

Julius Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance in Post-Colonial Tanzania:  
A Reconsideration

by

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## ABSTRACT

As an educator and a head of state, Julius Kambarage Nyerere questioned the rationale of the education system inherited from colonialism which perpetuated exploitation and underdevelopment in postcolonial Tanzania. The education system after Tanzania gained its political independence in 1961 did not sufficiently meet the needs and social objectives of Tanzanians. It was only after the Arusha Declaration of 1967 that Nyerere formulated the first policy on education - Education for Self-reliance – with the goal of re-examining and modifying the education system in Tanzania. Education for Self-reliance emerged as an attempt to revolutionize the educational system, making it more relevant to Tanzanians, while using education as a vehicle for eliminating socioeconomic inequalities in Tanzania and cultivating a culture of self-reliance. Despite the challenges faced in the implementation process, Nyerere's approach to development through Education for Self-reliance was people-centred. It contributed to changes in the Tanzanian peoples' attitudes and provided the necessary knowledge and skills which would enable them to be active participants of their own development. This study sets out to reconsider Tanzania's education policy under Nyerere by examining Education for Self-reliance as an alternative path to development, while evaluating the practical effectiveness of the policy in postcolonial Tanzania.

## **DEDICATION**

To my family, friends and the people who continue to keep the legacy of Nyerere  
alive through on-going debates

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

First and foremost, I thank God for this great achievement. I would also like to thank my parents, Dr John and Mrs Costancia Mbogoma, for their unconditional love and support. If it was not for them, I would not be where I am today. I have accomplished so much because of them.

My gratitude also goes to my supervisor, Professor Alois S. Mlambo, who sparked my interest in African History in my first year at the University of Pretoria in 2012. Thank you for your guidance during my Honours year and throughout this Masters course.

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

At the dawn of political independence in the 1950s and 1960s, many African countries wanted to adopt developmental paradigms which were unique to Africa and independent of Western or European models of development. Therefore, newly independent African nations such as Ghana, Tanzania and Zambia, among others, sought to develop themselves through more Afrocentric strategies which had their basis on self-reliance on the one hand and non-exploitative development on the other.<sup>1</sup> The arrival of the white man in Africa meant that, inevitably, Africa would adopt and therefore inherit cultural, socio-economic and politico-ideological European models of development because colonialism attempted to erode and possibly erase socio-economic and cultural values and institutions which existed in Africa.<sup>2</sup>

Apart from the establishment of the capitalist mode of production in Africa to a certain extent, there were also foreign educational models which were superimposed in Africa through colonialism. Consequently, first generation African leaders of postcolonial Africa, such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania<sup>3</sup> embarked on a journey to establish development schemes which were self-reliant and non-exploitative in principle, policy and in practice. European models of development were neither suitable for independent Africa nor were they effective when it came to meeting the needs of independent Africa in the very long run. This is one of the reasons for the creation of post-independent policies such as Education for Self-reliance, a policy which had its roots in Nyerere's Ujamaa.<sup>4</sup>

Education for Self-reliance was the first policy on education which Julius Kambarage Nyerere and his Party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) drafted after the Arusha Declaration (1967)<sup>5</sup>. This was one of several policies which Nyerere and the

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<sup>1</sup> Ibhawoh, B and Dibua, J. I. 2003. 'Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere in the Quest for Social and Economic Development in Africa'. *African Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 8. No.1. p77.

<sup>2</sup> 'History and Sociological Aspects of Education'. Open University of Tanzania. Dar es Salaam. Course Reader. p21.

<sup>3</sup> Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999) was the first president of the Republic of Tanzania. He was affectionately referred to as 'Mwalimu'. 'Mwalimu' is a Kiswahili word which means 'teacher'.

<sup>4</sup> Ujamaa is a Kiswahili word which refers to brotherhood, family-hood or socialism

<sup>5</sup> The Arusha Declaration (1967) was the blue-print document which stated the objectives of TANU for building a socialist and self-reliant Tanzania.



Tanzanian government drafted for the sake of developing, transforming and liberating post-colonial Tanzania through self-reliance. Ujamaa was largely known for its attempt to achieve politico-economic and social transformation and, therefore, development in postcolonial Tanzania. As noted, Education for Self-reliance was a policy which was part of Nyerere's Ujamaa, an ideology which was established with the intention of building socialism based on traditional African principles for the sake of development in the modern world.

## **Problem Statement**

The failure of Nyerere's Ujamaa - and more specifically the failure of Ujamaa Vijijini<sup>6</sup> - has dominated scholarly debates although there is scholarship highlighting the degree of Ujamaa's success. However, the scholarship on the failure of Ujamaa focuses on its failure to promote effective socio-economic transformation in postcolonial Tanzania. Indeed, there was a certain level of success, which some scholars have acknowledged in more recent years, in terms of national unity, improvements in health services and in education. However certain aspects of Nyerere's development approach, such as the TANU blueprint, The Arusha Declaration (1967) and Education for Self-reliance, the first post-Arusha policy on education, have been insufficiently evaluated.<sup>7</sup> Older scholarship on the subject did not constructively analyze or interrogate Nyerere's approach to develop through Ujamaa and Education for Self-reliance as developmental (and liberation) strategies. Often, such scholarship considered Nyerere's approach to

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<sup>6</sup> Ujamaa Vijijini is Kiswahili for 'Socialist Villages'.

<sup>7</sup> These are some of the selective texts which evaluated some of Nyerere's policies and his overall approach to development: Capezzuto, M. A. 1977. 'Julius K. Nyerere – Agent of Change to Tanzanian Development', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree Master of Arts at Duquesne University; Nursey-Bray, P. F. 1980. 'Tanzania: The Development Debate'. *African Affairs*. Vol. 79. No. 314. pp64-65; Larson, J. H. 1999. 'The Success and Failure of the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania'. (Accessed: January 4, 2017).

<http://digitalibrary.usc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/p15799coll16/id/290318>; Raikes, P. I. 1975. 'Ujamaa and Rural Socialism'. *Review of African Political Economy*. No. 3. pp33-52; Boesen, J. *et al.* 1977. *Ujamaa: Socialism from Above*. Scandinavian Institute of African Studies. Uppsala; Ergas, Z. 1980. 'Why Did the Ujamaa Village Policy Fail? - Towards a Global Analysis'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Vol. 18. No. 3. pp387-410; Illife, J. 1979. *A Modern History of Tanganyika*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge; Green, R. H. 'The Quest for Self-reliance, Participation and Socialism in Tanzania, 1961-1982'. (Accessed: January 4, 2017). <http://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/handle/123456789/4260>.

development as a generic failure as a modern developmental project<sup>8</sup> and it has limited the extent to which Nyerere's overall approach to development has been interpreted and understood and it has limited the scope of analysis when it comes to Nyerere's people-centred development vision.

Nyerere's Ujamaa did not arise out of a vacuum. Historical events such as slavery and colonialism helped to shape the conception of Ujamaa. The socio-economic consequences of slavery and colonialism as well as Nyerere's awareness of these historical circumstances which plagued Africa and Tanzania influenced the conceptualization of Ujamaa and its policies.<sup>9</sup> Some of the consequences were the dehumanization and loss of self-confidence of African people, material poverty, population loss, the erosion of the attitude of brotherhood or family-hood and the loss of freedom or independence among other socio-economic related impacts.<sup>10</sup> The institutions established through slavery and colonialism aimed to systematically suppress the socio-cultural base of indigenous people in an attempt to replace the culture and socio-economic structures of the indigenous people with colonial social institutions. Therefore, the construction of Ujamaa was Nyerere's attempt to restore the human rights and self-confidence of Tanzanians (and Africans) and to protect the freedom of Tanzanians through cultivating a culture of self-reliance. As noted above, Ujamaa has mainly been examined from economic, political and ideological perspectives. However, there were social aspects which were interwoven in the concept with regards to the intention of cultivating a self-reliant culture in Tanzania and in Africa through local resources, manpower, monetary affairs and education.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ibhawoh, B and Dibua, J. I. 'Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere'. pp60-61.

<sup>9</sup> Cornelli, E. M. 2012. 'A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa: An Investigation of its Foundations and Values', Submitted in fulfilment of a Doctorate of Philosophy at the University of Birmingham. pp52,54.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. pp56-78.

Other impacts of slavery and colonialism were racialism, civil wars, the development of individualism and selfishness, poverty and dependence.

<sup>11</sup> Cornelli, E. M. 2012. 'A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa: An Investigation of its Foundations and Values'. p69.

Nyerere had a vision for the development of Africa which was people-centered, despite the contradictions and gaps which exist between the theory, practice and results of Nyerere's development paradigm. He believed that there was no space for foreign (colonial) educational models in independent Africa because such models perpetuated colonial values of exploitation, oppression, underdevelopment and overall regression of postcolonial Africa and its people. While it can be argued that all the values Europeans transmitted into colonial Africa (in terms of educational systems) were not necessarily wrong or inappropriate, such systems had little potential of promoting genuine and effective transformation in postcolonial Africa, neither did they promote egalitarianism based on self-reliance and emancipatory education for all. Inevitably, colonial attitudes, ideas and knowledge influenced the people who experienced colonialism as a whole and colonial education.<sup>12</sup> Colonialism emphasized 'subservient attitudes and white-collar skills... [and] it was based on the assumptions of a...capitalist society...and embodied) attitudes of human inequality'<sup>13</sup>. These proved to be inadequate, inappropriate and 'not automatically relevant for the purposes of a free people committed to the principle of equality'<sup>14</sup> in independent Africa and Tanzania in particular.

The education which colonizers superimposed in Africa was colonial education, not fully western education in its entirety. Nyerere was a product of colonial education in Tanzania and he also received part of his education in the West. Consequently, Nyerere questioned the rationale of education as a whole – colonial education and the tensions therein when it came to meeting the needs of Africans and of Tanzanians. Therefore, Nyerere's approach to development through Ujamaa - and its failures and/or successes as a development project - should not be measured by economics, politics or ideology alone. Also, Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance ought to be considered, re-considered and critically appreciated as a development paradigm which had long-term goal emancipation and modernization not only in Tanzania but in Africa as a whole.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Mwereke, T. and Kairembo, R. J. 2016. 'Philosophy of Education and Teaching'. Open University of Tanzania. Course Reader. pp91-92.

<sup>13</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds). 2004. *Nyerere on Education: Volume I*. HakiElimu and E & D Ltd. Dar es Salaam. p69.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

## **Research Question**

Given the above, the question that arises is, to what extent was Education for Self-reliance an appropriate strategy for revolutionizing education, not only for the sake of developing and transforming Tanzania, but also as a means for systematically and continually liberating postcolonial Tanzania from the 'yoke of domination'?<sup>16</sup> This study seeks to investigate and address this question by evaluating the effectiveness of Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance by examining its principles, the implementation, challenges and successes of the policy. Education for Self-reliance was a development paradigm in post-colonial Tanzania which was concerned with modern development and liberation. Therefore by engaging the existing scholarship on the subject, Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance which was part of a people-centered development vision, will be re-considered and re-evaluated in light of Tanzania's recent history.

## **Objectives**

- To provide a critical appreciation of Nyerere's approach to development through Education for Self-reliance.
- To develop a working definition of the concept of self-reliance within the framework of development.
- To examine pre-colonial African conceptions of education and the impacts of colonial Western education on Africa in order to contextualize the emergence of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance.
- To evaluate the effectiveness of Education for Self-reliance, its implementation, challenges and its successes and to compare older scholarship (1970s-1980s) on the policy with that published in the 1990s-2000s in order to re-consider the scholarly approaches.
- To examine the appropriateness of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance as a long-term people-centered development and liberation approach in the recent history of Tanzania.

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<sup>16</sup> Cornelli, E. M. 2012. . 'A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa: An Investigation of its Foundations and Values'. p3.

## **Significance of Study**

This study hopes to add to the understanding of Nyerere's approach to development through education and Education for Self-reliance and its impact without dismissing Nyerere's educational policy (and therefore Ujamaa) as a generic failure. Hopefully, it will also contribute to the body of knowledge on how African leaders such as Julius Kambarage Nyerere and others harnessed the power of education as a tool and an alternative path to development, continuous transformation and liberation in post-independent Africa and Tanzania. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the historiography of Tanzania and to the scholarship on post-independence Tanzania and the policies that Nyerere implemented in Tanzania. There is value in continuously re-evaluating and reconsidering the foundation that Julius Nyerere laid which contributed to the development and liberation of Tanzania and of Africa.

## **Methodology**

Because this study is primarily based on secondary sources, relevant academic books, articles from academic journals such as the *Journal of African History* and the *Journal of Modern African Studies* among others were used. Also, some library materials from the National Library of Tanzania were consulted. A selection of earlier scholarship on Nyerere's educational policies which were published in the 1970s-1980s was compared to the scholarship published in the 1990s-2000s, as this study is a revisionist history of the scholarship. Although the core of this research was to reconsider Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance, it also sought to re-evaluate scholarly approaches to the study of post-independence Tanzania in general and Nyerere's educational policies in particular.

Other primary sources which were consulted included TANU's policy or ideological documents, such as The Arusha Declaration (1967), Socialism and Development (1967) and Education for Self-Reliance (1967), among others, as well as a selection of Julius Nyerere's writings and speeches. Consulting a variety of sources provided insights into the thinking that informed the policies at the time and the scholarly approaches to Nyerere's (educational) policies. In the process of critically engaging with and cross-examining the scholarship on this subject, this study compared, contrasted and interrogated the scholarship in order to assess their relevance and credibility within the framework of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance in the recent history of Tanzania.

## Literature Review

Given the wide range of scholarship on Julius Nyerere and his approach to development, most of the existing literature is widely accessible through the internet. The available scholarship which deals with Education for Self-reliance considers the policy not in isolation but is part and parcel of Nyerere's Ujamaa, an integral part of his approach to development. Largely, the existing literature (especially the older literature) on Nyerere's approach to development tends to generalize and emphasize that Ujamaa as a development project was a failure without fully considering the challenges in the implementation processes of development projects. Therefore, the failure of Ujamaa according to various scholarly debates has often been linked to the lack of transformation of postcolonial Tanzania in socio-economic terms. Also, there are significantly few academic publications which critically interrogate Nyerere's approach to development - beyond politico-ideological and economic aspects. Hence, there are few academic publications that critically discuss the link between Ujamaa and Education for Self-reliance as developmental approaches which sought to lay the foundation for creating a 'path to social equity and distributive justice'<sup>17</sup> in Tanzania and in Africa. This study made use of secondary sources which focus on the ideological and theoretical conception of self-reliance as an ideology. This was done in order to develop a working definition of self-reliance, keeping in mind that there are different interpretations of self-reliance. Furthermore, in attempting to define self-reliance and for the purpose and scope of this research, self-reliance was also discussed within the framework of development in post-independence Africa in general and Tanzania in particular.

Various texts which focus on self-reliance both theoretically and practically were selected for discussion. Some of the texts contextualize self-reliance as an alternative strategy for development, as a part of community development and as an important principle and practice for socio-economic independence. Most of the available literature associated with self-reliance is often linked to dependency theory and collaboration between developing countries in order to maintain self-reliant economic development. In terms of developing countries, countries which are mostly emphasised seldom include Africa mostly considering Latin American countries and India. 'Developing' countries are

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<sup>17</sup> Ibhawoh, B and Dibua, J. I. 'Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere'. p78.

therefore generalized and this limited analysis tends to be void of historical specificity and context of different developing countries.

One source which focuses on self-reliance and development is A. Parthasarath's 'Self-reliance as an Alternative Strategy for Development'<sup>18</sup>. This text is a good starting point because it examines the genesis of self-reliance (from a certain perspective), explaining the concept and how it affects international organizations and developing countries especially with regards to science and technology in development. According to Parthasarath, when attempting to define self-reliance it is important to consider that the concept of self-reliance cannot be looked at in isolation. It is often linked to ideas related to development whether it is community development or an alternative strategy for development.<sup>19</sup>

Parthasarath also centralizes India as an example of a developing country therefore it provides a certain perspective of self-reliance. This does contribute to defining self-reliance and understanding it as a concept although self-reliance is not discussed in the African context. Also, the author generalizes self-reliance in principle and in practice in the Third World as a whole however this text is relevant because it highlights important characteristics of self-reliance.<sup>20</sup> A similar investigation to that of Parthasarath is S. J. Patel's 'Collective Self-reliance of Developing Countries'.<sup>21</sup> Although this text does not delve into the conceptualization of self-reliance, it acknowledges the need for alternative self-reliant development and collective self-reliance in developing countries as a whole.

Another text which also focuses on self-reliance as part of community development is an article by C. C. Fonchingong and L. N. Fonjong titled 'The Concept of Self-reliance in Community Development Initiatives in the Cameroon Grassfields'<sup>22</sup>. This is one of the few available texts which consider the concept of self-reliance in light of community

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<sup>18</sup> Parthasarath, A. 1976. 'Self-reliance as an Alternative Strategy for Development'. *Alternatives*. Vol. 2. No. 3. pp365-377.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* pp365-366.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* p371.

<sup>21</sup> Patel, S. J. 1975. 'Collective Self-reliance of Developing Countries'. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Vol. 13. No. 4. pp569-583.

<sup>22</sup> Fonchingong, C. C. and Fonjong, L. N. 2003. 'The Concept of Self-reliance in Community Development Initiatives in the Cameroon Grassfields'. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 12. No. 2. pp196-216.

development in an African context. In this text, self-reliance is considered to be a concept which is associated with 'community development, self-help, mutual help, indigenous participation and rural development'. As a concept and as a strategy for development in African countries, self-reliance is described as 'one of the bases of effective community development...in most of Sub-Saharan Africa'.<sup>23</sup> This text provides a working definition of self-reliance in relation to community development with specific focus on Cameroon therefore placing self-reliance in an African context. This helps to understand self-reliance in principle and in practice in an African context. Fonchingong and Fonjong consider the significance of indigenous development initiatives and communal efforts and how these have impacted development.<sup>24</sup>

In the study 'Self-reliance and Dependence: A Latin American Perspective'<sup>25</sup> M. Espinoza analyzes the concept of self-reliance by considering development and dependence and the place of self-reliance not only in the underdeveloped or developing world but also in the developed world in order to understand self-reliance in a multidimensional perspective.<sup>26</sup> This study considers John Galtung's work on self-reliance as a 'new alternative for development' and it is important because unlike the other texts discussed above, this study dissects the concept of self-reliance into various diverse elements namely ideological elements, ethical principles as well as socio-political and economic elements. Self-reliance, however, is considered in a Latin-American perspective with reference to Dependence theory.<sup>27</sup>

When considering self-reliance in an African context, it cannot be looked at in isolation. In post-independent Africa, self-reliant ideologies of the 1950s and 1960s such as Humanism, Pan-Africanism and African Socialism were adapted and in some cases implemented. Sources that will help to understand some self-reliant ideologies which guided early reform initiatives in postcolonial Africa are 'Beyond African Humanism:

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p196.

<sup>24</sup> Fonchingong, C. C. and Fonjong, L. N. 'The Concept of Self-Reliance in Community Development Initiatives in the Cameroon Grassfields'.198-199.

<sup>25</sup> Espinoza, M. 'Self-reliance and Dependence: A Latin American Perspective'. (Accessed: June 23, 2016).<https://www.transcend.org/galtung/papers/Self-Reliance%20and%20Dependence%20-%20A%20Latin%20American%20Perspective.pdf>.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p3.



Economic Reform in Post-Independence Zambia' by A. Sekwat,<sup>28</sup> and W. Soyinka's *Reimagining Pan-Africanism*<sup>29</sup>.

K. W. Mein's 'The Concept of Self-Reliance and its Relevance to Freedom in Africa'<sup>30</sup> focuses self-reliance and its relevance in light of development specifically in Africa and Tanzania. Mein's dissertation helps to understand why there was a need for self-reliance in the development of post-independence Africa. It also helps to understand how self-reliance restored the 'dignity, freedom and independence of [Africa] and its people' although there is no in-depth discussion of the ways in which this would be done.<sup>31</sup> Among other things, this text considers Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa as a philosophy which gave self-reliance a new perspective although there is no in-depth discussion of the ways in which this would be done. The weakness of this thesis is that it does not really define self-reliance as a concept but it broadly contextualizes self-reliance in an African context but it does contextualize self-reliance in Africa and in Tanzania.

A. Mohiddin's 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania'<sup>32</sup> is a relevant source to this study because it depicts the conditions which gave rise to self-reliant policies in Africa and specifically in Tanzania. In order for self-reliance to be cultivated, there was importance in thoroughly understanding the tensions between colonial policies and African traditional values, conditions of the existing postcolonial society, its structure and the problems. Self-reliance was an aspect which was central to the Arusha Declaration yet it was also misunderstood according to Mohiddin. Also, what Mohiddin emphasizes is the need to understand that self-reliance in Nyerere's perspective did not imply political or economic isolationism.<sup>33</sup> Another source which focuses on self-reliance

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<sup>28</sup> Sekwat, A. 2000. 'Beyond African Humanism: Economic reform in Post-Independent Zambia'. *International Journal of Organisation Theory and Behaviour*. Vol. 3. No. 3 and 4. pp521-546.

<sup>29</sup> Soyinka, W. et al. 2015. *Reimagining Pan-Africanism*. Mkuki na Nyota. Dar es Salaam.

<sup>30</sup> Mein, K. W. 2003. 'The Concept of Self-Reliance and its Relevance to Freedom in Africa', Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Masters of Philosophy at the University of Nairobi.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p27.

<sup>32</sup> Mohiddin, A. 1971. 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*. Vol.11. No. 44. pp564-588.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. pp573,579.

and Tanzania is B. A. S. Jones's 'The Role of Tanzanian Socialist Doctrine'.<sup>34</sup> This text gives insight into self-reliance according to Nyerere. Like Mohiddin, Jones also stresses the fact that Nyerere's perception of self-reliance did not mean self-sufficiency especially because after the Declaration, foreign aid and loans were being received in Tanzania and this did not break the principles of the 1967 Declaration.<sup>35</sup>

I. K. Bavu's PhD thesis titled 'Tanzanian Experience of Self-reliance: A Possibility for the Development of the Poor Societies' also conceptualizes self-reliance and provides an overview of its performance as well as the implementation challenges. Bavu's study lays the foundation for analyzing the potentiality of self-reliance as an alternative strategy for socio-economic development in postcolonial Tanzania, specifically (but not exclusively) Tanzania's poor societies.<sup>36</sup> This source not only defines self-reliance and its characteristics, but it also identifies the problems related to finding a definition of a concept. The author goes beyond defining self-reliance in socio-economic terms and broadens the scope of analysis by considering other features within the concept of self-reliance.<sup>37</sup> Bavu conceptualizes self-reliance as a socio-economic goal which is practiced by a society. The author explains the difficulty in defining the concept of self-reliance because often, there are gaps between the theory and practice of self-reliance in the real world with regards to socio-economic structures.

Apart from the above texts, this study used a selection of J. K. Nyerere writings and speeches to define and further elaborate on the theory and practice of self-reliance.<sup>38</sup> Throughout this research, constant reference is made to Nyerere's writings and speeches because, apart from being a political figure, Nyerere was also a philosopher, a thinker, a theorist.

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<sup>34</sup> Jones, B. A. S. 1979. 'The Role of Tanzanian Socialist Doctrine', Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree Masters of Arts at McMaster University.

<sup>35</sup> Jones, B. A. S. 'The Role of Tanzanian Socialist Doctrine'. pp21-22.

<sup>36</sup> Bavu, I. M. 1975. 'Tanzanian Experience of Self-reliance: A Possibility for the Development of the Poor Societies', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of South Carolina.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p70.

<sup>38</sup> Some of the speeches and writings by Julius Nyerere which were consulted are found in the following books: Nyerere's *Freedom and Development*, *Freedom and Unity* and *Freedom and Socialism and Freedom and Liberation*.

A brief analysis of pre-colonial conceptions of education in Africa is important because it helps to make a contrast between pre-colonial and colonial education in Africa. A. Okoth's *A History of Africa Volume One*<sup>39</sup> focuses on pre-colonial African societies until the establishment of colonial rule (1800-1915). This book provides a broad history of Africa and it emphasizes the oneness of African History. It brings together various strands of nationalism in colonial Africa. However, it does not give detailed accounts of colonial administrative structures and various colonial (educational) policies. Still, it provides clues in understanding pre-colonial and colonial Africa from the 1800s to 1915.

Nwanosike, O. F. and E. L. Onyije's 'Colonialism and Education'<sup>40</sup> examine the evolution of learning (education) in Africa by considering how Africans acquired their knowledge and skills before, after and during colonialism in Africa. The authors briefly highlight the fact that, prior to the arrival of the white man, African societies provided survival skills to individuals in order for them to 'selflessly serve their societies'.<sup>41</sup> They, therefore, offer an understanding of traditional African knowledge systems in a globalised and a developmental context.

A source that stresses the importance of pre-colonial African educational systems (in East Africa) is V. G. Simiyu's 'Traditional Methods of Education in East Africa'.<sup>42</sup> The author raises a significant point that educational systems existed in the African society despite the fact that (colonial) Western education became dominant due to colonialism. Consequently, the African system of education, to some extent, became abolished.<sup>43</sup> However, there were elements of African traditional education which resisted the impact of western educational systems, according to the author. Simiyu argues the importance of understanding African systems of education by examining the foundations and processes of education in East Africa. This article is relevant to this study because it

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<sup>39</sup> Okoth, A. A. 2006. *History of Africa*. East African Educational Publishers. Nairobi, Kampala and Dar es Salaam.

<sup>40</sup> Nwanosike, O. F. and Onyije, E. L. 2011. 'Colonialism and Education'. (Accessed: June 23, 2016). [www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/170.pdf](http://www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/170.pdf).

Also see D. Arowolo's 'The Effects of Western Civilisation And Culture On Africa'. <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/6812/04e210689fa0bd75e6933ba74bb93363b31a.pdf>.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p50.

<sup>42</sup> Simiyu, V. G. 1973. 'Traditional Methods of Education in East Africa'. *Presence Africaine*. Vol. 1. No. 87. pp178-196.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. pp178-179.

acknowledges, discusses and emphasizes traditional African systems of education. A comparable text to that of Simiyu is F. Osafo-Gyima's 'The Aim of Education in Africa'<sup>44</sup> which also considers education in pre-colonial, colonial and a decade into the postcolonial period in Africa.

One source that deals specifically with the educational process in Africa is a selection of academic papers from a publication titled *The Educational Process and Historiography in Africa*<sup>45</sup>. This source not only provides a historiography of Africa, but it also offers an analysis of the educational process in the continent since independence. It suggests that there was tension between colonial (education) policies and traditional African education systems. It points out that there was a need for independent Africa to adapt socio-political, economic as well as educational transformation beyond the systems inherited from colonial rulers.

Among the issues that the contributors of *The Educational Process and Historiography in Africa* address are the nature of education in Africa at the time of independence, problems of education, decolonization of education as well as problems related to African education in a global context. The book sheds some light on the motives behind the modification or reformation of inherited educational policies in post-colonial Africa and the challenges faced in Africa since independence.<sup>46</sup> Meanwhile, D. Masaka and A. Chingombe in 'Towards a Fusion of Western and Traditional African Educational Systems in Zimbabwe's National School Curriculum'<sup>47</sup> examine the concept of education, traditional African education and the impact of colonial Western education specifically on Zimbabwe's traditional education.<sup>48</sup>

Various secondary sources were consulted in order to examine the impacts of colonial education in Africa which were the immediate context in which post-independence policies emerged. For instance, Bude's 'The Adaptation Conception in British Colonial

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<sup>44</sup> Osafo-Gyima, F. 1974. 'The Aim of Education in Africa'. *Presence Africaine Editions*. Vol. 1. No. 89. pp15-27.

<sup>45</sup> UNESCO. 1985. 'The Educational Process and Historiography in Africa'. *The General History of Africa: Studies and Documents*. Vol. 9.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* pp9-10.

<sup>47</sup> Masaka, D and Chingombe, A. 2013. 'Towards a Fusion of Western and Traditional African Educational Systems in Zimbabwe's National School Curriculum'. *Africana*. Vol. 6. No. 2. pp149-169.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* pp149-160.

Education' highlights some of the impacts of colonial education in Africa<sup>49</sup> and discusses how and how Africans responded to British colonial education. Bude argues that colonial education in Black Africa in the early 1920s proved to be somewhat of a disappointment to missionaries because Africans rejected the kind of education the church and the colonial government provided. He maintains that this type of education failed to meet the African people's needs and, therefore, it was not suitable for the continent. This led the educated African elite, eventually, to demand for political rights to manage and govern themselves. Bude's article contributes to the debate on the kind of education which was the most suitable for Black Africa; a type of education which would promote equality and emancipation and not perpetuate the oppression and the inferiority of blacks (Africans).<sup>50</sup>

Colonial policies in Africa created more than an administrative workforce. Among other things, colonial (education) policies promoted individualistic instincts and put emphasis on socio-economic, political and cultural domination of the weak by the strong.<sup>51</sup> Consequently, there was tension between colonial (education) policy and African traditional values and systems of education, hence the emergence of different postcolonial education policies in Africa in general and Tanzania in particular. It would be incorrect to assume that education has only one origin, since education as a system is universal although educational systems are not necessarily universal. In terms of the definitions, purposes and characteristics of education, there are differences despite various similarities in educational principles. The above sources, among others, help to gain understanding of the impacts of colonial education on Africa. They acknowledge pre-colonial methods of education in Africa and interrogate the idea that any form of development (including the development of education) in Africa began with the arrival of the white man. They shed light on the fact that in African societies, 'education was not an alien import' because Africans had their 'methods of passing on traditional skills and knowledge from one generation to another'.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Bude, U. 1983. 'The Adaptation Conception in British Colonial Education'. *Comparative Education*. Vol. 19. No. 3. pp341-355.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. pp341-355. Also see Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. pp125-126, 138,221-242 and Mlambo's 'Western Social Sciences and Africa: The Domination and Marginalisation of a Continent'. *African Sociological Review*. Vol. 10. No. 1. pp161-179.

<sup>51</sup> Nyerere, J. K. 1968. *Freedom and Socialism*.. Oxford University Press. London. p269.

<sup>52</sup> Okoth, A. *A History of Africa*. p340.

Among the available sources that specifically focus on Tanzania during the early years of independence before the implementation of Education for Self-reliance are I. N. Kimambo and A. J. Temu's (eds) *A History of Tanzania*, C. Pratt's *The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968* and R. Ibbott's *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*. These books provide a good grounding on the history of early 20<sup>th</sup> century Tanzania. *A History of Tanzania* covers the history of the country from the Stone Age to the Arusha Declaration (1967). It seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the people of Tanzania and their history.<sup>53</sup> While there is little focus on colonial administrative structures, the study does dedicate various chapters on providing a general but important overview of the political climate in Tanzania from the colonial period until 1967.<sup>54</sup>

C. Pratt's *The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968*<sup>55</sup> is divided in two parts and its focus is on socio-political aspects. The first part covers sixteen years of British rule in Tanzania (1945-1960), while the second part discusses the political strategies the Tanzanian government took during the first seven years of independence (1960-1967).<sup>56</sup> Pratt accounts for the motives behind the commitment to socialism in independent Tanzania. The political analysis that this source provides is important to this study because it gives context to the emergence of post-independence policies in Tanzania. Because of the scope of Pratt's book (1945-1968), however, the Arusha Declaration, Education for Self-reliance and Tanzania's overall transition to socialism are insufficiently covered.

In contrast, R. Ibbott's *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*<sup>57</sup> takes a different approach in its analysis of Tanzania's adaptation of socialism through Ujamaa. It focuses specifically on the Ujamaa villages which were established through the Ruvuma Development Association (RDA). The book is a personal account of Ralph Ibbott as a participant in the establishment of Ujamaa villages in Ruvuma. Through the

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<sup>53</sup> Kimambo, I. N. and Temu, A. J. (eds). 1969. *A History of Tanzania*. East Africa Publishing House. Nairobi. pXII.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.* pp57-121;189-256.

<sup>55</sup> Pratt, C. 1976. *The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968*. Cambridge University Press. London.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* pp3-5.

<sup>57</sup> Ibbott, R. 2014. *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*. Crossroads Books. London.

description of events and people, the book provides a historical account of Nyerere's Ujamaa and Ujamaa villages from a particular perspective. To a certain extent, this source is subjective; however, it does provide important insight into the principles and practice of Ujamaa in the early years of independence in Tanzania. It also helps to understand some of the challenges of implementing Ujamaa and the policies therein. Therefore, the source is useful to this study especially considering the fact that Education for Self-reliance was part and parcel of Ujamaa.

