

Education, Stratification and Sexism in Tanzania: Policy Implications

MARJORIE J. MBILINYI*

A socialist Tanzania cannot be created if some people are very highly educated and others are completely illiterate. The illiterate ones will never be able to play their part in the development of our country—or of themselves; and they will always be in danger of being exploited by the great knowledge of others.—*Nyerere*.

INTRODUCTION

The intention of this article is to present policy implications derived from empirical investigation conducted in selected study areas in Mwanza, Tanga, Morogoro and Iringa Regions of Tanzania. The objective of the survey was to find out which factors determine the household head's decision to enrol his children in Standard I, measured by the percentage of children in the household who had at least one year of formal education. Detailed analysis focused on the study areas in Tanga and Mwanza Rural Districts.¹

Three strata groups were clearly distinguishable in Mwanza and Tanga on the basis of standard of living indices, educational attainment of household heads, percentage of educated children per household, and other variables. The findings indicated that educational opportunity in the rural areas investigated depends on the child's sex, the strata level to which the child's household belongs as well as on the community of residence. Generalizing from these findings, it seems that the 'half' of the school-age population in school comes from peasant households which are wealthier, have off-the-farm sources of income and educated household heads, and are situated in central places. The 'half' of the school-age population not in school² comes from poorer, peasant households, with no off-the-farm sources of income, with a primarily subsistence production mode based on family labour, whose heads have no formal education, and are situated in rural locations. Moreover, a majority of the half enrolled in school in most places are boys.

Socioeconomic factors were the most important determinants of differential rates of enrolment of children in school, but subjective attitudinal variables were also important. It was found that the expectations parents have for children as well as for 'returns' on investment in education are crucial in determining whether or not a boy or girl will be sent to school.

*Marjorie Mbilinyi is a Lecturer in the Department of Education, University of Dar es Salaam.

1 See M. J. Mbilinyi, "The Decision to Educate in Rural Tanzania", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam (1972).

2 Approximately 47 per cent of the children of school-entry age were, in fact, enrolled in school in 1971/1972. See Republic of Tanzania, *The Annual Plan for 1971/1972* (1971).

The decision to educate is an economic one, particularly for lower and middle level full and/or part-time peasants. School fees and other school expenses (i.e., uniforms) represent one cost; the loss of the child's labour input another. The parent will balance such costs against the desirability and possibility of several different outcomes: getting a job, getting into secondary school, getting pregnant (if a girl), etc. For some households, such considerations may not take place at all, either because the household automatically educates its children, given specific socioeconomic factors (as found with upper level households), or because education is not considered to be an alternative choice due to economic constraints (as found with the lower level households).

Although the emphasis of the empirical investigation was on identifying determinants of specific individual behaviour, the findings provide information about the nature of social processes and specifically class formation in rural localities. It is safe to conclude that education operates as an agent of stratification in rural Tanzania and reinforces sexism in traditional institutions such as the extended family, as well as in modern institutions such as the school.

The investigation also confirmed the importance of analysis of specific factors at the local level. The pattern of stratification will vary, depending on the degree of commercialization of agriculture in the area being investigated, the number of institutions and organisations found, and basic infrastructural development, for example.³ Substantial contradictions based on differences in infrastructure, goods and services available, and organisations and institutions are found between central places and rural communities. The life of a semi-subsistence peasant in rural Lubembe (Tanga District), for example, and another in Muheza, a trading and administrative centre ten miles away, are fundamentally different. The former is isolated within his community; he is not a part of the national context with respect to economic activity and participation in national institutions such as cooperatives, the Party, and schools. The primary explanation for his isolation is not individual attitudes. Attitudes are a response to the objective conditions of the peasant's existence. *Economic and social conditions must be changed first, not peasant attitudes.*

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Ujamaa Village Service Centres⁴

In the *Second Five-Year Plan 1969/1974* for Tanzania the policy of developing nine urban centres as poles of growth was presented. The major objective of this policy was to offset the pattern of uneven regional development found in the country as a whole. However, one consequence of such a policy is the intensification of urban-rural contradictions. Industrial projects, educational institutions, medical facilities and other organisations and insti-

3 The importance of investigating specific class 'categorizations' is discussed by A. Cabral in *Revolution in Guinea: An African People's Struggle* (Stage 1, 1969). A more complete discussion of this issue is presented in my thesis, from which this article is drawn, *op. cit.*

4 The term 'service centres' was suggested to me by Janaki Tschannerl.

tutions are centred in urban areas and the residents plus those in the immediately surrounding area are the obvious beneficiaries. There is enough evidence to indicate differential rates of enrolment of urban children in school⁵ to maintain the argument that educational opportunity would be increasingly differentiated by urban-rural location.

