

Ujamaa and Adult Education: National vs. Local Perspective
1961-1985

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History 600

Fall 2013

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Introduction

Tanganyika, now Tanzania, achieved independence from Britain on December 9th, 1961. The people of Tanzania inherited an impoverished nation with a weak governmental infrastructure. The educated populace consisted of 480 secondary school graduates, and less than 100 with a university diploma.¹ Literacy rates among adults in 1961 were cited as low as 15%.² The majority of the population lived in rural poverty, with little access to quality education or basic necessities.

Julius Nyerere, prime minister of the newly independent Tanganyika, and his political party Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) established education and the eradication of illiteracy as top priorities in their development agenda. His political ideology and development plans for Tanzania were dependent on an educated populace, hence his specific emphasis on *adult* education. Nyerere saw “adult education as the most potent force to bring about change.”³ It was a major component of his form of African socialism, called *Ujamaa*, and emphasized in the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and his policy of “Education for Self Reliance.”⁴

Nyerere is internationally regarded for the success of the literacy campaigns, and remembered for his commitment to the field of education. Through analysis of primary sources of the general public and individual perspectives, I discovered varying attitudes towards the purpose of education and literacy. There was a disconnect present between

¹ Al Noor Kassum, *Africa's Winds of Change: Memoirs of an International Tanzanian* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 40.

² Nationalist newspaper 1965

³ Philemon A.K. Mushi, *History and Development of Education In Tanzania*, (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: Dar es Salaam University Press, 2009),

⁴ Göran, Hydén, *Beyond Ujamaa In Tanzania : Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 97

TANU policies and intentions and the objectives of the people the measures were intended for. Nyerere's ideology had difficulty translating to the ground. While some aspects of his development strategy were successful, Ujamaa is generally viewed as failure.

After achieving drastic improvements in adult literacy rates, they fell from 90% in 1981 to 62% in 2008. Why did Tanzania's efforts fail?

Nyerere and TANU's political doctrine of socialism incorporated an objective of establishing one Tanzanian identity. With a homogeneous culture, a universal application of education and development policies would be rather straightforward. However, Nyerere failed to grasp the diverse cultural differences and the individual motivations in effect in Tanzanian society. His drive towards global competition is indicative of ulterior political ambitions, and signifies his policies were not always in the interest of his people. His proclamation for self-reliance was only applied when necessary, and devious behavior on behalf of many of his officials decreased his political legitimacy and accountability.

Despite constant reformation of education policies, without proper comprehension of his people Nyerere was never able to implement programs that would lead to the drastic development he sought. Too far removed from the problem he was trying to fix, not only failed in his lofty aspirations, but hindered future development as well.

Julius Nyerere, TANU and socialist ideology

Julius Nyerere's position as a village chief's son enabled his access to primary and secondary schooling in colonial Tanganyika. From there, he earned a scholarship to study at the University of Edinburgh in Great Britain, earning his Masters in economics and history in 1952. He was the first Tanzanian to receive a university degree outside of the African continent.⁵ Less than ten years later, he would become the prime minister of a newly independent Tanganyika, followed by his election as president of the new republic.

Nyerere's passion for the education field stems from his background as a schoolteacher. He is often fondly referred to as "Mwalimu," which is "teacher" in Swahili. Despite being formally trained in Europe, Nyerere had an aversion to Western style of teaching. He believed students who were products of Western style of education would not contribute to Tanzania as a country. Instead, they would develop individualistic attitudes associated with Western culture.⁶ While in Edinburgh, Nyerere studied Fabian socialism, which he would later apply to his form of socialism, known as *Ujamaa*.