Another important source which reviews the history of post-independence Tanzania is G. Ruhumbika's (ed.) *Towards Ujamaa: Twenty Years of TANU Leadership*.<sup>58</sup> It covers a number of issues ranging from Tanzania's socio-political, economic, and cultural to educational experiences. The book's main focus is on TANU's leadership in Tanzania and the role that, not only Julius Nyerere, but also the Tanzanian government as a whole played in shaping the country.<sup>59</sup>

One text that provides greater details of Nyerere's Ujamaa is E. M. Cornelli's PhD thesis on 'A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa: An Investigation of its Foundations and Values'<sup>60</sup>. Contrary to Ibbott's book, Cornelli's analysis of Ujamaa is concise and it investigates the history and genesis of Ujamaa in Tanzania and the political conditions that gave birth to it. It closely examines the policies which emerged under Ujamaa, including Education for Self-reliance, as well how effective Ujamaa was in transforming Tanzania politically and otherwise.<sup>61</sup>

Two important sources which laid the foundation for discussing the emergence of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance in this study are E. Lema et al. (eds.) *Mwalimu on Education: Volume I and II*.<sup>62</sup> These voluminous texts are compilations of selected essays by Nyerere from the time he was a leader of the anti-colonial movement in the

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<sup>58</sup> Ruhumbika, G. (ed.) 1974. *Towards Ujamaa: Twenty Years of TANU Leadership*. East African Literature Bureau. Nairobi, Kampala and Dar es Salaam.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. p V.

<sup>60</sup> Cornelli, E. M. 2012. 'A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa: An Investigation of its Foundations and Values', Submitted in fulfilment of a Doctorate of Philosophy at the University of Birmingham.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. pp1-8.

<sup>62</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.) 2004. *Nyerere on Education: Volume I*. HakiElimu and E & D Ltd. Dar es Salaam; Lema, E. et al. (eds.) *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. 2006. HakiElimu and E & D Ltd. Dar es Salaam.

then Tanganyika in the 1950s until the 1990s. They reveal Nyerere's thoughts on education and how Nyerere was critical of the colonial education system as deliberately providing an inferior quality of education to Africans. Other essays focus on education in Tanzania immediately after independence (1962), putting emphasis on the right to education and the need for relevant education for the people of Tanzania and Africa as a whole. Also, some of the key ideas of the Education for Self-reliance policy are discussed along with the links between education, liberation and development. According to essays in these two volumes, Nyerere's ideas on education evolved, changed or were sustained over time.

With regards to pre-Arusha-Declaration educational policies in postcolonial Tanzania, the implementation of Education for Self-reliance as well as its challenges, T. L. Maliyamkono and P. Msekwa's *The Experiments: Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration*<sup>63</sup> are very useful. This book focuses specifically on the education in Tanzania in the early years of independence and the evolution of the educational process soon after the Arusha Declaration (1967). The authors investigate the educational policies before and after 1967 and the challenges therein and analyse the Education for Self-reliance policy and some of the implementation challenges which it confronted. Because the book was published in the 1960s, however, it provides a limited analysis of the effectiveness of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance. Nevertheless, it does, but offer invaluable information on the education policy formation in Tanzania after independence.

Similarly, O. S. Akwenye's dissertation on 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice, 1967-1974'<sup>64</sup> investigates the relationship between the theory and practice of Education for Self-reliance from 1967 to 1974. Akwenye's analysis is based on the assumption that Nyerere's policy on education aimed at reconstructing the education system in Tanzania. Therefore, the author examines the degree and success of transformation of implementing Education for Self-reliance at the primary school level as well as the efficiency and productivity among these schools in relation to the

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<sup>63</sup> Maliyamkono, T. L. and Msekwa, P. 1979. *The Experiments: Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration*. Black Star Agencies. Dar es Salaam.

<sup>64</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 1975. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice, 1967-1974', Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Masters of Arts at McGill University.



egalitarian values of Tanzania.<sup>65</sup> Although Akwenye's analysis focuses on a short period (1967-1974), this is a text which helps to understand the effectiveness of Education for Self-reliance up to a certain degree. T. A. Nicholson's 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'<sup>66</sup> also discusses the impact and implementation of Education for Self-reliance.<sup>67</sup>

This study's discussion of the fallacies of developmentalism and the contradictions within educational systems and Education of Self-reliance as a postcolonial developmental paradigm benefited from a number of studies, including Andreasson's 'Thinking Beyond Development: The Future of Post-Development Theory in Southern Africa'<sup>68</sup> and Ziai's 'Some Reflects on the Concept of Development'.<sup>69</sup> Education for Self-reliance was, after all, a policy which was concerned with maintaining continuous independence and liberation of postcolonial Tanzania through education as the basis for development.<sup>70</sup> Another useful study is *Education and Social Development* edited by A. A. Abdi and S. Guo's.<sup>71</sup> This book is important in helping to understand the links and relationship between education and social development in Tanzania. The contributors to this book critically discuss various issues such as traditions in education for development, indigenous African knowledge in a postcolonial African context and decolonization of schooling and education. The scope of the book is wide-ranging and it analyzes education and development in different contexts, putting more emphasis on Africa. *Education and Social Development* is relevant to this study because it considers education as part of development, an aspect which is significant in Nyerere's views on education and its purpose in Africa and specifically in Tanzania. Therefore, the book provides insights which are valuable to this study in terms of the fallacies of

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<sup>65</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 1975. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice, 1967-1974'. pi.

<sup>66</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 2012. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree Doctor of Philosophy at Stony Brook University.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. pp136-338.

<sup>68</sup> Andreasson, S. 'Thinking Beyond Development: The Future of Post-Development Theory in Southern Africa'. p5. (Accessed: December 4, 2017) [http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/bisa-africa/confpapers/Andreasson\\_BISA\\_2007.pdf](http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/bisa-africa/confpapers/Andreasson_BISA_2007.pdf).

<sup>69</sup> Ziai, A. 2011. 'Some Reflects on the Concept of Development'. *Working Paper Series*. No. 81.

<sup>70</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds) *Nyerere on Education: Volume I*. p72.

<sup>71</sup> Abdi, A. A. and Guo, S. (eds). 2008. *Education and Social Development*. Sense Publisher. Rottendam. (Accessed: June 23, 2016). <https://www.sensepublishers.com/media/301-education-and-social-development.pdf>.

developmentalism and educational systems.

D. Kapoor's (ed.) *Education, Decolonization and Development: Perspectives from Asia, Africa and the Americas*<sup>72</sup> has an important chapter which looks at the link education, development and decolonization and which informs this study's understanding of Education for Self-reliance as part of Nyerere's decolonizing and liberating vision. Although Kapoor's focus is on India specifically, the research on and relationship between decolonization, development and education is important to understand. Also Siphoo Seepe's (ed.) *Toward an African Identity of Higher Education* provides important insights in understanding the significance of African knowledge and African identity in relation to higher education in the contemporary world. A chapter in this book is dedicated to discussing Africanism and Africanization, instruments which were used in various African countries (including Tanzania) for socio-structural decolonization.<sup>73</sup>

Sources which put more emphasis on the concept of development than education include 'Some Ambiguities in the Concept of Development' by R. Ghosh and G. Kurian<sup>74</sup>, A. Ziai's 'Development: Projects, Power and a Poststructuralist Perspective'<sup>75</sup>, L. G. Bellu's 'Development and Development Paradigms: A Review of Prevailing Visions'<sup>76</sup> and D. Seers' 'The Meaning of Development'<sup>77</sup>. The authors of these articles consider development as dialectical and contradictory in nature. They also provide definitions and paradigms of development in relation to the limitations of 'developmentalist' ideas. Other important sources which focus specifically on development in postcolonial Tanzania are A. Mohiddin's 'Relevance and Development

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<sup>72</sup> Kapoor, D. (ed.). 2009. *Education, Decolonization and Development: Perspectives from Asia, Africa and the Americas*. Sense Publishers. Rotterdam.

<sup>73</sup> Seepe, S. (ed.). 2004. *Toward an African Identity of Higher Education*. Vista University and Skotaville Media. Pretoria. pp93-107.

<sup>74</sup> Ghosh, R. and Kurian, G. 1979. 'Some Ambiguities in the Concept of Development'. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 40. No. 2. pp156-164.

<sup>75</sup> Ziai, A. 2009. 'Development: Projects, Power and a Poststructuralist Perspective'. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. Vol. 34. No. 2. pp183-201.

<sup>76</sup> Bellu, L. G. 'Development and Development Paradigms: A Review of Prevailing Visions'. pp2-5. (Accessed: June 23, 2016)

[http://www.fao.org/docs/up/easypol/882/defining\\_development\\_paradigms\\_102en.pdf](http://www.fao.org/docs/up/easypol/882/defining_development_paradigms_102en.pdf).

<sup>77</sup> Seers, D. 1969. 'The Meaning of Development'. pp1-5. (Accessed: December 4, 2015). <https://www.ids.ac.uk/files/dmfile/themeaningofdevelopment.pdf>.

in Tanzania'<sup>78</sup> (which has already been mentioned above), '*Self-Reliance and the State: The Multiple Meanings of Development in Early Post-Colonial Tanzania*' by Priya Lal, G. Sundet's '*Beyond Developmentalism in Tanzania*'<sup>79</sup> and B. Ibhawoh, and J. I. Dibua's '*Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere in the Quest for Social and Economic Development in Africa*'<sup>80</sup>. These sources provide an invaluable analysis of development in postcolonial Tanzania although they do not focus specifically on education for development or Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance in the country.

A number of dissertations were also consulted in order to assess the long-term effectiveness of Education for Self-reliance and Nyerere's objective of continuous liberation, self-reliance and development through education. One of these dissertations is '*The Role of Adult Education in meeting the Development Needs of Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania*' by Pius Ng'wandu,<sup>81</sup> which identifies specific developmental needs within rural communities in postcolonial Tanzania in light of Ujamaa Villages. Ng'wandu focuses specifically on the role of adult education in meeting the needs of these communities. Furthermore, it reviews various theories of development and underdevelopment in order to understand various needs and constraints of achieving development through Ujamaa Villages.<sup>82</sup>

*Adult Education in Tanzania* by A. I. Johnsson *et al*<sup>83</sup> also investigates the role of adult education in socio-economic development in Tanzania. K. L. M. Nkulu's PhD dissertation on '*Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania*'<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Mohiddin, A. 1971. 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*. Vol.11. No. 44. pp564-588.

<sup>79</sup> Sundet, G. 1994. 'Beyond Developmentalism in Tanzania'. *Review of African Political Economy*. Vol. 21. No. 59. pp39-49.

<sup>80</sup> Ibhawoh, B. and Dibua, J. I. 2003. 'Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere in the Quest for Social and Economic Development in Africa'. *African Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 8. No. 1. pp59-83.

<sup>81</sup> Ng'wandu, P. 1973. '*The Role of Adult Education in meeting the Development Needs of Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania*', Submitted in fulfilment of degree of Masters of Education in Sociology of Education at the University of Alberta.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* p v-vi.

<sup>83</sup> Johnsson, A. I. et al. 1983. *Adult Education in Tanzania*. (Accessed: June 23, 2016).

[http://www.sida.se/contentassets/75cb19caa5644cc1a2d1f6169eb00dde/adult-education-in-tanzania---a-review\\_3611.pdf](http://www.sida.se/contentassets/75cb19caa5644cc1a2d1f6169eb00dde/adult-education-in-tanzania---a-review_3611.pdf).

<sup>84</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 2001. '*Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania*', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Kentucky.

provides a slightly different analysis of education and development in Tanzania. Nkulu considers the colonial legacies in Africa's higher education institutions during the postcolonial period and how these legacies did not address critical issues of concern to African societies. In addition, Nyerere's contribution and vision of higher education in the context of postcolonial Africa is central to Nkulu's study, especially in the way Nyerere did not dismiss traditional African values in promoting liberation and development through education in contemporary Tanzania. What is evident from Nkulu's work is how Nyerere's educational vision gives greater understanding of how education and development in the African context are intertwined.<sup>85</sup> 'Origins and Development of Adult Education Innovations in Tanzania' by P. A. K. Mushi<sup>86</sup> also provides a similar analysis of adult education and the link between educational and economic innovations within the framework of development in postcolonial Tanzania.<sup>87</sup>

Another important scholarly analysis of education and development in Tanzania is 'Papers in Educational Development' edited by I. M. Omari and P. A. K. Mushi.<sup>88</sup> This collection of papers considers education and development in Tanzania on a broad spectrum and covers various themes, such as education and development in terms of primary and post-primary school education training, gender and education, and educational mobility, as well as the issue of language in Tanzania's education system. M. D. Mugulu's 'Obstacles to Women's Participation in Post-colonial Education in Tanzania: What is to be Done?'<sup>89</sup> is one of the few texts which discusses gender and education in Tanzania. This text is important to this study because it discusses gender and education and brings to light some of the challenges of women's participation in education in postcolonial Tanzania. Comparable texts which critically analyse education after independence and the effectiveness of educational policies in Tanzania include T. A. Nicholson's 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid. pp1-4.

<sup>86</sup> Mushi, P. A. K. 1991. 'Origins and Development of Adult Education Innovations in Tanzania' *International Review of Education*. Vol. 37. No. 3. pp351-363.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. p351.

<sup>88</sup> Omari, I. M. and Mushi, P. A. K. 1997. 'Papers in Education and Development'. *Journal of the Faculty of Education*. No. 18. pp1-163.

<sup>89</sup> Mugulu, M. D. 1999. 'Obstacles to Women's Participation in Post-colonial Education in Tanzania: What is to be Done?', Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Doctor of Philosophy at Concordia University. pp145-170.

War world'<sup>90</sup> which was mentioned above and N. E. Weaver's 'Educational Policy in Tanzania From Independence to The Present: Continuity and Transformation'<sup>91</sup> which thoroughly analyses the evolution of educational policies in Tanzania from independence to 2011.

### **Ethical considerations**

The study was conducted in line with the ethics requirements of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Pretoria, although there should be no ethical challenges because this study is wholly document-based as mentioned in the methodology and as discussed above in the overview of the sources which were be used.

### **Chapter Outline**

Chapter one consists of a brief background of the study as well as the aims of the study. It also explains and defines concepts and terms and outlines the methodology used. This chapter includes a literature review of some of the sources which have discussed aspects of this study's research interest. .

Chapter two provides a framework for this study focusing on conceptualizing the concept of self-reliance. Here self-reliance is discussed within the framework of development with specific focus on Africa. It also discusses the principles and practices of self-reliant based ideologies of the 1950s and 1960s in postcolonial Africa, such as Humanism, Pan-Africanism and African Socialism and Nyerere's thoughts on self-reliance, in particular.

Chapter three briefly outlines education in pre-colonial Africa and examines the impacts of colonial education in Africa. Among the questions that are addressed are the following: What were the pre-colonial systems of education in Africa and how did they differ from colonial education policy? How did the imposition of colonial educational policies impact education in Africa and Tanzania? Addressing these questions among

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<sup>90</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 2012. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree Doctor of Philosophy at Stony Brook University.

<sup>91</sup> Weaver, N. E. 2011. 'Educational Policy in Tanzania from Independence to the Present: Continuity and Transformation. Submitted in fulfilment of Bachelor of Philosophy at the University of Pittsburgh.

others will help to examine the tensions between Education for Self-reliance and colonial (educational) policy in Tanzania. This helps to determine what led to Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance and what his views on education and the potential relationship between education and development were.

Chapter four focuses on Education for Self-reliance. This policy was established after the Arusha Declaration (1967) and, therefore, the Declaration is briefly outlined. This chapter also considers some pre-Arusha Declaration educational reforms during the early years of independence in Tanzania. Thereafter, Education for Self-reliance as an education policy is examined along with the various levels in which the policy was implemented. Furthermore the challenges and the varying degrees of success and failure of the implementation of Education for Self-reliance are also discussed.

Chapter five discusses Nyerere's approach to development through Education for Self-reliance. The effectiveness of the policy is examined in relation to the challenges, degree of success of the policy or the failure according to various scholarly positions. This section compares scholarship in the 1970s-1980s with that published in the 1990s-2000s, re-evaluating these scholarly approaches to the study of post-independence Tanzania in general and Nyerere's policies in particular. Current views on Nyerere's approach to development through Education for Self-reliance are interrogated along with the weaknesses and gaps in the existing literature. On the one hand, this section seeks to determine whether scholars have done justice in accounting for Nyerere's approach to development by considering the policy along with its challenges and successes. On the other hand, it examines the extent to which scholars have misunderstood or misinterpreted what Nyerere was laying the foundation for and whether the scholarly approaches to the recent history of Tanzania and Nyerere's policies need changing or modifying.

Chapter six considers Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance in light of the fallacies of developmentalism and within educational systems. This chapter attempts to determine the extent to which development (and liberation) through education was appropriate for paving the way for continuous independence. Nyerere's long-term mental decolonization objective is, thus, considered and evaluated in conjunction with the people-centeredness of Nyerere's (educational) policies and his overall approach to

development (not exclusively) through education. The chapter also analyses the role of Education for Self-reliance as an alternative path to development in Tanzania and in Africa in the context of the policy's aim to promote a culture of self-reliance. The concluding chapter, chapter seven, summarizes the arguments and findings in the study and provides a final evaluation of the whole study.

## CHAPTER TWO – CONCEPTUALISING SELF-RELIANCE

### Defining Self-reliance

In general terms, self-reliance indicates that one recognizes the capacity within him or her which can be put to use in order to improve his or her well-being and that of the community at large. Self-reliance also refers to a certain level of independence, self-sufficiency and self-determination. However, it does not imply isolationism. It is a concept which is defined depending on different contexts and interpretations. Self-reliance can be examined from socio-economic, political, cultural and educational perspectives. It is a concept which is ultimately defined within the framework of (community) development. However, because the subject is very wide and for purposes of this study, it will be explained in broad terms and narrowed down to cover the African context. Fonchingong and Fonjong define self-reliance as

A state of mind that regards one's own mental and material resources as the primary stock to draw on in the pursuit of one's objectives, and finds emotional fulfilment not only in achieving the objectives but of having achieved them primarily by using one's own resources.<sup>92</sup>

According to I. K. Bavu, self-reliance is a matter of degree; meaning that 'countries can be placed in a continuum ranging from zero self-reliance to full self-reliance which may amount to total closure or disengagement'.<sup>93</sup> Self-reliance is also a matter of adaptability and measurability.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, it is a concept which is associated with independence and self-determination. According to the *Dictionary of Philosophy*, self-determination refers to 'the working out by a people or nation of its own problems and

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<sup>92</sup> Fonchingong, C. C. and Fonjong, L. N. 2003. 'The Concept of Self Reliance in Community Development Initiatives in the Cameroon Grassfields'. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 12. No. 2. p199

<sup>93</sup> Bavu, I. M. 1975. 'Tanzanian Experience of Self-reliance: A Possibility for the Development of the Poor Societies', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of South Carolina. pp71-72.

This means that the degree with which each country adapts some elements of self-reliance can be put in a certain measure. Countries which implement elements of self-reliance in their policies are not at the same level of development hence the level of engagement differs.

<sup>94</sup> This means that countries can adapt certain experiences from elsewhere to suit their local conditions in relation to their goal of self-reliant development. Measurability of self-reliance means that there has to be a way to measure the degree of success and failure of self-reliance in quantitative terms.



destiny, free from interference from without'. Implicit in this definition is the freedom of an individual or a community to determine and achieve their objectives.<sup>95</sup> Self-determination is a process which is necessary in order for a community to participate in making decisions that impact its well-being politically, economically, and otherwise. In order for self-reliance to be achieved, the self-determination of individuals or a nation is essential. Self-reliance is also explained by Bavu as 'development on the basis of a country's (region's) own resources, involving its populations based on the potentials of its cultural values and traditions'.<sup>96</sup> This means that communities and individuals are responsible for their own development individually and collectively. This type of development, thus, provides a major force for the utilization of local resources such as land, water and labour.

Espinoza analyses the concept of self-reliance by considering development and dependence and the place of self-reliance in both underdeveloped and developed countries because self-reliance is a multidimensional concept. Espinoza argues that self-reliance can be a part of 'development, revolution, structural transformations, communism and even anti-imperialist'.<sup>97</sup> It is not clear, however, whether self-reliance is a new practice, an ideology, a non-capitalist and non-socialist alternative for development, a socialist variant or a higher stage of socialist development.<sup>98</sup> Also, the author accounts for how the dependency paradigm was formulated by some Latin American governments 'as an attempt to explain the mechanics of imperialist domination and the internal dynamics of dependent countries in [Latin America]' with reference to Dependency theory.<sup>99</sup> In order to understand the state of dependency of

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<sup>95</sup> Bavu, I. M. 'Tanzanian Experience of Self-reliance: A Possibility for the Development of the Poor Societies'. p78.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. p80.

<sup>97</sup> Espinoza, M. 'Self-reliance and Dependence: A Latin American Perspective'. (Accessed: June 23, 2016).<https://www.transcend.org/galtung/papers/Self-Reliance%20and%20Dependence%20-%20Latin%20American%20Perspective.pdf>.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> 'Dependency can be defined as an explanation of the economic development of a state in terms of the external influences--political, economic, and cultural--on national development policies [Dependency is]...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is

'developing' countries, it is important to consider capitalist and imperialist domination.<sup>100</sup> Understanding the state of dependency is to understand the need for structural transformation and the importance of gradually eliminating capitalist and imperialist domination. Espinoza maintains that self-reliance through socialism is the 'only alternative to ensure a better society responsive to human needs'.<sup>101</sup> Socialism does offer an alternative path to development which is not exploitative compared to capitalism which aims to create a society based on exploitation of many for the benefit of few. However, self-reliance through socialism in particular does not necessarily guarantee that all human needs in a society will be met sufficiently, effectively or equally. It also does not mean that all parts of a particular society will benefit from socialist development regardless of how socialism is a better alternative which aims for equality, democracy, solidarity and mutual cooperation. According to Newman:

Socialism has been both centralist and local, organized from above and built from below, visionary and pragmatic, revolutionary and reformist, anti-state and statist, internationalist and nationalist...a feature of rich industrialized countries and poor peasant communities.<sup>102</sup>

Espinoza perceives self-reliance as a component of alternative strategies of development. It aims to eradicate socio-economic inequalities in both 'developing' and 'developed' countries which are also highly capitalist in nature. It is debatable whether socialism is the only path to self-reliance based on the fact that it is present in the 'developing' world. What is clear is that self-reliance aims to tackle societal inequalities. Self-reliance does not imply economic isolationism or disengagement. It is a concept which aims to increase economic growth. It contains diverse elements which are ideological, ethical, political and social. Similarly, self-reliance suggests the need to use local resources rationally, establish cooperation within the community and reduce

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subjected...Dependency theory was viewed as a possible way of explaining the persistent poverty of the poorer countries'.

See Vincent Ferraro, "Dependency Theory: An Introduction," in the Development Economics Reader, ed. Giorgio Secondi (London: Routledge, 2008).

<https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/depend.htm>.

<sup>100</sup> Espinoza, M. 'Self-reliance and Dependence: A Latin American Perspective'. (Accessed: June 23, 2016)<https://www.transcend.org/galtung/papers/Self-Reliance%20and%20Dependence%20-%20A%20Latin%20American%20Perspective.pdf>

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. p8

<sup>102</sup> Ibid. p2.

reliance on outsiders. The ultimate objective is, therefore, to achieve equal distribution of wealth and opportunities through self-reliance.

Thus, within the framework of community development, self-reliance, aims to promote equality, self-respect, humanity and individual development. Espinoza shares Galtung's argument that 'participation of the masses is the alpha and omega of self-reliance'.<sup>103</sup> Without cooperation and participation, self-reliance will not be achieved both nationally and internationally.<sup>104</sup> On an international level, self-reliance advocates for reformation of how 'developed' and 'developing' countries interact in an interdependent relationship. Hence, self-reliance suggests that there is a need for a certain level of interdependence between countries<sup>105</sup> and not autarchy or self-sufficiency. Furthermore, it is a concept and principle which takes place at different levels, namely, individual, communal and national levels hence the principle of collective self-reliance.<sup>106</sup>

C. C. Fonchingong and L. N. Fonjong argue that self-reliance in the African context is a concept which is associated with 'community development, self-help, mutual help, indigenous participation and rural development'.<sup>107</sup> This is what self-reliance meant for postcolonial Africa. Self-reliance also encourages mutual cooperation and communalism, values which are part of traditional African values with regards to development. As a concept and as a strategy for development in post-colonial African countries, the authors describe self-reliance as 'one of the bases of effective community development...in most of Sub-Saharan Africa'.<sup>108</sup> Fundamentally, self-reliance within the framework of development (in Africa) advocates for an increase of internal dependence and a decrease in dependence on external agencies. It encourages the utilization of local resources and efforts, thus increasing a sense of responsibility in local communities instead of relying solely on external assistance.

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<sup>103</sup> See Galtung, J. 'Self-reliance: Concept, theory and Practice', Paper N. 35. Chair in Conflict and Peace Research, University of Oslo.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid. pp18-19.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid. pp39-40.

<sup>106</sup> Parthasarath, A. 1976. 'Self-reliance as an Alternative Strategy for Development'. *Alternatives*. Vol. 2. No. 3. pp369-370

<sup>107</sup> Fonchingong, C. C. and Fonjong, L. N. 2003. 'The Concept of Self Reliance in Community Development Initiatives in the Cameroon Grassfields'. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 12. No.12. p196.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

According to C. C. Fonchingong and L. N. Fonjong:

The concept of self-reliance is located centrally within the discourse of community development and is connected to related concepts like self-help, mutual-help, indigenous participation and rural development. It advocates the need for people to improve their condition using local initiatives and resources in their own hands.<sup>109</sup> [Self-reliance enables] local people to exploit to their advantage resources, which would otherwise lie dormant and thereby perpetuate the ignorance and poverty of their community, by making use of the under-utilised labour; the instance self-help for community development can increase the competence and confidence of a community in handling its affairs.<sup>110</sup>

The self-help philosophy is related to self-reliance because it argues that egalitarian societies should be able to meet their individual and local needs. Self-help, mutual cooperation and participation are ways in which development goals within a community can be met. Self-help is a principle and practice of the modern world and it gives the local community an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process when it comes to their living conditions and their own development and the same applies with self-reliance. Central to self-reliance in an African context is the people-centeredness of the community in the development process. This means that in order for a community to be self-reliant through various development initiatives, the community itself must be at the heart of development.

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<sup>109</sup> Fonchingong, C. C. and Fonjong, L. N. 2003. 'The Concept of Self Reliance in Community Development Initiatives in the Cameroon Grassfields'. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 12. No. 2. p198.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

## **Self-reliance-based Ideologies in Postcolonial Africa**

Self-reliance will be discussed here within the framework of development in post-colonial Africa along with some self-reliance based ideologies which were adapted by some African countries in the 1950s and 1960s. Hence, it should be noted that this is not an exhaustive study of the self-reliance based ideologies. Rather, it is a brief overview of some of these ideologies and their impact on postcolonial Africa.

The need for self-reliance arose from the formidable historical realities that oppressed and exploited Africa – slavery and colonialism, to be precise. Through slavery and colonialism, Africa was exploited and oppressed by Europeans for over four hundred years. Consequently Africa as a whole was robbed of its resources and, its people, while its development was also retarded. Upon attaining political independence, many African countries sought to break free from being oppressed and exploited and to stand on their own feet,<sup>111</sup> although some African countries maintained an interdependence relationship (especially economically) with their former colonizers – a relationship which came with strings attached.

In postcolonial Africa, political independence was the first stage of self-reliance and self-determination. During the postcolonial period, African leaders still faced challenges of creating a national identity and transforming their politico-economic conditions. In their attempts to achieve their developmental goals, some African leaders opted for variations of the socialist ideology.<sup>112</sup> Africa needed to be independent from European colonizers politically, economically, ideologically and otherwise, which is why leaders like Nkrumah and Nyerere fought and sought to be self-reliant, looking to move away from Western (colonial) models of development. Some postcolonial countries still based their policies on colonial approaches and structures, making little to no effort of changing the structures which were in place. A small number of African countries recognized the need for revolution and application of the self-reliance approach in order to reassert and restore the dignity, authority and independence of their countries and Africa. This is why some postcolonial African leaders opted for self-reliance-based ideologies as the basis for their development.

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<sup>111</sup> Nyerere, J. K. 1968. *Freedom and Socialism*. Oxford University Press. London. p237.

<sup>112</sup> Mwangala, R. M. 2009. 'Found A Modern Nation-State On Christian Values?: A Theological Assessment of Zambian Humanism' by submitted in fulfilment of the Master of Theology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. p14.

The self-reliance-based ideologies which will be briefly discussed for the scope of this research are Pan-Africanism, Zambian Humanism and African Socialism – ideologies which greatly influenced different developmental policies in some parts of Africa during the 1950s and 1960s. These self-reliance ideologies were approaches articulated by the founding fathers of postcolonial Africa. These ideologies were driven by the need to develop Africa by using the Africans' own productive potential. There have been debates about whether these ideologies really pursued full self-reliance but, as noted above, self-reliance in practice is a matter of degree and these ideologies, by and large, are based on the common goal to encourage Africans to take the destiny of their development in their own hands.

### **Pan-Africanism**

Pan-Africanism is an example of a self-reliance based ideology which influenced some parts of Africa. Generally, Pan-Africanism embodies 'all efforts, political, social, cultural, economic and emotional, aimed at the attainment of African and Diaspora unity, pride, advancement, justice and freedom'.<sup>113</sup> The word 'pan' means 'all', therefore pan-Africanism includes all people of African descent throughout the world who argued that Africans were all connected through common experiences of slavery, oppression and exploitation. The conception of pan-Africanism is, therefore, deeply rooted in the history of the suffering of Africans worldwide – not exclusively in Africa. Pan-Africanism encouraged Africans to rediscover and recover their identity while struggling for liberation from neo-colonialism and racism. Pan-Africanism is an ideology and movement which was a product of thinkers outside of Africa. Thereafter, it became an African movement which inspired African Socialism.<sup>114</sup>

The Pan-African initiative was a reaction against the ill-treatment of the Black man based on racial grounds. It emerged as a reaction against the social condition which forced Africans and their descendants into slavery, colonial oppression and a life of servitude and exploitation. Pan-Africanism put emphasis on ideas which were a psychological response to the inhumanity that Africans faced. As an idea, it has its roots in the Trans-Atlantic slave trade of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>115</sup> At that

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<sup>113</sup> Forgewe, M J. 2002, 'African Socialism and Attaining the Pan-African Ideal: Tanzania and Kenya, 1950-1970', Submitted in fulfilment of Bachelor of Arts at Kalamazoo College. p4.

<sup>114</sup> Ibid.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. pp5-6, 10.

time, this movement was not defined as pan-Africanist but black people were seeking to restore the dignity of Africans and their descendants. There were various post-colonial African leaders who had to learn from the mistakes of others and attempt to create more effective social structures based on justice and equality.<sup>116</sup> Pan-Africanism promoted justice and self-determination during the struggle for political independence in some African countries in the 1950s and 1960s. It was conceived as a reaction against the harsh realities and impacts of oppressive European colonial rule and slavery that hindered the development of Africa.<sup>117</sup>

In the USA Diaspora, individuals of African descent such as Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and C.L.R. James, Martin Luther King Jr.<sup>118</sup> and W.E.B. Dubois<sup>119</sup> struggled for democratic equality and justice for decades. They were at the forefront of these pan-Africanist ideas. Pan-Africanism was thus a tool for mobilizing the oppressed race (the Black race) in order for them to unite against racism and overall oppression. In France, there was a variation of Pan-Africanism in the concept of Negritude. Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal was one of the driving forces behind this idea. Politically, Negritude was meant to inspire pride among Africans and prepare them for their political independence. Socio-culturally, this concept emphasised the importance of celebrating 'blackness in the face of European (white) belief of superiority and racial discrimination based on such belief'.<sup>120</sup> However, the contradiction is that Leopold Senghor was a full-fledged Frenchman and he was also a French scholar. On the one hand, he was an African who was also a symbol of 'Frenchness' and a colonial subject. On the other hand, he believed that he was also an 'authentic' African. Indeed, Senghor was an African but he was an African who did not fully celebrate and embrace blackness or 'Africanness'. Also, French speaking parts of Africa were influenced by these ideologies

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<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Soyinka, W. et al. 2015. *Reimagining Pan-Africanism*. Mkuki na Nyota. Dar es Salaam. p120

<sup>118</sup> Martin Luther King Jr. (1929-1968) was a social activist who led the civil rights movement in the United States from the mid-1950s. His leadership was fundamental to that movement's success in ending the legal segregation of African Americans in the South and other parts of the United States.

<sup>119</sup> William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868 –1963) was an American civil rights activist, leader, Pan-Africanist, sociologist, educator, historian, writer, editor, poet, and scholar. His stance on Pan-Africanism inspired the political struggle of independence in Africa and his views also inspired many African leaders in the process of transforming Africa.

<sup>120</sup> Soyinka, W. et al. 2015. *Reimagining Pan-Africanism*. pp122-123.

but they made little to no effort to adopt new policies which moved away from colonial structures.

In Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah carried the pan-Africanist idea and applied it in the call for African unity. He was considered by Africans and pan-Africanists as one of the founding fathers of pan-Africanism in Africa. He believed in the importance of African unity which went hand in hand with the liberation of Africans. Nkrumah argued that socialism was a system that would best serve Africa's needs 'in accommodating the changes brought about by capitalism'.<sup>121</sup> However, Colin Legum argued that

Pan-Africanism is essentially a movement of ideas and emotions; at times it achieves a synthesis; at times it remains at the level of thesis and antithesis. In one sense, it can be linked to socialism...and yet, Pan-Africanism is different from all these movements in that it is exclusive.<sup>122</sup>

Pan-Africanism is, therefore, not a static term or movement. It highlighted the need for Africans and the Diaspora to advance by methods of their own while leading themselves ideologically and practically and moving away from Western constructs. As cited in Forgwe's 'African Socialism and Attaining the Pan-African Ideal: Tanzania and Kenya, 1950-1970', Ali Mazrui argued that

Africans in the Diaspora found unity in pan-Africanism on the basis of their having been jointly enslaved; Africans in Africa, on the other hand, found the same unity in pan-Africanism on the basis of their having been jointly colonized; the two groups found a unifying universalism in pan-Africanism on the basis of having been jointly exploited by the Western world.<sup>123</sup>

Pan-Africanism as a political philosophy was intended to stimulate anti-colonialism to newly emerging nationalist movements in Africa.<sup>124</sup> The seeds of pan-Africanism were planted at the point where Europeans arrived in Africa causing Africa to be caught in a

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<sup>121</sup> Ibid. pp124,129.

W.E.B Du Bois asserted that 'the pan-African movement aims at intellectual understanding and cooperation among all groups of African descent in order to bring about the industrial and spiritual emancipation of the Negro people'.

<sup>122</sup> Forgwe, M. J. 2002, 'African Socialism and Attaining the Pan-African Ideal: Tanzania and Kenya, 1950-1970' Submitted in fulfilment of Bachelor of Arts at Kalamazoo College. Pp4-5-10

<sup>123</sup> Ibid. p6.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid. pp7, 21-24.



whirlwind of a Western capitalist system. This is why some leaders in newly independent Africa sought to escape from this situation, believing that politico-economic and social advancement would only be achieved through African Socialism which will be discussed below.

### **African Socialism**

African Socialism was an ideology which attempted to 'recapture and modernize the community way of life practiced by the Negro races before the coming of the Europeans'.<sup>125</sup> It was a movement which was influenced by the pan-Africanist initiative. Traditional African society was based on 'a socialist attitude of mind', governed by indigenous socialist rules, customs and institutions. African socialism was, therefore, 'an expression of the desire of all Africans to find themselves, be themselves and to assert themselves'.<sup>126</sup> During the colonial period, the African had no right to develop himself or herself and was perceived as a mere 'imitator of the colonial masters'. Consequently, any development that took place during colonialism was 'not the development of an African as an African but as an imitator or as an appendage of someone else'.<sup>127</sup> The success of an African during colonialism was measured by colonial standards. The colonial situation denied the Africans the right to develop themselves in a way which was appropriate to their objectives and needs.<sup>128</sup>

Some African leaders in independent Africa worked towards merging egalitarianism, communalism, and cooperation and modern methods of development in order to achieve development in their respective countries. As cited in Soyinka's *Reimagining Pan-Africanism*, Nkrumah stated that

Traditional African society was founded on principles of egalitarianism...however it had various shortcomings. Its humanist impulse...is something that continues to urge [Africans] towards [their] all African socialist reconstruction. [Africans] postulated each man to be an end in him not merely a means and [Africans] accept the necessity of guaranteeing each man equal opportunities for his

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<sup>125</sup> Onuoha, B. 1965. *The Elements of African Socialism*. London. Deutsch. p30.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid. p30

<sup>127</sup> Mohiddin, A. 1971. 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*. Vol.11. No. 44.pp578-579

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. pp579-580.

development...Any meaningful humanist must begin from egalitarianism and must lead to objectively chosen policies for safeguarding and sustaining egalitarianism, hence , socialism and scientific socialism.<sup>129</sup>

Some policies in postcolonial Africa were based on African Socialism. This was a declaration of ideological independence meaning that Africans were gearing up to transform their respective countries without having to imitate European models of development. Africa's exposure to European education, culture and institutions had an overall negative impact on the development and progress of the African. It robbed Africans of the opportunity to continue developing themselves. The ideology of African Socialism implied that the African was capable of recapturing the 'traditional values and outlook of his race and to adapt these to the needs of the twentieth century' and ultimately, modern development.<sup>130</sup>

The ideological and geo-political struggle between the socialist East and capitalist West which was manifested by the Cold War caused Africa to be caught in the midst of these ideals. At the same time, some African leaders in some parts of Africa such as Tanzania, Ghana and, to a certain extent, Zambia were in search of methods of development which were far from capitalism; hence, there were also variations of socialism in the above mentioned countries. It is important to understand that socialism was not an ideal which was limited to some parts of Europe only. It was universal and Julius Nyerere argued that:

The universality of socialism only exists if it can take account of men's differences, and be equally valid for all of them. And it can, for the universality of socialism does not imply a single, world-wide uniformity of social institutions...or social language...Socialist societies in different parts of the world will differ in many respects even when they are fully developed instead of being...at different stages on the road to socialism.<sup>131</sup>

It is also an ideology which some post-colonial African leaders embraced. African leaders such as Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast, Tubman of William Liberia and Leon

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<sup>129</sup> Soyinka, W. *et al. Reimagining Pan-Africanism*. pp122-123.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid

<sup>131</sup> Nyerere. J. K. 1968. *Freedom and Socialism*. p3.

M'ba of Gabon ignored the concept completely.<sup>132</sup> Although there was a need for Africans to discover and uncover their roots which had been damaged and distorted during the colonial experience, it is clear that African socialism did not reach or impact all African leaders. Still, there was a need for Africans to be mentally liberated so that they would be liberated from the shackles of colonial oppression. Furthermore, Africans were made ashamed of their traditions, which is why they needed to shun the falsity of the view that 'civilized' meant European and anything traditional was 'inferior'.<sup>133</sup> This explains the African quest to build new societies and Africa anew and recreate their own philosophy based on their African experience. Therefore, African socialism was an ideology which addressed politico- economic and socio-economic and national issues in the early years after independence.

Furthermore, African socialism was not an ideology or movement formulated by one thinker. It was diverse and it operated within specific contexts and there was no unified theory of African socialism.<sup>134</sup> African socialism was an outcome of historical conditions and it was influenced by Marxist ideals of socialism. However, the post-colonial African situation did not compare to that of early twentieth century Russia or nineteenth century Western Europe.<sup>135</sup> Therefore, socialism in Africa was influenced by Marxist thoughts on socialism but it went beyond Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy and took into consideration the African reality. Nyerere maintained that to consider Marx and Lenin as:

Thinkers [who] provided all the answers to [Africa's] problems, or as if Marx invented socialism is to reject both the universality of Africa and the universality of socialism...It is to accept the idea that Africa has nothing to contribute to the march of mankind, it is to argue that the only way to progress that can be achieved in Africa is if we reject our own past and impose on ourselves the doctrines of some other society.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> Forgwe, M J. 2002, 'African Socialism and Attaining the Pan-African Ideal: Tanzania and Kenya, 1950-1970'. pp69-70.

<sup>133</sup> Hann, C. M. (ed). 1993. *Socialism: Ideas, ideologies and local practices*. Routledge. London. pp72-74.

<sup>134</sup> Forgwe, M J. 2002, 'African Socialism and Attaining the Pan-African Ideal: Tanzania and Kenya, 1950-1970' p49.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. p50.

<sup>136</sup> Nyerere. J. K. 1968. *Freedom and Socialism*. pp15-16.

Therefore, African socialism is an example of a self-reliance based ideology especially because it aimed to recapture and modernize the community way of life practiced Africans prior to the arrival of the white man.<sup>137</sup> Also, African socialism implied that Africans were capable of recapturing their traditional values and outlook of their race and to adapt these to the needs of the twentieth century and to modern development.<sup>138</sup>

### **Zambian Humanism**

Zambian humanism was adopted by the first president of independent Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda (1964-1991). It became the national philosophy and ideology of Zambia in 1967. It comprised elements which did not all fit well together, such as African traditions, radical Christianity, existential humanism, and Kaunda's personal convictions. Zambian humanism was meant to be the social cement that held the nation together, yet it did not succeed and it was short-lived.

After political independence in 1964, Zambia sought to develop itself along the lines of socialist ideas so as to make Zambia a modern state. Zambian humanism was a form of African socialism combined with traditional African values, western socialism and Christian values.<sup>139</sup> However, Kaunda claimed that his ideology was not socialist because socialism focussed on social structures whereas humanism put emphasis on the involvement of the individual and his or her contribution to the development of a society free of exploitation. Yet, can one be a humanist without being a socialist?

As noted above, Zambian humanism included African traditions, socialism and radical Christianity although there were contradictions because radical Christianity was associated with European imperialism and colonialism. The central focus of this ideology was on the human in relation to socio-economic, political and cultural activities, while acknowledging the existence of God. Zambian humanism aimed to break free from the colonial past and create an African identity. However, this African identity was based on Western religious ideology and, thus, it contradicted the notion of completely

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid. p30.

<sup>138</sup> Onuoha, B. *The Elements of African Socialism*. p31; Mbah, S. and Igariwey, I. E. 1997. *African Anarchism. The History of a Movement*. (Accessed: December 5, 2015). <http://libcom.org/files/African%20Anarchism%20-%20Mbah%20and%20Igariwey.pdf>. p72.

<sup>139</sup> Mwangala, M. R. 2009. 'Found a Modern Nation-State on Christian Values? A theological Assessment of Zambian Humanism', Submitted in fulfilment of Master of Theology at the University of KwaZulu Natal. pp2-3,11.

breaking free from the colonial past and creating a genuine African identity through Zambian humanism.<sup>140</sup> Still, the core of humanism was its emphasis on respect for humanity and mutual cooperation, respect, collective work, self-reliance and absence of exploitation. These elements also applied to Zambia and they were the moral foundations for the traditional society. Mwangala argued that theology or Christianity in Zambia was relevant within the postcolonial discourse and it contributed to the on-going African Christian identity. Despite the fact that Christianity was introduced by colonial penetration, Mwangala contended that there is no single approach to theology and that every theology must be contextual, taking into consideration historical specificity. This is not to claim that the superimposition of Christianity did not have a negative impact on the traditional religious beliefs in Africa because it did. Traditional African religious beliefs were undermined and perceived as 'backward' and 'barbaric' due to the imposition of Christianity. On the issue of Christianity, Kaunda, as cited in Mwangala's 'Found a Modern Nation-State on Christian Values? A theological Assessment of Zambian Humanism', stated that

By Christian humanism, I mean that we discover all that is worth knowing about God through our fellow men and unconditional service to our fellow men in the purest form of service to God...when man learn, by bitter experience if not in any other way, that the only hope for peace and happiness of the world is to give political and economic expression to love others we shall have entered not the kingdom of man but the kingdom of God.<sup>141</sup>

Here Kaunda asserted that Africa needed a religion that did not underscore the sinfulness and depravity of humanity. This Christian virtue of hope would help to restore faith in humanity's salvation, despite the exploitation Africans experienced at the hands of racist colonialists. This, however, is not an excuse and it does not minimize the negative impact of colonialism.<sup>142</sup>

Kaunda believed that it was important to restore the dignity of the African, to eliminate exploitation of man by man and to provide equal opportunities for all. Hard work, mutual cooperation, inclusiveness, people-centeredness, communalism and self-reliance were

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<sup>140</sup> Mwangala, M. R. 2009. 'Found a Modern Nation-State on Christian Values? A theological Assessment of Zambian Humanism'. p2.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid. pp12-13.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. p39.

all important elements of Zambian humanism.<sup>143</sup> Zambian humanism sought to create an African society which employed a social security scheme to help family members in need of assistance instead of dependence on external institutional support. It also discouraged man-centeredness and the exploitation of man and all forms of inequality among men and promoted human dignity instead.

Kaunda's humanism also rejected Marxist-Leninist communism because of its atheist element. Although humanism was the main underlying principle in both Kaunda's humanism and Marxist-Leninist orthodoxy, there was a difference. The former was based on religion, whereas, the latter was atheist in nature. Also, what made Zambian humanism distinct especially from Nyerere's Ujamaa was its emphasis on the benefits of industrial development and use of modern technologies. In spite of this, Kaunda believed that development through modern technology had potential risks leading to man becoming a slave of technology. Nyerere, therefore, did not succeed in this regard and only later realised the importance of science and technology for development in the modern world.<sup>144</sup>

Humanism was used as an instrument of political rule and strategy for socio-economic development in Zambia. As a system, it was institutionalized but its constitutional standing was never clarified. It was ambiguous throughout its existence. Although humanism was at the heart of Zambia's response to economic crisis, it was short-lived. Kaunda's humanism tried to link humanistic values and economic policies as if the former can automatically be translated into the latter. Zambian humanism looked promising but the implementation was difficult. As an ideology, it did not take root among the Zambians and translating theory into practice proved to be a challenge.<sup>145</sup> Still, Zambian humanism was significant especially in the immediate post-colonial period

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<sup>143</sup> Kaunda, K. D. (2007). 'Zambian humanism: 40 years later'. *Sunday Post*, October 28. pp20-25; Sekwat, A. 2000. 'Beyond African Humanism: Economic Reform in Post-Independence Zambia'. *International Journal of Organizational Theory and Behaviour*. Vol. 3. No. 3 & 4. pp521-527.

<sup>144</sup> Mwangala, M. R. 'Found a Modern Nation-State on Christian Values? A theological Assessment of Zambian Humanism'. pp40,46, 48-49.

<sup>145</sup> Kanu, A. I. 2014. Kenneth Kaunda and the Quest for African Humanist Philosophy. *International Journal of Scientific Research*. Vol. 3. No. 8. p377.

because it engaged in the postcolonial discourse while deconstructing the inherited colonial worldview and Western perspectives of Africa.<sup>146</sup>

The above ideologies are examples of some self-reliance-based ideologies in postcolonial Africa and they have been briefly outlined in order to understand some of the ideologies which influenced certain policies and early reform initiatives for the development of Africa. It is evident that self-reliance is an alternative which was used in Africa in order to promote African development through awakening Africans to the realisation of the role they have to play in spearheading their own development.

### **Nyerere on Self-Reliance: A Synopsis**

Nyerere's views on self-reliance and how he characterized the concept in Africa and more specifically in Tanzania are encompassed in Ujamaa<sup>147</sup>. Nyerere's Ujamaa was an ideology and an attitude of mind which sought to merge Tanzania's historical traditions and modern practices for the development of Tanzania. Nyerere's Ujamaa resisted and rejected Western concepts of capitalist development seeking to build a philosophy for Tanzania based on freedom, equality and unity.<sup>148</sup> Thus, there is importance in using a broad category such as a 'self-reliance-based ideology' as a contextual framework in order to understand how Nyerere viewed self-reliance as part of a whole and not a set of isolated principles and practices.

Ujamaa was an expression of independence and ideological self-reliance. It was also a variation of socialism in Tanzania and an ideology which coincided with Nyerere's overall vision for postcolonial Tanzania.<sup>149</sup> Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa was rooted in traditional African values with particular emphasis on family-hood and communalism. Ujamaa, as a philosophy, did not only focus on politico-economic development but also on social and educational development and, central to the overall development, was self-reliance. Ujamaa did not imply survival of the fittest in a society filled with individualistic principles for all human beings. The problem, according to Nyerere was

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<sup>146</sup> Mwangala, M. R. 'Found a Modern Nation-State on Christian Values? A theological Assessment of Zambian Humanism'. pp24-26, 34.

<sup>147</sup> Ujamaa is a Kiswahili word which means 'family-hood' and it describes Nyerere's philosophy and adaptation of socialism in Tanzania. <sup>147</sup> The term 'jamaa' implies unity and the bringing together of a society and forming a whole. See Nyerere, J. K. 1962. 'Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism'. p8.

<sup>148</sup> Ibhawoh, B. and Dibua, J. I. 'Deconstructing Ujamaa: The Legacy of Julius Nyerere'. p62.

<sup>149</sup> Nyerere, J. K. 1968. *Freedom and Socialism*. p348.

How to get the benefit of European society – benefits which have been brought about by an organization of society based on an exaggerated idea of the rights of the individual – and yet retain the Africans' own structure of society in which the individual is a member of a kind of fellowship.<sup>150</sup>

The Policy of Self-reliance, within the bigger context of Ujamaa, aimed for development through socialism and self-reliance. This led to the following three things:

The nationalisation of all the major means of production and putting them under public control; The democratic, and effective participation of workers and peasants in all production decisions; and relying on the country's efforts and resources for her own development, and especially ensuring that those resources are used for the purpose of meeting the needs of the people.<sup>151</sup>

In order to get an understanding of Nyerere's thoughts on self-reliance, the Policy of Self-reliance is the starting point. The Policy of Self-reliance was based on Tanzania's unpleasant experience. The First Five Year Development Plan (1961-1966) disappointed Tanzania because there was much emphasis on money and dependence on foreign investors who responded negatively. More often than not, foreign investors were not politically neutral and had ulterior motives. Since Nyerere was not willing to accept aid which was not conducive to the kind of development being pursued in Tanzania, this pushed him to find alternative approaches so as to build Ujamaa and self-reliance. This meant that if Tanzania was to develop, it would do so in a manner appropriate to Tanzania and with efforts from the Tanzanians themselves.<sup>152</sup>

Much of the Policy has Nyerere's print on it although it was a collective effort of the TANU government. The Policy of Self-reliance provided important clues in understanding self-reliance in postcolonial Tanzania. Although the Policy itself does not define self-reliance as a concept, it discusses what self-reliance meant for the development of postcolonial Tanzania. It is a good reference point because it helps to see how the theory and practice of the principle of self-reliance evolved over time during

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<sup>150</sup> Mohiddin, A. 1971. 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania'. p572.

<sup>151</sup> Malima, K. A. 1979. 'Planning for Self-reliance: Tanzania's Third Five Year Development'. *African Development*. Vol. 4. No. 1 . pp37.

<sup>152</sup> Mohiddin, A. 1971. 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania'. pp577-578



the implementation process of policies such as Education for Self-reliance which will be discussed in chapter four.

Nyerere's model of African development for Africans and by Africans was socialism and self-reliance and it was a response to the challenges or impacts of colonialism on Tanzania. The Policy of Self-reliance was geared towards moving the people of Tanzania from poverty to prosperity through self-reliance and socialism. In pursuit of this revolution, the Policy of Self-reliance emphasised a number of aspects. The Policy stated that the major instrument for development in Tanzania was not money. Postcolonial Tanzania had an abundance of land and what was needed, according the Policy, was hard work and intelligence. Dependence on outside help had the potential of jeopardising the independence of Tanzania in the long run. Nyerere stated that 'independence cannot be real if a nation depends upon gifts and loans from another [country] for its development...Gifts which weaken our own efforts should not be accepted without asking ourselves a number of questions.'<sup>153</sup> The Policy did not suggest that money or foreign assistance was not necessary for development but the emphasis, overemphasis and dependence on money for development deviated from the principle of self-reliance.

Although these methods of financial assistance were not bad, it remained essential for a nation to question how these could affect its independence. Financial aid was to be accepted only in support of national efforts by Tanzanians to develop themselves. If it weakened or distorted national efforts, such aid should not be accepted willy-nilly. Furthermore, on the matter of capital assistance, Nyerere said:

We shall continue to seek capital from abroad for particular projects or as a contribution to general development. It is clear, for example, that if we are to achieve our ambition of getting a railway which links Tanzania and Zambia, we shall obtain most of the capital and the technical assistance from overseas...The

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<sup>153</sup> Nyerere, J. K. 1968. *Freedom and Socialism*. pp239-240.

The argument was that a poor man did not need to use money as a weapon in his struggle. This was the wrong weapon. The wrong way to overcome poverty was by using the weapons of economically strong weapons of the economically strong – weapons which postcolonial Africa did not possess. This led to the perception that money was the basis of development and without it, development was impossible. Although this was with reference to Tanzania, it also applied to Africa – this dependence on money.

important thing, however, is that we in Tanzania should not adopt an attitude that nothing can be done until someone else agrees to give us money.<sup>154</sup>

Financial aid had limitations because often it seldom benefitted the majority of the people being assisted. Dependence on foreign aid in the long term would inevitably interfere with Tanzania's policy of socialism. Independence and development both reflected self-reliance for Nyerere. Thus 'inviting a chain of capitalists to...establish industries in our country might succeed in giving us all the industries we need but it would also succeed in preventing the establishment of socialism unless we believe that without first building capitalism, we cannot build socialism'.<sup>155</sup>

Thirdly, according to the Policy, money was not the basis for development. Instead, development was the result of the efforts of the people themselves and the wealth they collectively accumulated. According to Nyerere, agriculture and hard work were the two pillars of Tanzania's development. Implicit in this is the need for good policies, mutual cooperation among the community, proper land use, as well as good leadership and good policies.<sup>156</sup> These were some of the tools of development which could be controlled by Tanzanians. This notion emphasised that in order for Tanzania to develop, it would make no sense to depend on others to build Tanzania in a manner appropriate to the needs of Tanzania. Nyerere argued that 'in order to maintain our independence and our people's freedom, we need to be self-reliant in every possible way and avoid depending upon other countries for assistance'.<sup>157</sup> This implied that Tanzanians needed to get involved in development projects relevant to the community at large – projects which were within their power to do. Dependence would, instead, be on what the

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<sup>154</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. p322.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid. p241.

A. K. Malima argued that 'the real issue is that a country which cherishes its freedom of action and independence should at the same time be in a position to judge what type of foreign assistance and on what terms helps her to become more self-reliant and independent, and what type of foreign aid makes her more and more dependent'. For Nyerere, financial assistance was not discouraged. Rather, there needed to be careful consideration with regards to the type of financial assistance was being received and whether or not it would lead to further dependence or more independence. See Malima, K. A. 1979. 'Planning for Self-reliance: Tanzania's Third Five Year Development'. *African Development*. Vol. 4. No. 1. pp47-48.

<sup>156</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. pp241-243.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid. pp241-243.

country already had – land and labourers.<sup>158</sup> The lack of emphasis on money did not mean a rejection of foreign aid. As cited in Mohiddin's 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania', Nyerere stated that

We have firmly rejected the proposition that without foreign aid we cannot develop. We shall not depend upon overseas aid to the extent of bending our political, economic or social policies in hope of getting it. But we shall try to get it in order to hasten our economic progress and that it may act as a catalyst to our own efforts.<sup>159</sup>

One of the major shortcomings (and a reason why it has been criticised) of the Policy of Self-reliance was its overemphasis on agriculture and under-emphasis on industries and technology. However, this Policy deliberately shifted focus from industries to agriculture stating that 'industries will come and money will come but [the] foundation is the people and their hard work, especially in agriculture because this is what it meant to be self-reliant.'<sup>160</sup> The important point that Nyerere and the Tanzanian government were making through this Policy was that there was a need to understand the basis of their development as postcolonial Tanzania and to move away from a dependence on money for development. With this regard, Nyerere said:

From now on, we shall know what is the foundation and what is the fruit of development...We shall stand upright and walk forward on our feet rather than look at this problem upside down. Industries and money will come but their foundation is the people and their hard work especially in agriculture. This is the meaning of self-reliance.<sup>161</sup>

Fourthly according to Nyerere, it was through socialism and self-reliance that Tanzanians would achieve the kind of development they desired. Nyerere's approach to development through Ujamaa would ensure that a country and all its citizens lived in equality, without division of any kind. Ujamaa meant that all people would be equal in

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<sup>158</sup> Mohiddin, A. 1971. 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*. Vol.11. No. 44. p577

<sup>159</sup> Ibid. p577.

<sup>160</sup> Malima, K. A. 'Planning for Self-reliance: Tanzania's Third Five Year Development'. *African Development*. Vol. 4. No. 1. p37; Mohiddin, A. 1969. 'The Mwalimu (2<sup>nd</sup> part)'. *Civilisations*. Vol. 19. No. 4. pp467-472.

<sup>161</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. pp246-246.

dignity and in opportunity so that they would be enabled to serve their country to the limit of their ability. Socialism was perceived as an appropriate or rational system for the development of Africa. This was due to the fact that, traditionally, African societies were socialist. Also, collectivism, communalism and nation building would be most effective through socialist policies which would also help to maintain national unity only when combined with self-reliance.<sup>162</sup> For Tanzania, self-reliance was also seen as the only dignified way of building the nation. Independence had to be sustained and worked for by the people. Self-reliance would also play an important role in national reconstruction and the people themselves would be involved and they would use their own initiatives and resources. As a result, this effort had the potential of 'releasing the inventive genius of the people (Africans), as has been the case with other people'.<sup>163</sup>

This Policy of Self-reliance does not explain everything there is to know about Nyerere's views on self-reliance but through it, one gets an understanding of the thinking that informed Nyerere's views on this matter. Through this analysis, self-reliance is understood according to the context of postcolonial Tanzania. Self-reliance did not only imply political independence from colonial domination. It was a vehicle for Tanzanians to reclaim authority and responsibility of their own development and it also restored their human dignity. Self-reliance was a turning point for Africa and Tanzania as Nyerere noted in the following statement

We have been oppressed a great deal; we have been exploited a great deal and we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution – a revolution which brings to an end our weaknesses, so that we are never again exploited, oppressed or humiliated.<sup>164</sup>

Nyerere maintained that self-reliance had a redeeming quality. Africans needed to redeem their dignity and regain their confidence as human beings.<sup>165</sup> This could only be done through self-reliance in the hope to achieve a certain degree of success.

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<sup>162</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. pp572-573; Cornelli, E. M. 2012. 'A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa: An Investigation of its Foundations and Values', Submitted in fulfilment of a Doctorate of Philosophy at the University of Birmingham. pp44-45.

<sup>163</sup> Mohiddin, A. 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania'. p578.

<sup>164</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. p235

<sup>165</sup> Ibid. p580.

Although the level of material economic development may not have been high, self-reliance would empower the African to learn and to acquire knowledge through their own efforts— something which was considered essential but denied to them during the colonial period. Mohiddin argued that for Tanzania, self-reliance

...in its ideological and economic dimension [was] not a formula for a passionate and blind lead backwards to the romantic African past...It [was] a revolutionary formula for a new Africa primarily based on the old, yet radically tempered by the modern western and other impacts.<sup>166</sup>

As it has been seen above, self-reliance is wide-ranging. Moreover, self-reliance implies independence and self-determination yet it does not imply isolationism. The concept of self-reliance can be contextualized culturally, ideologically or politic-economically and it is often looked at in terms of (community) development. In the 1950s and 1960s, African countries gained political independence but this was not enough. Some African leaders like Nkrumah, Kaunda and Nyerere went a step further and adapted self-reliance based ideologies – grounded on socialist thought - in an attempt to develop their newly independent countries. For Nyerere, self-reliance was more than politico-economical. The concept had a redeeming quality for the Tanzanians mentally and psychologically too. Through self-reliance and education, Tanzanians would be empowered with skills and knowledge in order for them to overcome the yoke of domination and take charge of their own development, hence the drawing up of Education for Self-reliance.

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<sup>166</sup> Mohiddin, A. 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania'. p581.

## CHAPTER THREE: THE IMPACT OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN COLONIAL AFRICA

### Education in Pre-Colonial Africa

Traditional African education existed prior to the introduction of religious education systems under Islam and Christianity. Systems of education in Africa existed prior to contact with Europeans. The process of education in Africa was characterised by socio-cultural, religious and artistic activities within particular ethnic groups. 'School' and 'education' in traditional African societies were integrated with all aspects of life. The African child was educated from birth to adulthood.<sup>167</sup> Scholarly debates on traditional educational systems often argue that 'the education of the African before the coming of the European was education that prepared him [or her] for his [or her] responsibility as an adult in his home'.<sup>168</sup> The African child was taught social etiquette and agricultural methods in order for the child to maintain his or her social identity in the community.

During colonialism, Europeans assumed that it was their mission to 'educate' the 'uneducated' Africans. Because there were no permanent school walls in traditional African educational systems, this made Europeans (and Eurocentric scholars) look down on traditional African education. Furthermore, Europeans were blinded by their own cultural paradigms and they viewed traditional African educational as informal.<sup>169</sup> Early European writers on Africa claimed that Africa had no civilization, culture or history. South of the Sahara there was, ostensibly, no indigenous history because African history began and ended with Egypt according to early European scholars. The general assumption was that African history was limited to Egypt and the rest of Africa was arguably 'uneducated'. Education was associated with civilization and culture, elements that Europeans argued Africa did not have.<sup>170</sup> 'Modern' education, the formal western style educational system, was and still is associated with Western thought and it was perceived by Western oriented

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<sup>167</sup> Marah, J. K. 2006. 'The Virtues and Challenges in Traditional African Education'. *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. Vol. 1. No. 6. p15.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid. p17.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid. p15.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid. p16.

educators as better than indigenous knowledge which is typically associated with folk knowledge and hence considered 'inferior'.<sup>171</sup>

With that said, it is important to consider that in traditional African societies, education was gender-based meaning that girls and boys were taught skills and knowledge that would prepare them for their specific roles in the society. The only problem with this was that the African boy child had more opportunities whereas the African girl child was limited in the type of skills she learnt. She had to be taught how to care for a household, motherhood. Often, scholars do not mention this aspect.<sup>172</sup>

A crucial aspect in pre-colonial African education was that it was relevant to Africans and it took into consideration Africa's condition in contrast with what was later introduced. Indigenous education in Africa had the following characteristics: It was linked to social life in terms of material and spiritual aspects; it was multifaceted, collectivist in nature and it focussed on continuous development of the child physically, emotionally and mentally. In traditional African education systems, education and productivity were inseparable even though the type of education was mainly informal. There was no division between manual and intellectual education and this is what created well-rounded personalities who fit into these pre-colonial African societies.<sup>173</sup>

There were elements of formal education in African education in that there was a distinction between teachers and learners. Furthermore, formal education in Africa was linked to the societal needs and objectives. There were specialised functions such as hunting, organising religious ritual and the practice of medicine which

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<sup>171</sup> Semali, L and Stomback, A. 1997. 'Cultural Identity in an African Context: Indigenous Education and Curriculum in East Africa'.

<https://scholarworks.iu.edu/dspace/bitstream/handle/2022/2239/28%281%29%203-27.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>.

<sup>172</sup> Mazonde, M. 1995. 'Culture and Education in the Development of Africa'. (Accessed: 6 December 2017). <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/IDEP/UNPAN003347.pdf>. p2.

<sup>173</sup> Moreover, traditional African education was founded on five principles namely functionalism, preparationism, communalism, perennialism and holisticism.

See Adeyemi, M. B. and Adeyinka, A. A. 2002. 'Some Key Issues in African Traditional Education'. *McGill Journal of Education*. 2002. Vol 37. No. 2. pp231-232.

Also see Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. East African Educational Publishers. Kampala. p222.

involved formal education.<sup>174</sup> These dated back to communal times in Africa. There was also formal specialization in African education due to technological advancement. Literacy in pre-colonial Africa was evident in universities in North African countries such as Egypt, Morocco and Mali. This proves that there was a certain standard of education in Africa prior to the coming of the white man.<sup>175</sup>

European perspectives of Africa often portray Africa as 'uncivilized'. Eurocentric scholars have referred to traditional African schools as 'bush schools' where boys and girls were trained mentally and morally. The terminology used is problematic because it deliberately lowers traditional African education systems and assumes that education exists only within the formal schooling systems which the white man brought to Africa.<sup>176</sup> However, pre-colonial African communities had advanced educational patterns as the modes of production moved towards feudalism and there were more technological improvements. One of the methods of teaching was through the use of folktales (oral tradition). In traditional African societies, children were taught and they learnt through listening to songs and stories told by elders and they also learnt through imitating what the elders did. The stories were passed down from one generation to the other and through this moral, philosophical and cultural values were passed on. The only problem with oral tradition was the lack of methods of preserving the knowledge and skills which were learnt for the sake of future generations. There was reliance on memory and this put limitations on this type of education in some African countries. However, there were some African countries which were more advanced educationally which relied on writing.<sup>177</sup>

As in other parts of the world, African traditional education was exclusive because different African communities had different educational practices in spite of the

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<sup>174</sup> This was evident especially in Islamic education in pre-colonial Africa because it was highly formalized. Moreover, formal training in most pre-colonial societies in Africa had a number of functional categories. There were herbalists, drummers, priests and so forth.

See Mazonde, M. 1995. 'Culture and Education in the Development of Africa'. pp4-5.

<sup>175</sup> Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p222.

There were also specialised functions such as hunting, religious rituals and medicine practice within families and clans. These educational practices existed in African societies which were feudal and pre-feudal.

<sup>176</sup> Mazonde, M. 1995. 'Culture and Education in the Development of Africa'. pp2-4.

<sup>177</sup> In North Africa, Ethiopia, Western Sudan, East African coast and along the Nile, there was a minority of Africans who became literate. As in other parts of the world, literacy in Africa was linked to religion hence there were Moslem and Christian schools.

See Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p223.



similarities which existed in terms of educational practices. This type of education did not encourage integration or unity with other ethnic groups and as a result, the educational process and content of education contributed to ethnic antagonisms.<sup>178</sup> However, ethnic antagonisms were not unique to pre-colonial African societies. Furthermore, the content of indigenous African education was, in actual fact, more relevant to Africans than that which was imposed during colonialism.

Some successes of traditional African education - which are also common in Western education and other parts of the world - include the fact that this type of education prepared young people for their future. It prepared young people for work ensuring that no able-bodied person in traditional African societies was unemployed. This type of education also maintained socioeconomic and cultural structures as well as stability in communities. Furthermore, education acted as a vehicle for cultivating a culture of communalism and cooperation in the wider community.

