

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

AN AFRICAN MODEL OF PLANNING EDUCATION
FOR SOCIAL CHANGE:
A STUDY OF NYERERE'S EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to compare Nyerere's model of Education for Self-Reliance (it's views of man and education and it's implementation to rural development) with the liberationist perspective on views of man and education for social change. The liberationist perspective on views of man and education was identified from the writings of Freire, Illich, Carnoy, Frank, Memmi, Fanon and Alves who have written on the need for a new approach to education for third world social development and change. The concern of these writers is to create the social, political and economic conditions to give every individual the best chance of developing his/her talents and personality to the fullest extent possible, in order that he/she may be as good a human being and citizen as possible.

The results of this study revealed that in theory, Nyerere's theory of Education for Self-Reliance conformed to the Liberationist perspective. Both theories proposed similar major educational goals for social change concomitant with their views of man. These goals were: (1) the transition from elitist education to mass education, (2) the linking of the new educational system with life and (3) the strengthening of cultural identity.

On the other hand, this study also revealed that in practice, there were some contradictions between the theoretical goals of Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance and it's

implementation to rural development in Tanzania. For example, the entrance to secondary and higher education is still based on selective approach versus mass approach; higher education is still related to prestige and status and; the self-reliant activities are being taken mechanically. Based on the results of the study, some implications for practice and suggestions for further research were formulated.

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Liberationist Perspective on views of Man and Education for Social Change	36
2. Selected Third World Writings Relevant to the Liberationist Strategies Consonant with the Views of Man and Education.....	47
3. Selected Works of Nyerere and TANU Pertinent to the Study of ESR.....	48
4. Selected Writings for Investigating ESR's Implementation to Rural Development in Tanzania.....	49
5. Representation of Observed Views of Man and Education in Nyerere's ESR.....	71
6. Number of Ujamaa Villages Between 1967-1980.....	74
7. Presentation of the Observed Operational Successes and Failures Related to Educational Strategies of Nyerere's ESR Goals to Rural Development.....	95
8. Comparison of the Liberationist and Nyerere's Views of Man and Education	113

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Research Framework of Possible Relationships Between the Liberationist and Nyerere's Views of Man and Education and ESR's Implementation to Rural Development in Tanzania	8
2. Research Framework of Possible Relationships Between the Liberationist and Nyerere's Views of Man and Education and ESR's Implementation to Rural Development in Tanzania.....	42
3. Linking School with Work in the United Republic of Tanzania (From G. Mmari, Directive on Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance. Work as Part of Study in All Schools...)	84b

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	i
ABSTRACT.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	v
Chapter	
I. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY.....	1
The Concept of Liberation.....	3
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	6
Major Problem.....	6
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	9
Significance for Practice.....	9
Significance for Theory and Research.....	10
DEFINITIONS OF BASIC TERMS.....	10
DELIMITATIONS.....	13
LIMITATIONS.....	14
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	15
ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY.....	16
II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE.....	17
THE VIEW OF MAN.....	18
Man as a conscious, unfinished Animal.....	20
Man as a conscious and change Agent.....	21
Man's Freedom in the Determination of his Destiny.....	23
Man as a cultural Being.....	25
THE VIEW OF EDUCATION.....	26
Human Needs of Education.....	26
Criticism of the Old Education System.....	27
The Proposed New Education System and its Goals.....	30
The Transition from Elitist Education to Mass Education.....	30

Linking of the New Education with Life.....	32
The Strengthening of Cultural Identity...	34
CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	35
III. THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FRAMEWORK.....	40
Purpose of the Study.....	40
Research Framework.....	43
Data Sources.....	44
Rationale for Sources.....	44
Organization of Sources.....	45
Data Analysis.....	46
CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	51
IV. NYERERE'S EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE:	
VIEWS OF MAN AND EDUCATION	
Research Questions II #1 and 2.....	52
NYERERE'S VIEW OF MAN.....	52
Man as a Developer.....	53
Man as a Cultural, Social and Free Being..	55
Man's Social Characteristics.....	56
EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE.....	58
THE AIMS AND GOALS OF ESR.....	60
The Transition from Elitist Education to Mass Education.....	60
Adult Education.....	63
The Linking of the School with Life.....	66
The Strengthening of Cultural Identity....	67
CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	69

V.	ESR AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT.....	73
	Research Question II #3.....	73
	Ujamaa Villages: Vehicle for Implementing ESR.....	73
	The Organization of the Ujamaa Villages.....	76
	Education of the Ujamaa Masses.....	78
	Adult Education.....	79
	Children and Education in Ujamaa Villages..	82
	Linking School with Ujamaa Life.....	83
	FAILURES OF ESR IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT.....	85
	Ujamaa Villages.....	85
	Ujamaa Village Schools.....	88
	CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	93
VI.	COMPARISON BETWEEN THE LIBERATIONIST PERSPECTIVE AND ESR: Answer to Major Research Question....	98
	On Views of Man.....	98
	On Views of Education.....	101
	RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LIBERATIONIST PERSPECTIVE AND ESR IMPLEMENTATION TO THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT.....	106
	CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	111
VII.	SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS.....	114
	SUMMARY.....	114
	Study Purpose, Focus and Problem Statements.....	114
	Purpose.....	114
	Focus of the Study.....	114
	The Problem.....	116
	Sources of Data.....	117

Summary of Research Findings with regards to Research Questions.....	118
Research Question I #1.....	118
Research Question I #2 and 3.....	119
Research Question II #1.....	120
Research Question II #2.....	120
Research Question II #3.....	121
Research Question III #1 and 2.....	122
CONCLUSIONS.....	122
General Conclusions.....	123
Limitations posed by the data.....	123
Research Questions.....	124
The Study Purpose and the Line of Reasoning	124
IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE.....	125
Liberationist Perspective.....	125
Implications for the Implementation of ESR.....	126
Implications for the importance of plan- ning education for social change in Africa	132
SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH.....	133
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	135
APPENDIX.....	146

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Throughout history, the importance of education as a way of restructuring social change and redefining cultural aspirations and values has been recognized by scholars and educationists alike. Accordingly, Prewitt (Okoko, 1978:73) writes

A society seeking to bring about substantial changes in [social and] political values will find the educational system among the most effective instruments for implementing new ways of experiencing and interpreting social and political life....

From the Third World point of view, planning education is deeply rooted in the national environment and attempts to develop forms of education aimed at producing social change. Examples are educational projects in Tanzania, China, Guinea - Bissau, Cuba, Kenya, etc. (OECD, 1977:377; Buck, 1975:77-80; Glassman, 1979:168; Marquez, 1975:227; Dahlmann, 1973:29ff, 123; Freire, 1970, 1978; Guinea-Bissau, 1979:28ff). The academic and social justification for planning education for social change in these countries is twofold. It rests first on the assumption that similar human needs are involved in most of the developing countries (shelter, food, health, security, work and self-respect), but that fulfillment of these needs is blocked by identical forces: illiteracy, apathy, lack of money or resources, elitism, silence, greed and domination (Mbilinyi; 1977:492). Secondly, some Third World countries, in an effort to redistribute power, are changing

from capitalist or colonial control to socialism (D'Aeth, 1973:1ff).

In Africa there is a general aspiration for social change. As Cisse (1976:182) points out: "in Africa, education, which is a response to a social need, was basically an external solution to a problem which was not an African problem." A similar conclusion is reported by Unesco (1977:15),

Historically, African countries were endowed during the colonial era with education systems modelled upon those of Western European countries. In this context, their primary purpose was to train the labour force needed to exploit the primary agricultural and mineral resources, and on occasion to recruit soldiers for further colonial expansionist ventures. Education was thus adapted to its objectives, it was intended not for the people at large, but for a minority.

Today, in contrast, there is a growing sense of urgency about education as an important agent of social change. Quoting from an unknown educationist, Morrison (1973:17) states: "One of the most important insights of the new African nations is their clear recognition that education is the greatest instrument man has devised for his own progress."

Under the leadership of Nyerere, Tanzania, one of the African nations, has instituted an innovative approach to education for social change: Education for Self-Reliance. The model aims to attack the three basic social problems: poverty, illiteracy and socio-economic inequality. On May 20, 1974, President Nyerere, illustrated this view:

...we leaders will be--and should be--criticised in the future if we now refuse to acknowledge the need for change. We will be, and we should be condemned by later generations if we do not act now to try to find and institute an educational system which will liberate Africa's young people.

The second point is that education cannot be considered apart from society. The formal school system cannot educate a child in isolation from the social and economic system in which it operates.

There is, therefore, a growing recognition that educational systems in Africa have to be planned with a view to their probable impact on social change, cultural needs and aspirations (Tanner, 1977:1; Freire, 1978:13; Seif, 1978:1). This social change must reflect the new attitudes and desires of the people involved.

It was the above considerations which lend to the formulation of this study. A systematic analysis of Nyerere's model of education for social change: Education for Self-Reliance, a model which recently attracted the attention of many scholars from various disciplines, may help to provide new insights into the planning of educational systems as purveyors of social change.

The Concept of Liberation

The concept of Liberation which leads to educational planning for social change in Africa is well outlined by Deblois (1976:8). Accordingly, the concept of liberation has been a source of inspiration throughout the history of man, for example, the liberation of the people of Israel from Egyptian domination. Since the Jewish Jubilee, this concept emphasized human, economic, ecological and educational liberation as corollaries of spiritual liberation (Tassenbaum, 1975:11).

In the context of development or social change theory,

some Third World writers (Freire, Nyerere, Gutierrez, Memmi, etc.) have expressed their preference for the word liberation instead of development (La Belle, 1976:330; Deblois, 1976:9; Goulet, 1971:8). The major problem lies within the concept of development. The failure of development theories in the Third World is due to the western definition of development which is based merely on the economic aspect.

The reason for our failure to understand the real issue of development is that until recently the countries of the Third World have not been able-- or have not been permitted--to tell others what they think development is. By now, however, they seem to have found several ways to get their message across.*

A number of Heads of State in the Third World are now attempting to define development or social change in their own terms.

When Fidel Castro assumes certain postures, he is saying that the construction of a new type of socialism is more important to Cuba than the rapid diversification of agriculture or the quick build - up of heavy industry. Similarly, when Julius Nyerere urges Tanzanians to practice self-reliance in their effort to modernize the nation (...), he is implying that for his citizen (...) and self-reliance (are) more important than economic success. And when Eduardo Frie pleads for discipline in walking the tight rope between socialism and Capitalism he is telling the world that Chile sees a "third way" of constructing a modern society.*

From the above assumptions, Freire (1968:66), for example, points out that "...liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it..." Further, Gutierrez (1970:246) advocates that this humanistic view places the notion of development in a broader context: "a vision of history in which humanity takes charge of its own destiny." Therefore, liberation is

* Taken from Banda's (1978:13) quotation of an unknown author.

a process valuing social justice and the creation of a new man (Deblois, 1976; Johnson, 1980).

In the field of education, more than ten examples of educational movements throughout the world based on the concept of liberation are reported by the UNESCO report, Learning to Be (1972:42). Lately, President Nyerere (1974:3, 46) stated that the "purpose of development is man..., [so] the primary purpose of education is the liberation of man," and that the concept of liberation should guide the development of educational policies in Africa.

Therefore, the liberationist perspective is a view of man and education based upon the Third World writers. These writers reject the goal of the traditional Western system of education - the perpetuation of a society which maintains the status quo (Deblois, 1976:9; Marshall, 1980:8). They, however, propose a creation of the new educational system for creating the social, political and economic conditions to give every individual the best chance of developing his talents and personality to the fullest extent possible, so that he may be as good a human being and citizen as possible. Thus, in this thesis Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance will be compared and studied according to the liberationist perspective.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is, first, to examine some major aspects of Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) --its views of man and education. Secondly, to critically evaluate Nyerere's ESR, especially its implementation to rural development. Finally, to compare Nyerere's ESR with a liberationist perspective on views of man and education. The major problem and sub-problems outlined below are intended to define the comparison used.

Major Problem

How does Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance conform to a liberationist perspective on views of man and education both theoretically and operationally? This major problem statement suggests three sets of sub-problems.

Sub-Set I. The first set of sub-problems helps to describe and analyze the liberationist perspective on views of man and education in order to develop a framework within which Nyerere's ESR can be examined.

1. What is the view of man in the liberationist perspective?
2. What is education and its goals for social change according to the liberationist perspective?

Sub-Set II. specifically, and in relation to Nyerere's model of Education for Self-Reliance, the study endeavors to answer a second set of sub-problems:

1. What is Nyerere's view of man?
2. What is the meaning of education and its goals for social change in Nyerere's ESR model?

3. In relation to his views of man and education, to what extent has Nyerere applied his educational goals to rural development for social change in Tanzania?

Sub-Set III. Considering the analysis of Nyerere's ESR in the context of the liberation approach, the study endeavors to answer a third set of sub-problems.

1. Theoretically, to what degree Nyerere's views of man and education conform to the liberationist perspective?
2. Operationally to what degree has Nyerere's ESR been implemented according to the liberationist perspective?

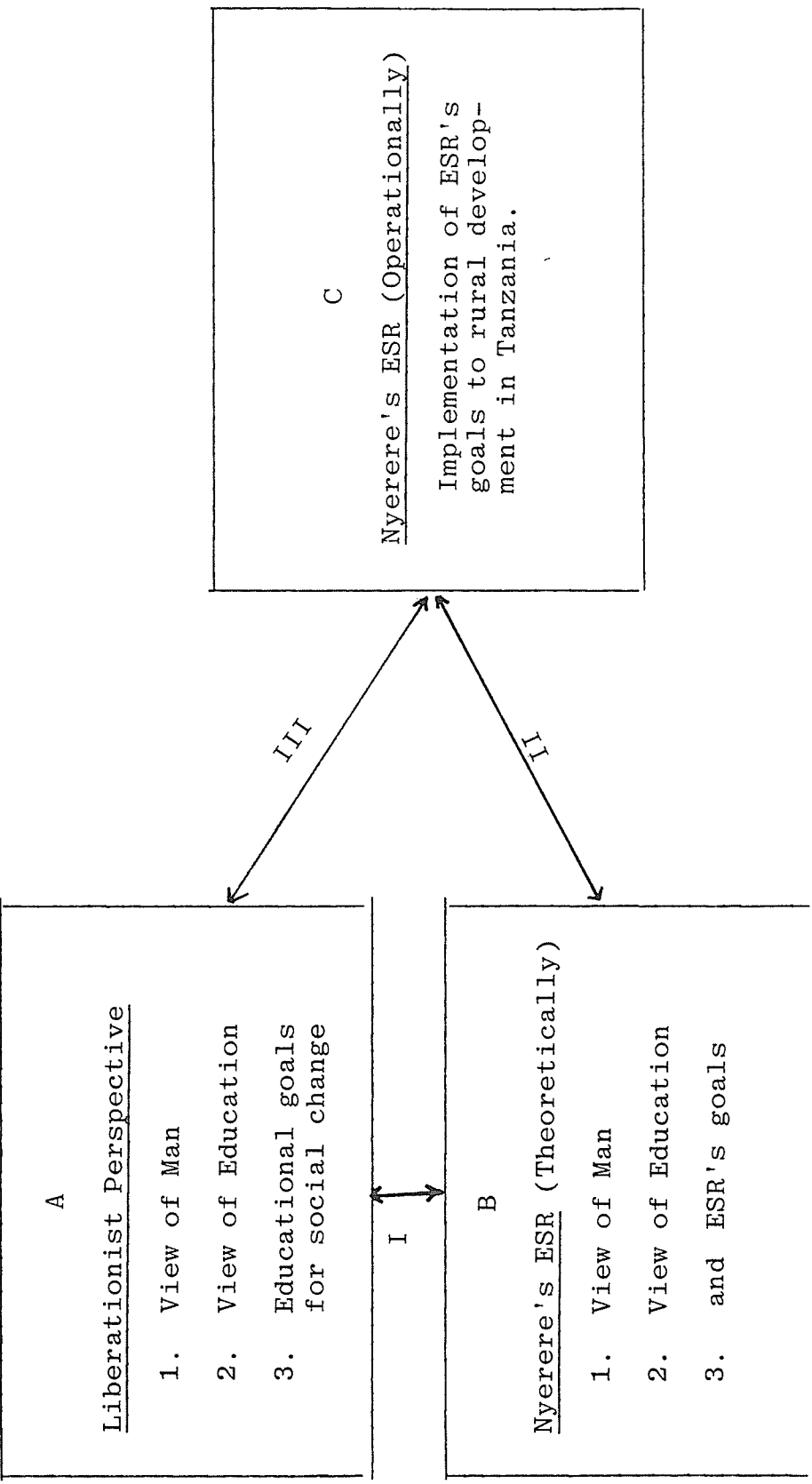


Figure 1
 Research Framework of Possible Relationships Between Liberationist and
 Nyerere's Views of Man and Education and ESR's Implementation to
 Rural Development in Tanzania.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

To date, no formal comparison of Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance and the liberationist perspective on man and education for social change has yet been undertaken. Therefore, the significance of such a study is twofold. First, Nyerere (1981:5) himself has recently recommended a re-examination and/or a review of "the philosophy, purpose, system, target, syllabus, and educational growth of the Tanzanian education system from the colonial period to the present day." Secondly, education has itself become crucial to, and reflective of, Tanzanian social, economic and political problems. It is believed that a systematic analysis of these two inter-related aspects and its comparison with the liberationist perspective will have significance both for practice and research in Tanzania, particularly and in Africa, generally.

Significance for Practice

Acquiring knowledge of Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) is an important first step in raising African educational planners and administrators consciousness about African educational development. To analyze Nyerere's ESR and to compare it with the liberationist views of man and education is to begin to understand the Tanzanian social reality and to begin to implement the social change being demanded of Tanzanian educational administrators and implementers.

Secondly, the examination of the problems of implementation of ESR to rural development may stimulate critical

thoughts among the ESR's implementers in terms of their role in assisting in the social change in Tanzania.

Thirdly, this study may become useful to the 13 - man Commission charged recently by the President Nyerere (1981:5) to review the philosophy, purpose and educational growth of ESR policy. It may give them an opportunity to critically reflect on the role of ESR policy and implementation, its successes and failures in bringing about the social change in Tanzania.

Fourthly, because of its approach of comparing the ESR with the liberationist perspective, this study will also be useful to educational planners, since it attempts to show the connection between "man and his problems and between man and his consciousness (Nantson, 1966:14; Hummel, 1977:16).

Significance for Theory and Research

It is hoped that this study will provide a frame of reference both for viewing the role of education in Tanzania, particularly and in Africa, generally; and also for future indepth studies of planning education for social change in African countries.

DEFINITIONS OF BASIC TERMS

The following are definitions of basic terms used in this study:

Comparison - With respect to this study, it is a system of study which involves the collection, classification,

analysis, description, and collation of liberationist views of man and education for social change and Nyerere's ESR so as to ascertain similarities and differences (Good, 1973).

Conscientization - refers to entire transformation of the consciousness of the people that would make them understand the possibilities of changing their situation by political action (Berger, 1974:176). In Freire's terms, it is first of all the effort (of a critical educational effort based on favorable historical conditions) to enlighten men about the obstacles preventing them from a clear perception of reality (1970:471).

Consciousness - an interpretative awareness of man's mind by which one actively, intentionally, structures the meaning of what is experienced (Deblois, 1976:43).

Educational Planning - an approach to education reflecting the desire for orderly change and the strategy by which this change can be brought about, with the aim of making education more effective and efficient in responding to the needs and goals of its students and society (Inbar, 1980:370).

Educational Goal - This term is used by educationists to designate the changes that are to take place in an individual or a group of individuals as a result of his or her learning experiences (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969). Other words, such as "aims", "purposes," "objectives" and "ends" are frequently employed as synonyms for goals, although the former express meanings which differ in their connotation.

As ends to be achieved, goals in education offer

guidance to both the teacher and the students, for according to Dewey (1921:119), they give direction to every activity.

Praxis - As in Marx's (Sarup, 1978:120) concept of praxis, where it is defined as "...the fusion of thought and action, of theory and practice, of philosophy and revolution, for the cause of human liberation."

