

EDUCATION FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA AND TANZANIA:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DIVERGENT POLICIES AND
DEVELOPMENTS IN TWO NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

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by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page No.
Acknowledgements:	i
Abstract:	iii
List of Abbreviations and Figures:	v
INTRODUCTION:	1
PART ONE: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONTEXTUAL FACTORS	5
CHAPTER ONE: METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES	6
1.1 Introduction to the Study Area	6
1.2 Comparative Methodology	8
1.2.1 The Modern Period in Comparative Education	10
1.3 The Relationship between Politics and Education	18
1.3.1 The Period of Scholarly Neglect	19
1.3.2 A New Phase	20
1.4 The Political Systems Approach	22
1.4.1 The Educational Sub-System	24
1.4.2 Political Systems: A Critique	25
1.5 Comparative Studies: Politics and Education	28
1.6 The Conceptual Framework	31
Notes and References	35
CHAPTER TWO: THE CONTEXT	39
2.1 A Developmental Perspective	39
2.2 The Gaining of Independence	43
2.3 Traditional Forms of Education	48
2.4 Educational Policy in the Colonial Period	52
2.4.1 The Mission Factor in Educational Development	54
2.4.2 Cultural and Ideological Consequences	56
2.4.3 Government Policy for Educational Development	59
2.4.4 African Demands for Education in Kenya	66
2.4.5 African Demands for Education in Tanganyika	68
2.5 The Impact of the World Depression and the Second World War on Educational Development	70
2.6 The Post War Period and the Winds of Change	72
2.6.1 Attempts at Curriculum Reform	75
2.7 Summary Review	79
Notes and References	81

	Page No.
PART TWO: POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, DEVELOPMENT AND DIVERGENCE	85
CHAPTER THREE: INDEPENDENCE, POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND EDUCATION	86
3.1 The Development of Political Ideology	86
3.2 Political Ideology in Tanzania and Kenya	88
3.2.1 African Socialism in Tanzania	90
3.2.2 African Socialism in Kenya	97
3.3 Ideological Positions: Tanzania and Kenya	102
3.4 Ideology and Education	105
3.4.1 Tanzania: Ideology and Education	106
3.4.2 Kenya: Ideology and Education	113
3.4.2.1 The Ominde Commission Report	114
3.4.2.2 The Bessey Commission Curriculum Report	117
3.4.2.3 Educational Policies and Objectives	119
3.4.2.4 Harambeeism as an aspect of Ideology	120
3.5 Summary Review	123
Notes and References	125
CHAPTER FOUR: EDUCATION POLICY FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT	131
4.1 Introduction	131
4.2 Normative Political Statements on Nation-Building	133
4.2.1 Kenya and Tanzania: Normative Statements	135
4.3 The Concentration of Political Power and Legal Power	137
4.3.1 Centralisation of Control in Kenya and Tanzania	138
4.3.2 Legislative Power in Education	140
4.3.3 The Control of Teachers	144
4.3.4 The Inspectorates	145
4.3.5 Curriculum Control	146
4.3.6 The Role of Political Parties	147
4.3.7 Perspective on the Power to Reform for Political Development	154
4.4 The Politics of Educational Integration and Development	155
4.4.1 Planning and Political Development	160
4.4.1.1 Education, Politics and Planning in Tanzania	163
4.4.1.2 Education, Politics and Planning in Kenya	166
4.4.2 Language Policy for National Unity and Political Development	171
4.4.2.1 Language Policy in Kenya	174
4.4.2.2 Language Policy in Tanzania	177
4.5 Summary Review	179
Notes and References	181

	Page No.
CHAPTER FIVE: THE EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGICAL DIVERGENCE IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM	187
5.1 Educational Reform and Ideology	187
5.2 The Political Process and Educational Reform 1.	188
5.2.1 The Tanzanian Case	188
5.2.2 A Policy for Socialist Reform	191
5.2.3 Higher Education for Political Development	195
5.2.4 Student Dissent	199
5.2.5 Political Education in the University of Dar-es-Salaam	202
5.2.6 Mobilizing the Adult Population	206
5.2.7 Adult Education for Political Development	209
5.2.8 Kivukoni College: Ideological Institute	212
5.3 The Political Process and Educational Reform 2.	215
5.3.1 The Kenya Case	215
5.3.2 The New Primary Approach	216
5.3.3 Harambeeism in Education	219
5.3.4 The Village Polytechnic Movement	221
5.3.5 Political Unrest and University Education in Kenya	223
5.4 Summary Review	228
Notes and References	231
 PART THREE: CURRICULUM REFORM FOR NATION BUILDING AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT	 235
CHAPTER SIX: THE POLITICS OF CURRICULUM CONTROL	236
6.1 Curriculum Development Policy	236
6.2 Developing a Model	237
6.3 The Politics of Curriculum Reform in Kenya	239
6.3.1 The Organisation of K.I.E.	244
6.3.2 The Primary Social Studies Project	247
6.4 The Politics of Curriculum Reform in Tanzania	249
6.4.1 The Organisation of the Institute of Education	252
6.4.2 Development of Political Education Programme	253
6.5 The Input Phase	257
6.6 Summary Review	258
Notes and References	261

	Page No.
CHAPTER SEVEN: POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM	264
7.1 A New Point of Focus	264
7.2 Politicization Studies	265
7.2.1 Politicization and the School System	266
7.3 Political Education in Tanzania and Kenya	269
7.3.1 History and Political Education in Kenyan Primary Schools	270
7.4 Political Education in Tanzanian Primary Schools	274
7.4.1 Rewriting History	275
7.4.2 History Syllabuses in Tanzanian Primary Schools	276
7.5 History in Kenya and Tanzania Compared	281
7.6 Political Education Programmes in Tanzanian Primary Schools	283
7.7 Political Education in Kenyan and Tanzanian Secondary Schools	289
7.7.1 Political History Education in Kenyan Secondary Schools	289
7.7.2 History and Political Education in Tanzanian Secondary Schools	296
7.7.2.1 Political Education in Tanzanian Secondary Schools	298
7.8 The Use of Ceremony in Political Education	302
7.9 Summary Review	304
Notes and References	307
 CHAPTER EIGHT: POLITICAL EDUCATION BEYOND THE SCHOOL	 312
8.1 Divergent Curriculum Policies	312
8.2 Political Education in Tertiary Institutions	313
8.3 Political Education in Adult Education	321
8.4 Political Education in Higher Education	329
8.5 Summary Review	333
Notes and References	335

CHAPTER NINE: AN OVERVIEW IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: SOME CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS	338
9.1 Past and Present	338
9.1.1 The Western Period	341
9.1.2 Divergence in Education Policy	343
9.2 The Efficacy and Implementation of Educational Programmes for Political Development	346
9.3 Final Thoughts	353
Notes and References	356
BIBLIOGRAPHY	358
APPENDIX 1	375
GLOSSARY OF TERMS	380

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ABSTRACT

EDUCATION FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA AND TANZANIA:A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DIVERGENT POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENTS
IN TWO NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

The study of education for political development in Kenya and Tanzania is approached from a comparative perspective. The thesis examines, in the first instance, the contribution of comparative educationists and political scientists to our understanding of the relationship between education and politics and then sets out to explore how national political systems use the education system to develop support for the polity. The context is East Africa (Kenya and Tanzania) in the post-independence period. An attempt is made, however, to interpret developments in each of the *colonial* territories prior to the gaining of independence, with particular emphasis on educational, political and social movements.

Political ideological developments in the post-independence phase are interpreted within the framework of "African Socialist" development. The differing degrees of emphasis on socialist principles are represented through a comparison of two major policy statements; the Arusha Declaration in Tanzania, and Sessional Paper 10 - African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. The expected role of education in relation to the political ideological positions, as described in each of these documents, is examined in some detail; the positive stress on the purposeful utilization of education for political mobilisation in Tanzania is compared with the more neutral, pragmatic approach adopted in Kenya.

Development approaches to the resolution of common problems in the immediate post-independence phase are nevertheless recognised as similar. In each instance the colonial inheritance of divided schooling, shortages of trained African personnel and the need to satisfy the educational aspirations of the people, loomed particularly large. There was no shortage of advice however, and similar approaches to the development of resources through the adoption of manpower planning strategies were undertaken. Political strategies to achieve national unity, in part through the integration and nationalisation of the educational system, were also remarkably similar. Power was concentrated at the central government level through legislation, political strategy and educational reform. And, whilst it was later the case in Tanzania, that forms of devolved educational control would be established it is the convergence of approach to the solving of educational and political problems that is most striking, in the early post Uhuru phase.

The similarities in policy are however, very much a matter of surface phenomenon. With the benefit of hindsight and the analysis of underlying trends, it becomes clear that the force and thrust of ideological development in Tanzania would cause the two national systems to take divergent routes. Political ideology and educational development are, in the Tanzanian context, extremely close; whilst in Kenya the lack of a coherent ideological orientation, characterised, in part, by a certain "lethargy" has left the school system to remain relatively neutral. Such aspects are reviewed in relation to educational reform in the two systems and illustrate the overt commitment, in the Tanzanian situation, to the use of schools and other educational institutions, to the ends of the polity (State).

Divergent ideological developments caused the adoption of separate curriculum strategies in the schools. Curricula, in each case designed at the

national level, illustrate most coherently the impact of a clearly defined ideological purpose on the school and wider educational system. It also makes clear the faith within the national leadership, particularly in the Tanzanian case, in the use of the curriculum for political ends. The analysis of social studies (taken in the context of this study as history and political education - civics programmes), reveals the extent of political party penetration into the educational sub-system. This is in part made clear through the evidence of Party involvement, as in Tanzania; or lack of involvement, as in Kenya. In the case of Tanzania the overt involvement of TANU/CCM in the education system is most striking. The very absence of such a thrust in Kenya is, in a negative sense, a similar indicator of political ideological orientation.

ABBREVIATIONS

ASP	Afro-Shiratzi Party
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CCMYL	CCM Youth Wing
CCMYO	CCM Youth Organisation
COTU	Central Organisation of Trade Unions
DUSA	Dar-es-Salaam University Student Union
DEO	District Education Officer
EO	Education Officer
FAO	Foreign Aid Organisation
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
KADU	Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KAU	Kenya African Union
KFL	Kenya Federation of Labour
KPU	Kenya People's Union
PIE	Kenya Institute of Education
NUTA	National Union of Tanganyika Workers
NPA	New Primary Approach
TANU	Tanganyika National Union
TYL	TANU Youth League
TFL	Tanganyika Federation of Labour
TAPA	Tanganyika African Parents Association
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UNARF	United African Revolutionary Front

FIGURES

Fig. 1	Political Systems Model
Fig. 2	Paradigm for Comparative Analysis
Fig. 3	African Socialism Divergent Approaches
Fig. 4	Nation-Building System Model

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is concerned with the intricate and sometimes complex relationship between education and politics in developing countries with particular reference to Tanzania and Kenya. The study will focus on those aspects of the interaction between education and politics that illustrate most clearly the function that education is expected to perform in the process of political development.

Political development in this context is interpreted as those actions and policies adopted by the new nationalist leaderships in developing countries in the process of achieving national unity, national consciousness and the political allegiance and support of citizens.

For purposes of analysis the study is divided into three major parts. Part One is essentially introductory and sets out to establish the boundaries and foundations of the study under the title "Methodological Considerations and Contextual Factors", it contains two key chapters: Chapter One, concerned with considerations of relevant methodology and Chapter Two which examines the developmental contexts of the two national systems under review. In this latter case it is recognised that there are a number of points of similarity between Tanganyika, as it was known, and Kenya; the most obvious common factor was their experience of British rule. Tanganyika was administered by Britain under a League of Nations and later United Nations Mandate from the end of the First World War through to Independence; Kenya was a British Colonial territory from the late 19th century through to the granting of Independence. Aspects of the convergence and divergence of their experience during this period are brought out in order to demonstrate the relationship between developments in the pre-independence and post-independence periods. Neither of these new nations could start with a tabula rasa, their histories prior to

nationhood are a significant variable which has, in large part, conditioned their political, economic and educational development in the post Uhuru phase.

That each nation had a cultural experience prior to colonisation is no longer doubted, it is also now recognised that the Western forms of formal education introduced by the missionary societies were in part attempting to replace indigenous cultural development. Such significant aspects need to be recognised because viewed retrospectively by new nationalist leaderships, both academic and political, they have affected the forms of political development. Nationalist leaders have been able to evolve a system of political thought, here interpreted as political ideologies, which depict the colonial powers and their missionary colleagues as the "villain" and look back to an idealised indigenous culture and society which predates the coming of the European.

Part Two of the study, "Political Ideologies, Development and Divergence" is comprised of three major chapters. Chapter Three takes as its starting point the development of political ideologies and attempts to interpret the significance of the Pan-African and Nationalist movements, socialism and negritude in the formation of African Socialism. The different approaches to the application of the principles of African Socialism in Tanzania and Kenya are examined and the use of the "educational systems" in achieving ideological aims interpreted. Chapter Four takes as the main problem area the various educational reforms, relating to political integration as an aspect of development, that were introduced in the early post Uhuru period. In both Tanzania and Kenya the educational system was believed, by the new nationalist leadership, to have a major role to play in the achievement of national integration and unity. The educational system created by the colonial powers, and characterised by divisiveness and inequality, was an

immediate target for reform. But first it was necessary to concentrate political and legal powers at the centre. The political/government processes involved at this stage are taken here to represent the degree of inter-relationship between the political and educational systems and as an example of political policy in the gaining of political support through the educational system. Chapter Five examines the different approaches to educational reform and political development in Tanzania and Kenya. The aspects of divergence brought out in the analysis of political ideological development are again taken into account. In Tanzania, it is the background to the resolution of internal unrest and the development of socialist policies within the educational system in order to "mobilise" political support, that sets the tone. Education is recognised as playing a major part in the political mobilisation/development process. In Kenya the rhetoric of politics is concerned with the application of the African Socialism defined in terms of social justice, equality of opportunity and "pulling together"; Kenya's policies are pragmatic and non-mobilistic and at this point diverge significantly from those of neighbouring Tanzania.

Part Three, "Curriculum Reform for Nation Unity and Political Development" contains three chapters. Chapter Six moves to a fresh point of focus within the study by looking specifically at "curriculum" issues. The emphasis is placed on an interpretation of the positive political developmental aspects of curriculum, reform and development in each system. Again it is the positive relationships between political and educational activities that is looked for; by examining the role of specialist agencies for curriculum development and the extent of political involvement it will be possible to discern how mobilistic each nation is in its utilization of education for politicization purposes. Chapters Seven and Eight are again concerned with curriculum issues and the process of political development through politicization programmes. Chapter Seven involves a detailed

textual analysis of History, Civics and Political Education programmes currently in use in Tanzanian and Kenyan schools. The different approaches to syllabus construction and content in each system are interpreted in relation to their particular political purposes. Chapter Eight is similar in approach except that in looking to the post school sectors for examples of "political education" the contrast between the curriculum policies in the two countries is particularly strong. Whilst in Tanzania there exists an overt commitment to the provision of political education programmes in all education sectors and levels, such is not the case in Kenya. Nevertheless, by considering the content of political education syllabuses and course outlines in the Tanzanian context, as set against the lack of such provision in Kenya, we are able to provide a significant measure of the extent of divergent policies due in the main to political ideological differences.

The final Chapter Nine attempts to provide an "Overview" of the developments within each system and to reach positive conclusions.

Finally, the general strategy within the thesis will be to select major issues and problems relating to the main theme of education as it relates to the achievement of political development. In some instances it will be taken as appropriate to set detailed aspects alongside each other in order to emphasise points of similarity or of divergence, in other cases significant factors will be considered *en bloc* within a system and then made the subject of comparison with the neighbouring country. Which country's position will be taken first is dependent upon the issues under review, though as far as possible a common form will be adopted within individual chapters.

PART ONE: METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND CONTEXTUAL
FACTORS

CHAPTER ONE: METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

- 1.1 Introduction to the Study Area
- 1.2 Comparative Methodology
 - 1.2.1 The Modern Period in Comparative Education
- 1.3 The Relationship between Politics and Education
 - 1.3.1 The Period of Scholarly Neglect
 - 1.3.2 A New Phase
- 1.4 The Political Systems Approach
 - 1.4.1 The Educational Sub-System
 - 1.4.2 Political Systems : A Critique
- 1.5 Comparative Studies : Politics and Education
- 1.6 The Conceptual Framework.

"It might be suggested that the study of comparative education is characterized less by an adherence to common conceptions of method than by a convergence within a group of scholars on topics of common interest, the study of other people's systems of education".¹

Philip Foster

CHAPTER ONE

METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

1.1 The Present Study

In focussing upon the relationship between education and politics with particular reference to the role the educational system is expected to play in the process of political development, it is inevitable that questions relating to the need to establish a relevant methodology should arise. This study is concerned with the relationships between education and politics in two neighbouring East African countries, Kenya and Tanzania. It will be argued that, as contiguous states, sharing a common border, with many similar experiences in their development from colonial rule to full nationhood, they offer the opportunity to draw worthwhile comparisons.

The juxtaposing of two nation states in order to compare their particular approaches to the utilization of education for political development places the study within the framework of the field of study known as Comparative Education. However, it will also become apparent that when making comparisons of the political processes involved and the interactive character of the relationships between education and politics, that no single discipline can provide all the methodological tools. The very nature of the study leads to the adoption of an interdisciplinary approach. This in turn causes problems to arise in achieving a clear conceptual basis for the study. Clearly, the concepts used and developed must be compatible, there is a need to achieve a fusion between the ideas, paradigms and theories derived from different subject areas.

A partial solution to this particular problem has already been achieved within the boundaries of the area of study defined as "comparative education". It will be argued below that comparative education studies are

worthwhile so long as they focus on some particular problem, aspect or issue and in so doing adopt the relevant tools for analysis.

This chapter sets out to explore some of the problems associated with the political and educational analysis of neighbouring states in order to clarify the mode of study that has been adopted. To achieve this objective certain aspects of the development of comparative education as a field of study will be examined. Whilst it is difficult to always hold in view the particular dimensions of concern within this study i.e. the function of education in relation to political development; it is with this problem in mind that the survey of developments as they relate to the requirements of this study are made. It will become clear that comparative educationists are far from agreement on questions of method or indeed of purpose. This might be due as W.D. Halls' argues, because comparative educationists have "tried to be all things in education to all men: political scientist, sociologist, economist. He has with praiseworthy diligence, attempted to master the tools of many disciplines".²

The problem is in part resolved within this study by the adoption of one of the newer approaches to comparative education; the adoption, that is, of an integrated "comparative politics of education approach" which allows the very worthwhile conceptualisations developed by comparative education theorists to be retained whilst specialising in one major area.

Because the *politics of education* is such an intrinsic element within the thesis, it is necessary within the methodological survey to take into account the various theoretical developments that have taken place within such studies. The movement from the separate isolationist, inward looking studies in education and politics is taken into account, as it became possible to use the new conceptual tools developed by political scientists to interpret the sometimes covert inter-relatedness between education and politics. It is

interesting to note, that once the restricted vision of the "separate" disciplines had been recognised it was soon possible to broaden the analysis further by taking into account comparative perspectives.

Whilst some of the major contributions of scholars within this field of study are touched upon here, it is in no sense intended as an exhaustive review of the literature, nor indeed is every aspect of the study of education and politics covered. It is left to the context of specific chapters before certain other contributions are taken into account.

Finally, a positive attempt is made to establish a conceptual framework for analysis. An overall model is described in order to provide a degree of integration for what are inevitably very broad conceptual areas.

1.2 Comparative Methodology

In asking the question as to which method in comparative education is appropriate it was usual to examine the purpose or purposes behind the study. In the 19th century comparative studies of educational systems were undertaken in order to afford the opportunity to introduce reforms based upon what were considered worthwhile developments in other systems. A good example of this approach is to be found in the work of Matthew Arnold who, in order to provide evidence for the English Schools Enquiry Commissioners, set out to examine the school systems in France, Italy, Germany and Switzerland. The term used to describe such an approach is *cultural borrowing*, and though in current debates within comparative education it is often discredited as melioristic, it must be recognised as one of the major starting points of studies in comparative studies in education. Arnold used the evidence he gathered from abroad to attack the narrowly conservative educational establishment of his day by discrediting their views of school provision in England when compared with continental systems. To make his point he states:

"But when these gentlemen congratulate themselves because it appears that the proportion of scholars to population is in England and Wales 1 to 7, while in Holland it is only 1 to 8, in France only 1 to 9, and even in Prussia not more than 1 to 6, there is a fallacy in their use of the word appears and of the word scholars, which requires notice" ³.

His argument is that the English establishment was using a false method of collation for its statistics and placing a wrong interpretation on the evidence. The approach to comparative studies taken by Arnold, and many of his contemporaries, was clearly political in its orientation, it attempted to persuade those in positions of power as to the need for reform. As such these studies were lacking in scientific method and purpose. On this very point Brian Holmes states:

"Such men represent a strong (but in my view mistaken) tradition among comparative educationists who consider that comparative education can, and should, serve a useful function by making possible more discriminating choices when reformers propose to copy features from another system" ⁴.

But Arnold was also scholarly in his approach, his views were put forward objectively and it is possibly cynical to dismiss such contributions to the discipline too readily. He was, after all, arguing against the isolationism that had surrounded the development of education in England and Wales and asking for wider perspectives to be developed by taking into account experiences gained in other systems:

"Having long held that nothing was to be learned by us from foreigners, we are at last beginning to see, that on a matter like the institution of schools, for instance, much light is thrown by a comparative study of their institution among other civilised states and nations. To treat this comparative study with proper respect, not to wrest it to the requirements of our inclinations or prejudices, but to try simply and seriously to find what it teaches us, is perhaps the lesson which we have most need to inculcate upon ourselves at present. No ability or experience in the judge who pronounces on these matters can make up for his not knowing the facts." ⁵

Caveats are however essential, to attempt to simply uproot an aspect of an educational system for transplantation to another without due regard for the characteristics of the parent system is to risk rejection. And, though cultural borrowing is still practised as an aspect of national policy making, there has been a shift towards more scientific approaches to study and analysis. The earliest forms of this approach were to take place in the latter quarter of the 19th century. Michael Sadler argued strongly that the study of other systems could:

"Result in our being better fitted to study and understand our own ----- would make us prize the good things which we have at home, and also make us realise how very many things there are in our education which need prompt and searching change"⁶.

It was this kind of thinking that characterised the approach to educational reform in Zambia. Prior to the drafting of the reforms the Ministry of Education arranged for a study tour of education systems that shared some of Zambia's problems; a delegation visited Kenya, Tanzania and Botswana and issued a report on their findings in November 1975.⁷ A number of the approaches taken to education reform in these countries have been adopted. The traditions established by Arnold and Sadler are clearly still very much alive.

1.2.1 The Modern Period in Comparative Education

Detailed descriptions of the development that have taken place in comparative education methods are widely available. It is only relevant therefore, in this context, to pick out those aspects that guide the considerations which form a part of this study.

Certain shifts, it has been argued, were already taking place, with a movement towards a more scientific approach to the development of comparative methodology. The work of Kandel stands out as a critical point

of departure in comparative analysis in education and though, as Kay and Watson say, "he was antipathetic to scientific terms or methods ----- his broad aims made him seek truths relating to the intangible, impalpable forces which shape a cultural milieu".⁸ It is worthwhile staying with Kay and Watson on this point for it relates quite positively to the approach to analysis adopted within this thesis. They state:

"He asserted that comparative education could enable investigators to see the variant solutions attempted by different countries to common problems. Such solutions could only be understood by analysing the "social and political ideals" which schools reflected, by seeking to delineate those shared cultural values which amounted to "national character" and by taking note of the texture of society of which the education system was part".

The view adopted by Kandel¹⁰ and later Hans¹¹ was clearly pointing in the direction of a more social scientific approach to the analysis of education by recognising that school systems reflect their social and political contexts. What this approach led to was the development of methodologies that set as their objective the clarification of causes which accounted for the differences between education systems - terms such as the "national character" the "spirit of the nation" were coined and as concepts, expected to explain or account for differences in development. Certain *factors* within each system were also put forward to explain different forms of development, Brian Holmes refers to these as Hansian factors - language, race, religion, geographical territory and ideology.¹² No claim was made by the protagonists of such views that they were in any sense scientific - their concern was with the laying down of foundations for the study of comparative education. What they provided that was useful to future generations of comparative educationists, was insightful clues as to the direction to take - it might be that factors such as "national character" are in themselves too non-specific to make valuable tools for analysis; on the other hand a narrower segment of that same idea such as the function of culture in determining outcomes might make a valuable area of study.

Progress was, however, being made within the developing discipline; the contribution of Bereday was particularly notable for his attempt to define a precise methodology. It is worth spending some time in looking at his contribution, for he is clearly one of the modern school of comparative educationists and as such has had a great impact on methodology in recent years.

Bereday is perhaps best known for his views on "area studies" in that he argues the case for a thorough understanding of one particular national education system as a basis for comparative understanding. It is not this aspect of his thinking that is seen as relevant to this study but rather his view that comparative studies face a dilemma in the very nature of the discipline. He states the position in the following terms:

"Comparative education at present (1964) faces an as yet unresolved problem of affiliation to one specific discipline. Traditionally comparative education has developed as the contemporary part of the history of education and hence has its roots in the discipline of history. Several workers in the field like to look upon it as such. But over the years this position has been less and less satisfactory. If comparative education is a part of history, why not call it "contemporary history of education". Furthermore history has never had an exclusive hold over the nascent discipline. Philosophy and literature and statistics, to name only a few academic areas, have always had a share in forming comparative methods. At present, sociology, anthropology, and economics have a strong impact upon the field. It would seem at a glance, then, that comparative education is of a cross-disciplinary character".¹⁵

Having defined the position of the discipline as he sees it, Bereday then goes on to conjecture that due to the interest in comparative education within "national systems" and, because of the need to lodge the study within a social science, a home might be found in the field of political geography.

Or:

"perhaps the affiliation will be found in those aspects of political science that deal with comparative government and

international relations. Like comparative education, both of these disciplines study the structure and functioning of ideologies and institutions across national frontiers".¹⁴

It is not the intention in selecting this particular viewpoint from the work of George Bereday to argue that comparative studies in education should be wholly concerned with considerations at the national level within nations, nor that the study of comparative education should relate specifically to political dimensions. The study of education per se is dependent on other major discipline areas and fields of study. The relevance for this study is that Bereday points up the importance of a political science approach which is utilized here. This point will be returned to later when other aspects of methodology are considered.

One other significant point made by Bereday, which again ought to be brought out, is his contention that the worthwhileness of comparative education studies lies in its study for its own sake:

"The foremost justification for comparative education as for other comparative studies is intellectual. Men study foreign educational systems simply because they want to know, because men must forever stir in quest of enlightenment. Just as it is a travesty of informed living to use an automobile without knowing the principles upon which it is based, it is a mockery of pedagogy to study child-rearing practices without being aware of their endless variations, not only in historical time but also in geographical perspective. Knowledge for its own sake is the sole ground upon which comparative education needs to make a stand in order to merit inclusion among other academic fields".¹⁵

Clearly this is a considerable departure from the utilitarian values that influenced the comparative approach of the 19th century founding fathers. Justification is not only to be found in terms of practical benefits - though Bereday does not dismiss completely the value of practical outcomes - but can be justified in terms of intellectual development and the expansion of knowledge.

The work of Brian Holmes has been touched upon above as it relates to his critical stance on the idea of cultural borrowing. Holmes is best known for his attempts to place the study of comparative education within a more scientific framework. Much of his thinking is owed to the work of Karl Popper and John Dewey to whom he acknowledges his debt in the development of his main comparative approach known as "critical dualism". Holmes has elaborated his position on a number of occasions, but briefly it is stated as follows:

"The critical dualism or critical conventionalism as described in THE OPEN SOCIETY seemed to me to take fully into account man's responsibility not only for the beliefs and values he is prepared to accept but for the institutions he sets up and operates. "Critical dualism" made it possible for me, for the purposes of analysis, to draw a distinction between a social world of convention and a social world of institutions whose functioning can be understood in the light of law like statements".¹⁶

It was this belief that led Holmes to develop what is now termed "the problem approach" in comparative education whereby through the analysis of a particular "problem" answers can be provided and predictions or "laws" formulated. Given the position that Holmes adopts i.e. his stand in the development of a scientific framework for modern comparative analysis, it must also be pointed out that he believes fully in the utilisation of knowledge in the development of educational reform. Not in the melioristic sense that he clearly deplores, but rather in the way that useful information can be used to bring more rigour to any decision making activity. It is to enable "the comparative argument to be used with more rigour and precision in the reform and planning of education."¹⁷

What the problems approach in comparative education achieves is a clarification of the issues and variables involved in complex systems. This is the relevance of the form of enquiry developed by Holmes; he suggests that the following classifications of factors should be attempted:

- a) Ideological Factors (Norms and Values in Society)
- b) Institutional Factors (Forms of Organisation etc)
- c) Miscellaneous Factors (Those Factors such as natural resources that are beyond the control of man)¹⁸.

These represent some of the variables at work within educational systems that need to be taken into account in any analysis. He remains sceptical however as to how far comparative education analysis can be influential in the formulation of educational policies:

"In practice educational policies are formulated with scant regard to problem analysis. ----- National policies frequently stem from party political manifestos. In some countries, consequently, policies may compete for acceptance. Processes of adoption are usually highly politicised and it matters little whether the policy has its origins in ideology or has been formulated as a consequence of planning procedures."¹⁹

Another major contemporary writer in comparative education who is worthy of consideration in this context is E.J. King. Unlike Holmes the author of "Other Schools and Ours"²⁰ is highly sceptical at the attempts made by others to apply scientific methodologies to the study of comparative education. Reviewing the position taken by King, Kay and Watson state:

"King is sceptical of an attempt to make the study of education a science, the consequences of "scientism" as he calls it, because even the most dispassionate researcher must display his bias²¹ caused by the latent mechanisms which govern perception."

In turn King is prepared to commit himself, and the discipline of comparative education, to the utilitarian purpose of what is described as the "public service". For King, comparative education at the minimum level is to be seen as an "informative analytical aid through its ability to show the "wholeness of cultures".²²

No attempt is made within this study to take sides in the debate on relevant methodologies undertaken between those who favour the Holmesian position

as opposed to those who favour King. Both positions are of value in terms of analysis and the development of comparative studies in education. However, it would appear from what has been considered so far that the opinions expressed by Philip Foster in 1960 had some merit. Foster was particularly concerned with the application of comparative methodologies in the study of African education. His initial observation on comparative method was particularly critical:

"It might be suggested that the study of comparative education is characterised less by an adherence to common conceptions of method than by a convergence within a group of scholars on topics of common interest, the study of other people's systems of education. As yet comparative education hardly constitutes a discipline, and under its banner is grouped a heterogeneous set of conflicting approaches marked by varying degrees of rigour." ²²

Progress has, it can be argued, been made in the succeeding two decades since this view was expressed, particularly in the area of comparative analyses of particular aspects of societal interactions - this point will be returned to later. It is useful nevertheless to take into account another point made by Foster as it relates to comparative studies in Africa up to 1960. He states:

"A significant proportion of comparative education literature in these areas is essentially historical and descriptive in nature though many accounts may, indeed, be insightful. More ambitious studies proceed to describe the relationship of educational institutions to the society and economy. Detailed examinations of economic development may be given, and material may be derived from anthropological and sociological studies describing aspects of social structure. ----- One is oftimes struck, however, by the fact that authors ²⁴ frequently fail to integrate their material meaningfully".

The view, as expressed by Foster is obviously important for students of comparative education if their work is to be taken seriously by scholars drawn from other disciplines. Bereday, as we have noted above goes some way to resolving the problem of cohesion within comparative studies by

suggesting that comparative studies should be located within a particular field of study such as sociology or political science. Within this thesis it is this very strategy which is employed. In large part it is on concepts drawn from the social sciences that the present study depends and hopefully benefits from. It remains, however, as a comparative education exercise, and looks for wider perspectives than can be normally provided by single nation studies. To conclude this short review of comparative methodologies a paragraph from the work of R.D. Carey is quoted in full:

"The immediate aims of comparative education are to furnish reliable information about educational systems, ideals, problems, and activities, and at the same time provide a theoretical and practical aid to such systems by the development of frameworks, sets of techniques, bases of interpretation and series of hypotheses and conclusions about education as a local, national, and international matter. Comparative education also provides an opportunity to analyse education as it relates to social, economic, religious, and political determinants".²⁵

There is, of course, a need for any particular researcher or group of researchers to select those aims and purposes that are relevant to the study as undertaken and in so doing adopt the relevant methodologies. The aim within this study is to examine the role of education in the process of political development - with particular reference to nation-building, national unity and the mobilisation of political support through the formal educational system. A number of prominent scholars have argued the case strongly in recent years for more cross-cultural studies of the relationship between education and politics. Some of these will be considered below; for the present however, it is necessary to turn to a consideration of the development of academic interest in the relationship between education and politics as a secular process.

1.3 The Relationship Between Politics and Education

There is a long and honourable tradition in the serious study of education and politics. Scholars were aware of the importance attached to education in political development as far back as the earliest development of constitutional government and the form it should take. If there is a starting point, it must be taken as beginning with the work of Plato and Aristotle and their concern with "good" government. Emphasising their role in the development of this study area Byron Massialas states that the relationship between education and politics was a "Subject of discussion as far back as the time of Plato and Aristotle".²⁶ Two other social scientists also point to the ancient period as the beginning of interest in politics and education stating at the beginning of their modern analysis that: "Systematic thought about political socialisation first appears in the writings of the ancient Greeks. Plato's Republic is in essence a treatise on how to arrest political change through the appropriate socialisation of the young."²⁷

The purpose of education in the Republic in political development was essentially conservative, the objective was to achieve political cohesion and stability. In that sense therefore Plato was advocating policies that would in modern terms be recognised as elitist and possibly totalitarian. Education for the Guardian class in Plato's hypothetical political system was to be almost wholly political in purpose. It had, in Karl Popper's words: "the purely political aim of stabilising the state by blending a fierce and gentle element in the character of the rulers".²⁸

Political leaders have, at different points in history, been aware of the uses of education in the inculcation of political values. Political systems with distinct political ideologies have tended, as will be demonstrated later within this thesis, to utilise the educational system for the achievement of political ends. In the 20th century there have been a number of examples of

modern totalitarian systems using education in order to indoctrinate the young with the political ideals of the state.²⁹

It is perhaps surprising therefore that the serious study of education in relation to politics was neglected by scholars for such a long period of time.

1.3.1 The Period of Scholarly Neglect

It is interesting to note, that whilst it is possible to point to a long tradition of interest in the relationship between education and politics, that it is in comparatively recent years that specialised study has been undertaken. Some of the factors that may account for this period of neglect are examined in this section.

Writing in 1969, two American researchers start with the comment: "The politics of education is a new and still largely uncharted area of research concentration". Up until the late 1950's the study of the politics was characterised by a closed systems view or approach. This meant that students of government concerned with education took a narrow view of the subject, for example, as Kirst and Mosher point out:

"Prior to the late 1950's, the governance of the United States education system received relatively restricted and low level scholarly attention. Vastly outnumbered by their colleagues in the psychological sub-fields, researchers pursuing such interests were almost exclusively in the schools of education, affiliated professional associations, state departments of education etc. ...".³⁰

Education was seen as a distinct and separate area of study for all of its aspects including the government and administration of education - it was widely held as true : "That the administration of education should not be involved in politics".³¹ The isolationist position adopted by researchers changed significantly during the 1960's. Nevertheless, it can fairly be claimed that the tendency up until that time was, to what C.A. Anderson

calls, "intra-education analysis" --- the, "treatment of education as though it were an autonomous social system".³²

The "lack of scholarly attention", as Coleman³³ puts it, to the education polity nexus was, despite the tradition indicated above, also apparent in the field of political science. So much so, that it was possible for David Easton to comment in 1957 that: "Over two thousand years ago education occupied a prominent position in political thought; today in political science as a whole, attention to problems of education has all but disappeared".³⁴

To make the point more forcibly; it was legitimate for James Coleman to state in 1965 that: "Political scientists in general have paid very little attention to the overall character of the education - polity nexus, and very few empirical studies have been made which focus explicitly upon the specific ways educational systems affect the functioning of political systems".³⁵

From a comparative perspective two prominent theorists sum the matter up as follows:

"Whereas the student twenty years ago might have been forgiven a naive view of educational systems as largely autonomous, somewhat insulated, decision areas, the evidence is now incontrovertible that in most nations virtually all educational decisions, certainly including efforts at major reform, are highly interrelated with concurrent events in the cultural, social, economic and political realms. ----- The notion implicit in much of the literature that educational reforms could be analysed profitably without attention to these other societal components has a strangely anachronistic ring today."³⁶

1.3.2 A New Phase

The neglect of past years has been compensated for more recently by an increase in research output by researchers working in a wide variety of fields. Prominent amongst them are political scientists such as David Easton³⁷ who, provided the basis of the political systems model as a form

of analysis. Also involved were comparative educationists - using a variety of approaches and bridging the gap between disparate discipline areas. Sociologists and psychologists have also contributed to the now extensive literature on the subject and some of their contributions to the study of politicisation are described in Chapter (7).

Nor, of course, has this gone on without there being strong criticisms of the direction and validity of the work that has been done. As we shall indicate later, the expansion of interest brought in its train much that was important; on the other hand the methodological approaches were in part open to strong criticism.

But let us first turn to the resurgence of interest in the relationship between education and political development.

"The Forces for Change" in the research orientation of the politics of education during the 1960's have been proposed by Kirst and Mosher as comprising the following "Environmental" influences:

1. "A variety of social scientists from other disciplines, especially social science provided a significant stimulus.
2. The change in attitude of politicians, i.e. education seen much more as a positive force.
3. There were far-reaching proposals to change the traditional relationship between the three levels of educational government (in the United States of America).
4. There was an increase in community involvement, which included access to areas of educational government not previously penetrated. "Parents, teachers, minority groups and students, previously powerless, went into action".³⁸

Each of these points relates specifically to the situation in the United States. However, it is also true that the major thrust in educational research generally is provided by American researchers. Just as the interest the "politics of education" was given impetus in the United States, so too do

we perceive an increase of interest in the educational politics of developing areas: the most notable early work being the text edited by J.S. Coleman - "Education and Political Development." 39

1.4 The Political Systems Approach

Within what is described here as the "new phase" the political systems model pioneered by David Easton is used here as a general framework of reference. The advantage of the systems model is that it allows us to distinguish between different aspects of society by identifying them as sub-systems. Thus the polity becomes the political sub-system which is characterised by actions relating to decisions that are accepted as authoritative, legitimate or binding by most members of society, most of the time. The political system is recognised as different from other sub-systems because it alone is concerned with the authoritative allocation of values.

In turn, we can recognise within the political systems framework that there are certain institutions whose actions identify them as political in nature. This is the case with political parties, legislatures, courts, and so on. These institutions are closely concerned with political actions and the decision making process as it relates to the authoritative allocation of values in society. Within the context of this study they comprise a major dimension as the two major national contexts, Tanzania and Kenya, are compared. The major point however, is that the political system as so identified, has influences on, and in turn is influenced by, other sub-systems in society. In other words the political system is perceived as existing within a given environment. Easton depicts two forms of environment; that which is within a particular society and which is comprised of other societal sub-systems; and that which is without, and is comprised of other national - international systems.

The major question that political systems analysis sets out to answer is how polities are able to maintain themselves over periods of time? The answer, and the concern here is with the part that education plays within it, is that various disturbances are *managed* through the political system process.

Disturbances arise through interactions with the environment, thus interactions can be said to take place between the component parts of the intrasocietal environment or with international forces in the extrasocietal environment. Both factors are seen as external to the political system which is responsible for managing such disturbances. The stress caused by disturbances must be maintained within the critical framework in order for the system to remain in equilibrium. Two processes concerned with the management of stress are identified as inputs. The inputs are labelled as demands and supports.

The model set out below describes in a simplified form the process through which demands and supports are made and provided.

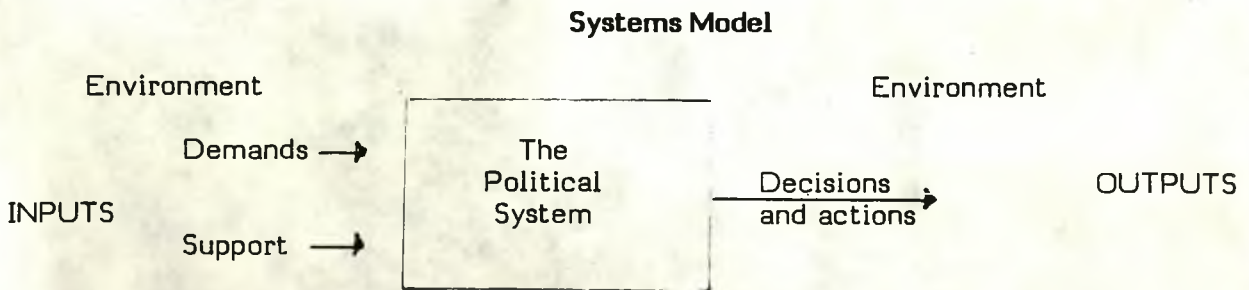


Fig. 1

The demand process is mainly concerned with pressures of various kinds made upon the political system to satisfy individual and group needs in society. The logical assumption is that the means by which such demand/needs are to be satisfied are scarce or in short supply.

Political *support* is seen as the most significant aspect within the context of this study. All political systems require support if they are to remain in

existence as the legitimate power. Should a political system fail to manage particular forms of stress, then it will inevitably decline and be replaced. Colonial administrations are particularly good examples of systems that have failed to maintain their cohesion when faced with successful demands for independence.

The educational sub-system is believed to be one of the main support influences within national systems, though there are certain doubts as to its effectiveness. In order to understand the nature of the relationship between the educational sub-system and the political sub-system it is necessary first to examine what the education sub-system is comprised of.

1.4.1 The Educational Sub-System

One of the problems in viewing education as a sub-system is that its boundaries are less easy to distinguish Massialas makes this point by saying:

"The difficulty stems in part from the fact that the process of education does not take place in only one social institution, i.e. the school, but occurs in practically all social institutions - the church, the family, the peer groups, the work group, the political party, etc. Education is provided in schools, but informally it takes place in all phases of social life".⁴¹

Now this is undoubtedly true, however, it does not pose a particular problem in this context, because the main concern here is with the way political systems attempt to use the educational systems, both formal and informal, to maintain support.

David Easton in discussing this question in one of his earlier works had this to say:

"Upon seeking to understand the nature of the conditions necessary for the maintenance of a system, it soon becomes evident that, among the numerous institutions and practices that make a significant contribution to the stabilisation and

transformation of political systems, education looms large. Just how significant a part education does play would be a major objective for research. History however, is very suggestive on this score. We have only to remember that, when political systems have undergone radical transformations, as, for example, after both the French and Russian revolutions, the efforts of the new rulers were immediately directed toward revamping the whole educational system. The structure, personnel, curriculums, and even the clientele of the educational institutions underwent serious modifications, comparable in intensity and scope only to the alterations and transformations introduced into the strictly political agencies of government, such as the police, military establishments, and civil service. New rulers have typically sensed that the success and continuity of their regimes are intertwined with the ideas and patterns of behaviour transmitted through the educational facilities. They might have been wrong in so judging; whether they were ~~we~~ now have the conceptual and research tools to determine ..."⁴²

Since David Easton developed the political systems approach it has gathered a wide range of support; it would be wrong, however, given the general adoption of this approach within this thesis, to ignore some of the valid criticisms of political systems approach that have been made. And, in recognising the validity of such criticisms it would be mistaken not to take them into account in the development of this thesis.

1.4.2 Political Systems : A Critique

The first major criticism we might consider is that provided by Kenneth Prewitt. His attack is aimed at the assumptions made in terms of the political socialisation process through the development of diffuse support for the political system. He states:

"The diffuse support theory has much going for it, but not enough to disguise a weakness. The formulation tells us nothing about the political contingencies and institutional arrangements which account for the pattern of diffuse support found at any given time. Nor could it. For these contingencies and arrangements are part of the adult world. They are what help us to understand why support is not uniform across the society. Citizens evade taxes, youth resists the draft, contractors cheat the government, journalists write subversive columns, demonstrators march against the "rules of the game", non-voting and indifference to civic obligations is widespread."⁴³

Prewitt continues this line of argument by referring to what he assumes is the failure of the development of political idealisation to be transformed in adulthood to diffuse support for the political system: "Thus the 1950s in the U.S. generated the basic notion of childhood idealisation of political authority. Yet, from the children of this decade came a political group whose chief tactic was withdrawal of diffuse support."⁴⁴

The view that the theory breaks down because "support is not uniform across society" based on premises such as tax evasion, demonstrations, criticisms, non-voting - is not in itself valid. Within this thesis it is accepted that it is perfectly possible for individuals and groups to so behave and yet remain generally supportive of a particular political system.

The sentiments of "rebellion" expressed in the United States in the 1960s apparently contradicts the principle of diffuse support. However, Easton's premise is not wholly invalidated, insofar as he states; "so long as some minimal convergence among the standards used by the members of a political system to evaluate political acts, policies and personalities,⁴⁵ remain, then the system can sustain itself." This indeed was the case in the United States. It is essential to recognise the breadth of Easton's framework which allows for diversity of viewpoint and is summed up in his discussion of political attitudes: "Members of a system display a wide variety of attitudes towards political objects".⁴⁶

A perhaps more constructive criticism of socialisation studies and political system analysis is that provided by Massialas. Accepting the functionalist view that socialisation is a: "Process whereby one generation inculcates patterns of behaviour and attitude in the next," he states that:

"Challenges to the theoretical orientation --- have recently appeared in the literature. For example Massialas questions the emphasis of the research on macro rather than micro theory. One of the results of this type of research is that the individual figures only so far as he/she, as a member of the collectivity, relates to the functioning of the political system."⁴⁷

This is undoubtedly true; it must surely be recognised, however, that both macro and micro studies are valuable for what they reveal in terms of a more effective understanding of how societies work. Macro studies such as that undertaken within this thesis, have a reference to national levels of interaction and decision making - it is accepted that individuals are important actors within the process. It is left to micro analysis within a variety of disciplines to illustrate how individuals and smaller groups function. The study of wider national issues allows for the consideration of the means adopted to achieve political stability through a process of politicisation.

Easton has picked out two broad areas for analysis; the first is based on the view that the politicisation process, at the general level is concerned with a system of rewards and punishments, he states: "for conforming to the generally accepted interpretations of political goals, and for undertaking institutional obligations of a member of the given system, we are variously rewarded and punished".⁴⁸ Later within this thesis it is recognised that punishment reward systems are utilised in the politicisation process and that both Kenya and Tanzania have tended, at times, to resort to such a process in achieving political stability. In addition, however, and this is the key area of concern here, it is what Easton describes as the communicating of goals and norms in society which most involves the educational system and these tend, as Easton puts it; "to be repetitive in all societies", he goes on to relate the point to the wider learning process as follows:

"The various political myths, doctrines and philosophies transmit to each generation a particular interpretation of the goals and norms. The decisive links in the chain of communication are parents, siblings, peers, teachers, organisations and social leaders, as well as physical symbols such as flags or totems, ceremonies and rituals freighted with political meaning"⁴⁹

It is not that system analysis provides, in any sense, all of the answers, indeed, within the context of this study, it is utilised to only a limited extent in order to point up the heavy weight developing nations have placed upon education in attaining political support. By providing these limited insights Easton's approach has surely proved worthwhile; it has, as one writer puts it; "at a minimum directed the attention of political scientists towards the idea that "non-political" institutions such as schools, have political consequences".⁵⁰ Comparative reviews of national systems appear to confirm this view.

1.5 Comparative Studies : Politics and Education

So far within this review of relevant methodologies we have been concerned with the comparative perspectives and the developments that have taken place within the area of study defined as comparative education; and then turned to a consideration of some of the methodological problems posed in the study of the relationship between education and politics. We turn now, but briefly, to the sub-discipline that provides the link between the two major areas of study.