In pre-colonial Africa, education was also influenced by Islamic and Western (Christian) systems of education. Missionary expansion was a vehicle for industrial and economic expansion and exploitation in Africa. Expansion of Christianity reflected 'arrogance and confidence of an increasingly industrialised and technologically advanced Euro-American world'.<sup>179</sup> Inevitably, Christian missionaries became a part of the future colonial administration. They played a double in facilitating the conquest of Africa on the one hand and fuelling African nationalism on the other, through promoting Christian doctrines of justice and equality before God.<sup>180</sup> On this matter, the educational process under colonial rule was intended to facilitate control and exploitation by the European powers. The general theme or objective was subordination of Africans. Indigenous systems of education on the other hand remained widespread even though they had limited power. Still indigenous systems of education retain their importance in contemporary Africa.<sup>181</sup>

Traditional African education was not seen as education according to Western standards. It is, however, undeniable that Africans had their own conceptions of education and systems of education prior to colonialism especially when one

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<sup>178</sup> Marah, J. K. 'The Virtues and Challenges in Traditional African Education'. pp18-19,21.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid. pp12-14.

<sup>180</sup> Mlambo, A. S. 2014. *A History of Zimbabwe*. Cambridge University Press. New York. p97.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid. p15.

considers that 'education is found wherever there are people'.<sup>182</sup> Westermann stated the following about education:

Education is not something which the African has received for the first time from the white man. The 'primitive' African is not uneducated. Many Africans, men and women, who have never been to school or in contact with Europeans, show such dignified and tactful behaviour and reveal so much refinement in what they say and do that they well deserve to be called 'educated'.<sup>183</sup>

In comparison, colonial education was more formal with a structured curriculum and a schooling system which was performance based while traditional African education was people-centred and it involved the community in the process of transmitting knowledge and skills onto another. Social responsibility was an essential part of education in traditional African education. Africans did not consider themselves as 'uneducated'. Such a concept was unheard of since all received some form of education and all were expected to do what they could with the education that they received. This type of education prepared African children for their responsibilities as adults at home, village and in the clan. Therefore, education does not necessarily mean attending schools. All those who have attended schools aren't necessarily educated.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Masaka, D and Chingombe, A. 'Towards a Fusion of Western and Traditional African Educational Systems in Zimbabwe's National School Curriculum'. pp154.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid. p155.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

## Colonial Education in Africa and its Impacts

Colonialism was a system which assumed the right of a country to impose its will upon another country. Walter Rodney stated that 'colonialism was not merely a system of exploitation, but one whose essential purpose was to repatriate the profits to the so-called mother country'.<sup>185</sup> Inevitably, this led to a situation where one country was left dependent on and dominated by another through systematic subordination, exploitation and socio-economic, political and cultural oppression. Prior to colonial rule in Africa, Europe increased its economic and technological capacity producing goods by making use of their resources and labour as well as resources and labour from the rest of the world. The European economy was expanding gradually and Europe turned its attention to countries with less development economies. The penetration of foreign capitalism led to imperialism and the exploitation of Africa's raw materials. Although imperialism is essentially based on economic expansion, according to Rodney, it does not necessarily lead to colonization. However, Africa was the victim of colonization especially during the 'Scramble for Africa' whereby the continent was divided among European powers. European colonizers did not aim to develop Africa.<sup>186</sup> Colonialism aimed to develop Europe through African cheap labour and resources on the one hand while dialectically under-developing Africa on the other. Colonialism did not only damage Africa politically and economically, it also damaged the colonized psychologically and morally and it was aimed at appropriating Africans to adapt to a foreign way of life.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. East African Educational Publishers. Kampala. p138.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid. pp125-126.

<sup>187</sup> Nwanosike, O. F. and Onyije, E. L. 2011. 'Colonialism and Education'. (Accessed: June 23, 2016). [www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/170.pdf](http://www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/170.pdf). p626

Colonialism apologists claimed that despite the nature of colonialism, development occurred. Even though a certain level of infrastructural development took place in some cases, it was limited and it did not ensure equal distribution of socio-economic benefits. Politically, Africa lost political power as well as its overall independence. Colonialism ensured that it crushed all pre-existing states in Africa but those which survived were 'puppet creations'. Also, African women were also negatively affected by colonialism in that they lost all constitutional, political and social rights. Division of labour was unequal which meant that women had fewer opportunities. Despite the 'developments' that took place in Africa under colonialism, there were more negatives than positives as a result of such 'development'. It was detrimental to Africans lives and their freedom.

European colonizers did not introduce education into Africa contrary to Eurocentric perceptions that the Western world facilitated the spread of civilization into Africa. Education in any society is a means of preserving the lives of its members and maintaining the social structure. The colonial government introduced a new and foreign set of formal educational institution into Africa. Education also has the potential of promoting social change.<sup>188</sup> Despite the assumption that the establishment of schools by the colonial government was beneficial for Africans, colonial education aimed at imposing capitalist and European view on Africa. Such an education was based on learning to read, write and calculate in languages foreign to indigenous African languages.<sup>189</sup> Imperialism in Africa came with a disregard for African history considering only European history in Africa. Colonizers believed in the superiority of their own culture hence the subordination of other cultures and the presumption that Africans had no history prior to the arrival of the white man. Colonial education did not focus on enabling Africans but on making them puppets in the colonial system. This type of education despised African cultures and it did not integrate anything African into the education system.<sup>190</sup>

The purpose of the colonial school system was to 'train Africans to help man the local administration at the lowest ranks, and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans'.<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, schools were established by colonialists in order to weld together colonized communities and to set up a system of schooling that met the needs of the colonizers. Colonial education was designed to create staff that would run socioeconomic development projects in colonial countries even though by nature, such an education was mediocre and poorly invested in. This educational system was not designed to promote the most the most rationale use of materials and social resources in Africa and it certainly did not give young Africa courage confidence or pride as members of their communities. This type of education was nonetheless presented as 'modern', 'new' and 'innovative' and in turn, it discredited traditional educational systems. Thus the school system became transplanted in Africa. The education received by a small minority of Africans had cultural and

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<sup>188</sup> Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p221.

<sup>189</sup> Nwanosike, O. F. and Onyije, E. L. 2011. 'Colonialism and Education'. (Accessed: June 23, 2016). [www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/170.pdf](http://www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/170.pdf). p628.

<sup>190</sup> Mlambo, A. S 2006. 'Western Social Sciences and Africa: The domination and marginalisation of a Continent'. *African Sociological Review*. Vol. 10. No. 1. pp161-179

<sup>191</sup> Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p223.

political consequences in that the same education brought by colonizers was used as a weapon for Africans to gain political independence.<sup>192</sup> Colonial education and the school system jeopardised African traditional societal structures and it infiltrated capitalist and industrialist modes into Africa. The colonization of Africa led to the establishment of educational systems which pushed Africans away from their history as a continent and it promoted for 'subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion and the development of underdevelopment', according to Rodney.<sup>193</sup>

Colonial policies in Africa created more than administrative workforces and this was also the case in Tanzania (formerly Tanganyika).<sup>194</sup> Among other things, colonial (educational) policies promoted individualistic instincts and put emphasis on domination of the weak by the strong socio-economically, politically, culturally and otherwise.<sup>195</sup> Consequently, there was tension between colonial (educational) policy and African traditional values and systems of education hence the emergence of postcolonial educational policies in Africa and Tanzania in particular. It would be incorrect to assume that education has an origin since education as a system is universal although educational systems are not necessarily universal. In terms of the definitions, purposes and characteristics of education, there are differences despite various similarities in educational principles. Colonial education in Africa did not meet the needs of the colonized people as it was not intended to do so. Bude poses a relevant question: 'What kind of education was the most suitable one for Black Africa?'<sup>196</sup>

The introduction of colonial education undermined the systems of education that existed in traditional African societies. Colonial education attempted to transform traditional African society into a class-conscious society. Traditionally, an African child was raised with the principles of communalism and a sense of responsibility for his or her society. Western education caused a rift between the 'educated' African and the rest of the community. Consequently, the 'educated' African arguably

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<sup>192</sup> Nwanosike, O. F. and Onyije, E. L. 'Colonialism and Education'. p628.

<sup>193</sup> Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p223.

<sup>194</sup> The type of education that African children received was mainly based on agriculture, rural studies basic science. It was different from the curriculum used to teach white and Asian children. There were different schools for white, Asian and African children. Colonial education in Tanganyika will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four.

<sup>195</sup> Nyerere, J. K. 1968. *Freedom and Socialism*. Oxford University Press. London. p269.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid. p341.

became individualistic. Bede Onuoha, as cited in Mohiddin's 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania' stated that 'years of subjection to European education and culture has alienated them (Africans) from genuinely African attitudes, responses and actions'.<sup>197</sup> According to Mohiddin, Western education 'converted' Africans into 'wage earners'. During the colonial period, it was a slave-master relationship therefore colonial education had elements of Western education but it was geared towards suppressing the colonized people. Colonial education was only designed to meet the aims and objectives of the colonial master in order for them to perpetuate their control in Africa. Traditional African education systems were suppressed and gradually, foreign education (colonial education) became the basis of development (and exploitation) in Africa.<sup>198</sup>

According to Nwanosike, O. F. and E. L. Onyije, colonialism and education were instruments used by European powers in order for them to exploit and dominate 'Third World' countries and Africa in particular.<sup>199</sup> Furthermore, colonialism and education were used by Europeans to under-develop Africa. Although African education itself predates colonialism, Europeans imposed their own system of education in Africa – a type of education which aimed at further exploiting Africans. Education was used by colonizers because it was considered to be a gateway to meeting the needs of the colonial society.<sup>200</sup>

Colonial education was not completely western education in form neither was the schooling system a European-type education. There were elements which were added in order for it to meet the objectives of the colonizer. Colonial education was a type of education which aimed to 'alienate and subjugate the [Africans] so that they became totally disconnected from the past that was...dismissed'.<sup>201</sup> It lacked utility and relevance for Africans and it planted in Africans an attitude of self-denial and, lack of confidence in their own traditional education systems.

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<sup>197</sup> Mohiddin, A. 1971. 'Relevance and Development in Tanzania'. *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*. Vol.11. No. 44. pp567.

Also see Bede Onuoha. 1965. *The Elements of African Socialism*. London.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Nwanosike, O. F. and Onyije, E. L. 'Colonialism and Education'. p624.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid. p624

<sup>201</sup> Ibid. pp156.

Moreover, colonial education was intentionally structured to impose colonial curricula without considering Africa's traditional education and its values. In light of this, colonizers realised that their strength lay in gaining territorial control as well as mental control of Africans. On this issue, Nwanosike and Onyije wrote:

This mental control [was] implemented through a central intellectual location – the school system. Colonial schools sought to extend foreign domination and economic exploitation of the colony... [These schools] attempted to strip the colonized people away from their indigenous learning structures and draw them towards the structures of the colonizer.<sup>202</sup>

Also, in practical terms, colonial education had its limitations and contradictions. For example, political policies rather than money guided their financial expenditure. Consequently, there was very little money spent on building schools and providing resources for education because the colonial government claimed that there was not enough money for education. It is surprising that the colonial government, which gained wealth from exploiting the resources in their colonies, did not have enough money to education Africans. African children had very little access to education whereas European and Asians children were provided for educationally.<sup>203</sup>

European colonizers structured colonial education so that it would perpetuate underdevelopment and dependency by the African continent. Furthermore, very few Africans made it into schools to start with and only the Africans living in or near major towns had educational opportunities. Through colonialism,

'the white man and the missionaries who introduced school education into Africa had wished out of existence the cultures of the African even before they

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<sup>202</sup> Nwanosike, O. F. and Onyije, E. L. 'Colonialism and Education'. p628.

<sup>203</sup> Rodney, W. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p224.

The budget for education, in every colony, was very small compared to what was spent in Europe. According to Rodney, in 1935, out of the total revenue which was collected from the tax paid by Africans in French West Africa, 4.03 per cent was used on education. In the British colony of Nigeria, 3.4 per cent of the revenue was used on education and in Kenya, 2.26 per cent of the total revenue was spent on African education. Between 1930s and 1960s, these percentages increased only a little but this increase did not make any significant changes to African education.

set their feet on the African soil...Western education is an agent of cultural obliteration in Africa'.<sup>204</sup>

Contrary to the supposed contributions of colonial education, this type of education proved to be insignificant in terms of quality and quantity. The few Africans who had access to colonial schools were exploited. There were many dropouts from primary schools because there was hardly any other type of education apart from primary education. This was intentional because colonial education was meant to train Africans to become junior clerks and secondary or technical education would be 'superfluous and dangerous' hence such education during the colonial period was rare especially for Africans. Non-Africans, on the other hand, had access to secondary education.<sup>205</sup>

Colonial education was designed to elevate the white man's racial superiority while emphasising African inferiority. In essence, colonial education was designed for 'subordination, exploitation, [creating] mental confusion and [developing] underdevelopment'.<sup>206</sup> As quoted in Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Abdou Moumuni stated that 'colonial education corrupted the thinking and sensibilities of the African and filled him with abnormal complexes'.<sup>207</sup> The truth is that, colonizers' primary purpose was not to develop Africa but it was to reap the 'benefits' that came with the oppressive and exploitative system.<sup>208</sup>

Therefore, there were no differences between virtues of western colonial education and traditional African education that could have justified the need for colonizers to obliterate the traditional African education and replace it with their own. It was illegitimate for colonial powers to deny recognition and incorporation of traditional African education for the indigenous people instead they imposed theirs as the colonizer's tool for perpetuating control in Africa. However, the 'educated' elites of this system and the masses (who were oppressed under colonial powers) eventually

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<sup>204</sup> Okpilike, F.M.E. 2012. 'Western Education and the Neglect of African cultural Values in the Nigerian School System'. *Journal of Education and Practice*. Vol. 3. No. 14. pp29-30.

<sup>205</sup> Rodney, W. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p227.

<sup>206</sup> Nwanosike, O. F. and Onyije, E. L. 'Colonialism and Education'. (Accessed: June 23, 2016). [www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/170.pdf](http://www.hrmars.com/admin/pics/170.pdf). p625.

<sup>207</sup> Rodney, W. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p231.

<sup>208</sup> Nwanosike, O. F. and Onyije, E. L. 'Colonialism and Education'. p626.



brought to an end colonialism contributing towards political independence in Africa. Ironically, colonial education was as a two-edged sword used for spreading and putting an end to colonialism. Education was used by the colonizer for the purpose of oppressing Africans yet the same education became an essential tool for fighting for political independence in Africa. At the same time, the new ruling elites became hybrids for colonial education and did not revert to pre-colonial education systems. During the post-independence period, most African countries did not change the educational systems inherited from the former colonial powers. Also, there was little to no attempt of transforming the education system even though imperial rule had ceased. Therefore, the nature of anti-colonial struggle was contradictory in that the same people who fought against the oppressive system still based their development on colonial structures to some extent. Most postcolonial African countries (with a few exceptions) did not implement policies leading to structural changes aimed at promoting socioeconomic equality. However, this is not to assume that all African countries were content with the colonial educational structures hence efforts to re-orient the structure and content of education in countries such as Tanzania.<sup>209</sup>

Colonial education, according to F.M.E. Okpilike, failed to integrate the Africans and their traditional cultures into the curricula. There were contradictions between the content of colonial education and the reality of Africans. For example, colonial educational advisers put emphasis on agricultural education which was relevant to African needs but this type of education meant that there would be no African knowledge.<sup>210</sup> Consequently, children experienced hard labour on farms and although this was meant to be 'agricultural education', it was in fact a form of punishment. Arowolo argued that western civilization, colonialism and slavery, tainted traditional values of Africa. The mission to 'civilize' Africans was just another concept of domination which justified the oppression of Africans. Africans had already established their own systems of governance, socioeconomic development and education. The pace of development in Africa as well as its technological development was self-styled in tempo and contact with imperial forces affected, disrupted and retarded the development of Africa. Although Africa retained some

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<sup>209</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 1975. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice, 1967-1974'. p1.

<sup>210</sup> Rodney, W. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p235.

socioeconomic and political control during the centuries of pre-colonial trade, the continent experienced disadvantageous commerce with Europeans. Africa was robbed of opportunities for self-development, self-government and self-styled technological development especially under colonialism because colonialism was more than trade. As a result, Africa was subjugated and dominated and traditional cultural practices slowly declined as Africans began to become 'westernised'. Africans stopped setting indigenous cultural goals and standards and they had no authority of training young members of the society.<sup>211</sup> The colonial education system in Africa was designed to function within a society by educating young people in order for them to carry over colonial values for the benefit of colonizers. Africans were trained to obtain low-administration positions in order to serve colonial interests hence it is not a surprise that colonial structures and values would be carried by the colonized people into the period after political independence was regained.

With all the contributions that Western civilization has made in the modern world, Western civilization is also responsible for the oppression of the African continent. Hence, it is important to consider not the 'good with which colonial educators can be credited but rather the good that emerged in spite of the efforts and intentions of the colonisers and because of the struggles of African people'.<sup>212</sup> Eurocentric perceptions of modernization considered the Western world as the apex of the development of man with the assumption that everything African was supposedly 'primitive', 'archaic' and largely 'unacceptable' in the public domain. This is the Eurocentric perception of Africa after oppressing the continent and its people. Some Eurocentric scholars still believe that the colonial government needed to be given some credit where it was due.<sup>213</sup> Colonial education therefore had negative impacts on Africa politico-economically, socially, educationally and socially. Even though a number of schools and infrastructure were built and although some Africans gained a certain level literacy skills, colonial education still imposed colonial values and aimed to create cheap labourers out of Africans.

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<sup>211</sup> Arowolo, D. 2010. 'The Effects of Western Civilisation And Culture On Africa' <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/6812/04e210689fa0bd75e6933ba74bb93363b31a.pdf>; Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p208.

<sup>212</sup> Rodney, W. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p242.

<sup>213</sup> See Tabetah, J. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. pp26-27.

## **Nyerere on Education: An Outline**

Although education in colonial Tanzania and Education for Self-reliance will be discussed in greater detail in chapter four, it is important to get an idea of how Mwalimu Nyerere viewed education. At the dawn of independence, some African countries sought to create politico-economic, social and educational institutions and systems which were aligned with their needs and objectives. New or modified political and socioeconomic theories were formulated or adapted and then implemented in postcolonial Tanzania. The kind of education which was needed in Africa was aimed at preparing specialists and experts so that they could implement proposed socioeconomic and political reforms. Education also needed to be appropriate for Africans and their conditions.<sup>214</sup>

Considering the fact that Nyerere was a teacher by profession prior to being Tanzania's first president, it is of great importance to understand the contribution that Nyerere made to the educational thought not only in Tanzania but in Africa as a whole. Nyerere was a trained educator, politician, social reformer and a statesperson. He sought to use education to empower Tanzanians to transform their environments. Being a politician and president gave him a platform and authority over post-independence Tanzania and its (educational) policies.<sup>215</sup>

Nyerere was a product of both formal primary education as well as indigenous education. He was a product of both pre-colonial and colonial education. During the colonial period, he was educated at Roman Catholic mission schools before farthing his studies at Makerere University. Upon completing his studies at Makerere University, Nyerere received his diploma in Education, he taught as a Secondary school teacher before obtaining his Masters degree at Edinburgh University in 1952 and it was at Edinburg University where Nyerere was exposed to various brands of socialism. Scholars such as P.I.E. Idahaso and Bonny Ibhawoh & J.I. Dibua argue

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<sup>214</sup> UNESCO. 1985. 'The Educational Process and Historiography in Africa'. *The General History of Africa: Studies and Documents*. Vol. 9. p9.

<sup>215</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. pp2-3.

that to a certain extent, Nyerere was influenced by various brands of socialism including Fabian socialism or democratic.<sup>216</sup>

Scholars consider Nyerere in different perspectives. Some viewed him as a politician, an educator, a visionary leader and a nation builder while others referred to him as a man with 'unusual skills, a person with the ability to integrate opposing ideals into one progressive line of thought'.<sup>217</sup> This means that he sought to build a nation based on equality, equity, compassion and cooperation among the people of Tanzania. The new social order in Nyerere's views was based on self-determination and self-reliance – ideas which were emphasised in the Policy of Socialism and Self-reliance. This vision was further emphasised in the Arusha Declaration (1967)<sup>218</sup> which was the blueprint of the Tanzanian government and it was considered as the turning point for Tanzania. It was the basis for building Tanzania as a socialist state through Ujamaa. With regards to the Arusha Declaration, the following is said about:

[It] called for cooperation of all individuals and associations, elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease, eradication of all forms of inequality and injustice and enhancement of freedom of speech, of movement and of religion, as well as respect for human dignity.<sup>219</sup>

As noted, Nyerere was exposed to both western philosophy and African traditions and these influenced his views on social justice. Moreover, his immediate environment (Tanzania) and the realities therein pushed him to look for ways to transform the nation. Self-reliance was a concept emphasised in the Arusha

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<sup>216</sup> Cornelli stated that 'Nyerere...rarely acknowledged his intellectual and academic sources. His writings have no footnotes, references or bibliography and for that reason it is not easy to determine the sources of his ideas, particularly those which fed into Ujamaa' and the ideas which informed his policies in post-independence Tanzania.

See Cornelli, E. M. 2012. 'A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa: An Investigation of its Foundations and Values', p81.

<sup>217</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. pp105-109-110,117.

<sup>218</sup> The Arusha Declaration was an ideological framework which would be the basis for implementing socio-economic development in post-colonial Tanzania. It was a document drafted by the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in order to formulate concrete policies which would reflect Tanzania's socialist manifesto. The Arusha Declaration was divided into five parts, namely: The TANU Creed, The Policy of Socialism, The Policy of Self-Reliance, TANU Membership and The TANU Resolution. The respective parts of the Declaration will be discussed further in chapter four.

<sup>219</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. pp118-120.

Declaration. It was linked to hard work, intelligence and knowledge as preconditions for progress and development. 'Hard work, combined with clear understanding of good methods and techniques of production and leadership, would lead to self-sufficiency, then progress', said Nyerere.<sup>220</sup> Self-reliance meant merging theory and practice in order to transform Tanzania into a democratic socialist nation. For Mwalimu, hard work and knowledge were important aspects which reflected the importance of education as a vehicle of transforming Tanzania in the exceedingly long run.

Some leaders in postcolonial Africa saw education as a weapon for reducing in diseases, poverty and ignorance and hence raise more critical awareness in individuals in order for them to actively face socio-economic challenges of underdevelopment in Tanzania. Ujamaa was thus integrated into this new socialist order as it was based on indigenous African principles of village solidarity and social organization. This philosophy was intended to re-educate Tanzanians about the need for drawing upon traditional African values to build a just modern society.<sup>221</sup> All in all, Nyerere played a key role in enlightening his nation through his vision of socialism, self-reliance and liberation through education. Nyerere was the 'deliverer of independent minds' for he viewed education as a tool which would help to promote the spirit of communalism and cooperation among Tanzanians so that they can be active participants in their own development. The goal of integrating traditional African values and 'modern' thinking into the development process in Tanzania would help to solve the societal issues in the nation. Enhancement of freedom and human-centred development were central to Nyerere's vision for education and development through education.<sup>222</sup>

Nyerere also viewed education as a means of attaining liberation – not only socio-politically and economically but also mentally and psychologically. This was important for Nyerere especially considering the history of Africa and Tanzania in relation to the exploitation, suppression and oppression that Africans endured during slavery and colonialism. Nyerere believed that the main purpose of education was the liberation

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<sup>220</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. p122.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid. p124.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid. pp125-126.

of man. Individual, national, socioeconomic and cultural liberation was dependent on education. On this issue, Nyerere stated that:

Education has to liberate the African from the mentality of slavery and colonialism by making him aware of himself as an equal member of the human race, with the rights and duties of his humanity. It has to liberate him from the habit of submitting to circumstances which reduce his dignity as if they were immutable. And it has to liberate him from the shackles of technical ignorance so that he can make and use the tools of organization and creation for the development of himself and his fellow men.<sup>223</sup>

Nyerere emphasised the importance of decolonization of the mind or mental liberation. Education needed to help men and women get rid of all the things that hindered his or her physical and mental development and this would result to a self-reliant nation freed from economic and cultural dependency on other nations. Liberation for a nation also meant the ability for that nation to develop itself freely and in equal cooperation with other parts of the world.<sup>224</sup>

Apart from being critical of the notion that a better or higher education or qualification increased the market value of an individual, Nyerere also argued that a man should not perceive himself as a 'commodity whose value is determined by certificates, degrees or other professional qualifications [because] no free human being has a market value anywhere. The only human beings who have market values are slaves'.<sup>225</sup> Nyerere suspected that education in Africa and its underlying purpose was to make Africans Black Europeans or Black Americans. He argued this because the educational policies in African countries tried to emulate material achievements of Europe and America without considering whether this was even a desirable objective for Africans. The emphasis for Nyerere was on the type of education which was

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<sup>223</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.) 2004. *Nyerere on Education: Volume I*. HakiElimu and E & D Ltd. Dar es Salaam. p122.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid. p124-125,131-132.

A liberated man rejects the notions of slavery and colonialism and a free man maintains his freedom in the absence of slavery within a society. According to Nyerere, a liberated man will not embrace poverty, disease and ignorance because these are elements which have the potential of destroying the humanity of man. This self-reliant struggle will continue to liberate man from all things that degrade humanity and in the process he will be expanding humanity.

<sup>225</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.) 2004. *Nyerere on Education: Volume I*. p122

appropriate to meet the needs of Africa and achievable for the continent. With more reflection based on extensive observation on educational policy, Nyerere wonders whether an appropriate educational policy had yet to be found, or if found, whether its implementation was far from ideal or a combination of the two.<sup>226</sup>

According to Nyerere, Tanzania had to be built anew – with people who have the right spirit and purpose. This was why he emphasised the critical revolutionary role of teachers. Teachers had to lay the educational foundation in order to create a ‘new Africa’ and they had to be at the frontline to lead the way and re-enforce the fact that Africans are not inferior to the white man. He emphasised this point because when Europeans first arrived in Africa, they made Africans feel and believe that they were not capable of doing anything on their own because of their supposed inferiority as a weak race. According to Nyerere, Africans faced a problem of feeling rejected by Europeans, questioning why they were not embraced by Europeans. He urged Africans to ask ‘why don’t they leave us free?’ instead of ‘why don’t they accept us?’<sup>227</sup>

Nyerere urged teachers to educate pupils with a sense of purpose and address the negative perception of them as Africans and, therefore, teachers needed to produce pupils ready to ‘exploit Africa for Africans’. The task of the teacher was, according to Nyerere, not to produce clerks and white-collar servants as the colonialists had done. The purpose of education in Africa (and Tanzania) was to get pupils out of the colonial mentality and to produce tough pupils, ‘stubborn youths...not hopeless youths’.<sup>228</sup> Nyerere told teachers that they were to change their attitudes towards education. Teaching and education should not stop at preparing students to pass exams. This would lead to colonialism of a sort. He urged teachers to educate students in order for them to be good and productive citizens of the country. The work of the teacher was to work for revolution. Being a teacher himself, Nyerere understood this fact. He, therefore, urged his fellow teachers not to fear revolution. ‘Those who fear revolution are exploiters’, he said. ‘Only those who were satisfied

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid. p123.

<sup>227</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.). 2006. *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. HakiElimu and E & D Ltd. Dar es Salaam.pp77-78

<sup>228</sup> Ibid. p83.

feared change mainly because change would lead to the destruction of an already established system of exploitation'.<sup>229</sup>

Although some teachers thought that a revolution in education meant lowering their standards, Nyerere confronted this issue by asking what these standards were. During the colonial period and even in the post-independence period, education in Africa was based on colonial standards. These standards were not relevant to Africans (Tanzanians), hence the need for a revolution. Nyerere emphasised that teachers were to be revolutionary and not teachers who made people want to sleep because 'sleep...will benefit the colonialists' and not help to bring about change to Tanzania. Teachers were to teach so as to help eradicate weakness and poverty in Africa and Tanzania. Tanzanian teachers were not only working for their country but for the benefits of African that have for decades experienced humiliation.<sup>230</sup>

Therefore in terms of education, it is clear that there were systems of education in pre-colonial African societies. Although these methods were informal, there was coherence in the way in which African children were educated. Furthermore, colonial education in Africa was imposed on the people and it was deliberately designed to exploit and oppress Africans socioeconomically, politically and mentally. Colonial education was based on racial discrimination and it did not intend to benefit Africans. The irony, however, is that very few Africans received colonial education and it was those few educated 'elites' who used education as a weapon to gain political independence. Nyerere was among the few African leaders who thought critically about educational reform in his Tanzania and rejected colonial standards which existed in the education system at that time. This is one of the reasons why Nyerere sought to change the education system in postcolonial Tanzania in an attempt to liberate the country and enable Tanzanians to develop themselves.

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<sup>229</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.). 2006. *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. p83.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid. p84.



## CHAPTER FOUR – EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE: THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

### Colonial Education in Tanzania

Colonial education first took the form of missionary schools. After colonialism became official, the system of education expanded into full blown colonial education with colonial educational policies to back it up. It is important to note that colonial education was not fully western education but there were some elements of western education included in colonial education.

Missionary schools used education for propagating Christianity. These schools were tools used by colonial governments. Missionary schools sought to teach Africans to read and write in order for them to convert to Christianity. Pre-colonial Tanzania saw the establishment of formal schools by missionaries. These schools were established thirty years prior to the establishment of colonial education. The first school in Tanzania was set up by the Holy Ghost Fathers at Bagamoyo in 1862. Arguably, Christian missionaries contributed to education in Tanzania and in Africa as a whole because missionaries stressed the importance of spiritual purpose and morality as attributes of an 'educated' man. However, there were negative impacts of the establishment of formal schools because missionary schools did not consider traditional African ways of education. The content and purpose of missionary education in Africa was not people-centred and it did not focus on the development of Africans.<sup>231</sup> In Tanzania (then Tanganyika) during 1892, there were less than 50 pupils enrolled in school and this was the first year of the colonial education initiative. 6200 pupils were enrolled, compared to 1903 when only 1550 pupils were enrolled at Tanga Central School. By 1914, between 110,000 and 150,000 pupils were enrolled in mission schools. In 1934, there were 84 schools and 7,979 enrolled children and 15 different Christian missionary societies had 2668 schools with 157,069 pupils.<sup>232</sup>

When Tanganyika was under British rule (1919-1960), there was a necessity of a precise policy on education. Through the British educational policy, colonial education emphasised the need to 'inculcate Western values and...to make

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<sup>231</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G. 1995. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. Mkuki na Nyota. Dar es Salaam.p46. Also see Pratt's *The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968*.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid. pp243.

Tanganyika more suitable for the British economic system'<sup>233</sup>. Consequently, traditional education values were suppressed while western principles were being introduced. British educational policy was centralized, racist and segregationist. Furthermore, the British colonial government used education for commercial purposes and the kind of education that Africans received secured cheap labour.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission (1920-1921) heavily influenced the development of British education policies in Africa, namely, 'Education for Adaptation' and 'Education for Modernization'. While the former education policy aimed to force Africans to adapt to British values in the educational process, the latter policy aimed to speed up economic industrialization putting much emphasis on the need for manpower.<sup>234</sup> 'Education for Modernization' also aimed at assisting the class of 'educated elites' as they were the ones who would be responsible for governing their countries post-independence. However, considering the state many African countries were in shortly after political independence, 'Education for Modernization' clearly did not equip Africans to stand on their own. This was a tactic used by colonizers to maintain a paternalistic and neo-colonialist relationship between the colonized and the colonizer. The supposed aim of British colonial education was arguably 'to develop the community as a whole by improving the general standard of living of the population through a community-oriented system'.<sup>235</sup> However, the agenda of colonial education was to create white-collar workers out of the Africans.

Colonial education in Tanganyika, according to Nyerere, had a purpose which did not have the best interest of Tanganyikans. Colonial education aimed to impose colonial values and prepare Tanganyikans to serve the colonial government. Because the colonial government was in need of clerks and junior officials, education was designed in such a way that these needs would be met. Colonial education values transmitted in the schools were not always appropriate. It also does not marginalise the fact that the colonial educational systems put emphasis on subservient attitudes and on white-collar skills. Tanganyika was characterized by

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<sup>233</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. p47.

<sup>234</sup> Tabetah, J. 1982. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. Submitted in fulfilment of Doctor of Philosophy at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. pp73-74.

