, independence and self-reliance through primary and adult education. Despite the political character of Tanzanian adult education, it was not as ideologically biased as other countries. Due to the government's development and educational philosophy, the focus only on understood the national development goals (Carr-Hill, 1991: 20). Also, the government did not limit education within schools. In particular, adult education was conducted in various other spaces, partly because of the difficulty of securing facilities. But the important thing was not the place, but the content.

Adult education took place in all possible spaces inside and outside the school.

Second, the government of Tanzania wanted to emphasize rural communities and restore African traditions. Development in Tanzania was economic development led by agriculture. The government believed that rural economic development is the path to self-reliance. They hoped that the people's process of learning would soon emerge out of these communities. The ideal community was based on African traditions. Africa's traditional education kept the ideal integration of life and learning. Based on this, the government implemented the Ujamaa Villagization program. It was the representative program that showed the government's view of development. The government wanted to make the village which was the foundation of agricultural production the unit of development. All the learning and production of the people, social participation, and political activities took place within the village community. To this end, the government planned to convert primary schools into community education centers. Education included a variety of contents, ranging from literacy education to technical education, health education, and political education. That's why Tanzania's adult literacy education is called functional literacy.

Third, the government pursued a dialectical process toward development through the emphasis on self-reliance at the national development level. The government carried out a step-by-step development plan. The first long term plan of 1964-1980 was carried out with three five-year plans. Education was conducted first for self-reliance in primary and adult education, and later for self-reliance in secondary and higher education. The series of processes gradually expanded to foster a sense of self-reliance in all people. As for the intellectuals, the government emphasized that intellectual knowledge should be returned to the

community. For example, an intellectual who completed secondary and higher education should contribute to the development of especially the rural economy. The government hoped for a virtuous cycle through learning. Through interactions, communities at different layers and levels were oriented toward ultimate self-reliance and national development. As such, Tanzania's experiment can be characterized by the concept of educational development.

Here the discussion may be further extended. This study interpreted the experiment in Tanzania as educational development. The dialectical process from the second to the fifth period clearly differs from today's discussions on education and development which regard education as a means of development. In Tanzania, education played a leading and central role in the economic, social and political dimensions of national development and human development. This national development is unprecedented. Roughly described, the experiment in Tanzania goes beyond educational development and toward a concept that is closer to "education equals development".

Yoo et al. (2019) explains "education equals development" as "development as education". They provide the conceptual frame "development as education" in order to challenge the current education development paradigms. Development as education is a new relationship between education and development based on three different approaches to development: Goulet's ethical approach for authentic development, Sen's capability approach for social justice, and Freire's pedagogical approach for full humanization. In light of this new concept, the experiment in Tanzania can be interpreted as follows:

First, it has characteristics that fit Goulet's ethical approach for authentic development. Yoo et al. (2019: 264) point out that "authentic development is

fundamentally self-development where the self may be the individual but also the group at any level (local, regional, national)". Through Education for Self-Reliance, the government of Tanzania first emphasized the self-reliance of the individual, then the self-reliance of the community, and ultimately sought to achieve self-reliant national development. Thus, the experiment in Tanzania can be characterized as authentic development.

Second, the experiment in Tanzania pursued the Sen's capability approach for social justice. Yoo et al. (2019: 266) explain that for Sen, "capabilities are the real freedom and opportunities that a person to achieve functionings.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, if being literate is a functioning, the real opportunity to learn how to read and write is the corresponding capability". The government was aware of the importance of capability later emphasized by Sen, so it focused on primary and adult education as the first tasks of national development. Also, the government emphasized rural communities as a way to bridge social gaps, and aimed for people-centered national development, not development led by the elite. It aimed to realize social justice through education-oriented national development.

Third, the experiment in Tanzania fits Freire's pedagogical approach for full humanization. Yoo et al. (2019: 268) note that Freire criticizes the idea of modernization and insists that modernization is not development. For Freire, development goes beyond the economic measures of progress. It must enhance the self-sustainability of a society from the inside. The government criticized colonial modernization. It sought to restore the African tradition and develop a

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<sup>34</sup> "A functioning is an achievement, whereas a capability is the ability to achieve. Functionings are, in a sense, more directly related to living conditions, since they are different aspects of living conditions. Capabilities, in contrast, are notions of freedom, in the positive sense: what real opportunities you have regarding the life you may lead." (Sen & Muellbauer, 1988: 36).

country that fits the reality of Tanzania. The government's push for agriculture-led economic development, not urban-centered industrial development, contains the value of Freire's humanization.

Thus, the dialectical educational development experiment in Tanzania fits the new conceptual framework called "development as education". These attempts and possibilities push the existing development discourse out of the limits and extend the role of education beyond merely the instrumental. Education is not just a means of development but the minimum prerequisite for educational development, as well as development itself.

### **6.2.2. Limitations of Experiment in Tanzania**

The direction of development should be the same as the development philosophy shown by the government of Tanzania. The development philosophy contained educational development and the experiment during 20 years was a realization of "development as education". This was the development in which the values of human dignity and self-respect extend to all units from individuals to communities, societies, and countries. Therefore, it covers human development, community development, social development, and national development.

