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EDUCATING CITIZENS FOR TANZANIA

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For more than a century Africans living in what is now Tanzania have been exposed--increasingly as the years have passed--to the values, customs, and scientific knowledge of the Western and, to a lesser extent, Eastern worlds. Of the many channels of transmission, certainly one of the most important has been the growing network of institutions imparting formal, predominately literary education to children. Introduced by Christian missionaries and later supported and regulated by colonial governments, schools and colleges based largely on European models have gradually displaced tribal, clan, and even family educational systems as the chief means of preparing a sizeable proportion of the youth of the country for adulthood. When independence came, the TANU government found itself on the horns of a dilemma: it became responsible for a system of formal education that was playing an important role in the socialization of the young and, indeed, had been an important factor in the growth of nationalism, but which was ill-adapted--despite a few well-intentioned experimental innovations by the colonial government--to the processes of economic development, social change, and political mobilization and integration.

Time does not permit an analysis of the interplay of historical factors from which the dilemma arose; that task will be undertaken in a thesis devoted to an examination of mainland Tanzania's attempts to transform institutional structures for the education of children from a colonial orientation to one more relevant to the needs of nation-building. The more limited purpose of this paper is to discuss the role of one component of the educational and socialization system, formal primary and secondary education, in producing future generations of citizens. The comments are tentative and based on impressions rather than systematic analysis of the data that have been collected for the larger study.

Before proceeding to a discussion of the central theme, it should be noted that some of the more obvious deficiencies of colonial formal education have been tackled over the course of the last few years. Soon after the victory of TANU in the elections of 1957 and 1958, expatriate administrators--driven by the demands of African nationalists, pressures from abroad, and the realization that independence would not be long delayed--paved the way for sweeping changes. From their endeavours emerged programmes, designed in part through consultation with future leaders of the country, to unify four educational systems divided by race and several sub-systems split by religion, to create a single non-discriminatory teaching service, to expand secondary and higher education in order to satisfy the demand for high-level African manpower to fill the growing number of government jobs, and to center the curriculum on the study of Tanzania and Africa rather than on that of Britain and the Commonwealth. Much progress has been made on all these fronts in the past five years, during which the Government has taken further important steps such as the abolition of secondary school fees to enable the most capable students to proceed through their education towards the pool of skilled manpower required for development purposes. Meanwhile administrative measures devolved more responsibility for primary level education upon local authorities, placed Africans in the headships of most post-primary institutions, and created a Ministry of Education organized centrally on functional lines, equipped with a Planning Section, and staffed both at headquarters and in the field by a preponderance of citizens.

The record of achievement has been impressive in many areas, but is formal education performing functionally towards the fulfillment of goals and aspirations prescribed for the nation by the President and other national leaders? Two political crises of 1966, both generated by forces that lie partly outside the schools and colleges, have exposed the educational system to the criticism that it is failing to produce citizens with the attitudes and skills needed for development at economic, social and political levels. The first sprang from mass discontent about the failure to obtain either places for further education or paid employment of a much larger group of primary school leavers than ever before; the second from the demonstration by students of post-secondary institutions against the terms under which they were to be inducted into the National Service and from the ultimatum of their leaders threatening passive resistance if their own terms were not accepted. These overt manifestations of tension within the political system were symptoms of a malaise found in many developing areas and which elsewhere has led to much more violent upheavals within the social order.

In the industrialized countries of Europe and America, formal education, although undoubtedly acting as a catalyst for innovation, spread with, and in some cases followed, economic development; in Tanzania, as throughout most of the Afro-Asian world, education has preceded, and is being consciously used to stimulate, socio-economic change. In the early colonial days school attendance and success in examinations enabled an individual to raise the standard of living of his extended family and to escape himself from the poverty of subsistence agriculture to the amenities provided by a clerical or teaching post. However, as the facilities for full primary level education grew in the last years of imperial rule and during the era of independence, there was neither a proportionate expansion of economic opportunities outside the agricultural sector nor a coherent workable programme to make schools relevant for the rural environment. Meanwhile, with the arrival of uhuru and the development of projects to stimulate economic growth, the chances for a select minority of individuals to advance themselves grew markedly. Formal education, while reaching only approximately fifty per cent of the school age population, was alienating an increasingly large minority of children from undertaking agricultural activities, yet only giving to a few opportunities that would lead to jobs paying salaries between twenty and forty times the per capita income of the country.