An alternative strategy would be to develop multiple 'service centres' throughout the country, based on collective units of agriculture and industrial production. The ujamaa villages are an obvious basis for such centres, but the ujamaa village policy would have to be reoriented towards industrialisation and away from its sole concentration now on agricultural production. An adequate economic basis for socialist transformation cannot be built on the exclusive promotion of commercial crop production, even if such production is oriented inward and communications and marketing links reinforce this change. Industrialisation is a fundamental necessity for socialist transformation in Tanzania.⁶ One issue is whether or not to concentrate all industrial projects in the urban areas or to 'spread' industrialisation throughout the rural areas. The rationale for the latter choice is three-fold. On the one hand, it would undermine and help to resolve growing urban-rural contradictions. It would provide all Tanzanians with a socialisation process related to scientific and technological change and communal life and work. It would also provide the only kind of institutional framework within which the emancipation of women is possible. Everyone would be part of a completely different set of social relations based on larger-scale production, a more complex division of labour, a more 'scientific' productive process.⁷ Traditional models of production based on family production units would become obsolete, which would turn upside down age and sex criteria for wealth, status and power. Aspects of the traditional lineage system which are obstacles to socialist transformation would also become obsolete.⁸ Given the security provided by the collective, individuals would no longer rely on the extended family system for support, and all members of the collective would become *ndugu* or comrades, not only one's own family relations.

Attitudes Towards Children and Educational Expectations

The benefits people expect from their children, in the form of old age support (boys) and dowry (girls) is an important determinant of the decision to educate. These expectations grow out of a particular mode of production (subsistence agriculture) and a particular social system (lineage or kinship system within a tribal or clan context) which is a legacy from the past. At

5 See Republic of Tanzania, *1967 Population Census, Volume 4, Economic Statistics* (Bureau of Statistics, 1971).

6 See J. Rweyemamu, *Underdevelopment and Industrialization in Tanzania* (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1973).

7 See P. Ochieng, "The Development of Poverty Among the Wadzabe", *Sunday News*, 15 October, 1972, for discussion of similar issues with respect to ujamaa villagisation among the Wedzabe.

8 See I. Kopytoff, "Socialism and Traditional African Societies", in W. Friedland and C. Rosberg, eds., *African Socialism* (Stanford University Press, 1964).

the same time, the national economy has not developed equally in all areas; the national social system does not embrace all communities or all individual households. Within the national social system, there is no apparatus to provide security for crisis or old age that is comparable to the traditional kinship system. In the framework of the tribe, the means of production were ensured for each member of the household, beginning with land. In the modern context, land is not legally a commodity, but land pressure is increasing in certain more densely populated areas (e.g., Usambara Mountains, Kilimanjaro, Uluguru Mountains, and Bukoba) and in these areas land has become a commodity which is rented or sold *kienyeji*.⁹ Collectivization in ujamaa villages does not yet provide an answer to this problem. On the one hand, some peasants have had their land taken away from them, which increases the level of insecurity. On the other hand, an alternative legal apparatus has not been developed and implemented to assure security within the collectivised unit. There is no legal basis upon which a member of an ujamaa village can claim permanent land use rights or be assured of a living for the rest of his lifetime. In the urban areas, people with wage-earning, Government jobs are assured of some kind of old age insurance scheme, but those without a Government job, the self-employed or those working in the private sector as wage-earners, are in a much less secure position.

Given the changes in the environment of the household economy, the traditional reliance of parents on children for future support is probably strengthened. A national policy is needed which could replace the security mechanisms of the traditional social system. This would not only affect decision-making about children, but would have a fundamental impact on the position of women in society. Once an alternative set of security mechanisms is developed and a new ideology of life and work emerges, the extended family system will no longer be functional. In the contemporary situation, the extended family system has been strengthened by legal measures which protect the interests of the extended family with respect to inheritance and control over children. The interests of a wife and her husband's family are increasingly opposed, especially if the couple do not live in the local subsistence community.¹⁰

A system of rural service centres would provide part of the structure necessary for such a new security framework. In China, for example, every inhabitant of a commune is guaranteed a living, children and old people as well as more economically productive adults.¹¹ Old people tend to live alone or with their grown-up children in the communes. However, they do not depend on their children for their livelihood, as they did in the past. If such a policy were developed in Tanzania, it is likely that attitudes towards

⁹ *Kienyeji* means 'in a local way'.