However, there is one uncomfortable point that must be made. Tanzania is often classified as a country that failed in its socialist experiment. Even President Nyerere said in his resignation, "socialism has failed in Tanzania". Then anyone could ask this question about Tanzania's experiment. Does the education-centered development model work? Given how a country's leader himself

declared a failure, it is easy to answer “No”. Perhaps that is why people who only look critically at Tanzania’s experiments of those days tend not to pay attention to the words that followed the declaration of failure: “I will remain a socialist because I believe socialism is the best policy for poor countries like Tanzania.” Declaring the 20-year experiment a failure, the president said it was still valid. Why? But seeing a leader who still believes in the possibility makes me want to say “Yes”.

Although not covered in depth in this study, I believe that some conditions are necessary for educational development and development as education. If certain conditions had been met in Tanzania, perhaps, President Nyerere could have called the experiment a success. In that sense, there is no case in history, but given the situation in Tanzania, I would like to consider the following premise.

First, minimum political, economic, social, and cultural conditions are needed. The government aimed to realize independence and self-reliance. Independence and self-reliance cover various aspects of politics, economy, society, and culture. Therefore, to achieve self-reliance, minimum political, economic, social, and cultural foundations must be laid. It is difficult to quantify the minimum. However, at least enough stability to withstand external pressures is necessary.

Apart from political, social, and cultural conditions, Tanzania was particularly vulnerable to economic conditions. Tanzania’s first national development plan after independence required a budget made up of 96 percent foreign aid. During the subsequent implementation of the FYP, the SYP, and the TYP, approximately 50% of the budget was foreign aid. Things might have changed if Tanzania’s portion of aid had gradually decreased as it continued to develop. But Tanzania’s only source of revenue was grain exports with no

domestic development. At the same time, the amount of state-level aid revenue was growing. Tanzania's economic structure was vulnerable to the trends in the international economy. Thus, in the 1980s to solve the immediate economic crises in the short-term, the government failed to announce any five-year development plan even after establishing the second long term plan of 1981-2000.

Second, certain duration is needed for a country's system to change and stabilize, especially if certain conditions are poor as was in Tanzania. Tanzania was vulnerable to foreign economic influence in the 1980s it failed to continue its national policy as intended, and education stagnated after President Nyerere's resignation. In that sense, if the government had implemented the second long term plan of 1981-2000, it could have continued its national development direction and education policy for more than 35 years. And if the policies still work, things may have turned out differently. However, the government failed to implement the second long term plan of 1981-2000. Why?

On the surface, there was the economic deterioration caused by the global economic downturn. However, the strong resistance and opposition the government faced internally during the period of the SYP and the TYP cannot be overlooked. During the FYP, the government designed and launched Education for Self-Reliance Policy, and the Arusha Declaration which presented a blueprint for national development. Although the government did not mention a specific deadline, seeing as it established the second long term plan, socialism and self-reliance were meant to be achieved over a long period of time. But the time span turned out shorter than expected. The government only focused on primary and adult education for 5 years of the SYP. Of course, the expansion of primary and

adult education continued in the TYP but by then the government's stance was no longer so strong. Five years was too short a period to run an education policy that is at the heart of a national development. Why did the government fail to maintain its stance?

The government seems to have gotten impatient. They must have felt the pressure to show rapid progress in national development. As shown in the closedown of *Cheche* in 1970, after the announcement of the Arusha Declarations, intellectuals voiced opposition to the government's Ujamaa philosophy and the Education for Self-Reliance Policy. The government had to contain and persuaded them while proving that the development direction policies are effective. In the end, less than a decade after the implementation of the Education for Self-Reliance Policy, the government decided to apply self-reliance to higher education. These more forceful policies then provoked even more powerful resistance and opposition. This is where the third condition of political support, is needed to elicit sufficient policy implementation.

Then going back to the original question: since these conditions were not met, should we call Tanzania's experiment a failure? No. Not having these conditions would not define Tanzania's experiment as a failure. This is because its spirit and values remain today. Fouréré (2015: 22) argues that the socialist national narratives of the time influenced the political conception and the national ethos of Tanzania. The possibility of implementing President Nyerere's claim: "I will remain a socialist because I believe that the best policy for the country is the best policy for the country like Tanzania" remains.

The same interplay between official discourses and their use in the wider

public sphere is apparent in the contemporary construction of memory. The clips of Nyerere's speeches which filled Tanzanian television screens in the summer of 2010 and the references to Nyerere's words and actions in the office involved in newspapers, political speeches, and in everyday discourse in buses and bars both served to recall lived memories of the tale 1960s and 1970s passed on through oral as well as written channels and to allow a younger generation to experience the past vicariously.