At the heart of this problem lies an intense conflict of aims: the nation's leaders desire to create at one and the same time the conditions necessary for an egalitarian socialist society and a rapidly developing economy. The latter goal, because it cannot be achieved at a uniform rate throughout all economic sectors and geographical regions, accentuates inequalities in its furtherance. If it could be attained under tight state control, it could lead eventually to a general levelling in an upward direction of material standards, but in Tanzania the state has not, at least at present, the resources at its command to proceed single-handedly. The only alternative to the present type of development programme would be abandonment of a strategy for growth in favour of a policy of relative economic stagnation accompanied by a drastic levelling down of standards towards the lowest common denominator.

The educational system, which has tended to exacerbate the conflict between these goals, is one tool the government has at its disposal to lessen the tension and to effect a partial reconciliation of them. Through actions and statements, national leaders have demonstrated that they wish to bring about among children and parents a closer approximation between their expectations from education and the opportunities the economic realities of the country can provide. They have also shown that they wish to inculcate in young people, especially those who are fortunate enough to obtain a formal education beyond the primary level, attitudes of responsibility towards, identification with, and commitment to the nation. The studies of the role of East African primary and secondary schools in the process of political socialization by Prewitt, Von der Muhll, and Koff should render data on the extent to which these attitudes already exist; but the cruder index of events suggests that there is much left to be done. Manpower planning is crucial to a developing country through its attempt to make the most efficient use of scarce human and financial resources, but it serves only to train and allocate bodies, not to develop minds. Let us look now at the formal educational system to see where it is failing and what it could accomplish towards producing citizens for the type of social order Tanzania is trying to create.

One of the gloomiest factors that must be examined is the inegalitarian nature of education, particularly distressing because there is no prospect of changing it until that far-off date when the economy will be able to sustain growth sufficient to provide an educational system for all. By that time it may be too late to break down a class system whose origins will have come from educational privilege.

Inequality of opportunity exists at the very base of the system, the Standard I level. Although the exact proportion of school age children entering the first class will not be known until the forthcoming census is taken, it may well be less than the government estimate of fifty to fifty-five per cent. The means of selection vary from area to area, but for the most part entry into a stream of forty-five is given by teachers--assisted by representatives of parents--on a first-come, first-served basis to children ranging in age from nine down to seven. In Kilimanjaro, where pressure is intense despite a higher proportion of available places than elsewhere, many children go first to kindergartens staffed by voluntary untrained teachers and are required to take a simple oral test based on knowledge and numeracy to gain admittance. Basically, entry is determined by luck or parents' ingenuity.

Limited economic and technical resources and more pressing priorities decree that rapid expansion cannot ensue without placing a drastic strain on the system that could well lead to a drop in standards so great that the educational process would collapse. Given the political pressure from parents disgruntled by lack of opportunities and others understandably resentful of the exclusive nature of education, it is remarkable that the government has been able to stem the growth of schools, most notably since the Five Year Plan was inaugurated in 1964. Apart from a few new grant-aided streams sanctioned each year to enable the proportion of children in schools to remain roughly constant as population grows, no local authority, voluntary agency, or community is allowed to

start a class unless it can guarantee the payment of recurrent costs indefinitely.

Thus, this basic inequality will remain a feature of the system for a long time, and nothing much can be done to alleviate it. However, the government is working slowly towards the provision of a full seven year course for all who are fortunate enough to enter Standard I. Examinations of dubious validity written in the fourth year of school, sent home seventy-nine per cent of children in 1961 and approximately only fifty per cent in 1965. This process means, nevertheless, that a growing number of children are competing for secondary school places, which in turn must remain limited if there is not to be a wastage of scarce resources and the creation of yet another social problem with respect to Form IV leavers.