¹⁰ See M. J. Mbilinyi, "The 'New Woman' and Traditional Norms in Tanzania", *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 10 (March, 1972).

¹¹ Personal communication from J. Tschannerl, who recently paid a visit to China (1972). See also the article entitled "China's Women in Socialist Revolution and Socialist Construction", *Peking Review*, No. 12 (March, 1970), which talks about the 'five guarantees' for all members of rural production teams: food, housing, fuel, means of bringing up children and burial.

children would be radically altered. In the context of the collective community, normative expectations for parental behaviour would include the education of children. Greater economic opportunities would exist for households in these service centres and, as pointed out above, the household economy and structure would have to be completely altered to fit the new collective mode of production. Husbands and wives (and children) would have their own individual work in the context of the community, and children could be released to go to school. Economic opportunities would provide every household with the ability to pay school fees, so that abolishing school fees would *not* be necessary. For example, in China, school fees are paid by parents, but children earn money through productive work at school to contribute to these fees, and the schools, as productive units, also earn income used to defray some of the costs. In this way, children are not deprived of an education because of lack of economic opportunity, and instead a sense of self-reliance is developed within the school, the household and the community.

EDUCATIONAL POLICY

One of the most common assertions made by economists with respect to education today is that it is failing to create a mass of rural peasants satisfied to remain in the rural areas.¹² Those who bemoan the situation are primarily the urban élite whose children go to urban schools and have better chances of entering secondary school. It has been shown that schooling in itself is *not* the cause of migration from rural to urban areas.¹³ Therefore, changing school curriculum (e.g., agricultural education) will not in itself alter migration patterns. Migration is caused by poor economic conditions or, in some cases, by periods of lull in the seasonal pattern of work, and much migration actually occurs from one rural area to another, rather than from rural to urban areas.¹⁴ Moreover, primary school-leavers have no difficulty in adjusting to agriculture as a way of life.¹⁵ Problems are more likely to arise with respect to secondary school-leavers.¹⁶

It has been suggested that rural schools should develop their own curri-

¹² For example, see R. Sabot, "Education, Income Distribution, and Rates of Urban Migration in Tanzania", paper delivered to an Economics Research Bureau Seminar, Dar es Salaam (mimeographed, 1972).

¹³ See C. Hutton, "Rates of Labour Migration", in J. Gugler, ed., *Urban Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Makerere Institute of Social Research, Nkanga, 6, 1970), and S. Weeks, "Blight or Blessing? Facts and Fantasy on School Leavers in Uganda: A Position Paper for Policy Makers", paper presented at the Universities of East Africa Social Science Conference, Kampala (1971).

¹⁴ For further discussion, see Chapter 4 in Mbilinyi, "The Decision to Educate in Rural Tanzania", *op. cit.*

¹⁵ See J. Anderson, "The Adolescent in the Rural Community", in J. Sheffield, ed., *Education, Employment and Rural Development* (East African Publishing House, 1966); J. Heijnen, "Primary Education and Proposed Agricultural Experiment in Mwanza District", (University of Dar es Salaam, BRALUP Research Paper, No. 6, 1969); M. Mbilinyi, *The Education of Girls in Tanzania* (Institute of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, 1969); A. McQueen, "Aspirations and Problems of Nigeria School Leavers", paper presented at the East African Social Science Conference (1963); and S. Weeks *op. cit.*

¹⁶ See McQueen, *op. cit.*

culum oriented toward agriculture, and urban schools should have a different orientation, although the orientation to what is never made quite clear. In the past, such a division meant rural children received agricultural education and urban children received academic education because of the dual middle school system.¹⁷ It has been shown that there is greater access to primary school and post-primary education in urban than in rural areas.¹⁸ Given the kinds of pressure on the school system today, urban schools could become the basis for the regeneration of the élite (like the 'treasure pagodas' in China during the pre-Cultural Revolution Period¹⁹) and the rural schools would function to keep the peasants 'in their place'. Already the policy *as it is being implemented* is strengthening the position of the bourgeois élite and rural upper classes vis-à-vis the masses, with respect to entry into primary school as well as higher educational opportunities. If a new dual system of education were adopted, given the fact that uniform selective tests are used at Standard VII level which are oriented towards measures of achievement in academic subjects, urban dwellers would have a greater chance of 'passing' because of different schooling.