Rural Development - For the purposes of this study, it is defined according to Hummell (1977:152-5), as "a matter of developing new attitudes and aptitude, indispensable for the growth of the agricultural sector and for improving the quality of life of rural populations." He asserts that "education in rural areas poses one of the key problems of development and of the future of mankind." Additionally, Coombs' et al. (1973: 22) definition of rural development is helpful in this study.

...along with increased production and income...the equitable distribution of income; increased employment; land reform; better health, nutrition, housing for all rural dwellers; expanded educational opportunity for all; the strengthening of local means of community self-government and cooperation; and the eradication of poverty and the promotion of social justice.

Self-Reliance - implies that each society relies primarily on its own strength and resources in terms of its members, energies and its natural and cultural environment (Kindervatter, 1979:46). Furthermore, Kindervatter points out that self-reliance acquires its full meaning only if rooted at the local level in socially relevant technologies. Thus self-reliance is the summary theme in the Tanzanian development strategy. It is at the heart of the rural development policy (Ujamaa), the educational policy (ESR) to name a few

(Carthew, 1978:168). It was born out of Nyerere's acute awareness of the vulnerability of poor nations in the capitalist world order.

Self-reliance is a positive affirmation that we shall depend upon ourselves for the development of Tanzania and that we shall use the resources we have for that purpose...We are saying to ourselves that we are going to build a self-reliant socialist society...We are saying: Here is land...this is the amount of knowledge, skill and experience we have...Now let us get on with it (Nyerere, 1968).

Social Change - As used in this study means a radical change in the quality of human relations and a constant process of human liberation (Deblois, 1976:49). It refers to a major societal change at a very fundamental level in human relationships and for examination and change in man's social institutions (Johnson, 1980). As such, LaBelle (1976:188) defines social change as:

Social change, therefore, implies not only an alteration in man's behavior and in the relationship between that behavior and a respective human and physical environment, but it also requires an alteration in societal rules and structures enabling the new behavior and relationships to be established.

Therefore, sociologists work on the assumption that social change can be understood and its causes discovered, and that planned social change is possible (Collins, et al., 1973).

DELIMITATIONS

1. The study was delimited by using Nyerere's written materials published from 1967 to 1981.

2. In planning this study, it was neither possible nor intended to examine the whole scope of Nyerere's model

of Education for Self-Reliance. Only the key areas of his philosophy on views of man and education have been considered.

3. The development of the conceptual framework of this study was delimited by examining the literature sources of some selected representative Third World writers (see chapter III). Specifically sources related to the role of education for social change or development were those selected for this study. The major characteristic of all these writers is their rejection of the goal of the traditional western system of education: the perpetuation of a society which maintains the status quo. Therefore, the liberation literature was used to provide a valid conceptual framework for the study of Nyerere's ESR.

LIMITATIONS

1. This study is limited in its scope because most of the data has been of a secondary nature. Interviews and systematic observations of the current implementation of ESR in rural areas would provide a clearer picture of the successes and failures of Nyerere's ESR, but due to a lack of time and financial support, it has been impossible for the author to go to Tanzania in order to obtain such first hand information.

2. The other major limitation to this study was the literature available in the area of planning education and social change in African countries from a liberationist perspective. Several writings were found that were done in the context of education and development, education and cultural or social change, and educational planning in general. How-

ever, though abundant literature exists on the role of education and social change, and/or on education and social development, only a few documents were found that were directly written by the Third World or African liberationist writers.

3. Nyerere did not address himself specifically to the title of "Planning Education for Social Change." This study, then, will be seen as interpretative.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study has relied heavily on library research. The procedure used in this study consisted of systematic analysis of relevant written materials relating both to Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance and to the liberationist perspective on views of man and education (see Chapter III). This procedure contained three major elements: a systematic search for information, an analysis and synthesis of the information, and a comparison of the different sources of information to extract the information pertinent to the problem and sub-problems of this study.

The works of various Third World writers were the first major source of data. These include writers from Latin America and Africa as well as some non-Third World writers (Illich, Frank and Carnoy) who share the Third World perspective of planning a new system of education for social change. These writers represent only one Third World perspective: the liberationist perspective (Deblois, 1976:11).

The second major source of data is Nyerere's own

writings and speeches. Miscellaneous policy statements as well as books, articles and theses pertinent to this study were also examined.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

This study is organized into seven chapters.

In Chapter I, the background of the study, the concept of liberation, the statement of the problem, the significance of the study, the definitions of basic terms, the delimitations and limitations and, the research methodology were presented.

In Chapter II, the liberation literature is reviewed in order to extract the liberationist perspective on views of man and education.

The research methodology and framework of this study are described in Chapter III. Nyerere's ESR is theoretically surveyed in Chapter IV.

In Chapter V, the author presents Nyerere's implementation of ESR's goals to rural development in Tanzania.

The comparison of the liberationist perspective and Nyerere's ESR both theoretically and practically is done in Chapter VI.

Finally Chapter VII includes the summary, conclusions and implications of the study.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The review of related literature is divided into two major sections: (1) the liberationist view of man and (2) the liberationist view of education and its goals. The first section follows the organizational structure of Deblois' (1976) analysis of the liberationist view of man. In the present study, this liberationist view of man is reviewed under four subdivisions: (1) man as a conscious, unfinished animal, (2) man as a conscious change agent, (3) man's freedom in the determination of his destiny and (4) man as a cultural being. Although, it is limited to six liberationist writers, Deblois' study does acknowledge the contribution of the most important writers to the Third World debate on education as an instrument of social change. These relevant writings, then, will be re-examined, updated and augmented.

The second section is divided into three subdivisions, (a) the human needs of education, (b) the liberationist criticisms of the old educational system and (c) the proposed new educational system and its goals. The systematic analysis of several Third World writers (as well as the most pertinent works and authors presented in the third chapter) provided the information related to this section.

THE VIEW OF MAN

In addition to what Freire (1970:47) calls the liberationist emphasis on the "critical comprehension" and "understanding" of man, several other non-Third World theorists suggest that "one of the principal goals of contemporary thought is a comprehensive science of man (Pannenberg, 1975:1)." As Deblois (1976:51) suggests "every theorist or administrator makes assumptions about man." These assumptions become guidelines and help the planner to determine how education should be planned in order to suit the assumed view of the nature of man.

One way to understand the liberationist approach is, to study first the opposite approach, most clearly shown in the Western World. In the Western societies, the model of planning education for social change has a technological and rationalistic orientation which seeks social improvement through more orderly social planning and increased efficiency (Spring, 1975:130; Hollis, 1977:1ff). In this model, society is conceived as a machine, and the goal is efficient operation (Herzberg, 1966:35,42). People become human resources whose value is determined by their contribution to the smooth functioning of the 'social machinery.' In this model, Spring (1975) argues that man is treated as an object to be worked upon and shaped for the good of society. But this view by Western theorists, as Deblois (1976:52) points out, is a view which emerged from an industrial perspective and, as such,

tells only a portion of the story about man's nature. For this reason, Deblois considers the liberationist view of man to be "more reflective" than the economically or industrially determined one of the Western model, since liberation seems to express better both the hopes of oppressed people and the fullness of a view in which man is seen, not as a passive element but as the agent of history, culture and social or educational planning. Busia's (1969:96) arguments are central to the above view.

What is needed is an educational philosophy with a total view of the individual [or man] and a total view of society, in its complex network of relations. What the policies of former Colonial Powers lacked was this comprehensive view of education.

Nevertheless, Herzberg (1966:43) points out that the question as to what the real nature of man is remains open. Therefore, the liberationist writers offer "an alternative concept of man, not created by the interests of the industrial world, but emerging rather from the research in physical, cultural and philosophical anthropology during the last decades... "(Deblois, 1976:52)." In the liberationist view, man is a conscious and social change agent, a creative being, a being of praxis. Accordingly, man is the subject of education (Freire, 1970:220). In considering, man as a subject, the liberationist perspective is concerned with increasing man's 'autonomy' and 'participation'. Therefore, the goal of social change is increased individual participation and control of the social system (Spring, 1975:130).

Man as a Conscious, Unfinished Animal

In the liberationist perspective, 'man's full humanness' is understood, first, in the qualitative difference between man and animal (Deblois, 1976:53). This concept is also accepted by some non-liberation writers (Faure, et al., 1972:157; Pannenberg, 1975:3; Hollis, 1977; Price, 1977:11; Sarup, 1978:133). Although man also is an animal, liberation writers argue that one essential difference is that man knows that he is unfinished (Freire, 1968:72), and man alone is conscious of his historical roots and is aware of the possibilities open to him in the future. This is why man is obliged to plan and learn, to transform and to create unceasingly in order to survive and evolve (Faure, et al., 1972:157).

With respect to planning and social change, man, therefore, is not totally determined by his biological needs (Alves, 1972:125); he can transcend the biological limitations which he shares with the animal world (Freire, 1970:1,7); he can refuse to accept an imaginary reality and plan a more human reality, a cultural reality (Alves, 1972:125,165; Gutierrez, 1971:x). For this reason, "man is not only seeking the satisfaction of biological needs, he looks for meaning (Alves, 1972:166)."

So, in contrast to the animal, man is made to transform the world that confronts him (Freire, 1968:36). Man's reflective characteristic, combined with his action on the world by which he transforms the social reality and recreates himself in the same dialectical process, highlights the

essential and unique human characteristic, that is, man as a conscious and change agent, as a cultural and historical being, as a being of freedom χ (Freire, 1968:63,73; 1970:473; Gutierrez, 1971; Alves, 1972:125).

Man as a Conscious and Change Agent

Liberationist writers state, in the process of transforming the environment, that because men are beings not only in, but also interacting with the world - which implies the dialectic relationship between men and the world - men constitute themselves as conscious beings (Freire, 1970:1,5). In order to understand the planning or changing act at work in the social world, one has to "scrutinize" the role and the power of human consciousness (Deblois, 1976:155). In Freire's terms (1973:165): "the change of reality comes about through a change of consciousness...." The task of reconstructing and changing social reality is possible only because man's consciousness does not passively accept misery, injustice and exploitation (Gutierrez, 1973:146). Therefore, a deepened consciousness of their situation leads men to apprehend that situation as an historical reality susceptible to transformation (Freire, 1968:173).

But men are conscious and change agents not through an intellectual effort alone. They are so through praxis - through the authentic union of action and reflection (Freire, 1970:473; Marshall, 1980:47). Through the new praxis and because of his consciousness, man critically discovers the

causes for certain perceptions of reality. As change agents, men remake their understanding of reality (Freire, 1970:1,3; Gutierrez, 1973). Thus, Marx (Price, 1977:11) states:

...men can be distinguished from animals by consciousness..... They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence,.....

For this reason, liberationist writers advocate that this human dynamism is so much a part of the nature of men that, if they (men) are refused participation in efforts to change reality, they exhibit signs of alienation and dehumanization.

Therefore, in the liberationist perspective, the people involved in planning education for social change are the true change agents in communion with the leader or the expert. Accordingly, social change in the liberation perspective means development or liberation from misery, poverty and exploitation. Thus, true development cannot be achieved without the cooperation of the people. To quote Freire (1968:82-3)

Authentic education is not carried on by "A" for "B" or by "A" about "B", but rather by "A" with "B", mediated by the world - a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views or opinions about it....We simply cannot go to the laborers to give them "knowledge or to impose upon them the model of the "good man"....Many political and educational plans have failed because their authors designed them according to their own personal views of reality, never once taking into account (...) the men-in-a-situation to whom their program was ostensibly directed.

...revolutionary leaders often fall for the banking line of planning program content from the top down.

As such, Deblois (1976:19,42) outlines two major conditions required by the liberationist writers that the planning process must fulfill: (1) it cannot be a downward process only,

whereby the planners make the decisions at the top and these decisions are forced upon and executed at the lower level; (2) the planning process must be the result of a dialogue between the planners and those affected by the plan, so that the views of the latter are taken into account in the drawing and implementation of the plan. Being a participant in the planning process, all men are involved in the creation and recreation of their world in which they experience the "dialectic between determinism and freedom (Freire, 1970:451)."

Man's Freedom in the Determination of his Destiny

Karl Mannheim (Etzioni and Etzioni, 1964:466-7) asserts that "both the man in the street and the practical politician have vague conceptions of freedom, so that a historical and sociological explanation of the term is no barren speculation, but the prelude to action." Furthermore, Mannheim advocates that man's freedom can exist when it is secured by planning. Finally, he concludes that the man of today has far more freedom in the determination of his destiny than the unsocial ethics of the past would have us believe.

Similarly, Sartre (Sarup, 1978:39) believes that consciousness and freedom are given together. For Sartre, the essence of man lies in the liberty of man's existence by which he chooses himself, and so makes himself what he is. In other words, man's capacity both to perceive the world and to act upon it is dependent on his freedom, and his freedom expresses

itself in his ability to see what things are not, to envisage possibilities and to accept or reject what has been envisaged (Sarup, 1978:39f).

Like Mannheim and Sartre, liberationist writers suggest that freedom is not an ideal state located outside man, nor is it an idea which becomes myth. Rather it is the indispensable condition for the quest for human completion (Freire, 1968:31). Here lies liberationist idea of man's freedom, for "while the animal is determined from...the stimuli which condition his reaction, man manifests his freedom as well as conquering his new freedom in proceeding towards his completion or his full humanness (Freire, 1970:1,7)." Man's freedom, however, is achieved simultaneously with his liberation (Gutierrez, 1971:x). Thus, the task of reconstructing and changing social reality is possible only because man is free, because his consciousness is active and capable of giving interpretation and meaning to his environment (Freire, 1968:66; 1970:167).

In the liberationist view, man constructs himself and attains a real awareness of his own being through his freedom and the dialectical process of his consciousness. It occurs through work (praxis) and the transformation of the world (Gutierrez, 1971:x) - as man claims his existence, freely names his relatedness to others and is committed to this existence with them (Deblois, 1976:41). For instance, the liberation and freedom of man, according to Markovic (1975:25), can only be fully understood in terms of its opposite, as in subject versus object. Man, then, is "free not only

to do as he chooses, but also because he feels as he chooses, to be whatever he chooses." Through this dynamism, he creates his own culture (Sarup, 1978:39-41).

Man As A Cultural Being

Although the influence of culture on education has been rather neglected, at least in the case of the Third World, it is still an accepted fact in planning education for social change. In the liberationist perspective, man in the universe lives a cultural life because he refuses to accept the world as it is; his dream about a different, improved world relentlessly haunts him. Above all, he wants to create a meaningful world, a world that makes sense to him (Alves, 1972:81,166):

Besides survival, man needs to build a world that makes sense. This is why he created culture.

Man also makes a culture as a result of his vision and action upon the world (Illich, 1972:107). It is because of his consciousness and his freedom that man can reflect upon himself and create culture (Freire, 1970:4,5). If this culture turns against him, he is still capable of transcending the limits of his own created world (Alves, 1972:64-5).

In the liberationist view, because man is a conscious cultural being, he must also be capable of changing reality, making it suit his nature instead of adapting to what others have invented (Fanon, 1963:255). Here, then, lies man's need for education, for it helps him to consolidate his self-reflection and critical thought about man and society (La Belle, 1976).

THE VIEW OF EDUCATION

The liberationist view of education is rooted in man's awareness of his incompleteness/his unfinished state:

In contrast to the other animals who are unfinished..., they [men] are aware of their incompleteness. In this incompleteness and in this awareness lie the very roots of education as exclusively human manifestation (Freire, 1968:72).

Human Needs of Education

Indire (1974:29) suggests that, historically, it took millions of years of evolution for men (Homo Sapiens) to achieve their present form. This evolutionary argument leads Faure et al. (1972:4) to assume that education played an important role in the survival of the human species up to the present time and in the present form.

Therefore, in considering man's consciousness as active and intentional, the liberationist perspective defines education as essentially an act of cognition, not a transfer of information (Carney, 1974:366; Curle, 1973:126-7; Carlon, 1975:266,268; Deblois, 1976:170). As Deblois (1976:170) points out, this problem-solving approach therefore corresponds more adequately to the creative, reflective, conscious and cultural character of man as discussed in the first section. Thus, education then becomes a critical analysis of a problematic reality (Freire, 1968:168).

This educational approach not only points at the changing character of man's world. It acknowledges man's historical and cultural dimensions in the transforming

process (Carnoy, 1974:366, Dione, 1979:60-1; Weinstein, 1979:34). In this contemporary society, Mao (Price, 1970:9) stresses that "man needs education because as circumstances change, people do not always change with them, but education helps them to adapt their ideas to what is new." Similarly, Freire (1973:34) sees education as a helpful instrument for men to assume an increasingly critical attitude toward the world and so transform it. However, while the liberation writers acknowledge the role of education in raising people's consciousness, they are still critical of the old system of education which, in their view force the masses of the people to remain outside of the intellectual circle (Johnson, 1980:18).

Criticism of the Old Education System

Liberationist writers consider the old education system to be a conservative institution by its very nature (Carnoy, 1974:5; Bowles and Gintis, 1976:123-4; Freire, 1970:458; Illich, 1970:2-3). Curle (1973:127) argues that this educational system represents a subsystem in a much larger one, which is built on low awareness, and the capitalistic ideas of competitive materialism. As such, it is a subsystem of enslavement. Curle goes further, and describes this system as being institutionalized by means of such mechanisms as the exploitative network, that world-wide arrangement by which the rich and powerful attempt to satisfy, through dominating the poor and weak, their driving desire of competitive materialism and its

related psychological mechanisms. This kind of educational system is perhaps more effective in maintaining the status quo than in bringing about social change (Hurd: Lowe, 1971: 130-2).

Several writers (Erickson, et al., 1972:109; Memmi, 1972:105; Indire, 1974:36; Carnoy, 1974:71; Illich, 1972) show how the conservative function of this kind of education transmits a relatively unchanging culture and traditional skills to the learners. Memmi in particular (1972:105) shows how the similarities and differences between the metropolitan and colonial school systems both worked against the colonized:

The history...taught [the colonized] is not his own. Everything seems to have taken place out of his country....The books talk to him of a world which in no way reminds him of his own....His teachers do not follow the same pattern as ^{his} father; they are not his wonderful and redeeming successors like every other teacher in the world.

This kind of education served more or less, to provide the indigenous people with jobs and to acquaint them with the traditions and customs of the colonizers (Indire, 1974:36). Education, then, was academic in nature and provided for very few among the colonized (Carnoy, 1974:70; Unesco, 1977:15). It was an "elitist education" based on "discriminatory tendencies" (Carlson, 1975:266).

Freire (1973:125) urges that the traditional education was premised on the "banking method" - the idea that a student is an object into which knowledge is placed, not a subject in the learning process. That is, the banking method of education shares many of the properties of an oppressive

society: "the teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher." In adult literacy programs, the theory manifests itself in the use of reading material which has little relationship to the life activity of the learner (Spring, 1975:68). A banking system of education further assumes that poverty exists because the poor do not know how to function properly within society. They are condemned, essentially by being told they have failed (Spring, 1975:68).

It is implicit in the liberationist view of the banking approach that "man is seen as essentially adaptable and manageable and that man's consciousness is passive" and waiting to be filled (Deblois, 1976:170). For this reason, Illich (1970: 2-3) urges that, as long as an individual is not explicitly conscious of the ritual character of the process through which he was initiated to the forces which shape his cosmos, he cannot break the spell and shape a new cosmos. From the liberationist view, this educational system is alienating and oppressive because it stifles man's creative power*. As a result, this kind of system dehumanizes people and puts them in a 'culture of silence'.

Those in a culture of silence do nothing to change their world (Freire: Spring, 1975:65). They remain at a level of mere animal activity. That is why liberation writers stress the need for changing the traditional educational system (Illich, 1979:10). In Hedman's words (1979:111)

* See the liberationist view of man as described in the first section.

We should refrain from dancing on the grave of traditional educational school systems as they become progressively more dysfunctional.

Accordingly, liberationist writers recommend a new educational system, one which is by its very nature a major tool for eroding and destroying outdated traditional structures (Freire, 1978; Watson, 1977:57; Kluchnikov, 1980:34; Carnoy, 1974:366; Illich, 1975).