(Hunter, 2015: 73)

Today, Tanzanian people do not declare a break from the age of Nyerere. Rather, they still summon the images of the time, so that the memories of the past coexist in the present. The past and the present interact. This interaction is also evident in the way people treat President Nyerere. The Tanzanian people respect President Nyerere by calling him the Father of the Nation, or Mwalimu (Teacher in Swahili). Through the image of a great figure, an era is recalled to the present. Thus, Fouréré (2015: 50) does not see Nyerere's manifestation in Tanzania in terms of the theoretical framework of the habitus, but rather as the "political language shared at all levels of Tanzanian society, providing notions, ideas, images, and metaphors of power to speak and act in the present.". In other words, the values of the time permeate the political, social, and cultural spheres of today.

All this is possible because, as Languille (2015) shows, some of the successful public officials or leaders in Tanzania today clearly say that the experiment in Tanzania at the time allowed them to exist today. Despite much criticism, Tanzania's experiment provided education to those who would not

have had access. And they were raised as the leaders of national development as President Nyerere once envisioned. Their voices are still valid and meaningful in Tanzania. This is why the values and philosophy ujamaa 60 years ago continues to breathe life into in Tanzania today.

## **CHAPTER VII. CONCLUSION**

### **7.1. Summary**

This study aimed to propose a conceptual definition of educational development, and to reinterpret the experiment in Tanzania from 1961 to 1985. Based on the presumption that the experiment of Tanzania was a human-oriented national development through education, and that approach can open the possibility of an alternative discussion on education and development, the following question was proposed: What were the characteristics of education and national development plans in Tanzania in from 1961 to 1985? How did education relate to development in Tanzania in education and national development? In order to answer the questions, I collected and analyzed data by adopting documentary and historical analysis. I conducted field research through the duration of a month from March to April in 2019.

Containing critical views on existing development discourse, this study offered a new concept of educational development. The concept of educational development combined Goulet's perspective on development and Freire's perspective on education, and applied to Tanzania.

The finding is as follows: the government of Tanzania pursued a dialectical process toward development through the emphasis on self-reliance at the national development level. The government carried out a step-by-step development plan. The first long term plan of 1964-1980 was carried out with three five-year plans. Under the first, second, and third five-year Development Plan, the government designed, implemented, and strengthened the Education for

Self-Reliance Policy. In order to achieve the national development plan, the government needed the people to understand the direction and philosophy of the country's development and therefore focused on public education for the entire nation. Education was conducted first for self-reliance in primary and adult education, and later for self-reliance in secondary and higher education. The series of processes gradually expanded to foster a sense of self-reliance in all people.

Education practice in Tanzania was itself the process of national development and human development. Education transcended the instrumental role for development. National development plans and education policy interacted. Dimensions of development, such as political, economic, social, and human were reflected in their interaction. The development of Tanzania during this period was a dialectical process of development in line with post-colonialism.

Furthermore, the features of educational development are similarly found in national development plans and education. First, it aimed at the interaction between individuals conscientized through education. The government wanted the people of Tanzania to learn the direction of the country's development. Second, the government of Tanzania wanted to emphasize rural communities and restore African traditions. Tanzania's development was economic development led by agriculture. Tanzania's leadership believed that rural economic development is the path to independence and self-reliance. Third, Tanzania pursued a dialectical process toward development through the emphasis on self-reliance at the national development level. The government carried out a step-by-step development plan. The first long term plan of 1964-1980 was carried out with three five-year plans.

## **7.2. Implications for International Development and Education**

The study tells the story of a newly independent nation within a historical and context. I wanted to give a new interpretation of the relationship between national development and educational practice in Tanzania, a newly independent nation that was in the process of state formation. The intention was also to tell a new story of development for today. In the 21st century, in the era of the implementation of Sustainable Development Goals (“SDGs”), this study reexamines the concept, direction, and goal of development.

Five years have passed since education discourse in the international community changed from the expansion of access to quality education. Somebody may ask what is the purpose of talking about community-based agriculture-led economic development and the value of self-reliance from 60 years ago now that we are in the age of artificial intelligence and the Fourth Industrial Revolution. But this study unexpectedly found that what the international community wants to achieve with the SDGs is the same thing the government of Tanzania wanted to achieve through community-based agriculture-led economic development decades ago. The voice from 60 years ago in Tanzania is still valid. Or rather, the experiment in Tanzania in the 1960s was even more progressive. They were already working toward human dignity and self-respect through development.

While examining the experiment in Tanzania I asked: is anyone talking about human dignity through education or development today even though education is recognized as a human right? Does anyone say that development should be dignified? Among the countless educators on the planet, among those who speak

of development, the voices of those who emphasize human dignity and self-respect are extremely rare and rarely heard. Even the SDGs, which are considered more advanced than the Millennium Development Goals, have references to justice and peace, but there is no talk of self-respect for human dignity. That is because it lacks a philosophy of development.