In 1967, six years after independence, Nyerere authored the Arusha Declaration outlining his commitment to Ujamaa. Followed by "Education for Self-Reliance, he established his own brand of African socialism. In response to the capitalist culture emphasized by colonialism, Nyerere sought inspiration from traditional African village life. While capitalism encouraged social and class stratification, village life focused on communal actions of development.⁷ Samuel Mushi dubbed the concept, 'modernization

⁵ Thenjiwe Major and Thalia M. Mulvihill, "Julius Nyerere (1922-1999), an African Philosopher, Re-envisions Teacher Education to Escape Colonialism," *New Proposals: Journal of Marxism and Interdisciplinary Inquiry* Vol. 3 No. 1 (2009), 15

⁶ Major and Mulvihill, 16

⁷ Göran, 98-99.

by traditionalization.’⁸ By reverting to the past, Nyerere hoped to connect with the rural population and encourage them in development activities.

Nyerere and his government had varying degrees of adherence to this philosophy. In Ujamaa villages, official relationships with the villagers often led to patronage politics. Funds were not always allocated to the benefit of the nation of the whole, but towards urban lifestyles. I am not putting Nyerere at fault for implementing various aspects of different political institutions, but rather for using the notion of allegiance to one form to author and impart policies on his people and converting to others in application. Hypocrisy not only decreases legitimacy but also creates confusion and a disconnected populace.

Primary source research

To better understand TANU policies and Nyerere’s ideology, I examined official party documents, such as the Arusha Declaration of 1967, and several papers authored by Tanzania’s head of state. Researching the history of education was simple, but I needed to contextualize the proceedings with the motivations and determined purposes behind them. I was also able to compare the written policies with the events that transpired. Not only did I discover discrepancies in ideology between Nyerere and his people, but also between his policies and their implementation.

To gain different perspectives on the matter, I utilized several different Tanzanian newspapers, and The New York Times for a foreign angle. Uncovering a local perspective is challenging when the very topic I’m researching ultimately determines

⁸ Samuel S. Mushi, “Ujamaa: modernization by traditionalization”, *Taamuli* (Dar es Salaam) vol. 1 no. 2 (1971), 13-29.

whether or not they can record their opinions on paper. I was able to use the newspapers for a basis of opinion, as well information regarding the status of adult education. While I was perusing for articles directly related to my topic, I realized other aspects of the paper highlighted the atmosphere of both the public and government arenas. Advertisements indicated the public's persistent culture of materialism, help wanted ads gave an insight into the job market and advice columns outlined concerns of the everyday Tanzanian. In TANU controlled papers I compared statements concerning the success of adult education to actual outcome.

There were several different daily newspapers circulating at the early stages of socialist ventures. Of the four most prominent, two were owned and operated by TANU and two were independent. *The Standard*, was originally a privately owned newspaper but TANU bought out the highly circulated English speaking publication in the early 1970s.⁹ Newspapers provided a forum which citizens, albeit literate ones, could voice their opinions and concerns. The contrast between the tone in the independent paper and the TANU controlled *Nationalist* is obvious and characteristic of one-party state behavior. Media censorship ensured that not only Tanzanian citizens would be provided with positive attitudes regarding TANU and their socialist politics, but the international community as well.

Definitions of Adult Education

In Nyerere's announcement of the 1970 'Adult Education Year,' he defined his application of the concept as "Education is not just something that happens in the

⁹ John C. Condon, "Image building and nation building in the Tanzanian press," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol. 5 no.3 (1977), 336.

classroom...education is learning from books, from the radio, from films, from discussions about matters which effect our lives... . . . adult education applies to everyone, learning happens from the moment we are born until the moment we die.”¹⁰

Adult education is a broad concept with a variety of forms, and applications depending on the context. It is essentially the learning processes through which adults engage in order to gain new knowledge, skills, attitudes or morals. The aspect of adult education that is important to remember is the end result is generally related to development of some kind. How countries or communities address the issue of adult education varies immensely, as well as the desired outcome.