Though it has been stated previously, it is worth reiterating that the main concern within this study is with the relationship between the political system and the educational system, with particular reference to educational policy for political development. Most political socialisation studies have been based upon systems analyses of the process within particular national systems and, though many of these are obviously relevant to aspects of this

study, it ought to be recognised that there has been an absence of worthwhile comparative studies of the process at either macro or micro levels. Massialas points up this issue when he states that there have been very few studies that have "been truly cross-national and comparative".⁵¹ Massialas is writing particularly of the political socialisation process, which, in terms of political policy in relation to the school curriculum, is an important dimension within this study. On the wider issue of political development and the school system it is also argued that there has been a neglect of interest; the renewal of interest within national systems has been noted above. But as Wirt and Kirst point out:

"The importance of education as preceding factor in the development of new states has been studied closely in the post-World War II era. Yet there has not been enough comparative research to determine whether or how school systems are shaped by distinctive elements in new and old political systems".⁵²

In stating this view Wirt and Kirst are asserting the kind of position adopted by many comparative educationalists when they argue for the adoption of a problem orientated approach or, as Bereday does, for the lodging of comparative studies within a study area such as "political science".

The other major dimension which relates to political development and the role of education in different systems is the one of reform. Merrit and Coombes in reviewing this aspect, state categorically that the "dominant mode" in the area of educational reform remains the single nation case study. And, where there have been comparative studies such studies "must be characterised as basically descriptive."⁵³ This rather pessimistic view is used by them as a basis for recommending that there ought to be: "Some shift in priorities towards larger, cross national studies, looking more incisively and more systematically at certain features across a larger number of systems".⁵⁴

Such approaches it is argued, ought to be related to the study of particular aspects. The *whole system* approach of the early pioneers in comparative education is denied by more modern theorists and analysts. In sustaining their view Merrit and Coombes argue that: "The need today is for more studies which, rather than attempting to encompass the whole of a system, select a variable upon which systems differ and then set about accounting for the difference across a number of systems."⁵⁵

It is the weight of legitimate academic opinion of this kind that is in part used to justify the strategies adopted within this study. The point of selecting two relatively simple national systems, rather than more sophisticated, modern developed nation states, is that they represent the opportunity to obtain a clearer perspective. This is so because as new systems that are relatively small in scale, they provide a comprehensive consideration of diverse elements that are often hidden from view in the larger industrialised and politically developed nations. It is also, perhaps surprisingly, the case that policies are more clearly defined and decision making processes more overt and therefore available for analysis. By this token it can be argued that the analysis of developing nations provide insights to similar processes in larger more complex national systems. They are something akin to the laboratory situation available to pure scientists; they provide through comparison the opportunity to move towards the creation of "ideal models" whilst in more complex systems the relationship between education and politics is often obscured from view, it is therefore easier in countries within the developing world to discern the points of contact between education and politics. Abernathy and Coombe reflect on this issue as follows:

"Such links seem obvious when they are stated. They exist universally but tend to be obscured in societies which are well educated and politically stable, especially if education is locally controlled and ostensibly non-partisan. In general, the political significance of education in contemporary societies

increases with the degree of change a society is undergoing. The massive changes which developing countries have already experienced and those, whether induced or not, which are in process, render all the more conspicuous the reciprocal relationship between education and politics in these areas".⁵⁶

The general methodological dimension of the thesis area having been established, it is now necessary to explore more closely the form the study takes. In part this has been achieved within the introduction, it remains however, within this general consideration of methodology necessary to define a coherent conceptual framework and explain a number of the models for analysis that will be adopted.

1.6 The Conceptual Framework

The major boundaries of the study are provided by the methodologies developed within the fields of study described as comparative education and comparative politics of education. In formulating the conceptual framework therefore, it is essential to recognise that it is the comparative perspective that provides the key to any insights that may be developed. Within that context however, it is important to point up some of the key factor areas that need to be taken into account either as fixed points or major variables. Here, these factors will be briefly considered and used in the formulation of the conceptual framework.

History, in the form of a consideration of developments within each system is taken as the first factor for consideration. It is taken into account within this study because it is seen as one of the major parameters that has been influential in conditioning and qualifying what could, and could not be achieved within the two national systems under review. History, as it relates to politics and education was the starting point for the newly independent nation. History in this context is in no sense inert, what had happened in the past had to be re-interpreted by the new nationalist

leadership to form part of their new ideological development. In the context of this study the historical development of both Kenya and Tanzania will be interpreted as it relates to the major themes within the thesis.

Political ideology is taken as another major dimension, and used to interpret the similarities and differences in policies adopted within each system, with particular reference to the function of education in political development. As such, the concept of political ideology is used as part of the major study area and forms an important variable when points of convergence and divergence between Kenya and Tanzania are taken into account.

Political systems analysis is used as a general framework for analysis and, though no attempt is made to apply the model in a precise form, it is taken as given that the interactions explained by the Easton approach will be interpreted in that way. In other words the view so neatly expressed by Carey is accepted as relevant.

"When considering education from a national viewpoint no comparative education researcher can long avoid the obvious connection between educational changes that result from planning and legislation and the political processes involved. In a whole host of recently independent nations, that now aspire to plan their educational development as well as their economic and social growth, it seems clear that the politicians influence on the development process is both directly and indirectly a profound one. ----- it is the educational system of a nation which helps form the general political and social culture and to socialise the young to fit into and become part of the political system."⁵⁷

The political systems model is deployed in Chapters 4 and 5 because each of these sections of the study is concerned directly with political and educational development. The themes developed within these sections are then taken as the background to the Chapters that follow.

Curriculum analysis: whilst in a major sense it is obvious that the curriculum is a matter of concern throughout the study, it is in Chapter 6 and onwards

that it becomes the subject of particular attention. In order to link the study of policy development undertaken in previous chapters, a model is formulated which takes into account the cultural context already explored, and is taken as the starting point for the consideration of curriculum development and control within the two national systems. In the first instance attention is paid to the development of government control agencies whose main purpose was the creation of relevant curricula. In this case the emphasis is placed on the processes established to produce curricula for citizenship training. Succeeding chapters concentrate on the analysis of curriculum content in terms of the extent of student exposure to political values and norms as interpreted by a textual analysis of actual curriculum aims, objectives and content.

These four major dimension thus form the basic framework within which the study takes place. The four dimensions are interlinked and are presented here as a matrix of interaction.

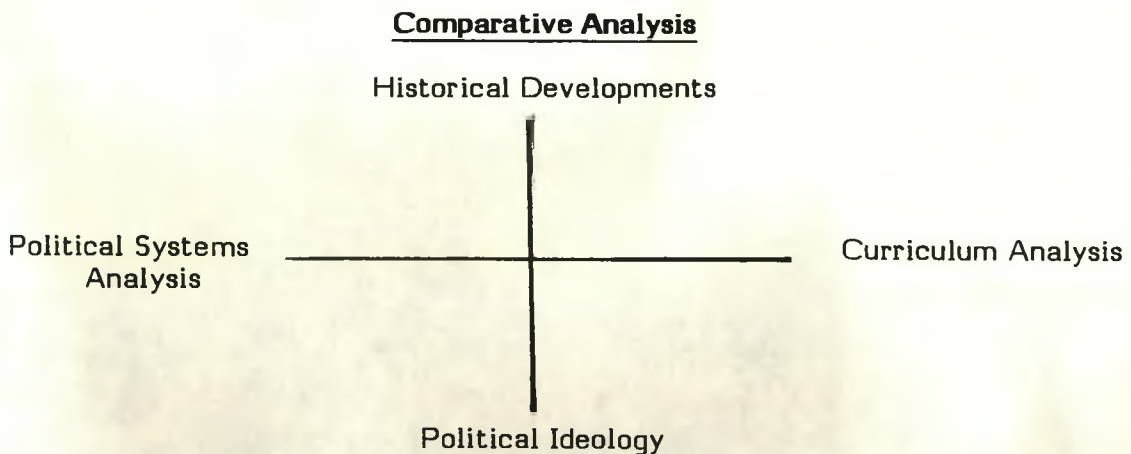


Fig. 2

Presented in this way it takes the form of a paradigm or model. Its aim is not to be precise or self contained, but rather to act as a heuristic device which allows for the development of a coherent interdisciplinary approach to the study of complex political and educational issues.

A major emphasis throughout the study is placed upon the drawing of relevant comparisons. In some instances the focus is almost wholly concentrated on political aspects in an attempt to illustrate the interactive nature of the relationship between educational and political processes; in its broadest sense such considerations are concerned with the politics of education in comparative perspective. A major debt in this context is obviously owed to David Easton and James Coleman, whose pioneering work established guidelines for students of the comparative politics of education. More fundamental however, in regard to methodological approaches, is the recognised need to establish trustworthy strategies that permit the making of worthwhile comparisons. By reviewing, but briefly, the development of comparative studies in education, it has been possible to point up the value of a number of outstanding scholars in this field of study. And, though not specifically emphasised within the text, it is to such students of comparative education as Bereday and Holmes that comparative perspectives developed within this study are in large part due. The dependence upon the work of such significant others remains implicit - much of the study utilizes concepts drawn from political science and to that extent is allied to the approach recommended by Bereday; however, it also focusses attention upon a range of problems associated with the development of educational systems for nation-building, national unity and political consciousness. In this context the contribution of Holmes in establishing the problems approach must be recognised.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE CONTEXT

- 2.1 A Developmental Perspective
- 2.2 The Gaining of Independence
- 2.3 Traditional Forms of Education
- 2.4 Educational Policy in the Colonial Period
 - 2.4.1 The Mission Factor in Educational Development
 - 2.4.2 Cultural and Ideological Consequences
 - 2.4.3 Government Policy for Educational Development
 - 2.4.4 African Demands for Education in Kenya
 - 2.4.5 African Demands for Education in Tanganyika
- 2.5 The Impact of World Depression and the Second World War on Educational Development
- 2.6 The Post War Period and the Winds of Change
 - 2.6.1 Attempts at Curriculum Reform
- 2.7 Summary Review.

"A vision of Africa - present and to come - is impossible without being armed with a background history of colonial Africa - its impacts, effects and the problems it has generated for the future of Africa".¹

Tom Mboya

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONTEXT

2.1 A Developmental Perspective

In this first major chapter of the thesis an attempt is made to sketch the developmental contexts of the two national systems being compared. The starting point is the political, economic and educational position at the end of the colonial period and the beginning of political independence, Uhuru. It is impossible however, to interpret developments in the post-independence period without looking back to the significant factors in the history of new nations. This is particularly true of educational studies where the factors influencing educational development are many and varied. It is often assumed that education came to Africa through the Europeans and, though this may be true of modern formal systems for education, it must be remembered that indigenous forms of education existed prior to colonial government and in some instances are still significant. Such early traditional forms of education will briefly be examined below, for indigenous forms of family/tribal based education are taken as part of traditional culture and enter into concepts such as negritude in the promotion of modern African political ideologies. Prior to the coming of modern Europeans to East Africa there had been other cultural intrusions; the most significant of these for our purpose was that of the Arabs who brought to the coastal areas of East Africa their own religion and related forms of education.

Modern formal education was brought to East Africa initially by European religious groups. For the colonial powers involved it was fortuitous that such voluntary bodies existed; at that time, in the early 19th century, secular teachers were not readily available. Colonial governments were prepared to stand back and allow missionary societies to propagate their

own forms of Christian belief together with the development of schooling. The educational, cultural and political significance of western religion and the role of the missionary societies will be examined in some detail below. Nor did the role of the mission societies in formal education cease with independence - they have in many instances remained within a more controlled post colonial context, and must be seen as an important variable in curriculum reform and the development of national consciousness. And, though the stress within this first chapter of the thesis is on the historical role of the missionary societies, it is with national development in mind that such a perspective is provided.

One very important point that must be borne in mind is that, though the colonial authorities and their missionary colleagues set out to establish formal systems of schooling, such forms were never complete. A majority of the African population never came within the ambit of European forms of education. Nevertheless critics of the colonial ethos argue that what was undertaken amounted to a process of indoctrination into an alien culture and religion.

A further paradox within this context, is that whilst it is possible in the post Uhuru period to level the criticism that colonial educational policy was biased towards the inculcation of Western values and culture, it nevertheless assisted in producing the future nationalist leadership. It is said for example in support of this view that: "successive generations of men who became nationalist leaders had attended colonial schools and metropolitan universities".² That this should happen, it has been argued was forecast at the beginning of the development of colonial autocracy: "Those in England who at the end of the eighteenth century had argued that Christian education would carry with it riches of liberty and freedom which would give rise to political education were correct".³ Education is, of course,

but one form of political influence; it is worth noting however, that both Kenyatta and Nyerere were educated in mission schools and then later attended classes at British Universities.⁴

It was perhaps inevitable that educational policies, either in the form of education provided or the subject content of lessons provided by the colonial powers, would at a later stage come to be resented by the indigenous peoples. Colonial government schools and mission schools imposed a form of education that they as Europeans believed to be suitable for the African people. The native African was not consulted. African critics during the nationalist stage and in the post Uhuru period can rightly point to the ideological and cultural bias in both the form and content of education provided for African children. This was not, of course, always readily accepted; opposition by Africans to both missionary and government schooling was often made manifest on both social, cultural and later political grounds.

The disparity between the form and content of education as it was provided and what was desired by Africans is examined below. Certain paradoxes will become apparent, particularly in the case of Tanzania where in the post-colonial period the policies of Ujamaa and Self-reliant Socialism has placed increasing emphasis on "relevance" and the need for agricultural bias in the school curriculum. When considering British colonial education policy in the post Phelps-Stokes period, with its acceptance of the need to teach relevant crafts and skills to African peoples, it must be remembered that educational policy was handed down by the colonial administration and was not the product of a democratic process. Africans resented what appeared to them as second best in education. Similarities in form there may be when comparing the inter-war and post-Uhuru periods; it is however, the differing social and political contexts that account for the development and acceptance of relevant skills in education following Uhuru.

In a similar way the concept and spirit of self-help, which has become so much a part of political ideology following Independence, had been developed during the colonial period. The Independent School movement was, in the Kenyan context, a direct response to the resentment felt by Africans to both mission and government schooling, and in particular, the moral position adopted by the missions over certain tribal customs. The formation of "political" associations to provide African schools, independent of the missions and the government, indicates a certain degree of political awakening on the part of the Africans in Kenya, in particular amongst the dominant tribal grouping, the Kikuyu.

Harambeeism, so much an aspect of the new political ideology in modern Kenya was born out of the pre-independence struggle for parity in education for Africans with their European contemporaries. The significance of such development in Kenya when compared with Tanganyika can be discerned. No similar self-help associations for schooling were developed in what has become modern mainland Tanzania.

As the movement towards political independence accelerated so it became increasingly obvious that there was a need for educational reform. A number of British government reports on African education are noted below - some were far sighted and looked to education as providing a preparation for future leadership, others looked more narrowly at the issues and argued strongly for practical work and agricultural bias in the school curriculum. The significant issue was the divided nature of the school system and, as we shall see, it was this aspect that occupied Africans as they prepared for Uhuru and as they became increasingly conscious of the problems involved in nation building. The major common element within this study is the use within the two systems of the educational system to achieve national consciousness and national unity and it is the similarity, rather than the

differences of approach in the early post-Uhuru stage which needs to be stressed as national policies are examined.

2.2 The Gaining of Independence

Independence was gained by both Tanzania and Kenya in the early 1960s. Tanganyika in December of 1961 and Kenya following almost exactly two years later. In each case independence was granted by the United Kingdom after a period of intense political struggle. In 1964 the two separate republics of Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined together to form the new state of Tanzania. For purposes of analysis in this thesis only what is now mainland Tanzania will be directly included in the comparisons with Kenya. The educational inheritance at independence of the two systems was not to any great extent different. In each case, Kenya and Tanganyika had experienced an educational system conceived by and for the colonial power. However, despite the similarities it is necessary to describe the separate national situations in general terms before proceeding with the analysis.

Tanganyika was, at the time of independence, and still remains a very poor country and has been designated by the United Nations as one of the world's 25 poorest countries.⁵ Her population was about 12 million people in 1961 living mainly in the countryside in family and tribal groupings. In all there were some 120 distinct tribal groups each with its own traditional culture.

It is important to note at this stage that the number of distinct tribes and the absence of any dominant tribal group, had implications for the kind of political development that would take place. The tribal pattern was what Coleman describes as "dispersed tribal societies" or "autonomous local communities".⁶ An indication of the tribal complexity can be gauged from the following table:

<u>No. of Tribes</u>	<u>% of Population</u>
10	43
13	23
97	34
<hr/>	<hr/>
120	100

7

In addition there were several different racial groupings: native Africans (the majority group) Asians, Arabs and Europeans. Educational development and opportunity had, for these separate racial groups been far from equal. Only a very small percentage of Africans had attended secondary school and though primary education was more widespread, we shall see later that a disproportionate share was taken by the Europeans and Asians.

Like Tanzania, Kenya is a predominantly agricultural society. At the time of independence approximately 80% of the population earned their living from the land. The population figure in the year just prior to independence stood at some 10 million people. Kenyan society is similar in structure to Tanzania and is divided into tribal and racial groups. A key difference, and this is important for the analysis within this study, is that there are fewer tribes and larger tribal grouping. There are some 40 different tribal groups but, at the time of independence just four tribes accounted for nearly 50% of the population. The table set out below indicates the weighting of tribes within the community:

Kikuyu	1,642.065
Luo	1,148.335
Luhya	1,086.409

8

It will be demonstrated later how significant the difference in social structure was in the development of politics within the two national systems. Briefly however, we can point out at this stage, that whilst in

Tanzania no dominant tribal group emerged to have an effective influence on political development, in Kenya the Kikuyu have played a major part in both political and educational development.

Kenya was also a racially divided country, the racial divisions are similar to those found in neighbouring Tanzania with Africans in the majority but with sizeable groups of Asians, Arabs and Europeans. The European minority was more significant in Kenyan political and educational development as a result of the "settler" policy pursued by the colonial administration. This particular aspect of colonial policy in Kenya is extremely complex and is only touched upon here in order to draw a significant point of comparison between the "colonial" experiences of the two new nations. Like Nigeria and Ghana, Tanzania was fortunate in not having to struggle against policies of European migration and settlement.

The geographical character of the two countries is illustrated in Appendix 1. Clearly both countries are spatially large with relatively small, though rapidly increasing populations (in 1979 Tanzania had a population of 18.0 million with an annual growth rate from the time of Uhuru of 2.3; Kenya in 1979 had a population of 15.3 million having grown at an annual rate of 2.7).

Whilst the nature of population dispersal in each country remains "scattered" there has been a steady drift towards the towns and cities. In Tanzania just 5% of the population were recorded as living in urban areas in 1960, by 1980 the figure had more than doubled to 12% and of these people some 40% lived in the largest town (Dar es Salaam) in 1960 swelling to 57% in 1980. An almost parallel movement of population can be discerned in Kenya where in 1960 7% of the population lived in towns increasing to 14% by 1980 with 40% in the largest city (Nairobi) in 1960 moving to 57% by 1980.

2.3 Traditional Forms of Education

Though the major concern within this study is with the development of modern formal systems of education, it is necessary to recognise that indigenous forms of education operated in all African societies. In all cases education was tribally based, much of it taking place within the context of the family. Writing, in 1938, of the actual practice of education in Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, later to become the Prime Minister and then President of Kenya, had this to say:

"the first and most obvious principle of educational value which we can see in the Kikuyu system of education is that the instruction is always applied to an individual's concrete situation; behaviour is taught in relation to some particular person. Whereas in Europe or America schools provide courses in moral instruction or citizenship, the African is taught how to behave to father or mother, grandparents and to other members of the kinship group, paternal and maternal"

What Kenyatta describes here is the process of socialization which has in part been formalised in modern national education systems - it is the passing on from one generation to the next the cultural and social values of the group. In traditional society the tribe was the largest social and political unit - part therefore of what is considered in the tribal context, as socialisation would, in a national context be looked upon as politicisation. The process of education was life-long and started with early childhood; initiation into the ways of the tribal group takes place at successive stages and relates specifically to the changing status of the individual within the tribal society. Of the two important Tanzanian tribal groups Main states: "Chagga boys in the old days slept for nine months in the cold air in holes in the ground. Bena girls who go through rites at the age of nine to thirteen are ducked repeatedly and terrified by women pretending to fall dead at their feet and by the appearance of a monster".¹⁰

Some aspects of initiation were strongly condemned by the mission groups in particular the practice of female circumcision as practised by the Chagga and Kikuyu tribes. In the latter case, as we shall see later, the opposition of the missionary forces to such ceremonies led indirectly to the formation of separate Kikuyu "political" associations and independent schooling.

Traditional education was different from modern formal education to the extent that it was not routinised and distinctive - living and learning were part of one continuous series of experiences. Teaching was not seen as a separate activity and in that sense the teaching role was not differentiated from other responsibilities in society, parents and elders would join together in the passing on of knowledge and skills. As Hoyle puts it:

"This emphasis on the transmission of values through the normal process of socialisation and relative neglect of the economic functions of education in primitive societies is as we shall see, in great contrast to the function of education in an industrialised society. The distinctive role of the teacher has not emerged, and the instruction given in connection with a boy's initiation is undertaken by the appropriate member of the tribe".¹¹

Some activities are more formalised however, and rote learning was a common feature of life in such communities - the history of the tribe had to be learned and for this the father would pass on "kinship knowledge" through formal instruction.

Herskovits points up three dimensions of teaching and learning in African tribal communities: the role of Parents and Elders; the learning of Crafts under a form of apprenticeship and the use of initiation ceremonies and rites.¹²

It would be wrong however to assume that the forms and practices of traditional African education were homogeneous. There is evidence to suggest that it existed in an infinite variety of forms, each relating to

particular groups of people. It is suggested therefore that the views of traditional education proposed by Kenyatta and later Nyerere are incomplete in so far as they do not take into account the differences of approach in various tribal societies. National leaders have, for political purposes, tended to idealise the past in order to justify policies adopted with nation-building and national solidarity as the primary purpose.

The significance of traditional forms of education for the African population has also been under-emphasised in terms of the total educational process during the colonial period. Whilst it is true that the colonial administration and the missionaries attempted to introduce modern formal education, they remained, so far as the African child was concerned, but partial systems. This can be judged from the fact that despite the immediate pre-independence attempts to expand educational opportunity for the African population by 1960 only 24% of the age group were enrolled in primary schools in Tanzania. In Kenya the situation was similar, though the percentage in primary schools was higher at 34.7%. It is significant that in each territory less than 50% were exposed to formal Western education. The position in relation to the formal education of African women during colonial times is even more startling. In Tanzania, just three years prior to Uhuru, only one third of pupils enrolled in primary schools were girls and only 7½% of females over fifteen years had received any formal schooling. The provision of schooling in its Western form for women in Kenya was not dissimilar, with just 35% of the age group entering maintained schools and with only one quarter of the secondary school population comprised of girls.

Clearly the indigenous population was dependent on traditional modes of the education, indeed life in rural Tanzania and Kenya is still based upon the customs and practices of the past including what would be classified as traditional education. In no sense has the development of formal schooling

in the post Uhuru phase completely replaced indigenous processes of education and socialisation and it has been essential for the nationalist leaderships in each new nation state to recognise this potentially divisive fact. To the extent that traditional forms of education remain, particularly in the extensive rural parts of each country, it is important to recognise it as a parallel system operating alongside new Government approved formal systems.

In looking back to such traditional forms of education it is important to emphasise the conservative nature of such educational practice. It was essentially an education for a static societal group; such methods as described above were therefore appropriate - they also enshrined a tradition of rote learning which is still a fact of life in many modern African schools.

So far we have been concerned with traditional indigenous processes of education and with the education of African people in tribal/family groups. Another aspect of what is now described as traditional education is the form of schooling introduced by the Arabs. The coastal regions of what are now modern Kenya and Tanzania were occupied by Arab slavers and traders in the 15th and 16th centuries and they brought with them their own religion and associated system of schooling.

The importance of the Islamic tradition in education is not however uniform, either within or between the two countries examined within this thesis. As a proportion of the population there are some 30% in Tanzania who may be classified as Muslim, of these however the great majority are located along the coastal belt or live on the Island of Zanzibar (90% of the population in Zanzibar follow the Muslim religion). In Kenya the numbers involved are less significant, amounting to some 10% of the population, again located along the coast. Nevertheless, they amount to sizeable minorities in each context and offer a significant variable in terms of alternative modes of education.

Because of the significance of Islam in the development of non-Western forms of education in East Africa it is worth describing the form it has taken. The Koranic (Qur'anic) school is usually located in or near to the mosque. Teaching starts at an early age usually at about the age of three. Pupils are taught the first chapters of the Qur'an by repeating the verses after the teacher. The importance of learning at this first stage lies in its relationship to prayer and the initiation of young children into the traditions of Islam. Pupils move from the basic stage of memorisation to learn the Arabic alphabet at the second stage within what would in Western terms be described as the primary level of education. During stages one and two the children are introduced to the skills of reading and writing. The significance of this stage, in the modern context, is that all Muslim children must learn these aspects, despite the introduction of modern formal schooling, if they are to retain their faith and practice their religion.

The third stage of Qur'anic education takes the child on to the study of mathematics, law, and literature, all of which are placed firmly within the traditions of Islam.

Schooling for the Muslim child was from Saturday through to Wednesday of each week. The student related directly to a teacher whose authority rested on his knowledge of the Holy Book; each student is required to pay a fee to his teacher.

The introduction of modern schooling has inevitably impinged upon Qur'anic education. New nation states expect their young people to attend state schools and learn what is considered relevant to the new nationalist leadership. Muslim schools have been forced to restrict their provision so that instead of providing schooling during five days of the week they operate in the afternoon or at weekends. Inevitably the force of Muslim tradition is

reduced in scale; nevertheless, as with traditional African forms of education, Qur'anic schools must be seen as another parallel system of schooling within both Tanzania and Kenya.¹³

All forms of traditional education - indigenous and Arab - were in the main rejected by the European missionary groups, for all Africans brought within their reach forms of Western education based upon Christian values were imposed.

A major exception to the complete rejection of traditional aspects of African life was the attempt in Tanganyika to integrate the two cultures - western education and Christianity on the one hand and traditional tribal based education on the other. Modern education for the African might cause him to advance at a rate beyond what was available for him socially and economically. The efforts made to "traditionalise" African education by Mumford and others is examined below.

That the condemnation of European action in supplanting traditional forms of education during the colonial period has become a part of political rhetoric in the post colonial phase is not surprising. Mohiddin perceives colonial education as a "catastrophe to the African Psyche".¹⁴ To support his point he quotes from Nyerere's Presidential Address to the Tanzanian National Assembly in 1962:

"Of all the crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempts to make us believe that we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless - or something of which we should be ashamed instead of a source of pride".

Interpretations of the past are thus given a nationalist emphasis, Nyerere, as quoted here, is like Kenyatta before him, looking back to pre-colonial times and repudiating the imposition of Western values and cultural norms. In that sense it is Pan-African and based upon a philosophy of negritude which prizes what is defined as good in traditional society.

As though to ensure that those who read Government reports are aware of the function of education prior to colonial domination, the Tanzanian Ministry of National Education Annual Report for 1967 states the position thus:

"In the pre-colonial period, education was carried out by elders and mainly by parents. Children would be taught in an informal manner about agriculture and animal husbandry and in the case of young girls, about house-keeping and child care. Some youths would be taught crafts such as iron-working and pot making. Others would learn to treat sickness by the use of herbs and other remedies. They would learn while they were doing. In the evening they would get to know about the culture, history and beliefs of their community by listening to the stories of the elders. The values of the society would be passed on in actual social situations".¹⁵

This kind of account inevitably sounds idealised - that there is quasi-political intention in such a formulation of words cannot be doubted. The view so simply expressed is very much related to the new approach to the writing of history which is taking place in Tanzania. A final sentence to the paragraph also indicates an element of negritude as an ingredient to the new "nationalist" view of history:

"In many ways, this form of education was admirably suited to the needs of the people".¹⁶

2.4 Educational Policy in the Colonial Period

There were two major factors influencing formal educational development in British East Africa in the Colonial period. One was the significant contribution of the missionary societies to colonial educational development - a factor accepted by the British government as wholly desirable; the other, the general policy of what has been termed "indirect rule".

The colonial and mandated territories were, in general, expected to be self-sufficient - which meant, so far as education for the native population was

concerned, providing education out of taxes on the native peoples. It also meant the colonial administrations were left free to determine their own development plans for education. The net result of this policy was that in British Africa there was a lack of uniformity between the various colonial territories.

Indirect rule, with its decentralised form of government, is best understood when contrasted to the policy adopted by the French in their colonies. The idea of metropolitan relationships contrasts with the British Colonial approach. For France, the colonial territory is as much a part of metropolitan France as any province.

This view is supported by Ormsby-Gore who in discussing what was referred to at the time (1937), as the "Educational Problems of the Colonial Empire", said:

"The British tradition in Colonial Government has always been in the direction of decentralisation of reducing to the minimum the power and control in London, and encouraging local responsibility and local growth. There is every variety of local legislature with varying composition, powers of control and influence The truth is, of course, that the English nation has not got a clearly defined attitude to its Colonial dependencies that the French nation or the totalitarian states would have".¹⁷

In the early colonial period, in East Africa, 1895-1905, the British government was, very clearly, not prepared to involve itself in the provision of education for the native African population. Kenya territory remained under the control of the Foreign Office which was prepared to allow educational developments in the territories to be undertaken on a laissez-faire basis. Education was, as a consequence, left entirely in the hands of the missionary societies. Such was the lack of interest in educational matters for native Africans, that even after the assumption of control by the Colonial Office in 1905, it was not thought necessary to establish an

education department. Of the fifteen administrative departments recorded in 1903 none was concerned with education.¹⁸

The earliest beginnings of direct colonial government interest in education for the African population came in 1911 when the Governor, E.P. Girouard, in his Annual Report, stated that a scheme of education was under consideration which would provide for the sons of chiefs and headmen. The educational ideas were basic - involving instruction in agriculture, health and sanitation. By 1911, in Kenya, an education department had been established, headed by a Director of Education, and a small start made on the development of Government schools.¹⁹

Tanganyika presents a different picture; from the beginning the German government was fully committed to educational development in its East African territories. By 1900 the German administration had established a separate education department and was running government schools.

Much that had gone on in educational development in Tanganyika under German rule was destroyed during the 1914-18 war. The responsibility for Tanganyika after the war period was transferred to the British government as a League of Nations mandated territory. A Director of Education was appointed in 1920 and a Department of Education established by the British administration. The work of the Department until 1925 was mainly confined to "picking up the pieces of the German School system shattered by the war".²⁰ However, a new importance was given to education and the incoming Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, appointed a Director of Education to the Executive Council: "In recognition of the new importance ascribed to education by his government".²¹

2.4.1 The Mission Factor in Educational Development

The justification for the neutral stance taken by the British government in educational policy lay in the acceptance by them of the role of missionaries

in educational development. It must also be recognised that the missionary societies were involved at a very early stage. The mission societies brought to the territories of East Africa a European form of education which eventually dominated, at least in part, to the exclusion of native forms of educational experience. Traditional education was lost to many African children in the face of the advancement of Western style education.

Western forms of education and religion were introduced into East Africa early in the nineteenth century. The first missionaries came to Zanzibar, now part of modern Tanzania, as early as 1844 - among the first religious denomination was the Church Missionary Society of the Anglican Church. They were shortly followed by the Universities Mission and the Catholic Society of the Holy Ghost. From almost the very beginning there was competition between the various mission societies for the right to educate the native population of East Africa. The island of Zanzibar was used as the main base for incursions into the mainland territories. Indeed, shortly after their arrival in Zanzibar the Church Missionary Society established the first mission on the mainland coast near Mombasa at Rabai. European schooling was not however accepted without some resentment and resistance, as Urch comments:

"From the very outset British attempts to introduce schools aroused opposition among the Africans. The tribal elders permitted the early missionaries to live among them, to preach on Sunday, and to practice medicine, but they did not want their youth indoctrinated in schools. They preferred to retain their own established educational structure - one designed to perpetuate African Life as it was".²²

Despite some opposition to the development of Western forms of education the missions and colonial governments persisted with their policies. Indeed such was their success that it was possible for David Scanlon writing in 1953 to state that the missionary forces are: "even today the foundation of the education system in British Africa. From 70 to 90 per cent of schools in the

different territories, including teacher training and technician institutes, are operated by various missions".²³ The driving motion behind the mission's endeavour to educate the indigenous population along European lines was basically evangelical, their major purpose was to spread the Christian gospel. In that sense education was the secondary consideration. As Ann Beck argues: "Because a cursory acquaintance with the Bible was a prerequisite for baptism for protestant converts a nucleus of an educational programme based on religion was established."²⁴ This point is supported by Kenneth Ingham, who again emphasises the stress placed upon the evangelical function - reading and writing were taught, "in a rather unsystematic way" the title "reader being used by missionaries for those who had started to learn about Christianity;"²⁵ seen objectively it is probable that the missionary societies were altruistic in their attitudes, often enduring great hardship in taking their message of the gospel to peoples whom they believed would benefit from such teaching. Nevertheless, they have since come under strong criticism from modern researchers for their total assumption that what they were doing was right.

2.4.2 Cultural and Ideological Consequences

What is clear, is the missionary society's total assumption, that Western religion, and with it, the dominant norms and values and ideologies of Western society, ought to be transmitted to the native populations of East Africa. Prevailing cultures were ignored and a process of what has been described as deculturalisation embarked upon. In effect this point of view stresses that within the imposition of colonial rule, and this starts essentially with the Christianising missionary movements, Africans were no longer mentally free - that they lost their self-confidence and were alienated from their traditional cultures.²⁶ George Urch, in similar vein, states "that there can be little doubt that colonial education played a part in

the destruction of traditional African society. Whereas indigenous education could afford to look back in order to crystallise customs and attitudes, the colonial administrators and missionaries endeavoured to move the African toward a new way of life."²⁷

Writing as long ago as 1936, Malinowski from an anthropological perspective, recognised the cultural conflicts inherent in colonial education policies in colonial East Africa. He states that: "by imposing a new and extraneous type of schooling we not only give but also take away. What we take away is their (the African natives) knowledge of their own tribal traditions, of their own moral values and even their own practical skills."²⁸

This view is supported by George Urch who argues that: "When the missionary arrived in Kenya, (and the case holds true for Tanzania) he did not always recognise the existing traditional religious system, nor did he respect African culture. Instead he was apt to sweep aside things African and to replace them with his own morals".²⁹

In more specifically curriculum/pedagogical terms it is possible to gain some understanding of the circumstances within which the mission school teacher operated. Daniel P. Kunene explains - from his analysis of developments in Southern Africa - the influential political role of the missionary:

"The missionary on the spot faced with the stark reality of his situation, saw in education a powerful ally, an instrument for ensuring the success of his primary purpose. Yet he gained much more than simply giving people the Bible in their own vernacular. In those placed in his charge in school he had a captive audience daily exposed to his relentless propaganda. So, for instance, by the time the children passed out of school as young adults equipped to read the Bible in their own vernacular, they had already been told, in elementary school and beyond, things such as the following: In olden days there was no peace among black people. There were many wars. People attacked one another without provocation, they killed one another and captured each other's cattle."³⁰

African critics of the colonial period condemn such practices as indoctrination - the inculcation of alien beliefs and values. A. Mohiddin, a Tanzanian, looking back to the colonial educational system - one which we have recognised as dominated in the early days by the missionary societies - sees it as a tool for the achievement of colonial dominance. He writes: "Destroy these attitudes and the colonial system will collapse. Both the colonial regime and the missionaries ensured that the African received the "right" kind of education and the appropriate blend of religion and European social ethics".³¹

An important point to remember, and it is a major paradox, when considering such rhetorical statements, is, that in the end the colonial system as a political form, did in fact collapse and that the nationalist movements against it were, as pointed out above, led by Africans educated within the colonial school system. Nevertheless, it remains valid to interpret the role that such colonial forms of education were expected to perform. The major question relates to the relevance of educational programmes to the needs of the indigenous African population's. From the stand point of the post-colonial stage we can recognise the irrelevance of many aspects of the education provided by colonial administrations and their missionary colleagues. Ali Muzrui argues most cogently that there was a major mismatch between the forms of education provided and the needs of modern economic and technological development; he states the position thus:

"It is my contention that a profound incongruence lay at the heart of the imported educational system in the colonies. The wrong western values were being provided as an infrastructure for the wrong western skills. This gap between norms and techniques may be called the "technocultural gap" of the western heritage in Africa A major reason for the gap in the field of education lies in the paradoxical role of the missionary school. On the one hand, the missionary school was supposed to be the principle medium for the promotion of "western civilisation"

especially in Africa. On the other hand western civilisation, on its home ground in Europe was becoming increasingly secular. In the colonies the missionaries were propagating a concept of Christian religiosity which was already anachronistic in the West."³²

Such factors lay behind the developments that were to take place in the development of national consciousness and the growth of modern African states. In Tanzania major shifts in policy have been introduced to reduce the dependence on what is now described as a process of acculturation that had taken place through the transmission of western values and beliefs. Mazrui's point is, that they were not in any case relevant in the emerging African nationalist context.

2.4.3 Government Policy for Educational Development

The period up to 1920 has been referred to as the years of "salutary neglect". British administrations had done little to establish a thorough going system of education for the native African population. After the First World War a certain noticeable change in government policies and attitudes is well documented. They include the role of the newly founded League of Nations, the development in certain sections of the community in Britain of a more humanitarian approach to the needs of the colonies. As Ann Beck says: "The demand for 'decolonisation' was heard by liberals, humanitarians and the Labour Party".³³

Major policy, however, was to be based on the findings of an international committee of enquiry, the Phelps Stokes Commission. Interestingly, the commission based much of its thinking on the experience of its Chairman in developing education for American negroes in the southern states of America. In the report they describe a philosophy of "adaptation" stating that education, "must be of a character to draw out the powers of the Native African and fit him to meet the specific problems of his individual and community life".³⁴

As David Scanlon points out, it was a result of these studies that the British government formulated its overall policy for African Education. The Phelps Stokes report argued the case for basic training in the three R's, stressed the need for health and hygiene, agriculture and gardening, industrial training and home economics.³⁵ A strong emphasis was placed on religious values and the need for a partnership between the missions and colonial governments.

How far the Commission was influenced by the prevailing orthodoxies in educational thinking of the period is difficult to assess. A quite dominant view was that African natives are, for a variety of reasons, less capable of educational attainment than Europeans. A representative view is given by Dr. H.L. Gordon writing in 1934 on "The Mental Capacity of the Africans" - "The net result is that the two enquiries, Dr. Vint's, and my own, independently conducted produced similar results and confirmed each other. They point together to the cortex or grey matter as the site of a biological deficiency which would account for biological actions on a lower level".³⁶

Further evidence of the prevailing orthodoxies of the period and the attitude of Europeans to the indigenous African can be gleaned from some of the writings in defence of African intellectual standards. Norman Leys makes the point in a rather rhetorical form:

"Are the inferior average attainments of Africans today also rightly to be explained by their inferior opportunities? Are Kikuyu and Kivirono children as intelligent as our own, as capable, if put under the same influences, of becoming equally civilised men and women? The answer we get to these vitally important questions depends on whom they are asked of. Practically all the settlers, and a great many senior officials in East Africa answer in the negative. And that of course is why African children do not, in fact cannot, get the education European children get, although what they do get they absorb more quickly".³⁷

The views expressed by Gordon were indicative of an attitude towards the African people based in part on quasi scientific methods. The opposed viewpoint, as expressed in the extract from Norman Leys,¹ "A Last Chance in Africa", is much more humanistic and closely related to the "environmentalist" schools of thought in educational psychology operating today. What we gain from Leys defence of the native African ability is an insight into dominant views held by Europeans in the 1920s and 1930s.

The Phelps Stokes Commission is criticised from another perspective by F. Musgrove who says:

"It is surely an astonishing circumstance that an educational report should be replete with economic data whilst attempting no assessment of the abilities and aptitudes of school pupils and potential pupils; that educationists should probe a territory's economic resources without asking a single question about its human potential".⁵⁸

The point is that the basis of the education policies adopted by the British government was to a very large extent based on unsupported assumption and prejudices; no attempt was made as Musgrove says, to "discover the educational facts." And yet it was to set the scene in British East Africa right up to the period immediately prior to the run up to Independence.

Educational policy in British East Africa was, of course, but one part of "Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa". The memorandum under this title enshrined within it the major principles set out by the Phelps Stokes Commission. The significance attached to the adoption of the major recommendations cannot be over emphasised. It is worthwhile therefore to set out the paragraph "Adaptation to Native Life", in full:

"Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to

changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the community as a whole through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs, and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service. It must include the raising up of capable, trustworthy, public-spirited leaders of the people, belonging to their own race. Education thus defined will narrow the hiatus between the educated class and the rest of the community whether chiefs or peasantry. As part of the general policy for the advancement of the people every department of Government concerned with their welfare or vocational teaching - including especially the departments of Health, Public Works, Railways, Agriculture - must co-operate closely in the educational policy. The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical sections, as well as of those who as chiefs will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility. As resources permit the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character, ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education".³⁹

The memorandum it can be seen, argues the necessity of relating education to native life. It recommends that education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the people. Religion and character training are given an important place. It is also stated that there is a need to strengthen their feeling of responsibility to the tribal community. Though it is noted that "contact with civilization - and even education itself - must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority". This aspect is of particular significance in the post colonial phase when the policy is aimed at reducing tribal loyalties as we shall recognise below.

Mission reaction to the report is interesting. Co-operation, as the Report puts it, was to be expected. Some missionary leaders were very much in favour of this development. J.H. Oldham for example, a liberal churchman - was according to Ann Beck, "known to favour co-operation between government and missions"⁴⁰ he was also in favour of the changes and

additions to the curriculum implied in the Report. Acceptance by the government of the Report had important implications for the missions - they would obviously remain as partners in the development of education in British East Africa - but the Government would play an increasingly significant role. There is some indication however that the Colonial Office was at times at variance with views held in the colonial territory. It is revealing that in Kenya in the year prior to the British government's policy declaration, the administration in Nairobi stated in its Annual Report:

"The policy of the department in dealing with savage races is rather to educate the masses on practical lines so as to improve their physique, their food supply and their standard of living rather than to hurry the civilization of a selected few who become detribalized and divorced from their people. Like children, the untutored savage requires guidance, sympathy, patience and he finds that education means a better and more regular food supply, better housing, congenial work and good pay for good crops, the danger of agitation from mis-fits is likely to decrease."⁴¹

Clearly a statement of view that is fundamentally different from the humanitarian views expressed in the Memorandum in the succeeding year. The native population are clearly to be kept in their place in so far as education is concerned. Dominant attitudes are clearly expressed, and African societies seen as "savage races". This view of education for Africans is that it should ensure an adequate supply of manpower to satisfy the demands of the increasing numbers of European settlers.

The Missionary Societies took a more liberal perspective on educational development for Africans. In Kenya this was demonstrated in the founding of the Alliance High School by and through the combined effort of a number of missionary societies including the Church Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland and the Methodist Mission Society. The Alliance High School was later to have its critics - mainly through its role in the creation of a distinct educated elite - but for the period when it was founded it meant a

step forward for Africans seeking equal provision with European and Asian groups.

The opening of the Alliance High School in 1926 in some way marks another point of departure. For though the bias in schooling remained for the majority of native children both practical and rural in its content, the drift was increasingly towards the now heavily criticised academic literacy based curriculum. In other words, the adoption of the English grammar school curriculum content and method. The result of such developments was an increased interest in education on the part of many Africans, who recognised that within the system as it operated, the opportunities for advancement went to those who had gained the advantage of formal school experience. Guy Hunter in his study of East Africa has this to say:

"While at first the European system of values and schooling was often violently rejected or neglected, a time came when Africans suddenly saw in it their salvation, both from their poverty and from their inferiority to the developed nations. They contrasted, however inarticulately, a world of illiterate, custom-bound subsistence agriculture in the village with a world of towns, clerks, salaries, machines -the 'modern' world. Agriculture came to stand for 'backwardness' and 'bush'; progress started with book learning in the schools; and the young teachers and clerks with their better clothes and money salaries and their scraps of knowledge of a wider world confirmed this view. The aspiring African wanted knowledge of the white man's world and the sources of his power and of political philosophies which could be used to gain a share of it; he did not want lectures on soil erosion or on manuring his shamba".⁴²

We have already recognised that in the early period of formal educational development that there had been resistance and opposition to the mission movement by the native people. This feeling of antagonism was replaced by an attitude of acceptance based on the recognition of the benefits to be gained from obtaining a western form of education.

The colonial governments in both Tanganyika and Kenya approached the demand for education in two specific ways. Both approaches were based on

the philosophy expounded by the Phelps Stokes Report and generally accepted in the British Government's 1925 Memorandum on Native Education⁴³ - in essence it aimed at providing education for the "masses" along agricultural lines and was intended to be none literary in its content. The second approach was to provide education for what was thought to be the future leadership of the countries involved.

Education, for the elite, as it might be defined, was not in the first instance, much criticised. After all, such schooling was seen to be in the best tradition - based as it was on the British grammar school with its classical curriculum. Indeed, if criticisms existed at all, they were mainly in terms of the shortage of such provision and a demand by Africans for more. Schools like Alliance were much prized by those able to obtain places in them. It was the poor nature of the provision at elementary level that most came under attack.

In Kenya, the Education Department's annual report of 1926 defined the colonial administration's approach to education in the context of the British Government's 1925 Memorandum.⁴⁴ It defined three groups within the African community:

1. The great mass living in villages of the Native Reserves.
2. Artisans and Craftsmen.
3. Members of the educated and skilled professions required by the state and by commerce.

Such an approach was soon to cause resentment from the African population. African parents recognised that education could provide opportunity for advancement along European lines but that agricultural education was not relevant to this end. Sheffield makes the point nicely:

"When one considers the drudgery of most subsistence agriculture and the visible advantages that follow from literacy, one is not surprised that many African parents

looked to the schools as the best means whereby their children could escape from rural life. As parents observed the academic schooling given to European children and children of a very select few in the rural villages, they understandably came to regard agriculture, technical and other practical subjects as second rate, designed to keep Africans in their traditional inferior position.⁴⁵

A recognition of the need for a new emphasis is provided within what has been termed the "Jeanes School" movement.⁴⁶ Schooling generally and so called "bush schools" in particular were believed to be too "bookish" and literary in character. Such practice was loudly condemned by many progressive thinkers and workers in the field during the period.

2.4.4 African Demands for Education In Kenya

Opportunities in commerce and industry were slowly developing in the period following the First World War. Africans increasingly recognised this fact and demanded an education that would fit them and their children for jobs. The pressure was there and was only partly to be satisfied by Mission and Government school provision. As Herskovits says of African demand for education generally:

"It is the pressure from Africans everywhere on administration to permit them to have access to the resources of the people who, through their superior technology, were able to conquer them in the first instance, and living among them, in maintaining the rule, opened vistas of standards of living, of health, and other material benefits available only to those who had the educational key that will unlock the door to this treasure trove."⁴⁷

In Kenya the demands by certain sections of the African community were particularly significant. The largest tribal group, the Kikuyu, were very much to the fore in demanding what they saw as relevant education. Ann Beck notes that in 1926: "The District Commissioner reported that the Kikuyu Central Association's request for high schools deserved sympathy, but stated that both technical schools and high schools must wait until the Kikuyu tax payer can afford them."⁴⁸

This demand came in the year following the British Government's Memorandum - again it is noticeable that Africans were demanding a European form of education in this instance at the very point in time when the emphasis was being placed on a policy of "adaptation".