The argument is not to retain an academic 'bookish' education divorced from the realities of Tanzania. It is rather to argue that there should not be two educational systems, one for the rural areas and one for the urban areas, such that class and urban-rural contradictions are further entrenched. Transformation of the curriculum, the teaching methods, the structure of the school organisation and the educational system, and the selection system is absolutely necessary, and *these changes must occur uniformly throughout the country*.

In order for complete transformation of the educational structure to take place, the occupational structure must be transformed. Assumptions which underlie manpower planning in particular require rethinking: for example, certain occupations require certain formal educational qualifications; occupational titles derived from Western industrial states are relevant to Tanzania; 'human capital' is only derived from formal educational institutions. The way in which the occupational and educational structures are inter-linked reinforces the inflexibility of the educational system. Non-formal learning is overlooked, even though skills derived are invaluable for development.²⁰ Emphasis on occupational titles deflects attention from the skills which are necessary for economic and social development.²¹ Alternative forms of formal education also exist, which require less capital input, take less time, and have better

¹⁷ See Chapter 2 in Mbilinyi, "The Decision to Educate in Rural Tanzania", *op. cit.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ See R. F. Price, *Education in Communist China* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970).

²⁰ For different arguments on this issue, see J. Moris, "The Impact of Secondary Education Upon Student Attitudes Towards Agriculture, Some Preliminary Considerations" (Makerere Institute of Social Research, Nkanga, 4, n.d.); I. Resnick; "Manpower Requirements and the Allocation of Educational Resources in Underdeveloped Countries", (Dar es Salaam, mimeographed, n.d.); T. Wallace, "Abavubuka Bonna Balezewa? Where Have All the Youth Gone? A Study of the Occupational Activities of Youth in Rural Buganda", (Makerere University, Department of Sociology Paper, 1972), mimeographed; S. Weeks, *op. cit.*

²¹ For discussion of 'human capital' and the role of education, see R. Jolly, "Manpower and Education", in D. Seers and L. Joy, eds., *Development in a Divided World* (Penguin, 1971).

results with respect to certain educational objectives. In apprenticeship schemes, for example, mechanics, book-keeping, teaching and all other skills could be learned on-the-job.²²

The possible contradiction between selection and socialisation functions of the school have been discussed by several authors, often with specific attention to Tanzania's policy of Education for Self-reliance.²³ Those who see the two functions as necessarily opposed to each other (e.g., Anderson and Foster) base their argument on the following points: (1) given the financial constraints of poor economies, it is impossible to provide higher level educational facilities for every candidate, and therefore some kind of selection device is necessary; (2) examinations like the ones in use now (in most British ex-colonial countries, the Cambridge Examinations or national examinations using Cambridge as model format) will be perpetuated as the 'best' selection devices; (3) given the rewards (income, security and prestige) for attainment of high-level jobs, and the fact that secondary and post-secondary educational qualifications are necessary to attain them, the primary incentive in school will be to pass examinations; (4) any form of learning not directly related to examination success will be rejected by all participants in the competition for success (schools, teachers, parents as well as students); (5) given the nature of the examinations, which reward memory ability rather than abilities related to creative, innovative, critical or scientific thinking, then school learning and teaching methods will depend on rote memory; (6) all subjects which are not examinable lack prestige, and will be considered 'a waste of time' by teachers, students and parents alike; (7) efforts to change attitudes of participants in the school system (parents, students, teachers) with respect to the meaning of education will fail, so long as the economic base of society is left unchanged; (8) given the permanency of the economic base as it is structured today—a capitalist economy with a highly bureaucratic élitist apparatus to run government as well as parastatals and private industry—efforts to change attitudes 'or to politicise students and others with a socialist ideology will fail.