The primary school has become the scene of intense competition, which is antagonistic to the formation of an attitude of social responsibility, so important to the inculcation of other values national leaders wish to instill in the young. Fortunately there are solutions to this problem other than breaking the bottle-neck at FormI. Obviously one approach lies in the production of a curriculum that is more closely identified with the needs of the country. During the colonial era, missionaries and officials made several attempts to move away from a theoretical 'bookish' course of study to one they perceived as being more relevant for the African setting. Both early efforts to adapt Western schools to traditional forms of education and later ones to create syllabuses with vocational biases failed, partly because they were based on mistaken premises or faulty organization and partly because they were viewed as cheap tricks to relegate the African to an inferior status and to withhold from him the things the European enjoyed.

When independence came, the TANU government, possessing a legitimacy its predecessor had never won, could have taken steps to remould the curriculum away from its 'white-collar job' orientation. However, the party, which had already succeeded in pressuring the colonial Department of Education to remove the stress laid upon agriculture and handwork in African primary schools and which was committed to giving Africans privileges and amenities long denied them, was hardly in a position to follow such a course of action. Although syllabuses were Africanized (in content if not fully in perspective) in 1963, an important step in fostering identification with the nation and in removing an inferiority complex among future generations, it was not until 1966 that the school leavers crisis forced a re-evaluation of the role the primary school curriculum was playing in producing future citizens who would contribute to national development in all senses.

Subject sub-panels[2]--consisting of administrators, educationalists, and primary school teachers--were selected to review syllabuses, textbooks, and resource materials and to recommend changes in them. Their final reports have not yet been written, but it is clear from their preliminary work that one of the chief aims of the sub-panels is to develop the notion among children that a person's education or job does

2 These sub-panels are committees of the subject panels of the Institute of Education that have co-opted additional members who are especially concerned with primary school education.

not make him any better or worse than his fellow citizens. If preliminary recommendations are followed through, new courses in geography and civics will concentrate, among other things, on the problems of social and economic development and the important roles people in all walks of life have in solving them. History, instead of a narrative of facts and dates, will become an illustration through the lives of famous people of some of the attitudes and characteristics it is felt Tanzanians should possess. After changes are approved, the next step will be to produce texts and teachers' guides written from the Tanzanian point of view. Already, some encouragement has been given to teachers and others to submit manuscripts, but it will take a long time and a considerable financial investment before really suitable materials become available.

During the time these initial steps have been taken to remould the curriculum, politicians and educationalists alike have been clamouring for a re-introduction of agricultural instruction in primary schools. In July, the Minister for Education, in a letter addressed to all teachers, noted that ninety-six per cent of children who enter Standard I finish their formal education after completing all or part of the primary school course. Since most of these young people will have to live and work in rural areas, the primary schools must play a major role in preparing them to accept farming as their eventual career. Immediately thereafter, the Primary Schools Panel of the Institute of Education met to consider the implications of the Minister's pronouncement. The members decided that the entire curriculum from Mathematics through to Swahili and English must be utilized "...to motivate pupils to a healthy attitude towards the land as a livelihood"; they agreed that the content of agricultural theory in the general science course would be increased and that practical farming would be brought back into the timetable.[3]

Many people--as will be shown when responses from a sample of teachers and others involved in education are tabulated--regard the re-introduction of agriculture as a panacea for the school leavers problem. However, a child between the age of ten and fifteen, physically and psychologically immature and equipped with only rudimentary concepts of good agricultural techniques, cannot acquire land for himself let alone clear it for cultivation if it did become available. Nor can he be expected through his own unaccompanied efforts to influence his older relatives to change their habits in relation to cultivation or animal husbandry. Moreover, a forthcoming study will show that there is little positive correlation between formal education, even when it has involved a significant agricultural content, and farming methods.[4]

Fortunately, the people involved in planning the changes are under no illusions about the severe limitations they must face. Their main aim is to raise the status of agriculture as an occupation in order to induce as many children as possible to accept willingly the fact that they have no viable alternative. The planners realize that it is neither desirable nor possible for primary schools to

3 The Institute of Education, "The Re-introduction of Agriculture in the Primary School Curriculum", mimeographed, 1966.

4 This conclusion, a preliminary one, has been reached by J.D. Heijnen who has been doing research on the relationship between education and agriculture in Mwanza Region.

train farmers as such; they know that the drudgery of the heavy agriculture syllabus of the 1950's succeeded more in alienating young people from the land than in attracting them to it. There will be difficulties in acquiring land for schools, devising for them several practical courses suitable to local conditions, and above all providing them with teachers who have both technical expertise and sensitivity towards children. Because of these obstacles, the programme will be introduced slowly in stages, beginning in 1967 with two pilot projects in each region.