If the international paradigm fails to capture such philosophy, individual countries should develop their national development philosophy, but that often does not happen. This is because countries do not build their development goals based on a certain philosophy in the first place. Development is instead merely something the country must achieve by imitating other developed nations. Europe developed itself through history and the development of European model of development became common throughout colonial history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Other countries began to imitate the European model of development model. Is it possible to achieve the same or similar stage of development for individual countries with a different history, culture, and environment? It even feels like everyone is intoxicated by Hegel's logic of World History.

Take South Korea for instance. Korea is a developed country. East Asian countries including South Korea, are called developed countries. Even The concept of developmental state has emerged to explain Asian countries. It is often said that education played an important role in the economic development of Korea. Was education related to South Korea's national development? If so, exactly how did education contribute to development? At least in my experience, the process doesn't seem to work out exactly as it does in theory. Yet over the past few years, South Korea has been busy exporting its development experience

abroad in the name of international assistance.

A Tanzanian researcher asked me if I consider Korea a developed country, what factors caused its development, what was the role of education in development, and whether I still believe that the whole process was developed. I answered that while Korea did make economic progress, but I don't consider it real progress. I never thought Korea had truly developed, nor do I ever want Africa, which is considered an underdeveloped country, to develop like Korea. Rather, over the past ten years working and studying in Korea and Africa, I kept telling myself that what happened in Korea is not human-centered development.

The experiment in Tanzania 60 years ago made me consider how national development should be. Tanzania was a country that wanted to achieve human-centered national development. I am sure that the experiment in Tanzania demonstrates the possibility for a new paradigm of development: educational development, and further, development as education. However, opinions are still divided over Tanzania's experiment because it was abruptly ended before it could be evaluated according to any criteria of success or failure. It simply collapsed in the economic situation.

Looking at Tanzania reminded me of the case of Finland. It may not be appropriate to compare Europe and Africa, but the case of Finland is meaningful in light of Tanzania's case. Finland had been an agricultural country before World War II, and since then it gradually began to transform itself into an industrial country. Finland believed that public education should be strengthened for the development of the national economy. So in the 1970s, the country conducted the Comprehensive School Reform to change the dual education system which was considered the cause of social inequality. After that, the

national education system continued without changes, even as Finland switched from social-democratic politics to market-oriented and neo-liberal approaches in the late 1980s. However, under the same education system, the government decentralized the education system and increased the autonomy of local governments, schools, and teachers. In addition, the Finnish government eliminated government control and surveillance systems and introduced school self-evaluation (Simola, 2017). As a result, Finland's education in the 2010s attracted worldwide attention as a successful case with high academic performance.

A notable feature of Finland compared to Tanzania is that it had maintained its educational development direction even though changes in the country's economic system. In fact, education reform took place in Finland in the 1960s and the 1970s, at the same time as Tanzania. However, because Tanzania was a country which was vulnerable to foreign economic influence in the 1980s it failed to continue its education policy as intended and education stagnated after President Nyerere's resignation, Finland maintained its stance on education until the 1990s. If the government of Tanzania could have implemented the Education for Self-Reliance Policy for a little longer like Finland could for its policy, and if it could have continued its philosophy of national development and education despite economic conditions, the outcome may have turned out differently.

Throughout the research I wondered, why can't the goal of development base on a more fundamental philosophy of development? A more philosophical discussion is necessary in the development discourse. And the philosophy of development should have a significant impact on the development goals of the international community. Just as the government wanted to achieve community-

based development for human dignity and self-respect by emphasizing the African tradition in the 1960s, the discourse on development should be more human-centered. Taking a step even further, dignity and respect should be extended beyond humanity to value all in the ecology.

### **7.3. Limitations and Suggestion for Further Study**

One of the most frequently asked questions in developing this study was its disciplinary category. Ever since deciding to explore Tanzania's education practices from the 1960s to the 1980s, the researcher constantly agonized over the identity of this study within the boundaries of history, pedagogy, and regional studies. At the same time, I wondered what theory would best analyze the newly independent Tanzania. Post-colonialism, nationalism, and socialism were most applicable, and I focused on these theories as I began this study. However, by the end, I realized that this study does not quite belong in any academic discipline or grand theory. Rather, this study is an academic work that seeks to answer the questions I held as I worked and studied in international development cooperation for the past ten years.

As a result, there are aspects this study did not address. These are some limitations of this study that would benefit from follow-up research.

First, a comparative study on education in countries that chose socialism after colonial independence is necessary. Research on African countries particularly needs to be done. Experiments by African countries that chose socialism are often assessed as failures. Like Green, some scholars conclude that there is no relation between state formation and education in Africa. However, as this study

demonstrated with Tanzania's case, applying a new frame of national development and education can lead to fresh interpretation. In particular, paying attention to different characteristics among the African countries that adopted socialism would enrich the research field. For example, Mozambique, which was influenced by Tanzania in its choice of socialism, presented the concept of the "new man", the birth of a Marx-Lenin type of human as the goal of national education, but the country did not emphasize African socialism. Mozambique did not have a strong national development principle such as ujamaa. It is also possible to conduct a comparative study of countries beyond Africa that chosen socialism. For example, it may be interesting to reinterpret Carnoy & Samoff's *Education and Social Transition in the Third World* (1990), which conducted comparative studies on education and social transformation in China, Cuba, Tanzania, Mozambique, and Nicaragua through the concept and framework proposed by this study.