This statement on adult education phrases its purpose through a developing country lens. “Adult education . . . is a powerful concept for fostering ecologically sustainable development, for promoting democracy, justice, gender equity, and scientific, social and economic development, and for building a world in which violent conflict is replaced by dialogue and a culture based on justice.”¹¹

Nyerere’s intentions for the application of adult education were clear in ‘Education for Self Reliance.’ “The education provided by Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must serve the purposes of Tanzania,” Nyerere concluded his proposal in 1967.

In Tanzania’s case official adult education policies were centered on functional literacy, agriculture, and comprehension of the nation’s socialist doctrine.

Ujamaa Policy and Villagization

¹⁰ “Nyerere backs adult education: plea for effort by all in 1970,” *The Standard*, 1 January 1970, 1.

¹¹ UNESCO, *Adult Education: The Hamburg Declaration, the agenda for the future*, (Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education, 1997)

Nyerere conceived the idea of Ujamaa not only through his studies abroad, but he drew inspiration from the traditional African community structure. Ujamaa roughly translates to “family hood,” or “community.” He believed by revitalizing the rural African community, the product would be a cohesive, developed society invested in the betterment of Tanzania as a nation. All education goals were aimed at development, and he hoped the Tanzanian people would adopt the Ujamaa mentality and apply it to everything they worked for.

Following the Arusha Declaration in 1967, Nyerere’s policy of Ujamaa had been introduced. Later that year, he developed his idea further with a paper entitled “Socialism and Rural Development.”¹² It was in this paper that he outlined the creation of “Ujamaa villages.” Essentially the rural communities would be condensed, creating a microcosm of a society. Nyerere added in 1968, “The villages will have to be established and will grow through the voluntary, self reliant activities of the people themselves.” These villages made it easier to provide services to these people, such as education. The villagers carrying out Ujamaa were to uphold three basic assumptions; respect, common property and obligation to work.¹³

While they were conceived to be voluntary villages, in 1973 TANU decided that all rural Tanzanians must live in Ujamaa villages. By 1974, over 2.5 million were living in around 5,000 villages¹⁴. This requirement contradicts Nyerere’s opposition a mandatory component to adult education. He is quoted as saying, “If adult education is to contribute to development...it cannot be imposed; every learner is ultimately a

¹³ Julius K. Nyerere, *Socialism and Rural Development*, (Dar es Salaam: Printed by the Govt. Printer, 1967)

¹⁴ Okeem, 214.

volunteer.”¹⁵ Requirement of participation in self-reliant activities in the village without necessitating villagers’ comprehension of the purposes behind the work is just one example of Nyerere’s contradicting policies and subsequent procedure.

Collective farming was meant to provide resources and stimulate economic growth. Expectations for production were set high, in some regions TANU expected villagers to cultivate three acres per person of communal farm.¹⁶ Without advanced resources and increased labor supply, this was an unrealistic expectation. Villagers also have private plots to care for, in addition to any rural education classes they might be enrolled in. The government’s expectation of Ujamaa villages to increase production and provide capital for the state was capitalist in nature. Imposition of unrealistic expectations and roles for Ujamaa villages contradicts the purpose of Nyerere’s socialist doctrine and adult education. Villagers no longer had the ability to apply Ujamaa values themselves, or the necessity to comprehend the philosophy of socialism when the government controls the parameters of their actions. In addition, using the modes of production in a capitalist nature conflicts with the message TANU is attempting to convey.

Most of the adult literacy campaigns were designed for the Ujamaa villages. The rural population was where the majority of the illiterate resided, as the educated tended to gravitate towards urban centers.

In theory, the idea of relocating much of the rural population so as to centralize the government’s services was an innovative attempt at solving one of Tanzania’s problems. However, in practice, these villages did not quite meet the expectations set by Nyerere’s positive façade of “family hood.” The government relocated thousands of

¹⁵ Mushi, Philemon, 139.