Still, the whole exercise will be futile unless the revolution in agriculture is accelerated to the level at which children can really believe that farming, on a collective or individual basis, is as satisfying in its social and economic rewards as life and work in the towns. There is little room for optimism on this point, apart from the negative aspect that numbers of school leavers are growing so rapidly that perhaps people will begin to realize that poverty on the shamba is better than unemployment in an urban slum. In the short-run, if the schools programme is not to collapse, the crucial work of the government and other interested parties lies in extensive follow-up activities for children from the time they finish school until they reach maturity. Already the Ministry of Agriculture is drawing up tentative plans to increase the number of extension workers so that some can be deployed in working among school leavers and their families. Meanwhile, there is a need to establish, perhaps within the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture, a bureau responsible for coordinating and assisting a great range of agricultural and craft schemes that have sprung up through the initiative of local leaders, but which tend to die a quick death in the absence of technical and managerial expertise. Shortage of Tanzanian manpower will probably necessitate the use of foreign personnel, mostly volunteers paid by agencies abroad, for these schemes; if so, it would be wise to select only those people who have had at least a year's experience in teaching or government posts.

Another requirement for the success of curriculum developments, agricultural and general, in changing values and attitudes is good teaching. Although there are many exceptionally gifted people in the Tanzanian teaching profession, the majority of primary school teachers are rather limited in ability and intellectual experience. Most have had at best eight years primary school education and two years teacher training, during which they were govem a 'tramline' course outlining the material and methods they were to follow for each subject. In the classroom, their approach is teacher- rather than pupil-centred, making the learning process passive rather than active; moreover, in the final two years, they teach in a language that neither they nor the pupils have fully mastered. The result is that much of what reaches the child is disconnected and unrelated to his experience. The tendency to rely on rote learning is reenforced in the upper standards wherein teachers feel compelled to orient their approach to the General Entrance Examination because of several pressures placed upon them: the feeling that results are the only concrete means by which they can evaluate their progress;

the suspicion that promotions are partly dependent upon the number of children they can place in post-primary institutions; and the awareness that parents are solely interested in seeing their children advance to the next educational plateau.

Much has been written and said about the need for a revolution in teaching techniques in primary schools. The report of the Binns' Study Group of 1951 contains several suggestions to make the classroom experience more lively and relevant to the East African child, recommendations that were endorsed by the Cambridge Conference on African Education a year later.[5] Since that time, many teachers' colleges have been attempting to foster change, and, in the post-independence era, the government has taken the further step of phasing out the training of Standard VIII leavers. By the end of the current Five Year Plan, all future primary school teachers will be emerging after fourteen years of formal education from multi-streamed colleges staffed by highly qualified citizens and expatriates. Of course, a major problem confronting these colleges is how to design a curriculum and create an academic and social atmosphere that will lead not only to an improvement of teaching methods but also to an appreciation by their students of the role they can play in influencing the minds of future citizens in ways that will best serve the needs of the country. The task is a particularly difficult one because many teacher trainees are unwilling recruits to a profession that for them is the last resort if they are to obtain salaried jobs. Some of the steps, described below, that are being taken to re-shape attitudes in secondary schools are being extended to teachers' colleges, but more thought is required about the implications of these measures and about the introduction and implementation of new ones.

Even if the colleges realize a degree of success, the job of fomenting change when there are already thirteen thousand teachers in the field is formidable. Several young teachers report that once in the school environment they find it difficult to persuade their seniors of the worth of new methods; before long, many revert to teaching in the way they themselves were instructed at the primary level. Moreover, they face shortages of materials and teaching aids, and many of them have neither the initiative nor the desire to spend time or money on improving the situation.