The political nature of the Kikuyu Central Association cannot be doubted, indeed, Kikuyu demands for education were among the earliest stirrings for political independence - a demand for which one of its leading members Jomo Kenyatta made in the early twenties. Kenyatta was very much a leader in demanding equality of educational opportunity. In 1929 he came to London and presented a Petition for the Central Association which demanded compulsory primary education and secondary education level for those succeeding at the primary stage.⁴⁹

Discussing African demand for education in Kenya and its relationship to political development Terence Ranger notes: "The education demanded by the conservative Kikuyu Association and the more radical Kikuyu Central Association alike was to be dynamically progressive. It was to be education to fit the Kikuyu for development as a nation."⁵⁰

Ranger goes on to quote Kenyatta: "Busy yourself with education But do not think that I refer to is what we are given a lick of. No, it is a methodical education to open out a man's head."⁵¹

It is clear that Kenyan Africans were not prepared to wait for mission or government provision. The movement, with political links, was towards self-help. The dynamic, it must be emphasised, behind these developments was to be found within the highly advanced Kikuyu tribe - their demand was for something especially Kikuyu. The argument was for modernisation as against attempts made to contain African education within what was deemed a traditional context. As Terence Ranger puts it: "They, (the

Kikuyu) wanted progress and go ahead like the Europeans. Kikuyu parents did not want their children to be compelled to give up key traditional beliefs but they did want the best western education available."⁵²

The result of the dissatisfaction felt by the Kikuyu over education led to a break with the missions and the development of independent churches - this in turn led to the establishment of independent schools. The political factor behind this breakaway movement was the Kikuyu Central Association, which was in essence a political party and only one among a number of political groupings that were developing in Kenya in the 1920's and 30's. Of the independent school movement, as an expression of discontent over education as it was provided by the missions and an indication of future political development, K. Ingham has this to say:

Conscious of the power of education, yet resenting the discipline imposed by the missionary schools, the Kikuyu political leaders established the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association These inevitably became the breeding ground for the ideas upon which future political parties were to thrive".⁵³

It is only with hindsight that the full educational significance of the development can be appreciated, for the independent school movement was the forerunner of the self-help development in education that was to be so much a part of post Uhuru educational development. Harambeeism is in direct line of descent from the independent school movement and, as shall be described below, is a central principle in Kenya's interpretation of African Socialism.

2.4.5 African Demands for Education in Tanganyika

Events in Kenya were in part paralleled in Tanganyika; a drive by the colonial authorities in the early post-war period for the development of education along agricultural lines. African reaction was similar to that in

neighbouring Kenya; a rejection of the Phelps Stokes concept and attempts at adaptation, and a demand for education based upon the Western model. Much emphasis was placed by the colonial administration in the mandated territory on the retention of tribal loyalty. Furley and Watson examine this aspect of African education in Tanganyika in some detail and conclude by saying:

"The desire for undiluted Western education arose not merely from a wish to obtain good employment, however. Africans who had some education themselves say that tribal education linked with indirect rule might hold back the political advancement of the country indefinitely and forever bar Africans from the higher ranks of the administration."⁵⁴

In Tanganyika Native Authority schools were clearly encouraged by the colonial administration. Native Authority schools were mainly the result of local initiatives, encouragement coming in some cases from local chiefs or administrative officers. In the first instance they operated on a separate basis from either mission or government schools and were looked upon as experimental. A.R. Thomson in writing on the background to education in Tanzania points out that "in general, the degree of their success was sufficient to influence departmental policy. The Commission on Higher Education in East Africa in 1937 was sufficiently impressed with such schools as to hold them up as an example which other countries might follow".⁵⁵

Native authority schools in Tanganyika differed from the self-help school movement in Kenya in that there was no overt political factor involved. In essence they were attempts at the development of tribal education which was later to be encouraged by the colonial administration. The outstanding example of such attempts at making education develop along traditional and tribal lines is that of the Malangali School. Headmaster, W.B. Mumford, in writing about his school was quite emphatic as to its success in "tribalising" education.

"So great is the interest of both parents and boys in these aspects of the school that on more than one occasion they have requested that the academic side should be dropped so as to give more time to the farm. This is a healthy sign for the prosperity and happiness of the country depend far more upon the intelligent development of its agricultural resources than of the spread of knowledge of the three R's, or even the English language."⁵⁶

No matter how well intentioned such experiments were in providing education that was seen by the colonial administration and some Africans as relevant, it was not to be accepted by Africans in general. In Tanganyika, as in neighbouring Kenya - and indeed in Africa generally - the African demanded European forms of education despite attempts to traditionalise the curriculum. As Furley and Watson point out, even Mumford, so strong an advocate of traditional native education, was forced to admit that "the attempts to preserve old methods may be interpreted by many Africans to be an attempt to withhold the benefits of a civilisation and keep them as a subject race".⁵⁷

2.5 The Impact of World Depression and Second World War on Educational Development

During the 1930's there was very little advance in educational development in either Kenya or Tanganyika. Money for education was short during the depression years. On the other hand, some development did take place in the self-help sector particularly in Kenya. Though the point has been made above it is still worth noting that the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association was formed in 1934 and the Kikuyu Karinga Education Association established the year before.

The missions had been predominantly against the independent self-help ventures and there was also some suspicion on the part of government as to their political motives. Gradually, however, the government came to recognise the independent schools and to see them as worthwhile. Aid was

provided for the schools after 1934, though not without intervention by the government in the form of inspection and some control over their curriculum. Such was the advance of this movement through the 1930s and later, that it is estimated that over 400 schools were in operation before they were closed during the period of the emergency in Kenya from 1952 up until Independence.

Whilst in Kenya the emphasis was on self-help development in education, thus providing a means by which native Africans could participate in education, in Tanganyika the participation of Africans was restricted to the development of native authority schools. This was largely the result of the colonial administrations policy to establish a system of "Indirect Rule" for the Mandated Territory. By this means, native local authorities, as units of government, were involved in the development of native authority schools in accordance with the thinking of the Phelps Stokes principle of education for adaptation. It also meant the development of schools for the sons of chiefs at a higher level. In all there was some confusion as to the exact role of these schools as well as to whom they should be responsible. It was eventually decided in 1933 to regard native authority schools as government schools. By 1937 it had been decided that the government should train and provide teachers, provide teaching materials, pay all transport costs and be responsible for inspection and supervision.

The onset of the Second World War 1939-45 did not, in any dramatic sense, stop such development, indeed in both Kenya and Tanganyika there was some expansion of school provision, particularly as we have pointed out, in the self-help and native authority schools. One important change during the war was the development of grants in aid from the British Government. The significance of such a policy movement away from the old concept of self-sufficiency and trusteeship towards a policy of partnership needs to be

recognised. The realisation was slowly coming that the colonial dependencies were going to gain self-government and eventual Independence.

2.6 The Post War Period and the Winds of Change

Official British Government policy, in the post war period moved to the acceptance of the view that most of the colonial territories would achieve independence at some time in the future. Whilst the Second World War was still being fought the colonial policy makers were reaching decisions as to the pace of change in relation to the colonies and the role that education would be required to play in that process. The Secretary of State for the Colonies Oliver Stanley stated that British policy was "to guide the Colonial people along the road to self-government ----- to build up their social and economic institutions and develop their natural resources",⁵⁸ this statement made in 1943, set the tone for future policy. By 1946 Creech Jones, now Colonial Secretary, argued that policy was, to "develop the Colonies and all their resources so as to enable their peoples to speedily and substantially to improve their economic and social conditions, and, as soon as possible to attain responsible self-government".⁵⁹ India was the first to attain Independence, and in that sense set the standard for others to follow. In the African context the movement towards independence was somewhat slower, certain positive steps were however taken. The first of these relates to the role, as perceived by the British Government, that education was expected to play. In 1948 the Colonial Office published "Education for Citizenship in Africa", though in some respects the report can be seen as progressive, stating the role of the school in citizenship training and itemizing the school subjects most likely to be effective in this process such as history, geography, language and religion and indeed, going on to argue the case for student participation through "out of class activities"⁶⁰ such as school

societies and clubs under the control of students, its tone is generally paternalistic. The main thrust of the document relates to the development of people to accept the principles of western democratic government and the development of sound moral character as the foundation for citizenship under such a form of government. Politics, in the active sense of how an emergent people should prepare themselves is discouraged. Discussing the "school and politics" the Advisory Committee say:

"No teacher worthy of his high position of social responsibility would in any circumstances use the classroom as the opportunity for deliberately inculcating partisan views; but once the principle is accepted that controversial questions may be discussed, we think it inevitable that occasionally the teacher's personal view will have to be expressed if the discussion is to be real and is to have its full effect ⁶¹ in training pupils to formulate their own judgements".

Some aspects of the curriculum as it was developed for citizenship training are considered below - in this context Education for Citizenship in Africa is seen as one of the first gentle steps along the road to the granting of full independence.

Long term plans for development were also under consideration at this time, for both Kenya and Tanzania ten year plans for education were published during 1948 and again the need to prepare the people for responsible leadership is clearly expressed. The Beecher Report argues strongly the need to prepare the African for his future leading role in Kenya.⁶²

The Cox Commission Report "A Ten Year Plan for African Education" drew up plans for the period 1947-1956 and established the pace of change and development in the territory almost up to the time of independence.⁶³

A further study of British educational policy in Africa published in 1952, the Binns Report "A study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa"⁶⁴ again returned to the theme of agricultural education and the

general need for practical work to be included in the curriculum. It also pointed up the problem of language policy which was particularly significant for Tanganyika. Swahili had been used as a medium of instruction in the Tanganyika territory since German times and would, with hindsight, be important for the future development of the new nation as an indigenous African national language. And yet Binns argued that: "because the present teaching of Swahili stands in the way of the strong development of both vernacular and English teaching a policy should be followed which leads to its eventual elimination from all schools where it is taught as a lingua franca".⁶⁵

Fortunately for the new nation, the government ignored this advice and as we shall see, Swahili has been accepted as the national language in the new state of Tanzania. On certain aspects of the curriculum the Binns report was more realistic, as we shall see below, and was particularly critical of the European bias within the school curriculum.

So far as Kenya was concerned neither the Beecher Report nor the recommendation of Binns had much effect. Shortly after their publications a state of emergency had been declared. Mau Mau as a movement, has been variously described -to what extent it was a nationalist movement for liberation it is difficult to tell.⁶⁷ For purposes of this analysis we know it led to the closure of many self-help independent schools.

By the latter part of the 1950's however, the movement towards Independence was well advanced. In each case full Independence in government was preceded by a period of responsible government. It was obvious that the question of how to use the educational system to serve the end of the state would loom particularly large. The political leadership in both Kenya and Tanganyika were very aware of the role education would be required to play following independence.

Some indication as to the pace of change in the years just prior to independence in Kenya can be gained from an examination of official government statements. In Sessional Paper 57 - the clear need for a Development Programme, in a sense the first major planning document for the emerging nation, emphasised that a major priority must be the expansion of educational opportunities for Africans.⁶⁸ Guy Hunter states the position in the post Mau Mau and pre-independence period as follows:

"It was from about 1957 that a new educational tempo began to be felt, accelerating slowly up to 1959 and thereafter with extreme speed. It was felt in Kenya in about 1956 when the end of the Mau Mau emergency stimulated the whole European community and the government in particular to accelerate the training of Africans to occupy responsible positions".⁶⁹

The situation in Tanzania was different to the extent that the background was less tense. The "political struggle" which in part is described below, was more peaceful and the future more clearly defined. It was possible even prior to full independence to tackle major problems in education and to prepare legislation in the form of the 1961 Education Ordinance. Again the stress was placed on the need to expand opportunities and in particular redress the imbalance of educational opportunity and racial divisiveness of the colonial system.

2.5.1 Attempts at Curriculum Reform

It has often been said that the curriculum in African schools during the colonial period was little more than a reflection of the subject content in the schools of the colonial power. Ay Ogunshye, for example, in examining the Nigerian case states that it "was hardly to be expected that the local British government would foster Nigerian solidarity. ----- When the Nigerian learned what passed for Nigerian history, it was an account of how the British conquered Nigeria and governed her".⁷⁰ In the East African

case it has also been said that the curriculum of the metropolitan power predominated: "It is true that, in detail the syllabus was often unintelligently British - too much English history and too much British botany".⁷¹ There had, on the other hand, been strong criticism of such cultural bias long before the movement towards independence; Urch points out that the Phelps-Stokes report, "decried the triviality of a school curriculum that taught African youth to sing 'British Grenadiers and despise the music of its own people'.⁷²

Further criticism of the African school curriculum was evident again in the Binns Commission report - at the Secondary school level the curriculum was in large part determined by the external examinations board:" its (Cambridge Board) English papers are heavy with grammar and nineteenth century literature, while other subjects are only partially adapted from the normal syllabus of an English school instead of being thought out with the needs of the African in mind".⁷³

Such criticism could, it appears, be legitimately levelled at the secondary school curriculum, the position for the primary school sector was somewhat different. Cameron and Dodd in reviewing curriculum development in Tanzania ten years prior to independence state very clearly that: "the assertion that the British imposed upon the country its own unadulterated system of primary education is certainly unfounded".⁷⁴ It appears from their evidence that the reforms to the curriculum introduced during 1953 had provided for the localisation of subject content. In addition to the study of language, number and religious knowledge; "it included environmental studies centred on such topics as the home, the market, food, health, water and agriculture. It stressed the importance of relating education to the children's environment".⁷⁵

History and Civics programmes were also localised, produced in 1952 and covering Standards V to VIII, the syllabuses were still in use at the time of Independence. An examination of the History and Civics curriculum indicates quite clearly the attempts that were made to Africanise the content, there is no overt reference to the advantages of colonial rule which are apparent in the equivalent courses provided in neighbouring Kenya nor is the teaching concerned with developments in Europe. The Citizenship programme starts in Standard III and the emphasis is on the:

"Value of settled government: security of life and property. Our local government: direct and indirect rule. Aims of direct rule - to enable people to take a growing share in the management of their own affairs".^{7/6}

Small though these steps were in the movement towards the creation of a more relevant locally orientated curriculum they were nevertheless more advanced than in pre-independence Kenya.

In Kenya the primary school curriculum remained biased towards the acceptance of colonial rule. The 1953 African Primary School Syllabus is overtly concerned with propagating the view that colonial rule has benefitted the indigenous population. For example a recommendation to teachers on relevant topics reads as follows:

"The opening up of Kenya. The barren desert which separates the coast from the fertile interior, and which prevented foreigners from entering the country. Early development on the coast: the Arabs and later the Portuguese. The European explorers who walked up from the coast during the nineteenth century and mapped out the country. The British suppression of the slave trade. The traders and missionaries who followed these explorers. The establishment of British administration. The suppression of inter-tribal warfare. Introduction of tax and modern social services, and the rule of law. The building of the railway from Mombasa (Kenya's only port) to Kisumu in 1895-1900. Why the railway went to Kisumu. The Indian traders and artisans who followed the railway. Where railway lines run today. How the building of the railway attracted European farmers who brought capital, agricultural machinery and

scientific methods of farming based on the accumulated experience of many years. How the future prosperity of Kenya depends on agriculture."⁷⁷

These apparently bland statements hide the assumptions made by the curriculum developers of the colonial period. It is assumed that colonisation brought benefits and it is the benefits that are highlighted, for example "The British suppression of the slave trade; The suppression of inter-tribal warfare" : "Introduction of Tax, and modern social services, and the rule of law".

Further examples of the emphasis placed on the advantages gained from membership of the British Commonwealth are provided under the heading: "Kenya as part of the British Commonwealth". Two paragraphs illustrate well the stress on advantages:

Kenya as Part of the British Commonwealth

- (a) The main countries, spread not only over Africa, but over the whole world, which belong to the British Commonwealth of Nations. The advantages of membership of this vast group of nations. United strength for protection. Trade.
- (b) The Queen of England and the Royal Family who have their representatives (Governors, Governors-Generals, Commissioners, etc.) in every country of the British Commonwealth. The Union Jack. The National Anthem. The Colonial Office in London which is directly concerned with the development and welfare of all people in the colonies, and which appoints Government Officers in Kenya. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act.⁷⁸

No major attempt was made in either system to further reform the curriculum in readiness for Uhuru. It was to involve the nationalist leadership with a considerable task in the years following independence as we shall recognise below.

2.7 Summary Review

Clearly there are many similarities between the two national systems under review within this thesis. Both have experienced the imposition of colonial rule and political dependency. European forms of education were imposed and used by the colonial authorities to inculcate value systems and cultural norms that were alien to the indigenous African population. Whilst at first there was resistance to the introduction of Western forms of education, provided through the missionary school and later the colonial governments, Africans came to accept and in some instances demand European education and the cultural and ideological dependence that went with it. The acceptance of Westernisation was however, never complete. Conflicts arose over policies of administration as instanced by the missionaries drive to outlaw certain tribal customs. The outcome of such attempts was the creation of a latent nationalism in the form of "cultural nationalism" and the formation in Kenya of the Kikuyu associations. The Independent School movement was, it has been claimed, a nationalist response, which in the early 1930s might be termed "revolutionary" such was the force and scale of its achievement.

Such a movement was not, as we have noted as clearly explicit in the Tanaganyikan context. African initiatives were channelled into the development of native authority schools. The situation was less explosive than in neighbouring Kenya possibly because, as a Mandated territory there existed an assumption through the trusteeship of the League of Nations and later the United Nations that independence would be achieved.

The developmental aspects examined so far however, give only a limited indication of the causes underlying the political and educational development of these two newly established independent states. In common with most emerging nations in Africa, Tanganyika and Kenya were to be

forced to consider the problems of political unity and nation-building. Each had inherited political and educational institutions from the colonial power and would need to appraise how appropriate they were. The Westminster process of government and the quasi-metropolitan system of schooling were both imported systems. It was questionable whether, in either case, they could be accepted as relevant. British traditions in politics and education would have to be examined and possibly modified, or simply rejected. It is to such aspects that we now turn, first interpreting the political ideological directions adopted in each system and then focussing attention on the political and educational policies pursued in the first twenty years of independence.

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PART TWO: POLITICAL IDEOLOGY, DEVELOPMENT AND DIVERGENCE

CHAPTER THREE : INDEPENDENCE, POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND EDUCATION

- 3.1 The Development of Political Ideology
- 3.2 Political Ideology in Tanzania and Kenya
 - 3.2.1 African Socialism in Tanzania
 - 3.2.2 African Socialism in Kenya
- 3.3 Ideological Positions : Tanzania and Kenya
- 3.4 Ideology and Education
 - 3.4.1 Tanzania : Ideology and Education
 - 3.4.2 Kenya : Ideology and Education
 - 3.4.2.1 The Ominde Commission Report
 - 3.4.2.2 The Bessey Curriculum Commission Report
 - 3.4.2.3 Educational Policies and Objectives
 - 3.4.2.4 Harambeeism as an aspect of Ideology
- 3.5 Summary Review

"Here ideology is taken as an elaboration of the nature of society one wants to build, and the means by which one goes about building such a society".¹

K. Miti

"Africans are struggling to build new societies and a new Africa and we need a new political philosophy - a philosophy of our own - that will explain, validify, and help to cement our experience."²

Tom Mboya

CHAPTER THREE

INDEPENDENCE, POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND EDUCATION

3.1 The Development of Political Ideology

In gaining Independence both Tanzania and Kenya were moving from a state of subjection to foreign rule to a position of political autonomy described in the Swahili term for freedom - Uhuru. Foreign rule had meant the domination of the native population by imported values and norms. It has been recognised in the previous chapter how the religious, moral and cultural values of the colonial power were transmitted to the native population. In essence they had been subjected to an alien form of political ideology which would require either to be modified or radically changed. It will be argued here that the extent to which the political ideological orientation of the new national political entity i.e. the polity, required modification, would determine the role that education would play in the process.

As one writer recently put it:

"The inculcation of values and ideologies which socialise individuals into the acceptance of designated social norms has been considered, for the most part, a valid and primary function of education, school education is, of course, important in introducing the young to the accepted conventions of law and order but even here the function is not only to inform but also to indoctrinate, and hence legitimate, certain political ideologies".⁵

This purpose is, in large part, achieved by and through the educational system. It might be that there are discernible differences in the role education is expected to play in the process, but that is all. Indeed some national systems are clearly more overt in their approach to the development of political ideologies - in the West there is a tendency to deny such a political purpose. In the developing world there is no such

reluctance. The new national leadership in both Tanzania and Kenya were prepared to openly declare their intentions in the development of new and politically acceptable ideologies.

Technically the term political ideology is taken to mean the system of dominant political ideas operating within a particular nation state. According to one prominent political scientist, ideology is but the tool of the dominant state, which by its very nature is repressive.⁴ In other words ideology is not in the strictest sense the product of national policy making, but can be judged objectively as the product of particular kinds of political system. This is not however, the interpretation placed upon the term within in this thesis; ideology is here interpreted as part of the process of rational decision making on the part of the political leadership in order to achieve certain kinds of political orientation.

Ideology was recognised as important by the new nationalist leaderships in African countries because their new nations were in many instances synthetic entities. There was a need to quickly unify the disparate groups within national boundaries that had been drawn for the convenience of the colonial powers. The result of the struggle to achieve Independence by African countries has been the creation of a strong Pan-African movement embraced by the slogan "African Socialism". The ideas that are framed within this term are sufficiently African to be acceptable to most African states and sufficiently flexible to allow a variety of interpretations as to its socialist content.

First coined by Senghor, in order to differentiate it from the dominant French mode of socialism in Senegal, it was later developed by Sekou Touré in order to distinguish it from classical Marxist theory with its emphasis on social class conflict.⁵

Successive generations of African leaders have added to these earlier ideas. Such leaders had, however, sufficient in common in their thinking to make it reasonable to apply the term African Socialism in a generic sense. For example it is recognised that major political leaders in Africa who are geographically and culturally far apart have much in common in the development of political thought. This view is summed up by Ruth Morgenthau as follows:

"The post independence task as most African leaders see it, is to preserve the sense of community found in the extended family, spread it throughout the whole society, and harness it to development. To describe this task Julius Nyerere and Sekou Toure on opposite sides of the continent and educated respectively in the use of Catholic and Marxist political vocabularies, nevertheless coined similar words. Nyerere spoke of the "communitary society"; Toure of the "communaucratique society".

This study is not however concerned with making comparisons between polities on opposite sides of the African continent and which are radically different in terms of development and colonial experience. The comparison is between, as it has been stated, two nations with much in common, both claiming to adhere to the principles of African Socialism. They represent, in fact, different ideological orientations within an African Socialist framework, and it is this facet that will be explored here.

3.2 Political Ideology in Tanzania and Kenya

Within this section an attempt is made to explore the dominant political ideological values manifested by the two national systems under consideration. What will become clear is that, though often using similar political slogans, there are differences between the two countries in emphasis and meaning. For example, each country's political leaders argue strongly that they adhere to the principles of African Socialism and yet there are marked differences in many of their approaches to political

organisation and the development of political values. This is not surprising, for though, as we have seen, there is much in common between both Tanzania and Kenya there are also many differences. It is on the differences that we shall in part concentrate our attention by bringing out the points of divergence. Both nations have had to wrestle with the problems of "decolonisation", each has had to establish attainable goals and to this end establish a distinct political ideology. As Morgenthau puts it:

"In this period of decolonisation, Africans are evolving their own political ideology to meet several needs. It must (ideology) fill the gap left by the achievement of independence and set post-independence goals, limits and guides for national action. It must help define the identity of new nations, most of which have questionable borders, fluctuating institutions, and ethnic communities with little sense of nationhood."

The term that has been developed in the post-independence period in Africa to describe political ideological standpoints is African Socialism. And yet there is no one acceptable definition of African Socialism, simply because each newly emerging and developing nation has chosen to adopt the generic title whilst working out their own ideas in practice. In other words the term is essentially pan-African and as a concept was born out of the nationalist movements in Africa as they strove for independence. Indeed it has recently been stated that in the post-independence period:

"there were no effective terminologies or ideologies with which the continent as a whole could effectively identify itself. When African Socialism was coined, it looked as if it could combine the terms neo-colonialism, pan-Africanism, negritude or African personality all in one. What made the concept more successful than its predecessors was the fact that it was readily identified with the entire continent's urgent and immediate pre-occupation, that of economic development."

African Socialism is, in this sense, seen as a framework within which the new nations of Africa will work out their own African roads to socialism. It is not that they will all agree upon policy approaches in, for example, areas

like education, what they declare to be common amongst them is their rejection of European, Western or Marxist approaches and a concentration on what is perceived to be uniquely African. This particular aspect is brought out when we examine the two neighbouring countries of Tanzania and Kenya.

3.2.1 African Socialism in Tanzania

Since Uhuru, Tanzania has been at the forefront of the debate of African Socialism. Ujamaa and the idea of self-reliance are relatively simple terms that represent a uniquely Tanzanian approach to the development of a political ideology. Quite simply, and the ideas will be explored in detail below, Ujamaa is a Swahili name for "brotherhood" or "family-hood" whilst self-reliant socialism indicates the need to develop the nation's own resources.

The major political thinker and theoretician in Tanzania is the President of the Republic. Julius Nyerere has been the national leader since 1958 and led his country to Independence. As one of the founders of TANU⁹ it has been through TANU that he has expressed his views on political development for Tanzania. The views of Julius Nyerere are therefore hard to separate from the views of what is now the only official political party. Nyerere's ideological position is not easy to define,¹⁰ though from the beginning of Uhuru Nyerere was expressing very positive socialist ideas it is feasible to argue that his views were as much the expression, as Ali Mazrui puts it, of: "cultural nationalism than an assertion of militant socialism". Mazrui takes this point further by stating that:

"For some time the image of Nyerere in the capitals of the Western world was that of a moderate with strong leaning towards the West. He talked about socialism, but behaved like a liberal in a recognisable Western sense".¹¹

Nyerere's views shifted as circumstances changed, he came increasingly to recognise the importance of socialism in an essentially poor agrarian economy and is said to have been particularly impressed by the writings of René Dumont. The ideas contained in "False Start to Africa" are said to turn up everywhere in Tanzania and there is evidence of Nyerere's acceptance of the book's main principles since he gave copies to every member of his Cabinet.¹²

Tanzania's position in the debate on African Socialism goes back to the earliest days following independence. Indeed it is clear from the TANU Constitution that Tanzania was setting out to become a socialist state. The Constitution states for example:

"That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants.

That in order to ensure economic justice the state must have effective control over the principal means of production.

That it is the responsibility of the State to intervene actively in the economic life of the Nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society".¹³

The personal views of Julius Nyerere were given early expression during an address to the World Assembly of Youth in Dar-es-Salaam 1961. In "Scramble for Africa" Nyerere makes clear his belief, that "no underdeveloped country can afford to be anything but socialist".¹⁴ A fuller development of Nyerere's and TANU's thinking on African Socialism was given the following year in 1962. In "Ujamaa - The Basis of African Socialism", Nyerere sets out the main principle for him:

"Socialism - like democracy - is an attitude of mind. In a socialist society it is the socialist attitude of mind, and not the rigid adherence to a standard political pattern, which is needed to ensure that the people care for each other's welfare."¹⁵

Later within this tract Nyerere goes on to explore the idea that socialism is a way of life which is in itself natural to Africans. He states:

"For when a society is so organised that it cares about its individuals, then, provided he is prepared to work, no individual within that society should worry about what will happen to him tomorrow if he does not hoard wealth today. Society itself should look after him, or his widow, or his orphans. This is exactly what traditional African society succeeded in doing."¹⁶

Society and the nation are for Nyerere and TANU the idea of the extended family "writ large." African Socialism, unlike European socialism, is not for Nyerere the product of class conflict but rather a matter of going back to a traditional form of society which had been distorted by the colonial powers. Nyerere's ideal society places the emphasis on community action. Individual needs will be satisfied through what he has described as "Communitarian Socialism".¹⁷ To achieve this objective the TANU Government "must go back to the traditional African custom of land holding. That is to say, a member of society will be entitled to a piece of land on condition that he uses it. Unconditional or "freehold", ownership of land (which leads to speculation and parasitism) must be abolished."¹⁸

Whilst it is true that Tanzania's route to the achievement of African socialism had been charted in the early years following upon Uhuru, it was not until 1967 that firm policy decisions were taken on how it was to be implemented. The point of departure was the Arusha Declaration. A number of pressures upon the Government both external and internal brought the leadership of TANU to the view that major steps had to be taken.¹⁹ The National Executive of TANU met at Arusha and formulated the now famous Declaration. The Arusha Declaration is essentially a statement of intent; it sets out to establish the direction and approach to the reconstruction along African socialist lines of the country. As President Nyerere stated immediately after Arusha:

"The Declaration is a declaration of intent; no more than that. It states the goals towards which TANU will be leading the people of Tanzania, and indicates the direction of development. Neither on the 5th February, nor on any day since, has Tanzania suddenly become a socialist state. The Declaration is the beginning, not the end, of a very hard struggle."²⁰

The Declaration starts by re-affirming the role of TANU as the Governing Party. Part One under the heading "The TANU CREED" sets out the party constitution starting with the statement that:

"The policy of TANU is to build a socialist state. The principles are laid down in the TANU constitution, and they are as follows:

- (a) That all human beings are equal;
- (b) That every individual has a right to dignity and respect;
- (c) That every citizen is an integral part of the Nation and has the right to take an equal part in Government at local, regional and national level;
- (d) That every citizen has the right to freedom of expression, of movement or religious belief and of association within the context of the law;
- (e) That every individual has the right to receive from society protection of his life and of property held according to law;
- (f) That every individual has the right to receive a just return for his labour;
- (g) That all citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country in trust for their descendants;
- (h) That in order to ensure economic justice the State must have effective control over the principal means of production; and
- (i) That it is the responsibility of the State to intervene actively in the economic life of the Nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society."²¹

Part Two of the Declaration sets out the "Policy of Socialism" - section (a) argues for the "Absence of Exploitation".

"A true Socialist State is one in which all the people are workers and in which neither Capitalism or Feudalism exists. It does not have two classes of people: a lower class consisting of people who work for their living, and an upper class consisting of those who live on other people's labour. In a true Socialist State no person exploits another, but everybody who is able to work does so and gets a fair income for his labour, and incomes do not differ substantially."²²

The basic ideological position is thus laid down; the document then goes on within Part Two to explore how in part such ideals might be achieved arguing the case for the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange: "The way to build and maintain socialism is to ensure that the major means of production are under the control and ownership of the Peasants and the Workers themselves through their Government and their Co-operatives".²³

The aim as so described is to obtain political control of the "commanding heights" within the economy including major mineral resources, manufacturing, banks and insurance - and, as the Declaration says: "any other big industry upon which a large section of the population depend for their living."²⁴

Political control is, it is stated, to be democratic, for: "A State is not Socialist simply because all, or all the major means of production are controlled and owned by the Government. It is necessary for the Government to be elected and led by Peasants and Workers. There cannot be true Socialism without Democracy." And finally, under Part Two is the statement to the effect that "Socialism is an Ideology. It can only be implemented by people who believe in its principles and are prepared to put them into practice."²⁵

Much of what has been examined here was not new but rather a reaffirmation of views established since the gaining of independence. In

turning to the discussion of self-reliant policies we see a dramatic shift in position. The forces that had been at work in society such as the increasingly elitist attitude of certain groups, the disaffection of the University students, the overdependence on industrialisation would it was argued, need to be guarded against. So too with the external pressures from international bodies, who through the provision of aid through loans and grants tended to require the modification of domestic policies.

In Part Three of the Declaration the position of Tanzania in relation to the rest of Africa and of the World is made clear.

"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. We intend to bring about a revolution which will ensure that we are never again victims of these things."²⁶

The Declaration then goes on to denounce the emphasis that has been placed on the role of money within the economy and argues the case for "Hard Work":

"What we are saying is that from now on we shall know what is the foundation and what is the fruit of development. Between money and people it is obvious that the people and their Hard Work are the foundations for development and money is one of the fruits of that hard work."²⁷

A radical shift from dependence on overseas aid is argued for and with it, an increased emphasis on the rural aspects of the economy - "We have put too much emphasis on industries" it is claimed and there ought to be more concern for the peasant farmer. Agriculture, it is therefore argued, is to be the basis of development. Under the heading "The People and Agriculture" it is stated that:

"The development of a country is brought about by people, not by money. Money, and the wealth it represents, is the result and not the basis of development. The four pre-

requisites of development are different: they are (i) People; (ii) Land; (iii) Good Policies (vi) Good Leadership.²⁸

The Arusha Declaration established the new political ideology for Tanzania. The main slogans now were to be Ujamaa and Self-reliance. Early steps were taken to act on the policy of nationalisation as recommended at Arusha - banks and insurance were almost immediately taken into public ownership. Steps too were taken to establish the newly defined position of agriculture in the economy. In recognising that Tanzania would remain a poor country for many years to come, it was also seen that the majority of her people would remain on the land. Nyerere writes of this as "Ujamaa Agriculture" and attempts to define how the life in the countryside would be based on co-operative living:

"In a socialist Tanzania then, our agricultural organisation would be predominantly that of co-operative living and working for the good of all. This means that most of our farming would be done by groups of people who live as a community. They would live together in a village; they would farm together; market together; and undertake the provision of local services and small requirements as a community. Their community would be the traditional family group or any other group of people living according to Ujamaa principles."²⁹

Here then is the principle of the Ujamaa village spelt out, the hope is that socialism nationally can be achieved by retaining what is described as the traditional way of life in "family groups". Each village community is seen as a self reliant community providing for itself materially and socially along democratic lines:

"A nation of such village communities would be a socialist nation. For the essential element in each of them would be the equality of all members of the community, and the members self-government in all matters which concerned only their own affairs. For a really socialist village would elect its own officials and they would remain equal members with others subject to the wishes of the people."³⁰

Such a process was recognised as difficult to achieve - "persuasion not force", it was hoped, would be the means to the successful adoption of the idea.³¹ The role of the party was seen to be important and a basic organisation already existed. TANU cells operating in the rural communities would, it was hoped, provide a lead: "The TANU cell leader may in some cases be able to persuade the members in his cell to make a beginning."³²

Specific mention of the role that the educational system would play is not made within the Declaration. Shortly after Arusha however, some very positive proposals were made - Education for Self-reliance firmly establishes the central role of education in achieving the ideological ends represented by the Arusha Declaration through Ujamaa and Self-reliant Socialism.

Before examining the educational aspects in detail it is necessary to compare the political ideological developments that had been taking place in neighbouring Kenya.

3.2.2 African Socialism in Kenya

Some two years prior to the Arusha Declaration the Kenya National Assembly received and approved a document under the title "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya". Sessional Paper No. 10 as it is commonly termed, attempts to establish what African Socialism is and how it can be applied to the economic and social needs of Kenya. Though the subject of some quite severe criticism by academic and political commentators, Session Paper 10 remains the clearest statement of KANU and the Government's ideological position and as such is the equivalent in Kenya of the Arusha Declaration.³³ As with the Arusha Declaration the

strong links between the ruling political party and government are apparent. In the Kenyan context this is made clear in the introduction to Sessional Paper 10. Writing the introduction Jomo Kenyatta states that:

"All along the Government has been guided in its approach to development matters by the declaration contained in the KANU Manifesto. In those we declared that our country would develop on the basis of the concepts and philosophy of Democratic African Socialism. We rejected both Western Capitalism and Eastern Communism, and chose for ourselves a policy of positive non-alignment".³⁴

He continues by touching upon one of the main themes of the Sessional Paper and one which is most criticised by those wishing to attack socialist basis of the Paper:

"Our entire approach has been dominated by a desire to ensure Africanisation of the economy and the public service. Our task remains to try and achieve these two goals without doing harm to the economy itself and within the declared aims of our society."³⁵

The theme of Africanisation is quite dominant throughout the paper and is seen by critics as weakening the socialist basis which it is attempting to support.

Part 1 of the Paper is concerned with definitions of African Socialism and states:

"The system adopted in Kenya is African Socialism, but the characteristics of the system and the economic mechanisms it implies have never been spelled out fully in an agreed form.

In the phrase "African Socialism" the word "African" is not introduced to describe a continent to which a foreign ideology is to be transplanted. It is meant to convey the African roots of a system that is itself African in its characteristics. African Socialism is a term describing an African political and economic system that is positively African not being imported from any country or being the blueprint of any foreign ideology but capable of incorporating useful and compatible techniques from whatever source."³⁶

In these opening statements the stress is placed firmly on the need to look back to African traditions, two major aspects are picked out as being most relevant, namely, "political democracy" and "mutual responsibility". The argument is that political democracy predates colonial domination and as a theory was developed by Kenyatta in "Facing Mount Kenya". It also features as a major element of Nyerere's political philosophy as we have seen above. The argument goes that:

"In African society a man was born politically free and equal and his voice was heard and respected regardless of the economic wealth he possessed. In fact political leaders were regarded as trustees whose influence was circumscribed both in customary law and religion. Political rights did not derive from or relate to economic wealth or status. Political democracy in the African tradition would not, therefore, countenance a party of the elite, stern tests of membership, degrees of party membership, or first and second class citizens."³⁷

Similarly with "mutual social responsibility" - the idea of the African family spirit, it is argued, extends to the new nation. Essentially the basis of Harambee, it is the view that mutual social responsibility implies that individual members of society will do their best for one another, and:

"To ensure success in the endeavours of the Government all citizens must contribute to the degree they are able to the rapid development of the economy and society. Every member of the African traditional society had a duty to work."³⁸

Having established the African basis of the new philosophy the document goes on to stress the need for hard work - "Drawing on this background African Socialism expects the members of the modern state to contribute willingly and without stint to the development of the nation."³⁹

Both Marxian socialism and what is described as laissez-faire capitalism are to be avoided because it is argued they are too rigid for application to modern Kenya - "The problems of today are not the problems of a century

ago. African Socialism is designed to be a working system in a modern setting, fully prepared to adapt itself to changing circumstances and new problems." In rejecting the two extremes it was then necessary to set out in objective terms what African Socialism in Kenya would mean. Indeed one writer states quite categorically that "Nowhere does the Paper specifically define what socialism is."⁴⁰ In Western political terms it would be appropriate to describe the economic aspects of the new society as "mixed" - such a description would however be misleading. In order to understand this developing ideology more fully it is necessary to examine further aspects of the profile as set out in the Session Paper.

The main features of African Socialism include:

- (i) Political democracy - this aspect as the Paper states is taken directly from the Constitution and the KANU Manifesto. "Every person in Kenya is entitled to the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual whatever his race, tribe, place of origin or residence or other local connexions, political opinions, colour, creed or sex."
- (ii) Mutual Social responsibility - quoting here from the KANU manifesto the Paper endorses that "We aim to build a country where men and women are motivated by a sense of service and not driven by a greedy desire for personal gain." "We are confident that the dynamic spirit of hard work and self reliance which will motivate the Government will inspire the people throughout the land to great and still greater efforts for the betterment of their communities. Moreover every individual has a duty to play his part in building national unity. Your duties are not limited to the political sphere. You must endeavour to support social advance."
- (iii) Various forms of ownership "Our Constitution says no property of any description shall be compulsorily taken possession of, and no interest in or right over property of any description shall be compulsorily acquired, except in strictly defined cases where such action would be necessary to promote the public benefit. The KANU Manifesto also says citizens will have the right to follow the profession and trade of their own choosing and to own property according to the law. And, "We shall welcome both government and private investment in Kenya, we shall encourage investors to

participate jointly in projects with our government. In connection with land, the Manifesto says every farmer must be sure of his land rights (and to this end) consolidation and registration of title will be encouraged wherever people desire."

- (iv) A range of controls to ensure that property is used in the mutual interests of society and its members "We believe in a wide measure of governmental control in the economy in the national interest (and) there are many ways of participation without acquiring public interest."
- (v) Diffusion of ownership to avoid concentration of economic power.
- (vi) Progressive taxes to ensure an equitable distribution of wealth.

Both (v) and (vi) are seen as additions, "made necessary in a modern, developing monetary economy in which accumulation is both a necessary and important feature."⁴¹

The issue of Nationalisation is taken up again later in the Paper and great care is taken to make clear that as a policy it is not seen as having a central role:

"Nationalisation is a useful tool that has already been used in Kenya and will be used again when circumstances require. The pertinent questions are at what cost, for what purpose and when. The Constitution and the KANU Manifesto make it clear that African Socialism in Kenya does not mean a commitment to indiscriminate nationalisation. These documents do commit the Government to prompt payment of compensation whenever nationalisation is used."⁴²

By adopting such a position it could be argued that Kenya has decided against a full programme of socialist development and indeed has opted for a platform more akin to those adopted by social democratic parties in the West. Comparisons with neighbouring Tanzania immediately spring to mind and we shall consider some of these below.⁴³

Whilst in the Tanzanian case it is clearly possible to recognise the political views of President Nyerere as predominant within the nation, such is not the case with Kenyatta in Kenya. Nyerere has taken the position of teacher

(Mwalimu) for the nation and has been in large part responsible for establishing its ideological position. Kenyatta, on the other hand has stood back from the adoption of ideological positions and played the role of father figure (Mzee), the "Father of the Nation". In this respect the point that is emphasised in relation to the adoption of a political ideology is pertinent, he stood it seems between ideologies, as Murray-Brown puts it: "As far as African Socialism was concerned it remained a vague concept."⁴⁴

3.3 Ideological Positions: Tanzania and Kenya

African Socialism, it is clear, is subject to very different interpretations. Following upon the Arusha Declaration Tanzania adopted a policy of socialism under the labels Ujamaa and Self-reliance. This involved a total commitment to the mobilisation of resources and people to the ends of African Socialism as interpreted by TANU and defined by the President of the Republic Julius Nyerere.

Ujamaa as a concept is derived from what is believed to be the traditional African way of life prior to colonisation. Often termed negritude, the view of the past is that life in African communities was egalitarian, democratic and organised on the basis of co-operation between members. Social class in the Western sense did not exist and the main unit of organisation was the family and its extension, the tribe. Life was based on mutual respect and self-help principles. The acceptance of this view of the past and its projection into the future, in terms of political philosophy in Tanzania, provides the country with its socialist ideological orientation. As such it is non Marxist and non European. Self-reliance is a related aspect which sets out a policy whereby the country can achieve a degree of autonomy and freedom from external pressures which might undermine the ideological purpose of Ujamaa. In combining Ujamaa and Self-reliant socialism TANU have established the socialist ideological position of Tanzania in the context of African Socialism.

As we have recognised, the Kenyan position is different. Though accepting the basic principles of African Socialism, the view as expressed in Session Paper 10, is that African Socialism is a term, "describing an African political and economic system that is positively African not being imported from any country or being the blueprint of any foreign ideology."⁴⁵

Like Tanzania, it is argued that, it must draw upon its African past - "it must draw on the best of African traditions". Two African traditions are said to be available for use and should form the basis of African Socialism. They are, "political democracy and mutual social responsibility".⁴⁶ The expression of mutual social responsibility is provided through the development of community involvement. Such involvement requires what is termed a "pulling together" or the spirit of Harambee. Harambeeism, which literally means - "let us pull together",⁴⁷ is the political expression of the Kenyan political philosophy. But by placing the emphasis on community action, which is in the main a voluntary activity, the Party KANU effectively relinquishes direct central involvement. The Harambee ideal, as it finds expression through the educational system is examined below. That it is a political activity cannot be doubted but it is only one aspect of the complex ideological position adopted by Kenya. For, though accepting the need for planning as an economic activity - as defined in Session Paper 10 - the ends of planning are the achievement of economic growth and Africanisation not the development of a socialist state.

Tanzania and Kenya can be contrasted in political terms for they are at opposite ends of a political spectrum even within the context of African Socialism. The divergent position of Tanzania and Kenya can best be represented through the development of a model.

AFRICAN SOCIALISM

**Tanzania
UJAMAA
SOCIALISM**

**Kenya
PRAGMATIC
LAISSEZ FAIRE**

Specifically Tanzanian	Western origin, internationally current
Development originates in the countryside	Development is urban based and "extended" to the countryside.
Priority to agriculture	Priority to extractive (and some manufacturing) industry, tourism, agriculture.
Socialist mode of production (some state ownership; cooperative village level agr.)	Capitalist mode of production (private enterprise and state capitalism)
Labour intensive	Capital intensive
Endogenous: self-reliance	Exogenous: economic and technological dependence
Prime beneficiaries of development: rural masses	Prime beneficiaries of development; oligarchic and/or elite; growing middle class.

Fig. 3

The model represents the divergent approaches to economic and political development in Tanzania and Kenya. It is the points of emphasis within each system that are highlighted here, with the traditional sector - mainly agrarian - economic policy of Tanzania contrasted with the stress on the development of the modern economy of Kenya. Whilst there is a deliberate policy for the retention of people in the countryside through the development of Ujamaa villages in Tanzania there is no similar policy in Kenya where urbanisation is allowed to increase.

Though represented as a polarisation of political and economic position it must be recognised that both Tanzania and Kenya have elements drawn from each of the sectors set out here. Therefore, though it is possible to point up the emphasis of the modern sector in Kenya it is also essential to keep in mind that the traditional agrarian economy remains as a substantial aspect of Kenya life. Similarly in Tanzania we must keep in view the development of the modern sector. Indeed, the point to make in the case of Tanzania is that attempts are being made to shift the balance in favour of the

traditional sector away from the modern sector. The Arusha Declaration is, as pointed out above, mainly concerned with the development of policies with this end in view.

3.4 Ideology and Education

Each of the systems under review in this thesis gives expression to its political ideological positions through their educational systems. In the case of Tanzania there is a clearly expressed policy which argues the need to utilize the educational process to the ends of Ujamaa and Self-reliant socialist political development. Whilst in Kenya the principles of Harambee are expected to operate and provide educational support for the building of national unity. It is not surprising that because the ideological positions adopted in these two neighbouring states are different that the political and educational manifestations of the ideological developments should also be different.

Tanzania has adopted policies for the use of education as a tool in the political mobilisation process and is prepared to introduce political education programmes at all levels within the educational system.⁴⁹ Kenya, on the other hand, sees education as serving narrower political purposes - political education in the formal sense is limited in form as we shall see later. Harambeeism is a means by which community action can be harnessed so as to expand educational provision beyond what would otherwise be available through government and private resources. The Harambee idea is nevertheless a concrete expression of a Kenyan political ideal which has its origins in pre-independence self-help political activities and the independent school movements.

3.4.1 Tanzania : Ideology and Education

Following upon the Arusha Declaration with its declared aim of building a socialist society the President outlined the role that the educational system would play in this development. "Education for Self-Reliance" has the subtitle: "A proposal for sweeping changes in the educational system and philosophy of Tanzania". In his paper Nyerere sets out his views on the educational system as it was inherited from the colonial administration:

"The education provided by the colonial government in the two countries which now form Tanzania had a different purpose. It was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead, it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state". Colonial education in this country was therefore not transmitting the value and knowledge of Tanzanian society from one generation to the next; it was a deliberate attempt to change those values and to replace traditional knowledge by the knowledge from a different society. It was thus part of a deliberate attempt to effect a revolution in the society".⁵⁰

Changes had of course been introduced in the post independence period and the importance of these is given recognition by Nyerere. Three particular aspects are singled out for their significance, namely the abolition of the racial divisions in schools, the expansion of provision, and developments in the curriculum to make it more Tanzanian in content. The claim is however, that such developments amount in essence to being no more than modifications to the system as it was inherited.

Nyerere argues that there is a need to examine the purposes of the educational system and: "What it is intended to do". He states the position thus: "Only when we are clear about the kind of society we are trying to build can we design our educational service to serve our goals".⁵¹

The way forward had now been established and though in essence a blueprint for the future, the Arusha Declaration sets out the basic philosophy as

defined by the ruling party TANU and the national leader Julius Nyerere. In Education for Self-reliance Nyerere is formulating the role of the educational system in the post Arusha period. Tanzania will, it is argued, remain a predominantly rural economy - "it is in the rural areas that people must be able to find their material well being and their satisfaction". The recognition of the predominantly rural character of the economy and the declared intention to pursue policies that serve this end, including the development of Ujamaa Villages, has implications for education. Nyerere brings this out forcibly when he states:

"It has to foster the social goals of living together and working together for the common good. It has to prepare our young people to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of a society in which all members share fairly in the good or bad fortune of the group. Our educational system must therefore inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community and help pupils accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past".⁵²

He goes on to link the ideological perspectives outlined at Arusha to the new role that the educational system should serve; he states:

"This means that the educational system in Tanzania must emphasise co-operative endeavour, not individual advancement. It must stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service which goes with any special ability, whether it be in carpentry, in animal husbandry or in academic pursuits. And in particular, our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance".⁵³

The document is not only concerned with philosophical prescriptions. A genuine attempt is also made to interpret the faults in the educational system as they are seen as barriers to the achievement of ideological goals. Firstly, it is argued the educational system is elitist and is designed to provide secondary education for only a small proportion of the population. At the time Education for Self-reliance was written thirteen per cent obtained places in secondary schools.