¹⁶ Göran, 110.

people to these villages, even from urban areas. Despite their effort, a daily paper discovered that the “overwhelming majority of those forcibly relocated made their way back to the city within a day or two.”¹⁷

Culturally speaking, Nyerere’s return to “traditional” African life was not historically accurate. Hoping to invoke familiarity with rural peasants, Nyerere’s intended for a universal application of Ujamaa, a concept that families only applied to households. *Ujima*, was used to refer to cooperation among villagers during peak agricultural seasons or times of emergency.¹⁸ This practice did not appeal to a sense of communal ownership, but rather more equivalent to neighborly behavior. Villagers were not accustomed to living in such close proximity to so many people nor were they habituated to the supposed “traditional African principle” of Ujamaa.

In rural communities, it was expected that children would remain with their families and work in agriculture production when they were of age. If reverting to rural cultural traditions was Nyerere’s goal, then education beyond primary school was irrelevant. Village parents often do not encourage their children to seek further schooling because it removes them from their communities and decreases the labor force.¹⁹

Types of Adult Education in Tanzania

A few literacy campaigns had been instituted prior to the Arusha Declaration, but adult education did not become a major component of Nyerere’s ideology until after his Ujamaa policy and “Education for Self Reliance” declaration were issued. TANU and the

¹⁷ “Supporters Question the Success of Tanzania’s Decade of Socialism,” *The New York Times*, 17 January 1977.

¹⁸ Göran, 99.

¹⁹ Satu, Riutt, *Democratic Participation In Rural Tanzania and Zambia: the Impact of Civic Education*. (Boulder, Co.: FirstForumPress, 2009), 26.

Ministry of Education then focused their attention on the large population of uneducated adults. In introducing the Five Year Development Plan to parliament in 1964, Nyerere expressed the importance of this focus, “First we must educate adults, our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten, or even twenty years. The attitudes of the adult...have an impact now.”²⁰ Adult education took many different forms, and all aimed at educating its students so they could become self-reliant and contribute to the nation. I focus on several prominent applications of adult education below.

Rural Training Centers and Folk Development colleges

Rural Training Centers (RTCs) were developed two years after the Arusha Declaration; modeled after a similar Senegalese initiative that appeared to be successful. The aim was to educate Ujamaa village leaders, as well as local farmers.²¹ The information taught was generally inapplicable to most villagers, the turnout was often very low, and inadequately trained teachers failed to ensure the RTCs made a lasting impact. The RTCs are an example how Nyerere’s plans did not play out on the ground, and indicate a widening gap between policy and procedure.

Nyerere replaced the RTCs with Folk Development Colleges in mid 1970s, after being inspired by the Swedish Folk High Schools. An advisory committee recommended the establishment of 85 FDCs starting in July of 1975. The people’s high ‘will’ for literacy was cited as justification for the FDCs in the Cabinet Paper No. 96.²² Official

²⁰ Budd L Hall, *Adult Education and the Development of Socialism In Tanzania*, (Kampala: East African Literature Bureau, 1975), 46.

²¹ Mushi, 14.

²² Cabinet Paper No. 96, 1974

document's inclusion of "public opinion" was common, though little evidence of how discovered these opinions is found.

A skills based approach to education was emphasized, as rural application of literacy was deemed irrelevant without the necessary skills to accompany it. This form of adult education resonates more with the objectives of the people. The concentration of agricultural education was in Ujamaa villages, which I have already discussed as being relatively unproductive and ineffective at imparting socialist ideology onto its inhabitants. While practical skills were included in the official definition of functional literacy most jobs listed requirements of higher levels of literacy, and at least a secondary education.²³

In *The Nationalist*, some mention of agricultural education, folk development colleges or Ujamaa village success stories occur in almost every issue from 1968 to 1972. The readership of this paper was primarily urban; allowing TANU to easily impart a positive impression of rural adult education policies. In addition to articles, there were dozens of advertisements for teacher openings in these schools, for prospective students, and for urban-based schools offering agriculture courses.²⁴