Although much of this analysis is true in a given context, two fundamental premises are false. First of all, there are alternative forms of examinations and alternative forms of selection techniques, which would reward different kinds of behaviour. For example, students could be evaluated on research/work group projects which would allow an objective test of their ability to put theory and practice together and work co-operatively in pursuit

²² For a discussion of apprenticeship programmes as an alternative educational scheme, see R. Dore, "DeSchool? Try Using Schools for Education First; The Educational Impasse in the Developing World", (University of Sussex, Institute of Development Studies, IDS Discussion Paper, No. 6, 1972), mimeo; also Moris, *op. cit.*

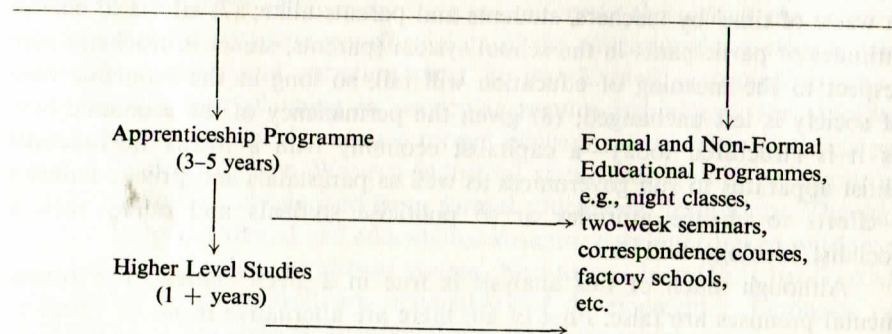
²³ For example, J. Anderson, "Socialization and Selection, Incompatible Functions for Schools in Developing Countries", (University of Nairobi, Institute of Development Studies, Staff Paper, No. 65, 1970), mimeo; D. Court, "The Social Function of Formal Schooling in Tanzania", paper presented at the 1971 Universities of East Africa Social Science Conference, Kampala (1971), mimeo; P. Foster, "Education for Self-reliance. A Critical Evaluation", in R. Jolly, ed., *Education in Africa* (East African Publishing House, 1969).

of a collective goal.²⁴ Secondly, the economic base can be radically transformed and is being transformed in Tanzania (in spite of the 'twists and turns'). In a context whereby transformation is taking place in the rest of society, formal education (in school or other educational institutions) can have both a negative and a positive impact on change. Right now in Tanzania, educational institutions tend to be 'following in the rear'.²⁵ Changes are taking place in the rest of the society but fundamental changes have not yet been implemented in the educational system itself. One of the more important problems rests with the structure of education and the selection techniques used at each level of the pyramid.

An alternative structure is presented below, in the hope that it may help to provoke re-analysis of the unwieldy hierarchical pyramid towering over us today.

Figure 1—PROPOSED EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURE

First Cycle	Part-Study Part-Work	7 Years Course	Ages: 7-15 Years	Content: Basic Skills Cognitive Abilities Politicisation
Second Cycle	Part-Study Part-Work	2 Years Course	Ages: 16-18 Years	Content: Scientific and Technical Skills Practical Learning Politicisation



Within the context of ujamaa village service centres discussed above, every child would enter primary school for seven years.²⁶ The emphasis in primary education would be on basic skills, the development of cognitive

24 An example of the possibilities for such transformation is the new Literature Syllabus for secondary and higher schools in Tanzania. The syllabus is revolutionary in terms of stated objectives, content and form. At 'A' level (Form 6 examinations), course evaluation consists of a written open-book examination, an essay written and evaluated on a group basis, and a piece of creative writing.

25 See D. Court, *op. cit.*

26 The idea of 'two cycles' is derived from the paper written by Anderson, *op. cit.* In Zanzibar the same terms are used in a different way. 'First Cycle' schools are post-primary three-year secondary schools open to all Standard VII leavers; 'Second Cycle' schools are colleges (see N. Mwakikagile, "Revolution in Education", *The Standard*, 12 January, 1972).

abilities such as problem-solving and critical and creative thinking. The schools would be a part of the community via part-work, part-study programmes. In urban areas children would work in factories (presumably transformed into socialist units of production) or in other productive or service institutions, whereas in rural areas the children would work on communal shambas with the peasant members.²⁷

After seven years, a series of tests would be administered which would not be designed to test 'school achievement,' but would be aptitude tests of critical, creative thinking, logical thought, and other aspects of cognitive ability considered to be important. School achievement would be measured by performance throughout the seven years in work and 'classroom' learning. Teacher assessments would be combined with student group evaluations and evaluations from the workers and/or peasants with whom students worked. Records of all written work would also be included to assess mastery of reading, writing, numbers, and certain fundamental core courses.