"the education now provided is designed for the few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows; it produces among those who succeed a feeling of superiority, and leaves the majority of others hankering after something they will never obtain. It induces a feeling of inferiority among the majority, and can thus not produce either the egalitarian society we should build, nor the attitudes of mind which are conducive to an egalitarian society. On the contrary, it introduces a class structure in our country".⁵⁴

The anti-elitist argument was in a sense a response to the attitudes adopted by the students at the University of Dar-es-Salaam. The strike by students in October 1966 had precipitated the meeting at Arusha and the Arusha Declaration which called for full scale socialist policies. Jane and Idrian Resnick make this point rather strongly when they say:

"The socialist revolution began on that day in October 1966. Out went the students. The 398 educated political dissidents were expelled and sent to their home areas for one year while the peasants rallied behind the President. Away went the spoils of the elites."⁵⁵

The second aspect considered to require change within the existing system is what is termed, the divorce of school from society. It is argued that this is inevitably true of secondary education which is almost entirely in boarding schools.⁵⁶

The idea that school life is divided from life in society is expanded upon in Nyerere's third point on the nature of knowledge. The present form of education is said to encourage the view that the only worthwhile forms of knowledge are those found in books or taught formally in schools. "The knowledge and wisdom of old people is despised, and they themselves regarded as ignorant and of no account".⁵⁷

The fourth and final point relates to loss, in terms of the production of goods and services due to young people being in school.

"Not only do they fail to contribute to that increase in output which is so urgent for our nation; they themselves consume the output of older and often weaker people. Even during the holidays we assume that these young men and women should be protected from rough work; neither they nor the community expect them to spend their time on jobs that are uncomfortable or unpleasant."⁵⁸

Each of these points is later taken into account in the development of new policy proposals as outlined in the document.

The first proposal relates to the problem of primary school leavers. It was recognised that children increasingly start primary schooling at the age of five or six years which would mean many of them leaving when they are still too young to play an effective part in the economy. Education for Self-reliance suggests that the way to solve this problem is to raise the starting age to seven years and to change the primary school curriculum in order to make primary education complete in itself: "Instead of primary schools being geared to competitive examinations they must be a preparation for the life the majority of people will lead".⁵⁹

What holds for primary schooling also applies to secondary education. Secondary schools must not simply be concerned with selection for higher education: "They must prepare people for life and service in the villages and rural areas of the country".⁶⁰

The case against the examination process affecting the type of curriculum provided is argued with particular vigour:

"A teacher who is trying to help his pupils often studies the examination papers for past years and judges what questions are likely to be asked next time: he then concentrates his teaching on those matters knowing that by doing so he is giving his children the best chance of getting through to secondary school or university. And the examinations children at present sit are themselves geared to an international standard and practice which has developed regardless of our particular problems and needs. What we need to do now is think first about the education we want to

provide and when that thinking is completed think about some form of examination which is an appropriate way of closing an education phase".⁶¹

Such a provision could pave the way to effective curriculum development with the basic needs of the majority being catered for; the role of the education system in Tanzania in the post-Arusha phase is to help in the building of Ujamaa socialism and Self-reliance. The object of teaching is to be, the provision of knowledge, skills and attitude which will serve the student when he or she lives and works in a developing and changing socialist state.

Self-reliance is closely associated as a concept with self-help and the idea of community provision and co-operation. As a poor country it is thought essential that each unit within it ought, so far as it is possible to provide for itself. This is the basis of the Ujamaa village concept and as such it is expected to be the foundation of the socialist state. Educational institutions - schools, colleges, adult institutes and the university should take part in this process.

The call in Education for Self-reliance is that "Every School Should be a Farm". Together with curriculum change: "there must be a parallel and integrated change in the way our schools are run, so as to make them and their inhabitants a real part of our society and our economy. Schools must, in fact, become communities - and communities which practise the precept of Self-reliance."⁶²

Though it is not expected that every school will effectively achieve any high degree of self-sufficiency, at least in the short term, it is the hope that each school should become a working community, with either a farm or a workshop. The short-term target is that schools should attempt to provide some 25% of their basic needs either by consuming their own products or

selling the goods they have produced in the local market place. But though the contribution to the school and national income are considered important, it is the development of socialist self-reliant attitudes as they might be learnt that is the real aim of such projects:

"Life and farming will go on as we train. Indeed by using local farmers as supervisors and teachers of particular aspects of the work, and using the services of the agricultural officer and his assistants, we shall be helping to break down the notion that only book learning is worthy of respect. This is an important element in our socialist development."⁶³

Some of the practical aspects of self-reliance development in the schools, seen as an essential part of the school curriculum will be examined later. For the present it is the emphasis which is placed on its role in developing an awareness of the individual's place in the community that must be stressed. Learning, in this context, is to be through doing. It is a practical exercise in socialist development one of the principal tenets of which is the infusion or inculcation of responsibility by the members of a community for the community: "The most important thing is that the school members should learn that it is their farm and that their living standards depend upon it."⁶⁴

Many other tasks within the school can also be undertaken by the students - these include cleaning, gardening, preparation of food and even some basic clerical tasks. In relation to these and other aspects Nyerere asks two essential questions. "Can none of these things be incorporated into the total teaching of the school?" and "Is it impossible, in other words, for schools at least to become reasonably self-sufficient communities where the teaching and supervisory skills are imported from outside, but where the other tasks are either done by the community or paid for by its productive efforts?"⁶⁵

Primary school children are also included in the philosophy that responsibility must be learnt by doing and that school life should be

integrated with the life of the community. It is argued that the school timetable be adjusted in order to allow children to participate in the work of the family. "The present attitudes whereby the school is regarded as something separate, and the pupils as people who do not have to contribute to the work, must be abandoned."⁶⁶

The case is made for the full involvement of children in the development of the community. They should work where possible on communal farm activities and where such communal farming does not exist the schools should start their own. The whole point of such activities is to ensure that children see themselves and their school as part of, and not separate from the community. The socialist aims of the school system in the post-Arusha period have been set out concisely by Jane and Idrian Resnick - the education system they say has been "handed an enormous task". They go on to set out the development task required of the education system in five major points as follows:

1. "to transform itself into a rural-directed institution whose products, especially from the primary schools, would ably and willingly contribute to rural development;
2. to become integrated with and a servant of the communities in which it operated;
3. to throw off the formal and substantive encumbrances of its colonial past;
4. to raise the political consciousness of the population;
5. and to begin to transform the fundamental attitudes, aptitudes and values of the people from capitalist elite to socialist egalitarian traits".⁶⁷

Education for Self-reliance set out clearly the role that the educational system is expected to play in the development of a socialist Tanzania. It is to be used as an instrument in the attainment of the ideological position depicted by President Nyerere and TANU. In Tanzania the policy for political development is openly declared - education is to provide for more

than national unity and consciousness for it is seen as a means of political mobilisation in the development of a new political consciousness.

3.4.2 Kenya : Ideology and Education

It was possible to make comparisons between the political positions adopted in Kenya and Tanzania through an examination of major political declarations. Sessional Paper 10, as we have recognised, set out the nature of African Socialism in Kenya and is no less a declaration of political intent than the Arusha Declaration in Tanzania. However, it was also clear that education was not overtly expected to play a major political role in Kenya, nor was there a separate publication following upon the publication of Sessional Paper 10 to express the purposes of education in the development process. Sessional Paper 10 makes it quite clear that the primary role of education is economic: "it is our principal means for relieving the shortage of domestic skilled manpower and equalising economic opportunities among all citizens".⁶⁸ This expression of political viewpoint clearly points in the direction of a "functionalist" ideological position within the new nation. The Paper does however point to the role of education in national unification and endorses the views put forward by the Ominde Commission; it states: "In addition to its economic benefits, widespread education should develop good citizens, promote national unity, and encourage proper use of leisure time". Education is clearly recognised as important in the development of the nation but is not, as in Tanzania, seen to have an overt politicisation role.

Some of the political factors operating within Kenya that caused the differences in approach between the two countries will be examined below. For the present we shall concentrate on drawing parallels between the two systems by looking to other declarations of political intent and the role of education in their achievement.

The Kenya Education Commission Report represents the first major attempt in the post Uhuru period to review educational resources and determine the formulation and implementation of a national policy for education. Published in 1964 it was clearly expected to play a different role in the developmental process than Education for Self-reliance which came in the Tanzanian context at a later stage following Uhuru.

Nevertheless, it is worth taking into account here because it sets out the lines for development which have not changed significantly since. It is therefore reasonable to accept the function of education as related to political development and articulated within the Report as an expression of its ideological position.

3.4.2.1 Ominde Commission Report

The terms of reference for the Commission represent the immediacy of the problems confronting the newly independent state and are set out in the following form:

To survey the existing educational resources of Kenya and advise the government of Kenya in the formulation and implementation of national policies for education which -

- a) appropriately express the aspirations and cultural values of an independent African country;
- b) take account of the need for trained manpower for economic development and for other activities in the life of the nation;
- c) take advantage of the initiative and service of Regional and local authorities and voluntary bodies;
- d) contribute to the unity of Kenya;
- e) respect the educational needs and capacities of children;
- f) have due regard for the resources, both in money and in personnel, that are likely to become available for the educational service; and
- g) provide for the principal educational requirements of adults.

It can be recognized from the terms of reference that the Commission was expected to take a wide and comprehensive review of educational provision and to make recommendations for the development of the educational service. It is also apparent that the Commission is not expected to concern itself with the development of an ideological involvement for the school system. Nevertheless certain aspects of the Commission report have obvious political, ideological dimensions. The need to reinforce cultural values, the stress on manpower planning and the problems associated with the building of national unity are obviously to the fore.

National unity is recognised by the Commission as having a particular significance, it states: "No problem is more important to the future welfare of Kenya than the cultivation of a sense of belonging to a nation and a desire to serve the nation".⁷⁰ The Commission then goes on to consider the problems associated with the achievement of national unity and asked the question: "How can the Government of Independent Kenya create national sentiments and loyalties?".⁷¹ In a rather rhetorical style it then answers itself by stating a belief "in a policy consciously directed towards training for national unity".⁷² Training as a term is not however taken literally - concern is expressed with respect to the "curriculum" and the divisive nature of the school system during colonial times with separate syllabuses for different racial groupings. The Commission emphasised the need to reform the content of the curriculum in schools. "A syllabus suitably related to the land and people of Kenya can, help to foster a sense of nationhood".⁷³ The actual content revision of the curriculum in both Kenya and Tanzania is the subject of detailed analysis later in the thesis. At this point it is worth pointing out that it was only one aspect that was considered important by the Commission. The main emphasis was on various administrative devices through which a greater degree of equality of access

to education for African children might be achieved. Examples of such policy ideas are worth quoting: "We believe that heads of these institutions (secondary schools) need to regard national recruitment more as an opportunity than itself a means, and consider how the conduct of a school or college may subserve the aim of greater national unity, in an atmosphere of respect for particular local identity".⁷⁴ The creation of national colleges and schools was thus seen as a means of achieving greater national unity as opposed to local and regional consciousness. Similar policies have been pursued in a number of newly independent African countries - whilst reducing local and regional and perhaps tribal affiliation, there is of course the danger of young people being alienated from their traditional communities.

Other administrative matters were also of obvious concern to the Commission and the problems of differing school fees; staff costs; feeding in schools; school uniform; the system of grant aid and the integration of staff are all considered in context of the National Unity debate. All are clearly important in the early period following Uhuru and have now been largely resolved. More fundamental to the discussion here is the expected function of the reformed curriculum, as pointed out above, and the place ascribed to "Religion; Ceremonial and Cultural Factors. Each is recognised as significant in the process of achieving national unity. With respect to religion it is stressed that the potential divisive nature of the existence of many different religions and denominations needed to be guarded against. However, as the Commission states: "In Kenya, there is no question of the worship of the state taking the place of the worship of God, or of nationalism supplanting religion".⁷⁵ The significance of this point should not go unrecognised, for in a real sense it represents the pluralistic character of political and social development in Kenya - it provides an insight into the political/ideological orientation of post independence Kenya.

3.4.2.2 The Bessey Commission Curriculum Report

Some eight years after the publication of the Ominde Commission Report, another important educational report was issued. This time the concern was primarily with what is broadly defined as "Curriculum Development". A major, and significant difference between the two reports is of immediate note - the Ominde Report was compiled by a team comprised wholly of Kenyan citizens and reflected the concern in the immediate post Uhuru phase to ensure the predominance of a Kenyan point of view; the Bessey Report was the work of a group of educationists wholly drawn from the United Kingdom. The political significance of this key factor is that it clearly demonstrates an absence of political ideological commitment on the part of the Kenyan Government. No radical departures could be expected from a committee of enquiry so comprised. Indeed the terms of reference are relatively neutral in their tone and wording:

"To review and evaluate existing curricula, syllabi and examinations and current efforts to develop them; to make recommendations for the development of new curricula, syllabi and examinations at the primary, secondary and post-secondary levels (including technical but excluding university education) with a view to making them more relevant to Kenya's needs; to consider the implications of these recommendations for the structure of the education system; and to define the type of staff⁷⁶ required to give effect to them, both local and expatriate".

In some respects the Bessey Mission was an extension of the work started by Professor Ominde and this is acknowledged by the Mission. Recognising the lack of local knowledge within the Mission team they say of the Ominde Commission report that:

"This report has been the object of careful study on the part of the present mission and we gladly acknowledge the debt we owe to it. As newcomers to Kenya we have been able to form an opinion of the extent to which the Ominde recommendations have been put into effect and to observe the influence the report has had on attitudes and practices. Problems of integration have disappeared. The partnership between religious bodies and the state is in general working

smoothly. The outlook of teachers is national. Valuable advances have been made in curriculum development. Classroom practices have been changed and improved".

The Mission Report does in fact go on to make a number of important recommendations - in general though its commentary on curriculum development is bland and apparently compromised by what was expected of them. In examining what they term the "Context of Curriculum Change" they state the obvious need to set curriculum reform in the framework of national aims. Those aims, the Mission emphasises are given expression in "Sessional Paper 10". Bessey thus links what in this thesis is pointed to as the major ideological political text in Kenya with the declared aims of the educational system. This they achieve by reference to the educational aims set out in the Ndegwa Commission Report:

- "(i) Education must serve the needs of national development.
- (ii) Education must assist in fostering and promoting national unity.
- (iii) Education must prepare and equip the youth of the country so that they are an effective role in the life of the nation, whilst ensuring that opportunities are provided for the full development of individual talents and personalities.
- (iv) Education must assist in the promotion of social equality and train in social obligation and responsibilities.
- (v) The educational system must respect, foster and develop rich and varied cultures."

Clearly the position adopted in 1972 was strikingly similar to that of 1964. Education has a political role to play in nation-building and the attainment of national unity; it was expected to promote the idea of social equality enshrined in Session Paper 10 and, it was to help in the more conservative function of helping to protect the cultural traditions of the new nation. No reference is made to the concept of African Socialism in either the Ominde Commission Report or the Bessey Mission Report. Education is very clearly

not to be used in the development of an ideological position in the positive socialist sense.

3.4.2.3 Educational Policies and Objectives

During 1975 another committee on education started its work; this time the concern was with "Educational Objectives and Policies". Chaired by the then Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Peter Gachathi, once again the Report starts with a review of National Aims of the educational system. In the main the points made are similar to those emphasised by the Ominde Commission, and Ndegwa Commission Report and the Bessey Mission on Curriculum Development. However, though again non socialist in its orientation and lacking the force of commitment demonstrated in Nyerere's "Education for Self-reliance, it is possible to discern a positive shift in emphasis towards the development of a more political role for the education system. For example under the major heading; "National, Social, Cultural and Economic Values" it is stated that education ought:

"To develop those being educated into useful citizens capable of, and motivated towards, contributing to the improvement of the nation as a whole as well as that of their own welfare.

To instil in the students positive attitudes towards co-operative effort and mutual social responsibility by encouraging the project approach to primary teaching...

To provide for ethical education and training for such social matters as family life ...

To make secondary education contribute to the formulation and propagation of a national ethical code based on the values of traditional African society, bearing in mind that teaching of religious education should not be regarded as the limit of the schools contribution to ethical education.

To bring about a sense of dignity towards social service and productive labour through appropriately programmed activities of basic education.

To make the education system seek to alter attitudes towards careers in agriculture and to reinforce changes in aspirations by income redistribution which encourages self-

reliance, creativity, use of local resources, initiative and appropriate technology.

To expose youth to productive labour and to eradicate negative attitudes towards work, especially manual work".

Though expressed in a non doctrinaire way, the views contained in this section of the Report are clearly much closer to the ideas elaborated by Nyerere in "Education for Self-reliance" than anything so far articulated in the Kenyan context. Whether it represents an ideological shift in position is however, to be doubted; it is far more likely to be seen as another example of the pragmatism demonstrated by the KANU Government and its administration. Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that similar economic and social problems in what are clearly very different political ideological contexts, may cause the development of similar strategies for development.

An attempt has been made so far to make some comparisons between the development of political ideologies as reflected through the use of the educational system to achieve an ideological purpose. Whilst major reports and political statements are clearly important in interpreting such political positions - particularly in the Tanzanian context where the views of the TANU Government are given overt and clear expression in this way - it is less easy in the Kenyan context. It is necessary therefore to look in part at policy and practice in order to develop a clearer picture.

3.4.2.4 Harambeeism as an Aspect of Ideology

Following upon Independence the spirit of self-help was revived as part of the nation building ideal. Jomo Kenyatta, the first political leader of independent Kenya, enshrined the principle of Harambee as a major part of the nation building process:

"To the nation I have but one message. When all is said and done we must settle down to the job of building the Kenya

nation. To do this we need political stability and an atmosphere of confidence and faith at home. We cannot establish these if we continue with debates on theories and doubts about the aims of our society. Let this paper (Session Paper 10) be used from now as the unifying voice of our people and let us settle down to build our nation. Let all the people of our country roll up their sleeves in a spirit of self-help to create the true fruits of Uhuru. THIS IS WHAT WE MEAN BY HARAMBEE".⁸⁰

The Harambee principle describes the idea whereby people living in local communities come together on a voluntary basis to raise funds for a variety of self-help projects, including educational provision. The range of projects is wide and includes clinics, cattle dips, irrigation channels, schools at the primary and secondary levels, some village polytechnics and Harambee Institutes. It is the voluntary community action aspect that is most notable about the idea. No Government directives are involved though prominent members of the National Assembly or the Government may take part where they themselves have a local interest.

By far the largest development in Harambee action is found within education. Because of the continuing shortage of places at both primary and secondary levels and a constant demand for education, there has been a continuous expansion of Harambee schooling since Independence.

Expansion in Harambee schooling was noted in the Ministry of Education 1967 Report. In discussing the "unaided school" sector it states that:

"among unaided schools there were many new school openings, mostly of Harambee schools. While it had previously been doubted whether Harambee would go beyond Form 2, there is increasing evidence that many Harambee schools will in fact negotiate this difficult hurdle".⁸¹

Harambee educational developments have continued in both the school sector and beyond. Two particular developments can be pointed out as significant; the Harambee Institutes of Technology and the Village

Polytechnics. In each instance it is local community initiative in raising funds that is most striking. The politics of each of these movements will be examined in the succeeding chapter, at this point it is important to point up the ideological contradiction built into such community initiatives.

The concept of harambee is based upon the principles of self-help, co-operation and pulling together. It is this aspect that makes the Kenyan claim to African Socialism valid in so far as it looks back to traditional forms of African life centred around the tribe, kinship and family groups. The difficulty in modern political terms lies in reconciling the provision for such local development with the inevitable loss of control from the centre. One view is that it was the lack of ideology on the part of KANU that led to the expansion of harambeeism and the ad hoc devolvement of political initiative from the centre to the periphery.⁸² This view will be examined in more detail below - for the present it is taken that the acceptance and retention of the basic tenets of harambeeism, despite the absence of strong central party control, is sufficient to accept it as a part of the Kenyan ideological position. The educational system has not been utilised to serve the ideological end of the political party simply because the ruling party KANU lacks an explicit ideological code - no attempt is made to change the fundamental basis of society. The inequalities that existed at independence are gradually being removed through a process of Kenyanisation in property ownership and employment. The Western orientation of the polity and economy has been retained and in some instances strengthened.

It is not the absence of ideology that makes the Kenyan position different from Tanzania, so much as the clear difference in ideological direction represented by the contrasts between Session Paper 10 in Kenya and the Arusha Declaration on Ujamaa socialism in Tanzania. There is no need to specifically design school curriculum and provision when the ends of the policy can be met through minor modifications.

This is the major point of difference between the two systems under review. Tanzania has set out on a revolutionary political path since independence and with increased vigour since the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Tanzania has both to build a new nation and to create in the minds of her people the idea of Ujamaa - Self-reliance. Kenya has nation building as its major task, no new direction or revolution is involved.

Education does, of course, play a significant part in the nation-building process and also helps in providing support for the political system. The extent to which this is achieved will be examined in the following chapter. It is obvious, however, that economic and political development will require educated manpower and political allegiance. Schooling would have to be expanded; literacy programmes introduced; manpower needs met, and citizenship training developed. For Kenya these aspects were dominant in the political and educational arenas. Points of similarity will be illustrated below, the point of departure in educational policy is determined by the extent of ideological emphasis.

3.5 Summary Review

The concern in this Chapter has been with the function and development of political ideologies in Tanzania and Kenya in the post Uhuru period. Political ideology has been interpreted as a distinctive set of political ideas, principles and values articulated by the ruling political party. It was recognised that in both Tanzania and Kenya the basic tenets of African Socialism have been adopted and modified. Kenya has maintained a commitment to the main principles of manpower planning, a mixed economy and social equality as defined in Session Paper 10. Tanzania, on the other hand, has, after the early period of transition from colonial rule to full political independence during which policies quite similar to Kenya were

followed, embarked on the road to Ujamaa Socialism and Self-reliance. The divergence in political and educational policies between the two national systems needs to be recognised for it represents in itself the radical difference in the political ideological positions that they have adopted.

A particularly strong indicator in terms of their political ideological direction is provided through an examination of political party/government policy in relation to the education system. Tanzania, it has been shown, illustrates the case of total faith and commitment to the use of the formal educational process at all levels to the ends of Self-reliant Socialism and Education for Self-reliance is a blue-print drawn by the political leadership in order to indicate the role and function education is expected to play in Tanzanian political development; the policies are clearly mobilistic in the degree of emphasis placed upon "political education" in its widest sense. The political purpose of education in the Kenya context is radically different. Whilst it is possible to draw out policy references in major documents with respect to the aims of national unity and nation-building, there is no major attempt to mobilise political support in the achievement of any distinctive ideology, despite a commitment to African Socialism. Harambeeism is depicted here as an aspect of Kenyan "political ideology" because it has been adopted in Kenya as a key political principle and endorsed by the KANU/Government. And, though it might be argued that it implies the Nation embarking on a policy of "self-help", it also becomes clear that most activities are localised and by their nature divisive.

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CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION POLICY FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Normative Political Statements on Nation-Building
 - 4.2.1 Kenya and Tanzania: Normative Statements
- 4.3 The Concentration of Political and Legal Power
 - 4.3.1 Centralisation of Control in Kenya and Tanzania
 - 4.3.2 Legislative Power in Education
 - 4.3.3 The Control of Teachers
 - 4.3.4 The Inspectorates
 - 4.3.5 Curriculum Control
 - 4.3.6 The Role of Political Parties
 - 4.3.7 Perspectives on the Power to Reform for Political Development
- 4.4 The Politics of Educational Integration and Development
 - 4.4.1 Planning and Political Development
 - 4.4.1.1 Education, Politics and Planning in Tanzania
 - 4.4.1.2 Education, Politics and Planning in Kenya
 - 4.4.2 A Language Policy for National Unity and Political Development
 - 4.4.2.1 Language Policy in Kenya
 - 4.4.2.2 Language Policy in Tanzania
- 4.5 Summary Review

"The importance of national educational policy as a determinant of the present and future social structure has in recent years been given increasing emphasis in educational writing and to some extent has been pursued to an extreme which ignores the fact that education is not the architectonic science but is subordinate to that of politics."¹

L.J. Lewis

CHAPTER FOUR

EDUCATION POLICY FOR NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

4.1 Introduction

The political ideological positions of the two national systems have been established. It is now possible to move to a consideration of the policies relating to the concentration of legal and political power in Tanzania and Kenya and the attempts at educational reform in the early post-Uhuru period. The positive relationship between education and politics is examined in some detail in order to bring out the interaction between education and politics. Though in a technical sense depicted as sub-systems within the wider societal context it will become clear as one prominent theorist puts it that: "The education system is very much the creature of the polity"² - the degree of difference between the two national systems in relation to this particular dimension will be brought out within this Chapter.

The analysis starts by examining the development of positive political norms and values with respect to the role of education in the political development process. Comparisons are drawn between statements of national aims in a number of African countries and set alongside similar statements in Kenya and Tanzania. Emphasis throughout the thesis is placed on the function of education in creating attitudes towards the newly established nation and its political system. Beyond the issue of normative statements lies the question of legal and political action in order to achieve stated objectives. In the early post-Uhuru period it will be demonstrated that the major concern in both systems was with the reform of the educational system in order to achieve the end of national unity and political integration.

Whilst in Tanzania there has been a positive attitude to the use of education in obtaining political ends, the approach in Kenya has been more pragmatic. It must be borne in mind, however, that the policies pursued in neighbouring Kenya are just as significant and in a negative sense, represent the divergence that marks the difference between the two systems. Much has to do with the ideological positions adopted in each country - the separate paths to African Socialism have been explored above. Inevitably it will be necessary to touch upon aspects of ideology during this stage of political analysis.

The policies adopted which provided for a concentration of power which would effectively allow the introduction of educational reforms are examined in some detail. Neither national system started with a tabula rasa; as we have noted, the colonial administrations and their missionary colleagues had developed their own forms of education, the newly independent governments of the new nation states inherited a system designed specifically for the purposes of the colonial power - to this end it was racially divided. Given, therefore, that the new governments were to adopt a multi-racial social and economic system and forge a new nation out of disparate tribal and racial groups, it was essential that an integrated system of education should be designed and developed. Legal power and political action were required to achieve the integration and unification of the educational service. These aspects are examined below. It is not that either Tanzania or Kenya are seen as unique examples of such policy action, but that they allow a studied consideration of the factors involved within a comparative perspective. Points of similarity and dissimilarity are illustrated against what is a reasonably common background of experience. The movement in both Tanzania and Kenya has been in the direction of increased centralisation of policy and decision making powers. This is the

case despite the advocacy of decentralisation in Tanzania for the control of primary education as will be illustrated below.

The Chapter is divided into five main sections, each section though respecting a degree of autonomy, is to be seen in the wider context of educational reform for national unity and integration.

Whilst in general within the thesis, it has been found useful to consider Tanzanian issues prior to Kenya the rule will be varied in this part of the analysis in order to juxtapose the two nations as appears appropriate to the issue under consideration, for example in looking at "normative political statements", there are more instances evident in Kenya than in Tanzania and it appears as a consequence relevant to place such statements first.

4.2 Normative Political Statements on Nation Building

A major emphasis is placed on education in developing nations as has been recognised above. Governments and leaders in new states clearly believe in the efficiency of the educational system in the nation building process. That the task is difficult cannot be doubted; in discussing the problems associated with the task of nation building Brembeck states:

"A new state does not and therefore cannot acquire automatically the traditional loyalty of Africans, but instead must indoctrinate and educate them through a long series of communications. It seeks therefore to associate with itself historical traditions and symbols that emphasise its uniqueness and its role in promoting the welfare of all the traditional societies within its political confines".³

Part of the task in the "series of communications" is placed with education and some of the detailed aspects as they relate to Tanzania and Kenya form the basis of this thesis. A starting point to a more comprehensive understanding of the functions education is *expected* to perform can be gained through an examination of what is expected by governments and leaders of their schools and other educational institutions.

The examples set out below are all taken from the African context and illustrate the similarities and dissimilarities in the expressed political norms as they relate to the education.

In Guinea the governing party sees a very positive role for education in political and national development expressed as follows: "the school system is one of the means used in creating a feeling of nationalism and in breaking up the old tribal pattern".⁴ In a similar way the school system is seen to have a priority role in Zambia. President K.D. Kaunda in addressing the "First Educational Conference", following Independence states that: "We say that a nation is what people make it. But, quite frankly, we can make Zambia what we want it to be if we have the adequate manpower, with the right type of education and skills, with the right attitude, who are committed to the future of Zambia".⁵ The role of education in the development process he argues is to be concerned in the taking of hard decisions: "We must entertain bold ideas for the development of the system and be prepared to experiment to achieve a robust, self-reliant and enterprising people -----, a united people around the banner of One Zambia, One Nation".⁶

Writing in 1962 of the Nigerian case, Ayo Ogunshy pointed up the lack of concern within the Nigerian school system with the development of a national consciousness, in discussing the attitude of the national leadership he says: "their leaders do not look upon the schools as instruments for the conscious fostering of a Nigerian consciousness or solidarity".⁷ One of the problems facing countries such as Nigeria in developing citizenship training schemes lies in their political structure; as a federal system with devolved powers for education control it is difficult to implement national development programmes. More recently however there has been a greater awareness on the part of the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Education which

is currently running a pilot scheme for a Social Studies programme in Nigerian Secondary schools. The objectives of the scheme:

- "a) To develop a positive sense of co-operative, social and moral responsibility.
- b) To promote national identity and integration with Nigeria's historical origins and inter-related culture.
- c) To foster a basic understanding of the nation's development process through the study of the physical environment social and political institutions as well as the national economy and how it is related to other economies".

Nigeria thus represents a clear movement towards the adoption of a national (Federal) policy for citizenship training through the school system. There are obviously other examples within the African context that could be included here, the cases provided are however sufficient to illustrate the commitment by African national leaders to the use of their education systems in the nation building process. It must be borne in mind of course that such statements remain at the normative stage as presented here, how successful is their implementation remains another very distinct question.

4.2.1 Kenya and Tanzania : Normative Statements

We can turn now to examine some of the normative statements made at central government level in Kenya and Tanzania. Thus in the Kenya Ministry of Education Triennial Survey 1964-66, it is stated that:

"In a new nation such as Kenya, the purpose of education must go beyond those of developing individual talents, skills, knowledge and character. The education system has important social functions to perform. Outstanding among these at this stage of Kenya's development have been the tasks of national unity".

J.E. Anderson's review of the Kenya Commission Report indicates that it stated clearly the political objectives of the education system as opposed to previously observed objectives:

- (i) Education must bring about national unity as opposed to its previously segregating character;
- (ii) Education must bring responsibility and opportunity to all as opposed to the education for specific "roles" of the past;
- (iii) Education is a function of the secular government and can no longer be a function of the Church;
- (iv) Education is a vital factor in the economic development of the nation as opposed to the old view of education being limited to what the economy can afford;
- (v) Education must recapture the cultural values of the past whereas previously it tended to destroy them."¹⁰

Each of these points can be seen as having political significance and each, other than point four which is essentially concerned with economic development, will be expanded upon in other sections.

The need to achieve national unity is recognised in most of the new African nations, comprised as they are of different racial, tribal and religious groups. In Kenya, the Commission recognised this diversity in relation to the need for social change and called for education to "Fashion a sense of nationhood and promote national unity".¹¹

The Commission's approach to nation-building and the need for national unity can also be seen as a reflection of the political position adopted by the ruling political party. In a document issued prior to the General Election KANU states that "Education must include the creation of one nation and that KANU believes can best be done by non-racial education and the growing together of our youth".¹²

In neighbouring Tanzania, the aims of education have been explicitly set out by President Nyerere. "Education for Self-reliance" is essentially a policy statement in the context of the newly defined political ideology; in it he declares that:

"The educational system from now on must inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community",¹³

secondary schools, he says, must

"Prepare people for life and service within the villages and rural areas of the country." "Schools must become communities that practise the precepts of self-reliance".¹⁴

In reviewing normative statements on the role of education we have recognised the manifest belief that the school system does relate to the political system in that it provides support for it. As J.E. Anderson says, the:

"Relationship between education and politics in developing countries today is a very close and intricate one which centres around the belief that education is the central agent in change. The national government by keeping a tight control over the educational system of the country, can thus control the direction in which the social change can take place".¹⁵

4.3 The Concentration of Political and Legal Power

The recognition by the political leadership in each country, Kenya and Tanzania, of the importance of education in Nation Building led to a number of early steps being taken to ensure effective development. In paying attention to national systems of education we recognise the importance of how the system relates to the machinery of government. Some systems are widely diffused and the direct link between the educational process and the political systems is obscure. This is particularly apparent when the administration is decentralised and pluralistic, as in the United States and Britain; so that though there may be a State education service, so much is delegated to agencies such as local authority or school boards that actual location of power control is obscured. This major difficulty is not found to the same extent in centralised systems, where a direct relationship can be traced in terms of political power, planning and control.

How power has been concentrated in Kenya and Tanzania will be examined below. By concentrating the political control of the system at the centre and providing the Minister of Education with overall power it was believed possible to achieve desired political objectives. In each country, laws were passed and administrative actions were taken to achieve the centralisation of decision making and political control in education. Similarly, action was taken to enhance the position of the Inspectorates, organise teachers into government controlled service groups and introduce curriculum development agencies under the direct control of the state (Ministry of Education).

4.3.1 Centralisation of Control in Kenya and Tanzania

We turn now to the question of centralised government control in Kenya and Tanzania. In Kenya the debate was extensive; the issue summed up in the Swahili term, majimbo, meaning regionalism. Discussions on the degree of central control took place immediately prior to Independence and became a major political party issue. KADU placed its faith in majimbo and the protection of minority interests through regional units of government, whilst KANU argued for the centralisation of government controls and functions. The pre-independence position is neatly summed up by David Rothchild as follows:

"Great efforts were made in Kenya to decentralise powers to regional authorities; at no time, however, was strong central leadership really in jeopardy. The Lancaster House conference of 1962, which agreed on a framework constitution, provided for six regions possessing administrative powers and powers of making enactments having the force of law. In applying this statement of principle the constitution bestowed powers upon the regional assemblies in such fields as land transactions, local government, public health, education, and the maintenance of law and order."¹⁶

Nevertheless KANU remained staunchly opposed to regionalism and forced the issue at the pre-independence election. KANU was successful in

achieving a mandate for its position through gaining a majority at the polls. Kenyatta immediately demanded changes to the existing constitution which were, after much discussion, granted. Put briefly the regional question was resolved by retaining the framework whilst limiting the powers of the regional bodies, as Rothchild puts it: "regionalism survived but without firm roots".¹⁷

The point is further made when in looking back to the period the Kenya Government Report on Educational Objectives states:

"Education became a centralised service at Independence. The powers for planning and direction were vested in the headquarters to ensure the establishment and development of a unified service. One of the strongest reasons for this was the need to dismantle the racially based structure of education established during the colonial years."¹⁸

The Tanzanian case is that much different. No controversy existed over centralised government powers. The question of providing powers for semi-autonomous regions never arose. The system of regional administration was largely inherited from the British colonial administration but it had no executive functions. Regional administration was little more than an administrative device for the delegation of responsibility to officers in the field.

Whilst we note that there has never been a debate about regional functions in Tanzania, it is not similarly the case with local government. Primary education has been devolved to local authorities and, as William Dodd states, appears to demonstrate a "Step towards decentralisation, and a diminution of the central government's powers".¹⁹ He makes the point thus:

"Most certainly the powers bestowed upon the Local Education Authorities by Section 8 of the Education Ordinance of 1959 are more far reaching than any enjoyed by the Colonial Native Authority Education Committees, and most certainly Local Education as reflecting local opinion and instilling some sense of local responsibility. More specifically the functions of the Local Education Authorities can be summarised thus:

- (a) the submission to the Minister for approval of plans for the promotion or development of education and the carrying out of such plans as approved;
- (b) the preparation and submission to the proper officer for approval of revenue and expenditure;
- (c) the receipt and administration in accordance with approved estimates of subventions and grants in aid from the funds of the Local Authority;
- (d) the receipt of school fees in respect of schools managed by the Local Authority."²⁰

The decentralisation process was further developed at a later stage as indicated above, and whilst the reforms mentioned above are essentially administrative it is clear that the decentralisation of decision making functions introduced in 1972 were political and took account of the need to involve TANU members at the local level. Each local education authority must as a result of this action, have no less than 50% of their members drawn from TANU and the other members of the committee must be approved by the Minister of National Education.

It must be recognised however that the main functions as they relate to the control of education are retained at the national central level.

4.3.2 Legislative Power in Education

We can now turn to the legislative developments in Tanganyika and Kenya. The first major step more particularly was the passing of the 1961 Education Ordinance.²¹ The Ordinance set out in Tanganyika the powers of the Minister in a number of important sections. Relating to control over teachers, it states: "The Chief Education Officer shall keep or cause to be

kept a register of all teachers."²² On issues relating to the curriculum it makes clear that: "The Minister may prohibit the use in any school of any book or material for any reason which he may think fit." With regard to the control of school: "if the Chief Education Officer is satisfied by such evidence as he shall deem sufficient that any school is being conducted in a manner detrimental to the interests of peace, order or good government or to the physical mental or moral welfare of the pupils attending it, he may order that school closed".²³ And finally relating to curriculum content; "the power to make regulations on, the basic syllabus to be followed in schools."²⁴ A clear case then of Ministerial power over the school system.

The effective concentration of power in each system is considered in some detail below, before moving on from the situation in Tanzania as provided for within the Education Ordinance, it is worth quoting from a speech delivered by Solomon Eliufoo in 1967 looking back to the position at the time of independence and talking of the policy to provide for increased integration he states:

"This was perhaps the first exercise by the Tanzania Government in the nationalisation of semi-private public education institutions. The Ordinance abolished the former racial divisions of the education system into African, Asian, European and other non-African School Boards, and substituted a single national school system based on common syllabus and a common organisation. At the same time, it aimed to bring the formerly semi-independent religious school system that existed in the African sector more firmly into line with African aspirations. -----
--- This programme is now substantially complete and -----
----- the country now possesses a single integrated school system susceptible to effective control²⁵ by the Ministry of Education and Government as a whole".

In Kenya the educational objectives were similar though the process in political terms was different. The pressing need to develop a national integrated system of schooling clearly existed. Whilst in Tanganyika there had been an opportunity prior to the granting of formal independence to

consider the problems associated with segregation in Kenya this was not the case. The major difficulty lay in the fact that the key political figures, including Jomo Kenyatta, remained in detention during the continuing state of emergency. KANU the major political grouping refused to take part in the transition government. Independence came and no political steps had been taken to achieve educational integration. The return of the political leadership to the Kenya African National Union and the eventual coming to power of Jomo Kenyatta issued in a period of political stability and a chance to introduce educational reforms for so long demanded.²⁶

It was not that thought had been lacking with respect to education policy, several reports had been written on the matter - the report of the enquiry by Professor Griffiths was seen as particularly relevant.²⁷ However, it had not proved possible in the interim period to act positively. Demands for education by the general populace were mounting as a result of which a major review of education was started, headed by Dr. Simeon Ominde.

The Ominde Commission report was to be a water shed in the development of education in Kenya. One of its major recommendations was, that the educational system should help to foster a psychological basis of "nationhood".²⁸ To serve this end the Commission suggested the greater integration of racially separate schools. This aspect is considered in more detail in a later section.

It was not until 1968 however, that the first major education act was passed. Once again it was apparent as in the case of Tanzania that centralised control would predominate. It is clear for example in Part II of the Act which states:

"It is the duty of the Minister to promote the education of the people of Kenya and the progressive development of institutions devoted to the promotion of such education, and to secure the effective cooperation, under his general

direction and control, of all public bodies concerned with education in carrying out the national policy for education."²⁹

The Act thus confers upon the Minister a general power in relation to the development of the education system. More specific powers are provided in other sections of the Act. For example in Part III, section 12, the Minister is provided with the power to intervene at the school level:

"Where in the opinion of the Minister a Board of Governors has behaved irresponsibly or has failed to exercise properly its functions under this Act, he may in writing -

- (a) suspend the Board from the exercise and performance of all its powers and duties -----
- (b) require the resignation of all or any of the member of the Board, and appoint or require the appointment of new members of the board."³⁰

Power to control the education system in Kenya was thus firmly placed with the central government. This is not, of course, unusual in either developing world or indeed more generally in the national systems of Europe. What is distinct about such centralisation in third world countries is the obviously declared aim to use the power derived within the political system to affect social and political change through the education system. In Tanzania (Tanganyika) legal power had been as recognised above, provided immediately prior to Uhuru; the 1961 Ordinance is described as:

"An Ordinance to make provision for a single system of education throughout the territory; under a Minister for Education. Who shall in accordance with the powers conferred and the duties imposed upon him by this Ordinance, be responsible for the promotion of education and for the progressive development of schools in the Territory".³¹

This is very similar in words and tone to the legislation provided in the Kenyan context and shows clearly the influence of colonial administrators. In each case the wording of Section 1, is remarkably similar to the form of

words used in the 1944 Education Act for England and Wales.³² The key difference however in the East African situation was that the centre could not easily be frustrated by strong local education authorities.

4.3.3 The Control of Teachers

The steps taken to concentrate legal power in educational decision making, have now been reviewed, if educational integration was to be achieved it was essential to ensure the support of teachers in the schools. The first country in this context to do this was Tanganyika by making teachers state employees and bringing their professional organisation within the ambit of the state. William Dodd describes the process thus:

"The establishment of a United Teaching Service after 1963 furthered the process of integration in the management of education. The possibility of introducing a Unified Teaching Service for all teachers had been considered repeatedly by the Binns Mission in 1953, but for financial reasons government had always shied away from implementation. In 1961 the elected government decided to go ahead with the idea, and early in 1962 the appropriate enabling legislation was passed by Parliament. Under the scheme which has been implemented in stages since January 1, 1963, virtually all registered teachers in mainland Tanzania, have become members of the Unified Teaching Service."³³

Similar steps were also being taken in Kenya. Legislation was introduced and in 1967 the Teacher's Service Act required the newly appointed Kenya Teacher's Service Commission to register all Kenya teachers. The majority of teachers at the post primary level are thus employees of the state enjoying terms and conditions of service much akin to those of civil servants. Primary education is the responsibility of local authorities and they have delegated functions with respect to the employment of teachers.

Teachers in both Kenya and Tanzania are unionised. Inevitably this means that we must ask questions as to the relationship between the teacher union and the dominant political party. In 1962 the government in Tanganyika

encouraged its civil servants to join TANU; teachers in many cases then became members of the political party of government in the new one-party constitution. In 1964, the teacher's union - the Tanganyika National Union of Teachers - became part of a newly constituted National Union of Tanganyika Workers. In turn it is argued that NUTA is virtually a branch of the government.

The moves to greater corporate control over the teaching force have to some extent been mirrored in Kenya. The centralising function in Kenya is fulfilled through the Teacher's Service Commission in its role in the registration of teachers and the issuing of "A Code of Regulations for Teachers".³⁴ The Commission in fact delegates its powers in relation to primary schools to local authorities who act as agents.³⁵ Nevertheless it also is the case that the Commission acts as a unifying force in so far as it is responsible for the appointment, posting and transfer and payment of non-government teachers.

4.3.4 The Inspectorates

The major agent of central government in the every day control of its school system is the Inspectorate. In both Tanzania and Kenya since independence the Inspectorate has been strengthened. Looking first at Tanzania we find that in 1961 there was a small central inspectorate responsible for post-primary education and a dual system operating for primary education at the local level. Both the primary and post-primary school inspectorates were increased significantly in the years following independence. It was also agreed that the separate inspectorates for the voluntary agencies should be abolished. A new national system of inspection for primary education was introduced and, as Dodd points out:

"Organisationally the whole process of abolishing the non-government inspectorate in its entirety and of creating a

sizeable army of Government Primary School Inspectors is yet another aspect of the wider process of unifying and integrating the national structure of education."⁵⁶

Similarly in Kenya the school inspectorate was reorganised and expanded.

The position is stated officially as follows:

"The Inspectorate has been strengthened since Independence in 1963 with an increase in staff from 12 to 17 at Headquarters and from 5 to 7 in the provinces. The numbers include two Inspectors of Technical Education, new posts established in 1966 ... The major task of the inspectors has been to undertake secondary school inspections but they are also active in curriculum revision."⁵⁷

In neither case is the inspectorate solely concerned with inspection in the narrow sense. Their roles are defined in advisory terms. But it is their involvement in curriculum development and examination procedures that is perhaps most fundamental in political control.

4.3.5 Curriculum Control

One of the major concerns following upon independence in both Tanzania and Kenya was the school/college curriculum. Not only was it felt that different curricula in different schools for racial groups was untenable, but it was also thought that the cultural and political emphasis during the colonial period had been wrong. The drive in the early years following independence was towards the Africanisation and nationalisation of the curriculum. In part this would be achieved through the activities described above, such as the creation of a unified teaching force, integrated educational administration and a school inspectorate operating as a national control agent. In addition, however, there was a need to radically revise what was taught in the various sectors of the new educational system.

Steps were taken in both systems to centralise curriculum development at the national level. In Tanzania the earliest moves were at the primary level

where the Teacher Training Advisory Board, in collaboration with the Inspectorate, undertook a review of primary education. Reporting in 1963 they recommended the introduction of new syllabuses that would "provide a local approach to teaching the child's background".³⁸ These were but the first cautious steps. It had been strongly felt for some considerable time that an Institute of Education, with a joint responsibility for teacher education and school/college curriculum development should be established. The Institute of Education was established at the University College Dar-es-Salam during 1964, and has grown to become the major curriculum agency.

Kenya, too, was to take action to centralise curriculum control in order to reform the content of school syllabuses. The major agency concerned with curriculum research and development was the Curriculum Research and Development Centre. In 1964, just one year after Independence, this body was integrated within the newly formed Institute of Education. By 1967 it was possible to introduce a unified syllabus for all Kenyan primary schools; the New Primary approach was designed to develop the basis of understanding in human relationship by developing the qualities required for nation-building and international understanding.³⁹

4.3.6 The Role of Political Parties

Finally in the concentration of power in the two nations we must take into account the nature of the political party systems. Though in the immediate term they each inherited the Westminster model - i.e. a basic two party constitution; it was clear from almost the beginning that one main party would predominate. In Tanganyika this was the Tanganyika African Union led by Julius Nyerere and in Kenya the Kenya African National Union led by Jomo Kenyatta.

Looking first at the Tanganyika case, it was recognised prior to Independence that TANU would achieve political dominance. Supported in the early days by the trade union movement and winning a popular mandate in the pre-independence elections TANU set about establishing a power base in the country. All was not easy of course - the alliance with the trade unions which had led to independence was not to be sustained without strains showing after Uhuru. The question was how long it would be possible to allow the existence of two centres of power within the new nation state. The details of the struggle between the trade union movement and TANU are well documented. Alliances made before the Independence period inevitably weakened after Uhuru. The unions faced a TANU government that was now responsible for economic and political development and, though they shared many common interests, the unions as the major pressure group within the country were bound to disagree on policy issues. Africanisation was one such aspect among many and, though a sound rallying slogan before independence, it was less clear to the newly elected government how quickly to proceed with this development. As William Friedland puts it:

"Responsible now for maintaining a government that continued to be the largest single employer, any demand by the unions for wage increases meant that income had to be found through tax mechanisms. In addition, the TANU government was responsible for the maintenance of government services and rejected the speedy Africanisation demanded by the union for fear that these services would be damaged."⁴⁰

The solution to the problem of conflict with the unions mainly represented by the TFL, and the TANU government, had at first been sought through legislative attempts to limit the power of TFL. The failure of such legislative action led to the decision by the TANU leadership to integrate

the unions within the newly formed NUTA. Thus the legislation which abolished the independent Tanzanian Federation of Labour brought to an end any trade union activity which involved conflict with the Government. Shortly afterwards legislation was passed to establish the National Union of Tanganyika Workers (NUTA) which required it to be affiliated with the ruling party TANU. Affiliation is, however, more than just a token, for as Stephen Goodman states "The constitution of NUTA requires that the unions seek to implement the policies of TANU; the union is required to educate wage earners in the need for hard work and efficiency at the place of employment".⁴¹

Trade union and political party conflict and cooperation were not very different in Kenya. The Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions, founded in 1952, was from the start, involved in political activity in the drive toward Independence. Indeed, such was the position during the period of the emergency and the arrest of many prominent political figures in KAU, including Jomo Kenyatta in 1952, that the Federation was left as the only functioning legal organisation representing African interests. KAU was declared illegal in 1953 and the Federation of Registered Trade Unions filled the political vacuum that was left.