Literacy campaigns

Literacy campaigns began appearing even before Tanganyika became independent. The most documented campaign of the early years was the Singida District Campaign, beginning in 1958. The Ministry of Community Development and National Culture oversaw the campaign. By the end of 1959, over 14,000 people had been enrolled in literacy classes, but only 320 of them actually passed their literacy tests. Despite this,

²³ The Standard, 1972

²⁴ The Nationalist, 1970

the campaign is regarded as successful due to the high enrollment numbers and the organization of the campaign.²⁵ It would be used later as a model for the nation wide campaign. It utilized the village leadership, and localized the program, and encouraged a desire for education that was not stemming only from TANU initiatives.

By 1966, around 600,000 Tanzanian adults had completed adult literacy classes. This is small fraction of the illiterate population. The relatively unsuccessful campaigns are not surprising as there was no clear objective for adult literacy outlined by the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture. If the national department responsible for implementing the literacy programs were not clear of the purpose of literacy, it seems reasonable to assume that rural populations were unclear as well.

It was not until after 1967, and the introduction of Ujamaa and Education for Self Reliance, that literacy campaigns became a major national focus. The Ministry of National Education was created and took over the literacy project.

The majority of the literacy campaigns were centered in Ujamaa villages. As stated previously, the illiterate population was generally located in rural areas. One of the most common implementations of the campaign utilized the villages' primary schools as convenient locations for adults to enroll in classes. Primary school was only in the morning, so the afternoons could be dedicated to providing literacy and other courses to adults. This also meant that primary teachers were often responsible for the education for children and adults.²⁶ Overworked teachers instructed to do the job of two people, caused lower rates of success.

²⁵ Hall, 53.

²⁶ Mushi, 146.

The literacy campaign that is recognized for having the highest results, and gaining international attention, was defined in policy starting in late 1969. Nyerere announced 1970 would be “Adult Education Year,” and by 1971 TANU had declared illiteracy would be completely eradicated by 1975.²⁷ The project had several phases, starting with a sort of trial run with six districts containing the majority of Ujamaa villages.

Tanzania had several foreign entities backing the major literacy campaign. One of them, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) conducted research surrounding the campaign, financially backed it and provided many volunteer teachers.²⁸ They were internationally recognized for their role in the campaign, and often mistakenly credited for being responsible for its inception.

Successful lowering of illiteracy rates is one of the hallmarks of Nyerere’s political career and is often described as being a huge success. However, there were many aspects of the TANU policies that widened the gap between the party and the people. From an official standpoint, TANU’s commitment to adult education is evident most clearly through the impressive literacy statistics. From a local perspective, the statistics are only part of the story.

Low levels of completion and recipients of literacy certificates plagued the campaign. Adults were constantly dropping out to attend to their farms, care for their children or simply because they were apathetic to the supposed purpose of these classes. They saw no incentive to attend when feeding their children was the alternative. Unable to see how it could affect them positively in the future and without TANU addressing

²⁷ Mushi, 135.

²⁸ “Illiteracy Rises despite UNESCO effort,” *The New York Times*, 5 February 1976.

their concerns, they simply ceased attending.²⁹ The party was addressing the purpose of the classes for the nation, not individual people. A rural peasant has little in common with an urban political party member; their personal objectives are obviously dissimilar. Even if a literacy certificate was obtained, there were constant complaints about certificates not being honored, or deemed insufficient by potential employers.³⁰

Nation Building Colleges

Nation building colleges were aimed at adults with leadership talent, but lacked formal education. There were several scattered throughout the country, but the first, and perhaps the most well known, was Kivukoni College in Dar es Salaam.

The plans for Kivukoni began prior to independence in 1958, and opened its doors to 39 accepted students in 1961 (the year of independence).³¹ Students were accepted on the basis of desire and leadership, not necessarily “brilliant” students.³²

The college was financed and run by TANU, and like all adult education agendas, was focused on nation building and the application of socialism. Kivukoni was unique in that its students were often affiliated with TANU or strongly associated themselves with their ideology. The courses at Kivukoni were thus able to have a greater impact towards socialist development as the students were educating themselves on a much more voluntary basis.