A second 'cycle' would then begin for *all* students, which means that the tests at the end of the seven years would not be used as immediate selection devices. The emphasis in the second cycle would be on skills and practical learning. Primary-school graduates would be assigned to a workers' or peasants' brigade, and rotate from one aspect of the production system to another, in order to learn all phases of production. At the same time, afternoon or night classes would be held in order to buttress this productive practical learning with formal instruction, emphasis being mainly on scientific and technical subjects as well as politicisation classes. After two years, fellow workers in the brigade would assess each student, with respect to his aptitude for work, problem-solving ability, co-operative attitude, etc. Tests would be administered to evaluate applied skills related to work experience as well as afternoon/night course work (clearly, written and practical tests would have to be combined). On the basis of final combined assessments for the first and second cycles, certain students would be selected to become on-the-job apprentices, as discussed earlier. Apprenticeship programmes would include a programme of afternoon formal instruction but much more of the time would be spent working and learning. After a period ranging from three to five years, evaluation would be made of their abilities in their respective fields through written, oral and practical tests. The results would be combined with assessments by fellow workers as well as the results of earlier evaluations, and some would then be selected for more formal higher level study. The period of time for higher level study would be flexible, depending in part on the nature of the subject matter. Given the expertise such students would already have acquired, it is likely that one or two years would be sufficient for many skills and areas of knowledge (e.g., teaching, nursing, medicine, accounting, and agricultural science). Those who are not selected, either to become

27 For examples of education and productive work in practice in Tanzania, see S. Toroka, "Education for Self-reliance, Kitowa School", (Dar es Salaam, n.d.), mimeo, rerun by the Institute of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam.

apprentices, or later, to pursue higher level formal studies, would have alternative educational programmes available, in addition to learning on-the-job. A quota system would be necessary at every selection point, to ensure an even spread of opportunity across Districts, committees *and schools*.²⁸ Some of the advantages of such a system are as follows:

- (1) students would be productive throughout their school career, which would diminish collective costs for the community as well as the nation;
- (2) it would be possible to test certain skills, cognitive abilities and attitudes by evaluation of work or application in other ways, which is the only way to test certain objectives of the educational system;
- (3) apprenticeship programmes would be much less costly than secondary education, given the fact that skilled workers and their apprentices would be productively engaged in work activity;
- (4) afternoon and night classes could be taught by skilled personnel after work hours, which would mean there would not be a need for a large number of full-time teachers—otherwise, development of scientific and technical educational programmes would be severely constrained since there are still so few highly trained Tanzanians in these fields;
- (5) those engaged in higher level studies would be mature individuals who would have already mastered basic fundamentals of their own field of specialisation as well as general learning derived from participation in non-work organisations and institutions and night classes. They would therefore be able to learn more, and directly apply new learning to the kinds of problems faced 'in reality';²⁹
- (6) given the lower costs of the apprenticeship programme (compared to secondary education as it is today), many more students could be absorbed—the major constraint is more likely to emanate from slow industrial development at first, which would limit the number of highly skilled personnel to whom apprentices could be attached;
- (7) alternative educational programmes would mean that 'formal education' never ceases;
- (8) the system would provide recognition of skills and knowledge at every level of the educational structure;
- (9) workers and peasants would be actively engaged in the process of selection, which would provide them with full participation in the

28 Quotas for Regions or Districts are helpful with respect to regional differences, but do not affect differential educational opportunity between central places in rural areas and 'real' rural locations, or between more wealthy rural commercial production areas and subsistence agricultural settlements.

29 Feedback from some of my fellow colleagues at the University of Dar es Salaam confirms my own experience that mature-entry students are more satisfactory and challenging students to teach: they are more knowledgeable, practical, aware of the realities of issues, and more critical in their approach to coursework, reading, etc.

- occupational as well as the educational structure, check élitist tendencies and promote their own educational experience;³⁰ and
- (10) quotas would offset tendencies for urban and peri-urban school-children to receive privileged access to higher education.