Following the end of the emergency period⁴² and the movement towards Independence the dormant political parties were once more allowed legal status. In 1960 the Kenya African National Union was legally founded and in the initial period cooperated fully with the Federation. Describing the position Goodman states that "the KFL relinquished to KANU the political activities that it had undertaken in the absence of a national African political party".⁴³ The need for the trade union movement to fall into line with the Government was soon recognised. Conflict, however, was again inevitable as the expectations of rapid progress following Independence were not met. Such was the position by 1965, that the Government decided to

restrict wholly the actions of the trade union movement. A new national trade union body was formed - the Central Organisation of Trade Unions and extensive powers of control vested in the Minister of Labour. The Secretary of the COTU was made responsible directly to the President of Kenya.

Both Tanzania and Kenya have, since Independence, become one party states. The concentration of power in the hands of a single governing party has obvious implications for policy making in education in so far as it is easier to adopt coherent policies and see them through.

The interesting aspect of the situation in Tanzania is that from the beginning the single party system arose out of a de facto situation. TANU had popular support during the struggle for independence and swept to an electoral victory in 1960 with an overwhelming majority of the seats. TANU won 70 out of a total of 71 constituencies. Thus it was clear that though operating within a multi-party situation, TANU would predominate. In 1963 it was proposed that the de-facto position of the ruling party be officially established through legislation. TANU thus became the de jure single ruling party with the concentration of government/state power in the hands of the Party.

The introduction of one-party government was not in the strictest sense concerned with simply concentrating power in the hands of a few in order to effect more rapid change - it was in essence an acceptance of the political realities of political, social and economic life in Tanzania. The rationale was simply that unity would need to be achieved quickly and that rivalry and competition in government would need to be contained. Electoral reform allowed this to happen by providing a choice between a number of candidates within constituencies. Diversity of opinion is therefore permitted whilst unity of control is provided for by TANU.

The major advocate for the introduction of the one-party system in Tanzania was the national leader Julius Nyerere. He argued persuasively that "if the fact that the people wanted only one political party was accepted, it would then be possible to devise an electoral system which was genuinely free and democratic".⁴⁴

In the Kenyan context the political party achieving major support was the Kenya African National Union led by Jomo Kenyatta. Faced initially by a small opposition party KADU it soon became clear that the KANU Government wished to bring in a number of significant reforms in order to consolidate power in the country. KANU's dislike of regionalism has been touched upon above, in August of 1964 the KANU Government announced its intention to abolish regionalism and to introduce a republic. Support for this policy had been sought in the country as well as for the introduction of a one-party state. Members of the opposition were, as Cherry Gertzel puts it "wooed" and "began slowly to cross the floor in a movement that culminated in the voluntary dissolution of that party and by its leaders".⁴⁵ As a result of these changes Kenya became, like Tanzania before it, a de facto one-party state and a constitutional Republic as from December 1964. Jomo Kenyatta became the executive head of state as the first President of the Republic.

Though establishing strong central controls as the party of government it soon became clear that KANU was not a unified political force; factional divides remained and were in part reinforced by the influx of ex KADU members. In this context it can only be touched upon briefly: they are summarised by Cherry Gertzel as follows: "the continuing rivalry for the intermediary leadership group",⁴⁶ which can be, "categorised as tribal suspicions, the contest between the older generations of politicians, particularly among the Kikuyu, and the younger men who had emerged in the later 1950s, and the old contest between Odinga and Mboya".⁴⁷

The rivalries between some of the factions were so intense that by 1966 the loose coalition that was KANU started to disintegrate. Odinga, representing the socialist tendency in the Kenya context, resigned from the Cabinet and took up the leadership of a new small political party, the Kenya Peoples Union. This meant the return to a quasi-Westminster form of government but with only a very small political party in opposition - it was the beginning of what has been described as the "dominant party state". Despite the defection of a major divisive force from their ranks KANU remained a party with many rifts and rival groupings.

The paradox, as it appears, is that whilst the aim has been to achieve strong central control over the country through a rejection of regional control and the creation of a strong administrative machine, there has arisen at the same time a tendency towards the localisation of political activity. Ethnicity, a factor discouraged and in large part successfully controlled in Tanzania as a disruptive force, remains a political problem in Kenya; the issues are complex and relate to such aspects as the "land question", Kikuyu dominance, traditional loyalties and economic rivalries. The problem of localism in Kenya politics goes back to the policies pursued by the colonial administration, as has been noted: "Since the time that the colonial government had first stabilized tribal units within administrative boundaries, their policy has tended to emphasise the district as a separate unit, and to isolate tribal groups from each other".⁴⁸

Kenyatta was able to hold the various factions together within KANU because he was widely accepted, despite his Kikuyu origins, as a national leader and in large part because he was personally without, as mentioned above, ideological commitment. In so doing however, his success in holding the nation together was at the expense of allowing politics to retain its local orientation. Harambeeism though appealing for national solidarity is at its most potent when applied to the local level.

The ideological differences between the political parties in Kenya and Tanzania have been examined in the previous chapter, where it was recognised that the major difference was based upon differing interpretations of "African Socialism". Two prominent writers in examining politics in Kenya argued that there is a lack of a systematic ideology and that this has in fact been responsible for the extensive development of harambee forms of provision particularly in education. It could be argued that the KANU party by absorbing the leaders of KADU provided for factionalism in the future. Describing the position with great clarity Godfrey and Mutiso state:

"June 1965 to April 1969 is the period during which the "party-line" leaders consolidated their positions within KANU. This group consisted of former KADU members and those who had been identified with Mboya within KANU. Their rigid enforcement of a more conservative party line displaced several national leaders who moved into competition at district level, where they quickly took advantage of the platform offered by sponsorship of local Harambee activity. Indeed some of the bitterest political fighting between 1966 and 1969 was in the Harambee groups. The provincial administration reacted to this threat to existing and "party-line" local leaders by attempting to control Harambee groups and banning those which they regarded as blatant covers for politicians. May 1969 to the present (1974) day saw the withering away of KANU as a national party and the hardening of tribal attitudes."⁴⁹

The rivalry between different factions and tribal groupings must in part account for the inability of KANU to develop a coherent national policy. The comparison with Tanzania is interesting for, as we have noted above, there is an absence of large tribal groupings, and a history of TANU development, which predates independence as a cohesive political force. Whilst Kenya is characterised by strong tribal groups such as the Kikuyu and Luo and the formation of political parties, at one point almost along tribal lines; Tanzania is characterised by a multiplicity of tribal groups most of whom have been effectively recruited to the support of TANU. The issue is

raised here because it is relevant to the discussion of educational developments in the two systems. The ethnic question is not here promoted as the major determinant of political/educational policies in the two systems though it must obviously have an impact. In the first instance it is seen to effect the development of the political parties in each national system.

One writer in comparing the situation in Tanzania with Kenya argues that "Unity was more easily guaranteed in Tanzania" and that, "the very multiplicity of tribes ---- prevented any one, or few, of the country's peoples emerging as dominant."⁵⁰ He states: "Unlike Kenya and Uganda, therefore, tribal identification was less readily available for political manipulation".⁵¹ Whilst in Kenya it was improbable that a dominant political ideology would emerge and attempt to positively mobilise support for its policies through the educational system, in Tanzania the opposite was the case. Tanzania established a single-party constitution and has since created a socialist ideology which gives it both form and content. The educational system is seen as an instrument for politicization as we shall recognise later in the thesis.

4.3.7 Perspectives on the Power to Reform for Political Development

So far within this Chapter we have been concerned with how in Kenya and Tanzania the various elements necessary to pursue policy objectives were developed. In the first instance the rhetoric, so much a part of political life, is made clear - normative views on the role expected of education in the post Uhuru phase are given expression and in turn legitimise the policies adopted to achieve given objectives within the nation-building process. Both legal and political means are used in order to ensure the effective concentration of power in the hands of the new nationalist leadership. Whilst in Tanzania there were elements of decentralisation to local

authorities for the management of primary and later secondary schools, it was also clear that the strong role of TANU and the maintenance of administrative control over areas such as the curriculum would ensure effective control from the centre. Kenya illustrates how, through constitutional change, the formal granting of decentralised regional power could be resisted. Reliance in the Kenyan case is placed upon the bureaucracy. The KANU Government was not inclined to develop a distinctive political ideology. Central control and a degree of corporate involvement was attempted, including the control over the teaching service. In each country formal controls over the educational system have been retained from colonial days, particularly notable in each case is the role expected of the enhanced government Inspectorates for education and the more recently developed centrally controlled curriculum development agencies.

Whilst there are obvious differences in the details of development much, in the earliest days following independence, was common to both contexts. Greater emphasis will be placed upon the differences in the succeeding chapter, for the present it is necessary to turn to an examination of the issues and problems confronting each new nation as they embarked upon their newly acquired nationhood.

4.4 The Politics of Educational Integration and Development

This section is concerned with a number of significant political strategies that have been adopted in the two countries under review, as well as other developing nations and in some instances developed nations, in the process of achieving national integration, unity and development. Three particular aspects are taken into account; the policies adopted in Tanzania and Kenya to reduce the divisiveness of the school system inherited at the time of independence; the impact of planning for national development as it

affected educational development and finally the policies adopted in each system on language in the context of nation-building and national unity.

We turn in the first instance to the problems associated with the divided nature of the school system at Uhuru and the inequalities of the provision for different racial groups. It is essential to recognise that both Kenya and Tanzania had experience of government prior to full independence. However, whilst it is true that each system was provided with a period of "responsible government" with African representation, it must be recognised that the period of transition in each country was markedly different. Kenya had not fully recovered, in political terms, from the Mau Mau period and as a consequence suffered a crisis of leadership. Tanzania moved much more smoothly to Uhuru under the leadership of TANU and Julius Nyerere.

In Kenya the constitutional transition period began with the Lancaster House Conference in 1960 and the acceptance of the Littleton Constitution. The United Kingdom Government White Paper assured the Africans a majority of seats on the legislative and executive bodies. The period of responsible government was a difficult one. Two political parties had emerged of which the larger, more powerful group -the Kenya African National Union (KANU) - refused to take part in government unless their national leaders, including Jomo Kenyatta, were released from detention. Government thus passed to the minority Kenya African Democratic Union Party (KADU).

For education this meant that the new African Minister of Education, Ronald Ngala, the leader of KADU, was faced with the difficult transitional period. Education had been expanding during the previous ten years but still fell short of the demands as articulated by KANU. It was still racially segregated and unequal in its provision for the different racial groups. As James Sheffield puts it. "He found himself (Ngala) in the awkward position of having to explain the reasons for racial distinctions in education and defending the system as doing the best possible job".⁵²

The steps to independence in Tanganyika were not dissimilar: responsible government was gained in 1960 followed in 1961 by full Independence. African participation in government had been developing from the end of the Second World War - by 1955 four of the official members of the legislative council were Africans. In the 1958/9 election to the National Council candidates supported by TANU won all but one of the thirty elected seats.⁵³

It was during the difficult period prior to full political independence that the problems facing the new country in providing for the popular demand for education were clearly to be seen. Educational opportunities for Africans were extremely limited and very uneven in terms of the geographical spread of school provision and the standards of education available. The political realities on independence were to mean the taking of decisions on the basis of priorities in part determined by factors external to what was strictly educationally or socially desirable. This was the case with the universalisation of education; we shall note that manpower planning would predominate in the determination of priorities as the need for economic growth and the development of the modern sector of the economy was taken into account. The question of integration within education could not however be left to one side for it was central to the nationalist leaderships main aims on gaining independence. This was so because at independence the divided schools system reflected the stratified character of the country - it was a racially divided system whose enrolments reflected the economic, social and political structure of Tanganyikan society.

The integration of the schools system had been recommended just prior to Uhuru. During 1959 the Committee on the Integration of Education reported and made recommendations for the establishment of a single integrated system of education with effect from the beginning of January

1962. The legislation required to put this major reform into effect was passed in 1961.⁵⁴

Integration within education, as we have noted, was a political imperative. The new political leadership was committed to the development of educational programmes that would benefit the economy and society. In discussing the problem of integration in Tanzania in the period just prior to full political independence against a background of divisiveness, John Cameron states:

"What was clear as it was understandable was that the African majority heading for power under the impetus of the mass movement of TANU found it (the divided system) intolerable. There was no doubt that however much African political thinking on many major issues was still evolving, the perpetuation of racial distinctions by means of separate educational systems was anathema to them. Yet, however much TANU was exclusively an African movement, its policy was not based on rabid racialism. It constantly reiterated through its leaders that it did not aspire to a monoracial society to the exclusion of other races, that the members of other races had an important part to play in its polity, and they would be accommodated to enable them to do so. ----- Although it has not yet been worked out in all its implications, the concept was common citizenship regardless of race or tribe. A segregated educational system was the antithesis of this and had to go."⁵⁵

Here we have represented an example of direct influence from the political system upon the education system. The initial start to the process takes place prior to the accession to full sovereignty as a nation. In effect it meant that early political action could be taken on the attainment of full independence. The political pressures that had been articulated by TANU became at least a legal reality with the passing of the 1961 Education Ordinance. In practice the position was to be found more difficult and, though it was illegal to separate schooling provision after January 1 1962 the problem of adequate resourcing remained. Reviewing the position, A.L. Gillette described the position rather cynically: "In appearance, the

Education Ordinance of 1961 was a progressive measure of unprecedented import in Tanzanian educational history. It provided for nothing less than the abolition of three school systems segregated by race and the introduction of a single system open (in theory) to all."⁵⁶

In a very positive sense the political leadership was, in the optimistic climate of newly gained independence, giving expression to its belief that the school system could be used to provide support for the new national political system. The passing into law of the 1961 Ordinance was an essential political act with the aim and purpose of national unity, and support for the nationalist leadership in mind. Additional actions would obviously be required, but the essential first action in the process was to attempt to provide a unified school system to reflect the aspirations for national unity and nation-building.

At this first initial stage of political development the policies adopted in Kenya were strikingly similar. Racially divided, the school system reflected these divisive factors in society which would require immediate action following independence. Reflecting the concern with this factor the Kenya Ministry of Education looked back to the position at the time of independence in the 1967 Annual Report: "Formerly education was organised on racial lines with separate schools and separate syllabus for each of the main racial groups, African, Asian and European".⁵⁷

Among the first political actions following independence was the adoption of policies that would bring about the integration of the school system as a matter of political urgency.

Some aspects of this particular problem have been discussed above. Unlike Tanzania there was no major attempt prior to independence to tackle the problems of divided schooling. Kenya had to wait until 1968 before she

could provide the first Education Act. Steps were however taken to redress the worst effects of the divided system. Indeed the Ominde Commission report had almost the force of law such was the level of acceptance for its main recommendations. Though the political machinery used was different within the two national systems examined here, it is clear that at this point in time, that is, at the stage of achieving national independence, the purposes being pursued were similar. The new national leaderships in each system were required to use the political system to effect change within the educational system because of the divisiveness of the colonial educational structure. If schooling was a means to the achievement of national unity and political support then it was essential that schooling itself should be integrated. This point apart, it was also clear that the inequalities in provision with the built in bias against African children would have to be redressed. Action, in Kenya, was taken quickly to reduce the worst affects of the divided system. Separate schooling was officially banned and a government bursary scheme introduced to allow African children to take up places in Asian and European schools. Pressure was also placed upon such schools to reduce their fees in order to accommodate more African children. By 1966 the proportion of African children at former Asian and European schools has risen to 30%.

A start was made in the movement towards the introduction of a common syllabus and the separate sections for the administration of education which had served the colonial government were merged within a new Ministry of National Education.

4.4.1 Planning and Political Development

Political development and educational development are inevitably linked. It has been recognised above that the integration and consequent development of the school system for African children that followed independence was

introduced with the aim National and political development to the fore. The planning process has similar connotations in both Tanzania and Kenya.

Most third world countries have adopted manpower planning approaches within their national plans in their search for educated manpower. Both Tanzania and Kenya have adopted national development plans in the post-independence period and it is to this aspect that we now turn in order to demonstrate how the policies involved with planning have affected the shape and orientation of the educational system. The main point to take into account is, that the acceptance of planning techniques inevitably implies the acceptance of certain forms of priority. In each case, as we shall see, there was in the first instance, an acceptance of a need to place the highest priority on the demand for the high-level manpower. This is not surprising, for there was a generally held view that investment in "human capital" would lead in turn to increased productivity and economic growth. The impact of the adoption of such priorities on the educational system caused the placing of resource priorities in the areas of secondary and higher education. The popular demands in each system for the expansion of primary education for all, were set aside in this initial period. A number of aspects relating to these decisions are examined below, for the present it is worth considering from a political systems perspective, the way in which the political system had a direct impact on the educational system.

The expectation within the political system is that the priorities as determined within the plan will, if achieved, feed back support for the political system. Education is from this point of view seen as a political and economic tool. In both Kenya and Tanzania in the initial independence period there were two major demands recognised as important and achievable through placing the priority with high-level manpower production. The first was the expected increase in economic growth and the

second, to satisfy the demands within the population for Africanization in employment. Each of these aspects will be taken into account as we examine the way policies have evolved in the period following independence. Before proceeding further however, it is essential to recognise the degree of external influence which is exerted upon the national political system. No national policy is ever completely autonomous; there are always influences which penetrate national boundaries no matter how strong the nation is. On the other hand, it is clear that the weaker the national system involved, and this is true of the majority of developing nations, the more likely is the positive effect of extra-national influence.

Planning represents a particularly good example of the way outside influences can have a political impact on policies adopted within a nation, which in turn influence the educational system. The Tanzanian case illustrates the point most clearly. Both the UNESCO and Ford Foundation reports on planning in Tanzania emphasised the importance of secondary and higher education development. Primary education was seen as "unproductive" except in so far as it provided a base for secondary education. Morrison examines this aspect of development in Tanzania in some detail, he states with regard to the first five year plan: "Both reports strongly influenced educational sections of the Five Year Development Plan for 1964-9. Targets for secondary, technical and higher were set (often with considerable conflict between manpower and educational planners) in conjunction with Tobias' projections".⁵⁸

At this stage in Tanzania the manpower question was clearly to take precedence over the expansion of primary school places. It can be stated at this point that the shift in educational policy brought about by social, economic and other forces and introduced after the Arusha Declaration, demonstrated the clear interdependence between education and politics.

It is noteworthy that at this stage, and it holds true for Kenya as we shall see below, that nation-building was seen mainly in economic terms. The educational value of mass literacy campaigns and political education programmes was not at this stage given major emphasis in either country.

Before examining aspects of educational planning in Kenya we shall take a more detailed look at the development of planning in Tanzania. Again it is the relationship of the polity to education that is emphasised.

4.1.1.1 Education, Politics and Planning in Tanzania

The first Tanzanian plan - a three year development plan generally referred to as the "interim plan" represents a commitment by the TANU Government to the principles of planning. Priority was given, as noted above, to the secondary and higher education sectors. It must however be pointed out that a modest expansion of primary school places was provided for. Between 1961 and 1964 Standard - VIII places expanded from 486,470 to 633,673.

Secondary school expansion between 1961 and 1966 has been estimated at some 11%.⁵⁹ The assumption within the Interim Plan had been carried forward into the First Five Year Plan which was introduced in May, 1964 with a continued emphasis on the needs of the economy and a more rapid movement towards Africanization.

The clear commitment of the TANU Government and President Nyerere to self-sufficiency in trained manpower (another way of expressing the demands for Africanization) can be seen from his comments on the first Five Year Plan and its implications for priorities in education: "One of the long term objectives of our planning is to be self-sufficient in trained manpower by 1980. This means a carefully planned expansion of education. This expansion is an economic function".⁶⁰

It is necessary at this point to examine some aspects of the background to the earlier planning decisions which have so far only touched upon.

The First Five Year Plan was introduced in 1964 as an attempt to redress some of the imbalances that obviously remained from the post colonial period. The hope was that economic and social opportunities could be improved. Warning signals that all was not well had been recognised: the trade unions, though brought under stricter control through the making of strikes illegal in June, 1962, continued to express their discontent - a number of illegal strikes took place towards the end of 1962. Such was the extent of the strike action that the TANU Government decided to dissolve its one time ally the Tanganyika Federation of Labour and form the National Union of Tanganyika Workers. This particular problem was but a symptom of a wider malaise brought to a head by the dissatisfaction of the armed forces. The mutiny of the Tanganyika Rifles in 1964 was a direct challenge to the new nationalist leadership, though in itself it was little more than an expression of discontent over levels of pay and the army's demands for more rapid Africanization.

The Plan set out to establish targets for improvement in order to alleviate the build up of such pressures within the new nation. It aimed to raise per capita income from £20 to £45 by 1980; to sustain a 6.7 per cent annual increase in national income, achieve self-sufficiency in skilled manpower by 1980, and raise life expectancy.

At about the same time steps were taken to further consolidate the position of the TANU national leadership by the formal introduction of a single party system as discussed above.

The point of this discussion within this study is that the orientation of the First Five Year Plan must be seen as a political response to social and

economic pressures in society. It is with the consequences for education that we are concerned. Though it must be borne in mind that despite modifications in the planning process the priority remained on the production of high level manpower.

The period between 1961 and 1966, and this includes both the Interim Plan and the formulation of the first Five Year Plan, has been characterised by Gillette as the "Western Period".⁶¹ The point he is making in adopting such a phrase is that the period of transition from colony to full political independence is fraught with difficulties; the educational system that has been inherited was designed, as stated above, in the interests of the colonial power. The solution to the pressing problems were in a sense "colonial" insofar, that as policy makers, they saw the issues through Western eyes. For education this meant the determination of priorities with western views of "improvement" to the fore. Focussing on the issue of secondary school expansion at the expense of primary school development Gillette states that: "Expansion was reserved for the secondary level in continuation of the policy of absorbing ever greater numbers of "bulge" of primary school leavers In effect, then, the Government's quantitative efforts served chiefly to broaden slightly the tiny educated elite."⁶²

This view of events is to some extent at variance with the proposition that planning issues in terms of manpower needs dominated thinking on policy. It indicates that a degree of pragmatism was also involved. That an expansion of secondary education graduates would make the system more elitist in the general sense that prestige attaches to the few with secondary school qualifications must hold true. Indeed such is the importance of this aspect, that radical changes in school curricula were later to be proposed.

A major shift in emphasis in the relative provision of places in primary and secondary education took place following the re-appraisal of Tanzanian

politics in the post Arusha Declaration period. Before examining the background to Arusha in detail it is worthwhile to indicate the positive shift in educational policy which in a sense marks the end of the "Western Period". Between 1961 and 1975 the average rate of increase in primary school places was in the order of 9% - this was achieved through some adjustments to the structure of primary schooling and appears as a steady growth. Sanyal and Kinunda however, make the political point that the adoption of a policy, developed within the ruling party, to introduce Universal Primary Education was having an impact. They state the position thus:

"The number of places per seven year old child has increased from 0.43 in 1967 to 1.04 in 1975. This was the immediate impact of the party policy of universal primary education. Indeed enrolment in Standard 1 nearly doubled during the one year period 1974-75 and total enrolment increased by 31%."⁶³

What this increase marks out within this study is just one aspect of the radical shift in education policy that follows upon the Arusha Declaration. It was not of course restricted to primary education provision. Indeed, it was to have a universal effect on educational development at all levels within the Tanzanian system. It is by examining the events that led to the formulation of the ideas and their subsequent implications that some understanding of the dynamic relationship between education and politics in Tanzania can be gained; this aspect is taken up again in a later section.

4.4.1.2 Education, Planning and Politics In Kenya

Turning to the planning aspects of educational policy in Kenya we are immediately struck by the extremely nationalistic approach to education planning that was adopted. Unlike Tanzania, where the earliest plans were dominated by international influences, it was decided in Kenya to undertake a national review of education; and to ensure this would be the case the

Ministry of Education in 1964 appointed an education commission under the chairmanship of Professor Ominde comprised wholly of Kenyan nationals.

Part 1 of the Ominde report has been considered above in the context of the development of goals for national unity. Little could be stated in specific terms at that time for no manpower survey had been carried out. By 1965 however it was possible to publish the second part of the commission report and take into account the problems of manpower shortage. A long term view is expressed on the desirability of universal primary education as well as stating the need to ensure sufficient places in secondary education. The priority however was placed on the need to organise the educational system to meet the country's manpower needs.

Educational development was affected to the extent that educational development related to the needs as expressed in the National Development Plan.⁶⁴ Just as in Tanzania the priorities were placed with economic development so too in Kenya. The introduction of universal primary education was to be left to a later date. However, whilst in Tanzania the national leadership was forced through economic and social difficulties to reconsider their approach, in Kenya a large degree of laissez-faire educational development in the private sector was allowed and harambeeism encouraged.

The approach to planning in Kenya has, we will argue, played a more significant role in educational development than in neighbouring Tanzania. The stress throughout in planning is on economic, industrial, commercial and agricultural requirements to the neglect of political and social cohesion, whilst the potential for ethnic divisiveness remains. J.B. Olson, writing in 1974 considered the role of planners in the Kenyan context and states: "It could be argued that planners in Kenya and elsewhere have taken too narrow a view of planning. By emphasising the potential economic consequences of

education development they have neglected the social consequences of their decisions."⁶⁵

It is in part, the result of decisions based upon planning models and the social/political values implicit in them, that has affected the development of the educational system in Kenya and why it stands in marked contrast to Tanzania. Ghai states that:

"Schools have continued to regard their main function as preparing students for employment in a modern sector of the economy. Yet it needs only simple arithmetic to show that given the current levels and rates of expansion of school enrolment only a small proportion of primary and secondary school leavers will be successful in obtaining employment."⁶⁶

Kenya lacked a coherent ideological orientation as compared to the holistic adoption of Ujamaa Socialism in Tanzania, indeed it is important to recognise the high degree of pragmatism in policy making in the Kenyan context. This is particularly notable in relation to the school leaver problem and unemployment. This aspect will be taken up again when Kenya's more pluralistic development of education facilities is examined.

The adoption of planning techniques inevitably implies the forming of policy making frameworks and, whilst in Tanzania it was felt necessary to break out of the stereotypes provided within national economic and manpower plans, there has been a tendency in Kenya to keep closely to planning projections and principles.

We have noted above that the "ideological" position of Kenya is comprehensively documented in Sessional Paper No. 10 (African Socialism).

Under the section headed Education Training and Experience it is stated:

"At Kenya's stage of development, education is much more an economic than a social service. It is our principal means for relieving the shortage of domestic skilled manpower and equalising economic opportunities among all our citizens. --

----- The immediate objectives in education are to expand secondary level facilities as rapidly as teacher supply and recurrent cost implications permit. This is of course important to the training of manpower and the acceleration of Africanization."⁶⁷

Successive Development Plans have kept to the basic principles established in Session Paper 10. The Development Plan 1966-70⁶⁸ whilst declaring its intended ultimate aim to be the provision of universal primary education and secondary and higher education for all with the requisite ability, stressed most strongly the need to gear education to manpower needs in the economy.

Shortages occurred in certain key areas and were recognised in the manpower plan for 1969-1974. The Development Plan 1970-74⁶⁹ noted these bottlenecks whilst drawing attention to possible surpluses in other areas of employment. Thus despite the problems associated with social and political development, education in Kenya continues to be used as the main instrument of economic change. The Development Plan for 1979-83 states that "Education will continue to be the main instrument through which people will become more economically productive in the modern sector of the economy and also in the rural areas."⁷⁰

Planning in the Kenyan context has not prevented innovation and change and, though the emphasis is on planning education for economic development, it must be recognised that much attention has been paid to other aspects of education as it relates to society. Reforms have been introduced and some of these are examined below, including major revisions to the school curriculum.

The point to make at this stage is that both Tanzania and Kenya have in the post-independence period adopted national planning systems which have placed a heavy reliance on the educational system in the development

process. Initially the aims and objectives in each system were similar in so far as they sought to become self-sufficient in educated and trained manpower; both accepted policies that placed the priorities for development with investment in "human capital" and saw secondary and higher education as the key investment areas. To that extent the development of primary education was neglected.

The major shift in policy orientation took place in Tanzania following the Arusha Declaration and represents the point of divergence between the paths to political development taken by Tanzania and Kenya. These aspects have been considered in some detail above where the shift in ideological commitment is noted. Here it is drawn out to illustrate the role of planning in the political - educational nexus. As recently as 1979 Kenya has placed her faith in education as an instrument for the achievement of economic advancement; nation-building is thus predominantly based on economic growth expectations. Tanzania, on the other hand, though retaining commitments to self-sufficiency in trained skilled manpower has tempered her position by adopting educational policies that relate to social and political development.

Helleiner emphasises the position in the following way; he states:

"Some governments are also willing to be more precise than others with respect to the mode of production, through which they intend to develop. Thus, while setting general objectives in fairly conventional fashion, Tanzania has also incorporated her objectives of socialism and self-reliance ----- throughout her second plan. On the other hand Kenya's latest plan, while referring periodically, apparently as a matter of form, to the 1965 Session Paper on African Socialism, is a pragmatic and technocratic document which focusses on the rate of growth, the reader must infer the Government's reliance upon a capitalist strategy for it is nowhere explicitly stated".⁷¹

The positions are radically different, Tanzania striving towards the pursuit of egalitarian goals through the positive adoption of Ujamaa Socialism -and

through the policies first outlined in Education for Self-reliance, attempting to utilise the educational system in the achievement of socialist objectives; in Kenya, on the other hand: "State hesitation to implement radical reform is related to the employment of education as an apparatus to effect, at an ideological level, the reproduction of the existing class system".⁷² In other words, in Kenya the education system reflects the current structure of society and is not at present used to radically change the societal and political system.

4.4.2 Language Policy for National Unity

In this final section in our consideration of educational reforms in the achievement of national integration and development of the polity we turn to a consideration of language policy. Though the emphasis will be on language policy developments in Kenya and Tanzania a number of obvious parallels with other national systems will be drawn. One of the assumptions in newly independent countries, is that a common language for the whole new nation is necessary in order to develop a common identity. There are, of course, a number of examples of plural language diversity and nationhood that can be cited; the most obvious examples are those of Switzerland and the Soviet Union. In each of these cases however, the languages involved were longstanding with both written and oral traditions. In the majority of African countries the vernacular tongues relied upon the spoken form and exist in such profusion as to make the selection of any one language a matter of great political moment.

The problem obviously exists at the level of the school for it is essential at an early stage following independence to take decisions as to the most effective language of instruction. It is at this point that the issue of vernacular versus national language comes to the fore. As has been pointed out:

"Establishing any one of the vernaculars as a universal educational medium is likely to be greeted with indignation and resentment by speakers of other vernaculars. And in technical terms it may also prove most difficult since; indigenous languages, however glorious their classical past, have not made organic spontaneous adaptation to the linguistic requirements of the modern world".¹³

Africa was dominated in educational terms by the colonial powers and in the period following the First World War by the British and French. English and French was in many instances the common language for education. That is not to say that there was common agreement on such a policy amongst those who provided education for the indigenous population. The debate, whether to adopt a native language as the lingua franca, or English, was current for many years prior to independence. Nor was it simply a matter of Africans desiring the use of a common native form, for those with access to education also recognised that English language offered greater opportunity for economic and social advancement. On gaining independence there has usually been a divergence of opinion within the new nation as to whether a national language ought to be adopted or whether to retain English or French with their greater use in development in relation to science and technology and as a means of international communications. The dilemma is neatly summed up in this extract from the First Zambian Education Conference:

"Many developing countries have for both sentimental and misguided reasons, sandwiched themselves between a burning desire to have a local national language and a development language. In consequence they had to dissipate a lot of national effort in devising technical terminology. In the end, however, the language with the most working capability has emerged dominant, although they continue domestically with vernaculars.

The ideal situation, of course, for nationalism and development is to have a national language completely different from that of any other nation and fully identified with the particular locality. In our (Zambia) circumstances this is impossible and therefore, short of creating an amalgam of local languages plus English, the best course is

to adopt English faithfully and loyally as a national language."⁷⁴

This clear and unambiguous acceptance of a foreign language as a national language and lingua franca has parallels in other parts of Africa, notably in the ex-French colonies. Debeauvais states the position thus: "African leaders view education as a political factor of overriding importance for national unity. It is essentially for this reason that French has been chosen as a national language wherever linguistic plurality might have favoured one group over another."⁷⁵

In Guinea for example there is again a complete acceptance of the language of the colonial power. Noel Stern quotes the view of Sekou Touré a nationalist leader whose aims are both nationalistic and "communaucratic". The school system is one of the means used in creating a feeling of nationalism and in breaking up the old tribal patterns:

"The teaching of French in the schools and in other channels of popular education such as the press, radio, and political rallies establishes greater communication between Foula, Malinke, Sousou and other ethnic groups - each of which has its own vernacular. Since the revolution more French is spoken than under colonial rule."⁷⁶

The seeming paradox in each of the cases quoted above can only be resolved if the unifying effects of a common language are taken into account. It is accepted that a local language is preferable but, given the circumstances, that is to develop an educated people and achieve national unity, it has been found necessary to compromise and adopt either French or English. It is essential of course to remember, that in these countries the language of the colonial power had been in use for a long period of time. To such an extent that, as Grant puts it: "So deeply entrenched are they, that they can in a real sense be regarded as African languages."⁷⁷

4.4.2.1 Language Policy in Kenya

Perhaps the most illuminating case of the adoption of English as a lingua franca is that of Kenya. Language policy in Kenya is in fact bilingual, English or Kiswahili are used predominantly though the importance of the vernacular tongues cannot be ignored; Swahili and English are used in distinct domains of language use and for different functions.

Nevertheless the debate as to what stage within education English should be introduced was extensive, and, unlike Guinea there was no general acceptance without argument, of the adoption of English as a national lingua franca.

One commentator in reviewing this aspect of language policy says that "some (Kenyan educationists) felt that exposure to a foreign language at an early age would be a disruptive force which would remove the child from the reality of his traditional environment. Such an experience could cause alienation between generations and lead to a rejection of the African way of life."⁷⁸ He goes on to state that:

"On the other side there were those people who argued for the use of the English medium. From the socio-political point of view, the advantage of a single language policy for all primary schools was clear - not only would it greatly aid educational administration, but it would move the nation nearer the ideal of equality of opportunity for every child in Kenya. Further, in a nation where there are over 30 tribes each with its own mother tongue, there is a need for a common medium of communication. The widespread use of English could serve as this medium and thus be a unifying force in a nation divided by tribalism".⁷⁹

Such a policy was in fact adopted and though there have been difficulties, the "Safari English Course" attempts to provide an answer to what Urch describes as the "linguistic pandemonium" functioning as English medium operating in a "framework of the African's cultural milieu".⁸⁰

It would be wrong to suppose that Kenyans have simply adopted English as the national lingua franca in the way Guinea has with French and Zambia with English. Obviously, similar arguments would hold, and it is recognised by Kenyans seeking to reduce tribal and racial differences that a common language be it native or foreign would go some way to achieving this objective. It might simply be that the acceptance of the English medium is but a step in the direction of national unity, in that through its adoption in all Kenyan schools (previously there were schools differentiated according to linguistic and racial groupings) the process of integration is hastened. It remains true however as it is described in the Curriculum Guide, that Kiswahili was by 1967 at least thought of as the future national language.⁸¹

The importance of Kiswahili had been recognised at an early stage in the post independence period, the Kenyan Education Commission states the position in quite precise terms:

"Those giving evidence were virtually unanimous in recommending the general spread of this language, not only to provide an additional and specifically African, vehicle for national coordination and unification, but also to encourage communication on an international basis, not only in East Africa, but also to encourage with the eastern parts of the Congo and parts of Central Africa. Kiswahili is, therefore recognised both as a unifying national influence and as a means of Pan-African communication over a considerable part of the continent."⁸²

In the light of this, it was argued that Swahili should become a compulsory subject in the primary schools.

Policy has never been precise however with respect to the role of the vernacular mother tongues so important in the transmission of cultural values. There is an obvious dilemma for the politician who on the one hand wishes to retain what is valuable in local and tribal custom, as represented through tribal languages, whilst wishing to promote national unity through

the use of a common tongue. As the Bessey Report says: "The cultural deposit in every Kenyan vernacular is priceless and must be preserved. However, national unity is also priceless and in certain important respects has not yet been fully attained".⁸³

Kiswahili and English are both seen as relevant in Kenya in terms of the nation-building process. Kiswahili was introduced as the national language in 1970 and as such symbolises a departure from the dependence in the past upon a foreign language form. Pragmatically however, it was recognised that English was a suitable medium for educational development and for international commercial interchange.

The problem with Kiswahili as a language is the grave shortage of trained teachers to teach the language and a shortage of an extensive literature in the language. Unlike neighbouring Tanzania, where the use of the language had been common for many years and used as a medium of instruction in the schools, in Kenya Kiswahili was traditionally the language of the coastal region. Nevertheless the position regarding the teaching of Kiswahili is officially expressed in confident tones in the Curriculum Guide for Secondary Schools: "Kiswahili is the only single language spoken and understood by the vast majority of people in Kenya. Its success as a national language for Kenya will depend to a great extent on the way it is taught in schools".⁸⁴

In order to foster the development of Kiswahili through the school system the National Committee on Educational Objectives states:

"Kiswahili is the national language for Kenya. It must therefore be made available to schools in the most appropriate form educationally. University institutions must therefore be enabled to make proper scholarly studies of the subject to facilitate the production⁸⁵ of appropriate literature and other educational material".

4.4.2.2 Language Policy in Tanzania

Comparisons with policy in neighbouring Tanzania are at this point relevant. In Tanzania the acceptance of Kiswahili as a national language was adopted as policy shortly after independence. English was to become the second and not the main language. The position has been described in this way: "At the time of independence Swahili, though in common use throughout the country, was neither the national nor the official language. Soon afterwards it was given status by being recognised as the national language of the people, English remaining the official language."⁸⁶ These changes in language policy were, as they go on to say, "in response to cultural needs and nationalistic pressures." Another view of the English versus Swahili debate is provided by David Morrison, who says: "Swahili had become the language of anti-colonialism and nationalism during the struggle for independence, and there were obvious advantages in continuing its promotion as a national language: it was closer to being a lingua franca than English, it made possible effective communications among people of diverse traditional backgrounds, and it was indigenous to Africa".⁸⁷

This was not however to set aside the importance of the use of English as an important aspect of political development through providing what Ali Mazrui calls: "the vocabulary of politics in indigenous language", as he says:

"As political activity becomes more complex, the need for a new language to cope with it becomes more pressing. Basic notions like "vote" "local government", responsible government", and "constitution"⁸⁸ sometimes needed to be rendered into African languages".

Kiswahili is now the official language for communications within the Tanzanian government legal services, as it relates to its use in education, all official communication between members of staff must be in Swahili. At the Primary School level most teaching is through the medium of Swahili and in the secondary school sector the political education classes are

required to use Swahili; syllabuses for political education are written in Swahili. Thus in Tanzania, as far as it is practical at the present time, Kiswahili has been adopted both as a national language and as the officially endorsed lingua franca.

The common element in the cases examined is the drive towards the development of a common language for the new nation. This might be achieved by using the language of the old colonial power, and here we have seen this demonstrated in Guinea with the adoption of French as the lingua franca and the national language. In Nigeria too we see that a foreign tongue has been accepted (English) and that in part this is in order to achieve greater national cohesion. The ideal remains that a native language form can be developed as a national language and it has been noted that Tanzania has chosen to adopt Kiswahili as the main language with English as the second language. This latter policy has been criticised by educationists who have argued that the need to learn what is for many two foreign languages causes educational difficulties. Kenya, as we have seen, has adopted a slightly ambivalent stand on this issue. Having taken the initial decision to adopt English as the main teaching medium, Kiswahili was introduced as a second language in the hope that it might later become the national language: by 1970 the decision was taken to introduce it as the National language.

Such an objective might not be easily obtainable. Unlike neighbouring Tanzania, where Kiswahili has been in common and quite general use for many years, Kenya has no such majority language. As Grant says, in Kenya: "there is no obvious -or even feasible - choice for a Kenyan language; it is hard to envisage the non-Kikuyu peoples accepting what is numerically the best claimant. Swahili has some currency and is tribally neutral, but it is English that fills the role of social and educational medium in this mixture of minorities".⁸⁹

In retrospect it can be seen that Tanzania was fortunate politically in retaining the use of Swahili during the period of British colonial rule. And though, as Morrison reports, there was some hostility to the adoption of Swahili as the national language by the Chagga people, it was in the main accepted without serious resistance.⁹⁰ In Tanzania Swahili is now the language of instruction in Primary⁹¹ education. Most major educational documents are written in Swahili indicating again the movement to adopt Swahili as the language of education and of government, and its recognition as a politically relevant instrument as a unifying force nationally.

4.5 Summary Review

The concern within this Chapter has been with the development of educational policies as they relate to problems of national integration and national unity. In the early post Uhuru stage both countries manifested similar concerns, placing a major emphasis on the concentration of power in educational decision making at the central government level through legislative means. Laws were passed outlawing the segregationist policies that had characterised the colonial period and to provide an integrated multi-racial system of schooling. Similarly, steps were taken to introduce a common curriculum and system of examinations within each new nation. Other aspects of the accretion of power within the political domain were also taken into account, including the development of "one party" systems of government and the high degrees of corporateness at central government level. It was recognised however, that whilst in Tanzania the one party state is designed to achieve an organic solidarity through the development of a coherent political ideology, in Kenya the political party KANU has been unable to act in a monolithic way. It is this factor that marks the major point of difference between the two systems and symbolizes the divergence in approach to the use of education in the area of political development - a theme we will return to again within the thesis.

The importance placed upon the planning process has been indicated. Like most developing countries Kenya and Tanzania accepted the notion that planning at the national level was a panacea and would provide the means for economic expansion. Education and manpower planning were to the fore in this process and, despite pent up demands for education by the general population, it was the priorities as decided by the planners based upon the national demands for skilled trained manpower that dominated in each system. This, at least was the common element in the early post Uhuru period. It was later in part rejected in Tanzania as more significant political imperatives came more clearly into focus. It was perceived in the Tanzanian context that the development of political support was at least as important as the development of the modern economy.

Finally the pursuit of a national policy on language was considered as an integrative device. Similar though the policies are in intent it is clear that whilst in Tanzania the adoption of the Swahili language as the national language was feasible and politically appropriate, it was not wholly the case in Kenya. Language policy is more clearly seen as an instrument for the development of a national consciousness in Tanzania whilst in Kenya, though formally adopted as the national language, it remains at a mainly symbolic level.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGICAL DIVERGENCE IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM

- 5.1 Educational Reform and Ideology
- 5.2 The Political Process and Educational Reform 1.
 - 5.2.1 The Tanzanian Case
 - 5.2.2 A Policy for Socialist Reform
 - 5.2.3 Higher Education for Development
 - 5.2.4 The University of Dar-es-Salaam in the Political Reform Stage
 - 5.2.5 Student Dissent
 - 5.2.6 Mobilizing the Adult Population
 - 5.2.7 Adult Education for Political Development
 - 5.2.8 Kivukuni College: An Ideological Institute
- 5.3 The Political Process and Educational Reform 2.
 - 5.3.1 The Kenyan Case
 - 5.3.2 The New Primary Approach
 - 5.3.3 Harambeeism in Education
 - 5.3.4 The Village Polytechnic Movement
 - 5.3.5 Political Unrest and University Education in Kenya
- 5.4 Summary Review

"If education is to be socialist, its content, practices and organisation must encourage socialistic values and attitudes. There must be a deliberate teaching¹ about socialism and how socialist institutions function."

S. Ndunguru

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGICAL DIVERGENCE IN EDUCATIONAL REFORM

5.1 Educational Reform and Ideology

Educational reform in this context is taken as those aspects of development that are markedly different from what has gone before. It implies the introduction of new kinds of institutions, attitudes, policies and objectives, which are intended to improve the provision of education for political development. There is no absolute distinction between the reform aspects of educational development examined in the previous chapter and the examples of reform under consideration here. However, such was the radical nature of the shift in direction in educational policy in Tanzania following the Arusha Declaration that separate treatment on a comparative basis appears reasonable. The patterns of reform in the earlier years following Uhuru appear similar, with, as we have seen a strong emphasis on integration, planning and curriculum innovation. Underlying factors can with hindsight however be taken as pointers to future divergence.

The ideological difference between the two systems has been examined in some detail above and is taken as the major determinant of political and educational divergence as represented through the thrust of political and social policy. In Tanzania the role of the polity is highlighted because it is taken as axiomatic by the TANU Government that the State should play a major role in the development process and is prepared to mobilize all resources, including education, to such ends. In Kenya the KANU Government and the State play a less explicit role in the political development process. In touching upon one aspect of social and political policy in Kenya and Tanzania, David Court makes clear the fundamental difference of their approach to policy:

"At the heart of social policy in Tanzania has been a direct attempt to reduce disparities between individuals and regions by measures aimed at redistributing rewards. This has been part of a larger policy of social transformation emphasising the goals of socialism, rural development, and greater self-reliance. In Kenya, social ideology is less explicit and less frequently voiced, but it can now be inferred from the trend of events. While there have been some attempts to reduce disparities in regional resources in Kenya, there is much less concern than in Tanzania about individual differences in wealth and status."²

Though in this instance emphasising social policy and the ideological division, a clear parallel can be drawn with policy as it relates to education in the two countries as will be made clear in the review of developments set out below.

The emphasis within this chapter is on the manifest differences in policy development and reform in education between the two countries. It must be borne in mind that it is the political interactions and educational interactions that are under review here; in order to obtain a reasonably objective assessment of the two sets of circumstances it is necessary to adopt a quasi-historical approach by taking major episodes for closer examination. The other caveat that must be added, is that whilst it is essential to concentrate on the absolute aspects of the divergent strategies adopted within the two countries, many points of similarity remain.³

5.2 The Political Process and Educational Reform 1

5.2.1 The Tanzanian Case

The Arusha Declaration signalled the formal end of the "Western Period" in Tanzania and the consolidation of Nyerere's and TANU political thought. The principle aspects of the political ideology that was formally endorsed at Arusha have been reviewed separately and the specific functions of education in the Ujamaa - Self-reliant Socialism context analysed. In this section we are concerned with the events in society that led up to Arusha,

for it is through an examination of the events and the political processes that brought about the Arusha declaration that insights can be gained as to the way education has been reformed in order to serve political development purposes.

Though it is common to point to the manifestation of discontent by undergraduate students at University College Dar es Salaam in October 1966 as the main precipitator of Nyerere's action at Arusha, it must also be recognised that a variety of pressures had been in existence during the post Uhuru period. In that sense, the action by the students was the culmination of events that brought Nyerere to document more precisely the political ideology of the new nation, and to start a new process of policy development. Some of the pressures indicated here have been touched upon above; the Army Mutiny and continuing trade union discontent for example. Other factors that when aggregated led to the policy statement at Arusha can be listed as follows:

- (a) A concern that urban interests should not dominate at the expense of the rural population.
- (b) A fear that the "villagisation" schemes would be undermined.
- (c) The continuing dangers of elitism and the development of social classes.
- (d) The fact that the first Five Year Plan was lagging behind schedule.
- (e) Overseas pressures in relation to aid programmes.

On this latter point John Lonsdale states:

"Overseas public investment was disappointingly small and it could be withdrawn or frozen by states with whom Tanzania had foreign policy disagreements, such as West Germany over the application of the Hallstein Doctrine and Britain over its failure to take convincing steps against the Rhodesian rebels."

But of similar importance in the radicalisation of Tanzanian politics was the joining with the mainland of the island state of Zanzibar, "the union with Zanzibar introduced a significant radical pressure group".⁵ Initially accepted within TANU, and providing a socialist impetus in the reform process, the Marxist orientation of the group proved unacceptable to the politically orthodox TANU leadership. Kambona, at one time second to Nyerere in Tanzania was forced into exile and Kassim Hanga was moved to a more junior position in the government. Some younger members of the radical left group were accused of attempting to subvert the armed forces and were placed in detention.