Classes at Kivukoni were either short or long term courses. The long course was nine months with subjects in political science, socialism, economics, history, sociology and several other development related courses. The original teachers and tutors of the

²⁹ Okeem, 192.

³⁰ Letter to the Editor, *The Nationalist*, 17 July 1969, 8.

³¹ Kivukoni College, President of the Governing Council, The Prime Minister, Hon. R. M. Kawawa

³² Mbioni, newsletter of Kivukoni College, July 1965

college were foreign, and often volunteers. As the years progressed, the staff became increasingly African, and many students stayed on after completion of their courses to teach.

Kivukoni published a monthly student written newsletter, *Mbioni*. This was not only a chance for students to practice and showcase their writing; it was an opportunity to educate the surrounding areas on current events and TANU ideology. The paper was distributed throughout the school, and special issues covering important national events were sold to the public.³³ Many students had a desire to share their knowledge with the Tanzanian public, and were encouraged to do so. One American tutor recalled in an article written for his home institution, “Kivukoni does its best to reach beyond its fulltime students. Weekend seminars on nutrition or the implementation of the Five Year Plan were held for outsiders.”³⁴ A weekly radio show was another way for Kivukoni students to reach beyond the walls of the school, but was largely aimed at former students with positions within TANU.

TANU’s ideological commitments are quite evident after examining *Mbioni*’s content, an aspect important to all publications run by the party. The majority of articles center on politics and development goals and emphasize progress being made in the education sector. The content is not only approved by TANU, but the authors are mostly foreign tutors, and educated, urban Tanzanians. The local perspective is not evident but it provides some interesting insight into the trickle down of principles from party officials to community members. One article entitled, “Makua in Maasai,” describes Maasai social and cultural traditions as “retarding development.” Their refusal to pay school fees, and

³³ *Mbioni* Vol. II, No. III, 1965

³⁴ Peter Evans, “Nation Building Dominates College” *The Harvard Crimson* 5 May 1966

general abstinence from formal schooling is viewed as backwards. The hostility towards the Maasai indicates a frustration towards a culture refusing to acknowledge TANU principles. The treatment of Maasai is another example of how universal application Nyerere's development goals were not suited for a heterogeneous population.

Kivukoni demonstrates TANU's commitment to adult education and is a clear representation of their perceived purpose of education was. By outlining clear objectives, and recruiting students in agreement with those objectives, Kivukoni was able to impart their objectives successfully onto their students and ensure the development of those students into resourceful party members.

Radio Campaigns

In an effort to reach a broader audience, the government turned to radio campaigns to communicate pertinent adult education topics. The idea came from the desire to impart political and civic education prior to the 1970 election campaign, and several adult education organizations continued to evolve the programs to better suit the needs of rural adults. The Institute for Adult Education (IAE) organized a series of radio study programs centered on English language, civics and agriculture beginning in 1967.³⁵ They were designed to incorporate several components; a pre-recorded program, a study guide to supplement, and discussion questions intended to stimulate conversation between the participants. These efforts were modeled after similar Swedish and Canadian programs created for agricultural education.

³⁵ Budd L. Hall and Tony Dodds. *Voices for Development: the Tanzanian National Radio Study Campaigns*. Cambridge: International Extension College, 1974.