<sup>235</sup> Weaver, N. E. 2011. 'Educational Policy in Tanzania from Independence to The Present: Continuity and Transformation' Submitted in fulfilment of Bachelor of Philosophy at the University of Pittsburgh. pp39-40.

socio-economic inequality and domination of the weak by the strong and colonial education in Tanzania attempted to change the knowledge and values of Tanganyikan society. This deliberate action by the colonial government aimed at changing the society and making it a colonial one, with foreign values and knowledge. Although this attempt by the colonial government was not a complete success, it did influence the ideas and attitudes of those who experienced it. Still, colonial education in Tanganyika was not 'relevant to the purposes of a free people committed to the principle of equality'.<sup>236</sup> Independent Tanganyika inevitably inherited the colonial system of education. This type of education was not adequate or appropriate for the new state especially because by 1961, very little education had been provided by the colonial governments. This meant that few people were educated enough to govern the new state and undertake socio-economic development.<sup>237</sup>

In general, missionary education and state education both worked concurrently to ensure that Africans did not become 'too educated'. However, there were conflicting interests between the two. Missionary education focussed more on spreading Christianity whereas the British colonial government introduced wage labour, production for export, urban centres and ultimately, colonial laws which governed Tanganyika. It is clear that colonial educational policies were both unpopular and irrelevant to the needs of Africans (and Tanzania) and this is what caused the emergence of post-independence educational policies. After Tanganyika gained its political independence in 1961, the country was still faced with an inherited system of education based on western values and decades of mental colonization. The government of Tanganyika of the time made several attempts to restructure and reform the former educational system so as to make education in independent Tanzania relevant to its people.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. 1968. Oxford University Press. London. pp269-270.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.* p270.

<sup>238</sup> N. E. Weaver. 'Educational Policy in Tanzania from Independence to the Present: Continuity and Transformation'. p41-45.

## **Educational Reforms in Independent Tanganyika (1961-1966)**

As noted in chapter three, education in Africa did not begin with the arrival of the white man. Indigenous educational systems existed prior to the imposition of colonial education, contrary to Eurocentric perceptions that indigenous Africa education was non-existent. Education in pre-colonial Africa aimed to integrate the learner to his or her environment. African children were taught skills which helped them to live and function in their communities. It was also the same in pre-colonial Tanganyika. Children learned by living and by doing. This meant that the learning process took place in their immediate communities through observations and through listening to stories about their history and their culture. The type of education a child received was relevant to him or her.<sup>239</sup>

In the early years of independence, Tanzania underwent several educational reforms, namely, the integration of school systems, education for manpower needs, education for self-reliance and the decentralization of education. These educational reforms were initiated in response to immediate problems facing postcolonial Tanzania. First, government integrated the country's three systems of education (Asian, African and European) in a bid to unite people of different races and religions who had been separated during the colonial period. This and other reform initiatives aimed at involving the masses in decision-making processes so as to encourage participation among them when it came to implementing self-help programs locally.<sup>240</sup>

Other reform initiatives were included in the Three Year Plan (1961-1964), which also put forward some practical decisions affecting the education sector. The Plan proposed the racial integration in the education system and the expansion of secondary education by increasing pupil enrolment, building more schools and expanding existing schools. Furthermore, the Plan urged for expansion of teacher training programmes and the termination of territorial standard ten examination systems. In addition, TANU also emphasised the importance of equality of opportunity for Tanzanians as well as an increase in literacy in Tanzania which

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<sup>239</sup> N. E. Weaver. 'Educational Policy in Tanzania from Independence to the Present: Continuity and Transformation'. pp27-28

<sup>240</sup> Ibid. pp34-35.

would result in an increase in human resource development and skilled manpower.<sup>241</sup>

The Ministry of Education introduced Education Ordinance (1962) in an effort to move away from colonial education or education based on a foreign model. The Ordinance reflected TANU's view of education as a means of producing manpower because Tanganyika experienced a serious shortage of manpower and specialized personnel in the early years of independence.<sup>242</sup> This was because the colonial education system did not equip Africans with skills that would be useful for their own development. Likewise, this Ordinance did not focus on truly revolutionizing the education system or equipping the people of Tanganyika with appropriate skills in order for them to progress socio-economically, educationally and otherwise. For example, although the Ordinance promoted racial and religious integration, in reality, this did not materialize. Post-independence education in Tanzania was still largely based on race and religion and this was contrary to the aims and objectives of the government of Tanzania which opposed racial and religious discrimination. This reform effort was merely a step towards the right direction even though it did not change the education system much. In addition, the Ordinance encouraged primary schools to extend the programs to eight years with special emphasis on the importance of increasing availability of secondary education. This was beneficial because a majority of the children would have access to education, as opposed to the colonial education system which limited education for a majority of Africans. Also, education would meet manpower and personnel needs and as a result, government and professional positions would be filled by Tanzanians rather than expatriates. Consequently, Tanzania would be established as an independent and self-reliant country.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>241</sup> Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. 1979. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (1967)*. Black Star Agencies. Dar es Salaam. p49.

<sup>242</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 1975. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice, 1967-1974', Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Masters of Arts at McGill University. pp47-49.

<sup>243</sup> N. E. Weaver's 'Educational Policy in Tanzania from Independence to The Present: Continuity and Transformation'. pp46-47.

Educational reforms during the early years of independence in Tanzania pointed in the right direction. However, these reforms were not revolutionary and they did not focus on transforming and revolutionizing the entire education system in Tanzania and a revolution in the education system was what Tanzania needed. This is one of the reasons why TANU drafted the Arusha Declaration. Below is an overview of the Declaration which will help to understand the ideological framework or basis of development in postcolonial Tanzania.

### **Arusha Declaration (1967): An Overview**

The Arusha Declaration was a blueprint which provided an ideological framework for implementing socio-economic development in post-colonial Tanzania and to formulate a basis for TANU's socialist manifesto. With regards to the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere noted

The Arusha Declaration is...a reaffirmation of the fact that we are Tanzanians and wish to remain Tanzanians as we develop....We shall wish to change very many things in our present society but we have stated that these changes will be effected through the process of growth in certain directions. This growth must come out of our roots, not through the grafting on to those roots of something alien to them...it means that our social change will be determined by our own needs as we see them and in the direction that we feel to be appropriate for us at any particular time. We shall draw sustenance from universal human ideas and from the practical experiences of other people but we start from a full acceptance of our Africanness and a belief that in our own past, there is very much which is useful for our future.<sup>244</sup>

The aim of this section is to provide a summary of the Arusha Declaration. The Arusha Declaration was divided into the following parts: The TANU Creed, The Policy of Socialism, The Policy of Self-Reliance, TANU Membership and The TANU Resolution.

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<sup>244</sup> Kimambo, I. N. and Temu, A. J. (eds). 1969. *A History of Tanzania*. East Africa Publishing House. Nairobi. p188.

## **Part One: The TANU Creed**

The first part of the Arusha Declaration explained the TANU policy which aimed to build socialism in Tanzania. This part of the Declaration emphasized the socialist beliefs which Tanzania's socialism was to be built upon such as equality and respect, among others. The TANU Creed also explained the responsibilities of the citizens as part of the community as well as the government's role in actively intervening in economic aspects of the nation 'to ensure the efficiency of economic production for the benefit of national economic growth'.<sup>245</sup> In terms of the role of the government, the TANU Creed stated that it was the government's responsibility to ensure the freedom of its people, to ensure that the government maintains relations with the United Nations Organization (UNO) and also stands in solidarity with other political parties in Africa to ensure the liberation of Africa.<sup>246</sup>

## **Part Two: The Policy of Socialism**

The second part of the Arusha Declaration explained how socialism would be built – through non-exploitative methods in political, social and economic aspects. It also affirms that 'the major modes of production and exchange [would be] controlled by the peasants and workers',<sup>247</sup> while other modes of production would be under state control. Furthermore, this part of the Declaration stresses the importance of democracy in the methods of production and in the lives of Tanzanians. Democracy was an integral part of socialism as it was a way of life, a belief that needed to be promoted and accepted by the people in order to achieve the outlined goals of socialist development.<sup>248</sup>

## **Part Three: The Policy of Self-Reliance**

The third part of the Arusha Declaration outlined the need to eradicate poverty in Tanzania and in Africa through self-reliant methods. It stated the following:

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<sup>245</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. pp231-232.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Ibid. p233.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid. p235.

It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disrespected. Now we want a revolution...which brings to an end our weakness so that we are never again exploited, oppressed or humiliated.<sup>249</sup>

Therefore, central to the policy of self-reliance was the need for peasants to use their own resources and not depend on money to achieve their desired goals. This did not imply that money was not needed neither did it mean that loans, foreign aid and investments were not important in the process of development. What was stressed was that money or external assistance was not to be depended upon because these had the potential of risking the independence of the people.<sup>250</sup> The policy of self-reliance explained the importance of focusing on rural development based on agriculture in order to develop the rural areas and to contribute to the national economy.<sup>251</sup> This would be done through hard work, good leadership and efficient policies for productivity in order to reach the desired goal of developing a socialist state through rural agricultural development.<sup>252</sup>

#### **Part Four: TANU Membership**

The fourth part of the Arusha Declaration emphasized the membership criteria for TANU members. It stated that the members needed to accept and adhere to the regulations and objectives of the party – the objectives of building Tanzania as a socialist state based on the policies of socialism, self-reliance and rural agricultural development.<sup>253</sup> It is further elaborated on in the fifth part of the Arusha Declaration – The Arusha Resolution.

#### **Part Five: The Arusha Resolution**

The fifth and final part of the Arusha Declaration explained the criteria for TANU leaders, the government and other institutions. It stressed that ‘a leader must be either a peasant or a worker and should in no way be associated with the practices

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<sup>249</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. p235.

<sup>250</sup> Ibid. pp237-239.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid. pp241-244.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid. pp245-248.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid. p248.



of capitalism or feudalism'.<sup>254</sup> It also outlined the overall responsibilities of the government in building socialism in Tanzania such as raising the standard of living of peasants and rural areas through efficient policies and the responsibility (and necessity) for leaders to learn the party ideology.<sup>255</sup>

### **Education for Self-reliance (1967): The Policy Document**

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 marked a turning point in Tanzania. It was the blueprint which consolidated the ideological statements made by Nyerere and stipulated the practical ways in which these ideas would be implemented. What followed was the announcement of the first post-Arusha educational policy – Education for Self-reliance – which was based on Nyerere's philosophy of Ujamaa.

Education for Self-reliance was designed to establish an education system which moved away from the colonial heritage - an education which would be relevant to an independent people – Tanzanians. It changed the direction of education in Tanzania because of Nyerere and the government of Tanzania realised that education was a vehicle for implementing new development initiatives in Tanzania.<sup>256</sup> The policy marked a shift and independence from colonial style education to an education which was relevant to Tanzanians.

Some significant features of the educational system in independent Tanzania by 1967 and, thereafter, are outlined in Education for Self-reliance. The policy suggests ways in which some of these educational problems could be corrected. It considers the evolution of education in Tanzania and it also calls for a revolution of the education system in order to meet the needs and social objectives of Tanzanians.<sup>257</sup>

The establishment of Education for Self-reliance was a result of a rejection of western (and colonial) models of education. Education for Self-reliance was part of the reforms which were established under Ujamaa and they aimed to tackle socio-economic and educational inequalities in Tanzania. Through this policy, Nyerere hoped that the attitudes and the minds of Tanzanians would be shifted in order for

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<sup>254</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. pp248-249.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid. p250.

<sup>256</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 2012. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree Doctor of Philosophy at Stony Brook University. p141-143.

<sup>257</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. p267.

them to develop themselves freely.<sup>258</sup> The major objective of Education for Self-reliance was for Tanzania to benefit from increased knowledge and skills necessary for rapid and sustainable economic development after emerging from colonialism. The envisaged immediate objectives of Education for Self-reliance were to:

1. Develop Tanzania on the basis of agriculture in order to increase the economy and to be self-reliant.
2. Achieve a high degree of Tanzanians who have decolonized minds, and
3. Achieve unity for all Tanzanians regardless of race, religion or tribes.

Since political independence in 1961, the government of Tanzania wanted a different kind of education for the nation and for the children. Nyerere's Ujamaa emphasized the importance of using modern technology selectively for the benefit of Africans while simultaneously building socio-economic institutions based on modern and traditional African values. However, during the course of implementing Education for Self-reliance, technical education was neglected, as will be elaborated on later in this chapter. Prior to the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-reliance, the nation still needed to identify the purpose of development and education for its people. Prior to 1967, the government of Tanzania and the people themselves did not ask why they wanted education and the purpose that education would serve for them. There were various reasons for this, according to the policy.

Firstly, the government of Tanzania and its people had not thought of education as revolutionary but rather as a means of 'obtaining teachers, engineers [and] administrators'. Secondly, education only offered 'training for skills required to earn high salaries in the modern sector of [the] economy'. Thirdly, the government was spending 20% of its revenue on providing education without considering the purpose of education and it was providing money for some children to attend school while others received no education.<sup>259</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> The policy of Education for Self-reliance was adopted by Ministry of Education at the National Education Conference held at the University of Dar es Salaam in April 1967.

<sup>259</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. p268.

The government was investing in education because it was seen as a key to development. Budgeting was one thing but implementation was another. Perhaps the government of Tanzania spent too much money on implementing a policy which was still new with the hope of achieving the desired outcomes. Also, perhaps the government failed to carefully consider various aspects before allocating money to education. However, inevitably, implementing the policy (and transforming the

Nyerere noted that there were differences in educational systems in the world. Although different societies had different educational systems, education still had a purpose. According to *Education for Self-reliance*, education had a purpose of '[transmitting from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society and to prepare young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development'. Regardless of the society, whether Western, Eastern or pre-colonial African societies, education serves this purpose.<sup>260</sup>

In *Education for Self-reliance*, Nyerere argued that in pre-colonial Africa, the lack of 'schools' did not mean that children were not educated. This kind of education was 'informal' but lack of formality did not mean that there were no existing educational methods within these societies. There were short periods of initiation in some tribes and young people learnt by living and doing at home and on farms through the guidance of elders and by so doing, they acquired skills and knowledge.<sup>261</sup> As a result, young people in pre-colonial African societies learnt the customs and values within their societies especially because, to a certain extent, every adult was considered to be a teacher. And so, the importance of education in pre-colonial African societies was not affected by the lack of 'schools' and the educational methods in pre-colonial Africa made education relevant to the needs of their societies.<sup>262</sup>

*Education for Self-reliance* discussed three major actions of educational reform which were taken since independence in order to modify and possibly correct the education system which was inherited in post-colonial Tanzania. Firstly, racial and religious discrimination was abolished and, therefore, there was complete integration which meant that a Tanzanian child was able to attend school without being

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education system) required funding. This was a way of investing in the future of Tanzania even though articulating and implementing *Education for Self-reliance* was evidently challenging.

<sup>260</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. p268.

<sup>261</sup> Among the things that pre-colonial African societies learnt was related to agricultural aspects because land is what most African societies had in abundance. Children learnt about farming and animal husbandry by participating with elders in this work. Apart from that, storytelling was a way that pre-colonial African societies learnt about their tribal history in relation to other tribes and to spirits.

<sup>262</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. p268.

subjected to racial or religious prejudice. Education for Self-reliance put emphasis on teaching students values of equality, respect, family-hood and the importance of hard-work for the benefit of the whole community. For Nyerere, colonial education also lacked inclusivity. It was built on religious and racial grounds and it also alienated students from their communities. The purpose of Education for Self-reliance was to readdress problems related to education (that negatively impacted Tanzanians) through transforming and restructuring the education system.<sup>263</sup>

Secondly, due to an expansion of educational facilities, more children were able to attend school from the period of 1961 to 1967, especially those in secondary school and post-secondary school levels. In 1960, there were 11,832 children in secondary schools, only 176 of whom were in form VI.<sup>264</sup> In 1961 there were 490,000 children attending primary school in Tanganyika, the majority of them only going up to standard VI. In 1967 there were 825,000 children attending primary schools. In spite of this fact, there were still challenges such as lack of secondary schools. Many students received primary education but they did not all manage to go to secondary schools. This was one of the contradictions of educational reforms which took place during the process of implementation.

Thirdly, the government of Tanzania made education in schools more relevant to Tanzanians. This meant that there would be a change in the curriculum. It was not enough to learn European and British history. According to Education for Self-reliance, it was important to learn Tanzanian and African history as well as making relevant learning material available to teachers. Furthermore, Kiswahili as a national language was given more importance in the school curriculum and civics was also incorporated into secondary schools in order to help pupils to understand national objectives.<sup>265</sup> Furthermore, another way of making education more relevant to Tanzanians was by ensuring that the type of education provided was practical and centred on rural development. Education for Self-reliance was based on development based on agriculture. Rural development was given priority compared to industrial or technical development because land was the resource that Tanzania had in abundance. Hence, Nyerere believed that it was the rational choice to base

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<sup>263</sup> Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (1967)*. p48.

<sup>264</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. pp270-271.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.* p271.

the development of his country on agriculture. Education for Self-reliance was designed to prepare children to work in rural areas, thereby contributing to agricultural development. In primary and secondary schools, there were self-reliant projects which were initiated by the government of Tanzania which included agricultural work on farms. Nyerere believed that practical work was part of the learning process.<sup>266</sup> The policy aimed at making communities self-reliant through productive schools. This would teach learners skills related to self-reliance and how to be productive in school projects, wool industries, nursing and nursery work and others. In these projects, emphasis was put on working together in order to achieve desired outcomes.<sup>267</sup> Productive work in schools would, to a certain extent, generate income in order to take care of the school as well as the community.<sup>268</sup> By so doing, schools and communities would be more self-reliant and less financially dependent on the government.<sup>269</sup> These were some of the ways of transforming the educational system in post-colonial Tanzania with the intention of making education in Tanzania more relevant to the needs of its people. Practically, Education for Self-reliance meant that:

All schools...must contribute to their own upkeep; they must be economic communities as well as social and educational communities. Each School should have, as an integral part it, a farm or a workshop which provides the food eaten by the community and makes some contribution to the total national income.<sup>270</sup>

It is important to note that the above modifications to the educational systems inherited in Tanzania took place between 1961 and 1966. Education for Self-reliance was drafted by Nyerere in 1967 as a result of the attempts made to modify education in Tanzania. The government of Tanzania saw the need to re-evaluate and re-

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<sup>266</sup> Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (1967)*. pp50-51.

<sup>267</sup> Ibbott, R. 2014. *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*. Crossroads Books. London. pp192-193.

<sup>268</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 1975. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice, 1967-1974'. pp64-69.

<sup>269</sup> Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (1967)*. p51.

<sup>270</sup> Cornelli, E. M. 2012. 'A Critical Analysis of Nyerere's Ujamaa: An Investigation of Its Foundations and Values', Submitted in fulfilment of a Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Birmingham. pp48-49.

examine the kind of education which was provided in the country. Although changes in the education system had already begun, it would take years to see the results. Education for Self-reliance, therefore, took a more revolutionary approach in comparison to the approach on transforming education which was used during the early years of independence in Tanzania (1961-1966). In light of this, Nyerere stated:

It is now clearly time for us to think seriously about this question: 'What is the educational system in Tanzania intended to do – what is its purpose?' Having decided that, we have to look at the relevance of the existing structure and content of Tanzanian education for the task it has to do. In light of that examination we can consider whether, in our present circumstances, further modifications are required or whether we need a change in the whole approach.<sup>271</sup>

Education for Self-reliance can be seen as a continuation of educational modifications which had already begun in independent Tanzania aimed at transforming the nation at large. The policy itself spoke of the kind of society Tanzania was trying to build and how education could be modified in light of the realities of Tanzania. A lot of emphasis of Education for Self-reliance was on the Tanzanian as an individual, agriculture and the importance of education in Tanzania in serving the interests of a democratic socialist society. Moreover, a society based on equality, human dignity, communalism and work for all and exploitation by none was what Nyerere was trying to build.<sup>272</sup>

Central to Nyerere's Ujamaa philosophy was Education for Self-reliance which was also part of a development philosophy. Ujamaa 'increased the pedagogical mandate of the postcolonial state' by making education compulsory at the newly created schools. It emphasised agricultural production for economic development of Tanzania and the promotion of self-reliance while minimizing external aid. Because the nation needed to be informed of the new program for national development, teachers and students were used as instruments in order to reach those outside the formal education system. In order to promote their own self-reliance, the government encouraged the establishment of Ujamaa villages in order to achieve cooperation, increased in production, mutuality and easy adoption of new technological methods

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<sup>271</sup> Nyerere, J. K. *Freedom and Socialism*. p271.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.* pp272-275.

of farming. Increased production meant economic sufficiency and a reduction in outside intervention (foreign aid) because dependence on foreign aid was not going to rid Tanzanians of their poverty.<sup>273</sup>

The new initiatives for development in postcolonial Tanzania focused on overcoming colonial legacies of division and exploitation with the aim of developing into a prosperous and united country. As the independence euphoria faded, the real work began and the people of Tanzania needed to realise their confidence and ability as Africans in order for them to develop themselves freely without colonial domination. Teachers and students had the responsibility of teaching students about Education for Self-reliance. They were the link between political elites and the population.<sup>274</sup>

In T.A. Nicholson's 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War World', the author speaks of the political 'elites' and how they dominated the development program in postcolonial Tanzania. However, Ujamaa was not an imposition and a top-down development project dominated by the elite. Rather, it was a grassroots program for development which had its shortcomings in that a few people wanted to take control and sabotage the program but not to the extent of the superimposition of colonial rule.<sup>275</sup>

Education for Self-reliance was part of a broader initiative for the political and economic transformation of Tanzania. In the early years of independence, there were no attempts to tackle the core issues related to exploitation in independent Tanzania. The government of Tanzania during the Kawawa era<sup>276</sup> was preoccupied with Africanization<sup>277</sup>, better wages and better conditions of service'. Arguably, this was also a period of gradual acceptance of the capitalist system and its exploitative elements. Furthermore, there was great emphasis on rural health and education and

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<sup>273</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. pp137-139, 141-142.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid. p142.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid. p139.

<sup>276</sup> Rashid Mfaume Kawawa (1929-2009) was the Prime Minister of Tanzania in 1962. In 1957, Rashid Kawawa became a central committee member of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU). He was also appointed to the Legislative Council. He remained a member of the Legislative Council until 1960. The Kawawa era therefore refers to the time when he was in power.

<sup>277</sup> Africanization was part of the nationalist movement during the post-independence period in Tanzania. It called for the decolonization of administration because Europeans were leaving and replacements needed to be found. Very few Africans were qualified enough for taking on government posts such as teaching, engineering and other civil posts.

Also see Seepe's *Toward an African Identity of Higher Education*. pp99-102.

in 1964, 71.6% of the government's investment was on these social services.<sup>278</sup> During the 1960s, Nyerere often emphasised that education should be practical and it should promote real 'Africanness' and socialism.

As cited in 'Nicholson's Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world', Nyerere said

We have long inherited education which was intended to fit European children under European conditions. All our schools have been taking examinations intended chiefly to test the value of the teaching given in English schools for fitting children to live in English conditions. Because education was the key to successful employment in government service and trading firms and because it proved its money value, many of us are today very suspicious of the introduction of Education for Self-reliance.<sup>279</sup>

The ultimate goal of Education for Self-reliance was to transform Tanzania into a self-reliant country, free from depending on other countries for its development. However, this policy also aimed at decolonizing the minds of Tanzanians. Indeed, Education for Self-reliance was one of the vehicles for achieving self-reliance in Tanzania. However, this was not the sole purpose.<sup>280</sup> In the course of implementing Education for Self-reliance, there were some activities which were undertaken from which we can derive the experiences and challenges which were encountered during the implementation process. These were activities which aimed to meet various objectives of Education for Self-reliance and these will be discussed below.

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<sup>278</sup> Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (1967)*. pp38-39.

<sup>279</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 2012. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. p150.

<sup>280</sup> Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (1967)*. pp48-49.



## **Activities under Education for Self-reliance**

### ***Curriculum development to reflect the Education for Self-reliance policy in Primary and Secondary Schools***

Curriculum development was essential in restructuring the education system in Tanzania and for creating a new curriculum. For this reason, the Institute of Curriculum Development (ICD) was established and it was responsible for curriculum review, development and evaluation as well as consistent follow-up of educational changes. The new curriculum was firstly based on the philosophy of Tanzania on the basis of the Arusha Declaration and selected Tanzanian customs and values. Secondly, it aimed to establish literacy through reading, writing, grammar and arithmetic skills for the benefit of communication. The curriculum was designed to be society-oriented geared towards equipping learners to ultimately engage in problem-solving individually and nationally.<sup>281</sup>

Education for Self-reliance was implemented at various levels of education. Overall, the objectives of education in Tanzania were restructured and based on the new educational policy with emphasis on education and work. The main objectives of primary and secondary education were to:

- a) Give pupils a permanent ability in literacy. Emphasis is on the three "Rs", i.e. Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.
- b) Help the pupils develop an enquiring mind and ability to think and solve problems independently.
- c) Impart the socialist values, attitudes and knowledge which will enable pupils to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of their society.

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<sup>281</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice, 1967-1974'. pp82-83; Ruhumbika, G. (ed.). 1974. *Towards Ujamaa: Twenty Years of TANU Leadership*. East African Literature Bureau. Nairobi, Kampala and Dar es Salaam. pp224-225.

d) Provide pupils with an education which is complete in itself, inculcating a sense of commitment to the total community and to help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to Tanzania's future.<sup>282</sup>

In 1967, approximately 825,000 students were enrolled into primary school and 3 million children were enrolled into standards 1 to 3 in 1977. The primary school enrolment age increased from five or six years to seven years. Productive activities were part and parcel of the education system in Tanzania.<sup>283</sup> The education policy emphasized the need for primary schools to be complete in that they needed to equip learners with skills necessary for them to be able play their respective roles in developing their communities after graduating. Still, the quality of education provided was a challenge because of financial constraints.<sup>284</sup>

Education for Self-reliance restructured the education system in Tanzania by turning schools into communities which practiced precepts of socialism and self-reliance. This was mainly because there was a lack of secondary schools, therefore the government of Tanzania made primary school education complete hoping that this would somehow compensate for the lack of secondary school. Also, Education for Self-reliance aimed at reducing the emphasis on the role of examinations in the education system. Examinations were seen as tools of evaluation for students to either be promoted or demoted. According to Nyerere, examinations could not measure the 'entirety of a student's knowledge and skills' especially those pertaining to vocational skills and critical thinking.<sup>285</sup>

Did Education for Self-reliance achieve its objectives in primary schools? Arguably, Education for Self-reliance caused primary education to be more inferior than it was before 1967 because the policy was poorly implemented. Also, the government of Tanzania put much emphasis on farming and agriculture that actual learning did not

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<sup>282</sup> Talis, S. J. 1985. 'Education for Self-reliance: An Ethnographic Study of Tanzanian Secondary Schools', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at State University of New Jersey. pp63-64.

<sup>283</sup> Tabetah, J. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. p145.

<sup>284</sup> Cornelli, E. M. 2012. 'A Critical Analysis Of Nyerere's Ujamaa: An Investigation of Its Foundations and Values', Submitted in fulfilment of a Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Birmingham. pp48-49.

<sup>285</sup> Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (1967)* pp51-52.

take place.<sup>286</sup> However, Nyerere believed that the main transformation had to happen in rural areas through agricultural development. He observed that agriculture in Tanzania was generally primitive, hence the need to transform agriculture in order to make progress. Agricultural activities in schools were meant to help produce food for schools and contribute to the national economy. Communal productive activities were to be a part of the school training; however, not many schools understood the syllabus enough to implement it effectively. There was also minimal cooperation and interaction between schools and the community.<sup>287</sup>

Also, the agricultural activities that primary school students did in schools were under supervision of teachers. These activities included cultivating, planting, maintaining and harvesting products like maize, millet and potatoes. In the process, teachers interpreted, developed and implemented the policy of Education for Self-reliance in practical terms. They reinforced their authority and showed the important role they played in developing these grassroots level schemes, hence this was not simply top-down development.<sup>288</sup>

A problem that arose in the process was that primary school leavers lacked the critical skills for economic self-reliance and survival and the motivation to live and work in rural communities – the same communities where they had their seven years of education. Also, parents did not accept the ideas of completion of primary school to be sufficient enough to fully equip children for life. This was because of the belief that children would not be educationally, mentally and physically ready for employment or responsibilities of a productive citizen after merely completing primary school. This was one of the reasons for the emphasis on adult education.<sup>289</sup>

In 1966, Tanzania faced a primary school crisis. The main issue was that there was an overproduction of primary school graduates but there was a lack of secondary schools. Nyerere, however, argued that primary school education was meant to equip the graduates to be self-reliant. The contradiction was that there were not enough secondary schools to accommodate the rising number of students. Although

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<sup>286</sup> Tabetah, J. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. pp136-137.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

<sup>288</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. p155.

<sup>289</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G. 1995. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. p54.

the intention was to provide primary education for all, there were various challenges which led to the establishment of private secondary schools which were not accessible to a majority of the people.<sup>290</sup>

In primary schools, students were getting education and being prepared to live in Ujamaa villages at the same time. They were taught agriculture-related skills which would prepare them to work in the villages for the development of Tanzania.<sup>291</sup> There were also self-help projects which were meant to be implemented by both teachers and students. The expectations were that schools would create farms and practice various farming methods. School farms would produce crops which would not only provide food for the schools and community but once sold, would help schools to expand themselves. Likewise, there were school committees which were established in order to promote integration between schools and communities which created platforms for problem-solving. These committees promoted better farming methods through practical activities.<sup>292</sup>

In terms of secondary schools, various meetings took place between 1967 and 1969 in order to discuss how the policy was going to be implemented at the secondary level. Largely, secondary school graduates were being prepared for life in the village and not for university education. There were some challenges with regards to maintaining self-reliance activities in secondary schools such as a limited understanding of self-reliance activities beyond agriculture, a lack of resources and little knowledge and skills on how teachers (and students) would implement self-reliance activities cooperatively and effectively.<sup>293</sup> Teacher training colleges were established in order to equip teachers with necessary knowledge and skills on how to implement Education for Self-reliance in schools however, this not enough to

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<sup>290</sup> Tabetah, J. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. p129.

<sup>291</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.) *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. 2006. HakiElimu and E & D Ltd. Dar es Salaam. pp81-82, 101-102.

<sup>292</sup> Tabetah, J.. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. pp136-139.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid. pp141-142.

improve the quality of education which was provided and to merge self-reliance activities (which were based on agriculture) together with academic activities.<sup>294</sup>

In 1964 more than 14,000 primary school students in Kilimanjaro region could not go to secondary school. The inability of the government to open more secondary schools led to Ujamaa programs providing practical solutions. This meant that the enrolled students and the school leavers had to be equally critical in teaching the masses about Ujamaa as well as developing the country starting with rural areas. This was the supposed practical solution.<sup>295</sup> However, it was difficult for the government of Tanzania to build more schools largely due to a lack of finances especially during the early years of political independence. Tanzania had to lift itself up from a state of underdevelopment and education was but one area which needed to be transformed. The funds and resources which were available were not enough to be allocated to various sectors. Nyerere had to use the existing school infrastructure to promote Ujamaa and Education for Self-reliance reforms. This educational and development strategy was Nyerere's attempt to move the attitudes and identities of students away from their alleged European heritage and elite nature of schools.

### ***Adult education, capacity building and rural economic development***

Adult education was rooted in Nyerere's influence as president, Tanzania's ideology of development, humanistic philosophy of education and indigenous education.<sup>296</sup> After political independence in Tanzania, education was one of the areas which needed transformation. Children education was a priority because they were a long term investment. However, children still had a long way to go and Tanzania needed to be developed at a steady pace. Adult education was a tool which would be used

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<sup>294</sup> Tabetah, J. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. p139; Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (1967)* p46.

<sup>295</sup> Nicholson, T. A.. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. pp150-152.

<sup>296</sup> Adult education helped people to be conscious of the aspects which constrained their development. It also persuaded the masses to live and to work together in village communities. Furthermore, adult education was designed to enable Tanzanians to be active participants in making plans and decisions related to eliminating their developmental constraints. In addition to that, adult education aimed to improve agricultural and industrial production while helping the people of Tanzania to reject certain traditional practices which were inappropriate for transformation in Tanzania.

to make an immediate contribution to development in postcolonial Tanzania.<sup>297</sup> For this reason, Functional Literacy and Folk Development Colleges (FDC) were established to help people to understand what caused constraints on their development while promoting and cultivating a spirit of voluntary participation in transforming communities.<sup>298</sup> The main objectives of adult education were to enable Tanzanians to better their standards of living by teaching them how to do so and to help Tanzanians to gain an understanding of national policies of socialism and self-reliance. Adult education was a lifelong process which did not just happen in classrooms. It equipped Tanzanians with literacy skills (among other skills) which helped them to understand the national policy, among other things, in order for them to make progress.<sup>299</sup> School teachers and students managed to take the teaching outside classrooms and schools and they went to villages to teach literacy skills. At this stage, literacy and adult education expanded. According to the government of Tanzania, over 200,000 adults registered for literacy classes in 1970. Nyerere, as cited in Ruhumbika's *Towards Ujamaa: Twenty Years of TANU Leadership* made the following statement when the government of Tanzania launched a literacy campaign in 1970:

For a long time we have said that we must educate the adults of Tanzania...We cannot wait until our educated children are grown up before we get economic and social development; It is a task of those who are already full-grown citizens of our country to begin this work...The first objective of adult education will be to make us recognize that we ourselves have the ability to obtain better houses, better jobs and health...The second objective of adult education is learning how to improve our lives...We can only do these things if all members of the nation work together for our common good. The

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<sup>297</sup> Mushi, P. A. K. 1991. 'Origins and Development of Adult Education Innovations in Tanzania'. *International Review of Education*. Vol. 37. No. 3. pp351-352.