The repressive measures taken against the radicals is illustrative of the approach within Tanzania which, whilst accepting the use of reformist educational programmes and the use of mobilization policies in support of the political system, can nevertheless take punitive action when it feels threatened. It will be demonstrated later that similar repressive policies were adopted in Kenya against dissident groups but without the introduction of programmes for political mobilization.

Such then was the political and economic background; the action by the students precipitated government action; there is no way of knowing what might have been had the student expression of discontent not arisen. What we do know is that the President acted swiftly to deal with the immediate problem at the University College.

The incident is itself interesting, for it was sparked off by the introduction of legislation to provide a form of National Service for students. Students would be required to undertake six months non-military national service and this would be followed by a further eighteen months service in employment at a salary some 40% less than the accepted rate for the job. To students

whose expectations were elitist and geared to the rewards of the market place, this was seen as totally unacceptable. For taking part in demonstration against the order some 400 students were sent home; rustication for two years. Shortly after this dramatic action in relation to the students Nyerere announced that all public officials, including himself would take a 20% cut in annual salary.

Early in 1967 the President decided to tour the country to see for himself what forms of development were taking place and is reported to have been shocked by the signs of class formation in society. The political decision was taken to meet at Arusha and the now famous Declaration was issued. The Declaration does not specifically declare any intentions regarding the role of education in the society; as we have seen above, the Arusha Declaration is a summation of the ideas already under development in the post-Uhuru period with the addition of Nyerere's views on the future socialist emphasis and direction for Tanzanian society.

5.2.2 A Policy for Socialist Reform

The policy outlined by Nyerere in Education for Self-reliance provided a blue-print for education and established the direct link between the role that education was expected to play in Tanzania society in mobilizing support for the political programmes presented in the Arusha Declaration. All levels and sectors of the education system; primary schools, secondary and tertiary education, the adult and university system were all recognised as having a political development role to play in Tanzania.

Each of these sections is important, however, it is the totality of the reforms that needs to be borne in mind. This is so, for considered as a whole, Education for Self-reliance represents one of the most remarkable commitments to the use of education to be attempted outside of what are normally described as totalitarian systems.

Education for Self-reliance was both a blue print for future action in education reform and a declaration of policy - its origins lay with the political party TANU and the national leader Julius Nyerere. It was remarkable for the degree of detail involved in terms of action and reform required, and for the ideological and political thrust that was placed within the document. Detailed as it was however, it was still necessary to consider in more detail how the philosophical aspects could be implemented. Soon after the publication of Education for Self-reliance a high level conference of educational administrators was convened by the then Minister of Education. It is interesting to note that there was some apparent confusion among education officials at the time. Morrison states that "Surprise and confusion were the initial reactions among most people concerned with education to the publication of Education for Self-reliance".⁶ This in itself reflects the degree of control within the party hierarchy where major policy was being made.

The conference set itself the task of interpreting the views expressed in the pamphlet. The main points that were made are set out below:

- (a) The need to change school terms and time-tables in order that the school year could relate to the seasons and the agricultural year. This was to allow the fuller involvement of students in farm work and other community activities.
- (b) It was also proposed that the designation "primary school" should be changed to "basic" or "foundation school." The aim being to avoid the belief that schooling at the first level necessarily led to the secondary stage. Basic education had to be seen as complete in itself.
- (c) A full programme for the integration of schools and colleges with the community was recommended. Integration was to include participation by students in community self-help projects, literacy campaigns, social functions, farmer's days, participation in national festivals and the development of more contact between teachers and parents.

- (d) Teachers, both Tanzanian and expatriate would need re-training to fit them for the new role required of teachers in the post-Arusha phase. Most had been trained and were experienced in teaching as an academic exercise, they would require re-orientation programmes.

The curriculum revision aspects, as they relate to the development of political education programmes, will be examined later. Taken together, the changes recommended in Education for Self-reliance add up to a policy for a wide ranging reform of the educational system and provided evidence of a political commitment to the use of education in the achievement of political and social ends. The policies relating to high level manpower planning were not in the strictest sense being abandoned; it was the degree of emphasis which was undergoing change.

G.R.V. Mmari in discussing the educational conference describes how the points set out above related to the school/college cycle as follows:

"Primary: more work on agriculture; change in school curriculum; change of end of cycle examinations from general Entrance Examination to Primary School Leaving Examinations; change in school terms to fit with agricultural policy year; school entry age raised to seven plus".⁸

The latter point of policy was to deal with the problem of school leaver unemployment; given the acceptance of Basic Education as complete in itself for the majority of the school population, with a basic school cycle of seven years children graduate at 13/14 years.

"Secondary: practical subjects to encourage self-reliance; reorganisation of school terms and timetables to allow farming activities; declaration of intent to localise the school leaving examinations, they were organised by the Cambridge Examination Syndicate."⁹

Secondary schools were now expected to develop a particular "bias" towards one form of relevant education, i.e. technical, agricultural, domestic science or academic.

The legal basis for the reforms was provided through the 1969 Education Act which replaced the 1961 Ordinance. The path to reform was not easy. In order to provide greater impetus to development through the involvement of people in local communities the decision was taken to decentralise the administration of primary and adult education in 1972.

Whilst the Ministry of National Education has overall responsibility for development the political party in TANU is involved at least every two years. The Musoma Conference of the Party TANU in November 1974 passed a resolution calling directly upon the Government; "to ensure that education is integrated with work so that it produces truly self-reliant people ready to play a full part in the development of their society". Musoma marked more clearly the end of the "western period" with a movement away from the holistic emphasis on manpower planning. Planning would continue but would be required from now on take into account the principles of the Arusha Declaration newly emphasised in the Musoma Resolution.

The new emphasis was to be on the needs of rural communities where some 90% of the people live. The President had spoken in this vein in 1969 in introducing the Second Five Year Plan. The concern must be to help: "the sound economic development of socialist rural production and socialist living".¹⁰ The mobilisation of the Tanzanian people was now the aim of the TANU government to a far greater extent than had been previously stated. Major changes within the school system with a recognition, that for most children it was terminal, were to be added to by major reforms in Higher and Adult Education.

The Musoma Conference made clear the concern within the TANU Government as to the way the Arusha reforms were proceeding. The view of the Party was given expression in the Daily News where it states:

"The Sixteenth TANU biennial Conference held in September 1973, was dismayed by the number of vacancies then in existence in primary schools thereby causing primary school attendance to attain the low figure of 48 percent whilst primary schools could actually absorb 55 percent of all school age children".¹¹

It was problems of this kind that prompted TANU at the Party Executive meeting at Musoma to move that Universal Primary Education should be brought forward from the target date of 1989 to 1977.

5.2.3 Higher Education Reform for Political Development

Higher education in Tanzania is concentrated at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, though there are also a number of teacher training colleges specialising in the production of primary school teachers as well as a range of tertiary level institutions producing graduates for different sectors of the national economy. The political aspects of education reform, as it has affected the curriculum in higher and tertiary institutions, will be considered in Chapter 8 which is concerned with the development of political education programmes. At this point it is to the reforms at the University of Dar-es-Salaam that we can turn, for it was in a real sense the opposition by a group of students to the TANU Government's national service programmes that caused the radical shift in direction as outlined in Education for Self-reliance.

As with all other aspects of education in East Africa, and in Tanzania and Kenya in particular, the development of Higher Education had been based on the idea of university education developed in the West. As the pace of change towards independence accelerated the provision of higher education places increased to provide graduates for national development in the post independence period. It was essential therefore, that the products of the universities should be able to replace expatriate personnel as quickly as possible. Africanization and localization were dominant concepts in the

early post Uhuru period as we have recognised above. The major caveat in the Tanzanian and Kenyan context to the continuing Western development of university education was the acceptance of high level manpower planning systems as noted above; it remained however a western model dominated by the priorities derived from the emphasis placed on high level manpower needs which, were by their very nature, elitist in orientation. The "African" aspect of university education in East Africa however was recognised as important from the beginning; David Court quotes from the Secretary General of the East African common services organization when introducing the University of East Africa Bill in 1963:

"Moreover it, (the University of East Africa) should imbue its students with a sense of urgency to play a part in the changing and developing phase we are passing through today in East Africa. Above all, the University should be relevant to our situation, and should be African in the true sense. It should not be a pale reflection of alien universities but a living concrete symbol of all that is African, and make a peculiar African contribution to the world of scholarship, achievement and research, and the advance of knowledge."¹²

From a relatively humble start within the broader context of the University of East Africa, the College of Dar-es-Salaam became in 1970 the National University of Tanzania. Lodged in the beginning in accommodation rented from TANU, the University is now sited in purpose built accommodation outside the city of Dar-es-Salaam. How far it has succeeded in developing educational forms that are relevant to a developing region is difficult to assess. Court makes the point that self sufficiency in high level manpower had been virtually achieved in the first decade following independence. He questions however how much success there has been in providing for "development" needs.¹³

The Social/Political problems associated with students' unrest at the University College of Dar-es-Salaam in 1967 were in a direct sense a

reflection of the failure to shift the emphasis within the University from the "western model", with its accent on high level manpower targets, to an orientation towards political social and community needs desired by Nyerere and the TANU/Government.

Discussing this aspect of the political and educational relationship in the post-independence period one writer argues, that the position of students in terms of congruency with the system has not always been made clear - students had the expectations of an elite group who would later occupy leadership positions at different points in society; as a result in Tanzania it led to a clash with the government which held different views, education at the university level becomes under such circumstances "dysfunctional to the creation of the desired national political culture".¹⁴

The unrest of the students was met by a punitive political response which ended with the rustication of the students concerned. In the period following these events there have been a number of positive moves to shift the direction of the University towards the ideological purposes as described in the Arusha Declaration and more specifically, Education for Self-reliance.

Of the role the University should play in the post Arusha phase the President stated:

"The University in a developing society must put the emphasis of its work on subjects of immediate moment to the nation in which it exists and it must be committed to the people of that nation and their humanistic goals. The role of a University in a developing nation is to contribute: to give ideas, manpower and service for the furtherance of human equality, human dignity and human development."¹⁵

There is probably no better example of the interaction between the educational system and the political system than that of the direct lines of communication between the University of Dar-es-Salaam and the TANU

Government of Tanzania. The most immediate instance is the joint roles played by Julius Nyerere as Chancellor of the University and President of the Republic. In addition the University is a parastatal organisation with a direct line of accountability and responsibility to the President's Office. Such a close relationship between institutions provides access from both sides, and the development of effective channels of communication. It is the interpretation of the University's role in this joint process that proves difficult to sustain given the traditional freedom and autonomy, that is believed in the West, to be an essential pre-requisite of free academic research and expression. The response of Nyerere and the TANU Government to the potential for repressive attitudes was to declare openly the view that universities are not exempt from the task of social and political development:

"What we expect from our university is both a complete objectivity in the search for the truth, and also commitment to our society - a desire to serve it. We expect the two things equally. And I do not believe this dual responsibility - objectivity and to service - is impossible of fulfillment."¹⁶

The University of Dar-es-Salaam was officially opened as an autonomous national institution during August 1970. Once again Julius Nyerere took the opportunity to press home to both students and staff his view of the role of a national university in Tanzania. In his inaugural speech he set out three major functions:

1. To transmit advanced knowledge from one generation to another so that this can serve either as a basis of action or a springboard for further research.
2. To advance the frontiers of knowledge in the framework of needs of the society and on the basis of relevance to the local environment.
3. To provide through its teaching and in this way make its contribution towards Self-reliance and Self-sufficiency of the country in respect of human resources both qualitatively and quantitatively.¹⁷

Nyerere is quoted as stating that:

"Our universities have aimed at understanding western society and being understood by western society, apparently assuming that by this means they were preparing their students to be and themselves being of service to African Society ... The Universities of Africa which aim at being "progressive" will react by trying to understand and to be understood by Russian, East European or Chinese societies. Once again they will be fooling themselves into believing that they are thus preparing themselves to serve African society...

The truth is that it is Tanzanian society and African society which this University must understand. It is Tanzania and the Tanzanian people who must be able to comprehend this University ... We are training for a socialist, self-respecting and self-reliant Tanzania ...

The University is thus openly recruited to play an active part in the nation-building and the political ideological development of the new state. To reiterate the closeness of the relationship between the ruling party TANU and reform and development of the University we need point only to the decisions taken at the Musoma TANU National Committee meeting in 1974. In re-examining education in the post-Arusha Declaration period it was decided to "screen" university applicants and require that they undertake national service. In addition, they must demonstrate their personal commitment to the aims of Ujamaa Self-reliant socialism as defined by Nyerere and TANU, by providing a strong recommendation from their TANU branch and their employer. In other words, factors other than traditional academic performance in the school leaving examinations were now required, and in particular it was their attitude towards the accepted ideology that played a part in selection.

5.2.4 Student Dissent

Opposition to the TANU Government within the University was not confined to the small minority of students who opposed the introduction of National

Service in 1967. Another, perhaps more significant faction, this time to the political left of TANU Government, and led by a small group of members of the academic staff at the University, campaigned forcefully against the ideological direction established by Nyerere and TANU. The United African Revolutionary Front was formed during 1967, following the publication of Education for Self-reliance. Their main function was to act as a critique of the policies developed by the Government by taking a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line. Closely allied to the student group was the so called "group of nine" comprised of academic staff. The views of the radical left were expressed through their publication Cheche. Such was the significance of their attacks on the TANU Government in the years that followed that it moved quickly to suppress the development; Brook-Smith describes the attitude of the TANU Government as follows:

"The President launched an attack on the radicals in 1970. An editorial appeared in Nationalist (the official organ of TANU) (probably from Nyerere's pen) condemning a speech made by the Guyanese Marxist lecturer, Walter Rodney, as "revolutionary hot air". Soon after this Nyerere delivered further chilling criticisms to the students in a series of question and answer sessions on the campus. In the words of John Saul, the President's answers were such as to make the radicals look foolish". The USARF and its organ Cheche were banned, and the left appeared defeated".²⁰

Whilst the radical left was at this time only small in number, estimated at between 40 and 100 out of a student body of 1600, they were nevertheless taken seriously by the TANU Government; so much so that in reconstituting the University as the University of Dar-es-Salaam in 1970 a greater involvement of TANU was provided for by ensuring that the Vice-Chancellor should be a senior TANU official.

Despite the reforms within the University there was a further expression of student discontent in 1971. In line with the ideological values of equality in

society the students asked for greater participation in University affairs - initially their discontent was given expression through the student union DUSO. Dissatisfied with the response the students went on strike, boycotting classes. The response by the TANU Government was both swift and dramatic, the student leader was issued with a rustication order and in refusing to obey it was escorted from the campus. The incident led to a meeting between the President and the Student Union DUSO; the President acting in his capacity as Chancellor. The student's appeal for increased participation was accepted and the movement towards increased student participation in decision making started.²¹

Elements of radical dissent have remained within the University of Dar-es-Salaam and a number of major teaching departments are Marxist in orientation. Most notable in this direction is the Department of History, which was in the early phase of development, concerned with the development of a new nationalist historiography. This particular phase ended in the 1970's to be replaced with a more radical left view of historical development. Similar shifts have taken place in political science and in the Institute of Development Studies. This aspect is returned to later in the thesis where the link between curriculum development in secondary school history and the "new world view" of history is interpreted.²²

There is also some evidence of radical student activity within the University with meetings of students within the CCM Youth Wing. Written expression of radical views was for a time provided through the New University Echo. The radical tone of this publication can be gauged from the following extract:

"It is this monster of neo-colonialism that lies behind the stagnation and in many cases the decline of our efforts to build a national economy".²³

The critical left position of the writer is clear to see and his criticism is directed at the national leadership. The student writer continues in similar style to attack the principles established as the Party orthodoxy in 1967:

"People are discovering that even after 10 years of the Arusha Declaration, the Caretaker Committees (in Tanzania and elsewhere) are composed of weak quasi-capitalist petty-bourgeois elements, incapable of solving peoples problems. They are always fed with age old nationalistic, unscientific and bogus programmes"²⁴

5.2.5 Political Education in the University of Dar es Salaam

One outcome of the 1966 student demonstrations, and clear indication of the TANU Government's determination to prevent overt dissent by the University students against the policies of the Government was the establishment within the University of the Institute of Development Studies. Development Studies programmes were introduced shortly after the student demonstrations. The direct relationship between the demonstrations and the introduction of Development Studies (Political Education Programmes) is officially underlined as follows:

"Development studies in the University of Dar es Salaam date back to 22 October 1966 when university students demonstrated in the streets of Dar-es-Salaam to the State House in protest against legislation aimed at instituting a compulsory National Service Scheme for all secondary school leavers and fresh university graduates. One important effect of the demonstration was that it led to an attempt to define the role of the university in national development and to a review of the extent to which the university curriculum was relevant and adequate for the needs and aspirations of Tanzania. A conference of leading educators and educational administrators was held at what was then the University College late in 1967; it was chaired by Dr. Wilbert Chagula, the former Principal of University College. This conference took stock not only of the lessons from the 1966 students' demonstration but also of the implications, for the university, of the newly announced Arusha Declaration, which specified socialism and self-reliance as the country's policies."²⁵

The first interdisciplinary courses in development studies were introduced in 1968. Then in 1970 a Department of Development studies was established within the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences. The programmes were slow in moving to the involvement of the whole student body, though the aim remained to make such programmes compulsory for all students. By 1973 it was possible to establish a semi-independent Institute of Development studies which since 1978 has been able to provide a two-year course in Development Studies for all undergraduate students.

It is clear that the Institute of Development Studies is expected to play a role within the University of Dar-es-Salaam which is very much akin to that played by Kivukoni College for Adult Education. This aspect has been touched upon as it relates to undergraduate programmes, it is perhaps more clearly perceived when, among a number of its other activities it is expected to organise courses for new members of staff. The position is officially recorded that: "In 1979, the Institute started organising ideological orientation courses for new academic staff."²⁶

The Institute of Development Studies is however constitutionally a part of the University as stated within its Constitution: The Institute shall be governed and administered in accordance with the constitution and with the provisions of the University.

However, it is clearly stated within the "Aims and Objectives of the Institute" that:

- (a) "The primary purpose of the Institute shall be to instruct undergraduates in the problems of national and East African development. In the fulfilment of this objective, the Institute shall hold examinations in all faculties in the University.

- (b) The Institute shall undertake research, either on its own or in collaboration with other persons or organisations, in matters of development; and it shall especially involve itself in the problems of socialist construction in Tanzania and in this shall base its programme on the principles and policies of CCM."²⁷

The positive relationship with the ruling party is further illustrated when the membership of the governing body - known as the Board of Institute is examined. Some 50% of the membership representatives are closely associated with TANU (CCM). The membership is set out in full in order to clarify the point:

- (i) The Director of the Institute, ex-officio.
- (ii) The Vice-Chancellor of the University, ex-officio.
- (iii) The Chief Academic Officer, ex-officio.
- (iv) All academic staff members of the Institute.
- (v) One representative of each faculty of the University, appointed in each case by the board of the faculty concerned.
- (vi) One representative of the Council of the University, appointed by the Council.
- (vii) One representative of the Senate of the University, appointed by Senate.
- (viii) The Chief Executive Secretary of CCM or his representative.
- (ix) The Secretary-General of CCMYO or his representative.
- (x) The Principal of Kivukoni College or his representative.
- (xi) One representative from the University District of CCMYO.
- (xii) One representative from the University branch of JUWATA.
- (xiii) One student representative of each faculty of the University, appointed by CCMYO.
- (xiv) Principal Secretary, Ministry²⁸ of National Education, or his representative.

That Development Studies programmes are to be taken seriously is illustrated by the fact that undergraduate students are required to pass an examination in the subject in order to graduate. It also appears, however, that the approach to the teaching of Development Studies is both formal and academic with little evidence of student involvement in community self-

reliant activities envisaged when such courses were introduced. Part of the reason for this it seems, relates to the difficulty and cost involved in providing such opportunities when there is travelling involved.

Aspects of political party involvement in the University of Dar-es-Salaam have been illustrated here to demonstrate the very positive relationship between the political system and education. TANU/CCM is clearly committed to the use of the higher education sector to the ideological ends of the state. The evidence for this has been outlined above in the form of political statements of intent and in the form of organisational reforms, such as the introduction of the Institute of Development Studies, and the clear participatory role of TANU/CCM within the University. Policy and the strategies that follow, is clearly aimed at the reduction of political friction and the galvanising of political support for the ruling party. This is very much akin to developments in the Adult Education sector as we shall demonstrate below. It must be stressed however that the Institute of Development Studies is particularly concerned with maintaining an independent role in relation to Government and Party and has stood firmly against its development as an "ideological institute" for the ruling Party CCM.²⁹

The full role of TANU within the university is difficult to assess. Individual members of staff are able to take up membership of TANU/CCM as indeed are students. A more clear expression of TANU presence on the campus of the University is the operation of the TANU University branch which has its own premises. The link, in a sense is longstanding between the University and the Party, as we have noted, it was from TANU that the University College first rented accommodation to start teaching. Since 1969 the TANU branch has been fully operational and shares its offices with a number of its sponsored organisations; the University TANU Youth League, Union of

Women of Tanzania and the Worker's Committee of Officers. Reporting these aspects Kinunda and Sanyal state:

"The present chairman of the University Branch is Associate Professor of Economics and the Executive Committee has members drawn from the Chief Academic Officer down to cleaners/messengers. This is a clear acceptance of the principle of equality which is the foundation stone of TANU/ASP policy of socialism and self-reliance".³⁰

5.2.6 Mobilizing the Adult Population

The importance attached to the role of Adult Education by the political leadership in Tanzania will be considered below. Major efforts have been made to extend the provision of adult education into what can be described as a "national service". Some insight into the scale of the activity can be gained from the writings of Budd Hall. Reviewing developments within the adult sector he states:

"Tanzania has built a widespread network under the administration of the National Ministry of Education. It is composed of nearly 2,000 national regional, district and divisional adult education co-ordinators and supervisors. These personnel are responsible to the thousands of adult education centres which operate using primary schools as bases".³¹

Whilst the emphasis in many adult education programmes is placed upon the development of basic literacy and health education, it also provides insight into the TANU Government's commitment to what Hall describes as "conscientization", a very large element of which is concerned with politicisation. It again represents the very direct involvement of those employed in the political domain with what in conventional terms is understood to be the educational process.

For purposes of clarity it is worthwhile setting out the main areas of concern in Tanzanian adult education. They can for simplicity be grouped as follows:

- (a) Programmes in basic adult education, providing literacy and number skills; farming techniques; health education and domestic skills for women. These are usually provided as mass programmes.
- (b) Programmes at the intermediate level and mainly concerned with the provision of agricultural and leadership skills. Much of this work is provided by Co-operative Colleges, Zonal Colleges and Folk Development Colleges.
- (c) Programmes in higher adult learning with wide ranging programmes providing knowledge and skills for all sectors of the community.³²

A number of key adult education institutions are involved in such programmes including Kivakuni College, Moshi National Co-operative College and the Institute of Adult Education.

A number of the forms of adult education provision indicated above will be picked out here for closer examination in the context of the political mobilization processes. The provision of discrete programmes in political education is examined in the context of the holistic approach to such curriculum development in Chapter 8.

The importance placed on adult educational development by the TANU Government was emphasised in the First Five Year Plan, 1964 - 1969 despite the obvious commitment as we have noted, to the aims of high level manpower planning which was given priority; Nyerere states: "First we must educate adults, our children will not have an impact on our development for 5, 19 or even 20 years. The attitude of adults on the other hand have an impact now".³³

The basic statement of intent set the process in motion; the major popular push within adult education has been in the mass campaigns for improved literacy. The literacy campaign, characterised by its adoption of distance teaching techniques and the use by adults of primary school premises, was

given official support when 1970 was declared adult education year. Hall and Dodd make the point that adult education when perceived in this way "is partly a socialist concept" they state that; "nearly half the people are adults, and nearly 90% of the adults are illiterate".³⁴

This particular aspect of political development through adult education will be returned to below. It is the political importance placed on adult education that is of immediate interest. Indeed, such was the concern with mass adult education, as it relates to the mobilisation process, that in 1973 the government was moved to issue a directive making adult worker's education compulsory in the public sector including all TANU affiliated organisations. The directive, issued by the Prime Minister's office stated the aims of such programmes as:

- (a) "To liberate the participants economically, ideologically and culturally.
- (b) To teach them how to transform their environment.
- (c) To teach them to understand thoroughly³⁵ the nations policy of socialism and self-reliance."

It is the compulsory nature of such programmes that is of interest in this context for it again illustrates the faith in the utilisation of educational programmes in serving political aims held by the political leadership.

Programmes are organised by a cadre of officials trained at Kivokuni Ideological College. The officers are officially described as political commissars - their role is to carry into the workplace the message of the official Party CCM ideology - their clear task is to mobilise the working population in support of the ruling Party.

5.2.7 Adult Education for Political Development

As noted above, adult education has been a subject of concern since independence; the 90% illiteracy rate was clearly a problem to a newly independent government attempting to mobilise popular support for its policies. One of the difficulties was that the main provision of adult education lay outside the formal system of schooling and education. Two significant events took place in 1970 which provided for greater co-ordination and integration. Adult education was placed for administrative purposes within the Ministry of National Education, and given equal status with other sections within the Ministry. And, as pointed out above, 1970 was declared Adult Education Year, thus giving additional emphasis to adult education programmes.

The benefit of integration with the National Ministry was soon apparent; each primary school it was hoped, would become an adult education centre, providing a meeting place for adults following various "campaign programmes". The role of the school in this activity is pointed up by Hall and Dodd, they state: "The typical group was sponsored by the primary school", whilst recognising the direct role of TANU, "as significant, a number of sponsorships came from the local TANU branch".³⁶

In considering the development of adult education in the post Arusha period J. Taylor takes as a major aspect the development of the mass literacy campaign. The 1971 TANU Party Conference had declared that all adults in the country must be literate by 1975 and though the many problems that existed, such as the shortage of trained teachers and the availability of texts, it again represents the determination by the political leadership to press forward with reforms:

"the campaign had been instituted by political directive and it was with TANU and government assistance that a

nation-wide adult education movement was organised. This reached down to village level through a series of committee structures".³⁷

Going on to consider the expansion of this programme between 1970 and 1975 Taylor estimates that enrolments increased from 185,000 to 4,797,000 and that within this total student population some 5,184,982 were enrolling and gaining their first experience of formal education.³⁸

The political socialisation role that adult education programmes were expected to play in the post-Arusha phase was clearly expressed by President Nyerere. In considering the range of programmes provided, including the gaining of literacy, he argues the need to fully understand the principle of Ujamaa Socialism and Self-reliance:

"But learning these skills is not enough. For we can only accomplish these things if all members of the nation work together for our common good. The third objective of adult education, therefore, must be to have everyone understand our national policies of socialism and self-reliance. We must learn to understand the plans for economic advancement, so that we can ensure that we all play a part in making them a success and that we all benefit from them."³⁹

The importance of the role played by TANU in the mobilization for adult education must again be emphasised. In what Mhaiki and Hall term a revolutionary document, TANU drew up guidelines for the nation in the post Arusha period; quoting from the document they state,

"Paragraph 13 of the Guidelines points out that: We have inherited in the government, industries and other institutions the habit in which one man gives the orders and the rest just obey him. If you do not involve the people in the work plans, the result is to make them feel a national institution is not theirs, and consequently workers adopt the habit of paid employees."⁴⁰

The key point that the document goes on to make is that in order to achieve a degree of participation by workers in various forms of national enterprise

there is a need to develop full political awareness. This would require a large scale programme to combat illiteracy; the creation of a network of communication and the development of cadres of trained personnel able to provide leadership. Prominent in the development policy for the political education of the adult population was the idea of creating "political education officers" - their role and the training provided by Kivukuni is described by Kassam:

"When a new cadre of district education officers in charge of adult education were appointed by the Ministry of National Education in 1970, a crash training course with two prongs to reflect their dual roles was mounted for them at Kivukuni College. Instruction in political education was given by the staff of Kivukuni College. The dual role of these education officers is defined by the Ministry of National Education as to plan and co-ordinate education programmes in the districts for which they are at the same time political education officers. By virtue of these combined functions, the EO (AE) is a member of the TANU District Executive Committee, and at the regional level, the regional co-ordinator of adult education is a member of the TANU Regional Executive Committee"⁴¹

What this makes clear is the linkage between Adult Education programmes for "political education", the ideological training role of Kivukuni College and the political party TANU. As political educators and party officials they act as a direct link between the political and education systems. Their purpose is the development of political/ideological support for the policies of Ujamaa Socialism and Self-reliance.

Particular attention has been paid within this section to the reform strategies adopted in Tanzania in higher education and adult education as they relate to the political development process. Reforms in the school sector have only been touched upon because they were given prominence in our consideration of the political ideological changes that were promised by the Arusha Declaration. It will be possible to gain greater insight into the role schools are expected to play in the promotion of political ideological

purposes when the history and political education programmes designed for schools are examined later within the thesis.

5.2.8 Kivukuni Ideological Institute

Kivukuni began life as an Adult Education Centre based upon the concepts originated at Ruskin College, England. Courses were provided for adults in the liberal arts and social sciences and were seen in the first instance as an aspect of continuing education.

The College was opened in 1961 just prior to independence and from the start was closely associated with TANU. Its main clients were mature students drawn from the trade union movement, local government and other service industries. Cameron and Dodd in discussing the role of Kivukuni stated that:

"From its courses students have returned to, or found new employment in, government service, TANU, the trade unions, teaching, community development, the co-operative movement and local government. By the end of 1965 it was possible to report that: every TANU Deputy District Executive Secretary has been to the College at least once ... every TANU Deputy Regional Executive has been at least once ... and all the Area Secretaries and Regional Executive Secretaries (of the central government administration) in office in 1964 have been to the College on a short course".⁴²

The important political leadership training role of the College is clear to see. Again we have represented a positive example of an educational institution relating directly to the major political organisation in the country. Such is the tight political relationship of Kivukuni to TANU that it can be positively described as the Party ideological training organisation. In his speech, on opening the College, President Nyerere indicated the role of the institution in political development. He stated:

"To come here as a student is to be given a wonderful opportunity and a privilege. The responsibility is proportionately great. If any student tried to divorce

himself from the people who indirectly sent him here he would be abusing the privilege - but I do not believe this will happen. The graduates of Kivukoni must be like the yeast in a loaf, effective because it cannot be isolated, its presence being known by the work it has done".⁴³

There is no precise date from which the College became known as an ideological institute for the ruling party. It has from its inception been owned by TANU but in its earliest days taught orthodox western orientated subjects: History, Sociology, Literature, Geography, Law, Political Science, Modern Languages and Administration. At this point the majority of the staff were ex-patriate, including the Principal. By 1969 it was possible to appoint the first Tanzanian to the role of Principal and from 1970 all the teaching staff were Tanzanian nationals. From this time on the Party TANU and later CCM, came much more to the fore. In 1971 the Party gave a directive to the College as to its future role - the 1971 Mwongozo (directive) made clear the ideological development role of the College. This position is now expressed in the Aims and Objectives of the College:

"The aim and objective for Kivukoni CCM College and its Zonal Colleges is to spread and reinforce the ideology of the Party through interpreting, teaching, analysing and defending it and in so doing raise the level of understanding of the leaders of CCM. After understanding and mastering it the leaders are expected to accept and implement the party objectives. Secondly apart from being assigned the role of educating and spreading the Party's ideology, they are also supposed to be sources of ideals to help the Party promote the development of Tanzanians. And lastly they are supposed to be sources of information and advisory organs on various issues regarding the ideology of the party".⁴⁴

Kivukoni provides leadership training courses of either nine months or three month duration. The courses enrol staff at both a senior and middle management level from "Companies, Corporations, Ministries, the Army and the Government both for long and short courses". The Zonal Colleges, and seven have been established up to 1981, "offer courses for leaders from

villages, Co-operative Unions, Executive Committee members at Branch level, Industries, Public corporations, District Development Executive Committee leaders, the Army, the Government and leaders from the Party and various organs".⁴⁵

Recruitment is through nomination by the Central Committee of the CCM operating through its branches within each sector of activity across the nation - every institution has its own TANU/CCM branch.

The courses are no longer concerned with liberal arts, social science teaching but are wholly orientated towards the transmission of the Party ideology; the subjects are taught as specialist areas by staff recruited for that purpose. They are:

1. Ideology and Politics
2. History - the History of the Party
3. Political Economy
4. Management and Administration
5. People's Combat and
6. Social Science Research Methodology.

The approach to teaching the subjects is socialistic, for example, "political economy" teaches the needs of a socialist rural economy and does not emphasise theoretical models used in the West; similarly "Management and Administration" relates specifically to issues that have developed out of TANU/CCM policies.

In the strictest sense the College is not part of the formal education system -it is the Party College and is directly responsible to the CCM; its staff are directly recruited and paid by the ruling Party. Because of its involvement in ideological training and the supervision of the development of political education programmes it clearly acts as a bridge between the political and educational systems.

5.3 The Political Process and Educational Reform 2

5.3.1 The Kenyan Case:

Whilst the emphasis in Kenya has been placed on manpower planning needs and the shaping of the educational system to provide for the modern sector of the economy, it must also be recognised that major reforms have been introduced within education. Some of these reforms are examined in this section in order to illustrate the relationship in Kenya between education and politics. In addition to reform developments within the formal system it is essential to take into account innovations and reform in the non-formal system of education. This is so because in Kenya the reform of education is to a large extent characterised by pragmatic responses to social and economic pressure.

The accent on reform in the formal sector relates more clearly to what are considered to be curriculum aspects, and it is to these that we turn initially to consider, before examining Harambeeism and the problems associated with unemployed school leavers. What it is hoped to illustrate is the degree of negative control by the political party KANU when compared with neighbouring Tanzania. Again, it is the absence of a commitment to a particularly strong ideology that needs to be stressed and which points to the different routes taken to national and political development. The equivalent in the Kenyan context, to the Arusha Declaration is Session Paper 10 with its emphasis on social justice. No overt attempt is implied to utilise the educational system to the purposes of political mobilization. Nation-building is, of course, taken seriously and in that sense all development plans since independence have been concerned with emphasising economic development and Africanization. In the same way it is important to point to the stress placed on programmes for national unity and the harnessing of education to this end. National unity programmes as they relate to the school curriculum are considered in a separate section

below, as are other unifying policies in education such as the use of ceremony, symbolism and language policies.

Reform in education in Kenya has been in the main a piece meal process characterised by an absence of direct political involvement. In order to understand why this should be so, a number of separate reforms are picked out for examination; firstly we turn to the major reform within the primary school sector.

5.3.2 The New Primary Approach

The origin of the New Primary Approach is to be found in the pre-independence period and the concern amongst teachers and administrators with the standard of English at the primary school level. At a meeting of Teachers College Tutors in 1956 it was decided to recommend the establishment of a Special Centre in Nairobi. The aim of the centre was to promote the education of children through the medium of English. A recent survey of curriculum development in Kenya in discussing the origin of the NPA state that:

"The achievement of the Special Centre was rapid and spectacular. Every year they tested the course for the following year, publishing the course in yearly instalments, but even before the course was complete it was so popular that within five years all the Asian schools in Kenya had adopted the Peak Course and one African Standard 1 class was starting it".⁴⁶

The basic education philosophy of the Peak Course experiment and the one later to be fully adopted as the New Primary Approach, was child centred; using activity, participation, use of senses, group work and training in self-reliance as the basis of child learning.

The experimental period continued after full independence had been granted. The Special Centre had become increasingly professionalised and taken on the role of "curriculum development centre" by publishing and

designing Peak Courses. For the purposes of this study it is the spontaneous development of the NPA reform that is most noteworthy, the initiative had come from within the educational system itself and was not promoted by the colonial government in its earliest phase. Added legitimacy was gained by the Special Centre when the Ford Foundation decided to fund a study of what had increasingly become known as the New Primary Approach.

At Independence, as we have recognised above, the Ministry of Education was reorganised to provide for an integrated administration and separate schooling was declared illegal. It was also decided to adopt English Medium teaching in all schools in Kenya if it was wanted at the local level. This was the start of official government involvement in NPA and in 1964 the new Ministry of Education brought together the Institute of Education and the Special Centre to form a nucleus for the newly founded Curriculum Development Centre. The New Primary Approach was thus adopted by the government to serve Kenyan schools in the post-independence period. The policies adopted by the Ministry of Education had been recommended by the Ford Foundation Report, namely that: "English should be retained as a medium of instruction that Swahili should become a compulsory subject at Standard IV. That the vernacular should be kept alive by allocating it one period a day in Standards 1.2. and 3."⁴⁷

Despite the retention of mother-tongue and the adoption of Swahili the orientation of NPA has from its inception, been European to the neglect of African cultural and social factors. Turning to some of the criticisms of NPA we are able to note the obvious disregard on the part of Ministry officials and politicians of the western bias in the underlying philosophy of NPA; this was the case despite the arguments put forward by Kenyatta regarding the corporate nature of life and learning in pre-colonial days. The role education played in pre-colonial times has been discussed above.

Traditional modes of education placed the emphasis on the group and not the individual; learning was often by rote and not through self-discovery methods so prized within NPA packages.

In considering these aspects in the Kenyan context Stafford Kay says:

"the educational individualism of the New Primary Approach is a thoroughly western concept which cannot take root in a strange soil without some substantial social alterations. Something must be done to rectify the conflicting values of group solidarity and individualism which the home and school respectively encourage. Even more important, education officials and curriculum specialists have not asked whether the values embodied in child centred education are indeed those which are desired for the type of truly African country Kenya seeks to become. In fact, it would seem to be culturally more consistent if the schools were to promote the identity of the family and tribal groups than to promote the western cult of individualism and competition. Instead, Kenyans have seemingly accepted these western concepts of education as "modern" and are intent on incorporating them into their schools. One result has been that they have failed to consider both deeply and critically just why they are doing what they are in primary education. A second result has seen the school and home often working at cross-purposes in the development of values and attitudes".⁴⁸

It must not, of course, be taken as given that child centred methods have been universally accepted or successfully introduced in Kenyan primary schools. In many instances classroom conditions, the standards of teacher education and the non-availability of child educational centred resources and materials has precluded its universal application. The significance of the general acceptance of NPA in Kenya in the post-independence period lies in the absence of attention to the role of the "hidden curriculum" in the transmission of values. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to Africanise the curriculum in the formal sense. Syllabuses have been revised to reflect the nature of Kenyan society and particular attention is paid to the development of social studies programmes in Chapter 7 where the content of history and civics programmes is interpreted.

The adoption of child centred education in the form of the NPA is significant in the context of this study, in so far as it represents an acceptance in the post colonial phase of a form of educational colonialism. No educational system is ever free from outside influences - indeed it is recognised that "cultural borrowing" between national systems has often provided one of the major initiatives for educational reform. However, if in the African context the cultural intrusion is seen as alien, it is for national government to adopt policies which are relevant, for otherwise contradictions will remain. This is the major dilemma facing policy makers faced on the one-hand with pressures to modernise and as a consequence adopt European styles of education; or retain what are considered to be valuable cultural norms derived from a pre-colonial age. Kenya appears, in the main to have opted predominantly for the path of modernisation. In placing its faith in capitalistic modes of production based upon personal initiative in the modern sector of economy, Kenya has also endorsed the development of educational approaches in her schools that are expected to produce self-sufficient individuals.

5.3.3 Harambeeism in Education

It appears contradictory to turn from an educational reform which enshrines the idea of the individual in the learning process as paramount, to look at an educational activity which personifies the basic principles of African Socialism in the Kenyan context. The basic principles of harambeeism have been examined above in the context of political/educational ideologies and was shown to be one of the formal aspects of Kenya's commitment to African Socialism. In secondary education, it can be argued, it provided for educational development, whilst it allowed the Government through the Ministry of Education to retain a high degree of control. The main reason for the development of harambee secondary schools was the shortage of

places for primary school leavers in government secondary schools; though often inefficient, for the government they provided some relief from the primary school leaver problems and can be represented as an acceptance of a laissez-faire political approach to educational development.

Harambeeism, one of the main guiding principles in the development of African Socialism in the Kenyan context, has thus provided a means for a more rapid development of the secondary school system than would otherwise been possible. It also illustrates, on the other hand, how local initiatives - which are an aspect of peripheral politics - can lead to unplanned action and lack of coherence; as Kinyanjui says of this situation: "This impressive but unplanned action has gone ahead at the expense of some other aspects of the whole educational system".⁴⁹ Kenya has clearly allowed market forces combined with local political initiative free rein at the expense of other reform needs.

Whilst harambeeism is particularly strong in the Secondary School sector it has nevertheless had significant effects in other parts of the educational system. A notable political case is the development of the Harambee Institutes of Technology. As institutions they are intended to supplement the work of the polytechnics by producing higher craft and technician level manpower. In essence they are outside of the control of the central government and represent the ideal of harambeeism in so far as they originate from the fund raising efforts of local committees. Again it appears that the laissez-faire attitude of the central government is characterised here, in much the same way as there is Government acceptance of private educational development. However, it is also clear that by permitting such developments the government has allowed a drift away, in terms of political control, from the centre to peripheral local communities. In a crude sense the development of the Harambee Institutes

represents the working of market forces in the labour market. The supply of jobs in the economy was outstripped by the numbers available at all levels other than in technical occupations. Secondary school leavers thus turned to skill training in the hope of finding paid employment.⁵⁰ Looking specifically at this aspect of development Godfrey and Mutiso state:

"This suggests that a concern of the planners and supporters of Harambee Institutes has been to identify a section of the labour market in which demand exceeds supply and to meet that excess demand, rather than continue to participate in the scramble for more and academic education".⁵¹

Though the expansion of the Harambee Institutes has not been as rapid as originally expected, it is probably the inequalities in levels of prosperity in the regions that accounts for the unevenness of development. It has been pointed out that regional disparities are a reflection of the level of prosperity. Kiambu and Muranga Institutes are both placed in relatively rich areas, and in the case of the Kiambu Institute was supported by the late President (Jomo Kenyatta) and has its own highly successful coffee plantation.⁵²

5.3.4 The Village Polytechnic Movement

Another illustration of the pragmatic non-doctrinaire approach to educational development and reform is provided by the Village Polytechnic movement. Again it can be seen as an attempt at local community level to deal with the problem of school leaver unemployment in this case at the primary school level.

The village polytechnics provide young people with basic craft skills in areas such as Carpentry, Masonry, Metalwork and Tailoring; it is expected that the skills provided will relate directly to the needs of local rural communities.

The origins of the village polytechnic goes some way to demonstrate the essential pragmatism that is being argued within this thesis with respect to the Kenyan context. The political system was not in its earliest phase involved and the Government only came into the sphere in 1969. Indeed it was through the expression of concern regarding the problem of primary school leaver unemployment at the annual Conference of the National Christian Council of Kenya in 1965, that brought about the start of the movement. Following this expression of public concern it was decided to start with some eighteen projects by establishing craft training centres to be known as "village polytechnics", after this initial start development was quite rapid. To quote from a short article on the village polytechnic movement:

"Originally financed by voluntary contributions, such was the success of the initial projects that by 1969 the Kenya Government decided to enter fully into the development of village polytechnics in the rural communities. By 1974 some sixty polytechnics had been established; by 1980 two hundred and twenty-two polytechnics were functioning along the lines intended and providing for a wide variety of local needs".⁵³

The village polytechnic is in the strictest sense part of the non-formal sector of education and the personnel working within the movement strive to retain the non-formal bias of its origins. From the beginning stress was placed on the curriculum needs of communities and an avoidance of formalised examinations and certificates. With regard to relevance King states:

"They were adamant that provision would not mean the same old four courses that every vocational institution felt it necessary to offer: carpentry, masonry, electrical and motor repair. Instead, ideally, the polytechnics should respond to local needs whatever they were, and also take the lead in offering skills that would make a difference to the quality of life in the countryside."⁵⁴

It is clear from the curriculum that there is no attempt to use the village polytechnic system for formal political education. However, it must be recognised that they are concerned with attitude formation both in the relation to harambeeism and individual initiative. The message of pulling together is implicit in the institutions and the way they are run with elements of self-reliance demonstrated through the sale of village polytechnic products to offset some of the costs involved. Individualism and enterprise are also strong aspects in the form of entrepreneurship for the graduates of the polytechnics. Students are taught basic skills in business management and are expected to establish small workshop units on completion of their two year course.

Village polytechnic development again illustrates the accent placed in Kenya on voluntary "harambee" forms of initiative with Government intervention at a later stage of development. National control has rested with a number of ministries - the Ministry of Co-operatives and Social Services, the Ministry of Housing and Social Services and now with the Ministry of Labour under the direct charge of the Director of Industrial Training.

Primarily however it represents the predominance of local initiative in the development process which may in turn hinder national development. As Cowan has argued, "local interest will divert a drive for development into channels that hinder or preclude a balanced development of education for the whole nation."⁵⁵

5.3.5 Political Unrest and University Education in Kenya

It has been emphasised above that the policies of educational reform for political development in Tanzania represent a direct response by the TANU/CCM Government to social, economic and political unrest and dissatisfaction with government policies. Though the shift in policies after

Arusha did not imply that socialism was new, there was clearly an acceleration of policies already embarked upon, that can be recognised as a response to problems in society.

These aspects have been highlighted in the Tanzanian context without reference so far to similar occurrences in Kenya. This is so because the response in Kenya was mainly within the polity and took the form of a reaffirmation of the Kenyan path to African Socialism through policies relating to social justice and a programme of Africanisation. Political problems did however arise, and Sessional Paper 10 was as much a response to such difficulties in Kenyan society as the Arusha Declaration was in Tanzania.

Very early in the post independence period Kenya suffered a series of political crises. The Army mutinied in January of 1964 and was quickly brought back under control with the help of British troops; opposition however remained as a potential focus for anti-government opinion. Security remained fragile in these early days, a number of "freedom fighters" had stayed in the forests and had to be forced out. More significant than these factors however, was the murder of a radical member of Parliament Pio Pinto in February 1965. His death marked out clearly the problems facing the KANU government and the endemic factionalism within the Party. It is not possible to enter into the details of this aspect within this thesis, other than to recognise, that though small in number within KANU the radicals, representing so far as they were concerned the true nationalist movement, would remain a potent force for the articulation of political radical dissent. Despite the problems associated with the early stages of political independence however, it was never considered necessary to adopt a cohesive and comprehensive policy of politicisation through the educational system. This we have noted as the major point of divergence between the policies adopted within each system. The tendency in Kenya

has been for the State to take onto itself greater powers of legal and political control whilst allowing laissez-faire developments in society including parts of the education sector. When difficulties arise the government has opted for an emphasis on what Easton has referred to as "rewards and punishments". When the students of the University of Nairobi rioted during February 1980 they illustrated clearly the frustrations felt by those who would normally expect to form part of a privileged elite.⁵⁶ In this case however, it appears that they also carry through to the modern period the problems of divisiveness touched upon earlier.

The initial cause of the riots was said to be the dissatisfaction felt by students over the standard of food and amenities. The rioting at first took place within the University, the following day the students took their protest onto the streets of Nairobi. Official Government comment came from the Attorney General; the students who had been sent home would, he is reported as saying: "not be re-instated until they pay up ----- if students repeated their violent behaviour the Government may consider making them pay for their education as well".⁵⁷ Taking up the issue at the Presidential level Danial arap Moi is reported to have said:

"that the Government was so incensed by the riots at the University that the expulsion of all the students currently at the University had been considered.

He warned that the nation was prepared to lose the present generation at the University, unless they reform once and for all".⁵⁸

At the same time the President hinted that the discontent was concerned with matters beyond their complaints over the standard of food in the student canteen: "I am aware of the group that is popularly known as "Magnificent five" which is giving money to incite others".⁵⁹ The implication was that the riots had been politically generated within the University, by outside political interests.

The University came under increasing pressure from the government during 1982. This time the link with the political opposition groups was more clearly defined. The University was closed at the beginning of August 1982 because of student involvement in an abortive coup led by certain officer groups within the Kenyan Air Force: "the University was closed after the students publicly demonstrated their support for the abortive coup".⁶⁰ Some 24 students were remanded in custody and charged with sedition. By February 1983 the number of students under arrest had risen to 69, all facing heavy sentences.

Earlier in the year the extent of the problem was revealed in an editorial published by The Standard in Nairobi. Criticism was raised against the KANU government; the view was expressed that there was an increasing fear of detention without trial in Kenyan society, two major paragraphs deserve to be stated in full:

"At the time of writing, at least one person who has been teaching political science at the university has tendered his resignation. Some lecturers are finding it difficult to teach because of fear that they will be picked up for views they may express in the course of their lectures.