There are, however, several factors at work to combat these difficulties; annually, hundreds of serving teachers are taking upgrading and refresher courses conducted by the Ministry and the Institute of Education, while thousands more are attending weekend seminars organized at the local level; the corps of Primary School Inspectors, whose main function is to offer teachers constructive advice rather than negative criticism, is expanding; and District Education Officers, through control of the education accounts of local authorities, are gradually raising the equipment level of schools. A further expedient to make the best use of new teachers would be to have them posted by Ministry and Voluntary Agency officials to schools either in groups or where the heads are known to be dynamic and willing to innovate. Such a procedure would undoubtedly

5 Both reports may be found in The Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, African Education, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1953.

foster the development of uneven standards in the short-run, but these are now found anyway. In the long-run, if there is to be an improvement in the educational system's standard of performance, the present vicious circle must be broken.

While better methods of stimulating the child to enjoy the experience of learning can contribute to an orientation away from viewing the primary school as little more than a means to secure further education, many people feel that a necessary step in the process is to diminish the importance of the General Entrance Examination in selection for Form I through greater reliance than at present on the testimonials of teachers. Unfortunately, limited experience with pre-selection has demonstrated that some teachers, succumbing to their own preferences and to pressures from parents, have falsified pupils' performance cards. If, on the one hand, it became generally known that children's cumulative records together with recommendations were to be the major determinants of further education, teachers--honest or not--would be exposed to criticisms from parents, attacks by local political leaders, and possibly social ostracization and physical assault. If, on the other, the lessened significance of the examination were not made known to pupils and parents, children would still regard their chief function as cramming for results. Thus, in the near future about the best solution that can be expected is the continuation of the present system of partial pre-selection followed by test papers for which the value of cramming is known to be limited. Perhaps later, if colleges and senior teachers can foster a greater attitude of responsibility within the teaching profession a more far-reaching change can be made. Of course, before that time arrives, the government and TANU will have to conduct an extensive propaganda campaign to impress upon parents that teachers are the legitimate authorities to pass judgment on the educational performance of children.

This last point brings us to a consideration of the need to re-educate parents about the aims of formal education. Professor E. B. Castle has written:

> African tribal education was essentially a preparation for life in the sense that school education today is no such preparation. This training took the form of the type of instruction we associate with apprenticeship--working with and watching the skilled elder. It was an exercise in participation in which the child's whole personality was engaged. It included not only simple manual skills but the inculcation of communal values and engagement in emotionally satisfying ritual activity, song, music, rhythm and dance....the old education is not viable today....The content of education has changed and must change. But the concept of the purpose of education need not change....African tradition requires that teaching should no longer be based exclusively on the written and spoken word; this view is supported by the best modern educational opinion; but many African teachers, and particularly African parents and students, demand that it should be so based, and they view with suspicion attempts to lift them out of the verbal rut. Thus, while African tradition points to a most desirable type of education, Africans seem to be demanding

a poor type of education, turning their eyes away from their own wisdom in an understanding of what constitutes the 'useful.'[6]

Considerable misunderstanding arises between schools and the communities they serve. Some is the result of irresponsible behaviour on the part of teachers, but much of it springs from the fact that there has been insufficient publicity and explanation about what schools are trying to accomplish. The degree of success in persuading parents that educational expansion must await the availability of money and teachers and in getting them to organise committees to assist in carrying out some of the external functions of schools indicates that a broader campaign could bear fruit provided appeals were couched in terms the people could comprehend. The programme to re-introduce agriculture is especially likely to fail unless national TANU leaders can convince their local counterparts to promote the scheme actively in the rural areas.

The abolition of primary school fees is a proposal many people advocate as a means to reduce unrealistic aspirations among parents and to assist in solving other difficulties as well. The case for taking such a step is a strong one. A father, in contributing to the cost of his children's education, feels he is making an investment that should produce dividends in the form of his son's salary and his daughter's brideprice. While parents the world over want something better for their offspring than they have for themselves, those in Tanzania, where the extended family rather than the state is the provider of welfare for the old, have a purely economic motivation as well as this basic one in sending their children to school. If government--national and local--were to pay the full cost of primary level education from general revenue, the economic incentive would not disappear, but parents would suffer less from a sense of frustration of money wasted when their sons and daughters are refused the opportunity of further study.