<sup>298</sup> There were three main objectives for functional literacy and adult education. Firstly, one of the objectives was to train the mass of the country's population in basic literacy. Secondly, through basic literacy (reading, writing and counting), this would awaken Tanzanian people from lives they lived for centuries under colonial rule. Through this new awakening and heightened awareness, they would learn how to improve their standard of living. Thirdly, another objective would be to enable the masses to understand the national policy of socialism and self-reliance.

<sup>299</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.) *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. pp86-94.

third objective of adult education must therefore be for everyone to understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance.<sup>300</sup>

Students and teachers were educators during the literacy campaign. Every literate Tanzanian had the task of educating or teaching adults. Literacy was a necessary skill which needed to reach people outside the formal school system through participation of students and teachers.<sup>301</sup>

One of the driving forces behind the establishment of adult education was Nyerere himself. As a political leader and a citizen of Tanzania, he helped his people to understand the source of their constraints and to understand that development for Tanzania could only be done through mutual cooperation. Nyerere's approach to development was people-centred and he encouraged the people to be part of decision-making so that their voices could be heard regarding the change they wanted to see.<sup>302</sup> According to Nyerere, adult education was about learning 'anything...which can help us to understand the environment we live in and the manner in which we can change and use this environment to improve ourselves'. Nyerere understood that education was not limited to the classroom. Adult education emphasised self-improvement and it was geared towards changing the attitudes of adults.<sup>303</sup> In addition, adult education was necessary because knowledge and skills would help the adults to be empowered in order for them to participate in the development of Tanzania. The implementation of adult education faced challenges related to a lack of trained facilitators for adult education. Those involved in the adult education programs were primary school teachers and primary school leavers. They received little to no training except for the occasional training seminary. Consequently, this had a negative impact on the adult education initiative. Apart from this, there were also financial constraints, poor management procedures, misallocation of adult educators and negative perceptions of adult educators as 'non-

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<sup>300</sup> Ruhumbika, G. (ed.). *Towards Ujamaa: Twenty Years of TANU Leadership*. p223.

<sup>301</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. pp166-167.

<sup>302</sup> Mushi, P. A. K. 1991. 'Origins and Development of Adult Education Innovations in Tanzania'. p353; Tabetah, J. 1982. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. pp145-150.

<sup>303</sup> Ruhumbika, G. (ed.). *Towards Ujamaa: Twenty Years of TANU Leadership*. p223.

professional' voluntary teachers.<sup>304</sup> All the same, adult education was important because it was used to re-educate adults while simultaneously nurturing the new values in the youth.

In 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice, 1967-1974', Akwenye said that 'the responsibility of adult education lies with primary schools in order to make the latter truly community centres, reducing the generational conflict between the pupils and their parents'. These changes which followed the establishment of Education for Self-reliance showed that it was possible for Tanzania to move away from colonial patterns of education to new patterns. Indeed it would take years and many errors before education would become a part of the society and it would also take time before the desired outcomes of Education for Self-reliance would become a reality.<sup>305</sup>

### ***Establishing and operationalizing Universal Primary Education (UPE)***

Generally, Universal Primary Education (UPE) is part of many national developmental plans pursued by governments mostly in developing countries. In the case of Tanzania, the decision to universalise primary education by 1977 was in 1974 by the time of the Musoma Resolution.<sup>306</sup> It aimed at providing primary education for every child of school age. The first five year development plan (1964-1969) made little emphasis on expanding primary school education. Once the Arusha Declaration was announced in 1967, there were plans by the government of Tanzania to expand primary school education but the government prioritized secondary and higher education. Furthermore, when Education for Self-reliance was introduced in 1967, educators were preoccupied with implementing the new

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<sup>304</sup> Mushi, P. A. K. 1991. 'Origins and Development of Adult Education Innovations in Tanzania'. pp355,359-360 ; Ng'wandu, P. 1973. 'The Role of Adult Education in meeting the Development Needs of Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania', Submitted in fulfilment of degree of Masters of Education in Sociology of Education at the University of Alberta. pp99-106.

<sup>305</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice, 1967-1974'. pp100-101.

<sup>306</sup> The Musoma Resolution was a directive on the implementation of Education for Self-reliance upon realising that the policy was not a complete success. This document reflected on Nyerere's observations on how the policy was implemented, highlighting some success but also indicating that it was not a success in attitudes, menial work and structurally in terms of integrating work as part of education. The Musoma Resolution put emphasis on the importance of combining education and work in order to hasten the development of Tanzania. This combination or integration of work and education had a more fundamental purpose than increasing productivity in schools.

<sup>306</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'.



policy.<sup>307</sup> Also, the universalization of primary education was always in the pipelines however, by the time it was announced (in 1974), no one could have predicted what it actually entailed. Hence the time it took to actually be implemented.

Still, there were changes in primary education between 1967 and 1977. In 1967, the number of children who went to primary school was 825,000. By 1977, 3 million children enrolled for primary school. Still, the quality of education did not improve in spite of this increase in enrolment and this was due to various reasons such financial constraints and lack of resources and facilities.<sup>308</sup> UPE was a type of education which was designed to prepare pupils to return to rural agriculture after seven years of primary education. This program of expanding primary education increased the primary school population with specialised emphasis on standards I and V. On the issue of expanding primary education, Nyerere said, 'We believe it is better that money should be spent on providing one child with a seven year education which may help him or her to become a useful member of society rather than divide the same amount of money and staff between two children, neither of whom is likely to get any permanent benefit'.<sup>309</sup>

Because of the participation between student and teachers, some of the schools turned into school farms which were productive and self-reliant. Student labour increased overall productivity at schools and students therefore played a critical role in the development of their communities and, ultimately, in building their nation. Also, there was an increase in crop sales and large scale participation in Education for Self-reliance programs which helped the ministry of education to save money.<sup>310</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> Omari, I. M., Mbise, A. S., et al. 1983. 'Universal Primary Education in Tanzania'. *International Development Research Centre*. Ottawa. pp31-35

<sup>308</sup> Tabetah, J. 1982. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. pp138-139.

<sup>309</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice, 1967-1974'. pp71-75.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid. p154.

## **Experiences and Challenges of Implementing Education for Self-reliance**

### ***The Role of Teachers and Students***

There were various challenges during the implementation of Education for Self-reliance in post-colonial Tanzania. Education for Self-reliance was therefore the first of its kind in Tanzania. There was no prior example to follow with regards to educational reform policies. Education for Self-reliance was based on values of Ujamaa and it put emphasis on African-centred education and people-centred development.

In terms of the implementation of Education for Self-reliance, teachers and students worked hand in hand in order to reconceptualise and implement Ujamaa and the education policy for national development. Teachers were the first implementers of Ujamaa activities as outlined in the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-reliance. Teachers needed to be conversant with socialist principles and acquire teaching materials which were appropriate and relevant to their context. Teachers were also responsible for encouraging and teaching students to be self-reliant in their own community. The role of teachers was firstly to transfer necessary skills to the pupils and facts of Tanzania and the world. Secondly, the role of teachers was to encourage pupils to develop pride in themselves and their country on the basis of the national principles of Tanzania. Thirdly, teachers were to prepare Tanzanian pupils to live in a rapidly changing world.<sup>311</sup> Emphasis was on the responsibility of teachers to help with cultivating a culture of self-reliance. This was because teachers were seen as intermediaries and the best group positioned to implement Ujamaa programs as well as Education for Self-reliance. Regular teaching seminars were conducted in order to teach teachers on the new policy and the ideas behind them. By so doing local teachers and government officials were brought together.<sup>312</sup>

Nyerere himself spent much time reaching out to teachers who were already in the school system as a way of increasing the oversight of the national state. The emphasis was on helping teachers to understand Education for Self-reliance and its policies in order to turn schools into economic and educational communities as well as to integrate self-reliance activities with school work. Nyerere interacted with local

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<sup>311</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.) *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. pp6-7.

<sup>312</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. pp143-146.

teachers to explain Education for Self-reliance programs and how to implement them effectively with foresight of national objectives of creating a socialist and self-reliant Tanzania. Nyerere wanted to localise new national programs and establish moments with these teachers who were the ultimate implementers of Ujamaa and Education for Self-reliance.<sup>313</sup>

At the grassroots level, practical socioeconomic operations were taking place. Teachers and pupils were doing the implementing in schools and they were involved in various activities that were self-reliance-based. In many cases, these activities were agricultural projects involving children who were not involved in the theoretical and preplanning or methodological articulation of the policy. These children were simply just tilling the land. Practical self-reliance activities were meant to be guided and supervised in the schools and students together with teachers were meant to collaborate in project conceptualization, project planning, organizing and actually executing the plans. This was one of the challenges which negatively affected the implementation of Education for Self-reliance. This made it practically impossible to merge theory and practice. This is why Education for Self-reliance is a contentious issue and has been for a long time.<sup>314</sup>

Education for Self-reliance impacted the attitudes of Tanzanians due to deliberate 'sensitisation of the school system, its pupils and teachers, to the tenets of a socialist culture and to the obligations of a school it had towards the larger community'.<sup>315</sup> Still, it remained a challenge to deal with the different attitudes of the masses towards the implementation of the policy. Subjects such as Civics (political education) were taught in schools and as a way of conditioning pupils to know the national ideology of at that time which was socialism. Schools failed to translate philosophy into policy into a declared objective of transforming society. Also, schools were not transformed into economic hubs as was planned. Consequently, very few schools were practising self-reliance in their activities. Many schools also got involved with classroom teaching-learning pedagogical processes. Therefore, self-reliant activities were marginal 'extra-curricular digressions commanding no

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<sup>313</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. pp149-150.

<sup>314</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G. 1995. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. p52.

<sup>315</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.). 2006. *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. HakiElimu and E & D Ltd. Dar es Salaam. p95.

professional respectability or academic recognition' in the educational system.<sup>316</sup> The school systems valued the cognitive part of learning more than the affective approach hence the school system remained weak in this respect. Although Education for Self-reliance had ideological and practical achievements, it struggled due to academic and intellectual underachievement.

### ***Misconceptions of Farming Activities***

There was a perpetuation of the idea that farming activities were punishment and indeed some teachers used these activities as punishment. They used farming as a tool of punishment for misbehaviour. Student labour was used on teachers' personal farms. A.C Mugira, as cited in Legum and Mmari's *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*, reminded educators during the implementation of Education for Self-reliance in the late 1960s that 'farm work was not to be punishment for poor behaviour or poor academic performance, as associating farming with punishment would subvert the desired changes in behaviour and the push for forming that Education for Self-reliance called for'.<sup>317</sup> Much emphasis was on the fact that agricultural activities were for punishment. Nyerere himself stated that '[the students] must not see this new development as a sentence of labour but as an exciting challenge to their ability and their dedication to the Arusha Declaration'.<sup>318</sup> Often, some teachers threatened the success of Education for Self-reliance during the implementation process because they exploited student labour and, consequently, this negatively impacted the implementation of the new educational programs.

To a certain extent, the success of Education for Self-reliance was rejected by some teachers but it would be a mistake to assume that teachers were capable of destroying Nyerere's policies and philosophy of education. They did sabotage the implementation process by trying to impose their own projects for their own benefits. District and Regional education officers helped to supervise local schools in order to combat challenges in the implementation of Education for Self-reliance. Some parents and teachers did not like the new educational reforms and activities. Some teachers did not want to do manual labour at farm schools because it lowered their

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<sup>316</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G. 1995. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. p53; Lema, E. et al. (eds.) *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. p103.

<sup>317</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. p53.

<sup>318</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. pp147-148.

status. Also, although teachers and students were to work together, this cooperation was very minimal and students were often excluded in the organization of projects at schools and in the community. Arguably, Education for Self-reliance was used to benefit teachers personally through growing cash crops.<sup>319</sup>

### ***Constraints of Teachers' Education and Challenges of Teaching Relevant Content***

District and regional officers were encouraged to teach educators about the new philosophy of self-reliance through seminars so that the new philosophy would be better explained and understood. Despite all the efforts to re-educate the teachers, some senior teachers implemented Education for Self-reliance programs according to their own understanding, background and objectives.<sup>320</sup> Part of Education for Self-reliance was the teaching of Ujamaa and its practices. However, there were challenges with regards to explaining what Ujamaa was in theory and practice. The problem was that there were no clear set of principles (at that time) to guide teachers in the way of Ujamaa and this is why the process of teaching the masses about Ujamaa orally became difficult. All that was known was that Ujamaa meant 'living together in brotherhood and working together for the benefit of all'.<sup>321</sup> This was the take-off point. Apart from this, another challenge was there were no teaching materials which were based on the true interpretation of Ujamaa in order for the teachers to know how to teach it to the masses.

Although interpretations of Ujamaa differed, the main principle teachers understood and taught was that Ujamaa was about working and living together in brotherhood. How this would be done was the challenge. Moreover, there was the problem of attaining teaching materials in 1968. There was little that was written and published about Civics and History apart from the documents written by Nyerere regarding Ujamaa, Education for Self-reliance and other writings. Educational planners and experts set out to alter the national curriculum in order to expand the length of Civics courses and include political education. History and Civics would be separated thus

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<sup>319</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. p148.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid. pp146-147.

<sup>321</sup> Ibbott, R. *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*. p200.

allowing more time to spread political values. Overall, educational planners worked to ensure that the type of education provided to students in Tanzania reflected Education for Self-reliance ideals while promoting communal values and the politicization of students. Through this, the Ministry had an opportunity to reinforce Education for Self-reliance policy in curriculum.<sup>322</sup>

Overall, the government was not always hands-on regarding educational expansion and this was also due to economic constraints of the late 1970s and early 1980s. Towards the end of the 1970s, Tanzania began to move away from socialism and, by the 1980s, the country adopted a National Economic Survival Programme which led to the adoption of a Structural Adjustment Programme.<sup>323</sup> These structural adjustment programmes<sup>324</sup> aimed to make changes in the policies in Tanzania so as to solve the economic crisis which hit the country.

The introduction of Economic Recovery Programmes aimed to contribute to the development of Tanzania in all sectors, yet this did not happen. The government could not afford to budget for the expansion of education. As a result, NGOs and community initiatives became vehicles of improvements in social services and educational development. Community-based and community-supported secondary schools were constructed, rehabilitated or expanded and financial and material support was provided by NGOs and private citizens.<sup>325</sup>

### ***Limitation in the Articulation of Education for Self-reliance within Tanzania's National Development Agenda***

The success of the implementation of Nyerere's educational policies and vision was limited because people misunderstood and misinterpreted his vision. There were contradictions within the vision as well as lack of support from those who opposed it. Nyerere's ideas were ahead of his time and many government and non-government officials failed to understand Nyerere's educational and developmental vision. Nyerere sought to find a balance between theory and practice and the tendency to

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<sup>322</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. p160.

<sup>323</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G.. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. Mkuki na Nyota. Dar es Salaam. p118.

<sup>324</sup> These structural adjustment programmes were funded by the World Bank and the International Monetary fund (IMF).

<sup>325</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. pp54-55.

do so may have made him look less orthodox because his ideas did not conform to foreign educational and development standards and he did not compromise his vision for national development. He also maintained development without isolating his country from the rest of the world.

In 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania', Nkulu suggested that the following were the causes of failure of proper implementation – policy-making mistakes, conceptual contradictions and misunderstanding, politics, dependence on foreign aid and ineffective implementation strategies. Perhaps Nyerere may have underestimated the reality that transforming an educational system was not an easy task because there were conflicting stakeholders such as financial beneficiaries, academics, students, government and political officials.<sup>326</sup>

As quoted in Ibbott's *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*, Suleiman Toroka, a head-teacher at a school in Litowa, argued that Education for Self-reliance called for 'changes in attitudes and thinking of the people towards the meaning and the purpose of education for this generation and after'. Furthermore, there needed to be changes in how people viewed education and their thinking needed to be remoulded in order to develop a socialist society.<sup>327</sup>

In Ibbott's *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*, Toroka noted that

We accept the truth that the practice of Ujamaa existed in many of the Africans societies in the past. History shows that it has been the way of life in practice in those days. It has been there within the people but affected by the changes brought about by the impact of alien cultures.<sup>328</sup>

Part of Education for Self-reliance was the teaching of Ujamaa and the practices therein. However, there were problems with regards to explaining what Ujamaa was in theory and practice.<sup>329</sup> All the same, Nyerere wanted to strike a balance between communal values of solidarity, cooperation and equality and an acquisition of skills, critical thinking ability in order to solve various problems related to development in

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<sup>326</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 2001. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Kentucky. pp270,274.

<sup>327</sup> Ibbott, R. *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*. p191.

<sup>328</sup> Ibid. p198.

<sup>329</sup> Ibid. p200.

Tanzania. Despite various difficulties, Nyerere's vision of education created opportunities for all citizens of Tanzania based on equality. The study of Nyerere's educational vision reveals the complexity and difficulty of implementing such reform. Tanzania's political stability shows Nyerere's character as a servant of humanity. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, Tanzania was one of the most literate African countries under Nyerere's rule therefore his vision contributed to the suppression of ignorance and to the decolonization of the minds of Tanzania – to a certain extent. Despite what his critics say, Nyerere's vision of education led Tanzania on the path of human development. Human development was also part of Nyerere's educational vision. Economic growth was important, however, and so was human development. For Nyerere, development also meant the 'empowerment of people to decide and act for themselves, even if such empowerment does not bring better health or more bread'.<sup>330</sup> During the course of the implementation of Education for Self-reliance, Nyerere realised that as a philosophy, it did not take root. As mentioned in Lema's *Nyerere on Education*, Nyerere noted that

Self-reliance as a way of life, as a mode of thinking that would inform national plans and curricular design, motivate development initiatives, guide a people's total life process and ultimately grow into a culture remained as elusive as ever.<sup>331</sup>

### ***TANU's struggle to reconcile between theory and practice***

There were various problems when it came to interpreting the policy, which are not limited to theoreticians but also educational administrators. TANU's executive committee attempted to interpret Education for Self-reliance in a meeting in Musoma (1974) and the emphasis was on the link between education and work. Consequently, the admission to university study was restricted to people with work experience and this was inconsistent. The procedure was that after secondary school, students would work for at least two years. Thereafter, they applied for university.<sup>332</sup> Ibbott noted that 'there was...a considerable difference between the

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<sup>330</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania', pp276,282.

<sup>331</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.) *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. p95.

<sup>332</sup> Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (1967)*. p45.



original ideas of Nyerere...and how they turned out after those ideas had gone through the machinery of administration and experts'. Nyerere's approach to development was essential for postcolonial Tanzania, considering the conditions of Tanzania in the early years of independence. Nyerere started from where the people were. That was the logic. However, often the masses waited for money and for big machines before they started to work and this was a major challenge. The perception was that without money or big machines, work could not be done. Nyerere opposed this notion. He believed in slow beginnings and he also understood that development meant cooperation among the people and was a gradual process, not to be rushed.<sup>333</sup>

There were a few contradictions and these included the fact that some children of parents working in government did not go back to the village after completing primary or secondary school. Most of these children studied abroad in countries such as Kenya, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and the United Kingdom. There was an evident gap between Nyerere's (and TANU's) objectives regarding Education for Self-reliance and the way it was implemented. The policy was meant to apply to all parents but it applied to peasant parents only. Consequently, many people were excluded, while others were unwilling to accept the policy and its principles. The obvious shortcoming of the policy was in the merging of policy and practice. There was a contradiction between idealistic objectives and failure to transform them into reality. This created a situation whereby many felt that this was based on double standards - top down development rather than grassroots.<sup>334</sup>

### ***Misinterpretation, misunderstandings and miscalculations of the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-reliance policies***

There were also misunderstandings when it came to the Education for Self-reliance and Arusha Declaration policies. In Ruhumbika's *Towards Ujamaa: Twenty Years of TANU Leadership*, I. M. Kaduma argued that some teachers misunderstood the intentions of Education for Self-reliance because of the fact that the policy was not properly articulated. Often, teachers understood the policy as a path to returning to school farming with emphasis on producing the heaviest crops. Due to the lack of clarity with regards to how the policy was to be implemented, teachers took initiative

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<sup>333</sup> Ibbott, R. *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*. pp292-293.

<sup>334</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. p54-55

and tried to interpret the policy.<sup>335</sup> Furthermore, there were contradictions and misunderstandings of self-reliance. There was emphasis on egalitarianism while a large part of education in postcolonial Tanzania remained elitist. However, in 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania', Nkulu argued that 'a discrepancy between egalitarianism and elitism [was] not an indication of Nyerere's self-contradiction but a dilemma he had to face.' Another cause of ineffective results of educational policy was due to lack of good implementation of Nyerere's educational vision.<sup>336</sup>

Policy miscalculations were also one of the reasons for the failure of proper implementation of the educational policy due to lack of realism in the process of making social policies.<sup>337</sup> In terms of educational policies, Education for Self-reliance and the Musoma Resolution (1974) were not very effective in changing the attitudes of the people of Tanzania about colonialism. It was apparent that Tanzanians were still interested in colonial elitist education because they perceived it as a key to power and prestige. Education for Self-reliance was a way of changing education from a colonial and a liberal one to a utilitarian model.<sup>338</sup>

### ***Reluctance of Some Teachers, Parents and Government Officials***

Many teachers were from the educated elite and, therefore, did not like Education for Self-reliance because such a policy threatened their status. Furthermore, teacher involvement or participation was necessary in developing the new programs but it proved to be a challenging and a complex process. Some teachers avoided farming because they enjoyed their status as teachers or educators because they were the 'educated elite'. Also, agricultural work was not appealing to some educators therefore, to some extent, educators sought to alter some of the Education for Self-reliance so that they fit them. This proved to be a challenge for Nyerere and the Tanzanian government because there was resistance to the implementation of new ideas regarding the purpose of education. These misunderstandings and challenges deviated from Nyerere's conception of Education for Self-reliance and how the policy

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<sup>335</sup> Ruhumbika, G. (ed.). 1974. *Towards Ujamaa: Twenty Years of TANU Leadership*. pp224-225.

<sup>336</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania', p250

<sup>337</sup> Ibid. p263

<sup>338</sup> Ibid. pp264-266.

was meant to be implemented.<sup>339</sup> At the same time, the implementation process lacked some tools that would have helped with the effectiveness of the policy. There was very little clarity on how to implement the policy in its full capacity. The challenges that were faced reflect a variety of external and internal issues in postcolonial Tanzania.

The implementation of Education for Self-reliance was opposed and this was one of the reasons why there were many challenges. Some government officials were dictatorial in the process of implementation. There was a lack of discipline among government staff and this caused a rift between the masses and the government. Some government officials realized that the villagers were increasing in knowledge through their practical work and this made officials discontented. Some government officials saw themselves as more superior than the people and 'it [was] galling for them to realise that the people [had] knowledge that they [didn't] have.' Consequently, village and government cooperation decreased, affecting the effective implementation of Education for Self-reliance.<sup>340</sup>

Officials wanted to enjoy town life, leaving their responsibilities at the farms. They started off as peasants in the villages and worked their way up the ladder yet town-based life was more appealing to them. They were not willing to accept working alongside peasants in the villages. They had forgotten that 'all aspects of development desperately [needed] those responsible for rural development to be rooted in the whole atmosphere of rural life in order for their thinking to be in any way practical'. This often contributed to opposition. Officials ended up opposing the proposed policy for change. This was the contradiction and the challenge which was faced by Nyerere and TANU.<sup>341</sup>

Some parents did not want their children to participate in manual labour on farms but to aim for academic achievement. They felt as if their children were being exploited by teachers.<sup>342</sup> Parents viewed education as a future investment. Some parents viewed education as a means to receive a scholarship to study abroad instead.

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<sup>339</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. pp148-149.

<sup>340</sup> Ibbott, R. *Ujamaa: The Hidden Story of Tanzania's Socialist Villages*. pp255-268.

<sup>341</sup> *ibid.* p269.

<sup>342</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. pp158-159 ; Lema, E. et al. (eds.) *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. p xii

Ujamaa and Education for Self-reliance programs were seen as hindrances to the socioeconomic advancement of students, hence parents opposed the new approach to development. Despite efforts to educate the population on Ujamaa and Education for Self-reliance, some remained hesitant and were against it despite gaining a better understanding of it all. This hesitation by parents helped teachers to reinforce Ujamaa ideas and helped to justify why the state needed to be more drastic with 'villagization' campaigns in the early implementation phase.<sup>343</sup>

### ***Promotion of Kiswahili as a national language for communication and a tool for enhancing national unity***

The introduction of Kiswahili as a national language in Tanzania worked towards engineering social cohesion in the country. The 'Swahilization' of Tanzania helped to make Tanzanians unite nationally to some extent. It gave Tanzanians a sense of national identity. Ali A. Mazrui and Alamin M. Mazrui argue the following in this regard:

Tanzania utilized Kiswahili not only as an expression of the Africanness of Tanzanian people but also as an expression of their being Tanzanian. The consolidation of Kiswahili came to be increasingly defined as Swahili in its cultural character.<sup>344</sup>

Nyerere and the Tanzanian government wanted to transition Tanzania from English to Kiswahili because this would unite the students and Tanzanians as a whole. Consequently, students would become local teachers of Ujamaa. Nyerere, therefore, played a key role in bringing to Tanzania a sense of purpose and he inspired Tanzanian national consciousness in the way in which he encouraged common language usage and the pursuit of education as a means of serving the community at large. Critics tend to overlook these facts only highlighting the failure of Nyerere's approach to development in relation to the economic policy.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. p159.

<sup>344</sup> Mazrui, Ali A. and Alamin M. (1999a). 'Political Culture of Language: Swahili, Society and the State. Binghamton'. *The Institute of Global Cultural Studies, SUNY.* p118.

<sup>345</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. p231.

### ***Lack of emphasis on science and technology in education***

In 1974, Nyerere revisited the drawing board to trace some of the theoretical and practical miscalculations with regards to Education for Self-reliance and this was done through the Musoma Resolution terms of the syllabus, there were indeed some changes that reflected Tanzania's new perspective and approach to development which was relevant to the country's policies and this has been noted above. However, the syllabus wasn't properly translated. Primary and Secondary education still focussed on promoting pupils to higher education and not on aiming toward productivity in villages. School farms were not learning centres as it was planned. Education for Self-reliance as an approach to education was not appreciated by some parents, teachers and government officials. Also, self-reliance activities did not receive government support financially.<sup>346</sup> Although there were some achievements in terms of an increase in schools, Universal Primary Education and a reduction in illiteracy, Nyerere felt that sufficient progress had not yet been made. He admitted that most of the objectives under Education for Self-reliance were not achieved. He acknowledged the failure of the policy in the lack of emphasis on science and technology in the syllabus. This denied Tanzanian pupils the necessary skills needed for real social transformation. He also noted that Tanzanians did not liberate themselves from the inappropriate system of education which they inherited. Nyerere stated in the Musoma Resolution that 'in order to accelerate our economic development...there is a need of continually modifying our education system in order to place greater emphasis on scientific and technical education.'<sup>347</sup>

During the implementation of Education for Self-reliance, there was indeed an overemphasis on agriculture and a lack of emphasis on technical and scientific training in the education system. Almost ten years after the announcement of Education for Self-reliance, after seeing that the policy was not being implemented successfully, Nyerere realised that 'technical education prepares ...young men and women to be self-reliant and more useful to the nation after they have completed their studies' and that it enabled schools to earn an income which would satisfy their needs instead of relying on the government. Science and technology in education would have enabled Tanzanian learners to gain skills needed to enhance

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<sup>346</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.) *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. p x.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid. pp102-104, 106-107.

productivity. The absence of scientific principles meant that at the end of primary and secondary schools, learners would graduate without technical skills and knowledge. However, this was not the case when Education for Self-reliance was drafted and implemented. Graduates of primary and secondary schools were ill-equipped for anything except wage employment as unskilled workers.<sup>348</sup>

Nyerere admitted the following, 'our failure to emphasise science teaching of all kinds and at all levels...especially our indifference to technical and vocational training is the greatest failure of our education system'. As the head of state, Nyerere was able to evaluate himself and the policy of Education for Self-reliance. He went a step further by asking, 'how can we hope to be self-reliant as individuals, as schools or as a nation without a deliberate effort to acquire the skills required for progress in an environment which is changing rapidly both nationally and internationally?' Nyerere acknowledged that in order to develop in the modern world, technical skills were important. Due to the lack of technical skills, Tanzania had to import machinery, spare parts, vehicles, factory, machines electricity and water supplies.<sup>349</sup>

This chapter has observed that there were various actions which were taken in order to transform the education system in postcolonial Tanzania through Education for Self-reliance. Moreover, there were different experiences and challenges with regards to the implementation of Education for Self-reliance on various levels. Also, it is important to understand that the overall objectives of Education for Self-reliance focussed on the developing Tanzania through education as a tool for increasing knowledge and skills for rapid and sustainable economic development through agriculture. There were various implementation challenges which affected the overall effectiveness of the policy yet it raised various questions and scholarly debates. For this reason, there are a number of debates surrounding Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance and different scholarly positions on the issue which address Nyerere's overall approach to development through Education for Self-reliance which surpassed the challenges faced during the implementation process. Yet, an important question to ask is - did Education for Self-reliance face challenges due to falseness of the basic principles or to poor implementation of basically correct ideas?

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<sup>348</sup> Lema, E. et al. (eds.) *Nyerere on Education: Volume II*. pp178-179.

<sup>349</sup> *Ibid.* pp179-181.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SCHOLARLY PERSPECTIVES OF NYERERE'S EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE**

There are a number of debates surrounding Education for Self-reliance and different scholarly positions on the issue. These are important to consider as they contribute to the perceptions on Nyerere's approach to development. These debates also provide a platform for reconsidering Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance which went beyond the challenges faced during the implementation process. Although the scholarly debates regarding Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance tend to overlap, they are also polarized because different scholars emphasize different aspects of Education for Self-reliance.

The purpose of this chapter is to compare and contrast scholarly debates of the 1970s to 1980s and those of the 1990s to 2000s on Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance in order to re-examine the scholarly approaches and, therefore, evaluate the effectiveness of the policy. Also, this chapter will examine the extent to which scholars have misunderstood or misinterpreted what Nyerere was laying the foundation for in post-independence Tanzania. The selected studies show how Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance was perceived over time. These texts were selected because they cover a wide range of issues related to the policy. Nyerere's approach to development has gained much importance towards liberation and socio-economic equality and development as a whole.

### **Perspectives in the 1970s-1980s**

Akwenye examined the relationship between educational theory and practice of the policy. The focus of Akwenye's study was how the policy was implemented at primary school level in Tanzania from 1967-1974. It also evaluated the extent to which the principles in Education for Self-reliance were adopted and implemented. According to Akwenye, primary education was the only education that a majority of Tanzanians received at that time and the success of implementation of Education for Self-reliance depended on how the majority of the people affected by the policy would respond to it. The nature of that response would impact higher levels of education and Tanzania as a whole. Akwenye questioned the role of education in changing of attitudes of not only students but also the masses. Furthermore, Akwenye acknowledged that it would take some time before the ideals of Education

for Self-reliance were realised. This shows that even as early as 1973, there was some optimism regarding the outcome of Nyerere's approach to development through education.<sup>350</sup> As stated by Akwenye, Education for Self-Reliance was a

careful assessment of the educational situation in [Tanzania] prior to and after 1967, and [it] provides an outline for the reconstruction of education in order to gear it to the creation of a new society based on: equality and respect for human dignity, sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts and work by everyone and exploitation by none.<sup>351</sup>

Akwenye identified the purpose of Education for Self-reliance and pointed out that it was a policy which took into consideration the reality that Tanzania was in during the 1960s and it aimed to values which were contrary to colonial values. The implementation of the policy involved changing the administrative structure and planning of education as well as the curriculum. However, the author was of the opinion that these aspects had not been dealt with at that time. Furthermore, in 1969, there were significant changes which took place in the administration and control of education which were geared towards reconstructing the education system. The Ministry of Education was renamed, reorganized and charged with a larger scope of jurisdiction.<sup>352</sup> This showed that there was some planning and thought that went in to the implementation of Education for Self-reliance.

The government, however, avoided the predicament of choosing between equality and efficiency and this was in contradiction to Nyerere's emphasis on equality in education. Equality would require democratization and efficiency would ensure that various areas and groups of people would have access to education. Akwenye's account revealed that the government chose to discriminate 'positively' and gave priority to groups and localities which had been neglected in the past such as females. However, the quality of education was poor - an aspect which was critiqued by scholars in the latter years. Even though the enrolment rate was high

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<sup>350</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 1975. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice,1967-1974', Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Masters of Arts at McGill University. ppi,3.

<sup>351</sup> Ibid. p30.

<sup>352</sup> This meant that the Ministry of Education had a Minister, a Principle Secretary as the coordinator of its executive functions. The professional aspects of education were under a Director of National Education who worked closely with Assistant Directors.



between 1969 and 1974 especially regarding female students and post-independence educational policies emphasized equal access to education for both sexes, it remained questionable whether these policies were adequate enough to liberate women academically. Although Education for Self-reliance contributed to liberating women in post-independence Tanzania, it also contributed to perpetuating problems faced in the process of schooling in Tanzania despite the fact that the educational gap between rural and urban areas had decreased.<sup>353</sup> However, the author does not deal with this matter.