The state of fear and trepidation in our highest seat of learning comes at a time when the government has banned some plays thus giving the impression that it intends to control opinion".⁶¹

The editor of the Standard was subsequently dismissed from his post and the editorial officially described as seditious.

A number of arrests had been made during June 1982 including six members of the University staff and; "during the summer the Government repeatedly accused university lecturers of fomenting discontent."⁶² One of them, Maina wa Kinyatti was sentenced to six years imprisonment. Commenting on the sentence in the Guardian, Victoria Brittain states: "The trial and its

verdict are clearly intended as a government warning to Kenyans of the consequences of dissent".⁶³ It is interesting to note that Kinyatti is recognised as a leading historian of the Mau Mau period and brings to the present all of the old rivalries between those who had fought in the forests as "freedom fighters" and those who had worked for the colonial administration in the period prior to independence. We will note in examining the curriculum content of history programmes in Kenyan schools that Mau Mau and the nationalist movements is not given prominence in the primary school syllabus.

Addressing himself personally to the role of the University in the wake of the unrest and rioting President Moi is reported as saying:

"The present structure of the University of Nairobi will be totally overhauled before the university is reopened ----the present university set up would have to be dissolved to prevent the institution becoming a weapon of destruction again."⁶⁴

Taking the issue further, though without elaborating how it might be achieved the President went on to say: "The new university should be made relevant to nation-building requirements, with no prospect that it might become a source or instrument of destruction."⁶⁵

It is not possible to say at this stage just how the University will be made more relevant to nation-building. At the present the policy is to use punitive semi-repressive measures to reduce the effect of dissenting opinion amongst university staff and students. The dilemma in the Kenyan context for positive politicisation through the educational system is the lack of a coherent political ideology - unlike Tanzania, the process in Kenya has been based on the provision of opportunities to take advantage of economic and social development. When the values associated with the free-economy are themselves under attack it is less easy to utilise the educational system for

political purposes other than through exhortation to students to accept the values of the capitalist free-market system.

5.4 Summary Review

Within this Chapter we have examined the positive aspects of the divergence as represented by the approaches to educational reform in Tanzania and Kenya. Tanzania has been shown to have adopted a positive strategy to restructure the educational system at all levels to provide the means for the mobilisation of political support for the TANU/CCM Government's view of society. Some of the direct links between the political system and educational system have been brought out in order to illustrate the extensive penetration of the educational sub-system by the political system.

Though the initial response to the manifestation of political discontent in society was punitive i.e. the putting down of the revolt by the armed forces, the suppression of criticism through the trade union movement through the creation of NUTA and the rustication of the students following their protest over national service; there followed a policy based upon the premise that education could be used to radically reform society. Education was restructured in order to provide a framework within which a positive attitude towards the new society could be achieved. The ideas were predicated on the assumption that politicization programmes could reorientate people towards the adoption of new social and political norms.

Though faced in part with similar problems following independence in Kenya we have illustrated the very different strategies for reform that have been adopted. Education was not seen to have a major role to play in the politicisation sense, other than through the usual programmes concerned with nation-building and the aims of national unity. Where there has been

dissent, and this has been demonstrated as a problem following the death of Kenyatta, the solution has been sought through the adoption of punitive/repressive methods. Traditionally support for the KANU Government view of society has been attempted through the provision of greater economic opportunity and competition in society, tempered by the loose concept of social justice. This is manifested in the school system by the idealisation of educational practice that places the child at the centre, in an individual sense, of the learning process, co-operative values are de-emphasised. It again marks the point of difference between the two systems; Tanzania with its commitment to mass education programmes and the mobilisation of political support through positive strategies for politization and Kenya with her more pragmatic non-doctrinaire approach and the promotion of diffuse political support through traditional approaches to curriculum reform and the equalisation of opportunity.

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57. Reported in The Sunday Standard, March 9, 1980.
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PART THREE: CURRICULUM REFORM FOR NATION BUILDING AND
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER SIX: THE POLITICS OF CURRICULUM CONTROL

- 6.1 Curriculum Development Policy
- 6.2 Developing a Model
- 6.3 The Politics of Curriculum Reform in Kenya
 - 6.3.1 The Organisation of K.I.E.
 - 6.3.2 The Primary Schools Social Studies Project
- 6.4 The Politics of Curriculum Reform in Tanzania.
 - 6.4.1 The Organisation of Institute of Education.
 - 6.4.2 Developing Political Education Programmes.
- 6.5 The Input Phase
- 6.6 Summary Review.

*"There must be a deliberate and planned social education to enable the child to acquire socially desirable values. This is the social role to prepare the individual for effective and smooth entry into society as an adult"*¹

H.F. Makulu

CHAPTER SIX

THE POLITICS OF CURRICULUM CONTROL

6.1 Curriculum Development Policy

Curriculum development is seen within both systems under review as of particular importance. In terms of the educational process it provides the policy maker with a major area for positive reform. This is the case in many systems, as is pointed out by Beauchamp and Beauchamp when they state:

"The innovations have been motivated by the desire to improve the quality of education for the young, and the demand for revolution in school programmes to meet new social and economic conditions".²

In both Kenya and Tanzania curriculum reform and innovation have been taken as having a central importance. The key term in the context of curriculum reform in each of these countries is "relevance" - it recognises the problems associated with educational programmes, at all levels within the system, that owe their origin to the colonial power. That there are many dimensions to this issue has been shown above; the extent to which a nation will go in order to replace the form and content of an educational system which has in major part been imposed from outside will depend on the degree of ideological commitment accepted by the political party in power. This we have recognised. In both Kenya and Tanzania the problem is emphasised as paramount, though different degrees of emphasis are placed on the function of education in each national system.

In discussing this aspect in a broader context Abernathy and Coombe argue the position thus:

"there is a strong feeling among leaders and leading educators that their societies can no longer afford irrelevance in school and university curricula. Where energies are directed towards the development of their country and the growth of self-conscious and self-

esteeming national community, the curricula must be de-colonised and nationalised, created by local experts to suit local circumstances and needs".

The concern within this study is with the reform of curricula for political development, in its broadest sense this is taken to include programmes that are concerned with the promotion of national unity and national consciousness - more critically it is to do with how the formal curriculum in schools and other educational institutions is designed to provide political education programmes for young people. In Kenya and Tanzania curriculum development groups have been established to consider all curricula issues in the schools sectors. The concern in this chapter is with the governmental and administrative aspects of these curriculum development agencies and the reform of the curriculum.

6.2 Developing a Model

It becomes obvious in any study that takes into account the total context within which change and development is taking place that aspects such as national purpose, ideology and general culture are of major significance. And, though it is not possible to consider each aspect in detail, it is possible to hold them in view through the development of a basic model. The model set out below, as derived from Hanna,⁴ attempts to define education in the process of nation-building.

NATION-BUILDING SYSTEM MODEL

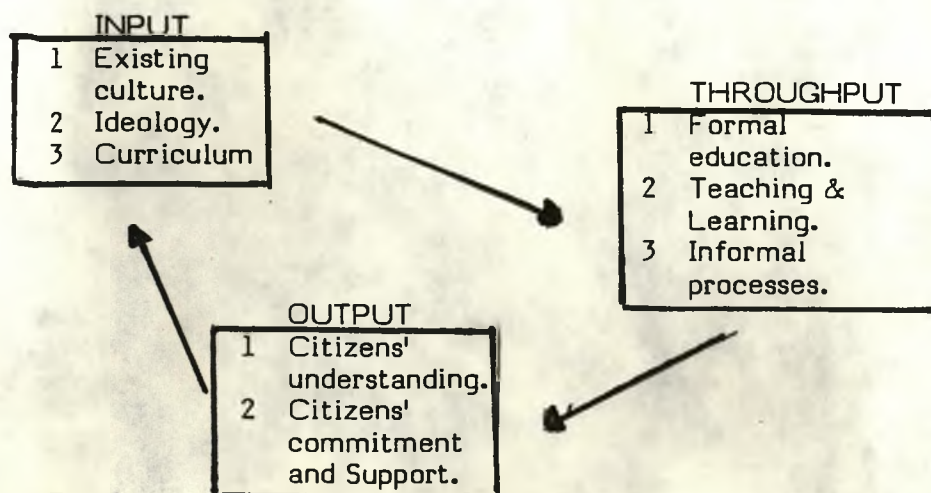


Fig. 4 Model of National Investment in Education to Develop Citizens' Support for Political Development.

The starting point in the process is described in the model as a series of "Inputs", the existing culture is in this case taken as given, since it has already been stated in the foregoing chapters. It needs to be stated however, that we are recognising culture as a significant variable and one which affects each nation in different ways. The curriculum as stated here, is what can generally be regarded as the subjects taught and contained in the formal school/college curricula, and are seen in this context as the major Input in the political education process; these aspects are examined separately in succeeding chapters. "*Ideology*" is here taken to be the political ideological orientation of the particular system under review. The "*Throughput*" of the formal educational process is considered later. *Output*, though illustrated in the model may not be easy to measure, some of the theoretical considerations relating to such outcomes will be examined below.

The model, as expressed here, is used as a supporting paradigm for Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. In this chapter the machinery concerned with the design and development of major formal educational *inputs* will be considered, and comparisons made between Kenya and Tanzania. In the succeeding chapters the "*throughput*" aspect will be considered in the form of an assessment of formal programmes through an evaluation of history civics and political education programmes at school, tertiary higher and adult education levels. The "*output*" phase will be interpreted as those expectations of political support held by those involved in the curriculum process, including curriculum developers, administrators and political party members.

Some aspects of political influence on curriculum issues have already been touched upon above. In this chapter the concern is with another dimension in the educational planning process: it starts at the point where national

manpower plans are articulated in curriculum terms. It is not so much with the broad sweep of curriculum development that we are here concerned with however, but with the development of political education/social studies programmes.

What will immediately become apparent is the degree of similarity and dissimilarity in the approaches adopted in each of the systems under review. Each system however has adopted a centralised planning approach and established curriculum development units; in each case also there exists a strong central government involvement.

We turn now to an examination of the development of centralised curriculum agencies in the post-independence period, looking at their roles, personnel and relationships with the political system. Their specific role in the control of curriculum development for political mobilisation will be examined in detail; it is to developments in the Kenyan context that we first turn.

6.3 The Politics of Curriculum Reform in Kenya

It has been noted above, that in the Kenyan context certain reforms were ongoing at the time of independence and that the New Primary Approach had led to the formation of a specialised curriculum unit. The significance of this development cannot be ignored, for clearly it led to the development of knowledge in the areas of curriculum development, planning and design that would be essential in the post-independence period. Its concern however, was not with the re-orientation of curriculum material to suit the educational and social needs of a new African nation, its primary purpose was to provide new methodologies for learning.

Changes had, as has been recognised above, been introduced in school syllabuses just prior to independence and represented several years of work

- 210 -

by the colonial Inspectorate. They were however, little more than collections of syllabuses already in common use in Kenyan African Primary Schools. Nevertheless the development of the 1962 Syllabus for African Primary and Intermediate Schools provided the Inspectorate with valuable experience and gave teachers an opportunity to take part in curriculum revision by developing schemes of work and guidance for teachers. What was lacking in the Kenyan context was the means by which an overall view of curriculum needs could be made and relevant curriculum developed.

One of the earliest steps taken to establish an agency with the power to review developments in the curriculum was based on a recommendation of the Ominde Commission. The Commission's concern was with national unity and it recognised the central role of curriculum reform in serving this end. Taking a particularly cautious approach to the question and recognising that change cannot be affected "overnight" but requires a continuing process of adaptation they state: "Moreover the modification of the curriculum may be expected to remain on the agenda of educational reform, since the national and social background of Kenya and the way of life of its people are certain to change considerably during the coming decades".⁵

Having stated the rationale for permanent review the Commission then go on to argue forcibly for the establishment of a standing review body: "As we consider the growth of national unity alongside the other needs of Kenya, it appears to us that a permanent curriculum study unit is needed. This would be a research body, but its intention would be basically practical, in the sense that it would be concerned with general findings about the reform of the curriculum and with its particular adaptation to the needs of Kenya".⁶

It was whilst the Ominde Commission report was being written in 1964 that steps were taken to establish some of the machinery of central control for curriculum development. In April 1964 the Kenya Institute of Education was

established, and though not in the first instance specifically concerned with curriculum development its functions and activities brought it close to the curriculum area. It was:

- (a) "to administer a scheme of examinations on behalf of the Ministry of Education and to make recommendations for the award of the Teachers' Certificate;
- (b) to be a centre of professional activity for teachers, officers of the Government and others engaged in professional work;
- (c) to promote and co-operate in the provision of conferences and in-service courses for teachers and others engaged in or intending to engage in educational work;
- (d) to arrange for lectures and courses of lectures or demonstrations and the like, for members of institutions and for interchange of teachers between member institutions;
- (e) to promote educational research and secure due publication of the results and to foster improvements in educational practice;
- (f) to provide advisory services to Government and other organisations as requested from time to time by the Minister of Education."

The Kenya Institute of Education became more closely involved with curriculum development through a process of collaboration with institutions who also had connections with the curriculum development process. The most important of these for our purpose was the Curriculum Development and Research Centre. First established in 1966 through a merger of existing curriculum development groups in science, mathematics and English, the Centre is in direct line of descent from the initiative taken within the New Primary Approach and English Medium Teaching developments.

Though only lasting for a short period as an autonomous entity, it is worth considering its basic role. The Centre was, for administrative purposes, part of the Ministry of Education and expected to serve in an advisory

capacity: "suggesting programmes for the improvement of education in the countries schools and, with the Ministry's approval implementing these programmes".⁸

This essentially developmental aspect has been expanded since 1966 to include all aspects of the primary and secondary school curriculum including the areas of central interest within this study namely history, civics and social studies. The curriculum material examined in Chapter Seven was produced in 1967 and has not to the author's knowledge been amended since that date.

From its very beginning the Curriculum Development and Research Centre had been closely involved in the work of the Kenya Institute of Education through membership of the K.I.E. Board of Delegates. Such was the degree of similarity in the work of the two separate institutions that it was decided to formally merge them. Legal status was provided for the merger and the new position of the K.I.E. in the 1968 Education Act. The new function of the K.I.E. are described as:

"the co-ordination of institutions devoted to the training of teachers, the conduct of examinations to enable persons to become qualified teachers, the conduct and promotion of educational research, the preparation of educational materials and other matters connected with the training of teachers and the development of education and training".

During 1968 the newly structured K.I.E. was reorganised into four departments, one of which is concerned with Curriculum Development which in turn is divided into seven sections specialising in particular aspects of the curriculum. For the purposes of curriculum development, design and planning a series of subject panels has been established. The subject panels are representative groupings containing school teachers, college tutors, and members of the Inspectorate. It is not the specific purpose of this study to

evaluate the effectiveness of the reorganised K.I.E. other than when any neglect of the curriculum development process can be represented as a political attitude towards the importance of "political education" in the nation-building process. We shall return to this point below when the position of the K.I.E. in the machinery of government is taken into account.

The "Bessey Report" was however, extremely critical of developments since 1968. They state: "The mission's main impression is that both the K.I.E. and the Curriculum Development and Research Centre were more purposeful and more productive before merger than since".¹⁰

The Mission then goes on to recommend:

"that a Curriculum Development Unit involving a small professional team be put under the direct control of the Inspectorate and be supported as necessary by panels or project committees of primary and secondary school teachers".¹¹

A number of changes were introduced which followed in part the Bessey Mission recommendations and led to a division of functions. The main aspects of teacher education were placed with the University and the Institute of Education assumed the role of curriculum development in its widest sense. The role of the Institute of Education as from 1975 is described as "basically a curriculum and development and research organisation".¹² This is very clearly a return to the pre-1968 role of the Curriculum and Development Research Centre. It is important to note, as pointed out above, that the Bessey Mission which was primarily responsible for the recommendations for reform in the organization of curriculum development, was comprised of British educationists. How far and to what extent they understood the problems of development in Kenya is open to question. Perhaps of more importance is the acceptance of a foreign manned mission by the KANU government. It demonstrates a lack of

interest by the political leadership¹³ in educational reform issues, an acceptance of bureaucratic control over the educational system and a general lethargy in this area of educational policy making.¹⁴

6.3.1 The Organization of the Kenyan Institute of Education

For administrative purposes the Institute of Education is headed by a senior officer from the Inspectorate of Assistant Chief Inspector rank. The Director has a small professional staff of curriculum developers who run the machine on a day-to-day basis.

The overall control of the Institute is vested in the Council which is a representative body with members drawn from the Education Department at the University, the Teacher Training Colleges and the inspectorate. There is no separate membership held by KANU and in conversation with the members of staff at the Institute it was apparent that no thought had been given to the need for political party representation. This point will be taken up again when comparisons are made with Tanzania.

The Council of the Institute is a large body which meets infrequently - the main decision making arena is the Academic Board of the Council. The Director of the Institute is the secretary of the Academic Board. Chairmanship of the Board is placed with the Director of Education for Schools thus ensuring a direct connection between the Ministry of Education and the work of the Institute.

The main lines of control are clear cut, and, though operating as a semi-autonomous unit the Institute is directly accountable to the Ministry of Education through the Inspectorate to the Director of Education. It is important to recognise the close relationship between the Administration Staff within the Ministry of Education, the Inspectorate and in this case the bureaucrats within the Institute of Education. They are not seen as distinct

areas of activity for employment and career prospects. For example the current Director of Education for Schools was previously the Chief Inspector of Schools. The previous incumbent as Director of Education was moved to the Institute of Education as its Director.

Further aspects of the administrative machinery are examined below as they illustrate various points of control within the curriculum development area. For a fuller understanding of the process however, it is necessary to examine the main functions of the Institute as they are officially described. The functions of the Institute of Education since 1975 are:

1. Conducting and preparing syllabuses for pre-school education, secondary school education, non-university teacher education, special education and post-school technical and business education.
2. Conducting research and preparing teachers and evaluation materials to support these syllabuses including the preparation of books, teachers' guides, mass media programmes and similar materials.
3. Conducting in-service courses and workshops for the teachers who are involved in experiments and trials of the new syllabuses and teaching materials.
4. Organizing seminars on new syllabuses and teaching materials for inspectors of schools and college staff.
5. Organizing orientation programmes for those administrative officers who have to be kept informed of the developments that are taking place in the school and college curricula.
6. Staff involvement in the various educational activities organised from time to time by the Ministry of Education.

The function as described under (1) are of immediate interest within this study for it is here that the requirement is stated in curriculum terms and where the purposes of the nation state are lodged. What is determined under (1) is in turn given expression under (2) in the form of Curriculum

Guides. As these relate to "political education" they will be examined in the Chapter 8; for the present we are interested in the curriculum development process and with how the functions as defined above are translated into curriculum content in the formal sense. To understand this it is necessary to turn to another aspect of the organizational structure, the course panels. Once again the course panels have a set of clearly defined functions to perform as set out below. These are:

- (a) To keep under constant review the existing curriculum of a relevant phase of education or training and make recommendations to the Academic Board.
- (b) To co-ordinate and guide the activities of the subject panels in the area of its jurisdiction.
- (c) To co-operate where applicable with other institutions and agencies engaged in the training of industrial and commercial manpower outside the Ministry of Education.
- (d) In the case of Technical Education panel to advise on industrial training as requested through its subject panels and to assist in the strengthening of areas of co-operation and articulation between institutions and agencies dealing with the training of craftsmen, advanced craftsmen and technicians at all levels in Kenya.¹⁶

The curriculum in the social studies area is the responsibility of the subject panel for those subjects classified as social studies namely: History and Civics, Geography, Economics, Religious Education and Political Sciences. Panels exist for both Primary and Secondary levels in this subject area. Any recommendations for change from the subject panel go forward to the course panel for approval.

Each subject panel is provided with terms of reference; the first two terms of reference are set out below, they are:

- (a) To initiate and guide appropriate Kenya Institute of Education curriculum development projects in the relevant subject.

- (b) To keep under constant review the existing syllabuses in a subject or curriculum area and make necessary¹⁷ recommendations to the Academic Board.

The functions and terms of reference of the various levels of activity within the Institute are set out above in order to illustrate the difference between the apparent provision for change and development and the reality of current practice. This is particularly apparent in the area of Social Studies in the Primary and Secondary School sectors. The curriculum guides that are taken for analysis in the next chapter have, as we have recognised above, been in use without major modifications since 1967. This need not in itself be a criticism of the Institute of Education - it might be argued that the programmes as originally designed remain both relevant and appropriate. On the other hand, there is evidence that points to a certain lack of commitment within the Institute to any major reform in this area. If this is true it points again to a degree of lethargy, and in turn to the lack of political will or direction within the bureaucracy. As such it can be taken as a reflection of the lack of ideological orientation within the dominant party KANU. To emphasise the point we can turn to a consideration of an attempt at reform in the social studies area that was attempted, but which has not yet been completed.

6.3.2 The Primary Social Studies Project

The inclusion of the Primary Schools Social Studies Project within this section is intended as an illustration of why, through the lack of effective political motivation, it failed to reach its set objectives. As an attempt at curriculum reform it compares unfavourably with similar developments in Tanzania and must in part be accounted for by the different ideological approaches to political socialisation.

Some of the background to the project is obviously important to its consideration in this context. Its origin lies in two important international

conferences held during 1968 at Oxford and Mombasa. The Oxford conference considered the need for the introduction of social studies in the Primary school curriculum. It was argued that:

"a broad culturally relevant approach to social studies, through topics permitting greater pupil involvement, could provide valuable educational experience for children and develop such faculties as the power to distinguish the important from the unimportant and facts from opinions".¹⁸

This broad definition of aims was considered in greater detail at the Mombasa conference and it was agreed that an African Social Studies Programme should be formed in order to develop relevant curriculum material. The joining together of 12 African nations to form a curriculum organisation provides an excellent example of international collaboration in curriculum development. Kenya was one of the leading members and it was agreed that the headquarters for the project should be the Kenya Institute of Education. In March 1969 the Social Studies Project was established with just two members of staff: "Its immediate task was to plan and develop an integrated Social Studies programme relevant to Kenya today and suitable for Kenya Primary Schools".¹⁹

With the benefit of hindsight the scale of the project was over ambitious given the staffing and resources that were made available. This is made clear when the projected development stages were examined:

"Development Stages

- (a) To carry out a survey in the existing nursery centres, in order to get a clear picture of Social Studies programmes being followed there, so as to form a basis for Social Studies materials for Stds. 1 and 2.
- (b) To carry out a survey in the Primary Schools, in order to involve the teachers and DEO's in this area of curriculum change, so as to get their opinion on whether there is need for introducing Social Studies integrated course right from Std. 1 or not.

- (c) To prepare suitable experimental Social Studies integrated course for use in each level of Primary School.
- (d) To experiment the integrated Social Studies materials in 26 selected Primary Schools.
- (e) To run in-service courses for teachers of Social Studies in the experimental Schools.
- (f) To run large scale orientation courses for Primary School Inspectors college tutors and the staff of the Teacher Advisory Centres."²⁰

Despite staffing difficulties within three years the planning stages had been completed and material made ready for use in the 26 selected schools. An additional member of staff was appointed in 1971 ready for the start of the experimental stage. Starting with Standard 1 the programme is said to have developed steadily so that by 1974 materials for the project were in use in the selected schools from Standard 1 through to Standard 4.

By 1974 it was decided to close the experiment, the Ministry of Education issued a directive officially halting the programme, stating that the schools in the programme should revert to the traditional curriculum. The reasons for the halting of the programme are obscure. It has been stated that by 1974 the project had lost all of its staff and that the Institute of Education was unable to obtain replacements; this view was confirmed in conversation with members of the Institute staff during 1980.²¹ That an experiment on this scale should be so easily abandoned can only point to a certain lack of official (bureaucratic) commitment to reform in the social studies area. Again it can be taken as an indicator of the non-ideological view of the role of education in the formation of social attitudes.

6.4 The Politics of Curriculum Reform in Tanzania

The process of curriculum revision began in Tanzania before the gaining of independence. Steps were taken in the early 1950's as illustrated above to localise the primary school curriculum making it more relevant to the

experiences of African primary school children. The syllabuses were however written by personnel working within the colonial service and, though they attempted to reflect local conditions, no effort was made to identify the idea of nationhood. Much of the content, as we shall see was tribe centred and consequently interpreted by the nationalist leadership as divisive.

Though there was no equivalent movement in Tanzania to the English Medium Teaching in Kenya which is described above, it is fairly clear where responsibility for curriculum reform was lodged. The first official body to be established was the African Teacher's Examination Board and though in the first instance responsibility was for teacher education in the training colleges, it soon became involved in curriculum development for primary schools. The role of the African Teacher's Examination Board is significant to the extent that all the major revisions to primary school syllabuses were undertaken by that body, so that when it was replaced in 1959 by the Teacher Training Advisory Board, some syllabuses were clearly in operation. The important point at this stage is to recognise that an official machinery for curriculum development was already in existence at the time of Independence.

The Teacher Training Advisory Board was intended as a more representative body than the African Teacher's Examination Board,²² in addition to officials from the Department of Education and the Inspectorate, representation of the teacher training colleges was provided for. It was this body that was to be replaced later by an Institute of Education originally mooted by the Binns Mission in the early 50's.

In establishing the Institute of Education in 1964 Tanzania came closer to the Kenyan case as we shall see below. As with Kenya, the Institute of Education was made responsible, as the senior teacher training institution,

for the co-ordination of teacher education in the training colleges. A decision was taken early in its career to establish the Institute at the newly built University College.

The original aims of the Institute of Education are set out in the Ministry of Education Annual Report for 1966, they are:-

- (i) To constitute a focus for the study of Education and the professional centre for teachers in Schools and Teacher's Colleges;
- (ii) to promote and co-operate in the organization of conference, lectures and in-service courses for teachers and others engaged in or interested in education work;
- (iii) to promote educational research and the publication of the results thereof and thus to foster improvements in educational practice;
- (iv) to provide an advisory service and library facilities for teachers in Schools and Teacher's Colleges, and in particular to circulate advice on new teaching methods, experiments and results of research;
- (v) to assist in the preparation of syllabuses for Schools and Teacher's Colleges in collaboration with the institutions involved;
- (vi) to advise the Ministry of Education and the University College, where appropriate, on matters directly relating to standards of professional competence in teaching including the examinations of candidates for professional teaching qualifications.

One of the main tasks since its inception has been to provide leadership in curriculum reform through in-service training and syllabus revision - the stress from the beginning has been on the issue of relevance. In 1975 it was stated that:

"The main activities which the Institute has initiated since 1965 have been concerned with the Secondary School curriculum. A series of in-service courses for secondary school teachers have been held and panels have been set up for each of the major school subjects to examine the existing syllabuses with a view to

recommending modifications to the Ministry of Education. The main task is to ensure that the syllabuses in each subject are not only relevant to the foreseeable needs of East Africa in general and to Tanzania in particular but maintain also a high academic and professional international quality".²⁴

Though the emphasis initially was on the needs of the secondary school sector, thereby reflecting the dominance within the political arena of the pressure to provide trained and educated manpower in the early post-Uhuru period, a shift in direction has since taken place. One of the problems relating to the organisational development of the Institute of Education, was that the responsibility for curriculum development was divided, with in some cases a confusing overlap of functions. On the one hand there was the Directorate of Curriculum Development within the Ministry of Education staffed by the Inspectorate, and the developing Institute of Education. During 1972 these two separate bodies were brought together within the Institute of Education. The position after 1972 is officially described as follows:

"From then (1972) the two teams of curriculum developers started working together in the present Institute of Education building and the Institute became a proper in-service institution with its specialists or subject co-ordinators working hard to reform the school curriculum along the lines of education for self-reliance policy".²⁵

The latter point reinforces the commitment within the curriculum development centre to the aims of self-reliance within the curriculum. By 1975 it was decided to separate the Institute of Education from its parent organisation the University of Dar-es-Salaam, and make it a parastatal organisation.

6.4.1 The Organisation of the Institute of Education

The Institute of Education Act of 1975 vested the control of the Institute in the hands of its own Council.²⁶ Both the Chairman of the Council and the

Director of the Institute are appointed by the President of the Republic thus guaranteeing direct political control over the machinery of the curriculum.

In organisation the Institute closely parallels the Institute of Education in Kenya. It is formally controlled through a representative Council. However, the day-to-day control of the curriculum development process is in the hands of the Academic Committee; the committee is again based upon representation of interests but weighted towards participation by Institute staff - five heads of department and nine members of staff known as curriculum developers are included. Unlike Kenya there is formal representation of the Party CCM, and though only one in number it indicates again the determination within the Party to retain involvement in crucial areas such as the curriculum. The thrust of the work within the Institute takes place at the Curriculum Panel level - as in Kenya the panels are organised both according to the level of work and of subject with panels operating for Primary, Secondary and Teacher Education; these in turn are structured into subject areas.

6.4.2 Developing Political Education Programmes

It has already been stated that attempts had been made by the colonial administration to localise the curriculum. During the early days of independence other priorities dominated, as we have made clear above i.e. the stress on the unification of the education system and the emphasis on the development of high-level manpower training. Some concern was however, expressed as to the possible divisive nature of the curriculum. No major attempt at reform was undertaken at this stage. It is at this point that we again recognise the significance of the ideological commitment that derived from the political system following upon the Arusha Declaration. The policy for curriculum change has been examined above. Nyerere had spelt out clearly what he believed was necessary, particularly the need for

schools to become self-reliant enterprises and to relate to their local communities. This movement towards practical self-reliant school communities was to be paralleled in the curriculum area where new programmes were being designed. The Institute of Education had a very positive role to play in this development, as we have recognised above, through its systems of subject panels. Such was the significance of the new Political Education programme however, that it was considered necessary to involve the ruling party TANU very closely with its development. This was a significant policy development, which again illustrates the overt commitment within the polity, through the Party, to use the educational system in order to mobilise support for the ideological basis of society. As such it contrasts strongly with the approach adopted in neighbouring Kenya. The details of the Political Education programme will be examined in Chapter 8 where aspects of the possible bias within the curriculum will be considered. For the present we are concerned with the means adopted by the polity in order to achieve this particular political objective within the schools curriculum. To achieve their objective the party TANU established a small group at TANU headquarters - their task was to design a political education programme, in the first instance for Primary Schools. In discussing this aspect Bienen states that: "The party is to co-ordinate its activities with the Ministry of Education and direct its own programme through a political education section established at TANU Headquarters in Dar-es Salaam".²⁷ Bienen goes on to cast some doubt on the possibilities of achieving such an objective nationally. It is clear however that the team was successful in devising the programme which has been in use in the schools since 1969. It represents a rare example of direct political party involvement in curriculum development and control. As one prominent supporter of this development noted:

"It is perhaps on this latter front that most actual progress has been made. The TANU Political Education Team (which is an intriguing mixture of talents, headed by a former Lutheran pastor who was formerly a secondary school headmaster, assisted by a Moscow-educated former regional secretary of the party, as well as two former headmasters of "model" primary schools) is preparing suggestions for the political education course in the upper levels of primary schools."²⁸

The major difference between Tanzania and Kenya is again underlined; whilst in Kenya the party KANU is not directly involved in the curriculum development process, other than through the setting of norms and guidelines for society, in Tanzania TANU is overtly participatory.

In Tanzania, as is emphasised later, there has been an increased pressure to develop political education programmes across the whole range of educational provision. The Institute of Education is only involved in curriculum development for primary, secondary, technical and teacher education institutions. Where other educational institutions, especially at the tertiary and higher education levels, have been developed they relate directly to a parent ministry for example the Dar es Salaam School of Accountancy is responsible to the Ministry of Finance and Planning. In such cases national boards are established for curriculum development and examinations. Where there is a "political education" requirement, it is the TANU Political Education team that is involved - but only through a process of review through the Institute of Education. This has been the subject of some concern within the ruling Party CCM and a new department has recently been established (1983), to control and co-ordinate Ideology and Training in all sectors.

The Department of Ideology and Training organised the first of a series of workshops for teachers of Political Education in schools and tertiary institutions where it was resolved that "there was a need to work towards a national system".²⁹ It must of course be emphasised that the problem of co-ordination is in part resolved by the similarity of background of the staff recruited to teach political education programmes.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam presents a somewhat different case. At the University College the response to the Arusha Declaration needed to be swift if the autonomy of the University was to be preserved. The events at the University College are described by one writer in the following terms:

"As for the University College itself, a three day conference including members of TANU and its youth league were held in March to discuss the role of the College in a socialist Tanzania. Several constructive recommendations were made. Students should learn something of the theory and practice of socialism in the Tanzanian context, not only through a special Common Course but by sharing in routine chores and by taking part, with the teaching staff, in projects of social service".³⁰

The points developed at the conference were adopted and programmes developed for undergraduates by the Institute of Development Studies. Some aspects of these developments are considered below, it is worth noting at this point, that though the initial expectation was that Development Studies programmes would be both academic and practical; it has proved difficult in practice to provide students with the opportunity for involvement in self-reliant activities.³¹

Kinunda and Sanyal in discussing the development of the University in the post Arusha period with particular reference to its curriculum state:

"Immediately after its birth in 1970, the University was engaged in re-examining its courses and content and drawing up syllabuses which were aimed at meeting the

needs of the society. In this crucial task, the University involved the leaders of TANU, the Government, public enterprises and students through committees established for the purpose. Also the administrative policies were based on frank and open discussion and consultations with all those primarily concerned including the students themselves. Great efforts have been made to marry theory with practice. Coursework has been given more emphasis throughout the University and practical training in the field is a very important component of the course work."²

Some aspects of the role of the Institute of Development Studies within the University of Dar-es-Salaam have been considered above, where the positive link between the ruling party TANU (CCM) is taken into account. The Institute's major task however is concerned with the development of undergraduate programmes in Development Studies. Students on courses within the University are expected to undertake these studies as part of their degree programme. The content of some of these programmes is interpreted in Chapter Eight under the main heading of political education in the post school sectors. For our purposes here it represents an example of curriculum development and planning which was clearly motivated by the political purposes of the ruling party TANU.

6.5 The Input Phase

An attempt has been made within this Chapter to interpret the institutionalised roles of actors within the curriculum development process. In both Kenya and Tanzania we have recognised the specialised functions of the Institutes of Education as curriculum development agencies. Their similarities and differences have been noted. The more positively orientated approach to the development of political content for politicisation in Tanzania has been recognised. In this latter case the role of the political party TANU/CCM was pointed up and its mobilistic attitude towards the use of school and post school sector political education programmes for the inculcation of ideological values illustrated. The

Kenyan position, though not entirely negative, was characterised as bureaucratic and in part "lethargic" with no clear ideological sense of direction.

Referring back to the model adopted to demonstrate the relationship between phases of development in the nation building process we can sharpen our focus on the curriculum development stage by recognising it as the initial *input* into the system. It is the point at which the political system - the polity -and the educational system meet and interact. This is the case in both Kenya and Tanzania. Curriculum material, designed as it is by curriculum developers and representatives of teachers, is transmitted directly from the political level - the Institutes of Education and the Ministries of Education -directly to the schools and other educational institutions. To the extent that it contains a political ideological emphasis either in terms of programmes for national unity, national consciousness or political mobilisation it will represent a political Input. It is obvious, that whatever the curriculum developer attempts to do, will in some way be mediated by the teacher operating in a local social context and confronted in many instances by shortages of teaching material. Similarly teachers will hold personal views as to the purpose of teaching. Such *hidden curriculum* aspects must always be recognised as a major caveat. Nevertheless, the intended input can be discerned more clearly in systems where the curriculum (formal) process is so overt. At the input stage we have recognised the intent of those acting in the political domain; we shall surely move to an examination of the intended curriculum *throughput*.

6.6 Summary Review

In both Kenya and Tanzania the reform movement in curriculum development pre-dated Uhuru, and as such, represent the growing awareness on the part of the colonial authorities that improvements were required in

educational provision for the African population. However, though it is right to point up the involvement of colonial administrators in early curriculum revision, it is also essential to recognise that the development of curriculum reform in the post Uhuru period represents the commitment of the new nationalist governments to the use of the educational system in the achievement of political and economic goals. The major planning programmes entered into at the level of national government were mirrored at a more modest level in the movement to plan and develop more relevant school and college curricula and, to this end, the processes started by the pre-independence administration were continued and later expanded by the Independence governments.

The Institutes of Education in Kenya and Tanzania are good examples of political commitment to the use of the educational system in nation-building and political development. It has been demonstrated that whilst similar in composition, structure, and overt purpose, that in major ways they illustrate a divergence of strategy in the area of curriculum development. In Kenya the Institute of Education has, from its establishment as a discrete entity, maintained a close working relationship with the Ministry of Education and the Inspectorate. Unlike Tanzania it was not directly connected to the University and remains a part of the administrative bureaucracy. Though reformist in its approach to the school curriculum, having embarked on the development of many new approaches to teaching and learning, it is clear that the Kenya Institute is relatively conservative and reflective of the approach to curriculum innovation and reform as approved by the permanent officials within the administration. There is little evidence of penetration into the curriculum area of the dominant political party KANU. KANU is not separately represented in any aspect of curriculum management and control and this can only be interpreted as evidence of lack of interest by the Party in such matters. Curriculum reform, even in the area of history and civics - political education - has in the Kenyan case become apolitical.

The Tanzanian Institute of Education began life as an integral part of the University of Dar-es-Salaam, but has now moved to a position of autonomy with positive links to the Ministry of National Education. Reformist from its inception, the Institute was from the early days of Uhuru involved in school curriculum reform in addition to the other duties described above. To that extent the work of the Tanzanian Institute was not dissimilar to that of the Kenya Institute. A major difference however lay in the role of the ruling political party. TANU was not prepared to stand back from the curriculum reform process and ensured itself a voice by gaining direct representation on the Council of the Institute. Important though this may be in marking a degree of political party involvement in Tanzania as opposed to Kenya, it was not sufficient to guarantee all that was required by TANU in the area of political education programme development. This aspect was not entrusted wholly to the Institute of Education, but was placed under the supervision of the Party TANU/CCM where a special curriculum team was established to maintain control over political education programmes for the school system.

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CHAPTER SEVEN: POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

- 7.1 A New Point of Focus
- 7.2 Politicisation Studies
 - 7.2.1 Politicisation and the School System
- 7.3 Political Education Programmes
 - 7.3.1 History and Political Education in Kenyan Primary Schools
- 7.4 Political Education in Tanzanian Primary Schools
 - 7.4.1 Re-writing History
 - 7.4.2 History in Tanzanian Primary Schools
- 7.5 History Programmes in Kenya and Tanzania Compared
- 7.6 Political Education Programmes in Tanzanian Primary Schools
- 7.7 Political Education in Kenyan and Tanzanian Secondary Schools
 - 7.7.1 Political and History Education in Kenyan Secondary Schools
 - 7.7.2 History and Political Education in Tanzanian Secondary Schools
 - 7.2.2.1 Political Education in Tanzanian Secondary Schools
- 7.8 The Use of Ceremony in Political Education
- 7.9 Summary Review

*"The school emerges in recent times as the major instrument in the shaping of civic education. A process, extending over a considerable period of years now takes the place of the week or ten days once given to the tribal candidate in his period of novitiate, and organises and schematises this process with great elaboration. With the development of universal education, training is extended to the entire population female as well as male and the whole community is drawn into the net"*¹

Charles Merriam

CHAPTER SEVEN

POLITICAL EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

7.1 A New Point of Focus

The major concern so far within this study has been with policies and development strategies at the national level. Developments prior to and since Uhuru in Tanzania and Kenya have been explored and the relationships between political ideologies and educational policy brought out. In the last Chapter the perspective narrowed to provide insights into the strategies employed within each system in relation to the curriculum development process. The differing degrees of commitment to the use of the school/college curriculum in the politicisation process have been indicated and the extent of political party involvement in this activity used as an indicator of ideological penetration into the curriculum arena. Whilst it is recognised that many parts of the school/college curriculum will have political ideological dimensions and may be used covertly to inculcate political values and norms, it is those aspects of school life that are purposely designed to provide political support, that are examined here.

The focus is thus further narrowed to take into account the content of those programmes that are designed at the national level with the development of political values as their major objectives, and to consider briefly the use of symbolism and ceremony in the school system.

Independence brought with it many problems to the ex-colonial states as we have recognised above with respect to Kenya and Tanzania. We have already stressed the emphasis placed by the new national leaderships upon the need to develop within the people of the newly formed national community a sense of belonging. They would have to be taught to think of themselves as Kenyans or Tanzanians. Such a task is particularly difficult

when the nation is initially divided into numerous tribal and in some cases racial groups. The issue has been put most clearly as follows:

"The new nations of the world - and more particularly the nations of Africa - confront problems that for the most part require a drastic reshaping of the orientation of their citizens. In many cases these nations inherited national boundaries from the colonial period that cut across so many tribal groupings as to condition the survival of the nation on a complete reorientation of parochial loyalties."²

It is a major assumption of the political leaderships in such new nations that the problem of national versus tribal loyalties can in part be overcome by exposing young people and adults to political influences within the school/college curriculum as it has been said: "the larger the school population the more people are brought within reach of government propaganda".³ The means to the inculcation is provided, again in part, within the curriculum as Abernathy and Coombe put it: Curricula may be designed which describes what ought to be believed about the country's leaders, the colonial past, the constitution, the dangers of sectionalism, the need for development, the students' own civic responsibilities".⁴ It is at the point illustrated in fig 4 where ideology and the curriculum are brought together to form a major input that we are concerned. How teachers interpret curriculum guides is not at this juncture taken into account.

Before embarking upon a consideration of actual curriculum material as it relates to education for political development it is important to take account of some of the literature and research that has been undertaken in more recent years.

7.2 Politicisation Studies

Scholarly interest in the relationship between education and politics is a phenomena of the more recent years. Some aspects of the neglect by

academics of the educational - political nexus has been described above. To make the point particularly clear it is worth expressing the position as interpreted by one of the foremost writers in the field, Coleman states:

"The fact is that despite certain notable exceptions, and the recent work that is starting to fill the void, political scientists in general have paid very little attention to the overall character of the education-polity nexus, and very few empirical studies have been made which focus explicitly upon the specific ways in which educational systems affect the functioning of the political system".⁵

As we have noted above, what can be said of political scientists also holds for other discipline areas. We recognise however that pioneering work had been undertaken; the comparative study by Charles Merriam is generally regarded as a classic study, though his "The Making of Citizens"⁶ remained an isolated example of research in "political socialisation" processes for many years. It was not until the late 1950's that a renewal of interest was shown. V.O. Key with his study of the relationship between Public Opinion and American Democracy⁷ and Y. Willbern with Education and the American Political System⁸ are representative of the trend developing in the late 1950's and onwards. At the cross-cultural level the approach taken by James Coleman remains outstanding, especially in relation to the study of the politics and education in developing countries.⁹

7.2.1 Politicization and the School System

Much of the work in the area of politicisation has been carried out in the United States of America, using techniques of analysis developed by social psychologists. Typical of the new movement in such studies is the work of Elizabeth and Frank Estvan which starts with the view that children develop political understanding as they progress through the school system. Children are asked by researchers if they recognise certain pictures with a governmental or political content - whilst less than one fourth of an age

cohort recognised significant scenes at the beginning of schooling by the sixth grade, "The proportion had about trebled". Though no attempt is made to take into account informal modes and influences of learning, such as the home, it is argued that schooling is significant in passing on political knowledge.¹⁰

Easton and Hess, using similar visual material to test children's knowledge and understanding, reached the conclusion that children recognise visible symbols of authority first, and then at a later stage come to understand more abstract ideas such as voting, and civil liberties. The developmental stages approach for understanding political development is supported by other researchers. Greenstein recognised significant development between the ages of nine and seventeen¹² and Hess and Torney between the ages of eight and seventeen.¹³

Some support for the United States findings comes from a United Kingdom survey by R. Jackson. In this study, children were found to recognise and understand certain political symbols quite early in life. At the age of four 16% of Jacksons sample recognised the Union Flag, by the age of eight years 83% recognised the national flag. Children shown pictures of the Queen at the age of four years recognised her at a rate of 16% and by eight years some 96% recognised the same picture. On further questioning about the political figures involved relating to the children's attitude to political personalities Jackson found that:

"Children think of political figures as benevolent and this feeling tends to increase between the age of four and eight years".¹⁴

Again in this study there is no attempt to isolate the effects of schooling from other forms of politicisation, though it is assumed that schooling plays a major part in the process.

The studies considered above are concerned almost wholly with the development of political ideas in young people. No attempt is made within them to consider the design of curricula that might improve political learning within the school system. Such research is intended to discover how much is learned, and when, not with how it is learned. Its advantage is that it forces a recognition that political learning is taking place even when programmes are not specifically designed for that purpose.

The classic cross-cultural comparative study by Almond and Verba sought to identify the relationship between teaching about government within the school curriculum, and what they term "the feeling of civic competence".¹⁵ The Civic Culture study reached the conclusion that the longer the period of education undertaken, the greater the feeling of personal competence. Such research tends to bolster the case for civics training in school and an extension of the period of education provided for citizens. Some support for this conclusion is provided from the East African context. The study by Koff and Muhll of Political Socialisation in Kenya and Tanzania¹⁶ indicated that teachers were considered by the respondents to have taught them most about being good citizens and that the percentage response increased as young people progressed into secondary education. In a similar study, concentrating specifically on Tanzania, Prewit, Von Der Muhll and Court point to the significance of the school environment in determining political values, they state:

"Our findings do indeed offer some empirical support for President Nyerere's recent (1967) declaration that the source of the social disposition of Tanzania students is to be found in the character of their schools".¹⁷

In the case of Tanzania, as we have demonstrated above, a policy of educational reform and curriculum revision has been embarked upon in an attempt to ensure that schools, and other educational institutions, are

orientated towards what is considered to be the appropriate norms and values expected in the context of Tanzania's political ideology.

The stress within most of the studies discussed so far, has been on either when or what young people learn about political life. Here we are more interested in the attitudes expressed by the political leaderships within each system under review regarding the development of formal programmes designed to politicise, and in turn aid the process of political development. In order to understand more fully what the political system is attempting overtly to do in the development of politicisation programmes, it is necessary to turn to an examination of the curriculum material that has been designed at national level, to achieve the development of political support. Two major caveats ought to be made prior to embarking on the textual analysis:

"What is needed is a careful assessment of the latent consequences of the educational experience". And,

"In directing our attention to this latter, less direct influence, (we) pay attention to two aspects of the educational process: 1. Aspects of life not included in typical social studies courses and 2. techniques of instruction".¹⁸

The latter point relates to what is otherwise described as the "hidden curriculum" whereby values can be imparted informally by teachers despite the official structure of the curriculum or guidelines provided for the teacher.¹⁹ This aspect is beyond the boundaries of the present study. Latent aspects must on the other hand be taken into account within the textual analysis approach adopted within this Chapter.

7.3 Political Education in Tanzania and Kenya

The term "political education" is taken in this context to refer to educational experiences that have been specifically designed to foster

attitudes and feelings of support towards the new concept of nationhood and political consciousness. In this first instance it is to the History and Civics (Political Education) programmes in the primary schools that we turn.

These programmes are the product of the Institutes of Education in each system discussed in the previous Chapter - it is argued here that they represent the accepted views of what should be formally taught in the primary schools of Kenya and Tanzania and represent an articulation of the official government view into the schools system. Given the ideological differences between Kenya and Tanzania, it is expected that the approach to politics within the school system will represent a divergence in terms of content and political orientation. By setting them side-by-side it will be possible to discover how true it is: "that the whole fabric of a primary school curriculum in a socialist state like Tanzania will differ from that of a capitalist state like Kenya".²⁰

It is possible to turn now to an examination of the History/Civics programmes developed for Kenyan Primary schools and to follow this by a review of History and Political Education programmes in Tanzania. Inevitably the comparison between the two systems is distorted by the more extensive development of political education in Tanzania when compared with Kenya. The disparity between the systems is seen here as a further indicator of political mobilisation development.

7.3.1 History and Political Education in Kenyan Primary Schools

It might be argued, that if politicization is to succeed, it must as far as possible be secured at the primary stage. What then of the content of the primary school social studies programme in Kenya? Does it in any sense manifest a bias towards the inculcation of a distinctly Kenyan or African identity?