The Proposed New Education System and its Goals

The new education system proposed by liberation writers can be examined in terms of its goals. With respect to its aims for social change; these goals can be outlined under three major headings: (a) the transition from elitist education to mass education, (b) the linking of the school with life, and (c) the strengthening of cultural identity (Unesco, 1977:18f; Carnoy, 1974:70f; Memmi, 1972:105).

a) The Transition from Elitist Education to Mass Education.

In Castro's mind (Dahlman, 1973:29-33, 130), the role of education is crucial: "abundance cannot be achieved without technology, and technology cannot be achieved without the massive education of the people so that they can master it...." Education of the masses, according to Castro, is the first and most important task after the revolution, for education helps to create the framework for the new generation.

Carnoy reaches the same conclusion. He argues that the task of the new educational system is to encourage access

to knowledge and to the nature of learning. In this way, people's understanding of the new social order and the meaning of work, responsibility and political participation will be increased.

In the liberationist view, the alternative to mass education is to be found in what Freire (1971:22,30) has called "education for critical consciousness." Freire asserts that the critical dimension of consciousness accounts for the goals men assign to their transforming acts upon the world. What is necessary is that the people should develop critical consciousness and participate fully in their own development. In this view,

It is important to associate the people with the interpretation of their cultural life and not to leave its interpretation and animation exclusively in the hands of the elite, which is culturally dependent on the West and can be more easily manipulated and conditioned by the latter than an entire nation (Editorial, Presence Africaine, No 83, 1972).

For the liberationist writers, adult literacy is a political act, an act of knowing in the context of national reconstruction (Guinea - Bissau, 1979:28). Only then can mass education be achieved in a social situation where workers and peasants are reduced to silence by the ruling classes. Liberation writers urge that adult literacy should be an effort to read and write their reality, think critically about the world and take their place in it with a lucid awareness of its changing reality*. Womens' education, for example, should

*One of the goals of Freire's method is to bring those in a culture of silence to an understanding of self which would allow them to expel the internalized image of the dominant class (see Freire's Adult Literacy, 1970:216).

include learning such things as improvement in diet, health, infant care and the upbringing of children (D'Aeth, 1973:53).

Therefore, in Hurd's terms (Lowe, et al., 1971:46-7), the primary task of the educational planner and administrator is not to make formal academic education more widely available but, rather to assist people to interpret what social and politico - economic change implies for them in the context of their own environments and to see how they may contribute personally to the general good.

b) Linking of the New Education with Life

Carnoy (1974:366) describes Freire's reading method as an example of education in the context of reality of life. Freire uses words that have strong political content; his claim was that reading could be taught more effectively if the words learned had important meaning to the learners. Following this view, the minister of Education of Guinea - Bissau (1979:2, 24-5) declares that "schools must be rooted in the village communities so that they can play the role of permanent learning environments...." As a result, liberation writers advocate that there is no place for imposed or pre-packaged knowledge. Knowledge, on the contrary, must be invented and translated into practice (praxis) step by step. Buber (Weinstein, 1979:32) believes that education should meet the immediate needs of life of a given people.

For education of the child, Dione (1979:60-1) states that intellectuals should adopt their knowledge to a concrete

context, which means that the curriculum needs tremendous overhauling to make it relevant to the child's physical and psychological milieu (Carlson, 1975:266). Furthermore, Carlson requires a "synthesis" and a "synchronization" of indigenous systems of education with the Western system. To do so will require technical and vocational school to teach children how to be self-employed - and the rural economy should be expanded to create job opportunities outside the urban centres (Osafo - Gyina, 1974:24). At those schools, the goals are to combat the social cause of migration to urban areas and to train young people to analyze, interpret and change their rural reality (Freire, 1973:35ff; Unesco, 1977:18f).

In adult education, liberation writers put emphasis on the importance of the everyday problems of villagers which become the starting point and the subject matter for educational action aimed at mobilizing and training people to solve their problems by their own means and resources (Carnoy, 1974:366; Unesco, 1977:19; Freire, 1970). Agriculture, in this case, is at the core of these dynamics (OECD, 1981:23). The importance of agriculture is well expressed by D'Aeth (1973:10), who suggests that "the heart of social change seems to lie in rural development,...because it would help to ensure an adequate world supply of food..." However, if this linkage between education and life has to prove its effectiveness, the liberation writers advocate that the educational planner should make sure that all those representing the various cultural

traditions and identity are associated with the education of the learners (Guinea - Bissau, 1979:23; Unesco, 1977:19).

c) The Strengthening of Cultural Identity

The liberation writers realize that social change can only be reached by their own cultural efforts, and not by imitating other cultures (Fanon, 1963:253-5). Education must help the people to restore their identity as a people with a past and a worthwhile future in association with other people in the World (Dione, 1979:61). Ocaya - Lakidi (1980:15) recommends that:

Educational systems in Third World countries should dig deeper into the past for local cultural discoveries and push faster into the future through the sciences.

Freire (1973:130) believes that social change will occur because of the creative transformation. This transformation will also be achieved as a result of the old advanced technology combined with the empirical methods of the peasants. Only through cultural synthesis can the educational planner or administrator and the people both be enriched.

Among the many means of strengthening the cultural identity, local language is an important tool. The local language helps the expansion of people's awareness of self, as individuals progress in reading and writing by using words that help them understand their world. As Ocaya - Lakidi (1980:17) states:

Of all cultural attributes, language is perhaps singly the most important. A people cannot retain, promote or enrich its culture except through its language.

Therefore, the liberation writers emphasize the important place of culture in planning education, for culture is the chief instrument in the creation of a people's identity. Yet, whatever the stated function, as Anderson (1967:22) concludes:

Schools are always coloured by the surrounding society, and a school system that is functioning effectively in a society will be localized to its milieu.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The first sub-set of research questions (sub-questions #1,2,) have been addressed in this chapter. The following is a brief summary of the answers to these questions. In the Table 1, the author presents a summary outline of the observed liberationist perspective on views of man and education for social change.

TABLE 1

The Observed Liberationist Perspective on Views of Man/and Education for Social Change.

	VIEW OF MAN	VIEW OF EDUCATION
Assumptions About Man	Related Human Characteristics for Social Change	Related Educational Goals for Social Change
A Conscious Unfinished Animal	He is conscious of his historical roots and aware of the possibilities open to him.	Education is a helpful human instrument of a problematic reality--it raises man's consciousness.
A Conscious and Change Agent	He interacts with the world--apprehends and transforms the biased world to a meaningful one through an intellectual effort and praxis.	Mass education increases men's responsibility and participation in their own development. Mass education assists men to interpret what socio and politico- economic changes imply for them in the context of their own environment.
A Free Being	He is a subject rather than an object of his world. As a free subject, he attains a real awareness of his own being and existence.	As a subject, man will freely link his education system to his everyday problems in the context of his environment.
A Cultural Being	He is capable of changing reality to make it suit his real nature. He is a cultural being because of his refusal to adapt to a dehumanized world.	An educational system linked to men's own problems will help them to restore their cultural identity as people with their own past and present.

Research question I #1

The liberationist perspective on view of man was reviewed under four observed assumptions; man as: (1) a conscious, unfinished animal, (2) a conscious and change agent, (3) a free being and, (4) a cultural being. These assumptions portrayed man's ability and task of reconstructing and changing social reality through a combination of an intellectual effort and praxis (reflection and action). Through a dialectical process of his consciousness, man can attain a real awareness of his own being and its historical roots. By his own work, man transforms the world, claims his existence and creates his own culture. For this reason, the liberationist writers recommend that the educational planning process must be the result of a dialogue between the planner and those affected by the plan. In being a participant in this act of planning, man is free to participate in the creation and re-creation of his world and so to control it for his well being.

Research question I #2

The liberationist view of education was discussed with respect to its goals and to man's nature and needs. The liberationist writers saw education essentially as an instrument for man to assume an increasingly critical attitude toward the world and so to transform it. In contrast, they critically rejected the old educational system because it was an elitist educational system and treated the learner as an "object" rather than a "subject" of his learning.

Within the context of the proposed new educational system, the liberationist writers advocated three major goals: (1) the transition from elitist education to mass education, (2) the linking of the new educational system with life and (3) the strengthening of cultural identity. The liberationist writers advocate the access of all the masses to knowledge and to the nature of learning in order to increase people's understanding of the new social contract and of the meaning of work, responsibility and political participation. In brief, the liberationist writers recommend an education designed to develop critical consciousness for, in this way, the masses could participate fully in their own development. Adult education and education for women were some of the many other means for mass education.

Secondly, these writers point out the importance of linking education with life. For this reason, they recommend that school programs and curriculum be centred in the village communities so that the schools could provide a permanent learning environment. The everyday problems of villages, the expansion of the rural economy and the importance of agricultural development are all mentioned as some of the most urgent needs in linking education to life. Finally, the liberationist writers stress the importance of restoring the national cultural identity through various ways, such as the use of the local language.

Finally, these two major sections together have shown who man is in the liberationist perspective and what must be

the educational goals in order to suit that nature of man and bring about the social change being demanded. In the liberationist view, education is to help man increase his autonomy and his control over the environment around him. In making him aware of his social reality and his incompleteness education should help man to liberate himself from dependence and misery. The liberationist views of man and education provide, then, a co-ordinated framework from which education for social change in Africa generally and/or in Tanzania particularly may proceed. Thus, Nyerere's "Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)" is a concrete example to be analyzed and compared with this liberationist perspective. In the next chapter, then, both the methodology and the research framework for this study are described.

CHAPTER III

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND FRAMEWORK

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was, first, to examine some major aspects of Nyerere's ESR--its views of man and education and, its implementation to rural development. Then, to compare Nyerere's ESR with the liberationist views of man and education, both theoretically and operationally. The schematic presented as Figure 2 (presented earlier as Figure 1) depicts the possible relationships between the liberationist perspective and Nyerere's ESR, both theoretically and operationally.

The three questions comprising the liberationist perspective were offered as a framework for stimulating critical reflection by potential educational planners and administrators. These three research questions are:

1. What is the view of man in the liberationist perspective?
2. What is education and its goals for social change according to the liberationist perspective?

Following the Deblois' (1976) model of organization, it can be assumed that these three questions are very important issues faced by educational administrators in developing countries and particularly, by Nyerere in his ESR. For this reason, a critical reflection arising from a comparison of the issues raised in the liberationist perspective and in Nyerere's ESR will hopefully facilitate and guide the thinking

and action of the ESR implementers. The research questions relating to ESR are as follows:

1. What is Nyerere's view of man?
2. What is the meaning of education and its goals for social change in Nyerere's ESR model?
3. In relation to his views of man and education, to what extent has Nyerere applied his educational goals to rural development for social change in Tanzania?

Considering the analysis of Nyerere's ESR in the context of the liberation approach, the study endeavors to answer two other questions:

1. Theoretically, to what degree does Nyerere's views of man and education conform to the liberationist perspective?
2. Operationally, to what degree has ESR been implemented according to the liberationist perspective?

In Figure 2, A represents the three research questions of sub-set I related to the liberationist perspective; B symbolizes the first three research questions of sub-set II related to Nyerere's views of man and education and C illustrates the research question 3 of sub-set II dealing with Nyerere's implementation to rural development. The relation I pictures the research question 1 of sub-set III, and the relation III portrays the last research question of this sub-set, and the relation II symbolizes the research question 3 of sub-set II.

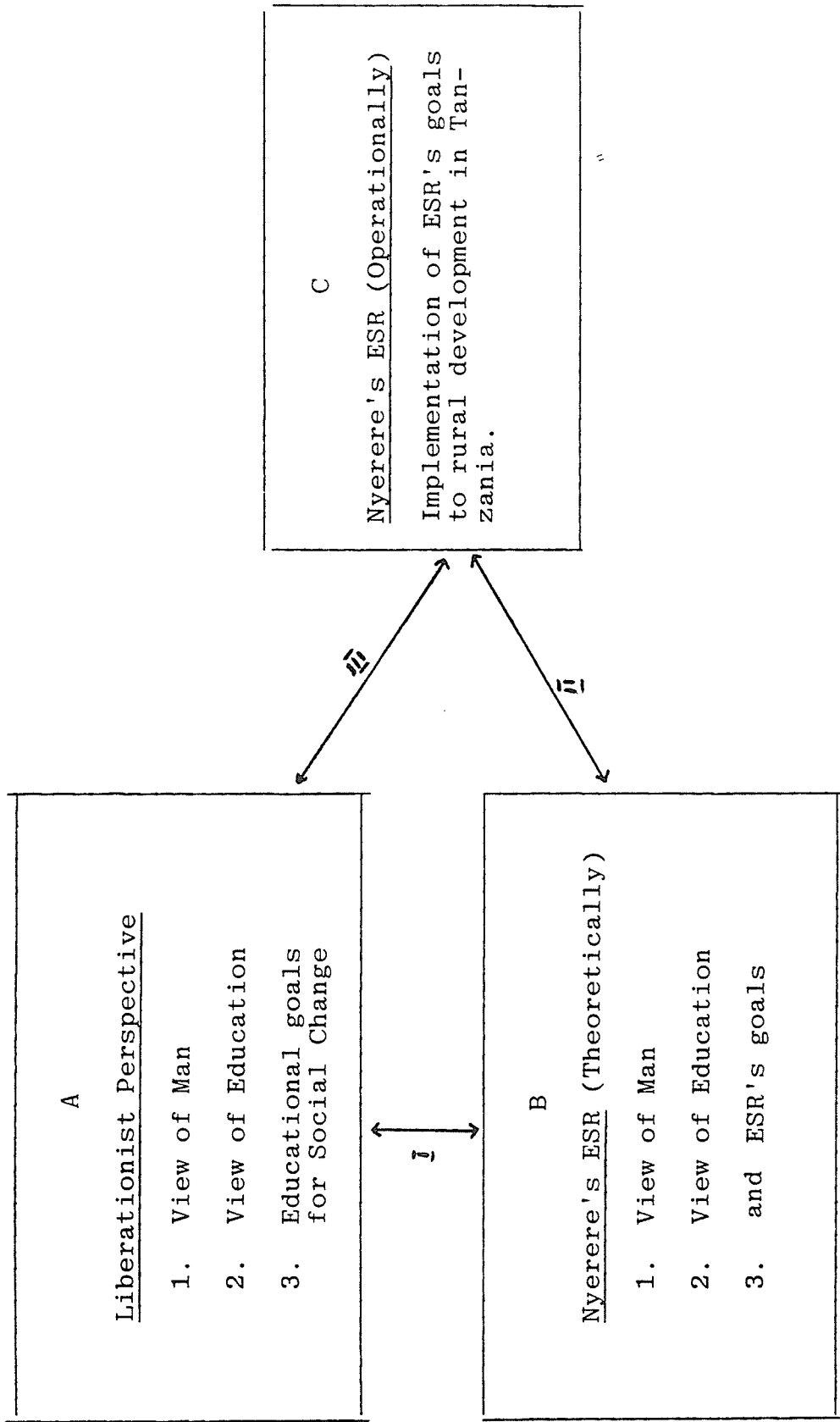


Figure 2
 Research Framework of Possible Relationships Between Liberationist and
 Nyerere's Views of Man and Education and ESR's Implementation to
 Rural Development in Tanzania.

Research Framework

The research framework for studying Nyerere's ESR provided by the liberationist perspective includes three major dimensions:

1. Nyerere's views of man and education.
2. Nyerere's implementation of ESR to rural development.
3. The comparison between Nyerere's ESR and the liberationist perspective, both theoretically and operationally.

In Dimension 1, the author examined Nyerere's views of man and education as found in the ESR policy. The significance of studying this dimension has been stressed by the liberationist writers (Freire, 1970:47,220) that:

Every educational practice implies a concept of man and the world. Experience teaches us not to assume that the obvious is clearly understood...

Stressing further the above assumption about man, Busia (1969:96) wrote that:

What is needed is an educational philosophy with a total view of the individual and a total view of society, in its complex network of relations. What the policies of former Colonial Powers lacked was this comprehensive view of education.

The above liberationist view stresses the importance of understanding Nyerere's concept of man. Therefore, through a study of Nyerere's view of man, the meaning and the role of ESR and its goals can best be understood and evaluated. The research questions relating to this dimension are: 1,2 and 3 of sub-set II Chapter I.

Dimension 2 is based on question 3 of sub-set II (see

Chapter I). According to Dolan (1970:7), the best way to discover the thought-processes of someone is to observe what he says and does. After studying what Nyerere says about man and education in ESR policy in the first dimension, in the second dimension, then the author examined Nyerere's implementation of ESR to rural development in Tanzania. It is from the systematic juxtaposition of the ESR theory and operation that a comparison between Nyerere's ESR and the liberationist perspective becomes meaningful.

Dimension 3 is based on the questions 1 and 2 of subset III (see Chapter I). The author assumes that only by doing both the analysis of ESR policy with respect to its views of man and education and its implementation to rural development can its comparison with the liberationist perspective be provided. For this reason, the judgement and comparison of the two theories were based on the results of data gathered in the first two dimensions dealing with Nyerere's ESR and on the information in Chapter II of this study.

Data Sources

a) Rationale for sources

Given that a wide range of sources are available, the investigation in this study attempts to provide a balance between sources primarily theoretical in their perspective, and sources which show evidence of field-based or practical orientation. The investigative procedures used, contain three major elements: a systematic search for information from the library,

an analysis and synthesis of this information, and a comparison of the different sources of information.

b) Organization of sources

Given the research questions and framework of this study, the literature surveyed for this study encompasses three areas: liberationist perspective of man and education, Nyerere's views of man and education (ESR) and, evaluation of ESR implementation to rural development (Ujamaa villages) in Tanzania. Some of the major sources are presented in Tables 1,2 and 3. The procedures used to organize these sources depended on the research questions and framework of the study.

In Table 2, major third world writings pertinent to discover the liberationist strategies consonant with the views of man and education are presented. Although most sources were from Latin America and Africa, three non-third world writers were incorporated into this group: Illich, Frank and Carnoy. These three writers have written several books and/or articles on the need for a new approach to education for third world social development or change. In following the organizational structure of Deblois' analysis of the liberationist view of man, the author's intention was not to examine the difference between these writers (neo-marxist, or socialist or cultural revivalist..., Paulston, 1977:372-3) but, to understand those ideas which liberationist writers hold in common. Only their alternative approaches as they

related to the problem and sub-problems of this study were considered. From these sources, the liberationist views of man and education for social change were identified in the second chapter: the liberationist perspective.

In Table 2, the selected works of J. K. Nyerere relating to the policy of ESR are presented. These works include Nyerere's own writings and speeches and Tanzanian Government policies published since 1967. In addition to the above primary sources, several secondary writings of experts and analysts in the field of education and development (see bibliography) were also valuable as source materials for the fourth chapter based on the questions 1,2 and 3 of sub-set II.

In addition to other writings (see bibliography) evaluating the successes and failures of Nyerere's ESR, eight most pertinent and recent dissertations and theses dealing with education in Tanzania provided the data which served to answer the question 3. of sub-set II. These sources are presented in Table 3.

Data Analysis

The sources presented in Table 1 were analyzed to provide the information relevant to the liberationist views of man and education. These views of man and education were identified in the second chapter: the liberationist perspective.

The analysis of the sources presented in Table 2 provided information relevant to the Chapter IV of this

TABLE 2

Selected Third World writings relevant to the
 liberationist strategies consonant with
 the views of man and education.

AUTHOR/YEAR	SOURCES
Alves, R. A. (1972)	Tomorrow's Child.
Carnoy, M. (1974)	Education as Cultural Imperialism.
_____ (1975)	The role of Education in Strategy for Social Change.
Fanon, F. (1963)	The Wretched of the Earth.
Frank (1979)	On Capitalist Underdevelop- ment.
Freire, P. (1968)	Pedagogy of the Oppressed.
_____ (1970)	The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Free- dom.
_____ (1970)	Cultural Action and Conscien- tization.
_____ (1973)	Education, Liberation and the Church.
_____ (1978)	Pedagogy in Process.
Illich, I. (1972)	Deschooling Society
_____ (1975)	Education without School: How it can be Done?
Memmi, A. (1972)	The colonized and the Colonizer.

TABLE 3

Selected Works of Nyerere and TANU
pertinent to the study of ESR.