With regards to the curriculum, it was revised and it became more society-centred and linked the child to the society. As Akwenye maintains, the new syllabus focussed on 're-educating pupils on traditional African cultures and values...instilling in pupils the zeal for socio-economic changes envisaged in Tanzania and outlined in the Arusha Declaration'.<sup>354</sup> While the intention behind re-educating students based on the foundation of traditional African values was good, the effectiveness of traditional African values in policies for development was questionable.

Akwenye concluded that the abolition of school fees and the establishment of Universal Primary Education were expensive for the government and that the goal of eliminating intellectual arrogance and preventing growth of an elitist structure was a challenge in postcolonial Tanzania. Regarding the new curriculum and the content, it applied mostly to very few students but the author did not clarify the reason behind this, however. The emphasis of Education for Self-reliance was on rural areas as well as development through agriculture and this is one of the reasons why Nyerere's educational policy was criticized. This is also an aspect which Nyerere would later acknowledge – this lack of emphasis on technical education. Nyerere and the government of Tanzania introduced alternative methods of development that differed from the inherited educational forms over decades of colonial domination.<sup>355</sup>

The main challenge that Akwenye noted was that there was not enough empirical evidence at that time to account for the success in schools and how they contributed

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<sup>353</sup> Mugulu, M. D. 1999. 'Obstacles to Women's Participation in Post-colonial Education in Tanzania: What is to be Done?', Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Doctor of Philosophy at Concordia University. pp144-145; Akwenye, O. S. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice,1967-1974'. pp74-76

<sup>354</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice,1967-1974'. p84.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid. p93.

to social changes. Still, Nyerere's policy aimed to transform the society by re-examining the conditions of the society and the societal needs in order to depart from the colonial pattern. The educational policy focussed on improving Tanzania socio-economically through a people-centred approach to development and it also took into account the realities and aspirations of Tanzanians, hence it was applicable to the people. It was a new educational philosophy which consciously aimed to move away from the tendency to perpetuate the colonial legacy in education.<sup>356</sup> Akwenye also acknowledged that 'it [would] take several years and many mistakes before the desired symbiosis between education and society is achieved and the ideals inherent in Education for Self-reliance become a reality'.<sup>357</sup>

Tabetah's 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania' dealt with education in post-independence Tanzania in relation to the reform policy on public education. In this study, the author generalized the development goals (in terms of education) of postcolonial African countries. Tabetah claimed that African countries had to ensure that

The schools...facilitate the development of skills necessary for national reconstruction and the schools have to act as agents in transforming societal attitudes and values, as symbols of national cohesion.<sup>358</sup>

This was not the case for all African countries as only some postcolonial African countries used education as a vehicle of social transformation and development, while others continued to base their education on the colonial structure. Regarding Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance, Tabetah interpreted it as part of the self-help projects which African countries at that time were basing their development policies on. The challenge was implementing self-help related educational programs whether through rural or agricultural educational schemes. A major assumption that Tabetah made was that most self-help projects in African countries were similar although they took different forms such as Ujamaa in Tanzania, Harambee in Kenya, Animation Rurale in Senegal and Young Brigades in Botswana. Unfortunately, these

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<sup>356</sup> Akwenye, O. S. 'Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania: From Theory to Practice,1967-1974', Submitted in partial fulfilment of Masters of Arts at McGill University. p30

<sup>357</sup> Tabetah, J. 1982. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. Submitted in fulfilment of Doctor of Philosophy at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. pp98-101.

<sup>358</sup> Ibid. p1.

generalizations lead to misinterpretation and misunderstanding of specific contexts and in this case, the Tanzanian context. This study failed to evaluate the condition Tanzania was in immediately after political independence.<sup>359</sup>

The argument in this study regarding the level of organization, structure and implementation of the self-help programs was that they differed, yet the success of these programs depended of the political leadership in a particular country. While good political leadership is instrumental in the implementation process, this argument fails to acknowledge the contribution of teachers and students who implemented the policy at the grassroots levels. The success of Education for Self-reliance was not in the hands of political leadership alone because implementing the policy was meant to be done collectively even though the participation of the teachers and students was not always active.<sup>360</sup>

Regarding Nyerere's educational approach, Tabetah maintained that it was likely to conflict with the 'fairly restrained and intact system of education, from colonial days'.<sup>361</sup> Indeed, Nyerere's educational policy conflicted with the 'restrained and intact' colonial educational system which exploited and oppressed Africans. There was tension between colonial educational systems and Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance. The former was not suitable for the newly independent country, hence the establishment of Education for Self-reliance. The policy was not established to resolve the conflict with colonial educational structures but to create a revolutionized educational system. This was what Nyerere was laying the foundation for but this fact was often misunderstood by some scholars.

Tabetah contended that the major issue was that the politico-social and economic goals of Nyerere's Ujamaa differed from those of the former colonial power (Britain). Hence, 'if the goals of the educational system differed from those of the other sub-systems within the Tanzanian society, conflicts may arise in attaining the overall goals of national development'<sup>362</sup>. Indeed, the colonial legacy was a reality that Nyerere and the Tanzanian government had to deal with. However, colonialism was

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<sup>359</sup> Tabetah, J. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. p1.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid. p3.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid. pp3-4.

<sup>362</sup> Tabetah, J. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. p4.

the reason why Nyerere chose a different path developmentally. This study, however, substantiates the belief that without the white man, development in Africa would not succeed. This is because the author argued that Nyerere's educational strategy needed to take into consideration the sub-system which was based on colonial education in order for the education in postcolonial Tanzania to give the best results. This implied that Tanzania was hopeless in terms of building itself up as an independent country.

The goal of TANU and Nyerere was to integrate the school system (which was divided under colonial rule) and the roots of racism were far too deep for Nyerere and TANU to uproot immediately after political independence or by a policy of integration. Still, Tabetah maintained that 'the country enjoyed considerable success in striking down racial segregation'.<sup>363</sup> This statement reduces the impact of racism on Africans. Regarding the Universal Primary Education, Tabetah indicated that the expansion was beneficial to the community but the uncontrolled expansion was problematic because there were placement issues although there is no account for why there were placement issues in this study.<sup>364</sup> Tabetah confirmed that Education for Self-reliance was geared towards eliminating biases which existed in the education system and to integrate the school to the community. In order for this to happen, there was, arguably, a need to change the negative attitudes among students regarding agriculture and rural life in order for students to become committed to the national objectives.<sup>365</sup> However, this study does not identify what the negative attitudes were and the causes behind those attitudes.

Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance was a tool used to execute the proposals made in the Arusha Declaration and it was arguably designed to address the contradictions facing the educated Tanzanians according to the author.<sup>366</sup> However, the Declaration and Education for Self-reliance were meant to address Tanzanians in general. The focus was on the rural population who were often neglected hence the Declaration outlined the responsibilities of the government in building raising the standard of living of peasants and rural areas through efficient policies. It is a mistake to claim

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<sup>363</sup> Tabetah, J. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. p74.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid. p114.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid. p123-126.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid. p127.

that the Declaration was only meant for the educated because this excludes those who did not attain formal education through the school system. Nyerere was concerned with the growing gap between the urban and rural sectors and the government's tendency to cater more for the urban areas and neglecting the rural areas. Overall, the Arusha Declaration and the policies that followed were aimed towards addressing the issues in post-colonial Tanzania as a whole.

The implementation of Education for self-reliance faced problems because Nyerere's emphasis on development through agriculture was merely a renewal of the oppression of the masses by the British colonial administration, as claimed by Tabetah. During the colonial period, agriculture was used by colonizers to force Africans to work on farms, thus preventing them from progressing to higher positions.<sup>367</sup> While it is true that colonizers used agricultural labour for their capitalist gains, a drawback to this argument is the assumption that Nyerere's educational policy aimed to do the same. This assumption downgrades Nyerere's developmental efforts of liberating postcolonial Tanzania from the chains of colonials. Overall, Tabetah's view of Nyerere's efforts to change the education system and the problems facing school graduates and the masses through Education for Self-reliance was that it made little difference in bringing about change. Schools still perpetuate inequalities and elitist attitudes in the society.<sup>368</sup>

Talis's 'Education for Self-reliance: An Ethnographic Study of Tanzanian Secondary Schools' examined the role of education in bringing about social change and in socializing students through promoting socio-political goals in Tanzania and it does this through an ethnographic approach. This study focused on the secondary school system and examined how effective it was in changing the values and attitudes of Tanzanian students in light of national goals to build a socialist nation. Additionally, this study observed that there were conflicts between various ethnic groups who upheld values which differed from the socialist order within the educational system.

The main argument was that different ethnic groups had different values based on the indigenous value system. Indeed, there were different tribes in Tanzania, tribes which had principles and practices which were similar and different in some ways.

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<sup>367</sup> Tabetah, J. 'The Effects of Post-Independence Reform Policy on Public Education in Africa: The Case of Tanzania'. p154.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid.

Differences in any society are common. However, the author contended that these differences were actually developed through the colonial era and have been shaped by forces of colonialism and capitalism. It is problematic to assume that tribal differences among Africans were developed and shaped by Europeans. What European colonizers did was use those differences to create further division among the Africans. In addition, education in Tanzania, according to Talis, was introduced by the colonial regime and gradually became part of the Tanzanian value system<sup>369</sup> because, arguably, indigenous African education did not contain elements of formal education, whereas, colonial education did. Education in pre-colonial Africa was not 'formal' according to Western standards but traditional African education should not be measured based on Western standards to begin with.

In secondary schools, Education for Self-reliance was implemented in light of the national socialist goals through a national standardized curriculum, manual labor and youth participation in self-reliance projects. Students, through active participation in school government and school committees, created microcosms of the socialist state within the school environment. Education for Self-reliance, based on the author's argument, ensured that education linked the student to his or her society and the policy was in line with the national objectives.<sup>370</sup>

According to Talis, various ethnic groups who received secondary education were expected and demanded to invest in the future of their families but this was difficult to do because Tanzania was poor at that time. Indeed, there were economic constraints that affected Tanzanians during the 1970s and 1980s. However, the families which were in the villages were not completely helpless or hopeless, neither were the students upon graduating and getting jobs. During the implementation of Education for Self-reliance, the policy of self-reliance was understood by a majority of the rural population and they were continuously encouraged to use agriculture in order to develop themselves.<sup>371</sup> Therefore, families in the villages were not completely helpless but there was a sense of social obligation towards families and this was the norm. Those who received an opportunity to study did not forget their

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<sup>369</sup> Talis, S. J. 1985. 'Education for Self-reliance: An Ethnographic Study of Tanzanian Secondary Schools', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at State University of New Jersey. pp1-4.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid. pp227-228.

<sup>371</sup> Nyerere. J. K. 1968. *Freedom and Socialism*. Oxford University Press. London. pp241-244.

relatives, but the author painted a different picture of that situation, however. Furthermore, regardless of tribal and ideological differences, Education for Self-reliance ultimately taught the students the importance of social responsibility, communal living and a sense of family-hood which started at the individual level and extended nationwide.<sup>372</sup>

Indeed there were contradictions regarding the implementation of the policy in that secondary students relocated and moved away from their families in order to study and they were, according to Talis, being alienated from their families. However, at secondary school level, students were deliberately incorporated into the boarding school system. This was a strategy that was used by Nyerere in order to unite and integrate different tribes in Tanzania, starting with secondary students. Furthermore, those living in villages were aware of the socialist policies because of the Party machinery or structure which ensured that there was a flow of information.<sup>373</sup>

As argued in Talis' study, tribal barriers were broken down by speaking English in classrooms and Kiswahili outside the classrooms.<sup>374</sup> However, these barriers were not resolved because of the English language. On the contrary, the purpose of making Kiswahili both a national and an academic language was for the sake of nation-building and it also encouraged participation of the masses without their exclusion based on their inability to speak a language imposed on them during the colonial period – the English language.<sup>375</sup> At the same time, English was a medium of instruction in secondary schools and it was taught in the hope that it would help students commercially, nationally and internationally. Kiswahili, on the other hand, was taught as a language. This reveals a certain level of contradiction with regards to the incorporation of traditional values in Education for Self-reliance. One can problematize the use of English in schools as it was not an indigenous African language, but at the same time, one cannot ignore the impact that colonial education had on Africa regarding language.

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<sup>372</sup> Talis, S. J.. 'Education for Self-reliance: An Ethnographic Study of Tanzanian Secondary Schools'. p228.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid. pp233-234.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid. 237.

<sup>375</sup> Mohiddin, A. 1969. 'The Mwalimu (2<sup>nd</sup> part)'. *Civilisations*. Vol. 19. No. 4. pp475.

The education that a secondary student received under the Education for Self-reliance policy was, according to Talis, influenced by colonialism and capitalism. However, this assumption disregards the impact of Education for Self-reliance and its contribution in transforming secondary school education in post-colonial Tanzania. Furthermore, the education that the African child received made him a skilled or specialized laborer instead of a rural farmer, according to the author. This suggested that Education for Self-reliance was only meant to produce farmers and perhaps this is how the author understood the policy because of its emphasis on agriculture at that time. Also, not all students dedicated their lives to agriculture. On the one hand, skilled laborers were, in fact, needed at that time, considering the fact that Tanzania was in the process of developing itself and it lacked sufficient manpower. On the other hand, the new educational policy placed little emphasis on other educational skills and more emphasis on apart from agricultural skills.<sup>376</sup>

Although 'The Role of Adult Education in meeting the Development Needs of Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania' by Ng'wandu does not deal specifically with Education for Self-reliance, it focussed on adult education which was an element of the policy. Ng'wandu argued that adult education would contribute to development so long as its quality was improved. The products of the school system (primary and secondary school graduates) would take long before they effectively contributed to the growth of Tanzania. The nation could not postpone its development plans until schools produced enough trained manpower that was able to meet the objectives of the nation. This is why adult education played such an important role. The adult population had to be trained mainly (but not exclusively) in agriculture because they needed to improve their productivity in order to get involved in the process of nation-building.<sup>377</sup>

After discussing the potential that adult education had in transforming Tanzania, Ng'wandu indicated that there were some contradictions with regards to the implementation of Education for Self-reliance in adult education. The challenge was that there was a clear division among peasants and those in high government

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<sup>376</sup> Talis, S. J. 'Education for Self-reliance: An Ethnographic Study of Tanzanian Secondary Schools'. pp4-8.

<sup>377</sup> Ng'wandu, P. 1973. 'The Role of Adult Education in meeting the Development Needs of Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania', Submitted in fulfilment of degree of Masters of Education in Sociology of Education at the University of Alberta. ppiv-v.



position and peasants were often not active participants in organizing their own development programmes. Furthermore, there were ideological conflicts within the government and the lack of clarity as to how adult education would lift Tanzania up from underdevelopment through the programmes. These were among the problems which hindered the implementation of Education for Self-reliance, true liberation through education and the ultimate goal of creating a socialist nation.<sup>378</sup>

Kweka's 'Adult Education in a Village in Tanzania' is similar to Ng'wandu's argument especially in the analysis of the challenges in the implementation of adult education which had negative impacts on the practice of adult education and ultimately led to the failure to achieve objectives of creating a socialist and self-reliant nation. Adult education, according to Nyerere as cited in Kweka's study was a tool for liberation. Furthermore

The ideas imparted by education or released in the mind through education should therefore be liberating ideas: skills acquired by education should be liberating skills. Nothing else can be called education. Teaching which induces a slave mentality or a sense of importance is not education at all, it is [an] attack on minds of men.<sup>379</sup>

Adult education was, on the one hand, a tool for liberation nationally, individually and, on the other hand, a tool for liberation from poverty, hunger and disease. Furthermore, the constraints to development and freedom were both natural and social, however, the community had the responsibility to cooperate in order to liberate themselves through education. The implementation of adult education was negatively affected by bureaucracy and conflicts between peasants and workers. Kweka stressed the importance of adult education in involving the peasants and workers in the planning and implementation process. However, the adult population was seldom involved in the planning process. Although the adult population was meant to be active participants, they were not always involved because it was the supposed task of the bureaucrats to educate the 'backward' masses. This

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<sup>378</sup> Ng'wandu, P. 'The Role of Adult Education in meeting the Development Needs of Ujamaa Villages in Tanzania'. 118-119; 122-123

<sup>379</sup> Kweka, A. N. 1987. 'Adult Education in a Village in Tanzania'. Education Divisions Documents. No. 36. SIDA. p3.

perpetuated exploitation and inequalities further and it also put Education for Self-reliance in a contradictory position.<sup>380</sup>

The government struggled to implement adult education programmes because it had to do so without undermining the policy of socialism and self-reliance. In some cases, merging theory and practice proved to be challenging even in implementing adult education. In order to solve these problems, Kweka suggested that adult education was to be situated in a wider socio-economic context providing knowledge and skills which enabled workers and peasants to critically analyze the socio-economic system in order to change it. Indeed, the Party was able to mobilize many peasants and workers for adult education in the early 1970s. However, the government failed to achieve its objectives because of the ideological conflict and lack of cooperation between workers and peasants.<sup>381</sup>

Pius and Maliyamkono placed Education for Self-reliance within a broader initiative for political and socio-economic transformation in Tanzania. Much of the focus of this text was on economic rather than social aspects, however, it helps to get a sense of the thinking that influenced the scholars. The authors highlighted the political and economic factors which led to the emerging independent development strategies in Tanzania. One of the factors was that there was the fact that there was a new class of politicians and civil servants which had emerged which pushed TANU towards establishing self-reliant and socialist policies, according to the authors. To some extent, bureaucracy dominated politics in post-colonial Tanzania and this also influenced and negatively affected the development strategies which were being implemented.<sup>382</sup>

Regarding the policy of Education for Self-reliance, the authors outlined what it was about without much critical analysis. However, they pointed out the emphasis of the policy which was that education needed to have a purpose. The authors maintained that it was only in 1974 in a meeting in Musoma when Education for Self-reliance

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<sup>380</sup> Kweka, A. N. 'Adult Education in a Village in Tanzania'. pp3-4.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid. p128.

<sup>382</sup> Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. 1979. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration (1967)*. Black Star Agencies. Dar es Salaam. pp40-43.

was interpreted, although they do not make it clear how this was done.<sup>383</sup> This is similar to the argument made by Tabetah This makes one question whether or not the policy was not being interpreted from the time of its conception in 1967 up until 1974 even though there were challenges and contradictions of interpreting the policy during those years. The effectiveness of the implementation in school remained questionable. The major challenge that Education for Self-reliance faced was that it put too much emphasis on schools and it neglected the fact that other sectors also needed to be self-reliant. Pius and Maliyamkono concluded that in order to examine the effectiveness of Education for Self-reliance, monetary productivity was to be considered and in this case, the policy was not effective and this is why some scholars argued that Nyerere's development policies did not succeed - due to the failure to transform the economy of Tanzania.<sup>384</sup>

### **Perspectives in the 1990s – 2000s**

In *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*, Ishumi and Maliyamkono examined Education for Self-reliance and provided a slightly different assessment. They argue that it contained logical elements and phases of consistent thought in that Education for Self-reliance was speculative, analytical-critical and normative. Firstly, Education for Self-reliance was speculative in that the policy consisted of a wide-ranging survey of the education system in Tanzania as well as a synthesis of goals and objectives present in any education system in societies – goals which were in line with maintaining the society. Secondly, Education for Self-reliance was analytical-critical because it identified the failures and contradictions of the colonial educational system and its impacts on postcolonial Tanzania. Lastly, the policy was normative because it aimed to provide solutions for the educational problems.<sup>385</sup>

The authors agreed that the key role players were students and teachers because they implemented Education for Self-reliance at the grassroots level. However, regarding the implementation of the policy, primary school self-reliance activities were vaguely defined agricultural projects, according to the authors. Students were

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<sup>383</sup> Pius, M. and T. L. Maliyamkono, T. L. *The Experiments – Education Policy Formation Before and After the Arusha Declaration*. p45-46.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid. p50-51.

<sup>385</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G. 1995. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. Mkuki na Nyota. Dar es Salaam. p51.

hardly involved in the planning process of the policy, yet they were expected to play a major role in executing it. Still, Education for Self-reliance managed to cultivate in learners a sense of responsibility academically and a social obligation towards the larger community. Ishumi and Maliyamkono maintained that schools, in general, failed to interpret the policy effectively and to achieve the objective of transforming the society. Many primary schools implemented Education for Self-reliance activities in schools haphazardly with little consideration of classroom teaching or learning pedagogical processes. The policy mainly reached children of ordinary (peasant) parents and not the parents who were in high government positions. Therefore, the authors argued that this caused an imbalance educationally. Children of bureaucrats studied abroad or in private schools, whereas ordinary parents had no financial or political means to do the same.<sup>386</sup>

Educational imbalance always existed especially during the colonial era. Often, those who benefitted less in terms of education were the rural population. The new educational policy made it possible for those who had no access to school to have an opportunity to acquire an education. The urban population had more access to (private) schools. The imbalance did not begin at the educational level. There was a broader socio-economic imbalance in postcolonial Tanzania which was also reflected in the educational system. Perhaps the more relevant point to make is that Nyerere's policy on education failed to reach the stakeholders who were in high government positions and get them on board with the new educational system in light of the broader developmental goals of the nation.

These authors concluded that self-reliance activities remained minimal and they had no professional respectability or academic recognition in the educational system. Education for Self-reliance also faced academic and intellectual underachievement even though it achieved a certain level of ideological and practical success. The shortfalls of Education for Self-reliance, as argued by the authors, ought to be viewed in light of contradictions between theory and practice and the fallacies that exist within the educational systems.<sup>387</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> Ibid. p52.

<sup>387</sup> Legum, C. and Mmari, G. *Mwalimu: The Influence of Nyerere*. pp53-54.

On the matter of educational equality, an aspect which is almost always neglected is that of gender – women and education. Mugulu took note of this fact and argued that education policies appeared to have contributed to liberating women. On the contrary, they also contributed to perpetuating problems faced in the school system in Tanzania. Efforts to abolish discriminatory practices in education overlooked gender inequality in the postcolonial educational system. Post-independence educational policies proved to be inadequate in eliminating gender inequality in education in Tanzania.<sup>388</sup>

Colonial education was a racial, classist, religious, and gender-biased system which initially offered education only to a few African men and even fewer women. Education for Self-reliance was significant in achieving a sense of unity and equality among different classes, tribes and religious denominations but the African girl child was less likely to attend school because the African boy child was given priority. It can be argued that the post-independence education policies in Africa, including Education for Self-reliance, did not resolve gender inequality in education.<sup>389</sup> Although the policy effected some changes educationally, the process of schooling continued to perpetuate gender oppressive relations.

In Nkulu's 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania' the author asserted that Nyerere made students aware that they needed to serve the society as intellectuals with their knowledge and skills. He wanted them to realise and develop their potential for themselves and contribute towards the development of their country. In turn, young Tanzanians became more aware that their motives for gaining education were not only a way of understanding the problems and needs in their country and how to address them. Nyerere viewed education as a way for people to liberate themselves through raising critical questions about their society.<sup>390</sup>

Regarding 'Swahilization', Kiswahili was an expression of 'Africanness' in Tanzania and an expression of their being Tanzanian. Nyerere engineered social cohesion in Tanzania and to a large extent, people of different tribes realised their identity as a

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<sup>388</sup> Mugulu, M. D. 1999. 'Obstacles to Women's Participation in Post-colonial Education in Tanzania: What is to be Done?', Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Doctor of Philosophy at Concordia University. p146.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid. pp150,155, 163.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid. pp241-242.

nation.<sup>391</sup> Even so, there were doubts about whether Nyerere played a key role in transforming Tanzania through 'swahilization', according to the author.<sup>392</sup> The introduction of Kiswahili as a subject in education arguably showed how Tanzania integrated western-style education with African cultural values.<sup>393</sup> Nevertheless, the extent to which western-style education was integrated with African cultural values is debatable. Kiswahili – an African language - was taught as a subject but it had no relation to western-style education because teaching an African language in a western-style would be contradictory.

Nyerere did all he could to rekindle traditional African principles of equality, solidarity and service to society, hoping that this would undermine intellectual and social arrogance through elitism. There was a misunderstanding of what Nyerere meant by equality. Equality for Nyerere meant that Tanzanians would contribute to development regardless of the socioeconomic and ideological differences among them. Nyerere, however, was not ignorant of these social differences and pursuits of prestige and power. Yet, to what extent was equality really achieved through the policy on education?<sup>394</sup> Nyerere developed a system whereby individuals raised critical questions against the government without fear. However, many Tanzanians misunderstood his philosophy. Nyerere's self-contradiction and being misunderstood by many of his government officials contributed to the ineffective implementation of his education policy. Advocating for equality while education still remained elitist was contradictory and this was the dilemma that Nyerere found himself in.<sup>395</sup>

Nyerere may have underestimated the fact that educational reform is not easy and it contains many conflicting interests of various stakeholders (government officials, politicians, financial benefactors, students, parents and general public). He may have underestimated the reality that colonial education appealed more to the bureaucrats who sought to advance themselves.<sup>396</sup> The study of Nyerere's Education for Self-

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<sup>391</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 2001. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania', Submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Kentucky. p213.

<sup>392</sup> Ibid. p231.

<sup>393</sup> This was an argument made by Cranford Pratt, the first principal of the University of Dar es Salaam (1962-1969) He was cited in Nkulu's 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. See p213.

<sup>394</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. pp251-253;

<sup>395</sup> Ibid. pp244-250.

<sup>396</sup> Ibid. p275.

reliance shows complexity in implementing reform policies. Nyerere failed to gain the support of the elites and to popularize ideas and not all party members supported him faithfully. Foreign donors discouraged implementing some policies or programs which were unfit or not aligned with their criteria. The assumed failure of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance is a result of insufficient bargaining and negotiating with various stakeholders or a lack of community based funding and support.<sup>397</sup>

Nyerere's approach to development through Education for Self-reliance aimed for human development. His approach may not have succeeded in eradicating poverty or transforming the economy in Tanzania. However, Nyerere understood that development meant empowering the people to bring about change and development in their societies. Additionally, he managed to ensure political stability and national unity in his country whilst contributing towards the eradication of ignorance and decolonization of the minds of Tanzanians. In spite of various criticisms, Nyerere led Tanzania to a certain level of human development.

Adult education was a topic that Mulenga focussed on regarding Nyerere's educational policy. It was a priority to Nyerere after political independence. It became a major focus in the national development process. Before the Arusha Declaration of 1967, adult education lacked clear goals and objectives and it was uncoordinated and poorly funded. After 1967, it gained more prominence and it was significant in the development and liberation of Tanzania.<sup>398</sup> Education for Self-reliance provided guidelines for an educational system based on needs and objectives of Tanzania and it theorized how the goals would be met. The principles of Education for Self-reliance affected the attitudes of students, teachers and the masses in general. This was done through the sensitization of the school system which resulted to a spread of socialist ideas among the wider society.<sup>399</sup>

According to Mulenga, the goals of Education for Self-reliance were not met and liberation through education was still not a reality. Also, the Tanzanian educational system was largely influenced by international standards. Furthermore, schools were

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<sup>397</sup> Ibid. p282.

<sup>398</sup> Mulenga, D. C. 2010. 'Mwalimu Julius Nyerere: a critical review of his contributions to adult education and postcolonialism'. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. Vol. 20. No. 6. pp456-457.

<sup>399</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 2001. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. p260.

not fully transformed into economic hubs and they were not fully integrated into the community.<sup>400</sup> Mulenga critiqued Nyerere's lack of reference to gender-related issues in the Education for Self-reliance. Yes, Nyerere put emphasis on equality but when it came to women and education, Nyerere's policy neglected this aspect to a certain extent. Nyerere may have romanticized traditional African society and the values in it. Critics argued that basing Education for Self-reliance and Ujamaa as a whole on traditional African values was unrealistic and idealistic.<sup>401</sup> Traditional African societies were not societies without social differences but these values created a sense of hope for some African countries which were just coming out of colonial oppression.

The development of a newly independent Tanzania could not be based on oppressive colonial values and this is why Nyerere's Ujamaa was established because it aimed to restore the dignity of Africans, among other things. Also, considering the timing of some of these post-independence policies in Africa, it seemed like a rational path to take. The challenge was how to extend these traditional values to the modern postcolonial setting and this had a negative impact on the overall implementation process of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance. Nyerere did what he could during the postcolonial period in order to change the education system in Tanzania instead of simply imitating colonial educational systems. The author stated that perhaps Nyerere failed to acknowledge the changing nature of traditional African society in that due to colonial and capitalistic influence, traditional African values were not the same. Some of these values were inevitably infested by colonialism. Although students had no motivation to live or work in rural areas, Nyerere's contribution towards educational theory and practice is unquestionable, according to Mulenga.<sup>402</sup>

In Weaver's 'Educational Policy in Tanzania From Independence to The Present: Continuity and Transformation', the author stated that Nyerere's Education for self-reliance fit within the Ujamaa policy which emphasised nation building as envisioned in the Arusha Declaration. Education was a way of preparing learners to become self-reliant. This did not mean that it was a route to self-improvement rather it was

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<sup>400</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 2001. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. p261.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid. pp264-265.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid. pp267.



about the improvement of the nation, however, bureaucracy and individualistic values affected the implementation of the policy.<sup>403</sup> Education for Self-reliance was designed to make Tanzania independent from outside resources and, therefore, creating a self-sustaining economy and political system. This is why the policy was based on rural agriculture because Nyerere believed that rural development would lead to industrial development in the long run. Weaver argued that Education for Self-reliance fostered entrepreneurship, rural occupations and other forms of trade in the rural society. Furthermore, vocational skills under Education for Self-reliance in schools were defined as self-reliance projects. However, the author reduced the policy to agricultural works on school farms and these were perceived by the author as extra-curricular activities and nothing more.<sup>404</sup>

Education for Self-reliance faced some shortcomings and challenges, such as lack of organization and a poorly synchronized implementation of activities. This made it difficult to see which strategies were being implemented and whether or not they were effective. There were various challenges related to the policy. Weaver argued that the policy emphasised the importance of imparting to students critical thinking skills, but there was no clarity regarding how to foster the skills and how these skills would be taught. Moreover, regarding the examination reform, there was little guidance on how students would be evaluated and examinations remained the basis of determining the academic success or failure of a student. Also, Weaver maintained that the policy failed to change students' attitudes on agriculture or manual labour. The policy failed to instil values of hard work and social responsibility according to the author. These shortcomings were due to lack of resources, technology and teacher training consequently there was a gap between manual work and academic work. Consequently, Education for Self-reliance resulted in poor quality of education, a high school leavers rate and it perpetuated educational inequalities.<sup>405</sup> The author concluded that Nyerere's educational policy was 'never able to be successfully implemented or evaluated'.

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<sup>403</sup> Weaver, N. E 2011. 'Educational Policy in Tanzania From Independence to The Present: Continuity and Transformation'. Submitted in fulfilment of Bachelor of Philosophy at the University of Pittsburgh. p48.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid. p50.

<sup>405</sup> Ibid. pp52-55.

In Nicholson's 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world', the author argued that Nyerere and TANU were losing their political power and popularity in the mid-1960s and they needed to rejuvenate their rule. This is why Nyerere introduced several reforms to ensure that his rule continued through the one party system. Nicholson also claimed that Nyerere was an authoritarian leader who was concerned about losing power or being criticized by people outside his control. This, however, seems to be a misconception of why Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance was formulated and it views Nyerere's policy as a selfish attempt of self-advancement instead of a people-centred policy. The one party system was Nyerere's way of bringing people under the purview of a central government, firstly, in order for the government could provide the people with social services and, secondly, to enable the government to control them politically.<sup>406</sup>

According to Nicholson, Nyerere hoped that primary school graduates would return to villages with new skills because this would decrease the influx of youths in cities and towns thus increasing national economy. Education for Self-reliance attempted to reunite schools with the society by connecting agriculture and education.. Teachers and students also played a big role in the mobilization and implementation process of Education for Self-reliance. According to the author, TANU and Nyerere worked towards changing the educational purpose and putting emphasis on agriculture but this was no difference to what the colonial government did.<sup>407</sup>

### **Analysis of Scholarly Debates**

In the 1970s and 1980s, Education for Self-reliance was still in progress. Scholars who accounted for the policy during this time had a limited scope of analysis but they shed some light into the implementation process as it was taking place in the early years. When comparing earlier scholarly debates to the more recent debates on Education for Self-reliance, it is evident that some elements overlap. However, there are some aspects which differed.

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<sup>406</sup> Nicholson, T. A. 2012. 'Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War world'. pp136-137.

<sup>407</sup> Ibid. pp141-143.

Tabetah, for example, acknowledged the significance of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance but tended to give a generalized account of the policy and categorized it as a generic self-help scheme in Africa without critically considering the specific context – the Tanzanian context. Furthermore, Tabetah assumed that Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance needed to consider the former colonial education structure in order to move forward effectively. In other words, the author was suggesting that moving away from the colonial pattern of education was a miscalculation. This assumption did not consider the negative impacts that colonial education had on Tanzania socioeconomically and educationally. Similarly, Tabetah misinterpreted the purpose of the Arusha Declaration arguing that it was for the educated elite and this is in direct contradiction with why the Declaration was drafted.