In order to implement this kind of change, it would be necessary first to itemise the skills and abilities and attitudes which are the objectives of the educational system; then to analyse what kinds of learning processes facilitate these objectives; what kind of organisation best promotes those learning processes; what kinds of tests are most suitable to evaluate the cognitive and attitudinal objectives; and how will the whole educational system itself be evaluated in order to have a permanent process of feedback. The Party would need to be involved at every step of the investigation and implementation process, in order to ensure a final outcome which is relevant to national goals.

Of special concern would be the content of the coursework. Moris has pointed out the importance of learning fundamental ideas and principles of agricultural science and other practical subjects³¹ which can be transferred to new problems and learning situations. Such fundamental ideas are not learned by spending two hours in the shamba hoeing. That does not mean that two hours should not be spent in the shamba hoeing, but rather that other forms of activity are also needed in order to develop scientific understanding of agricultural science.

Students also need to be fully involved with the planning and implementation of the work and learning process as students in school and as workers at the work place. Special care must be taken to ensure the implementation of Party policy with respect to the structure of schools as well as all other organisations (see *Mwongozo*, paragraph 13).

Because tests would measure aptitudes, basic skills and fundamental abilities rather than memory of school subjects, teachers and students would be freed from 'examination-syndrome' constraints when it comes to the development of new teaching materials and methods. Curriculum development could therefore take place 'on the ground' at the school or work place with full participation of teachers, students and workers or peasants. Research teams consisting of teachers, students and workers or peasants could also be given the responsibility for analysing problems emanating from work or the community, and seeking solutions. Scientific methods of investigation would not only be applied in this way to the physical and natural sciences, but also to social phenomena.

30 For an example of peasant participation in planning primary school programmes in Tanzania, see S. Kilimhana, "Innovation in Education for Rural Transformation: Tanzania", paper presented at the Universities of Eastern Africa Conference on Teacher Education, Nairobi (1971), mimeo.

31 J. Moris, op. cit. For general discussion of learning 'structure' rather than facts, see J. Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Harvard University Press, 1966). For specific analysis with respect to teaching methods at the University of Dar es Salaam, see M. Mbilinyi, "An Open Letter to Fellow Teacher-Learners", *Darite*, 5 (October 1970).

THE PEASANT AND THE BUREAUCRAT

Another important policy implication does not refer so much to structural change but rather to a change in the attitudes of policy-makers towards peasants. The behaviour of Tanzanian peasants has been found to be rational in the investigation of decision-making about education. What may appear to be irrational or 'traditional' or inconsistent behaviour to the urban-dwelling élite are usually valid responses to particular economic and social conditions confronting the decision-makers. In order for planning and implementation of policies to be as rational as possible, it is necessary to learn something about the context in which the peasant lives and works. It is probably necessary to existentially experience the life and work of the peasant, especially for élite and petit bourgeois who have spent a number of years in school and/or in town office. Superficial though this experience may be, it should heighten awareness of the reality confronting the peasant.³²

If peasant behaviour is a rational response to objective conditions, and yet is not 'desirable' in the eyes of policy-makers, the only way to effectively bring about attitudinal and behavioural change is to change these objective conditions. Attitudes change to fit behaviour.³³ Petit bourgeois attitudes will change in the process of working in an ujamaa village for one year. Likewise, peasant attitudes will change in the process of participation in a large scale scientifically-planned production effort, such as the industrial projects proposed above for ujamaa villages.

WOMEN

Specific policy proposals with respect to sexist social relations grow out of the earlier discussion. The only way men-women contradictions can be resolved is through authentic socialist transformation in society, which reaches out to all rural communities. Building up ujamaa village service centres would provide a vehicle for necessary change with respect to women's emancipation. Special attention would be needed to ensure parallel structural change in urban centres.

- (1) Many of the functions now expected of wives and mothers could be handled in a more rational and scientific way in the collective community. Day care centres would provide better care for children than individual mothers could, with respect to medical attention, educational stimulation and socialisation in line with socialist ideology. Semi-processing and preparation of foods would ease the work

32 Mao Tse-Tung describes three possible routes to integrate intellectuals with the masses: (1) "looking at the flowers while on horseback," when intellectuals go to the factories and villages to look around, which "is better than nothing at all,"; (2) "dismounting to look at the flowers," i.e., spending a few months; (3) "settling down," i.e., two to three years. Settling down is suggested for educated young people. See Writing Group of the Revolutionary Committee of Anhwei Province, "Great Programme for Building a Contingent of Proletarian Intellectuals", *Peking Review*, 12 (20 March, 1970).