Abolition of fees would also remove ability (or willingness) to pay--hardly a socialist criterion--as a means of restricting enrolment. Two examples demonstrate that the present system of fees remission does not fulfil that function. In August the Kilimanjaro District Council, facing a serious shortfall in educational revenue, ordered that all pupils whose fees were outstanding should go home and remain there until payment was made. Many children returned after their parents produced the necessary money, but a few did not, thereby forfeiting their chances for further education. Those in Standard VII were allowed to sit for the General Entrance Examination provided their guardians signed a pledge to pay fees as soon as possible; however, at one school, several prospective candidates missed the examination because they could not be reached in time. In some other areas of the country, headteachers found it difficult, for the first time in years, to fill all their Standard I and V places because parents claimed that the secondary school selection process in 1965 demonstrated the futility of investing cash in an education that in their view led to nothing.

6 E. B. Castle, Growing Up in East Africa, London, Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 199 and 201. (Castle's italics.)

Three objections stand in the way of abolishing fees: first, it is claimed that it would be discriminating against the majority to allow a few youngsters the opportunity of attending the better equipped and staffed English medium schools; second, it is said that fees are an indispensable source of revenue; and third, it is felt that it would be unfair to place the burden of educational costs on the entire adult population when only one half of the country's children receive the benefits.

The first argument is not as serious as it looks since a form of discrimination already exists: parents of Standard I children in a former European school pay forty-two times and in a former Asian school twelve times the ten shillings charged for most Swahili medium schools. The answer would be to retain fees in some of these special schools for the present, while gradually working towards integrating others into the dominant system. The second is more difficult to refute because fees do provide much of the money required for school materials, equipment, and boarding facilities. That they are essential under present financial arrangements can be shown by the experience of some district councils that almost went bankrupt when they temporarily abolished fees for lower primary classes shortly after independence. Nevertheless, if the government became firmly convinced of the potential benefits of abolition, it could re-allocate some of its revenue and persuade local authorities to alter their taxation structures to make up the shortfall. The last objection is an individualist one inherited from colonial days, and could be answered by the government's proclaiming, as it has been with respect to tuition-free secondary schools, the maxim that education serves the whole community. However, those people whose children failed to obtain entry to Standard I could not be convinced of the validity of this principle unless some system of random selection for places is devised. Since it has been impossible to eliminate the influence of political pressures on Form I selection, it is inconceivable that a system based purely on chance, with no consideration of ability, would be politically viable at the primary level. Thus, until economic development permits the establishment of universal primary school education, it will likely be necessary to retain fees in order to mollify the parents of children who are denied the opportunity of formal education.

Whatever techniques can be used to create new attitudes among pupils, teachers, and parents through and towards primary schools are important not only in re-channelling behaviour in directions that are consistent with total national development, but also in bringing a greater degree of relevance to institutions in the next tier of the educational system. For example, a transition at the lower level from learning by rote to learning by activity could help to change the dominant academic atmosphere of secondary schools from one of examination consciousness to one of thought stimulation, provided of course that teachers were prepared and equipped to assist the change. The acceptance of the view that people of all occupations play significant roles in development could raise the status of post-primary institutions biased towards engineering,

agriculture, and commerce. But the really crucial question facing secondary schools is how to develop an elite that has not a corresponding elitist mentality. The Second Vice-President, in his letter to Members of Parliament and TANU leaders written when the school leavers crisis was subject to hot debate, touched upon the dilemma by noting, "All Tanzanians have equal rights, but all cannot be selected for secondary school education."[7] How is it possible to prevent a student from developing a sense of superiority when he succeeds against tremendous odds in securing a secondary school place? How can this attitude be dampened once he enters an environment in which the standard of living is usually higher than he has experienced before, in which he is constantly reminded of the importance of educated people in fulfilling manpower requirements, and in which he is exposed to ideas that seem to negate the worth of the society from which he has emerged? He is unlikely to be convinced of the validity of the argument that he has merely been lucky, (although it contains a germ of truth), and it is naive to think that he will believe claims that he is really no different from his less fortunate fellows who failed to proceed beyond primary school. However, attempts can be made to channel his personal ambitions towards social goals and to make him realize that education not only confers privileges but also creates obligations. Dr. Nyerere, ever since he became Chief Minister in 1960, has been talking to students and calling upon them to recognize their responsibilities to the community, but it is obvious that exhortation has not been enough. If change is to come, the educational and social systems must be adapted to foster it.