Second, a comparative study of educational practice among countries that chose community-based agricultural development plans is also possible. The most frequently asked questions during this study were how the case of Tanzania compared to the Maoist era in China or the Saemaoul Movement in Korea. There had been some relevant prior research. For example, Stites & Semali (1991) conducted comparative studies on literacy education in China and Tanzania, and Yoon & Mudida (2020) compared the Saemaoul Movement in Korea with ujamaa. Most findings conclude the content of the development programs to find similarities and differences. But by applying the concept of educational development and development as education, research may produce more three-dimensional and interesting results. For example, Ujamaa in Tanzania is often

regarded as a failure, while the Saemaoul Movement is evaluated as successful in driving national development. As a result, the Korean government recently transferred the Saemaoul Movement Project to Tanzania as an international development cooperation project. Aside from evaluating the effectiveness, a new interpretation of development could be possible if research is conducted on how projects on the other side of the continent in the 1970s had similar or different results.

Third, it is possible to expand the discussion of development as education by redefining education and development through Korean or Asian values to complement the concept of educational development. The concepts of education and development borrowed by this study belong to a Brazilian scholar. In the 1970s Latin America's reactions against the international trends arose dependency theory and liberation theology. I had no qualms about borrowing their theories. But as a Korean researcher, I had to wonder why there had not been representative development theories and scholars from Korea as there were in Latin America, and no developmental movement based on Korean traditions as there had been an emphasis on African tradition in Tanzania. Why couldn't Korea develop its philosophy of development or education? And at the end of the quest, the researcher found that it is not that Korea did not have such philosophies but that they simply were not found and revealed. Korea has many more young people who are obsessed with Western philosophy than with Eastern and Korean thought. That is because Modern Korea has overly emerged in Western philosophy and values. Therefore, it is necessary to continue the exploration of education and development in search of Korean or Asian values. And in this context, the researcher presents the possibility of subsequent research

on the comparative study of Ham Seok-Heon's Social Idea and Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance as one possibility.

In addition to this, more in-depth research on Tanzania should be conducted. This study failed to carry out the main field research, contrary to its original plan, and thus failed to capture abundant data on the situation of Tanzania from the 1960s to the 1980s. Covering the political and social fluctuations, changes in power relations, the intellectuals' support for and resistance against the government's initiatives, and the public's opinion on the development experiments during Tanzania's national development process would enrich the research. In addition, the government of Tanzania at the time worked to expand education in various forms, including radio broadcasting and library operations. When the researcher visited Tanzania, the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation was building various databases on the content from the ujamaa period. If research using these materials can be carried out, more rigorous historical anthropology and historical sociology can be conducted.

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## APPENDIX

### Appendix A: Invitation Letter

**UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM**  
**OFFICE OF THE VICE CHANCELLOR**  
**P.O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA**

General: +255 22 2410500-8 ext. 2001  
Direct: +255 22 2410700  
Telefax: +255 22 2410078



Telegraphic Address: UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM  
E-mail: vc@admin.udsm.ac.tz  
Website address: www.udsm.ac.tz

Ref. No. Z8/D.8 20<sup>th</sup> March 2019

Ms. Chae-Won Park  
Seoul National University  
1 Gwanak-ro Gwanak-gu  
Seoul 151 - 742  
**SOUTH KOREA**

**RE: INVITATION TO THE UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM**

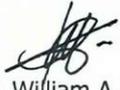
It is my great honor to invite you to the University of Dar es Salaam on 25<sup>th</sup> March 2019 for a learning visit.

The purpose of the visit is to conduct a pilot study for designing the research for Ph.D. dissertation, meet scholars in education, history, international development areas and visit public institutions including the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, and Tanzania Library Services Board.

It is my understanding that you will cover all costs associated with the visit. While at the University of Dar es Salaam, you will be hosted by Dr. Robert Suphian, Coordinator - Korean Studies Centre (KSC-UDSM).

We warmly welcome you to the University of Dar es Salaam.

Yours sincerely,

  
Prof. William A. L. Anangisye  
**VICE CHANCELLOR**

c.c. Dean, University of Dar es Salaam Business School  
c.c. Director, Internationalization, Convocation and Advancement  
c.c. Dr. Robert Suphian

## Appendix B: Photos of the Field Research



<Photo 1> Korean Studies Center at the UDSM (with Dr. Robert Suphian)