I. - A	<u>Nyerere's books:</u>
	Education for Self-Reliance (1967)
	Socialism and Rural Development (1967)
	Ujamaa - Essay on Socialism (1968)
	Freedom and Unity (1967)
	Freedom and Socialism/Uhuru na Umoja (1968)
	Man and Development/Binadanu na Maendeleo (1974)
	Freedom and Development/Uhuru na Maendeleo (1974)
- B	<u>Nyerere's Articles and Speeches:</u>
	Education must liberate man (1974)
	Education for Liberation in Africa. (1975)
	Declaration of Dar-es-Salaam: "Liberated Man-the Purpose of Development" (1976).
	Ten Years of the Universtiy of Dar-es- Salaam (1980)
	Tanzania, Who is Dreaming. (1980)
	Time of Struggle. (1980)
	Twenty Years of Non-Alignment (1981)
II.	<u>T.A.N.U.'s Documents (Tanzanian Government documents)</u>
	The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance (1967)
	T.A.N.U. Guidelines (1971)

TABLE 4

Selected Writings for investigating ESR's
Implementation to rural development in Tanzania.

AUTHORS	SOURCES	YEAR
Banda, M. E.	Rural Development in Tanzania: The Ujamaa Model.	1978
Carthew, N. S.	Education for Socialism: A Comparative Study of Educational Strategies and their Political- Economic contexts in China and Tanzania.	1978
Court, D.	Education as Social Control: The Response to Inequality in Kenya and Tanzania.	1979
Johnson, L.	The Role of Education in Western Culture History: Tanzania as a Model of Education for Self- Reliance.	1979
Komba, D. A.	The Integration of Education and Work in Tanzania: A clarification of the Policy Rationale and an Ex- ploration of its Implications for Implementation and Evaluation.	1980
Lema, A. A.	Education for Self-Reliance. A Brief Survey of Self-Reliance activities in Some Tanzanian Schools and Colleges.	1972
	Report of Secondary Education Project: Economic Achievements of Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzanian Secondary Schools.	1977
Okoh, J. D.	Julius Nyerere's Social Philosophy and its Implications for Education.	1980

study. This chapter contains the analysis of Nyerere's views of man and education incorporated in his policy of ESR. While the sources presented in Table 2 helped to analyze and describe Nyerere's ESR in theoretical terms, the sources in Table 3 were analyzed to examine Nyerere's implementation of ESR in rural development or Ujamaa villages in Tanzania. This analysis represented the answer to the research question 3 of sub-set II examined in Chapter V.

The selection of the Ujamaa villages or development villages as the means for studying ESR implementation was based on several factors:

- Tanzania is primarily a rural country;
- This village development scheme was selected by Nyerere and his Party (TANU presently CCM) as a vehicle for mobilization and education.
- As such, they represent a broad range of educational activities.
- They are innovative, and are the direct outcome of the political, economic and educational policies announced in 1967.

Therefore, the Ujamaa villages and schools are the focal point of the self-reliant educational strategy, and these villages, if successful will form the economic and/or social basis for national development and social change in Tanzania.

The information which served to answer the research questions 1 and 2 of sub-set III came from the data analysis done in Chapters II, IV, and V. The comparison of the liberationist perspective and Nyerere's ESR was done in Chapter VI according to the research framework of this study.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, the author presented the research methodology and framework used in this study. This study has relied heavily on library research. The author's familiarity with the African systems of education (being an African) has facilitated the process of interpreting literature as well as providing a critical analysis and a final recommendation to the study. In the following Chapter, the author will describe the views of man and education portraying Nyerere's ESR.

CHAPTER IV

NYERERE'S EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE:

VIEW OF MAN AND EDUCATION.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS: SUB-SET II, 1 and 2

The foregoing review of the liberationist perspective has provided a research framework with which to investigate Nyerere's views of man and education. Therefore, in this chapter, the author is presenting (1) Nyerere's view of man and (2) the goals of Nyerere's ESR and what this means for social change in Tanzania.

NYERERE'S VIEW OF MAN*

Nyerere's view of man is based on the principles of Ujamaa-ism, familyhood; with ESR functioning as a unifying agent that fosters the attitudes relevant to a socialist society. As Kurtz (1972:103) states, Nyerere's ultimate goal is "man and his well-being." Nyerere views man and his hard work as the chief natural resources in social change and development. In concrete terms, people are the "developers" as well as the "purpose of the development". In connection to men as developers, the Arusha Declaration (1967:246-7) states that:

*It was not the author's intention to examine the educational history of Tanzania. Only Nyerere's philosophical views of man and education have been examined. For detailed history of Tanzanian education see Kurtz, 1972; Dolan 1971 and Morrison 1976.

The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development. The four prerequisites of development are different; they are (1) people; (2) land; (3) good policies; and (4) good leadership.

On the other hand, man as the purpose of development is expressed by the President of Zambia, Kaunda:

African society has always been man-centered. Indeed this is how it should be, otherwise why is a house built?...For what else would there be need to grow food?...The simple and yet difficult answer is man. Simple in the sense that it is clear, all human activity centres around man. Difficult too, because man has not yet understood his own importance...

Nyerere himself (1976:9) clearly stressed the purpose of development in the following terms:

For development has a purpose; that purpose is the liberation of man...the goods are needed to serve men; services are required to make the lives of men more fruitful. Political, social and economic organization is needed to enlarge the freedom and dignity of men.

Man as a Developer

In Nyerere's (1974:4) assumptions; man as a developer is one who is aware of two things: (1) his own manhood, and (2) his power to use circumstances rather than to be used by them. Man's awareness of his manhood is his ability to understand that he alone, and not someone else, can liberate or develop him. That is, only through his own ability to act deliberately for a self-determined purpose, which distinguishes him from the other animals, can he be liberated. That is also why Nyerere urges that, for man to be a conscious developer, his consciousness must develop in the process of

thinking, deciding and acting. As such, man's capacity will then develop in the process of doing. To quote Nyerere's (1974:27) terms:

Man develops himself by what he does, he develops himself by making his own decisions, by increasing his own full participation - as an equal - in the life of the community he lives in. People cannot be developed, they can only develop themselves....Development of the people can only be affected by the people.

It is this reflective human characteristic and human awareness which gives man a "power to use circumstances." This human power helps man to overcome any feelings of inferiority and, therefore, makes him able to cooperate with other men, on an equal basis, for their common purposes. Conversely, the danger of "being used by circumstances" makes man lose his manhood and be treated as an animal. Therefore, Nyerere states that men living in poverty or sickness, under tyranny or exploitation must be able to recognize (thinking) both that the life they lead is miserable, and that they can change (deciding) it by their own action (acting) either individually or cooperatively (Nyerere, 1974:4, 90; 1976:11-5).

Nyerere sees development as the expansion of man's own consciousness and of his power over himself, his environment and his society. This conscious power will help man to break through the belief that miserable conditions could be regarded as the will of God (Nyerere, 1976:11-5). Through this conscious development of man's power and awareness of his manhood, he becomes a cultural, social and free being.

Man as a Cultural, Social and Free Being

In Nyerere's view, these characteristics of man can be explained by his philosophical base of Ujamaa-ism, the philosophy of the new culture that he is creating in Tanzania. His need to create this new society, based on "familyhood" or Ujamaa, originates from his attitude about the colonial experience:

...as a people to a large extent determine their own future, so it can be stated quite categorically that no part of Africa will ever become a duplicate copy of any part of Europe (Nyerere, 1967:116).

Clearly, then, Ujamaa-ism for Nyerere is not meant to be, nor can it be, a reprint of another nation's socialism. He further argues that the universal characteristics of socialism must be applied to each particular situation in a manner best suited to it:

Ujamaa is opposed to capitalism, which seeks to build a happy society on the exploitation of man by man; and it is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on a philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man.

On the basis of the above contrast, Nyerere (1968: 109) argues that Ujamaa is the socialism which their forefathers believed in and practiced, although they did not label it as such. Traditional society, in fact, could serve as a model for the present because it was a self-contained unit, providing the essentials for both material and psychological needs. It was a total way of life: familial, egalitarian, democratic and based on mutual aid.

But Nyerere's imitation of the traditional society is

not a duplicate or blind copy as such but, rather, a critical selection of meaningful customs and a rejection of inadequate practices of modern Tanzania. He lists three main inadequacies in the traditional way of life:

- (1) the women suffered from inequalities;
- (2) poverty was due to ignorance and
- (3) the scale of operations was small.

For these reasons, Nyerere calls for a correction of this traditional system by adapting to its service the things they can learn from the technologically developed societies of other countries,

In determining our future out of the lessons of our present and past, we shall be working out a new synthesis, a way of life that draws from Europe as well as Christianity, from communalism and individualism... ..There is a need for a new synthesis;...we have the lessons of the East and the West before us and we have our own traditions to contribute to mankind's pool of knowledge. If we can integrate these things into a new pattern of society then the world will have reason to be grateful that we have gained our independence... (Nyerere, 1967:116,121).

Man's Social Characteristics

Man's social characteristics are found in the three major principles of Ujamaa-ism: (1) human equality, (2) co-operative sharing and (3) unity and harmony (Kurtz, 1972:85). By accepting human equality, Nyerere rejects racism, aristocracy and arrogance. While he recognizes human differences in physique, in intelligence, in skills and in conflicts between man's selfish and social instincts, he advocates these inequalities be put to the service of man's equalities.

As such, the second principle, co-operative sharing, requires the element of equality. Sharing cooperatively is an essential element in Nyerere's understanding of development, because without cooperation with others, man is helpless and, therefore, he cannot develop.

...A liberated man will work with others to defeat these evils, and will again use whatever resources are at hand. These resources may be his own knowledge, the knowledge of others, the land, the water, or simply his own sweat.

...For man is a social animal. A man in isolation can be neither liberated nor educated...(Nyerere, 1974:4,6).

The third principle is "unity and harmony," which includes an obligation to work. Each person and age group have different obligations to fulfill. Nyerere wants everyone to have "an attitude of wanting to work, in whatever work there is to do, alongside and within the rest of the community, until finally there is no more distinction between a graduate and an illiterate than there is between a man who works as a carpenter and his fellow who works as a brick layer (Nyerere, 1968:186). In this respect, Nyerere follows the precepts of the traditional African society:

In traditional African society everybody was a worker. There was no other way of earning a living for the community. Even the Elder, who appeared to be enjoying himself without doing any work and for whom everybody else appeared to be working, had, in fact, worked hard all his younger days (Nyerere, 1966:164-5).

These three basic principles are interdependent. Together, they suggest that there cannot be freedom without equality or cooperation and unity. Freedom for both the individual and the group is vital to mutual respect and to

peaceful democratic processes (Kurtz, 1972:88). Man, Nyerere (1966:121,178) believes, must have freedom to pursue his interests and inclinations, for this freedom permits each person to "develop the spark of divinity within himself at the same time he contributes and benefits from his membership in the community." Nyerere concludes that only free people, conscious of their worth and their equality, can build a free society. Therefore, a free society is a self-reliant nation (Nyerere, 1967:9; 1975:4) and Education for Self-Reliance is the significant instrument to bring about this kind of nation.

EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE

On march 9, 1967, shortly after the Arusha Declaration*, Nyerere produced a document entitled Education for Self-Reliance** , in which he gave a synthesis of the educational theory which had been developing since independence. Its contents revealed the application of the Tanzanian political philosophy of Ujamaa to education, and it provided the theoretical basis for the new Tanzanian school system.

*A policy statement of TANU (presently CCM) issued on February 5, 1967. The Arusha Declaration reflects the Tanzanian commitment to the principles of self-reliance and socialism based on Ujamaa-ism (for further information see The Arusha Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance, 1967).

**Education for Self-Reliance analyzes the system and attitude of education that evolved in Tanganyika, and then goes on to demand an educational revolution - a re-casting of the system in the light of Tanzania's needs and social objectives.

Education was to be the means of giving substance to the political and social changes envisaged.

Without directly criticizing the colonial administrators, Nyerere suggested that the aim of education before 1961 was to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state. During the first six years of independence, in spite of becoming less racial and more Africanized in content, education was still basically elitist, encouraging and emphasizing the individualistic instincts of mankind, divorcing educated people from their society, and valuing books and formal education over traditional forms of learning. The students, who consumed what others produced, were thereby prevented from contributing to production. In a review of the colonial system of education, Nyerere (1968:54-5) pointed out in concrete terms four basic elements which prevented the integration of the pupils into society:

...the education now provided is designed for the few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows. It induces among those who succeed a feeling of superiority, and leaves the majority, hankering after something they will never obtain. It induces a feeling of inferiority among the majority and can [neither] produce the egalitarian society we should build, nor the attitudes of mind which are conducive to an egalitarian society. On the contrary, it induces the growth of a class structure in our country.

Against this incisive and comprehensive assessment of the existing state of the Tanzanian educational system, Nyerere then went on to suggest changes that must be not only quantitative, but also strongly qualitative. Nyerere (1966:

275) was clearly disturbed by the fact that an individual or a society could be considered a failure, should either not achieve a significant level of higher education, a reference to Freire's criticism of the banking method of education. In Nyerere's view of education, the kind of society the Tanzanian people themselves wished to create first had to be determined, and only then could changes be made,

Only when we are clear about the kind of society we are trying to build can we design our educational service to serve our goals (Nyerere, 1966:310).

In the preceding section of this chapter, we noted that Nyerere wanted a new society based on Ujamaa or familyhood: equality; respect of human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by the efforts of all the citizens; and work by everyone and exploitation by none (Nyerere, 1966:311). The aims and goals of ESR attempted to implement a system designed to meet these principles.

THE AIMS AND GOALS OF ESR

In the review of the liberationist aims of education, educational goals are outlined under three major headings: (1) the transition from elitist education to mass education; (2) the linking of the school with life, and (3) the strengthening of cultural identity. For the sake of comparison, this discussion will focus on the same three criteria.

a) The Transition from Elitist Educaiton to Mass Education

In his Planning for Education in Pakistan, Adam Curle

(1966:125-38) makes a distinction between 'mass' and 'selective' approaches to educational planning. The colonial educational effort stressed the selective approach and concentrated education to particular areas and interest groups. The task of independent African governments has been to move the educational system from a selective to a mass approach, which means spreading educational opportunities as widely as possible. As Uchendu (1979:6) states, the two approaches to the educational enterprise are based on differing social and political ideologies.

In the liberationist perspective, however, the task of the new educational system must be to encourage access to knowledge and to the nature of learning, in order to increase mass responsibility and mass political participation. In other terms, mass education is one of the most important criteria to men's consciousness and transforming acts upon the world.

Similarly, critical thinking is given a prominent place in Nyerere's goals for mass education. Kurtz (1972:125), for example, sees Nyerere as one who wants responsible men, not robots, in the social, political, economic and intellectual spheres of activity. Critical thinking, then, must be accompanied by sound, moral character as well as relevant knowledge and skills for socialist living. Because of this socialist emphasis, Nyerere's understanding of 'mass education' is different from what other theorists call "universal primary or secondary education" in that the first represents the minimum learning needs of specially identified groups.

Nyerere's target groups include all age groups, young and old, men and women. Furthermore, his view of mass education is both theoretical and practical, formal and non-formal.

In ESR, the transition from elitist education to mass education is expected to alter the participants' expectations. In this way, the people will adapt to their position in a socialist society; they will be peasant producers, workers in any kind of work they will be called upon to do in the society. It is a kind of education that cools their aspirations for higher education and, at the same time, produces a minority cadre of qualified people at the higher levels of education. In other terms, Nyerere's (1968:282) mass education proposes

...to provide a different education - one realistically designed to fulfill the common purpose of education in the particular society of Tanzania....The object of the teaching must be the provision of knowledge, skills and attitudes which will serve the student...when he or she lives and works in a developing and changing socialist state; it must not be aimed at university entrance.

Recently he declared that

...mass education must be of a kind as to show that this can be done, and to provide the tools with which it can be done. For example, it must lead to literacy (if it does not start with that); and it must incorporate access to books of different levels, even if it cannot include provision for more formal teaching. The mass education should also show people how to learn from the use of resources which are locally available, like a nearby dispensary, a good farmer, local school teachers, and so on. For mass...education must be seen as a beginning; a foundation course on which people can build their own structures according to their own interests and own desires (1976:13).

Finally, Nyerere's mass education goes beyond universal primary education to include adult education, because "the United

Republic of Tanzania believes in lifelong education (Momari, 1977:386)."

Adult Education

In his 1969 New Year's Eve Speech to the nation, President Nyerere declared 1970 Adult Education Year. This strategic move was designed to generally further the mobilization function of ESR. Its stated objectives* were:

- i) to shake people out of their resignation and to encourage them to learn more about how they can affect improvement in their lives;
- ii) to provide people with the skills to improve their lives;
- iii) to enable everyone to learn the meaning of self-reliance and socialism.

Following the President's speech, the Ministry of National Education put out the following elaboration of its operation goals (Okoko, 1978:117):

- 1) To mobilize the rural and urban masses and arouse them to consciousness of Ujamaa socialism;
- 2) To give knowledge and skills that will improve the productivity of the people and help raise their standards of living;
- 3) To eradicate illiteracy;

*These objectives are reported in several documents:

- 1) The Second 5 - Year Plan (1969-74);
- 2) The President's Adult Education Year Speech in 1969;
- 3) The 15th and 16th TANU Biennial Conference Resolutions (1971 and 1973, respectively); and
- 4) The Prime Minister's Directive on Workers Education in 1973.

- 4) To provide follow-up education for those who leave primary and secondary school and also for those who settle in Ujamaa villages and rural areas; and
- 5) To provide leadership training in various aspects of rural life.

The means by which these objectives and aims were to be implemented were numerous - utilizing the mass media, running courses of all kinds, expanding literacy campaigns, and generally mobilizing any resources the nation may possess. The emphases in adult education were to be on learning for change and learning by doing. To this end, one year after his New Year's Eve Speech, Nyerere again dedicated 1972 to adult education, stressing the need to extend the national literacy campaign so that illiteracy would be eradicated in six districts (Carthew, 1978:263).

The scope of Nyerere's (1976:12,16) view of adult education incorporates anything that enlarges men's understanding and helps them to implement decisions for themselves. As he explains, adult education is the key to the development of free men and free societies.

What clearly emerges from the importance placed on mass adult education is Nyerere's full recognition that adult education is essential to promoting a well-integrated kind of development, as required by the new national goals and objectives. It is the kind of development that means the people's participation in the major decisions which affect their lives. As Okoko (1978:18) states: "it means liberation from colonial or neocolonial ways of thinking."

Nyerere (1976) himself points out that ignorant people are susceptible to repression and exploitation, and he regards the national literacy campaign as a defence strategy against these dangers. Mass literacy can then fulfill a number of associative functions in the development of a self-reliant society. The experience of learning to read can, as Freire points out, transform the ignorant and oppressed peasant or urban - slum dweller into an agent of social change. This emerges from a critical awareness of the conditions of oppression, critical in the sense that the sources of oppression are understood and are objects of political and social praxis.

Indeed, Tanzania is often singled out from many developing countries as a country having a well-formulated adult education policy, a declared commitment to it, and well-designed machinery to implement it:

In Tanzania, adult education is allocated more than 10% of the Ministry of National Education budget, in addition considerable financial support is given to many other organizations involved in adult education....

The International Symposium on Adult education for Development, held in Dar-es-Salaam in 1974 and in 1976, noted that, "for many adult educationists in the world, Tanzania does not only exhibit a clear national policy regarding adult education but she also demonstrates a unique approach to the subject." Part of that uniqueness concerns the link between ESR and life.

b) The Linking of the School with Life

Liberationist theorists suggest that attempts be made to relate education to life. The liberationist writers recommend that school programs and curriculum be centred in the village communities so that the schools can provide a permanent learning environment. Several socialist countries in the world have successfully applied this approach. To list only one as an example, the linking of education with life in China is described in these terms

Education must serve politics, must be combined with productive labour, and must be led by the Party. These three things are interrelated. Education divorced from productive labour is bound to lead, to a degree, to the neglect of politics and of Party leadership in education work, thus divorcing education from the realities of our country and eventually causing right deviationist and doctrinaire mistakes (Lu Ting - Y in Morrison, 1976:262).