Again, as at the primary school level, syllabuses have been altered to remove many of the irrelevancies of colonial education; however, not as much stress has been laid upon character development, perhaps because of the necessity to concentrate upon a large body of technical knowledge that has to be mastered for later life. In addition, it must be remembered that students are required to meet certain standards prescribed by the Cambridge Oversea Examinations syndicate on the basis of courses devised by education authorities not just in Tanzania but also in Uganda and Kenya.

Although many subjects can be utilized for the crucial process of making students realize their social obligations through the stimulation of serious thought among them about the problems facing their country, the greatest potential lies in civics courses. At present, Form II history is devoted to a study of the economy and political institutions of Tanzania. Unfortunately, it has often been thrust upon expatriates who, while they may have the best intentions, have limited knowledge of the country and scanty access to materials that would expand it. Moreover, they find they must be extremely careful not to alienate African students who resent outsiders telling them what is best for their own country, even if what is said is fully in accord with government policy. While the sensitive nature of civics makes it a subject that should be taught by citizens as soon as possible, a good textbook in the hands of students and any competent teacher could contribute to enlivening a subject that has tended to center upon a dry formalistic approach

7 R. M. Kawawa, "To Educate the Nation", open letter to Members of Parliament and TANU leaders, 2 February, 1966, Ministry of Information and Tourism, mimeographed.

to institutional frameworks and theoretical functions. Father Meienberg's Tanzanian Citizen has been rejected as unsuitable, but there are good prospects for the publication of a more satisfactory book next year.

An experiment in giving a class in current affairs for Form IV, initiated by the Headmistress of Tabora Girls' School, has been extended to all secondary schools. The head or senior citizen on the staff meets students once a week to discuss with them current economic, social, and political developments; together, they try to place them in the perspective of past trends and to relate them to the problems of Tanzania. Some headmasters feel they have made considerable progress in stimulating thought and developing the faculty of intelligent criticism; others, however, complain that they cannot get students interested in topics other than those that are amenable to superficial political analysis. The annual Headmasters' Conference could provide a forum for comparing the use of various formats and teaching methods for this course.

Some of what has been said about primary school teaching applies to the secondary level as well, but another dimension, to which allusion has been made, is added through the heavy reliance upon teachers from Europe, North America, and Asia. One encounters in Tanzanian secondary schools a continually changing community of people who come from diverse cultural backgrounds and who have preferences for different philosophies of education and value systems. Most of the expatriates--notably the Europeans and Americans--feel their role is the

essentially technical one of disseminating knowledge in order to prepare students for examinations. Although the extent to which moral attitudes, political preferences, and social prejudices are subtly transmitted and absorbed is difficult to gauge, it is certainly true that the small minority who arrive in the country with a mission to convert Tanzanians to their way of thinking soon realize the futility of that task. Sympathetic teachers from abroad can assist their African colleagues to relate the experience of students to the needs of the society in a number of ways, but the chief burden of overseeing 'political' activities in which the schools are involved falls upon the citizen staff members. Since many local teachers find this aspect of their role a frustrating one to fulfil, a strong case exists for giving them channels of communication with government and party officials. A series of seminars involving teacher and TANU participation, even if deliberations were inconclusive on a general level, could contribute to the removal of apprehensions on both sides.