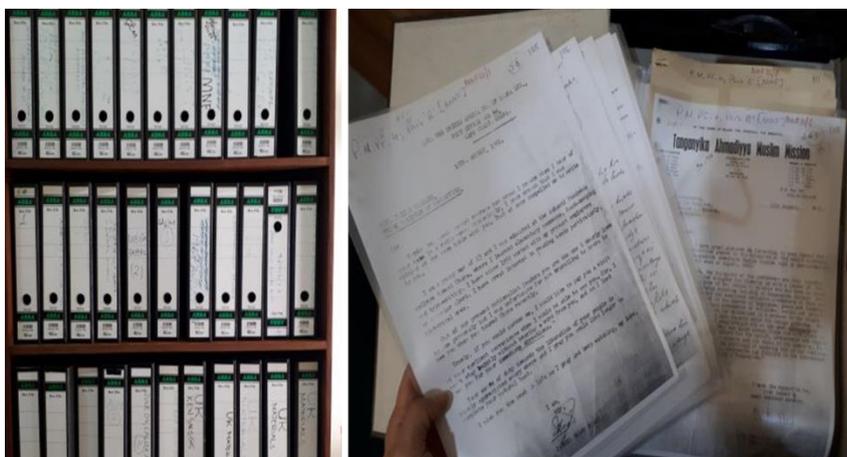
<Photo 2> Seminar in Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the UDSM



<Photo 3> East African Studies section of the Old Library of the UDSM (1)



<Photo 4> East African Studies section of the Old Library of the UDSM (2)



<Photo 5> Julius Nyerere Archive (Kavazi) in COSTECH



<Photo 6> Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation (with Prof. Ikaweba Bunting)

## Appendix C: List of Selected/Collected Documents in Tanzania

### Resource A: UDSM Library

Title	Archiving Format
IIEP (1977) Higher Education for Self-Reliance - the Tanzanian Experience (Chap. II & III).	PDF
IDS-UDSM_Nkonoki (1977) Ten Years of National Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania 1967-1977.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1958) Annual Report 1957. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1958) Annual Report 1958. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1960) Annual Report 1959. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
Roy Carr-Hill (1984) Primary Education in Tanzania.	PDF
UDSM (1969-1970) Report on Research (Education Only).	PDF
UNESCO (1962) Report of UNESCO Education Planning Commission for Tanzania.	PDF
UNESCO (1989) Education in Tanzania Sector Review.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1961) Annual Report 1960. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1963) Annual Report 1961. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1964) Annual Report 1962. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1965) Annual Report 1963. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1967) Annual Report 1964. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1968) Annual Report 1965. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1969) Annual Report 1966. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1969) Annual Report 1967. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1983) Annual Report Combined 1970-1975. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1987) Annual Report Combined 1976-1981. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1989) Annual Report 1986. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1975) Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Elimu ya Siasa: Shule za Msingi Darasa I-VII. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
GOT (1963) Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Historia. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF

Title	Archiving Format
GOT (1963) Muhtasari ya Mafundisho ya Sanaa na Kazi za Mikono. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1983) Elimu ya Jamii: Mwongozo wa Utekelezaji Katika Shule za Msingi. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1974) Syllabuses: Mathematical Subjects for Secondary Schools. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
GOT (1963) Muhtasari ya General Science. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1980) Some Basic Facts about Education in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
Msekwa, P. & maliyzmkono, T. L. (1979) The Experiments: Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration. Dar es Salaam: Black Star Agencies.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1971) Elimu Ya Siasa 6: Taifa na Serikali Yetu: The Tanzania Publishing House Limited.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1971) Elimu Ya Siasa 7: Ujenzi Wa Taifa Letu. Dar es Salaam: The Tanzania Publishing House Limited.	PDF
MOE Tanzania (1968) Outline of the Second Five Year Development Plan. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
Kassam, Y. O. (1979) Illiterate no More: The Voices of New Literates from Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House.	PDF
GOT (1966) Jinsi ya Kutumia Kitabu cha Jifunze. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
Viscuis, M. (1971) Literacy for Working: Functional Literacy in Rural Tanzania. France: UNESCO.	PDF
MOEC Tanzania (1985) Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) 1980-1984. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOEC Tanzania (1987) Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) 1982-1986. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOEC Tanzania (1991) Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) 1986-1990. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MOEC Tanzania (1995) Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) 1990-1994. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
Auger, G. A. et al. (1970) Absenteeism in Primary Schools of Tanzania. Dar es Salaam.	PDF
Omari, I. M. et al. (1983) Universal Primary Education in Tanzania. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.	PDF
Mbilinyi, M. J. (1977) Basic Education, Tool of Exploitation or Liberation?	PDF
GOT (1960) Tanganyika Schools Broadcasts. Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF
MacDonald, A. (1966) Tanzania: Young Nation in a Hurry. New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc.	PDF
Hodd, M (1988) Tanzania After Nyerere. London: Printer Publisher Limited.	PDF
Himmelstrand, U., Kinyanjui, K., & Mburugu, E. (1994). African perspectives on development: Controversies, dilemmas and openings. James Currey Ltd.	PDF

Title	Archiving Format
Maliyamkono. T. L. (1982) <i>The Unproductive School</i> . Dar es Salaam: Africana Publishers.	PDF
Kassam, Y. O. (1978) <i>The Adult Education Revolution in Tanzania</i> . Nairobi: Shungwaya Publishers Ltd.	PDF
MOE (1970) <i>The New Education System for Secondary Education and Administration of Tanzanian Examinations</i> . Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Government Printer.	PDF