With respect to ESR, efforts at linking school with life are a reflection of the country's socialist policies, which demand the existence of a society where everyone contributes to the well-being of all, a society in which there ought not to be a gap between the academic elite and the illiterate masses, between the mental workers and the manual workers. Nyerere (1968:273) wants the education system in Tanzania to inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to their kind of future, not those appropriate to their colonial past. What Nyerere means is that the

educational system of Tanzania must emphasize cooperative endeavour not individual advancement; it must stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special

ability....And, in particular our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance; for this leads to the well-educated despising those whose abilities are non-academic or who have no special abilities, but are just human beings....

It is, however, not only in relation to social values that our educational system has a task to do. It must also prepare young people for the work they will be called upon to do in the society... - a rural society where improvement will depend largely upon the efforts of the people in agriculture and in village development.

The essential thrust is on functional education, for schools must become self-reliant communities engaging in agricultural and other practical activities (see Chapter V for more information). The all-pervasive attitudes of competition and individualism must give way to attitudes of cooperation and service to the community, attitudes which are consistent with the socialist objectives of Tanzania (Nyerere, 1968:611).

c) The Strengthening of Cultural Identity

Nyerere, recognizing the inadequacies in the country's existing educational system, began a new process: ESR. Clearly, in his view, effective education must grow from the needs of a society and should be based upon tradition, as expressed in myths, ethos, creative motif, and systems of social, political and economic organization. A system of education which fails to address these factors will produce a society unable to meet its own needs in any substantial manner (Kurtz, 1972:209).

In examining the Arusha Declaration, it can be seen that Ujamaa and ESR represent a comprehensive network of

policy tools suitable for dismantling the colonial legacy and introducing the new system. Education is the central focus of each of these policy statements, which reflect every aspect of Tanzanian culture - history and the importance placed on cultural identity. As early as 1925, this importance had been recognized. Cameron, the Governor of British Tanzania, had stressed the need to strengthen Tanzanian culture:

We must not destroy the African atmosphere the African mind, the whole foundation of his race,...(Kurtz 1972:27).

The changes intended to implement ESR and strengthen Tanzanian cultural identity included a further re-evaluation of the curriculum aspects of school experience that were aimed at eliminating the colonial character of Tanzanian education. These included the more intensive use of Kiswahili, the achievement of virtual self-sufficiency in pre-university teachers; the removal of foreign references from school names; the localization of the syllabus content at all levels; and the introduction of political education (Okoko, 1978:106). The job of implementing these changes was placed squarely with the teachers, in the recognition of the crucial role teachers play in any education process (Nyerere, 1971:23). To summarize, Nyerere emphasized education in the light of traditional culture and development needs, as stressed in the concepts of Ujamaa-ism.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this Chapter, Nyerere's views of man and education were analyzed and described with regards to research questions 1,2, and 3 of sub-set II. The observed philosophical views of man and education in Nyerere's ESR are presented in Table 5.

Research question #1: Nyerere views "man" and his hard work as the chief natural resources in social change or development. In other terms, Nyerere considers men as the developers and the purpose of the development. For man to be a developer, his consciousness must develop in the process of thinking, deciding and acting. It is the above human reflective characteristics which give man a "power to use circumstances in order to overcome any feeling of inferiority towards others and towards his environment. Development, then, is a result of man's own consciousness and power over himself, his environment and his society. Through this conscious man's power and awareness of his manhood, man becomes a cultural, social and free being. Being the developer man becomes at the same time the purpose of development.

Knowing that man is a cultural, social and free being, Nyerere attempts to create an appropriate culture for Tanzania: Ujamaa-ism is based on the system of the African traditions. The social change that Nyerere wants to bring about in Tanzania is found in the three principles of Ujamaa-ism: human equality, co-operative sharing and, unity and harmony. These three interdependent principles suggest that man can neither be a

developer nor the purpose of development without equality, co-operation and unity.

Research question #2: Nyerere views education as the means of giving substance to the political and social changes envisaged in Ujamaa-ism. Therefore, educational system must be designed after the kind of society to be built has been defined. In ESR, the educational goals attempt to implement a system designed to meet the Ujamaa principles: equality, respect of human dignity, sharing of the resources which are produced by the efforts of all the citizens and, work by everyone and exploitation by none. In order to realize these Ujamaa principles, the ESR's goals are: (1) the transition from elitist education to mass education, (2) the linking of the school with life and (3) the strengthening of cultural identity.

In ESR, the transition from elitist education to mass education is expected to alter the participants' expectations in order to enable them to adapt to their position in a socialist society. It is not simply primary mass education, but a mass education which transmits the minimum learning needs to all age groups, young and old, male and female.

The linking of ESR with life is a reflection of the country's socialist policies, which demand the existence of a society where everyone contributes to the well-being of all on the basis of equality, sharing and unity. The essential thrust is functional education, for schools must become self-reliant communities engaging in agricultural and other prac-

TABLE 5

Representation of Observed Views of Man and Education in Nyerere's ESR.

Assumptions about Man	Related Human Characteristics for Social Change	Related ESR's Goals for Social Change
A Developer and a purpose of development	He is aware of his manhood and has a power to use circumstances through the process of <u>thinking, deciding and acting for his well-being.</u> He is a Self-reliant person and a hard worker.	Mass education provides man (young and adult) with the skills to improve his life.
A Cultural Being	He determines his own future without being a duplicate copy of a foreign culture. He determines his future out of the lessons of his present and past and out of cultural synthesis.	Education must be linked with rural areas where the majority of the people live. Agriculture must be the key element in the ESR.
A Free and Social Being	He freely develops his ability and at the same time contributes and benefits from his membership in the community. Man's freedom contributes to human equality, unity and co-operative sharing. He has a self-determined purpose.	Education must stress Ujamaa principles: of traditional Tanzanian society: equality, unity and co-operative sharing.

tical activities in a self-reliant and socialist country.

Together, Nyerere's view of man, as reflected in his Ujamaa-ism, and his goals for ESR include all aspects of Tanzanian culture-history. In this important sense, Nyerere's ESR exemplifies both the Tanzanian political philosophy and a view of man consistent with the principles of Ujamaa-ism. Nyerere uses ESR as the primary means to give substance to the political and social changes envisaged. It is pertinent, now to examine how ESR has been applied to rural development. Thus in the next chapter, the author will examine the successes and failures of the ESR implementation to Ujamaa villages or rural development with regards to research question 3 of sub-set II. Only after this examination, the comparison between Nyerere's ESR and the liberationist perspective could be possible.

CHAPTER V

ESR AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT:

RESEARCH QUESTION II #3

In order to explore the relationships between Nyerere's views of man and education and rural development in Tanzania, a third research question was derived from the sub-set II and the research framework developed for this study. This research question was presented in Chapters I and III as follows:

In relation to his views of man and education, to what extent has Nyerere applied his ESR's goals to rural development in Tanzania?

In order to answer the above research question, the author, first, examines the following sub-questions:

- What vehicle does Nyerere use to implement ESR in order to reach all the rural masses?
- How does ESR serve to develop Ujamaa villages?
- How is ESR used to serve both the illiterate and the literate, the children and the adults in Ujamaa villages?
- How are the masses within Ujamaa villages involved in the development of their community?
- How is the school curricula integrated with Ujamaa life?

Ujamaa Villages: Vehicles for Implementing ESR

A crucial element in Nyerere's ideology for a self-reliant Tanzania is the appeal to the rural people to form socialist villages: Ujamaa or development villages. Nyerere (1967:340-1) decided to create Ujamaa villages and to bring together segments of a broadly scattered rural population

(confronted with the same basic problems of ignorance, disease and poverty). In this way, there would be a more judicious use of educational and health facilities and resources such as clean water, food, better home and educational opportunities. Nyerere realized that for many years to come Tanzania will remain a predominantly agricultural economy. Hence, he argued, emphasis on development strategy must be concentrated on self-reliance in the agricultural sector.

The creation of the Ujamaa villages was a slow process beginning in 1967. By 1980, this process of villagization had been completed, and 8,000 Ujamaa villages were in existence, housing at least 14 million of the 18 million Tanzanians (Banda, 1978:16, Nyerere, 1980:11). In Table IV, the number of villages created between 1967 and 1980 are presented.

Table 6: Number of Ujamaa Villages between 1967-1980

Date	Number of Villages	Total of population	Total Population as percentage of mainland total
Feb. 1967	48	5,000	0.04%
Dec. 1968	180	58,000	0.5 %
Dec. 1969	650	300,000	2.5 %
Sept. 1970	1,200	500,000	4.2 %
June 1971	2,668	840,000	6.3 %
July 1980	8,000	14,000,000	78.0 %

Source: Banda, "Rural Development in Tanzania: The Ujamaa Model". M. A. Thesis University of Alberta, 1978 and Nyerere, "A Time of Struggle" in Tanzania News Bulletin No. V, July 1980.

As can be seen from Nyerere's (1980:11) own evaluation, some goals and aims of ESR have been, to some extent, reached.

Tanzania in 1980 is a different place from what it was in 1975. The process of villagization has been completed: with all the problems concerning shortages of teachers and equipment in our schools, universal primary education exists. In both matters there is a lot to improve, but the structures do exist. About 40 percent of our villages have been supplied with clean tap water; 35 percent of them have a dispensary; and 74 percent of them have their own shop.

Creating Ujamaa villages, as far as the peasants were concerned, was a new experience because it required a different kind of social and economic organization. In a traditional, scattered society, social and economic organization was based on the extended family in which kinship relationships prevailed. Thus, the ESR and socialism policies were not only a blueprint for creating cooperative villages; they also represented an intention to transform the whole rural society -to "build a nation of such village communities (Nyerere, 1967)." The creation of these villages was expected to be an educational process (Banda: 1978:115; Okoh ; 1980:2). The villages would be social, political and economic entities self-reliant and democratically organized. This organization would facilitate the implementation of ESR's goals. If this organization is operationally respected, it should enable policy and decision makers to be close to the masses (see the system of decentralization of the Tanzanian Government, in Banda, 1978).

The Organization of the Ujamaa Villages.

Johnsons's (1979:181-4) investigation of the Upper Kitete Ujamaa village helps to describe this section. In the Upper Kitete Ujamaa village, three formal organizations are concerned with village administration. The first is the Village Development Committee (VDC), whose primary focus is the identification of and resolution of social problems within the village. This committee is also responsible for maintaining a high level of production and preventing loss of profits. Poor performance at either level will likely mean the committee will be voted out at the annual election. This committee is composed of twelve farmers, elected by the villages, with a chairman and vice-chairman. But authority rests within the seven committees of the VDC, which is the central body. These seven committees are finance, agriculture, defense, work, education, health and management. For example, the Work Committee conducts the day-to-day distribution of villager responsibilities. These responsibilities are executed under the supervision of the ten-house cell leaders.

The ten-house cell system has the dual responsibility of political education and work organization and execution. The cells provide a framework whereby all the people have an opportunity to participate in the running of the day-to-day affairs of the nation.*

The cell is generally made up of ten houses per community. The cell leader is responsible for maintaining an

* Information gathered from a conversation with seven Tanzanian students at the University of Manitoba.

up-to-date cell record on a special form designed for that purpose. The completed form is then handed in to the Branch Office, which sends it to the District and Regional Offices and then on to the National Headquarters (Banda, 1978:123, presents the decentralization of the decision-making structure). As a result, the party is provided with a very detailed and accurate record of its membership throughout the country. In addition to record-keeping, the other more crucial aspects of the cell's role include community organization, party discipline and administration.*1

All in all, village life evinces a high degree of individual and collective discipline. Each morning, all the residents assemble at the village office where the day's work is distributed and sick persons receive their official exemption from duty. A typical day's schedule might assign work as follows: Group A, wheat harvesting in the morning and individual shamba*2 work in the afternoon; Group B, individual shamba work in the morning and harvesting in the afternoon; Group C, school constructing in the morning and preparation of the fields in the afternoon. Each cell group assigns tasks daily on an individual basis. And it is the cell leader who is responsible for moving his workers to their areas.

The second level of formal organization of Ujamaa villages includes a managerial staff, which consists of an agricultural management expert and an assistant trainee.

*1 Information gathered from a conversation with seven Tanzanian students at the University of Manitoba.

*2 Shamba is a small field, plantation, farm or estate on which each family could raise subsistence crops.

Ministries of Agriculture, Rural Development, Education and Health also have field extension workers in each Ujamaa village.

The third formal organizational level is composed of three technical sub-committees, whose members are appointed by the manager* in consultation with the central committee. The manager consults with these sub-committees on problems relating to technical programming, projects and allocations.

The formal political and social organization of Ujamaa villages is a response to socialist policy and as such facilitates the implementation of ESR's objectives. Its aim is to involve the masses in decision-making and the execution of these decisions for developing their village communities. The success of this organization will be discussed in the next major section.

Education of the Ujamaa Masses

In outlining ESR policy Nyerere (1967) indicated that the education system in Tanzania must be "structured to fit national objectives and support social ethics." Thus, there are two groups to be educated in the process of achieving ESR's

* The manager is a person trained by the Village Settlement Division via the Cooperative Society and Rural Development Agency, and is assigned to the village according to the skills he possesses and the particular needs of the community. He is generally college trained, and speaks English, Kiswahili and the local vernacular. All managers have had agricultural training and experience (Johnson, 1979:226). Two of the Tanzanian students present at the University of Manitoba were Ujamaa village managers on sabbatical leave for one year.

immediate and long-range objectives. These two groups are adults and children (Johnson, 1979:187). The information obtained from various documents indicates that the most immediate need in Ujamaa villages is

...a full understanding of the principles and goals of Ujamaa living (i.e., understanding the social ethics of the nation, the importance of mutual respect, human equality, communal sharing and democratic government). The basis of the effort must be understanding of purpose and political education... (Ujamaa Vijijini, 1967).

In order to gain the fullest benefit from the Ujamaa system, the members of Ujamaa villages need to understand their rights and obligations. For this reason, education becomes as Freire (1970:15) pointed out, "the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world." Development of a collective mind is, therefore, among the major purposes of education in the Ujamaa villages.

a) Adult Education

There are various means by which adult education is conducted in Ujamaa villages (some have been described previously in the Ujamaa organization).

1) Each sub-committee of the VDC meets once, or, in some cases, twice weekly, and attempts to solve the problems related to work, health and economics.

2) A ten-house cell system exists through which political education is conducted. This is a fundamental organization of the village and appears to be the binding community

force. These cell groups meet a minimum of once each week. Although problems existing among cell members are discussed, strong emphasis is placed on the Ujamaa and Self-Reliance ideologies.

3) The overall village experience is, in some ways, akin to on-the-job training in an education center. Personnel skilled in various capacities, fundu^{*1}, are brought into the villages to train the inhabitants. During his study of the Upper Kitete village, Johnson (1979:190) observed that:

Villagers were sometimes sent elsewhere to develop specific skills. During his visit to Upper Kitete,^{*2} the village had only recently hired a mechanic to train some of the people in tractor and lorry repair. Among the villagers, in addition to the hired mechanics, were three carpenters, a mason, a horticulturist, six drivers, a plumber, a brickmaker and a dairyman. Each fundu had the responsibility of teaching someone in the village his skill.

4) In addition to the internal development processes, there is a regional planning committee that provides technical assistance to the village in agricultural development and medical aid. Johnson (1979:190) also noted:

The regional committee attempted to meet with the villagers on a regular basis. When special knowledge was required in a particular situation, experts from outside were requested to render such knowledge or service.

Furthermore, several other components of Tanzania's adult education strategy do exist (Carthew, 1978:67).

*1 fundu is a person skilled in certain technical capacities, i.e., carpentry, mechanic, sawing etc.

*2 Johnson (1979) has indicated that there are possibly two or three well-mechanized villages like Upper Kitete in Tanzania, but this village already existed before the Ujamaa policy. The majority of the Ujamaa villages are poorly mechanized.

Rural Training Centres: A network of over thirty-five of these centres operate throughout the countryside. They are mainly concerned with the dissemination of knowledge and information about Ujamaa. They transmit ideology and teach agricultural and rural technical skills to village leaders.

Co-operative Education: The Co-operative Education Centre provides correspondence courses, radio programs, and courses and seminars for people such as Co-operative education secretaries who work in the co-operative movement. The Co-operative Movement also runs the Co-operative College at Moshi which provides residential and correspondence courses for Co-operative Movement members and committee-men.

Agricultural Extension: the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives is responsible for the upgrading of farmers' skills and knowledge. However, the ratio of extension officers to farmers is low, making the task of agricultural education difficult.

These are only a few of the adult education activities through which ESR is implemented in Tanzania. They demonstrate the manner of co-operation in a collective learning strategy that is, in many ways, a departure from the educational norm. In what way can this claim be substantiated, since adult education is a common educational activity all over the world? The answer to this lies in the design of adult education in Tanzania which operates against the formation of an educational 'status quo' that supports class formations that actively subvert the

processes of self-reliance and the transition to socialism. In other words, adult education in Tanzania is designed to encourage the learning of Ujamaa ideologies and to stimulate agricultural production for both national and rural development.

b) Children and Education in Ujamaa Villages

In spite of the existence of universal primary education (Nyerere, 1980:11) in Tanzania, entrance into secondary school and higher education is still based on academic performance and behavior.

In 1976, for example, there were 1,956,320 pupils in primary schools; 67,859 at the second level of education (including general, Teacher-training and others) and 3,064 students enrolled in higher education.*

The language of instruction in Tanzania is Kiswahili, with English as the second language. But English is highly revered among the villagers (Johnson, 1979:191). As for the question of the language of instruction, the following quotation is useful:

As a result of the pervasive influence of the old colonial ethic and the educational system that inculcated it, there is, even in the Ujamaa villages strong pressure to teach English. If English is taught, an association is established between education and its use in social status and therefore education is seen as a tool for individual betterment, quite irrespective of the needs of the community (Lewin, 1968:14).

* Information taken from Unesco statistics Report, 1977.

c) Linking School with Ujamaa Life

Some of the important considerations relevant to the theme of this section are, first, the need to change school terms and school timetables in order to make full use of the agricultural year/seasons for rural development; secondly, the need to change the designation of schools from 'primary' to 'basic'* in order to change the expectations of parents and pupils alike, and thirdly, the integration of the schools/colleges with the community (Mmari, 1977:381-3).

In more explicit terms, Nyerere's implementation of ESR suggests diverse policies, such as:

1) raising the age of entry from 5 years to 7 or 8 years so that primary school leavers would be old enough to productively enter farming or complete their education;

2) integrating schools and farms in such a way that children can learn modern agricultural practices and become aware of the fact that their living standard, and that of the nation as a whole, depends upon agriculture, since "Tanzania will continue to have a predominantly rural economy for a long time to come (Nyerere, 1968:51)";

* The recommendation was formed in Kiswahili using the phrase *Schule ya Msingi*, meaning the foundation school or more generally, the 'basic school.' Going to a primary school implied preparation for secondary and tertiary levels of education. Whereas going to a 'basic' or 'foundation school' implied receiving necessary skills for life in the community. Lately, Mmari pointed out that this resolution did not achieve its intended goal since parents and pupils were too intelligent to be influenced by change in name. Their rising expectations demanded progress up the ladder so that, even if each cycle prepared them for work, there were better prospects for better remuneration the higher up one went (Mmari, 1977:381)

3) restructuring the school-year calendar so that students can help their fellow villagers at times of peak labour demand;

4) lessening the reliance on formal examination as a means of evaluating student performance;

5) generally restructuring the curriculum, emphasizing subjects more directly relevant to problems of rural development (Mmari, 1977:381).

Diagrammatically, the implementation of ESR as it exists today in Tanzania is shown in figure 3.