There were several attempts, with each one providing feedback for improvement. The topics of these programs were chosen by TANU based on their perception of what was necessary to impart on their citizens. The first topic centered on political education, another attempt at informing the rural area the purpose of socialism. The second, an economics lesson aimed at a rural peasant audience. Both campaigns had only marginal success, with group members citing lack of applicable material, and low comprehension of concepts as major issues.³⁶

The one campaign that provided a lasting impact was called ‘Mtu ni Afya,’ or ‘Man is Health.’ The program was designed to provide information about symptoms and prevention of specific diseases, increase group actions regarding measures that can be taken to improve health, and encourage the preservation of newly acquired reading skills through use of provided follow up materials. The program quickly gained popularity and is estimated to have reached over 2 million people by the end of its first phase.³⁷ The major modification from the previous programs and this was the emphasis on action. Previous programs were intended to motivate political action and socialist understanding with no connection as to how this would improve living conditions. This program emphasized individual as well as group activity, and had a tangible outcome that was attainable by people them. The success of the methodology of this campaign points out the flaw in failing to incorporate how education policies affect an individual. If a villager can see the possibility of a positive outcome directly affecting their life, they are far more likely to participate.

³⁶ Hall and Dodds, 23.

³⁷ Hall and Dodds, 36.

The use of radio to educate the masses is innovative and cost effective. Inclusion of more substantial and comprehensive programs into adult education ventures authored from a local perspective could have had a significant impact on the success of education. In turn, possibly the development of Tanzania as a whole.

International Influence

Despite a proclamation of self-reliance, the international community had several key areas of influence in the development of Tanzania. In relation to education, their presence was vital to the early implementation of new policies and the training of teachers and education officers. Kivukoni College was staffed with tutors and advisors from the US, Britain, Sweden, and Germany. Peace Corps volunteers were rurally located and for a period in the 1970s, quite influential in teaching and training. International aid largely financed many of the literacy initiatives and large-scale development ventures.³⁸ Nyerere's desire to compete globally required he look outward for validation and support. While maintaining a socialist doctrine, not every aspect of development was rooted in those beliefs. The New York Times was inundated with articles pertaining to literacy successes or failures in Tanzania. Increased pressure to perform well from the international community, has the ability to alter politics within a state.

One-party state

The tendency of government officials and policy makers to distance themselves, physically and ideologically, from the majority of the Tanzanian population is reflected in their objectives for education and the various implementation measures used to achieve

³⁸ Satu, 34.

these. Patronage politics were commonplace as officials avoided direct contact with Ujamaa villages. Village leaders would agree to party ideology in exchange for gifts and resources.³⁹

The emphasis on cooperative work for development further advances the mentality of a one-party state. Deterring individualized participation, was not merely to unite his population, it was an initiative to discourage individual initiatives that might threaten state power. The correlation between Ujamaa mentality and that of a dominant politician needs to be acknowledged. Nyerere's poor implementation of adult education is not only a product of lack of understanding of his citizens but also his ulterior political motivations.

The importance of Tanzanian identity as a whole is evident throughout both TANU run and independent newspapers. On days of national importance, such as Independence Day, or other holidays, the entire paper is devoted to topics surrounding the celebration. Other matters take a backseat, including education. One concerned citizen wrote in to complain that students had missed over 40 classes in preparation of the cultural celebration of Saba Saba Day.⁴⁰ On the very page of this complaint was a member of parliament concerned with the structure and state of the education system. In villages there are people with various motivations towards education than TANU, and the case is the same in urban areas. The constant disapproval displayed in areas of public opinion regarding the manner of implementation of education policies signifies TANU is not as dedicated to improving the lives of its people as they claim. Their goals are

³⁹ Göran, 140.

⁴⁰ Reader's Forum, *The Nationalist*, 17 July 1969

determined from a much broader perspective, characteristic of the political institution in power.

Conclusion

Nyerere's consistent reiteration of the necessity of education to be accepted by the people suggests his understanding of the obstacle the education system faced in imparting adequate and useful information onto their adult students. However, he continued to use a top down approach in addressing this lack of comprehension. Instead of questioning why the people failed to grasp his intentions, or investigate their personal motivations towards receiving an education, he persisted with a "universal" application of education with the ultimate goal of national development. His desire to expedite the development process hindered the eventual outcome. Addressing the needs of his constituents would have done far more to affect the development outcome.

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