The atmosphere of the school society is an important socializing medium, but it is difficult to generalize about trends in Tanzania because so much depends upon the personality of headmasters and their relationships with staff and students. Many schools, under the tutelage of both expatriates and citizens, retain authoritarian and paternalistic strains imported from British grammar

schools and perhaps re-enforced by the mores of African family life. Others, still maintaining discipline, have become much freer and more open. Some headmasters regard the cane as the only answer to unacceptable behaviour, while to others it is anathema. Patterns of student government lie along a spectrum between a prefecture system rigidly controlled by teachers to a students' council elected through a constitution modelled upon the national one. Money-raising projects vary from ones that stimulate the individual profit motive through those based on cooperative principles to those that contribute to the welfare of the house dormitory or the school. Obviously, all of these factors have an influence on the minds of students, and need careful analysis to see which of them are functional to the inculcation of desired values.

In colonial days, many secondary schools were like fortresses defending themselves from the society that encircled them. Now, more and more are conducting community development projects, most notably adult literacy and self-help schemes, in order to develop attitudes of social responsibility and to emphasize the dignity of manual labour. Unfortunately in the wrong hands, some of these attempts to place the schools in close touch with the realities of social and economic problems have misfired, especially when the underlying purposes have been obscured. Regarding students as a pool of free labour without making their experience a relevant learning one dampens enthusiasm and generates hostility among them. However, many cases could be cited to show that such projects, presented so that they can be understood to possess value, can contribute to fostering desired attitudes within the student body and to improving the image of the school in the community.

Another innovation has been the policy to promote an identification between TANU and students by establishing branches of the TANU Youth League (TYL) in all schools. Again the experience has been mixed. In one school, the enterprising headmaster completely integrated TYL with existing activities; in another, the League was permitted to compete with older organizations with the result that the student body split into two factions. In response to the apparent need for a coherent plan, the Second Vice-President's Office has recently devised a model TYL programme that allocates a definite set of roles to the school branches, such as the responsibilities for self-help and literacy schemes, traditional dancing and singing, and local history projects. It will take two to three years before conclusions can be drawn about the effectiveness of the experiment, but it certainly has the potential of lessening disaffection on the part of students towards government by giving them a legitimated channel for venting suggestions and grievances (a role the defunct National Union of Tanzania Students failed to fulfil) and providing the party with means to present soundly reasoned arguments for policies that might otherwise be misunderstood.

This new arrangement, like the National Service, is also designed to stimulate greater affinity among educated and uneducated youths by increasing the points of contact between the two groups. Of course, it is naive to think that intermingling alone will eliminate mutual antipathy, but a carefully planned programme, for

example of vacation work camps could be utilized so that each group could learn from the other.

Some of what has been said has applicability to post-secondary institutions, but it is not within the scope of this paper to examine their roles in the socialization process. However, it should be noted that the expulsion of students who demonstrated against the terms of compulsory National Service has stimulated considerable thought and controversy about this question, especially within the University College of Dar es Salaam. The current debate may lead to the convening of a commission of inquiry or a large-scale seminar to explore in greater depth some of the problems confronting higher education in a developing country, but, while steps towards change may be taken at the apex of the system, reform at the lower levels is essential.

It will not be easy to produce all the stimulants necessary for the development of a sense of social obligation and commitment among school and college students, but one condition outside the educational system is essential: teachers, politicians, and civil servants must demonstrate that socialism is more than mere verbiage. If only a few of them act according to the principles they preach, cynicism will be the by-product of their endeavours. Effective implementation of any programme formally designed to change values demands that those responsible for it reflect the attitudes to be instilled, not those to be expunged.

In introducing the main section of the paper, mention was made of the conflict between goals that creates tension within the educational system. Note has been taken of the role formal education is, and could be, playing to harmonize these aims more closely; however, before change occurs too rapidly to reverse, there are certain questions political leaders must answer. What do the values of responsibility towards, identification with, and commitment to the nation involve in concrete terms? They can be defined in several different ways, and there seems to be no general agreement about what they mean in the Tanzanian context. Moreover, since they do not appear to be based on fundamental human instincts, is it really possible to develop them merely through a more effective utilization of existing educational structures? If not, what compulsions--physical and psychological--are required to create a new system? Finally, if revolutionary changes are made, what will be their impact on the declared intentions of the government to foster economic development and political democracy?

5th December, 1966 David Morrison