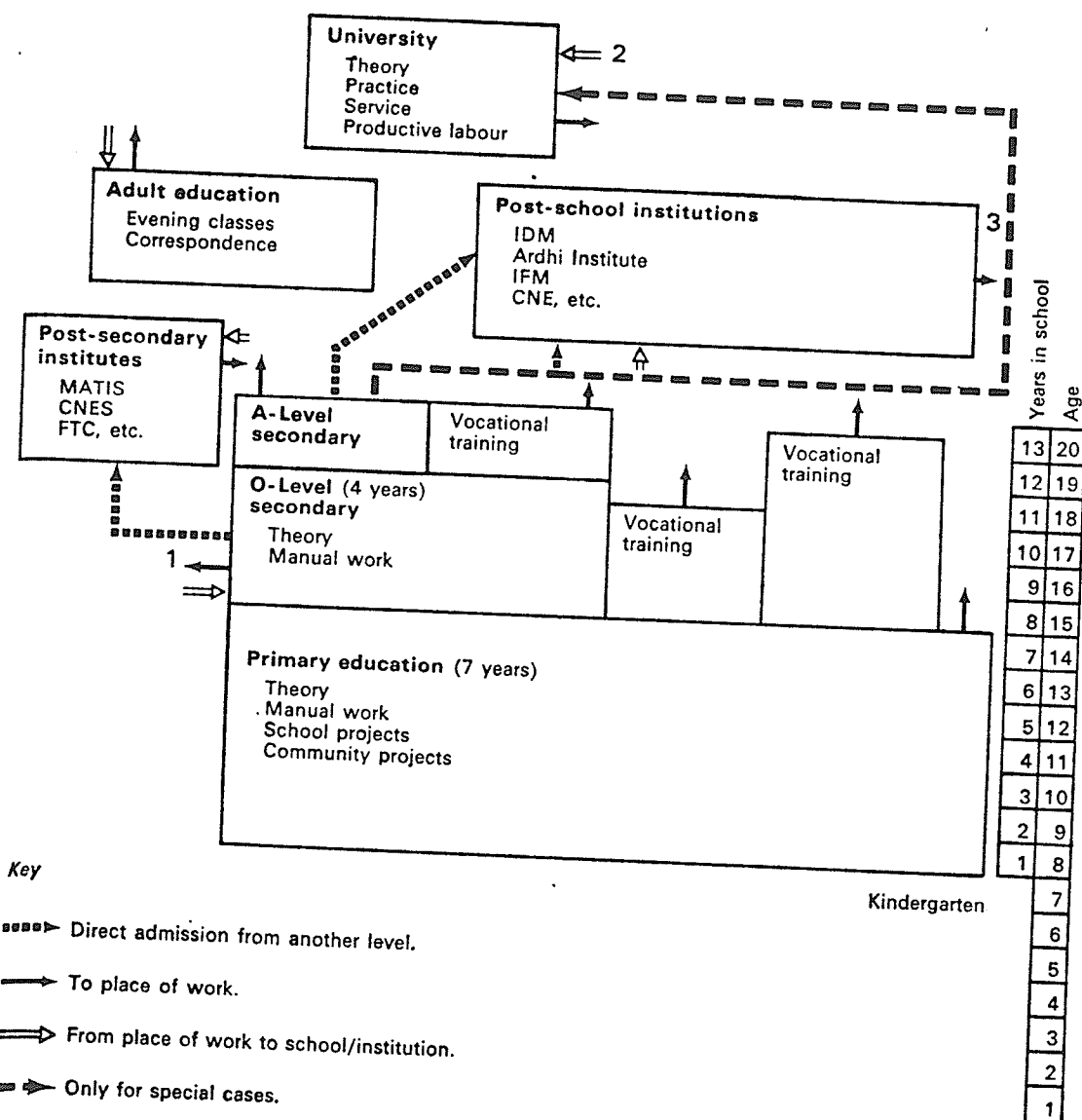
In this diagram, it should be noted that, since 1967, children enter primary school at the age of 7 or 8 as a response to the ESR policy. The rationale in Nyerere's mind, is that, after primary school, the leaver will be old enough to help with work in the village farm, carpentry shop, etcetera. While in school, the child participates in all sorts of activities related to school and work.

At the end of seven years of primary education, for example, at the age of 14, a child has these choices* : to work, to follow a long vocational training programme; or to go to a secondary school. Each of these routes offers an opportunity to return to school but in different ways.

Students who complete the first cycle of secondary education are 18 years of age. They can proceed to a special

* These choices depend on whether the child has been selected to further his/her studies or not. Thus, it is hard to agree that these choices are freely or democratically made by the students.

Attempts to link school with work: the Tanzanian experience



Notes

1. In some private schools only.
2. Majority will follow this method, since July 1975.
3. Last group was enrolled in July 1974 but women and special science/engineers will still enter by this route.

FIG. 3. Linking school with work in the United Republic of Tanzania. (From: G. Mmari, *Directive on Implementation of Education for Self-reliance: Work as Part of Study in all Schools*, p. 20, May 1975.)

vocational-training institution; to a secondary school for another two years; to the professional training institution or they can go directly into the work force.

At the end of the second cycle of secondary education, a student is about 20 years old, and he must now work for three years, one of which is spent in the national service, before proceeding to university.

In summary, this section has shown how Nyerere has attempted to co-ordinate ESR and rural development in order to translate the nation's political and educational philosophy into reality. In the next section, several studies evaluating ESR and rural development in Tanzania will be discussed to show how Nyerere's implementation of ESR has failed.

FAILURES OF ESR IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT

a) Ujamaa Villages

Several authors have put forward different reasons for the failure of ESR to Ujamaa villages or rural development. Among the recurring reasons on the successes and failures of ESR's implementation are the following.

Motivation was probably the most central problem in the creation of Ujamaa villages. Previously, the author pointed out that the type of high level interaction and exchange of experience that goes on in the Ujamaa villages, was expected to be educational. Accordingly, the manner in which, for example, an Ujamaa village was to be initiated was extremely important. Nyerere, who stresses man's freedom as an essen-

tial part of his well-being, must have also recognized or should have recognized the importance of man's motivation in relation to development, co-operation, and harmony. This means that in a situation where peasants were expected to democratically live and work together, it implied that such people understood reasonably well the Ujamaa ideology, and the policies upon which it was based. Nyerere had categorically stated that 'no force' was to be used, neither were any reluctant individuals to be goaded into joining Ujamaa villages. In her assessment of "Segera: A Village Started with Force" Michaela Von Freynold, (1979:120) remarked that:

The opinion of the staff on the use of force differed. TANU and Maendeleo Staff regarded the use of force as regrettable since one could not make people understand the purpose of Ujamaa that way nor commit them to it. The various executive officers, however, argued that without force there would not have been an Ujamaa village at Segera.

Although, the TANU leaders have succeeded to create some villages using force, but some comparative studies of Ujamaa villages indicate that those villages which were voluntarily created became prosperous in terms of steady growth toward socialism and self-reliance. A concrete example of prosperous village is the Upper Kitete village described by Johnson (1979). In contrast, where voluntary means were not used, there was extreme difficulty in promoting co-operation. As Cliffe (1975:375) comments:

After nearly four years the villages remain dependent on government assistance and have made little progress towards social or economic viability.

In 'Freedom and Development', Nyerere stressed that the villagers had the final decision-making power in matters that affected their villages. In theory, it was up to the villagers to ask for whatever assistance and advice they considered useful. In practice, however, the government officials offered to the villagers whatever they and the agronomic experts considered to be useful and feasible, and the Ujamaa villagers generally endorsed such proposals, as their own, thinking that any assistance was better than none and wanting to remain on good terms with the donors. According to Freyhold (1979:120):

The disparity between official ideology and practice was echoed by the administrators themselves who would say that all planning and demand for aid had to come from the peasants themselves and then add within a few minutes that the peasants were incapable of planning and needed someone to make the choices for them.

In addition to the above observation, another aspect of failure occurred through the Ujamaa village's socio-political organization. At the meetings through which educational strategy is carried out, the political leaders attempted to convince the peasants of the benefits of living and working together by merely repeating what the President said or what was written in the books on Ujamaa and self-reliance policies. Using the liberationist terms, one can say that the colonial or banking type of communication between the peasants and the political leaders was clearly evident. This situation implies that, peasants are ignorant about the things the leaders talk about and must listen in silence and passively absorb what

comes from the leaders or experts. As Nyerere (1971:6) himself points out:

The truth is that despite our official policies and despite our democratic institutions, some leaders still do not listen to the people. They find it much easier to tell people what to do. Meetings are too often monologues, without much, if any, time being devoted to discussion; even then the speech is usually an exhortation to work hard rather than an explanation of how to do things better.

The deadlock arising from the conflict between Nyerere's ideology of the socialist villages and the actual practice, has made Tanzania's drive towards socialism something of an utopian dream. New imaginative insight is required to reverse the prevailing bleak situation.

b) Ujamaa Village Schools

It has been argued by some observers of the Tanzanian educational scene that despite "all the organizational changes and reorientation of curriculum in the wake of ESR, that in practice, education in Tanzania is still elitist and bourgeois in its philosophy" * (Okoko, 1978:107). The primary school leavers are in a class of their own; so are the

* By way of elaboration, Ndonde (1976:22) further contends that the elitist education of the Tanzanian educators, their job training and their bourgeois notions about their role in developing the 'traditional' peasant, furthers the inherent contempt and mistrust for the same peasants. Their many years of Tanzanians vis-a-vis the peasants is analogous to that of the exploiter and the exploited, the oppressor and the oppressed. Given such social relations, he argues that, it is difficult for educators to use educational methods which will arouse the people's awareness and enable them to unleash their potential creativeness which is a pre-requisite for self-reliant development. Emile C. Ndonde, "Educational Methods for Self-Reliant Development," Majiji, No. 25 (January, 1976), 22.

secondary and technical school graduates, the University graduates, and other professionals. Of course, the illiterate farm peasantry form a class at the bottom of the line. Each of these classes commands a different level of public esteem and prestige in the community. Those with more education are held in higher esteem (Okoh, 1980:192). In an article on "Tanzanian Political Leadership", P. J. McGowan (1974:190) has observed that:

Under normal conditions, educational achievement is related to prestige or status....There are major difficulties in attempting to separate the status or prestige associated with either formal education or occupation....This is especially true of post-colonial societies....We believe that recruitment in Tanzania will continue to favor education or occupational prestige.

Apart from bestowing prestige or status, education in Tanzania is still very much tied to a salary structure (Feldman, 1975). Hence differences in monetary rewards have resulted in differences in life styles and standard of living. For example, Nyerere (Mbilinyi, 1974:178) argued that the Ujamaa young farmer did not require the same number of years of schooling as a doctor would. This approach, however, tends to make even worse the problem of the underlying mechanisms which are responsible for inequalities in income distribution. The major problem in educational practice as Nyerere himself had acknowledged, was how to prevent the system which will continue to offer places to less than all the school age children in the country from perpetuating an elite society in which the rewards go to those who have been fortunate enough and academically clever enough to go through primary

school and secondary school (Nyerere, 1967:54-6).

In practice there continues to be inequality in access to education in Tanzania. According to Joel Smoff (1979:47):

At least since the beginning of this century, access to education has been the proximate determinant of class differentiation in Tanzania and in much of Africa. Despite several initiatives to overcome this legacy of European rule, perhaps more sharply focused in Tanzania than in many other African countries, education and class situation continue to be firmly linked.

M. Mbilinyi (1976:130) agrees with the above opinion in stressing that "access to the schooling system has not been equal in Tanzania at any level. The children of the educated stratum continue to have overwhelming advantages over the poor and the peasants (Mbilinyi, 1976; 1974:5-28). The system of selection for higher education entries is in conflict with the egalitarianism embodied in the spirit of ESR. Selecting only a few (most of them coming from parents of the higher SES) for higher education suggest elitism. Nyerere's doctrine that character, cooperativeness and a desire to serve are as relevant to a person's ability to benefit from society as his academic degrees, is slow to take root in Tanzania. This is all the more so on account of the continuing use of monetary reward as a major return for people's services. Perhaps the greatest challenge facing Ujamaa and Nyerere's egalitarian dream, is the awareness by many Tanzanian children and their parents of the disparity in rewards between those working in the land and those who have paid jobs. (Okoh, 1980:194). There will always remain the tension between the allocative and the egalitarian functions of education, so long as the

average Tanzanian parent believes that academic excellence marks out his child as deserving of a privileged status in society. Despite Nyerere's (Mbilinyi 1976) efforts "to alter the colonial definition of schooling shared by rich and poor workers and petty bourgeoisie the definition necessarily persists." In an opinion survey on the attitude of 1400 respondents (pupils, teachers, parents, politicians and educational administrators) about ESR, Lema (1972:27) concluded:

Still in the minds of most teachers, pupils, and parents, education is interpreted simply as an academic book learning. The importance of practical education in skills such as handicrafts, and of social education in human relations, patterns of behaviour, and other attitudes of life, is ignored. Success in academic education has been accepted and is projected as the highest goal a young person should strive for....It is no wonder then that almost everyone has come to regard academic studies as the most valuable prize in life..worth almost any sacrifice --while manual work is despised as an activity fit only for the illiterate and the school failure.

Indeed, the influx of children to towns from rural areas in search of the higher paying white-collar jobs, for example, bears witness to this prevailing conceptualization of education. It is understandable, then, that the parents who hold this valuation of education have been reported to be unhappy with self-reliant activities at school. The irrelevance of these activities has been investigated by many researchers (Besha, 1973: Lema, et al, 1977, Carthew, 1978) with respect to rural development. Among other things, these researchers found that:

- (1) In most cases, the self-reliance activities are undertaken mechanically. There is little attempt to teach the pupils the skills (even the most elementary) required in carrying them out. In other words, self-reliance activities--are divorced from academics, some call it theory work or classroom work (Besha, 1973:5-27)

- (2) In terms of the economic rationale of the ESR between 1970 and 1975, the schools were recovering only 3% of their recurrent expenditure instead of the target 25% of the current expenditure. This was attributed ...to teachers lack of knowledge in implementation and commitment (Lema, et al., 1977).
- (3) It was found that students' participation in school administration was generally satisfactory, but not in the planning of the self-reliant activities (Lema, et al. 1977).

The above findings reveal the reasons why most parents have been critical of the ESR policy. They believe that the cause of their children's weakness in academic education is due to excessive work on the school shamba (farm) or on self-reliant projects.

Our children don't study how to read and write nowadays. They only go to work on school farm. The farming business has become more important than writing and reading. After seven years* of primary school, children can't even write their names.

Appending ESR activities to the curricula is, ultimately, misguided. Nyerere (Carthew, 1978:262) has said in reference to this point:

A school should not become either a factory or a shamba. But working in a school factory or shamba should become a normal part of the process of learning and living. This is what we have not yet grasped.

In summary, it is very significant and revealing that the old attitudes which venerate academic education as a symbol of wealth and status are still held by a large number of school teachers and parents. Most of the studies evaluating ESR implementation concluded that the basic problem of implementation stemmed from misunderstanding about the fundamental, underlying principle of ESR. The overall result of this

* This was a parent's answer to one of the questions in Lema's (1977:33-5) study.

problem is that self-reliance activities do not fulfill the more basic purpose of the policy, which is to help the students learn and practice attitudes and skills which will be of use both to them and to society in the future.

From the above discussion, it can be suggested that the successful implementation of ESR to rural development will depend to a considerable degree on the successful reorientation of Tanzanian adults (including both teachers and Ujamaa village leaders). Muingira (1969) has suggested that teachers in Tanzania must be reoriented to understand that ESR is not simply a return to school farming, as often practised in the colonial era. Nyerere recognized that not all teachers have had retraining and re-orientation, nor have all the essential curricular changes been made. Consequently, ten years after the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere (1977:2) declared:

Tanzania is certainly neither socialist, nor self-reliant...Our democracy is imperfect. A life of poverty is still the experience of the majority of citizens. Too many of our people still suffer from the indignities of preventive disease and ignorance.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter was to answer the research question 3 of sub-set II. In the Table 7, the observed operational successes and failures of ESR implementation to rural development are presented.

In order to apply his educational goals to rural development, Nyerere decided to create Ujamaa villages to bring

together segments of a broadly scattered rural population. In this way, there would be a more judicious use of educational and health facilities and resources such as clean water, food, better home and educational opportunities. Actually, about 40 percent of those villages have clean tap water; 35 percent have a dispensary, 74 percent of them have their own shop and universal primary education exists (Nyerere, 1980:11).

The formal political and social organization of the Ujamaa villages aimed to involve the masses in decision-making in order to facilitate the execution of the ESR's goals. In addition to this organization, education (both non-formal and formal) was stressed for both the young and the adult in Ujamaa villages. Some of the important considerations relevant to the linkage between the school and Ujamaa life were: the need to change school terms and school timetables in order to make full use of the agricultural year/seasons for Ujamaa development; - raising the age of school entry from 5 years to 7 or 8 years; and the integration of the schools/colleges with the Ujamaa life.

However, in discussing ESR's implementation to rural development and its failures, the findings of various investigators revealed that in practice, Nyerere's theory of ESR with respect to its views of man and education, thus, suffers from a measure of inconsistency. First, those Ujamaa villages created without using voluntary means still have extreme difficulty in promoting co-operation. Secondly, government officials still considering the Ujamaa villagers as incapable

TABLE 7

Presentation of the observed operational successes and failures related to the educational strategies of Nyerere's implementation of ESR goals to rural development.

Strategies	Successes	Failures
Vehicle for implementing ESR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Creation of cooperative villages to bring together segments of scattered rural population -Use of Swahili as a national language 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Lack of mass understanding and motivation in the creation of Ujamaa villages. -Use of force to create Ujamaa villages.
Mass education vs elitist education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Strong emphasis on adult education through various means. -Universal primary education for children 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Education still elitist and bourgeois-related to prestige and status and tied to salary structure -Inequality in access to secondary and higher education: the children of the educated stratum continue to have overwhelming advantages over the poor and the peasants.
Mass involvement in Ujamaa development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Through formal social and political organization of Ujamaa village administration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Government officials still consider the peasants as incapable of planning and decision-making. They still make choices for them. They still use the banking type of communication with the peasants. -Lack of students' participation in the planning of the self-reliant activities
Integration of School curricula with Ujamaa life.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Integration of the schools/colleges with the community -Change of school terms and timetable to suit the agricultural year/seasons for rural development. -Raising the age of primary school entrance. -Restructuring of the curriculum. -Change the designation of schools from primary to basic. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -The irrelevance of the self-reliant activities (mechanically taken) in schools don't fulfill the more basic purpose of the ESR policy. -Teachers' lack of knowledge in implementation and commitment to ESR goals. -education still interpreted as an academic book learning versus a practical education.

of planning and making choices for themselves. For this reason, the banking type of communication between the peasants and the political leaders still is evident.

Thirdly, it has been argued by some observers that despite all the organizational changes and reorientation of curriculum, that in practice, education in Tanzania is still elitist and bourgeois in its practice. Those with more education are held in higher esteem. Education is still also tied to a salary structure. Hence, differences in monetary rewards have resulted in differences in life styles and standard of living.

Fourthly, there continues to be inequality in access to education in Tanzania. The children of the educated stratum continue to have overwhelming advantages over the poor and the peasants. Despite Nyerere's efforts to alter the colonial definition of schooling shared by rich and poor workers and petty bourgeoisie, the definition necessarily persists. Consequently, many parents are unhappy with self-reliant activities at school.

From the above observations, it can be suggested that the successful implementation of ESR to Ujamaa villages will depend to a considerable degree on the successful reorientation of Tanzanian adults (including teachers and Ujamaa village leaders). Additionally, new imaginative insight is required to reverse the prevailing bleak situation. As Cameron and Dodd (1976:228) pointed out, the battle is not only a social and political one but also a psychological one.

That is, the enemy of ESR's implementation is not merely a lack of enthusiasm, of which there is an abundance but, actually, the misinterpretation by local or regional implementers, of what ESR does in fact entail. The deadlock arising from the conflict between Nyerere's theory of ESR and the actual practice, has made Tanzania's drive towards self-reliance something of an utopian dream.

The major problem of this study as represented by the schematic in figure 1 and the research questions #1 and 2 of sub-set III required the comparison of Nyerere's ESR with the liberation perspective, both theoretically and operationally. This problem will be addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE LIBERATIONIST PERSPECTIVE

AND ESR:

Answer to Major Research Question.