#### Resource B: Elite Bookstore in UDSM

Title	Archiving Format
Molony, T. (2014). <i>Nyerere: The early years</i> . Boydell & Brewer Ltd.	Book
Fouere, M. A. (Ed.). (2015). <i>Remembering Julius Nyerere in Tanzania: History, Memory, Legacy</i> . Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Legum, C., & Mmari, G. R. V. (Eds.). (1995). <i>Mwalimu: the influence of Nyerere</i> . James Currey Ltd.	Book
Mbogoni, L. E. Y. (2013). <i>Aspects of colonial Tanzania history</i> . African Books Collective.	Book
Shivji, I. G. (2008). <i>Pan-Africanism or Pragmatism: Lessons of the Tanganyika-Zanzibar Union</i> . African Books Collective.	Book
Hirji, K. F. (Ed.). (2010). <i>Cheche: Reminiscences of a Radical Magazine: Reminiscences of a Radical Magazine</i> . African Books Collective.	Book
Soyinka, W., & Amin, S. (2016). <i>Reimagining pan-Africanism: distinguished Mwalimu Nyerere lecture series 2009-2013</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Brennan, J., & Burton, A. & Lawi. Y. (2007). <i>The emerging metropolis: a short history of Dar es Salaam</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Vilby, K. (2007). <i>Independent?: Tanzania's challenges since Uhuru</i> . E & D Vision Publishing Ltd.; Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.	Book
Seifert, A. (2013). <i>Global city local identity?</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Swantz, M. L. (2015). <i>In search of living knowledge</i> . Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Biswano, J. M. (2012). <i>The quest for regional integration in the twenty first century: rhetoric versus reality: a comparative study</i> . African Books Collective.	Book
Mwapachu (2018). <i>Tanzania in the Age of Change and Transformation</i> . Dar es Salaam: E&D Vision Publishing Limited.	Book
The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation (2011). <i>Freedom and Liberation: A Selection from Speeches 1974-1999 Julius Nyerere</i> . Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.	Book
Bwimbo, D. M. (2017). <i>Mlinzi Mkuu Wa Mwalimu Nyerere</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Mbogo, E. (2018) <i>Nyerere Na Safari Ya Kanaani</i> . Dar es Salaam: Africa Proper Education Network.	Book
Lema, E., Mbilnyi, M., & Rajani, R. (2004). <i>Nyerere on Education</i> . Dar es Salaam: E&D Vision Publishing Limited.	Book

Title	Archiving Format
Taasisi ya Mwalimu Nyerere (2001). <i>Kazi za Taasisi ya Mwalimu Nyerere</i> .	Book
Calas, B. (Ed.). (2010). <i>From Dar Es Salaam to Bongoland: Urban Mutations in Tanzania</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Ewald, J. (2013). <i>Challenges for the democratisation process in Tanzania: moving towards consolidation 50 years after independence?</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Kimambo I., Maddox, G., & Nyanto, S. (2017). <i>A New History of Tanzania</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Hirji, K. F. (2017). <i>The Enduring Relevance of Walter Rodney's 'How Europe Underdeveloped Africa'</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Rwegoshora, H. M. (2016). <i>Social Security Challenges in Tanzania: Transforming the Present-Protecting the Future</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
REDET(Ed.) (2010). <i>Democracy and Political Competition in East Africa</i> . Dar es Salaam: E&D Vision Publishing Limited.	Book
Hirji, K. F. (2014). <i>Growing up with Tanzania: memories, musings and maths</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Mwapachu, J. V. (2005). <i>Confronting new realities: Reflections on Tanzania's radical transformation</i> . E & D Limited.	Book
Njogu, K., & Maupeu, H. (Eds.). (2007). <i>Songs and politics in Eastern Africa</i> . African Books Collective.	Book
Manji, F., & Burnett, P. (2010). <i>African Voices on Development and Social Justice</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book

### Resource C: TPH Bookshop

Title	Archiving Format
The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation (2011). <i>Freedom and A New World Economic Order: A Selection from Speeches 1974-1999 Julius Nyerere</i> . Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.	Book
The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation (2011). <i>Freedom, Non Alignment and South Cooperation: A Selection from Speeches 1974-1999 Julius Nyerere</i> . Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press.	Book
Marcossy (2017) <i>Why is Tanzania Poor?: The Role of Social Accountability in Poverty Reduction</i> .	Book
Mulokozi, M. (2002). <i>The African Epic Controversy: Historical, Philosophical and Aesthetic Perspectives on Epic Poetry and Performance</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Spitzer, H., & Mabeyo, Z. M. (2014). <i>In search of protection: older people and their fight for survival in Tanzania</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Matolino, B. (2018). <i>Consensus as Democracy in Africa</i> . NISC (Pty) Ltd.	Book
Gosovic, B. (2017). <i>The South Shaping the Global Future</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Mbogoni, L. E. (2004). <i>The Cross versus the Crescent: Religion and Politics in Tanzania from the 1880s to the 1990s</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book