Talis's main argument was that the different ethnic groups in Tanzania had their own traditional values which differed from those proposed by Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance. Certainly, it was a challenge for some to accept the new principles of socialism which were in contrast with either traditional values and practices or the elitist structure – although the author does not mention the latter. It was a challenge for the government to implement Education for Self-reliance without ignoring the traditional aspect. The matter of traditionalism is an important factor that Talis pointed out and it is often overlooked in literature on Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance. However, even with the existence of conflicting values, the implementation of Education for Self-reliance aimed to strategically unite the people (starting with the students) who were from different tribes. Although the outcome was not always as desired, the policy and its implementation was designed in such a way Tanzania would not be divided based on tribal differences. Kiswahili was strategically declared a national language and an academic subject in schools because it contributed towards unifying the country although some Eurocentric scholars seem to have misunderstood this notion.

Pius and Maliyamkono agreed that Education for Self-reliance was a wider effort for political and socioeconomic development in Tanzania. Arguably, it was influenced by a new class and civil servants who pushed the agenda of self-reliance and socialism. The authors were vague with regards to who the new class and civil servants were and they also suggested that Nyerere's policy implied development from the top. As for how effective the policy was, the authors argued that it was questionable because

it placed too much emphasis on self-reliance in schools and neglected other sectors which also needed to be self-reliant.

Ng'wandu and Kweka both dealt with adult education which was an important aspect in Education for Self-reliance. Both authors acknowledged the significance of adult education as an instrument for political mobilization, socioeconomic and mental liberation and the overall development of Tanzania. However, they also highlighted some of the contradictions in the implementation process. There was also a lack of clarity as to how the policy would be implemented in such a way that the whole country would be liberated. Also, a major concern was how to implement the adult education policy without undermining the policy of socialism and self-reliance. The authors problematized the notion of the government 'civilizing' the masses instead of viewing them as partners and active participants in the implementation process. It seemed like Nyerere's policy was based on development from the top with the perception that the 'uneducated' and 'backward' peasants needed to be 'developed' instead of emphasizing that the people needed to develop themselves. However, did the people not need some guidelines on how to develop themselves along the lines of the national objectives? The challenge was that some government officials who were put in positions of power used that power negatively and for their own benefit. Overall, Ng'wandu and Kweka acknowledged that adult education increased the level of literacy among the adult population and managed to mobilize the masses. However, it failed to meet its objectives effectively.

On the contrary, Mulenga's study on adult education in the 2000s demonstrated that Education for Self-reliance impacted the attitudes of the people while acknowledging that the goal of creating a socialist country did not materialize. However, the author also questioned the lack of emphasis on gender bias in education. Similarly, Mugulu pointed out Nyerere's education policy lacked in the area of gender equality despite the fact the Universal Primary Education increased the enrolment of females in schools.

Nicholson argued that Education for Self-reliance aimed to reduce influx of graduates from rural to urban areas and stakeholders often saw the policy as a hindrance to development while graduates and teachers wanted to advance themselves and not to work on farms or in the rural areas. In contrast, Weaver

argued that Education for Self-reliance fostered entrepreneurship skills yet it was merely about farming on school farms as an extra activity. It also suffered due to lack of resources and the school leavers issue was unresolved.

Ishumi and Maliyamkono argued that Education for Self-reliance was well thought of and its designers considered the condition of Tanzania was in before attempting to provide the solution. One of the implementation challenges that was noted that slightly differed from the earlier scholars was that, even though the self-reliance programs were implemented, they were not properly planned and there was little consideration of teaching methodology and other academic aspects. Also, the educational imbalance between rural and urban population was wide and those in urban areas had more access to (private) schools because of the elitist structure of education. Consequently, some students had more benefits than others without necessarily being affected by Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance. The authors, however, fail to account for this inequality and how it had consequences for those in rural areas more than it did for the students whose parents were in high government positions.

This raises another matter that Nkulu mentioned - the reality that Nyerere's policy failed to capture parents in high government positions and get them on board with the new educational policy. As Nkulu suggested, this may have been because Nyerere underestimated the complexities in educational reform and the reality that there were various stakeholders who needed to be considered in the implementation process. Nkulu also demonstrated that Nyerere's policy contributed towards encouraging students to think critically about their societies, how to resolve the challenges in their countries and the importance of liberating themselves from the shackles of colonialism. This is a significant factor in Nyerere's educational policy. The educational policy also rekindled values of solidarity and social obligation in hope to deal with intellectual ignorance and elitism in education however education remained elitist. In contrast to earlier studies, this study acknowledged the oil crisis of the 1970s and the liberalization of the Tanzanian economy through the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) which the country adopted and which negatively affected the country's economy and the implementation of Education for Self-reliance in the 1980s.

Several studies agree that what resulted due to Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance were political stability, national unity and people-centered development. Throughout the studies, there is a general consensus about the overemphasis on agricultural development, bureaucracy in the government as well as elitist education which had negative impacts on the outcome of the policy. Bureaucracy led to ideological differences within the government but also division between government officials and the peasants, teachers and students. Contrary to the emphasis on active participation of the masses, this was not always the case and if it was, the participation of the masses and their contribution was not fully recognized. Also, scholars agree that there was a gap between theory and practice when it came to implementing Education for Self-reliance. There were contradictions between the policies which aimed for equality and those which aimed for productivity and these contradictions jeopardized the effectiveness of Education for Self-reliance and development in Tanzania.

The scholarly positions reveal the tension between the perceptions of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance. Largely, the scholars under review agreed that the implementation of Education for Self-reliance ought to be evaluated in light of the contradiction surrounding it. However, some scholars argued that it is to be measured monetarily but measuring the policy monetarily downgrades the effectiveness of the policy. The economic failure of Education for Self-reliance should not marginalize the fact the policy achieved a certain level of human development because it was people-centred. Critics have often put much emphasis on lack of success of economic policy instead of Nyerere's positive legacies. Critics also argue that Nyerere's rejection of capitalist strategies for economic development and emphasis on socialist approaches 'worsened the economic situation in Tanzania'.<sup>408</sup>

Although these scholars acknowledged that there were major changes in the schools, they denied that these changes were effective enough to result in social changes because schools could not lead society because schools were incapable of transforming societies effectively. Other scholars viewed Education for Self-reliance

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<sup>408</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. p263.

as a practical educational approach which had the potential of succeeding to a certain extent.

There was lack of clarity in the implementation of Education of Self-reliance, misinterpretations and miscalculations of the policy, lack of consideration of the difficulties in transforming the educational system, ineffective strategies of dealing with bureaucracy as well as the overemphasis on agricultural development instead of an integration of various sectors. Largely, scholars agreed on this. However, the limitation of the government in implementing Education for Self-reliance in Tanzania should not dismiss the planning which went into the development project. The planning process included the Arusha Declaration, Education for Self-reliance as well as the Musoma Resolution among other policy papers. This should also not obviate the need to re-evaluate the various scholarly debates on Nyerere's educational policy or reduce the policy to a class or state-driven initiative. The contradictions of development and development projects are not substitutes for efficient planning that should go into development projects even if the desired objectives are not fully met and, to a certain extent Education for Self-reliance reflects a certain level of planning that went into revolutionizing the educational system for the development of Tanzania.

Nyerere's educational vision through Education for Self-reliance was perceived differently by different scholars. In terms of the effectiveness of Education for Self-reliance, some critics claimed that the implementation as miscalculation and lacking in realism. The policy seemed ineffective in changing the attitudes of the people towards colonialism because assumption was that some Tanzanians were interested in elitist colonial education therefore the denunciation of colonial education was a miscalculation.<sup>409</sup> Other critics blamed Nyerere for Tanzania's economic failure because he refused to abide by the rules of International Monetary Fund (IMF). This refusal broke down relations between Tanzania and foreign donors and it led to financial hardships in Tanzania. However, Nyerere was against the financial donors stating that Africa's economic crisis gave the World Bank and IMF an opportunity to take over economies in Africa. The reality was that IMF and World Bank managed African economies and continued to under-develop African economies in various

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<sup>409</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. pp263-264; 270.

ways. Scholars who blamed Nyerere ought to reconsider the role that IMF and World Bank played in crippling Africa. The relationship between Tanzania and external donors in the early 1980s crumbled during the financial crisis<sup>410</sup> and this undermined Nyerere's educational vision even more. The adoption of liberalisation policies during this period also contributed to a negative perception and implementation of Nyerere's educational vision.<sup>411</sup>

The academic community has extensively explored the Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance and its implementation. However, little research has been conducted on the Musoma Resolution of 1974 – the directive on the implementation of Education for Self-reliance. It was an important document because it showed the self-reflective nature of Nyerere and his ability to reassess the implementation of Education for Self-reliance. Furthermore, it also demonstrated how realistic Nyerere was about the outcome of the policy at that time. The Musoma Resolution was an effort to try to reinterpret Education for Self-reliance base on the accumulative results in order to develop a common definition for the policy and how to implement it more effectively. It was not that the policy was being interpreted for the first time in 1974 as some scholars assumed. Rather, the Resolution was an attempt to try to make sense of the educational policy which was attempted in 1967.

Another major omission in a majority of the scholarly debates especially (but not exclusively) the earlier studies on Education for Self-reliance is the notion of equality and the goal for social and educational equality in light of Tanzanian girls and women under Nyerere's educational policy.<sup>412</sup> Also, some prior studies failed to evaluate the policy not as a generic African development project but as a genuine attempt by Nyerere to build Tanzanians up on a foundation based on freedom and equality and not on exploitation – even though in practical terms, there were still elements of elitism in education. Furthermore, such studies also undermined

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<sup>410</sup> The world oil crisis and drought which took place in the years between 1973 and 1983 contributed towards the economic crisis in Tanzania.

<sup>411</sup> Nkulu, K. L. M. 'Julius Kambarage Nyerere's Vision of Higher Education in Tanzania'. pp231-232.

<sup>412</sup> There are a few studies that have been done that focus on education and women in Tanzania. See Mbilinyi ,M. & Mbughuni, P. (eds.). 1991. 'Education in Tanzania with a gender perspective'. SINA. Education Division Documents. No. 53; Mbilinyi. M. J. 1972. 'The State of Women in Tanzania'. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. Vol. 6. No. 2. pp371-377.



Nyerere's policy on education by equating its strategies (particularly its emphasis on agriculture) as a reflection of the colonial educational structure.

The scholarly positions on Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance in the 1970s and 1980s and those in the 1990s and 2000s tend to overlap but there are a number of differences. Some earlier scholars showed a consensus regarding some of the challenges and contradictions in the implementation process and the purpose behind formulating Education for Self-reliance, however, other earlier scholars also misinterpreted some aspects in the implementation of the policy and what Nyerere's was trying to achieve through the policy. The same applies to the latter scholars with a few exceptions. The major omissions in a majority of the scholarly debates was the Musoma Resolution of 1974 and education and gender with specific focus on females. All in all, these scholarly debates contribute towards bringing clarity to Nyerere's educational policy but these debates also reveal that there are some scholarly positions which either need changing or aspects which need further investigation regarding Nyerere's policies.

It is evident that the critics' views of Nyerere's education for Self-reliance outweigh the appreciation of some of the achievements of Nyerere's educational policy. Yet, to what extent was Education for Self-reliance as a development strategy appropriate despite the challenges it faced during the implementation of Education for Self-reliance? The following chapter will attempt to answer this question by considering how the fallacy of developmentalism and the fallacies in educational structures shaped Nyerere's development approach through education in post-independent Tanzania in light of Education for Self-reliance as a development paradigm.

## CHAPTER SIX: EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE AND DEVELOPMENT

### The Fallacy in Developmentalism

Development is a process which is multifaceted. It can imply freedom, skill, responsibility and capacity when the concept is considered at the individual level. The achievements of these aspects at the individual level contribute to the society as a whole. On a broader scale, development also implies an 'increasing capacity to regulate both internal and external relationships'.<sup>413</sup> Historically, different societies have developed differently, yet the idea of development often has Eurocentric implications. Development is often equated to Westernization and this perception assumes that Western culture and Western civilization are the totality of development and that non-Western countries are 'less developed'.<sup>414</sup> This is the colonizer's model of the world which justified colonial expansion. To illustrate the multidimensional view of development, Ghosh and Kurian perceive it as

an economic phenomenon, [that] is associated with industrialization by application of science and technology; in the socio-psychological realm, it modifies attitudes, behaviors and symbols, accelerates urbanization, literacy and mobility; in the political sphere, it means participation.<sup>415</sup>

As cited in Stefan Andreasson's 'Thinking Beyond Development: The Future of Post-Development Theory in Southern Africa', Rist argued that development

consists of a set of practices , sometimes appearing to conflict with one another, which require for the reproduction of society, the general transformation and destruction of the natural environment and of social relations. It aims to increase the production of commodities (goods and services) by way of exchange, to effective demand.<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> Rodney, W. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. East African Educational Publishers. Kampala. p3.

<sup>414</sup> Ghosh, R. and Kurian, G. 1979. 'Some Ambiguities in the Concept of Development'. *The Indian Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 40. No. 2. p158.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid. p157.

<sup>416</sup> Andreasson, S. 2007. 'Thinking Beyond Development: The Future of Post-Development Theory in Southern Africa'. p5. (Accessed: December 4, 2017) [http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/bisa-africa/confpapers/Andreasson\\_BISA\\_2007.pdf](http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/bisa-africa/confpapers/Andreasson_BISA_2007.pdf).

The concept of development also has authoritarian implications in that it prescribes interventions in people's lives whether or not the people approve. The idea is that the experts know what the people want more than the people do. However, these interventions often lack proper analysis of the societies which are subjected to these development projects.<sup>417</sup>

As a concept, it is a process of developing or being developed to a specific state of growth or advancement and it is based on the assumption that it produces 'good change'.<sup>418</sup> However, there are contradictions of development, such as socio-economic inequalities and political instability among others. On the other end of the spectrum of development is underdevelopment which many so-called Third World countries have experienced. Underdevelopment does not imply the absence of development because development is universal and different communities have experienced development in different ways. Underdevelopment is used to compare the levels of development and it shows that human levels of development differ and that, in terms of economic growth, some groups are more advanced than others. Furthermore, a crucial component of underdevelopment is the exploitation of one country by another. Underdeveloped countries which were once developing independently are products of imperialist, colonialist, capitalist exploitation.<sup>419</sup> Slavery and colonialism retarded the development of African countries draining the resources and the manpower of the continent. In the colonial context, for example, there was development by contradiction. Colonialists progressed through exploitation while Africans regressed by being exploited.<sup>420</sup>

Development projects are preoccupied with modernizing and industrializing, raising questions on why they have this focus. The development-as-modernization discourse is fixated on imposing Western standards of development on Africa and fails to consider what may be appropriate for Africans, based on their experiences and values. On the contrary, Education for Self-reliance did not impose Western

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<sup>417</sup> Ziai, A. 2011. 'Some Reflects on the Concept of Development'. *Working Paper Series*. No. 81. pp3, 7.

<sup>418</sup> 'Oxford Dictionaries'. (Accessed: December 4, 2017)

[www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/development](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/development).

<sup>419</sup> Rodney, W. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. p13.

<sup>420</sup> Seers, D. 1969. 'The Meaning of Development'. *Institute of Development Studies*. (Accessed: December 4, 2017)

<https://www.ids.ac.uk/files/dmfile/themeaningofdevelopment.pdf>. pp1-5.

standards of development and took into consideration ways to transform Tanzania based on its realities. However, Education for Self-reliance still reflected the contradictions of the principles and practices related to development and modernization.

The process of development is dialectical and, regardless of the objectives it aims to achieve, there are certain inevitable forces that result in consequences that are in contradiction with the objectives. In some cases, these efforts tend to reflect 'the authoritarian exercise of power based on expert knowledge and the root of development policy' even when the goal of the development project is to improve the society.<sup>421</sup> The problem that arises is bureaucracy and the tendency of bureaucrats to assume authority over the so-called 'ignorant' and 'poor', leading to exploitation and abuse of power rather than cooperation with those at the grassroots level in the process of development. Development does not equal inevitable progress, neither does technological advancement mean political freedom or social-economic liberation.<sup>422</sup>

### **Contradictions of Education Systems and Education for Self-Reliance**

The above discussion of the contradictions which exist in the idea of development and development projects will help to understand how Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance fits into this framework. Furthermore, it will help to account for the challenges and contradictions faced in educational systems and how Education for Self-reliance is not any different. It was a development project which used education as the basis for transforming Tanzania but, like any other educational system, it had its contradictions. The question, therefore, is to what extent was Education for Self-reliance as a strategy for educational transformation and socioeconomic development appropriate despite its economic failure? As already noted, postcolonial Tanzania utilized education as a tool for development and this led to the establishment of Education for Self-Reliance which aimed at transforming the educational system and the nation at large. However, the implementation of the policy faced challenges and revealed various contradictions.

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<sup>421</sup> Seers, D. 'The Meaning of Development'. pp183-184.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid. p162.

During the implementation of educational reforms at large, there is a tension between education for individual good and education for the common good and it is not always easy to reconcile the two. This proved to be a challenge even in Education for Self-reliance because, on the one hand, the policy emphasized that education would be for the benefit of all in the society, yet on the other hand, some teachers and bureaucrats used self-reliance activities to advance themselves. Similarly, the reality was that some secondary graduates did not return to work in the rural areas and they relocated to urban areas even though they were ill-equipped in terms of actual agricultural skills. Moreover, in the implementation of educational reforms through Education for Self-reliance, there were challenges of how to ensure equity or equality in the education provided. Societal inequalities shaped educational reforms and this resulted in a perpetuation of these inequalities during the implementation of Education for Self-reliance. Education systems are inevitably imbedded in and subservient to systems of social inequality. Scholars of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance, however, failed to account for this fact and, instead, argued that Nyerere's efforts to change the educational system actually perpetuated inequalities and elitist attitudes without considering that societal inequalities are ever-present. Thus, while there was an increase in educational opportunity especially through the Universal Primary Education initiative under Education for Self-reliance, there were inadequate educational facilities, on the one hand, and a lack of equality of opportunity, on the other. Moreover, Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance did not fully succeed in improving the quality of education in postcolonial Tanzania.<sup>423</sup>

In addition, educational expansion and development may be associated coincidentally but not intentionally. Educational expansion can be paralleled to economic growth but it is not always the case. The result of educational expansion may not have much to do with economic growth. This was the case with Education for Self-reliance as well. One of the aims of Education for Self-reliance was to develop Tanzania on the basis of agriculture in order to increase the economy and to be self-reliant. In the end, the policy did not result in economic growth as it was

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<sup>423</sup> Richardson, C. J. 1977. 'Education and Social Mobility: Changing Conceptions of the Role of Educational Systems'. *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 2. No. 4. pp417-423,429.

intended.<sup>424</sup> The assumption was that African countries were to develop through agriculture but this became a major contradiction in Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance. Rural agricultural development was the rational path for Tanzania because land was the resource that the country had in abundance, however, it ultimately resulted in failure to transform Tanzania's economy on a large scale.<sup>425</sup>

Developing countries have used education as the key to economic development, but the policies prioritized the setting up of 'modern' educational systems rather than finding out ways to achieve development through education. Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance did not highlight the importance of technical education early on although in the 'modern' world, science and technology are highly significant. Nevertheless, educational processes do not necessarily produce results compatible with effective modernization. The expansion of education and an increase in the literacy rate, for example, do not automatically lead to successful development or modernization, but this depends on how one perceives development.<sup>426</sup>

In terms of participation by the local people in the implementation of Education for Self-reliance, they were indeed encouraged to participate in the process. However, students were often not included in the planning and implementing process of the self-reliance activities in schools and, if they were, their participation was limited. Those who benefitted more from these activities were teachers or those in positions of power.<sup>427</sup> Another major contradiction regarding Education for Self-reliance was that the expansion of the bureaucratic system led to abuse of power and exploitation. Ultimately, this contradicted the emphasis that Education for Self-reliance put on democracy.<sup>428</sup> Bureaucracy dominated the political aspect in post-colonial Tanzania and this also influenced and negatively affected the implementation of Education for Self-reliance. Education reform has political repercussions because it affects the

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<sup>424</sup> Aran, L.A et al. 1972. 'The effectiveness of Educational Systems in the Process of Modernization'. *Comparative Education Review*. Vol. 16. No. 1. p38.

<sup>425</sup> Sundet, G. 1994. 'Beyond Developmentalism in Tanzania'. *Review of African Political Economy*. Vol. 21. No. 59. p39.

<sup>426</sup> Aran, L.A et al. 'The effectiveness of Educational Systems in the Process of Modernization. pp30-36.

<sup>427</sup> Ziai, A. 2009. 'Development: Projects, Power and a Poststructuralist Perspective'. *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*. Vol. 34. No. 2. pp183-184.

<sup>428</sup> Mbah, S. and Igariwey, I. E. 1997. *African Anarchism. The History of a Movement*. (Access: December 4, 2017). <http://libcom.org/files/African%20Anarchism%20-%20Mbah%20and%20Igariwey.pdf>. pp77-78.

status quo and special interest groups within the community. It can also cause division within the government because of the different political positions. Even though political stability within the nation was established, bureaucracy remained a major challenge and there remained a gap between elitism and equality in education.

Overall, Education for Self-reliance faced contradictory outcomes perhaps due to an underestimation of the complexity of changing an education system. The ideological differences within the government regarding the policy were not reconciled and, to a certain extent, Nyerere may have overlooked various stakeholders in the implementation process. The failure to identify and engage the stakeholders contributed towards the ineffective implementation of Education for Self-reliance. However, through the policy, Kiswahili was used as a tool to engineer social cohesion in Tanzania. To a certain extent, the introduction of Kiswahili as a national language contributed to detribalization and encouraged Tanzanians to be active participants in their own development with a sense of national consciousness.<sup>429</sup> The objectives of Education for Self-reliance were outlined clearly in the policy document, however, these objectives were somewhat misaligned with the overall strategy or implementation. During the 1980s when the Economic Structural Adjustments were implemented in an attempt to 'help' Tanzania financially, foreign donors had their own goals which were not in line with the goals outlined in Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance. These factors contributed to the ineffective implementation of the policy.

Many studies on Africa's post-colonial experience have not adequately dealt with a major source of Africa's ills – mental colonization. In some cases, scholars either failed to break free from Western constructs or they failed to produce alternatives to Eurocentrism.<sup>430</sup> For instance, scholars have failed to recognize that Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance was also concerned with the decolonization of the minds of the people.

Decolonization, according to Pierce, as cited in Decena's 'Identity, Colonial Mentality, and Decolonizing the Mind: Exploring Narratives and Examining Mental Health Implications for Filipino Americans':

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<sup>429</sup> Aran, L.A et al. 'The effectiveness of Educational Systems in the Process of Modernization'. p37.

<sup>430</sup> Kebede, M. 2004. 'African Development and the Primacy of Mental Decolonization'. *Africa Development*. Vol. 29. No. 1. pp107-110.

is a painstakingly slow process, often because the path is not quite linear: denial, lack of information, and the stronghold of colonial ideologies can slow the process to such an extent that new levels of consciousness for the colonized are often accepted only provisionally at first.<sup>431</sup>

In light of this, it is important to explore how the process of decolonization of the mind transpired within individuals in postcolonial Tanzania. One of the outcomes of Nyerere's approach to development through Education for Self-reliance was that it encouraged Tanzanians to develop in a manner which was appropriate to them. Self-reliance (not exclusively) through education helped Tanzanians to regain authority and responsibility over their own development and also worked towards restoring their human dignity as a people. Promoting self-reliance through Education for Self-reliance and the Policy of Self-reliance contributed towards shifting Tanzanians away from a colonial mentality. This also helped to alter the perception of ethnic, cultural inferiority and internalized racial oppression among Tanzanians.<sup>432</sup> In spite of this, missing from the literature on Nyerere's approach to development through decolonizing the mind is how Tanzanians actually experienced this process whether or not they recognized the impacts of colonial mentality for themselves and how it affected them. Furthermore, the process of eradicating a colonial mentality was not present in the literature. However, there was mention of how Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance and his overall approach to development resisted development based on colonial patterns and encouraged critical thinking among the people with regards to their own development. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge that, during the postcolonial period, Tanzanians may not have been able to identify whether a colonial mentality was part of their world view or not.

Nyerere's approach to development through Education for Self-reliance was also people-centred in that it focussed on improving the self-reliance of local communities, social justice as well as participatory decision-making.<sup>433</sup> The emphasis was on empowering Tanzanians to have authority and choice over their own

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<sup>431</sup> Decena, A. M. 2014. 'Identity, Colonial Mentality, and Decolonizing the Mind: Exploring Narratives and Examining Mental Health Implications for Filipino Americans'. Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Master of Social Work at Smith College for Social Work. p62.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid. pp1-2, 15, 21.

<sup>433</sup> Thompson, K. 2015. 'People-Centred Development'. (Accessed: May 5, 2018). <https://revisesociology.com/2015/12/09/people-centered-development/>.



development because human development was a priority. Moreover, this did not suggest that money or foreign assistance was not necessary for development. However, Nyerere stressed the point that overemphasis and dependence on money would jeopardize the freedom of the people to develop themselves<sup>434</sup>

As a development paradigm, Education for Self-reliance was concerned not only with economic progress, but it also focused on the socio-psychological realm, changing the attitudes of Tanzanians and increasing literacy, mobility and political stability.<sup>435</sup> Education for Self-reliance promoted a culture of self-reliance in Tanzanians through inward-oriented principles. It contributed towards the awakening of political and cultural awareness that promoted a sense of national identity and dignity. Education was a vehicle which would assist Tanzanians in finding ways to develop their nation while maintaining their freedom, African identity and, to a certain extent, equality in the modern world, without imitating other cultures and with the assurance that development in Tanzania need not follow the developmental framework of the West.<sup>436</sup>

Through Education for Self-reliance and his overall approach to development, Nyerere questioned what elements of development Tanzania could borrow from other countries to drive its own development without following the path of development through exploitation of man by man. He did this because he knew that Tanzania was in a state where it needed to develop itself within the context of the 'modern' world. This is why he attempted to integrate traditional values in various policies in order to develop the country towards modernization even though some scholars argued that education and modernization were not parallel. As already noted, Nyerere emphasized that development through self-reliance did not imply isolationism. There were various developmental lessons and expertise that Nyerere needed and utilized from certain foreign countries even though this appeared to be self-contradictory when considering Nyerere's emphasis on self-reliance.

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<sup>434</sup> Nyerere, J. K. 1968. *Freedom and Socialism*. Oxford University Press. London. pp577-578.

<sup>435</sup> Ghosh, R. and Kurian, G. 'Some Ambiguities in the Concept of Development'. p157.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid. pp162-163.

Education for Self-reliance was a new thinking by Tanzanian leaders emerging from colonialism who were proposing a new approach that was appropriate as a strategy for the country's development. Because the nation was venturing into uncharted waters, they were bound to confront many challenges. There was no textbook or guide illustrating what was to be done and how the policy was to be implemented. Nyerere and his government must, therefore, be credited for their innovativeness even though, as noted, there were in-built contradictions between the educational system and development goals. Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance has been regarded, for example, by scholars such as A. G. Ishumi and T. L. Maliyamkono as inappropriate for effecting socioeconomic change because such a policy was an impractical and miscalculated. Such views do not seem to take into account the limitations of development paradigms and educational structures in transforming societies and the ambiguity of development itself.

As a development paradigm, Education for Self-reliance was dialectical and its objectives did not necessarily result in a desired level of progress or significant socio-economic transformation. However, this is not to say that the level of progress that was achieved through Education for Self-reliance was insignificant. Also, the debates and critiques on Education for Self-reliance discussed in the previous chapter put heavy emphasis on failure in economic growth, the government's role in implementing efficient strategies, the emergence of a bureaucratic system which constrained the efficiency implementing Education for Self-reliance and the perpetuation educational inequalities. Some of these debates failed to fully consider the limitations of the government in transforming the educational system in postcolonial Tanzania and the complexities in changing an educational system which was previously based on colonial education.

Although there were limitations to the implementation of Education for Self-reliance, this should not detract from the actual processes that went into the development project, such as drafting the policy document, establishing various facilities such as teacher colleges, the promotion of adult education and literacy campaigns among other aspects. Furthermore, this should not obviate the need to re-evaluate the scholarly position on Nyerere's approach to development through Education for Self-reliance. This should also not reduce the Education for Self-reliance to a generic African development project. The contradictions of development and educational

systems should not take away from the efficient planning that went into Tanzania's development projects even if the desired objectives were not fully met. Indeed, Education for Self-reliance contributed towards cultivating in Tanzanians a sense of self-reliance and paved the way for the people to develop themselves on the basis of freedom.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION**

The primary aim of this study was to provide a critical appreciation of Nyerere's Education for Self-reliance as a development approach which aimed to change the education system in postcolonial Tanzania so that it could contribute towards the development of Tanzania. The theoretical underpinnings and practical effectiveness of Education for Self-reliance have also been evaluated and by examining some of the existing scholarship on Nyerere's educational policy, some gaps have been identified. To a certain extent, the findings of the present research provide more understanding of Nyerere's development approach through education without dismissing Education for Self-reliance as a generic failure. It has also been observed how Nyerere, a first generation African leader, addressed the ills of colonial education in postcolonial Tanzania and attempted to restructure the education system making it appropriate to the conditions of Tanzanians.

Taking the above into consideration, this study has drawn attention to the fact that the nature of colonial education was not suitable for Africa – and more specifically for Tanzania – because it buttressed colonial interests. Colonial education was imposed on Africans and its sole purpose was to systematically oppress and exploit Africans. Not only did it aim to demoralize Africans, it also was designed to create cheap labourers out of them for the benefit of the colonial economy. Colonial education was not meant to educate Africans to enable them to develop themselves freely through their own efforts and resources. Furthermore, the colonial education system did not acknowledge pre-existing traditional education systems in Africa. As discussed in chapter three, the only justification for colonial education was that colonial powers needed control over Africans and education was one way of exploiting them. The irony is that African leaders like Nyerere and Nkrumah used the skills and knowledge acquired from this education to fight against colonial rule. Without reverting to pre-colonial educational systems, Nyerere attempted to restructure their education systems by merging some elements of traditional African education in the new educational policies in order to tackle various socio-economic challenges of underdevelopment in Tanzania.

As an educator and head of state, Nyerere recognized the need for Tanzanians to be active participants in their own development. In order to re-educate and liberate Tanzanians from the mentality of slavery, inferiority and shackles of ignorance, Nyerere formulated Education for Self-reliance in 1967. Before Education for Self-reliance, there were earlier educational reforms in postcolonial Tanzania which were implemented however, these perpetuated the colonial pattern. Even though there were some corrective measures being taken, education in the early years of independence in Tanzania did not critically examine the structure of the education system or question what type of education was needed in Tanzania. It was only after the Arusha Declaration in 1967 that a new educational policy was formulated – one which aimed to restructure the education system along the principles of Ujamaa.

Changing an education system in postcolonial Tanzania meant building a new system from scratch, as there was no prior example to follow or to build upon. There were no past historical experiences about successful educational programs in Tanzania. Education for Self-reliance was a new thinking which was implemented during a time when development was needed in Tanzania. Development, however, required Tanzanians to be educated in order to produce the necessary manpower with appropriate knowledge and skills. At political independence, very few Tanzanians had received school education therefore, there were very few skilled Tanzanians while the majority of the adult population was illiterate. Nyerere's educational policy emphasised agricultural development. This was the rational choice since land was the resource that Tanzania had in abundance. On the one hand, Nyerere needed to restructure the education system but, on the other, he was also concerned with economic development. The challenges and errors that were faced during the implementation process of the policy were common to development projects.. Scholarly positions on the implementation of Education for Self-reliance do not to fully consider the difficulty in changing the educational system in a postcolonial African context. At the same time, Nyerere may have underestimated the challenges of what he was trying to do in Tanzania in a short period of time and the lack of emphasis on technical education in Education for Self-reliance was one of the reasons why the policy proved to be ineffective.

As shown in chapter four, a number of challenges affected the implementation of Education for Self-reliance. However, the policy was not a total failure and it, arguably, provided lessons on the relationship between schooling and desired social change. Thus, the scholarship on this subject needs to take stock of the lessons learnt through Education for Self-reliance. Nyerere provided various guidelines in order to encourage people to develop themselves through collective decision-making and active participation. Through Education for Self-reliance, it is evident that Nyerere was one of the few African leaders in post-independence Africa who propelled development in his country by constructing a policy which introduced alternative patterns to development. The fruits of his labour – especially with regards to national unity – are still evident in contemporary Tanzania.

Some of the scholarly positions on Education for Self-reliance as a development strategy did not consider the dialectic nature of development and development projects. This is not to disregard the importance of planning that is needed in development projects – planning that was evident in the policy of Education for Self-reliance. Therefore to a certain extent, Education for Self-reliance proved to be an alternative path to development and an appropriate approach for social and educational change despite the challenges which were faced. It also encouraged a change in the attitudes of Tanzanians and appealed to them to be active participants in their own development. However, the policy was ineffective in promoting economic development on a national level.

The lessons of Education for Self-reliance as a development approach have been concealed by the constant focus on political, economic and ideological analysis and this is not to claim that such analysis is insignificant. Nonetheless, it is equally important that Nyerere's policies are re-evaluated, reconsidered and interrogated. Nyerere's approach to development has created a platform to debate and critique policies and practice on current development initiatives geared towards poverty alleviation and quality improvement in education.

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