The two research questions of Sub-set III (see Chapters I and III) were formulated to specify more clearly the major research question of this study. These two research questions are:

1. Theoretically, to what degree Nyerere's views of man and education conform to the liberationist perspective?
2. Operationally, to what degree has Nyerere's ESR been implemented according to the liberationist perspective?

In this chapter, the author presents the answer to these research questions in order to answer the major research question of the study.

Research Question III #1

On Views of Man

In the liberationist perspective, the observed assumptions about man emerged from the contrast between what is a man and what is an animal. Accordingly, four most pertinent characteristics were used to describe man's real nature:

(1) man as a conscious, unfinished animal, (2) man as a conscious and change agent, (3) man as a free being and (4) man as a cultural being. While, the liberationist view of man is termed in more abstract expressions, that of Nyerere is more concrete. Nyerere portrays man as the purpose of development

as well as the developer. By saying this, Nyerere is advocating that man's well being and man's hard work are the chief natural resources in social change. For this reason, Nyerere sees hard work as the key to self-reliant ideology of Ujamaa.

The words 'hard work' in Nyerere's ESR refer to the liberationist concept of 'praxis'. The concept implies that man is not only capable of giving meaning and constructing social reality but also through deepened understanding, he is also capable of transforming the created reality. He does this, because of his consciousness of his historical roots and his awareness of the possibilities open to him. As a conscious being and a change agent, man interacts with the world. He apprehends and transforms it through an intellectual effort and through praxis. In this critical transformation of the world and its biased reality, the goal of social change is the 'humanization' of the world. Nyerere calls this humanization, man's well-being.

Towards the act of humanization and man's well-being, the two views emphasize reflection and action as major expressions of man's consciousness or awareness of his authentic nature. Nyerere recognizes that reflection and action come from the process of thinking, deciding and acting. The radicalism between Nyerere's view of man and his educational philosophy which ties together this reflection - action process is more fully appreciated in what the liberationist writers, such as Freire (1970) called "humanism of man",

which is a desire to gain greater conscious control over one's environment. Accordingly, Rogers (1965:488), for example, wrote that self-actualization means movement in the direction of greater independence or self-responsibility...in the direction of increasing self-government, self-regulation, and autonomy, and away from heteronymous control, or control by external forces. Similarly, Fanon (1963:255) also stated that because man is a conscious cultural being, he must also be capable of changing reality to make it suit his nature instead of imitating blindly what others have invented.

Nyerere's desire to create ESR based on the Ujamaa-ism (African Socialism) rather than on colonial system of education and politics is the application of the liberationist view. In this sense, Nyerere combined the traditional Tanzanian principles of Ujamaa: equality, unity and co-operative sharing with the liberationist desire for self-reliant ideology.

Finally, both perspectives agree that the full understanding of man's nature cannot be arrived at without taking into account his structured consciousness. As abstract as this argument might appear, the liberationist perspective and Nyerere's ESR attempt to emphasize man's consciousness because it is this consciousness that guides man to give meaning to his life. This suggests that, since every man is a conscious being, every human being must be involved in the process of transforming his world. Thus, the two perspectives agree on their views of man's real nature.

On Views of Education

In both the liberationist perspective and Nyerere's ESR, education is believed to be a helpful instrument of a 'problematic reality'--it raises man's consciousness and helps man to liberate himself from misery, oppression and ignorance. This educational approach not only points at the changing character of man's world, but also acknowledges man's social, historical, cultural and political dimensions in the social change or development process (Carnoy, 1974:366; Dione, 1979:60; Weinstein, 1979:34).

With respect to its aims for social change, the liberationist perspective suggests three major goals of the new educational system. These goals are: (1) the transition from elitist education to mass education, (2) the linking of the school with life, and (3) the strengthening of cultural identity. In Nyerere's ESR, these goals related to the new political philosophy of Ujamaa. Only by following the liberationist goals of education could Nyerere achieve the three Ujamaa principles of equality, co-operative sharing and unity. Nyerere's desire to imitate the liberationist educational goals was based on his need to create an "egalitarian" nation. When referring to this question of an egalitarian society, some liberationist writers suggested that:

The new education should instead be designed to create or reinforce a 'nonhierarchical' society, in which property will not have rights over people, and in which, ideally, no person will have the rights of domination over another. This would not be an "egalitarian" society in the sense that everyone is the same: people would have different work, but that work would not give them authority over the lives of others. Work would be done for each other, out of common agreement

and understanding (Carnoy, 1974:366).

In discussing the importance of education in an egalitarian society, Nyerere (1974:4,6) holds that egalitarian attitudes of mind are conducive to the educational purpose because

...a liberated man will work with others to defeat these evils, and will again use whatever resources are [at] hand. These resources may be his own knowledge, the knowledge of others, the land, the water, or simply his own sweat.

...For man is a social animal. A man in isolation can be neither liberated nor educated....

For this reason, the first liberationist goal of education became important in Nyerere's ESR: educating the masses by bringing them together in Ujamaa villages.

In Tanzania, the colonial system of education which was based on selective approach tended to perpetuate the elite - mass gap. The success of ESR could be possible only after the "selective approach" had been replaced by the "mass approach". In the liberationist perspective, education of the mass promotes equality of opportunity for all.* The "mass approach" enables the students to discover by studying together that their differences are less consequential than their common membership in society (Abernathy and Coombe, 1965:287-302). Especially, because it provides its students with a common language, common skills, common attitudes, and

* It may be argued that equal access to education does not guarantee equality of opportunity since the school system is not a neutral institution but as Peters has pointed out "an equalitarian is not necessarily committed to any factual assertions about men but only to the determination to treat people the same..." See Ethics and Education Chapter IV.

therefore a common sense of national identity. Briefly, Brem-Beck (1966:233) has suggested that "education for all is more than a democratic aspiration."

The liberationist perspective advocates that in order for the education of the mass to be meaningful, learning has to be tied to the life process of the individual. In ESR, Nyerere attempted to make both learning and work (manual and intellectual) compulsory elements in Tanzanian education. The nature of work involved in ESR includes all agricultural and vocational activities which are essential to the socio-economic development of Tanzania. Within this framework, learning becomes a source of self-reliance and a tool for social change. The similarity between Nyerere's ESR and the liberationist perspective is that the latter observes that people are dehumanized because they lack a full awareness of their life activity. However, through ESR, Nyerere wanted Tanzanian people to become aware of their life activity. This life activity is signified through agricultural development.

By identifying agricultural activities as the means by which social change could be achieved, Nyerere's rationale for combining mental and manual labor is explained. Marx (1939:20), for example, stated that "the separation of manual and mental labor in the development of civilization permitted the separation of consciousness from life activity." In Nyerere's words, the separation of manual and mental labor was created by elitist ideas in the colonial system of education.

Consequently, his ESR, was directed both at the expansion of self-reliant attitudes which emphasized both mental and manual activities and at the ejection of the false consciousness created by the colonial educational system. In creating ESR, Nyerere's desire was to help Tanzanian people to see that part of their misery and ignorance was their own acceptance of "success" as it had been defined for them by the colonial past in relation to white collar jobs and formal education (Nyerere, 1967:11). Illich (1972:9), addressing this question, stressed the idea that "accumulation of knowledge for high personal consumption must be challenged...." Furthermore, without the ejection of intellectual arrogance, which leads to the negligence of manual work and agricultural activities in favor of the white collar jobs, social change in Tanzania would mean only that one oppressive faction would take the place of another.

In the liberationist perspective, the third major goal of the new educational system is the strengthening of the cultural identity. In other words, the liberationist writers meant that effective education should be based upon tradition as expressed in the system of social, political and economic organization of every society. Among the means of strengthening the cultural identity, local or national language, as a source of self-understanding, is one of the most important tools advocated. By looking at ESR, one finds a comprehensive network of policy tools reflecting every aspect of Tanzanian cultural identity. The changes used to implement

ESR and to strengthen Tanzanian cultural identity included in addition to the three principles of Ujamaa, a re-evaluation of the school curricula and a more intensive use of Kiswahili.

Tying the local language and learning to the life processes was meant to overcome what the liberationist writers called the separation of thought and action. This meant that the dialogue based on equality, co-operative sharing and unity of every day life between the educator and the educatee, the leader and the mass was to grow into a greater consciousness of the surrounding social reality. That theory and activity were to be brought together in social action. This theory would be a product of the reflection and action of everyone. This praxis would end the separation of thought and action that liberationist writers, such as Freire (1970:119-21), had argued was contributing to human inequalities and alienation.

In this section, the author has tried to show that theoretically Nyerere's views of man and education and the liberationist perspective on man and education are similar rather than dissimilar. In the next section Nyerere's implementation of ESR to the rural development is examined to see how successful this implementation has been carried out according to the liberationist perspective.

Research Question III #2

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LIBERATIONIST PERSPECTIVE AND
ESR IMPLEMENTATION TO THE RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

In the Chapters III and V, the writer observed that Tanzania is perhaps one of the few developing countries which has successfully been able to spell out its societal ideology, educational goals and national objectives for social change. These goals and objectives focus also on rural transformation. Nyerere (as the leader) has also reorganized the pattern of living in the rural areas and this process will continue for some time. Although, the creation of Ujamaa villages has succeeded, however, what was important was not the movement of the peasants to the new villages, but also the peasants' understanding and commitment to the Ujamaa and self-reliant ideology. This commitment became an important and a libertarian determinant of social, cultural, economic and political activities in searching for social change in the countryside where over 90% of the population live.

The successes of ESR in the rural development were observed in several areas (see Chapter V). In Ujamaa schools, emphasis are put on:

- more work on agriculture (self-reliant activities)
- change in school curriculum, school terms, school entry age, school timetables,
- the use of Suahili as the primary language of instruction.

With respect to the adult education, emphasis is put on the

broadly-based, labor-intensive development of agricultural sector through communal work. An attempt on leadership was also developing through use of committees, the cell system and on-the-job training in the politico-administrative organization of the Ujamaa villages. In the Chapter V, the author reported some successes of ESR implementation with respect to the clean tap water, shops, schools, and dispensaries in the Ujamaa villages.

In contrast to some successes of the ESR implementation to the rural development, its failure as mentioned in Chapter V suggested that the successful implementation of ESR in the light of the liberationist perspective will depend to a considerable degree on the successful reorientation of the adults (Ujamaa regional and district leaders and/or government officials as well as teachers) in Tanzania.

Banda (1978:177) has pointed out that the mechanical transfer of knowledge or information under the 'cover' of rural transformation was apparently known to be one of the major obstacles in the implementation of the ESR to rural development in Tanzania. The underlying assumption in the mechanical transfer of technical knowledge such as health education or agricultural techniques to the villagers and self-reliant activities in the schools is that, in simple terms, a peasant or a student is ignorant, ready to be filled with knowledge about his environment. Philosophically, the above practice refers to what the liberationist perspective called (in Freire's terms) the banking methods of education.

Svendsen and Teisen (1969:182) revealed that trainees

are trained how to deliver self-reliant skills and knowledge to the peasants or the school children in a mechanical process in which the latter are expected to passively accept what is given, a situation which prevents them from becoming 'subjects' of their own transformation. Contrary to this, the liberationist perspective advocated a "dialogical approach" from which both the educator and the educatee, and the leader or the experts and the villagers are involved in a "problem-posing" or "decision-making" type of education. Freire (1970:452-75) wrote, "Men begin thinking and acting according to the prescriptions they receive daily from the communications media rather than in response to their dialectical relationships with the world. ...They do not have to think about even the smallest things; there is always some manual which says what to do in situation 'a' or 'b'. ...People are dehumanized because of the lack of interrelationship between consciousness and practice."

Similar cases are found in the implementation of ESR in Tanzania. Nyerere (1971:6) himself recognized that

...despite our official policies and despite our democratic institutions, some leaders still do not listen to the people. They find it much easier to tell people what to do. Meetings are too often monologues without much, if any, time being devoted to discussion; even then the speech is usually an exhortation to work hard rather than an explanation of how to do things better.

The above observation shows that the concept of participatory democracy, which is an important aspect in ESR and in the liberationist perspective is not followed. Rather this con-

cept if applied should give the opportunity for the masses to determine their own affairs. The decision-making process carried out at the government centre, and implemented by the periphery is a colonial or a banking approach. This approach is incompatible with the socialist and liberationist democratic approach which provided the masses with political power to control their own development.

Equally important in the liberationist perspective is man's consciousness of his environment which the implementers of the ESR should recognize. The peasant and/or the learner lives with reality, he interacts with his physical and social environment. He acquires knowledge about things around him in real terms. This illustrates that the implementers of ESR cannot treat the peasants or the pupils as objects, subjects to be persuaded to the decisions from the top leadership. Therefore, ESR implementers must adopt a different method of working with the wajamaa^{*1}. They must establish a new type of communication; a reciprocal dialogue with the wajamaa. In this kind of communication mediated by knowledge about the environment, both the educator and the educatee or the leader and the villager will learn together.

Added to the above observations is the fact that the education system of Tanzania is still elitist in its philosophy (Okoko, 1978:107).^{*2} Several findings have been reviewed in this study to prove the existence of the old attitudes which venerated academic education as a symbol of wealth and

*1 Wajamaa are the inhabitants of Ujamaa villages.

*2 See Chapter V for further information.

status. Nyerere's own observation is important to this point

...I am becoming increasingly convinced that we in Tanzania either have not yet found the right educational policy or have not yet succeeded in implementing it...or some combination of these two alternatives (Nyerere, 1974).

Consequently, the author of the present study argued that as long as these kinds of attitudes continue to persist in Tanzania, it will be difficult to interpret the value of education in a liberationist perspective as called for in ESR.

Additionally, the ESR's policies that support competition, such as selectivity, strict control of higher - education entrees and courses, and insufficient opportunity for secondary education, mitigate against Nyerere's goal of building attitudes of equality which is also emphasized in the liberationist perspective. Speaking on the attitudes of equality, Kurtz (1972) observed that in general ESR's policies regarding economic efficiency have emphasized self-sufficiency for leadership and highly skilled manpower, pursuing one of Nyerere's aims for economic efficiency, but they failed to do much for the middle-level categories, for the education of the rural adult population and for primary school children in preparation for raising the standard of living. Even in this process of selection methods, people in privileged positions have always been favored. As such, school (mostly secondary and post-secondary education) in Tanzania is still a privilege of the minority elite rather than a right to everyone as it is proposed in ESR policy. Given this observation, the present author sees a danger of a strong class

formation in the future of the Tanzanian society. The reason is that, no one in the privileged position will ever accept his children to stop studying after the primary school and go to Ujamaa village for agricultural activities. This means that the rural children and the urban children of the lower class parents will always remain at the bottom of social structures of Tanzania for many generations while the privileged parents will always attempt to perpetuate their privileges through their children.

Nyerere's theory of education in relation to social equality, thus, suffers from a measure of inconsistency in the face of an educational system which is designed, no matter how unintentionally, to keep a large number of rural Tanzanians occupied with increasingly less rewarding patterns of life. In spite of his good intentions, Nyerere's ESR from the operational points of view, may inevitably remain elitist for many more years to come.

CHAPTER SUMMARY:

Answer to Major Research Question.

The major research question of this study is:

How does Nyerere's ESR conform to the Liberationist Perspective on views of man and education both theoretically and operationally.

Therefore, in this chapter the author has provided the answer to this question by first dealing with the research sub-questions #1 and 2 of sub-set III. While analyzed and described

independently of each other before the present chapter, the text of this chapter revealed that in theory the liberationist perspective and Nyerere's ESR were markedly similar. The similarities are found both in their views of man and educational goals. Contrary, in comparing the implementation of ESR to rural development in Tanzania, however, the implementers of ESR almost failed to fulfil the aims of ESR which link it to the liberationist perspective. Consequently, the relevance of ESR's aims for social change in Tanzania will be mostly significant with respect to the liberationist perspective in terms of its operational results rather than in terms of its philosophical policy.

TABLE 8

Comparison of the liberationist and Nyerere's Views of Man and Education

VIEWS	LIBERATIONIST PERSPECTIVE	NYERERE'S ESR	
		Theoretical	Operational
A. MAN (Observed assumptions about man)	1. <u>Conscious, Unfinished Animal:</u> Conscious of his historical roots and aware of the possibilities open to him.		
	2. <u>Conscious and Change Agent</u> Interacts with the world--apprehends and transforms it through an intellectual effort and praxis.	<u>A Developer and a Purpose of Development:</u> -He is aware of his manhood and has a power to use circumstances through the process of thinking, deciding and acting. -He is a hard worker and a self-reliant for his well-being.	While the leaders/teachers see themselves as the developers and the purpose of development, the peasants are considered as objects for development.
	3. <u>A Free Being:</u> He is a "Subject" rather than an 'object'--attains a real awareness of his own being and existence.	<u>A Free and Social Being</u> He freely develops his ability and contributes to human equality, unity and co-operative sharing.	-Although people live together in Ujamaa villages, but the principles of Ujamaa-ism and ESR are handicapped by the Ujamaa and ESR implementers.
	4. <u>A Cultural Being:</u> Capable to refuse to adapt to a dehumanized world and able to change it in order to suit it to his nature.	<u>A Cultural Being:</u> He is a self-determined person with his own traditions.	-Emphasis is being put on Ujamaa (family-hood) principles through Ujamaa villages.
B. EDUCATION (Observed ed. goals)	<u>A helpful instrument to raise man's consciousness: Its goals:</u>	<u>Education is an instrument for the liberation of man: Its goals:</u>	
	1. <u>Mass education versus elitist education:</u> a) to assist all men to interpret what social changes imply b) to increase people's responsibility and participation.	-Mass education will help Tanzanians to be self-reliant people.	-While primary school is universal, the secondary and higher education is for the minority. -While there is emphasis on functional education, for the majority, the higher education is still related to prestige and status.
	2. <u>Linking education to life:</u> to provide a permanent learning environment related to everyday problems of the learner. 3. <u>The strengthening of Cultural identity:</u> through the process of the cultural synthesis.	-Education must stress the rural development where the majority of the people live and emphasis must be placed on agriculture. -Education must stress the Ujamaa principles: equality, unity and co-operative sharings.	-While the school curriculum is linked to Ujamaa villages, the self-reliant activities are being taken mechanically. -While all the peasants live in Ujamaa villages the leaders and high educated have more prestige than the masses.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In the present chapter, the author presents (1) a summary of the study, (2) conclusion based on the findings, (3) implications for practice and (4) suggestions for further research.

SUMMARY

Study Purpose, Focus and Problem Statements.

Purpose. The primary purpose of this study was, first to examine some major aspects of Nyerere's ESR--theoretically, its views of man and education and operationally, its implementation to rural development; then, to compare the above aspects with the liberationist perspective on views of man and education.

Focus of the study. The focus of this study was based on the importance of planning education for social change. The line of reasoning that led to both the formulation of this study and the development of a research framework was based upon the consideration of the liberationist perspective on views of man and education for social change. The liberationist perspective which was based upon third world consciousness and praxis provided a research framework for the study of Nyerere's ESR. From this research framework, the following were identified as the major research variables for the purposes of this study.

View of man: The liberationist writers (Freire, 1970: 47,220) advocated that "every educational practice implies a concept of man and the world... [because] the obvious is not clearly understood...What the colonial system of education lacked was this comprehension view of man (Busia, 1969:96). Therefore, the liberationist writers offer an alternative view of man, not created by the interests of the industrial world, but emerging rather from the research in physical, cultural and philosophical anthropology during the last decades (Deblois, 1976:52). For the purposes of this study, the author attempted to discover the liberationist and Nyerere's alternative views of man with regards to its relation to education for social change by looking at the similarities and dissimilarities between the two perspectives.

View of education: The examination of the views of education in this study was investigated according to the liberationist goals for social change--raising man's consciousness and control over his environment in order to overcome poverty, ignorance, exploitation and dehumanization. Accordingly, three major educational goals were defined: (1) the transition from elitist education to mass education, (2) the linking of the school with life and (3) the strengthening of cultural identity. These were the major changes which were to take place in the new educational system designed to bring about social change. In both the liberationist and Nyerere's views of education, the educational goals for social change were examined under the above proposed major educational

goals or aims.