33 For discussion of rationality and attitude change, see M. Mbilinyi, "The Decision to Educate in Rural Tanzania", Chapters 3 and 6.

- of women at home, and eventually encourage men to participate in cooking and other home responsibilities. With the provision of water, pre-processed corn meal and other goods and services, women would be released from many of the routine chores that now constrain them.
- (2) Women would participate in the same kinds of work and other experiences as men, and thereby receive similar socialisation experiences. Men would perceive that women are their equal in all things, and that the revolution depends on their full participation in all aspects of the struggle towards a new society.
 - (3) Women's attitudes of inferiority towards themselves would also change in the process of actually experiencing and testing their countless abilities which were stifled in the feudal and capitalist systems of the past.
 - (4) The implication is that roles must become integrated and that sex-typing of roles must be radically altered.³⁴ Sexist socialisation occurs at school just as it does at home and elsewhere. Special attention is therefore necessary to rid Tanzanian schools and work places of outworn myths about female inferiority and sexist definitions of separate male and female roles.

... ego attachments to particular activities or traits must be abolished as a method of determining malehood or femalehood; and instead, ego attachment must be distributed to a wider variety of tasks and traits in order to weaken the power of one activity in determining self-worth.³⁵

This kind of role integration is implied in the discussion of the politicisation of intellectuals and élite. Despite their status, they must be able to assume different roles, some of which are contradictory to their élite status at the present time (e.g., intellectuals become the pupils of illiterate peasants and manual workers). Its specific application to sexist roles is notable in the Algerian Revolution,³⁶ Cuban Revolution,³⁷ the Chinese Revolution³⁸ and the Guinea Bissau liberation struggle.³⁹ A Party statement of commitment to the emancipation of women and the destruction of all social relations and modes of production that hinder the full development of women and men is needed in Tanzania, to give the struggle a legitimate basis for action.

The success of change in the school system depends entirely on the context in which it occurs. Fundamental changes are necessary in the economy and in the social system as a whole to provide viable economic opportunities for rural and urban workers and peasants. Traditional modes of production need to be transformed into modern scientific units so that both young people

34 The issue of sex-typing and role integration is analysed with special reference to Afro-American culture and revolutionary movements elsewhere by L. LaRue, "The Black Movement and Women's Liberation", *The Black Scholar* (May, 1970).

35 LaRue, *ibid.*, p. 40.

36 F. Fanon, *A Dying Colonialism* (Penguin Books, 1970).

37 R. Castro, "Women's Liberation: The Revolution Within a Revolution", Reprint (Pathfinder Press Pamphlets, 1970).

38 J. Belden, "Sex and Revolution", *Monthly Review*, 22 (September, 1970).

39 A. Cabral, *op. cit.*

and adults learn in the process of work, and become able to manipulate and develop a technology appropriate to Tanzania. The significance of having a small industrial base in all ujamaa village service centres is not only to increase national productivity and create a firmer economic base for socialist transformation but also to provide the kind of socialisation experience which is vital to transform Tanzanian peasant men and women into proletarian workers aware of their unique position in history, liberated, and able to defend the process of socialist revolution at all levels of society.

COMING SHORTLY

In anticipation of the 1970 national elections, a small but broad-based Election Study Committee was formed and based in the Department of Political Science, University of Dar es Salaam.

SOCIALISM AND PARTICIPATION; THE 1970 NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN TANZANIA

Socialism and Participation is a result of the long and meticulous research of the members of this committee.

The study is composed of some 12 individual contributions in areas including: The Political Background to the 1970 Election; The Role of the M.P.'s; Problems of Electoral Law and Administration, Candidate Background and Selection; Campaign Issues; Voter Level Survey; Elections and Communications; Constituency Studies, and The Presidential Election.

By placing the elections in the context of Tanzania's bid for Socialist development, the study adds valuable new insights to the country's political system.

Edited by

THE ELECTION STUDY COMMITTEE
University of Dar es Salaam

TANZANIA PUBLISHING HOUSE
P.O. BOX 2138
DAR ES SALAAM