Title	Archiving Format
Russian Academy of Sciences (2005). <i>Julius Nyerere Humanist Political Thinker</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book
Lyimo, F. F. (2012). <i>Rural cooperation: In the cooperative movement in Tanzania</i> . African Books Collective.	Book
Nghwaya, S. (1990) <i>Kesi ya Julius Kambrage Nyerere 1958</i> . Tanzania Publishing House.	Book
Bissell, W. C., & Fouéré, M. A. (2018) <i>Social Memory, Silenced Voices, and Political Struggle</i> . Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers.	Book

## 국문초록

# 탄자니아의 발전과 교육, 1961-1985

서울대학교

대학원 글로벌교육협력전공

박채원

본 연구는 “교육 발전”을 개념적으로 정의하고 탄자니아에서 이루어진 1961년부터 1985년까지 교육과 국가 발전 실험을 재해석하는데 목적이 있다. 탄자니아의 실험이 교육을 통한 인간 중심의 국가 발전이라는 믿음과 이러한 접근이 교육과 개발에 관한 대안적 논의의 가능성을 열어줄 수 있다는 가정 하에, 본 연구는 다음과 같은 연구 질문을 제시하였다. 첫째, 1961-1985년 동안 탄자니아의 교육과 국가 발전 양상은 어떠했는가? 둘째, 탄자니아의 교육과 국가 발전 양상 속에서 교육은 발전과 어떤 관계적 특징을 가지는가? 연구자는 질문에 답하기 위해 현장 조사를 포함하여 여러 역사 문헌을 수집하고 분석하였다.

“교육 발전”은 기존의 발전 담론에 대한 비판적 견해를 담고 있다. 동 개념은 발전학자 Goulet의 관점과 교육학자 Freire의 관점을 결합하여 고안되었으며, 탄자니아에 적용되었다.

탄자니아는 국가 발전 철학에서 자립을 강조하며 변증법적 발전 과

정을 추구했다. 1964년부터 15년 동안 이행 된 총 세 차례의 국가 발전 계획에 따라 탄자니아 정부는 자립을 위한 교육 정책을 설계, 시행, 강화하였다. 국가 발전 계획을 달성하기 위해, 정부는 국민들이 국가 발전의 방향과 철학을 이해할 필요가 있다고 믿었으며, 이를 위해 공교육을 강화하였다. 초등교육과 성인교육의 자립을 위한 교육이 먼저 실시되었고, 이후 중등교육과 고등교육의 자립을 위한 교육이 뒤이어 이루어졌다. 탄자니아의 교육 정책은 모든 사람들에게 진정한 자립의식을 함양하기 위해 점차적으로 확대되었다.

탄자니아의 교육은 그 자체로 국가 발전이자 인간 발전의 과정이었다. 교육은 단순히 발전을 위한 도구적 기능에서 벗어났다. 국가의 발전 방향과 교육 정책은 유기적으로 결합하여 상호작용했다. 국가 발전의 정치, 경제, 사회적 차원과 인간 발전이 모두 상호작용 속에서 드러났다. 이 기간 동안 탄자니아의 발전은 해방 이론과 탈식민주의 경향을 띠며 변증법적인 발전 과정을 보여주었다.

탄자니아의 국가 발전과 교육 실천은 “교육 발전”과 유사하다. 첫째, 교육을 통해 의식화 된 개인 간의 상호작용을 목표로 했다. 당시 탄자니아 정부는 국민이 국가의 발전 방향을 이해하고 독립적으로 이행하기를 원했다. 둘째, 탄자니아 정부는 농촌 중심의 경제 공동체를 형성하고 이를 토대로 아프리카의 정신을 실현하고자 했다. 탄자니아 정부는 농촌 중심의 경제 발전이 대외에 대한 의존을 낮추는 진정한 독립과 자립의 길이라고 믿었다. 셋째, 탄자니아는 국가 발전 차원에서 자립을 강조함으로써 변증법적 발전을 추구하였다. 1964년부터 1981년까지의 세 차례의 5개년 계획에 따라 정부는 점진적 발전을 추구하였다.

탄자니아의 변증법적인 교육 발전 실험은 교육을 발전의 수단으로

여기는 오늘날의 교육 발전 논의와는 확연히 다르다. 그리고 동 실험은 “교육으로서의 발전”이라고 불리는 새로운 개념적 틀로의 확장이 가능하다. 동 개념 안에서 교육은 곧 발전이 된다. “교육 발전”, “교육으로서의 발전”은 기존의 발전 담론의 한계를 비판하고 교육의 역할을 발전으로 확장하는 대안적 개념이다. 교육은 개발의 수단일 뿐만 아니라 교육발전을 위한 최소한의 전제조건이다.

**주제어:** 발전, 교육, 탄자니아, 자립을 위한 교육, 아프리카 사회주의  
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