Rural development: Rural development in this study was defined as a matter of developing new attitudes and aptitudes indispensable for improving the quality of life of rural populations. Education was seen as the key instrument for developing these new attitudes and aptitudes. In the study of ESR's implementation to rural development, the emphasis was put on: a) a vehicle employed by Nyerere to implement ESR in order to reach all the rural masses, b) on ESR's service to both the illiterate and literate, the children and the adults in Ujamaa villages, c) the involvement of the Ujamaa masses in the development of their community and d) the integration of the school curricula with Ujamaa life.

Comparison: The comparison in this study consisted of the collection, analysis, description and comparison of the similarities and dissimilarities between the liberationist and Nyerere's views of man and education for social change, both theoretically and operationally.

The problem. The main research problem for this study was stated in question form as follows:

How does Nyerere's ESR conform to a liberationist perspective on views of man and education?

In order to answer the main research question, the following sub-sets of research questions were posed:

Sub-Set I.

1. What is the view of man in the liberationist perspective?

2. What is education and its goals for social change according to the liberationist perspective?

Sub-Set II.

1. What is Nyerere's view of man?
2. What is the meaning of education and its goals for social change in Nyerere's ESR?
3. In relation to his views of man and education, to what extent has Nyerere applied his educational goals to rural development for social change in Tanzania?

Sub-Set III.

1. Theoretically, to what degree Nyerere's views of man and education conform to the liberationist perspective?
2. Operationally, to what degree has Nyerere's ESR been implemented according to the liberationist perspective?

Sources of data

This study has relied heavily on library research. The written documents of various third world writers (Freire, Alves, Fanon, Memmi, etc) were the most pertinent sources for the formation of the liberationist perspective (see Chapter II). Nyerere's own writings and speeches helped to provide the information relevant to the analysis of ESR. Additionally, several other secondary sources evaluating the successes and failures of ESR implementation served to study ESR's implementation to rural development. However, given this wide range of sources, the investigation in this study attempted

to provide a balance between sources primarily theoretical in their perspective and sources which showed evidence of field-based or practical orientation.

In general, it was felt that the sources used in this study provided, to some extent, suitable information for the validity of the research of this study.

Summary of Research Findings with regards to Research Questions

Given the nature of the sub-sets of the research questions, this study suggested four major study tasks:

- 1) The description of the liberationist perspective on views of man and education for social change (see Chapter II);
- 2) The analysis of Nyerere's views of man and education (see Chapter IV);
- 3) The examination of ESR's implementation to rural development (see Chapter V) and;
- 4) The comparison of Nyerere's ESR with the liberationist perspective on views of man and education, both theoretically and operationally (see Chapter VI).

The following is a summary of the observations with regards to each research question.

Research question I #1. The liberationist literature reviewed in this study revealed four major assumptions about man: a) man as a conscious, unfinished animal, b) man as a

conscious and change agent, c) man as a free being and d) man as a cultural being. These human characteristics advocated by the liberationist writers emerged from the contrast between what is a man and what is an animal. Accordingly, man was recognized to be conscious of his historical roots. With this consciousness, man is capable of interacting with the world in order to bring about social change. Through this reflective characteristics--conscientization and praxis, man becomes a 'subject' rather than an 'object' of his environment. As a free being, he attains a real awareness of his own being and existence. Consequently, he transforms his environment in order to make it suit his nature. Here, then, lies man's need for education, for it helps him to consolidate his self-reflection and critical thought about his nature and society.

Research question I #2 and 3. The liberationist view of education indicated that education is a helpful instrument for man to assume an increasingly critical attitude toward the world and so to transform it. However, the liberationist writers indicated that an educational system to become a helpful instrument for social change it must fulfill three major educational goals: a) the transition from elitist education to mass education, b) the linking of the school or education with life and, c) the strengthening of cultural identity. Both youth and adults, men and women were required to be educated in the new educational system advocated by

the liberationist writers. For this reason, both formal and non-formal education were stressed as means of educating the masses. Only, when education fulfills the above goals that it becomes a valid instrument for social change. It becomes an instrument of conscientization and praxis.

Research question II #1. Nyerere's view of man was based on the principles of Ujamaa-ism and self-reliance. Nyerere viewed man and his hard work (through the process of thinking, deciding and acting) as the chief natural resources in social change or development. It is the above human reflective characteristics which give man a power to use circumstances that help man to bring social change. Through this conscious man's power, Nyerere also stressed the cultural social and freest characteristics of every man. Given that man is a cultural, social and free being, Nyerere, then, attempted to create a new Tanzanian society based on equality, unity and co-operative sharing.

Research question II #2. Nyerere viewed education as the means of giving substance to the political and social changes envisaged in Ujamaa and self-reliant principles. Only after the kind of the new Tanzanian society was defined that Nyerere designed the new educational system and its goals to serve his people. In order to realize the Ujamaa principles, it was observed that ESR's goals were similar to those stipulated by the liberationist perspective: a) the transition from an elitist education to mass education, b) the linking

of the school with life and, c) the strengthening of the cultural identity. Nyerere theoretically attempted to design such goals in order to bring, equality, respect of human dignity, sharing of the produced resources, and work by everyone and exploitation by none. From such belief, he called his educational theory: Education for Self-Reliance (ESR).

Research question II #3. In order to implement ESR to the rural areas, Nyerere created Ujamaa villages to bring together segments of a broadly scattered rural population, in order to bring about a more judicious use of educational and health facilities and resources such as clean water, food, better home and educational opportunities. Actually, about 40 percent of those villages have clean tap water, 35 percent have a dispensary, 74 percent of them have their own shop and universal primary education exists.

The formal political and social organization of the Ujamaa villages aimed to involve the masses in decision-making in order to facilitate the execution of the ESR's goals. Both formal and non-formal education were in some ways stressed for both the young and the adult through agricultural activities. The school was linked with the rural life through the change of the school terms and timetables, and raising of the age of the school entry.

However, in discussing the failures of the ESR's implementation to the rural areas most of the findings re-

vealed that, in practice Nyerere's theory of ESR with respect to its views of man and education, suffered from a measure of inconsistency. First, the Ujamaa villages created with force still have extreme difficulty in promoting cooperation and social change. Secondly, the ESR implementers still use the banking type of communication with the peasants and the students. Thirdly, education is still elitist and bourgeois, technocratic and bureaucratic. Fourthly, there continues to be inequality in access to secondary and higher education. Fifthly, there exists parental dissatisfaction with self-reliant activities at schools.

Research question III #1 and 2. In the Chapter VI, the author attempted to show that in theory, Nyerere's views of man and education with its goals for social change and the liberationist perspective on views of man and education were similar rather than dissimilar although they have been treated separately. On the other hand, in comparing the implementation of ESR to rural development in Tanzania, the ESR's implementers failed to a large degree to fulfill some of the most pertinent aims of Nyerere's educational theory which link it to the liberationist perspective.

CONCLUSIONS.

The conclusions are divided into two sections:

- (1) general conclusions regarding various aspects of this study and
- (2) conclusions with regards to the line of reason-

ing that resulted in both the formulation of this study and the development of the research framework of the study.

General Conclusions.

Limitations posed by the data. Several limitations posed by the data seemed to have had an effect upon this study. First, the study was based on the assumption that in addition to Nyerere's own writings and speeches, the secondary sources evaluating ESR's implementation in Tanzania were available to provide valid information with respect to the successes and failures of Nyerere's ESR theory. Such information was expected to be helpful in making a valid comparison between Nyerere's views of man and education for social change and the liberationist perspective on the same issues. However, this assumption was complicated by the fact that among the secondary sources used in this study, there were different views on the successes and failures of ESR's implementation. Therefore, any future replications of this study should possibly consider a field-study method based on interviews and systematic observations of the current implementation of ESR in Tanzania rather than on library research.

A second limitation was posed by the meager availability of the sources written by Tanzanians themselves. A balance between sources written by foreign observers and Tanzanians themselves could help the author to interpret the data related to ESR's implementation and theory.

Research questions. The use of research questions proved to be a convenient way to explore the similarities and dissimilarities between Nyerere's theory and its operation as well as its comparison with the liberationist perspective. The research questions of a comparative and/or an exploratory study as this one could prove useful for the purpose of further investigation.

The Study Purpose and the Line of Reasoning.

The line of reasoning that led to the formulation of this study implied certain expectations with respect to the relationships among the research variables (see the research framework Chapters I and III). First, this line of reasoning led to the expectation that some similarities existed between: (1) Nyerere's ESR theory and its implementation to rural development, (2) Nyerere's ESR theory and the liberationist perspective on views of man and education and, (3) Nyerere's implementation of ESR theory to the rural development and the liberationist perspective. This expectation led to the statement of the purpose of the study: the examination of some major aspects (views of man and education) of Nyerere's ESR and its implementation to rural development, in order to search how ESR conforms to a liberationist perspective on views of man and education for social change. Although, theoretically similarities existed between the liberationist perspective and ESR policy, the absence of strong relationships between the liberationist perspective

and ESR's implementation meant that very little could be concluded in terms of the successes of planning education for social change in Tanzania. Given such a conclusion, several implications for practice have to be suggested.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE

In this study, the implications for practice are presented in two sections: (1) the practical implications of the observed results of the study of ESR and (2) the practical implications for the speculations about the importance of planning education for social change in Africa in general.

Liberationist Perspective

The liberationist perspective was presented for the purposes of this study as a conceptual framework from which the educational systems of the African countries must develop to bring about social change and national development. The major observation which led to this argument was that the needs and the background factors, which gave rise to both the liberationist views of man and education and the African needs to plan education were very similar: a concern for creating the social, political and economic conditions to give every individual the best chance of developing his/her talents and personality to the fullest extent possible, so that he/she may be as good a human being and citizen as possible. In other words, the liberationist perspective

and the African independent governments were concerned with increasing man's autonomy and individual participation for his liberation from those forces that dehumanize him. Given the above concern, the liberationist perspective and its need for social change and development, required the assumptions about man's real nature and an educational system efficient to meet this nature. This kind of education was one which could be an instrument of conscientization and praxis. Therefore, the liberationist perspective on views of man and education considered in this study for social change revealed some further implications for ESR's practice.

Implications for the Implementation of ESR.

Several inferences can be made about Nyerere's ESR theory and its implementation to rural development. First, it is the intention of the author to stress that Nyerere is one of the few African leaders who has been able to spell out his country's political and educational ideology, goals and objectives that focus on rural transformation concomitant to the liberationist perspective. Nyerere has also successfully reorganized the pattern of living in Tanzanian rural areas and the process will continue for some time. For this reason, ESR was based on the needs and aspirations of the new Tanzanian ideology, goals and organization and, theorized about the means necessary to achieve these aims.

In ESR, Nyerere took the position that there should be a decisive relationship between the new socialist society

and the educational system. While rejecting the colonial educational policy which encouraged an attitude of inequality among men, Nyerere's ESR was designed to:

- a) induce the attitude of equality and cooperation with other men for their common welfare and the development of mankind;
- b) promote Tanzanian consciousness and strengthen African values, while reflecting the basic economic realities of Tanzania;
- c) create a new socialist man, who is liberated in mind, who submerges self in service to his nation and mankind, who is self-disciplined and who does not regard his education as a tool for the exploitation of others;
- d) encourage both intellectual and economic self-reliance.

Given the above aims for social change and considering some failures of ESR's implementation to rural development to achieve some of these aims, it implies that:

- 1) A theory of state determines the system of education. Nyerere has chosen a democratic, egalitarian way of life. Therefore, this choice requires less central control and autocracy. It requires the motivation and mobilization of the masses in a manner appropriate versus inappropriate to their committment.
- 2) To attempt to extinguish the resistance of elitism, bureaucracy and technocracy of the ESR's implementers, ESR must be viewed as an exchange of ideas among Ujamaa masses and leaders, teachers and students. Unless there is a team spirit developed among the Ujamaa teachers and students, Ujamaa population and leaders, ESR will always appear to be a poor

instrument for rural development.

3) In order to create the appropriate atmosphere for participative education (as opposed to indoctrination or banking) it is first of all necessary to remove institutional inflexibilities and rigid practices. The way to create and enrich meaningful school curricula in Tanzania can only be through social practice, involving progressive teachers, students, peasants and other progressive forces in its evaluation and redesign. In practice, however, it does seem that Nyerere and his party executives have not only sought to provide an established framework of educational values and ideals, but have set definite goals and indicated what ought to be and what ought not to be in the Tanzanian school curriculum.

4) The ESR's policies that support competition, such as selectivity, strict control of higher-education entrees and courses, and insufficient opportunity for secondary education, mitigate against Nyerere's goal of building attitudes of equality. Given that the people in privileged positions have always been favored, school in Tanzania (mostly secondary and higher education) will always remain a privilege of the minority elite rather than a right to everyone. For this reason, there is a danger of a strong class formation (similar to colonial period) in the future of the Tanzanian society, because no one in the privileged position will ever accept his children to go to Ujamaa village for agricultural activities after primary school.

5) The universal primary education as opposed to

universal secondary education is permissible if translated into skilled manpower for nation building service.

6) African traditional culture is important, but needs adaptation to the present milieu. In other words, it has to be streamlined to a modern milieu versus conservatism.

7) In the case of ESR's theory, its implementation to rural development has been obstructed by the implementers whose educational background has been found to be unsuitable for the kinds of objectives expected from the new educational system. Therefore, it is recommended that pre-service and in-service training of Ujamaa teachers and leaders receive careful attention for their role in implementing ESR.

8) Nyerere and his party executives have a great deal to learn from the liberationist perspective on views of man and education for social change, not only theoretically but to a great extent practically.

Conclusion. It would be a mistake, however, to draw a general conclusion from data used in this study about the successes and failures of ESR. It would seem that the implementation of ESR, if carried out carefully, can lead to greater successes for rural development. That is, the kind of project undertaken, the way it is chosen, administered and carried through are all absolutely vital if the spirit of the policy is to be fulfilled. Therefore, the revision of ESR (as Nyerere himself has required) in terms of its theory and practice must be made in order to implement the necessary

changes in Tanzania. The required revisions demand the sanction of a complete team of educators, economists, sociologists, political scientists, and anthropologists as well as all the masses involved.

Finally, Nyerere's ESR called for a revolution in education that would strongly impact upon Tanzania and carried strong implications for a similar effect throughout the African diaspora. Therefore, the study of Nyerere's ESR as an African model of planning education for social change implies some speculations about the importance of planning education in Africa in general.

Implications for the importance of Planning education for social change in Africa

The analysis of the relationships which exist between the liberationist perspective and Nyerere's ESR offered an opportunity to arrive at some tentative statements concerning the process of planning education for social change in Africa.

As the writer looks at education as a tool for social change there seems to be evidence that the liberationist approach, using education as a major social change agent should not be overlooked. It appears equally clear, however, that the issues identified in the liberationist perspective are issues which apparently must be addressed when education is being planned for social development in African countries. Nyerere either tacitly, intuitively or explicitly recognized those issues and dealt with them. The liberationist perspective

therefore, assumes an imperative character: it serves to provide a framework for critical reflection upon necessary issues. Some of these issues have been discussed already in dealing with Nyerere's ESR.

The first observation is that education must be for all. By providing educational opportunity for all the masses, the state guarantees its own political stability and the orderly economic progress of its citizens (Drucker's, 1961). Adam Curle (1963:2) has attributed the retardation of growth in the underdeveloped countries "to gross inequalities and social stratifications which bury talent and smother initiative", and has suggested that "education, if spread widely and without discrimination, is the greatest force in the world making for equality....In Africa, a school is a 'symbol of hope' whose effect upon the whole community should never be underestimated.

The second observation is that every aspect of educational system in Africa should involve a deliberate and conscious programme of making the pupil aware of his environmental needs. Such a consciousness will widen the basis of study, will reveal the practical values of virtues, habits, and ideals, and by stimulating the interests of pupils in real experiences round them will help consciously dispose them to perceive their own reactions to life (Emeruwa, 1973:185). In other terms, every aspect of the school curriculum should be made to contribute to the pupil's respect and interest in his environment. His readings should aim at increasing his

appreciation of the worth and beauty of his culture; his arithmetic should emphasize transactions in the local economy. By thus, bringing the actual problems of community life - the farm or business, the market, the home - into the classroom, the curriculum is made relevant to the pupil and sets him thinking about his local problems. By extending the activities of the school into the community and homes of the pupils, education is made a real and living instrument for the transformation of the community.

Coombs posed the question basic to this study, of the role of non-formal education, and espoused rural development goals similar to those advocated by both the liberationist perspective and Nyerere. Thus, Coombs (1973:13-7) suggested four general areas of educational needs for rural development: general or basic education, family improvement education; community improvement education and occupational education. As Green (1967:56-7) also pointed out, non formal education in Africa should promote skills related to decentralization, participation and self-reliance. For this reason, Green added that such education could involve a struggle for liberation, equity, and justice.

Thirdly, education in Africa should develop the pupils' work habits in order to fulfill its function of restoring pupils' self-confidence.

Fourth, it is obvious that the multiplicity of the languages places a burden on educational development in Africa. The absence of a common national language naturally

acts as a brake of effective communication with diverse social groupings. Planners then face the problems of structuring their schools as an effective medium for the development of a common national language, a problem compounded by the fact that there is little reliable research in vital areas like the limitations in conceptualization and retardation in academic achievement engendered by education in a second language.

In conclusion, it may be said that a careful and comprehensive analysis of both the liberationist perspective and ESR would help the African educational planners and administrators to look considerably to the above observations and/or speculations about the importance of planning education for social change in Africa.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As a result of this study, the author suggests that the following research might be appropriate.

- 1) A study of the relationship between ESR's goals and national development.
- 2) A study examining the attitudes of Tanzanian citizens towards ESR's implementation.
- 3) A study of the level, advantages and disadvantages of citizen participation in the educational planning process.
- 4) A study of rural-urban migration and the effect on ESR's successes.
- 5) A study of how far indoctrination or persuasion

can be advanced and still accommodated and desire critical thinking.

6) A study of socio-economic backgrounds of the Tanzanian university students.

7) A comparative study of the educational development in Tanzania and another African country.

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APPENDIX



THE HIGH COMMISSION OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

EL. 232-1500/1509

50 RANGE ROAD
OTTAWA, ONTARIO - K1N 8J4
CANADA

ABLE: TANZANREP OTTAWA

EF. No. TZO/E.70/6

May 6th 19 81

Mr. Kabule Wetu Weva
University of Manitoba
Dept. of Ed. Administration
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2.

Dear Mr. Weva,

We acknowledge receipt of your letter dated April 14, 1981, regarding President Nyerere's writings.

Unfortunately for us at our Mission, there is very little we can offer by way of material relevant to the kind of theme you have for your research. Because of the distance between here and Tanzania, and the existence of unreliable means of transportation, it is difficult for us to obtain all the books and pamphlets that we would like to have here in our small library from Tanzania.

However, you will find herewith attached a photostat copy of President Nyerere's speech which he made on 20th May, 1974, on the theme Education Must Liberate Man.

We hope it is relevant to your research.

Yours faithfully,

A. M. Hokororo
for the High Commissioner

Encl.

Winnipeg , April 14, 1981

TANZANIA HIGH COMMISSION

50 Range Road

Ottawa, Ontario

Canada K1N 8J4

Dear Sir,

The President Nyerere has guided the destiny of Africa. Teacher, philosopher, statesman, President Nyerere has become one of the most respected and influential figures in both the Third World and Africa for his moderation, moral standing and the creativity of his work. His need for a new approach to education and development in Africa has attracted the attention of many educational planners of the developing countries.

Given this importance, I am conducting a systematic study of Education for Self-Reliance employed by the Tanzanian Government under the faithful work and leadership of the President Nyerere in partial fulfillment of the requirements of a Degree of Master of Education from the University of Manitoba . In order to gather the required informations, I have been trying to collect and analyze all the recent and personal speeches, writings or government documents, etc., of the President Nyerere, as related to his philosophy and/or teaching of Education for Self-Reliance. Should you have these informations, please feel free to send them to me.

I appreciate the time factor involved in gathering these informations, but without your help in this respect, I would be unable to complete the study successfully.

Thanking you in anticipation, I remain
yours sincerely,

Kabule Wetu Weva
The University of Manitoba
Dept. of Educ. Administration
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2