The Kenyan Ministry of Education publishes a Primary School Syllabus setting out the areas to be covered in the various subjects within the primary school curriculum. An examination of the History and Civics curriculum ought to reveal a bias or otherwise. What is immediately apparent is the obvious faith, by the authors of the syllabus, in such programmes as a vehicle for the creation of new values and attitudes towards their society.

"A study of History at primary level can help to prepare pupils to become useful members of the country capable of contributing to the general welfare of the community. This may be achieved through an understanding of the history of their people and the development of their country; it will be strengthened by a study of the essential points of the system of Government and an appreciation of the part that ordinary citizens have to play within this system. The study of Civics forms a natural conclusion to the History course and is provided for pupils in Standard VII".²¹

History and Civics are introduced into the curriculum in Standard III. In the first year, just two periods a week are devoted to this study. The first term provides a background study of "Early Man in Africa and Europe", by the second term the concentration is on the people of Kenya and is headed "Second and Third Term - Comparative Tribal History". Guidance is given to the teacher in the introduction to this section as follows: "During these two terms the History teachers' aim should be to compare through the medium of stories, the traditional ways of life of the major tribal groups of Kenya. Stress should be laid on the fact that Kenya is one nation made up of people of diverse traditions and customs".²² Thus at an early stage in the primary curriculum, emphasis is being placed officially on the need to ensure recognition of a national as opposed to a tribal identity.

Primary Standard IV History is more general, and is very similar to the coverage of world history in Forms 1 and 2 of the secondary school. By

Standard V the emphasis has returned to the teaching of African history. Standard V history is concerned with relationships between different parts of Africa, and Africa in relation to other parts of the world and to Europe in particular through the development of trade. Standard VI sees a further narrowing of the perspective, with a general treatment of East African history in the 19th century. All this in preparation for what is for the majority the final year of full-time education. Standard VII provides a history syllabus that in the first term examines the movement towards independence in the four main East African territories. The syllabus is set out below and shows that history of the 20th century is dominated by the concept of independence in East Africa, with the second and third terms devoted to constitutional developments in Kenya.

FIRST TERM - THE HISTORY OF EAST AFRICA IN THE 20TH CENTURY

TANGANYIKA IN THE 20TH CENTURY

German Administration up to 1917
The Maji-Maji Uprising
The building of railways
The events of the First World War in Tanganyika
The League of Nations Mandate
Political, social and economic developments between 1917 and 1945
Trusteeship leading to Independence and the later establishment of the United Republic of Tanzania.

ZANZIBAR IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Social and economic developments
Administrative changes and constitutional advance leading to Independence and the later establishment of the United Republic of Tanzania.

UGANDA IN THE 20TH CENTURY

The land and constitutional settlement of 1900 Economic and social development of the country
The Establishment of Makerere University College
The extension of the railway to Uganda
Political and constitutional developments leading to Independence

KENYA IN THE 20TH CENTURY

Economic and social developments arising from the expansion of agriculture, industry, transport and communications; the growth of towns; the extension of medical and educational services

The effects of the First World War
The Devonshire White Paper
Political and constitutional developments leading to Independence

SECOND TERM - CIVICS TOPICS

The story of Parliament
The Kenya Constitution
The Executive
The Legislature: The House of Representatives
Local Government Councils
The Judiciary
The work of Government Ministries
Revenue, expenditure and finance
East African Common Services Organisation
The Commonwealth

THIRD TERM - CIVICS TOPICS AND A REVIEW OF EAST AFRICAN HISTORY:

The Civics topics are set out in very brief outline as follows:-

Social Changes in Kenya
The Organisation of African Unity
The United Nations
Kenya and the World

Clearly the approach to History and Civics has become more Afro-centered with a concentration on aspects of developments prior to independence and the introduction of constitutional government after Uhuru.²⁴ Whilst in learning about East African History and Tanganyika in particular, the nationalist forces of opposition to colonial rule are brought out "the Maji Maji Uprising"; the activities of Mau Mau are not however given similar prominence. There appears to be no attempt to adopt a nationalist historiography approach within the Kenyan primary school system. To this extent it can be argued that the syllabus represents a bland, uncommitted approach to the use of history and civics in the nation-building politicisation process. There is a complete absence of ideological emphasis, or consideration of African Socialism, the curriculum is neutral to the extent of completely neglecting to include any mention of KANU. The mark of the expatriate adviser is very clear, as is the latent bias towards the maintenance of the status quo, with an accent on National Unity and Nation-Building.

7.4 Political Education in Tanzanian Primary Schools

Just as in Kenya the need for curriculum reform was given a certain priority, so too in Tanzania. Indeed in the early days following Uhuru the policies towards curriculum reform were remarkably similar. Discussing the Tanzanian context D.R. Morrison notes:

"Syllabuses and text-books in subjects ranging from general science through geography and history had to be revised to reflect an African perspective and to include material on local conditions and problems"²⁵

It is interesting that Morrison goes on to point out the kinds of criticisms operating within the newly formed Institute of Education regarding the content of the Primary Schools History programme inherited from the colonial period.²⁶ In 1963 the History Sub-panel reported that: "Std. V. The history section is tribe centred. This approach could have most harmful effects in a newly independent nation. There is nothing in it to show the pupil that he is a member of a nation and no attempt is made to arouse a proper sense of pride or to show that a Tanzanian's loyalty must be to Tanzania, and not this or that tribe".²⁷ By 1967 it was possible for the President to point to some improvement:

"No longer do our children simply learn British and European History. Faster than would have been thought possible, our University College and other institutions are providing materials on the history of Africa and making these available to teachers".²⁸

There is an element of rhetoric in Nyerere's reference to British and European History, at least in so far as it applied to the African Primary School Syllabus, for as was noted above a number of revisions had taken place prior to Uhuru. Nevertheless, within the "Education for Self-reliance," - Nyerere and TANU are placing their faith in the school curriculum in mobilising political support.

History however, would in large part need to be rewritten if the accepted nationalist view of political/historical events was to be passed on through the schools; it is to this aspect that we can now turn as a preliminary to the textual analysis of the primary schools History and Political Education programmes.

7.4.1 Re-writing History

In turning to an examination of history syllabuses in Tanzania it is important to note the development of what Denoun and Kuper describe as the Dar-es-Salaam School of History which has set out to re-write the story of the past. The aim of the "school" is to refute previous interpretations of events and to develop a nationalistic approach to historical study.²⁹ In reviewing the nationalist phase in the development of the new historiography they examine the contribution of Terence Ranger the first Professor of History at Dar-es-Salaam. Ranger, one of the founders of the new historiography has, they point out, highlighted a number of aspects for the attention of the nationalist historian:

1. The old view of African history should be discounted - historians should place emphasis on the development of trade and the expansion of tribal states with a movement towards larger scale form of political organisation. This view would replace the idea of African society as essentially static and non-developmental.
2. It should also be recognised that Africans did not simply acquiesce in colonial rule - as Ranger puts it:- "We have already come a long way past the simple treatment of African primary" resistance as a demonstration that Africans did not acquiesce in the imposition of colonial rule and moved towards an approach that uses the great African resistances as a way of understanding the dynamics of late 19th Century African society".

The interpretation is then linked to the further development of African institutions as an indigenous response and latent nationalism.

3. The role of the "messianic" movements is stressed for example the function of witchcraft and African churches as they formed the centres for primary resistance to colonial rule.
4. The role of what are termed the "new men" is stressed, particularly those who had led the struggle for independence within the trade unions, political parties and other voluntary bodies.
5. The history of the nationalist movement from its origins to independence is given particular emphasis; particularly the part played by TANU³⁰ in creating the modern nationalist movement.

In reviewing the history syllabuses that have been designed for primary schools in Tanzania, it will be necessary to bear in mind the development of a nationalist history, and to recognise the influence of the *new orthodoxy* on the school curriculum.

7.4.2 History Syllabuses in Tanzanian Primary Schools

History teaching in Tanzania starts in Class 4 of the seven year Basic Education programme. The syllabuses now in use were written in 1969 just two years after the publication of Education for Self-reliance. An examination of the contents reveals much about the political thinking of the designers within the Institute of Education. It demonstrates the comprehensive attempt that is made to move the emphasis towards the needs of Tanzanian society in the post Arusha phase.

Only those aspects that require inclusion in the text will be extracted for discussion purposes.

Class Four History³¹

In this first introduction to history in Tanzanian primary schools there is an expectation that an understanding of the general historical development of Tanzania as a Nation should be achieved. The syllabus starts by stating the aims of the course as follows:

- "1. To enable the pupils to think of the people of Tanzania in pre-history and at present as one nation, not as groups of tribes.
2. To enable and stimulate the pupils in a pride of their nation and to enable the pupils to realise the efforts and success of the past generations of Tanzanians.
3. To enable the pupils to learn about developments and to introduce the idea of history so that the pupils can visualise that the present situation is the result of historical events."

Such general statements of purpose have obviously to be treated with caution. It is clear however that as a start to the design of a history syllabus, that the intentions as expressed are placed firmly in the new historiography as defined above. The stress is to be placed on nationhood and development as opposed to tribe and a static society. An examination of the quite detailed syllabus shows a clear effort to place the African back into history. By pointing out that Tanzania was possibly the birth-place of the human race, they give to it a longer human history than any other part of the world. Point 4 of the aims of the syllabus illustrates the place of the African as opposed to other racial groups:

"Arabs and Asians should be considered as groups of people who came mainly to trade. The government, economic development and the Swahili language should be seen as the achievement of the African".

The Swahili language is of course a mixture of different language forms including Arabic and African tongues, it is stressed as an African development because it has been accepted as the national language of Tanzania.

The growth of an African nationalist movement within what is now modern Tanzania is implied in the syllabus; Chieftdoms and Kingdoms are promoted as evidence of "national" units beyond the tribe, whilst the resistance to

invaders and the later rising known as the Maji Maji War are used to demonstrate that the native African was not merely passive, but possessed a latent national consciousness that later reached fruition through independence.³³

The role of the native African in modern economic development is required teaching; again it is to emphasise the Africans' role in development as set against the widely held view that all modern development was due to the influence of Europeans and other groups.

History in Class Four thus starts with the origin of man and ends with the founding of the new nation state. Throughout there is a stress on the place of the African and the development of a nationalist view of history. The syllabus is clearly very extensive and would be very difficult for the class teacher to interpret without additional guidance. Advice on how to approach individual lessons is provided in the syllabus guide. It is clear that the programme is seen as introductory and as a preparation for more specialised approaches later. In terms of national and political development it is pointed out that:

"the history of villages should not precede the history of the nation, but that they should be taken together".

In other words there should be a stress on the factor of unity. Whilst advising on the use of the local environment in teaching history it is also pointed out that:

"Care should be taken that the idea of tribalism should not spoil the unity of the nation".

There is a clear indication that the curriculum developers are aware of the problem of inert factual learning. An attempt is made to make the study of history meaningful to the student by, in this introductory programme,

placing the emphasis on what takes place locally by searching for local heroes, examining the development of the local village, investigating the history of different groups in the area, taking into account local traditions such as music, poetry, art and dance. It is recommended that local traditional proverbs should be translated into Swahili - the mother tongue very clearly, must not be allowed to form a barrier to the process of national unity.

Class Five History ³²

In their second year of history the emphasis moves to the wider context of African history. The Aim of the programme is to study the "History of Africa Before 1800".

The objectives are set out as follows:

- "a) To enable the pupils to understand the history of their country.
- b) To enable the pupils to understand the things they have in common within the African continent.
- c) To show the foundation of history that Africa is built on".

African life is again shown to have a long and lasting tradition, dating back to the earliest times. The achievements of Africans is celebrated, from the hunters and artists of stone age times, through the major developments of civilisation in Egypt and their inventions, links with the Roman Empire, the growth of the Christian Church, and the development and growth of Islam. All these aspects are expected to be introduced during the second year of history. Contact with the Europeans is placed in the wider perspective of trading links and is not seen as exclusively related to them but also takes into view the trade links across the Indian Ocean.

Class Five history concludes on the first points of contact with Europeans, the question of trust and the development of the trade in slaves.

The programme attempts within the wider context of the African continent, to illustrate that the long traditions of the African people, though broken down into specific parts for study purposes, is Pan-African in its orientation. Africa is shown as comprised of "nations" through pointing out the existence of ancient civilisations in West, North, Central and East Africa. Nations such as ancient kingdoms are thus represented as an original "nationalism" that existed prior to the introduction of colonialism.

Class Six History³³

History in Class Six follows on directly from Class Five. The Aim is expressed as the History of Africa from 1800, the teacher is required to continue with the objectives set for the Class Five programme. However it is stated that:

"On top of that, the pupils should be able to discover how Africans fought against colonialism and resumed their independence".

The contents are set out under a number of major headings and represent an African view of 19th century African history. Starting with the "Nation Builders" under which a number of early nationalist leaders are examined, it moves to section (2) where European and African opponents of the slave trade are considered. The role of the Missions is placed in the 19th century history of Africa. The emphasis throughout is on African resistance to foreign domination and the division of Africa and concludes by looking at the "Freedom Fighters and Builders of Africa" - these include Nasser, Nkruma, Lumumba, Touré and Obote. This African nationalist perspective is seen as prior to the study of Tanzania in the 19th and 20th centuries which follows in Class Seven the final year of schooling under the Basic Education programme.

Class Seven History ³⁴

The Aim of history in Class Seven is to examine Tanzanian History in the 19th and 20th Century. The objectives are:

- "a) To enable the student to understand the things which led to the building of Tanzania today.
- b) To complete the history lessons for primary schools by repeating the history of Tanzania and emphasising that it is the real history that we are concerned with".

The period from 1800 to 1880 is seen as one of development and movement. Tribes were becoming firmly established and relationships with peoples from other areas formed, the spread of larger tribes is pointed to. Europeans are seen in the first instance as travellers and traders. This more or less tranquil period is replaced, as the European nations divided Africa between themselves. The loss of freedom is not without resistance and the early resistance to the Europeans is stressed. The period between 1885 and 1914 is described as one of opposition to German rule with the tribal rising against the Germans in the Maji Maji war depicted as a "nationalist movement". The start of political development under the British Mandate administration is recognised as one of the problems associated with the World Depression between the wars. The effect of the Second World War on economic and political development is examined. The final sections are concerned with the gaining of Independence, the role of TANU and conclude with the adoption of the Arusha Declaration.

7.5 History Programmes in Kenya and Tanzania Compared

The major point of similarity between the two approaches to history syllabus design is that they have both attempted to develop history teaching that is relevant. In each case there is a stated recognition of the role of history in

developing a sense of citizenship, more emphasis is placed on aspects of traditional culture than in colonial times and a stress is placed on the concept of nationhood as opposed to tribe.

Points of difference also occur, whilst in the Kenyan case, history is placed in a world context, in Tanzania the bias is Afrocentric. And, whilst it can be argued that there is a nationalist orientation, in the Kenyan syllabus it is less pronounced than in Tanzania. It appears that history teaching in Kenyan schools is expected to be more neutral in terms of political party allegiance, no specific reference is made to the role of KANU. Tanzania is completely overt in declaring its intentions; the role of the ruling party TANU (CCM) is given major prominence as is the part played by Julius Nyerere. Whilst Tanzania emphasises the role of nationalist freedom movement in its primary syllabuses there is no similar concern in Kenya.

In the Tanzanian case, particularly in Class Seven, there is a strong emphasis on the resistance to colonial rule. The Maji Maji risings against the German administration is taken as symbolic of the latent nationalism believed by the new leadership to have existed during colonial times. This latent factor is then projected forward to underpin the role of TANU in gaining independence. In the Kenyan context there is no similar attempt to use the past in order to justify the present. Mau Mau, believed by many to have been the main nationalist "resistance movement" to colonial rule is not given any prominence within the primary school syllabus. Interestingly however, there is a provision for a study of the nationalist movements in neighbouring Tanzania; in Standard Seven the Maji Maji uprising is specifically mentioned. The final aspect of comparison to be brought out at this point is the integration of Civics and History in the Kenyan case - as a specific area of study in the Primary School syllabus. Civics is provided in the last two terms of school life in Standard Seven and appears generally

descriptive in character and divorced from the day-to-day life of most pupils. Though we may note that some attempts have been made to reform this aspect of the curriculum through the "Social Studies Project" as yet there has been little attempt at universal revision.

The prime difference between the Kenya and Tanzanian cases in this area of the curriculum is that in Tanzania, as we shall see below, a full and separate syllabus in Political Education has been designed, developed and implemented.

7.6 Political Education Programmes in Tanzanian Primary Schools

Having recognised some of the major points of difference between school history programmes it is now possible to consider the content of political education syllabuses in Tanzania. The first point to recognise is that there is no equivalent in Kenya; Tanzania in committing herself to a distinct ideological route to Socialism, has at the same time accepted the school and post-school education system as a valid means for the transmission of politically acceptable values. The process whereby this came about has already been examined above. Here it is possible to recognise a major point of divergence between the two systems in the design of the school curriculum. Unlike Kenya, where History and Civics are seen as an integrated programme, serving in the main the ends of national Unity and "Nation Building"; in Tanzania history, as demonstrated above, and Political Education, are concerned national integration, with a particular emphasis on the role of the political party in the development of Ujamaa Socialism and Self-reliance.

An example taken from the primary school sector illustrates the content of political education programmes in Tanzanian primary schools:

Political Education or Civic education includes the child's relationship with, and obligation to, his family, village and society, from a socialist point of view. Thus it includes subject matter like the history, structure and function of TANU, the Ujamaa philosophy, the working of the government and national and international bodies, and other topics centred on Tanzanian socialism, the environment to be studied in so far as it serves the purpose of the socialist ethic, and is related to national and international history, geography and current affairs. Through political education will be promoted the concepts of brotherhood, dignity and equality of men, respect for others, an obligation to work hard and intelligently, willingness to co-operate, tolerance and friendship among all nations as defined in the aims of Education for Tanzanian Schools".³⁵

This explicit statement makes clear the commitment that is expected within the formal school curriculum to the ideals of Tanzanian Socialism. For the guidance of teachers the Ministry of National Education lists what ought to be achieved through political education programmes in the making of socially committed citizens:

The Good Citizen

1. Is familiar with the politics of our country
2. Is reliable
3. Votes regularly
4. Always pays his taxes
5. Works energetically
6. Is conscientious in all the work he does especially communal work
7. Is ready to co-operate in the work of building the nation
8. Helps families in distress
9. Is reliable and law-abiding
10. Is a peaceable man

The Bad Citizen

- Is not familiar with the politics of our country
- Is not reliable
- Does not bother to vote
- Avoids paying his taxes
- Is lazy
- Is a person who cannot be trusted
- Tries to play down or avoid this kind of work
- Ignores the difficulties of his fellow men
- Breaks the law
- Is impatient and quarrelsome with his fellows

- | | |
|---|--|
| 11. Is eager to educate himself | Has no desire to educate himself and dislikes lessons about modern developments |
| 12. Is a good person who appreciates his education | Despises his education |
| 13. Agrees with honest thinking | Despises honest thinking |
| 14. Likes doing work with others in establishing the spirit of familyhood (ujamaa) | Is a selfish man who exploits others |
| 15. He tries to improve his own efforts and to find good methods of achieving self-reliance | He waits for external aid, believing that nothing can be done without it |
| 16. He takes care of his possessions | He wastes his possessions |
| 17. He is to be trusted | He is not to be trusted |
| 18. He does not drink in excess | He is a drunkard |
| 19. He is a person who improves health in the villages | He spreads dirt in the country |
| 20. He is a person who keeps himself in a state of cleanliness | He is a person who does not bother about his health |
| 21. He is a person who tries to eat wholesome food | He is a person who only considers his own tastes and neglects wholesome food |
| 22. He is a person who tries to keep the water supply clean | He is a person who pollutes the nation's water supply |
| 23. He takes care of the wealth that is in the land | He destroys natural resources |
| 24. He keeps a moderate number of cattle in a satisfactory and beneficial condition | He keeps a large number of cattle for prestige purposes and so causes soil erosion ³⁶ |

In a sense this list of rules and principles approximates to the setting of a moral code against which young people are expected to measure themselves. One writer refers to the whole process of political education in Tanzania as moral education, in so far as it attempts to provide guidelines for personal and political behaviour³⁷.

Political Education Class Five³⁸

Political education as a specialised subject within the curriculum starts in Class Five. The first statement of general objective for Class Five is directly related to the accepted party political ideology, the children are expected to learn about:

"Ujamaa and Self-reliance in the Villages, Counties and Districts".

And the general aim within this programme is:-

"To educate the pupils in the true traditions of Africa and its benefits; emphasis should be placed on revolution to bring about the required change for development".

Ujamaa Socialism and the need for development at the local and district levels are given priority in the first year syllabus. Starting with the values that are interpreted as existing in traditional African society, respect, co-operation and work, and now adopted as part of the principles of Ujamaa and self-reliance, the programme goes on to examine the political structure as it immediately affects people living in villages. Though apparently descriptive in its approach some attempt is made to make the lessons meaningful for the pupils. Teachers are advised that:

"The success or failure of lessons depends upon the strategy you have used in teaching. Talking and repeating figures will not help in building a clever and practical citizen in a country of Ujamaa and Self-reliance".

Practical activities are then suggested in order to make the syllabus more meaningful:

"To attend meetings of the Village Development Committee, District Committee, Co-operative Society, Courts and various economic development projects.

To invite prominent politicians to talk about economic development and how they solve village problems. There should be class discussion and stage plays about political events in the village".

Thus by the end of Class Five the young people are expected to have a knowledge of how the political system works at the local and district levels and to be acquainted with the ideas and principles of Ujamaa Socialism and Self-reliance. In other words, they will have been introduced through part of the formal school programme, to the dominant political ideology.

Political Education Class Six³⁹

The Class Six programme is divided into Regional and National aspects though it is recommended that some two thirds of the teaching should be devoted to Regional matters. The general objective within the first part of the course programme is to provide "Political Education about the Region".

The Aim within this heading is:

"To show how the TANU party operates in the Region.

To teach pupils the government of the Region and its development projects.

To teach them the importance of TANU in the Region".

The role of TANU is described at various levels and points in the region and the machinery of government examined. Stress is placed on development aspects and the role of TANU clearly identified. In Part 11 of the syllabus the teaching moves to the higher level of the nation.

General objectives at Part 11 are described as "The Nation and our Government". The Aim here is to:

"Make the pupils understand and respect the politics of their Nation".

Here the concepts on Nation and Ujamaa Socialism are linked. The Symbols of the Nation and national days are explained; the philosophy of the nation as described in the Arusha Declaration, Education for Self-reliance and the TANU and National creeds are taught.

The whole of this section is concerned with teaching the role of TANU and the Afro-Shirazi parties in modern Tanzania; it is concerned with inculcating the view that TANU is providing for all of the needs of the new nation and that its position is legitimised by its history in relation to the struggle for independence. In Part 11 of how the government works it states:

"How TANU took part in bringing independence; how TANU led Tanzania to its politics of Ujamaa and Self-reliance".

The point is pressed home to teachers by stating that in preparation for Class Seven work in Political Education:

"the history of the party should demonstrate that the party is for all in its efforts to build Ujamaa and Self-reliance. At that point the aim of the party will be seen not only in bringing independence but also to build Ujamaa. The most important event should be the Arusha Declaration.

Political Education Class Seven ⁴⁰

The final phase of the programme comes in Class Seven which, as we have noted, is the terminal point for the majority of young people in their education.

Again the programme for the year is preceded by a general statement of objectives. The objective in this instance is: "To build the Nation together: The work of the Government and the People". The Aims are clearly set out and are intended to draw together the work of the previous two years:

"To teach the pupils the efforts being made by the nation to bring economic development and improve the life of the people, and to understand the pupils duty in the whole process.

To identify to the pupils the relationship of the government with other foreign countries and the problems facing the world in general.

To build in the heart of the pupils the spirit of Ujamaa and village development".

7.7 Political Education in Kenyan and Tanzanian Secondary Schools

Political education programmes at the secondary school level within the two systems follows closely to the pattern developed at the primary stage. In the Kenyan context it is the content of history syllabuses that most closely approximates to political education and forms part of the compulsory curriculum from Form I through to Form IV. No attempt has been made to introduce a distinct element of Civic or Political education at the secondary stage. In Tanzania the secondary school syllabus for history is used overtly as a means for the transmission of TANU/CCM approved political values and specially designed programmes in political education are also provided as part of the official curriculum.

In this section certain aspects of history teaching in Kenya and Tanzania will be considered and assessed for their political orientation. The first considerations will be in relation to the outline of content in secondary school syllabuses in the Kenyan context; this is followed by an examination of the history programmes operating in Tanzanian secondary schools. It will then be possible to turn briefly to an analysis of the ideological orientation of secondary school political education syllabuses in Tanzania.

7.7.1 Political/History Education in Kenyan Secondary Schools

History is a compulsory subject for Kenyan secondary school children in their first four years of secondary schooling. The approach to history

teaching is to provide broad introductory courses in Forms One and Two, which is followed in the two succeeding years by a detailed study of African history. The general objectives of the course are markedly western in their tone as can be demonstrated in the following extract from the official curriculum guide, the general objectives are set out as follows:

- "(i) To study people and events of the past which are important for the way in which present society is organised.
- (ii) To think of people of the past and of their behaviour and actions in a manner which will present them as members of living communities.
- (iii) To develop certain attitudes of tolerance, sympathy and understanding through learning of the past and in so doing to avoid the tendency to judge the past by the standards of the present.
- (iv) To teach a variety of historical developments - political, economic, social, religious and constitutional - in various parts of the world so as to provide the pupils with a background against which he may learn of his own country and thereby develop a healthy national pride."
- (v) To help in the training of pupils as intelligent citizens of the adult world of tomorrow while they are members of a school community in which a growing sense of citizenship is already inherent.
- (vi) To develop the ability to weigh information and to make judgements; to approach work critically and to express an opinion."⁴¹

Such statements of objectives do not in themselves enable an assessment of the purposes to which history programmes may be applied. They do however, indicate a strong emphasis in Kenya on the orthodox role of history within school programmes, liberal in tone and humanitarian in texture. This aspect is particularly well illustrated in the last four objectives:

- "(vii) To develop a sense of time.

- (viii) To give pupils the opportunity to develop and practice skills involved both in the research for material, and its presentation.
- (ix) To avoid the presentation of history as a set of ideas and learning by means of pure memorisation.
- (x) To achieve as a result of the use of imaginative techniques a true interest in history and an enjoyment in the study of it for its own sake."⁴²

There is clearly very little expression of political intent within these statements of general objectives other than in (iv) where "national pride" is given some weight, and (v) where history is seen to provide "the training of pupils as intelligent citizens". Nevertheless an examination of the content of history syllabuses does demonstrate an element of political purpose as will be illustrated.

In Forms One and Two the syllabus is divided into discrete topic areas and time allocated to the teaching of such topics as described in this extract:

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Time</u>
<u>First Term Form 1</u>	
1. Pre-History	2 weeks
2. Egypt and Mesopotamia	4 weeks
3. Ancient East	2 weeks
4. Greece	4 weeks
<u>Second Term Form 1</u>	
5. Rome	4 weeks
6. Christianity	2 weeks
7. Islam	2 weeks
8. Renaissance and Reformation	2 weeks
<u>Third Term Form 1</u>	
9. Voyages of Exploration and the consequence of these voyages.	2 weeks

SECTION 2

<u>Topic</u>	<u>Time</u>
<u>First Term Form 2</u>	
1. The Old Colonial System	1 week
2. Scientific Developments	3 weeks
3. North America	5 weeks
4. Russia	3 weeks
<u>Second Term Form 2</u>	
5. Russia (continued)	2 weeks
6. China	5 weeks
7. India	5 weeks
<u>Third Term Form 2</u>	
8. Africa	7 weeks 43

The colonial past is given but one week, three hours of study, followed by three weeks of Scientific Developments before concentrating in five week periods on Russia, North America, China and India. The significance of such a weighting is only fully realised when the syllabus content is examined.

It becomes apparent from the remaining sections of syllabus that the major theme in each case, North America, Russia, China and India, is their gaining of independence and the development of national identity. In terms of "political education" it seems clear that in this case, history is being used as a means to an end, that end being the creation of a national awareness through, in the first place, a study of how other nations have emerged and gained a sense of nationhood to be followed by a study of Africa, which again stresses the independence movements, nationalism and Africanisation. What is also noticeable about the curriculum syllabus, is that all but Russia, had experienced European colonial rule, with Britain playing a major part as she had in Kenya. The similarity and common experience of each nation is emphasised. The other case is in the role of national leadership where in all but India, the decisive role of particular national leaders is emphasised.

1. North America

- " The American War of Independence. The growth of a nation and its westward expression. The Monroe Doctrine. Slavery and its problems. The Civil War : Jefferson and Lincoln, America in the 20th Century : the two World Wars; the Depression, Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. America in the world today.

2. Russia

- (i) Russia at the time of Alexander II
(i) Background to Alexander's Reforms.
(ii) Alexander's Reforms.
- (ii) Repression of Liberal movements in the late 19th Century by Alexander III and Nicholas II. The influence of Marx in Russia before the end of the 19th Century.
- (iii) The Russo-Japanese War. The 1905 Revolution.
- (iv) Lenin. The 1917 Revolution.
- (v) Trotsky and Stalin.
- (vi) Russia in the world today.

3. China

- (i) China at the close of the Manchu Dynasty.
(i) Backgrounds : The European scramble of the 19th Century. Internal disorder.
(ii) The 1911 Revolution Sun Yat-Sen.
- (ii) The emergence of Chiang Kai-Shek.
- (iii) Mao Tse-Tung and the Growth of the Communist movement.
- (iv) 1949 and the birth of the People's Republic.
- (v) China in the world today.

4. India

- (i) The scramble for India in the 18th Century.
- (ii) India's reaction to British rule : Indian Mutiny; rise of nationalism, independence and partition. India and Pakistan today.

5. Africa

- (i) The African background.

- (ii) The motives for the coming of the Europeans in the 19th Century.
- (iii) The methods used and the problems involved in the scramble.
- (iv) The division of Africa by 1900.
- (v) Effects of and reactions to European rule. (References to Kenya and one other country).
- (vi) Africa in the world today.⁴⁴

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, that the colonial power is, at least to some extent, represented as "a villain". This is implied in the syllabus by the use of terms such as "the scramble" - applied here to colonial policy in India, China and Africa. The section on Africa includes "Effects and reactions to European rule - reference to Kenya and one other country". Of course, there is no way of knowing how these topics are treated in the schools. It is however, difficult to conceive of an objective appraisal of colonial power policy given the overriding aim of national unity in the new nation. As one writer puts it:- "people learn to be patriotic regarding some geographical unit and, if they are extremely loyal and enthusiastic about smaller units eventually they are likely to display the same syndrome with reference to the larger (national) unit. The learning here is facilitated by the presence of a villain, usually the European but sometimes the Asian or Middle Easterner who can serve the function for accounting the evil of the past and justify nationalistic measures of the present and future."⁴⁵

History in Forms 3 and 4

History programmes in Forms three and four concentrate on the history of Africa with a compulsory study of East African history as a major element. The objectives of the courses are set out in uncomplicated terms. It is stated that: The purpose of the Form 3 and Form 4 syllabus is to give pupils an understanding of Kenyan and East African History and to relate this to

the history of peoples in other parts of Africa". The orientation of studies in African history follows that established in Forms 1 and 2 in that it traces the development of African peoples with an emphasis on pre-colonial developments in culture, politics and latent nationalism. In all specialist areas of study - West Africa, Central Africa and South Africa - political elements such as the "European Scramble and Partition" and African resistance are given emphasis. Similarly with the rise of the nationalist movements in Africa. In West African studies we find: "Nationalism: modern political movements in Ghana and Nigeria; the advance to freedom". In both Central and South African studies the rise of nationalism and the struggle for independence is given prominence. Such examples of the bias in the history programmes in Kenyan secondary schools clearly illustrate the purpose of history in the nation-building process - it aims to legitimise the development of a national consciousness amongst Kenyans and facilitate the integration of the new nation state.

These aspects are given continued stress in the compulsory section of the syllabus on East Africa; the programme is Pan-African in tone and nationalistic in its emphasis. Resistance by East African people to German rule is included - "the Bushiri and Maji Maji risings" and "the risings of the Nandi, Hehe and Chagga" are included. These aspects of history teaching in Kenya are clearly much closer to the approach found within the primary school history syllabuses in Tanzania and indicates that the influence of the new African nationalist historians has been felt beyond the borders of Tanzania. At the Form 3 and 4 history level there is an inclusion of more modern nationalist development in Kenya seen within the context of East Africa through the study of: "The Second World War and its effects on nationalism. K.A.U. and Mau Mau. The Kabaka crisis, T.A.N.U. The later stages of constitutional advance. The winning of independence".⁴⁶

These aspects are considered important within the thesis because they illustrate the attempts made within the secondary school in Kenya to reorientate the content of history syllabuses to make them more relevant to the needs of the newly independent nation. The new emphasis is Afro-centric - little reference is made to European history other than when points of contact were made following the "voyages of discovery", the "slave trade" or the "colonial period" - in such instances, as stated previously, the European is depicted as "the villain" and used to reinforce the sense of African identity, Pan-Africanism and national consciousness.

7.7.2 History and Political Education in Tanzanian Secondary Schools

Secondary school history in Tanzania is essentially a continuation of the programmes provided in the Primary Schools. It starts in Form 1 and continues through to Form 6. The content of Forms 1 to Form 4 are officially described as follows:

"The teaching is arranged so that Africa before 1850 is taught in Form 1 and progressively the present situation at Form 4, where world History since 1945 is introduced stressing -imperialism and the connivance of USA and the consolidation of socialism and a world wide system. The emergence of the Third World concludes the history syllabus".⁴⁷

There is within this brief description a hint of the shift away from the early nationalist school of historiography towards a more radical quasi Marxist world view of historical development. More evidence for this changing approach is provided in the official history syllabus for Forms 5 and 6. The objectives for the course are relatively liberal in tone:

- "1. To develop a deeper understanding of historical roots of problems of development of modern Africa and efforts made to overcome them.
2. To impart into the students the tools and abilities of analysing, evaluating, and solving problems in their proper context; and therefore to encourage

historical research and a purposeful use of a wide variety of source material.

3. To prepare students for higher education and better service to the people.
4. To give students an opportunity to study a relatively short period in depth through a thematic approach.
5. To stimulate and encourage the development of an African outlook and a sense of pride in the African heritage, in order for them to face various challenges confidently."⁴⁸

These are a set of very reasonable educational and social aims that would be found acceptable in any Western school system. There is a need to examine the content and structure in order to glean more clearly the new approach to the teaching of African History and to review the "guide to the syllabus provided by the History Panel of the Institute of Education. For Section A of the History Syllabus - "Origins and Development of Modern African States", the guide states that: "the method which should be adopted throughout the course is that of historical materialism, these concepts are the basic tools in this kind of methodology".⁴⁹ The guide then goes on to adopt a wholly Marxist/Leninist interpretation of historical development. History according to the guide: "should start by providing an understanding of: "Class production relations and modes of production. Production of material life determines how society organises itself i.e. how people produce and the relations they forge in the process of production determines their social organisation".⁵⁰ The course guide is then set out under major headings each describing the Marxist scientific interpretation of historical and economic development:

"Communalism; Slavery and Feudalism; Capitalism Imperialism and Colonialism; Socialism; Liberation and Revolution"⁵¹

There is thus a very apparent shift in the interpretation of history as taught within the senior forms of Tanzanian secondary schools. It clearly reflects the new "world history" approach within the History Department at the University of Dar es Salaam which has been developed from the early 1970's onwards. The new developments are quite open even though they are in some senses in conflict with the orthodox view of African Socialism adopted by TANU/CCM. It reflects a clear determination within the University to maintain a degree of academic freedom. It is also worth noting, that the Secondary School history panel is very open in declaring its position. For example the guide to teachers contains a list of reference books for teachers which is extensive and wide ranging; to ensure that teachers are aware of the character of each text a symbol, set against each book indicates; "Conventional + (bourgeois) literature, a mixture of conventional and new interpretation", and * indicates "New (leftist) interpretation".⁵² The detailed syllabus for Forms 5 and 6 provides an interesting insight into the problems of curriculum control in new states - it clearly cannot be assumed that the Party line will always be followed. The view of the history panel in this case is overtly Marxist: "It should be remembered" they say, "that history is a science and not something static".⁵³

7.7.2.1 Political Education in Tanzanian Secondary Schools

As with History in the secondary schools in Tanzania - Political Education which is begun in the primary school continues at the secondary stage. Here the objectives of Political Education programmes for Forms 1 to Form 4 will be examined. The curriculum panel have in this case assumed that a foundation has already been provided at the primary stage; in the Foreword to the Syllabus it is stated that programmes have been prepared: "bearing in mind the great changes that have taken place after the birth of the political

party Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)". The general aims of the Political Education course are expressed under the heading: "The National Objectives of Political Education"; the implication is that the programme in secondary schools is but one part of these stated objectives:

- "1. To educate the citizens in the Policy of Self-reliance as explained in the Arusha Declaration.
2. To educate citizens about the enemies of Ujamaa and the way to defeat them in order to fulfil the Arusha Declaration.
3. To examine more closely the declarations and directives given by the Party on the exercising of the Policy of Ujamaa and Self-reliance and the activities of the Party, Government, Party Committees and Parastatal Organisations.
4. To educate citizens on the Government plans, as well as the Party and its Community plans. The citizens have to be educated on the National Economy and National Development plans so they can fully participate.
5. To give the citizen high political awareness so that they can defend the Independence and Peace of our nation.
6. To educate the citizens on the liberation of the African Continent and other countries in the world whose people are still exploited by the Feudalists.
7. With other objectives as given in "Education for Adults", Political Education aims at giving the peasants and workers more knowledge so that their efforts may produce more products".⁵⁴

These aims are extracted from the party CCM syllabus for Political Education published in 1977, they are set out at the start of the Secondary School Syllabus so that teachers will recognise the overall objectives of Political Education as a national Party Programme. The specific goals of Political Education in the secondary school are set out more briefly:

- "1. The student should build and strengthen his character to be patriotic to the nation Tanzania and the African Continent as a whole.

2. Students should be able to participate actively in fulfilling national activities as directed by the Party on Socialism and Self-reliance while in school and after the school period.
3. Students should have the ability to explain how different organs of the Party and the Government are to be used to strengthen and defend our Peace in Political, Economic, Cultural and Defence Policies".⁵⁵

It is difficult to assess how sensitive Tanzania is to criticism of its programmes in political education within its schools. However it is interesting to note the kind of defence of political education that has been developed. Ndunguru in reviewing the forms of criticism mounted in the West against overt programmes in political education argues that:

"in a democratic one-party State it seems to me quite in order to have political education in schools, even if a few people do not share the political beliefs of the country. By having political education we cater for the needs of the majority, the need to understand their political beliefs".⁵⁶

This particular writer is well aware of the problems associated with such a position and takes into account the very subjective nature of such an approach. This is clear when he states:

"Political education unlike political science, is not a subject that can be taught in a purely objective way. It is not possible to avoid value judgements and persuasion in teaching political education. The teacher cannot afford to sit on the fence and leave the children to make their own decisions ----. If the teacher is convinced that certain democratic values are right, then it is his duty to pass them on to the children by making explicit his own stand".⁵⁷

Such an elaboration is wholly in line with the official TANU/CCM policy on political education in the school system. The author commits himself to the orthodox ideological position adopted by the TANU leadership.

The approach to political education at the secondary school level very clearly represents an extension of programmes first introduced into primary schools. Details of the programmes are not examined here because they tend to be repetitive. It appears from the objectives that the intentions of the Party CCM are once again given clear expression. We can turn now, but briefly, to some of the comments that have been made within Tanzania about the purpose and function of political education programmes within the schools sector.

He emphasises strongly that there: "Must be deliberate teaching about socialism and how socialist institutions function. Children must be led to value the goodness of communal living and of co-operation". Whilst statements of this kind appear melioristic it must be recognised that they represent the extent of the increasingly holistic approach to politicisation in Tanzanian society. The writer is but one actor among many who have been recruited to promote the ideological values of the ruling Party. "The distinctive feature of Tanzanian education", as David Court puts it, "is its heavy political content".⁵⁸ He goes on to say that:

"A major objective of the system is to raise the level of collective political consciousness so as to inculcate understanding of the conditions of Tanzania's underdevelopment, the principles of Tanzanian socialism, a sense of national pride, an appreciation of the dignity of labour, and to foster a spirit of co-operation rather than individualistic behaviour and forms of production".

These aspects have been recognised as contained within both history and political education programmes in Tanzanian schools and the obvious bias towards the role of TANU/CCM brought out the major exception within these programmes is the explicit commitment in Form 5 and 6 History where an overtly Marxist Leninist approach to the curriculum can be discerned. It would however be mistaken to interpret the position of all

academics as wholly supportive of the forms of political education provided in the schools. The position of the radical left within the University of Dar-es-Salaam has been noted above - it is clear that they remain but a small minority on the campus. Though criticism of the orthodox approach to political education is not frequent, it is of interest to take account of the views of the radical left as expressed through their journal Maji Maji. It was stated that:

"the atmosphere in which political education is imparted becomes an artificial one in which pretence rather than genuine commitment prevails and where critical thought is unceremoniously banished. Not infrequently it turns into a tug of war between pupils and the teacher, as to who can praise the government most. It is no wonder that neither the pupils nor the teacher care to understand what they say, or remember it outside the classroom. Rather than permeating the entire curriculum and organisation of the school, political education has been relegated to the level of a compulsory subject a pass in which is essential".⁶⁰

7.8 The Use of Ceremony in Political Education

In concentrating on the formal aspects of political exposure in the school curriculum in Kenya and Tanzania we have tended to neglect other aspects of school life that have political implications. Some of these ought to be included in any consideration of political exposure, though again we recognise that there is a difficulty when it comes to measuring such influences. The first aspect to take into consideration is the flag raising ceremony; in both Kenya and Tanzania the start of the school day on at least one day in week is preceded by the singing of the National Anthem and the raising of the National Flag. The purpose of such an exercise is to symbolise in the minds of school children the existence of the new nation. Most new nations perform such symbolic acts, including the United States of America, in order to develop the ideas of political allegiance to the new entity of the nation state. For Kenya and Tanzania it is recognised as

performing the function of attitude formation as it relates to the political aim of national unity - as such it is detached from the party political ends of some of the political education programmes we have examined above.

In Kenya the use of ceremony is officially specified:

"The school should begin formally with the morning assembly attended by all members of staff including the Headmaster. The bell should summon all the children to this opening ceremony. The ceremony should be conducted on specific days by the headmaster on other days by the duty master/mistress. The morning should include prayers, hoisting the national flag on some given days -----".⁶¹

Flag raising takes place usually once a week on Fridays, unless a particular national day is involved.

The position is the same in neighbouring Tanzania where in this instance the aim is the common one of enshrining the idea of the new nation in the minds of future citizens.

A similar symbolic approach to the development of national political allegiance in young people is the requirement that a portrait of the President be hung in a prominent position in the school or college. The President is seen in this instance to personify the concept of the nation and recognised as a unifying factor. In both Kenya and Tanzania it is a requirement that pictures of the President be displayed in all public offices.

A step beyond morning assemblies, flag raising ceremonies and the visual display of national leaders is the reciting of Oaths of Allegiance. This is a feature of school life in Kenya, where it is defined as part of the Primary Education Project in Social Studies - "Singing the National Anthem, saying the Loyalty Pledge and talking about them" is included as an aspect of study in Standards 1 to 3 under all Specific Objective areas.⁶²

7.9 Summary Review

Policies, as they relate to the use of educational institutions in the specific formation of political attitudes are clearly and markedly different in Kenya when compared with neighbouring Tanzania. We have recognised the more radical nationalistic approach to history teaching in Tanzanian primary schools where the emphasis is placed on what is described as the "real" history of Tanzania - meaning history as it has been rewritten in order to put the African back into it. Kenyan history programmes still reflect the influence of expatriate teachers and are more neutral in the interpretation of events. Whilst in Tanzania the role of the governing party TANU/CCM is highlighted in Kenya, the part played by KANU is not given prominence. It is true that the intention in Kenya is to use history within the curriculum as part of the process of value and attitude change; indeed both history and civics programmes are intended for such a purpose. So far however, the reform movement has not had a significant impact on this aspect of the school curriculum. As has been pointed out above, the innovations that were on trial in Kenya as part of the new social studies project have not been introduced generally and the project has now come to a stop. It can be concluded that there is a lack of political will for the achievement of such change which is in part due to the orientation of politics in Kenya when compared to Tanzania. KANU remains a coalition of interests without a unifying political ideological purpose. Though interested in developing relevant curricula, working towards national unity and forming in the people a feeling of belonging to the nation, the process does not go beyond this point. Tanzania sees the school system as an instrument for political and social change, school history programmes are but one aspect of this process.

The relative positions taken in relation to school history though clearly different, are not as dissimilar as the approaches to the more explicit policies adopted towards political education programmes at the primary

school and secondary school levels. In Kenya there is complete absence of any formal attempt to introduce specially designed curricula. Whilst in Tanzania we have recognised, in the post Arusha phase of development, that wide ranging changes have been introduced into the curriculum including purposely designed courses in political education. The comparison at this point becomes one of comparing a positive with a negative policy development. The factors that led to the major divergence of approach have been examined above - the crucial variable has been defined as ideological; political philosophies in the two systems are radically different and this has in turn brought about the adoption of different view on the role of education in the process of change.

Given the purposes of the revised curricula for history and the development of specific programmes of political education designed to produce ideologically committed Tanzanians, it is hardly surprising that it should contain material with a distinct orientation. Some aspects of this orientation have been discerned and used to illustrate another facet of the relations between, and utilisation of, the curriculum in the process of political development.

Turning specifically to political education programmes and using Zeigler's point, stated above,⁶³ that there is a need to assess the latent consequences of educational experience, it is possible to point out what is missing from the syllabuses which cause them to be politically biased. The whole programme in primary or secondary schools is biased towards the role of TANU in bringing independence and developing good government, and within this there is no attempt to demonstrate the function of opposition parties in a two party or multi-party system. Nor is there any official attempt to put forward radically opposed views from the political left; though it is known that a Marxist critique of the present path to development exists within the

country, the views of such an opposition are not provided for within political education programmes. Political education programmes are ethnocentric, there is no attempt to consider the relevance of other national systems and to evaluate their relative advantages and disadvantages.

It is not surprising that such biases should exist in a curriculum designed to foster feelings of belonging to a particular nation and to accept the ruling party's ideological position. Such programmes are nevertheless very different from those designed to provide the principles of political competency and literacy and it is essential to point this out.

What we are recognising in this Chapter is the formal design and development of curricula that is expected to form the throughput of the political education process in the school sectors. In this context the model as set out above can only be partially applied because the actualities of the school and classroom behaviour cannot be taken into account. Given however that it is the intention, within this study, to remain at the macro level it is possible to recognise the points of interaction as intended by actors in the political system. The Input Phase is defined above as the design and development of political education programmes within specially established curriculum development centres. The Institutes of Education are, as stated above, part of the political system - they provide the Input of curriculum guides and materials for teachers serving in the schools. Guidance is provided on the text books to be used and the approaches to be adopted; the Input becomes the Throughput as it is channelled through the school system.

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CHAPTER EIGHT: POLITICAL EDUCATION BEYOND THE SCHOOL

- 8.1 Divergent Curriculum Policies
- 8.2 Political Education in Tertiary Institutions
- 8.3 Political Education in Adult Education
- 8.4 Political Education in Higher Education
- 8.5 Summary Review

"If nation-building is an inspiring lesson for children at school, why should it cease to be so in higher education?"¹

Ali A. Mazrui and Y. Tandon.

CHAPTER EIGHT POLITICAL EDUCATION BEYOND THE SCHOOL

8.1 Divergent Curriculum Policies

In the last chapter our concern was with the political education content of the curriculum in the schools sector as contained in Civics and History programmes in Kenya, and History and Political Education programmes in Tanzania. By examining the content of these programmes it was possible to discern a number of significant differences in the approach to this aspect of curriculum reform. For example, it was recognised that in Kenya the syllabuses were formal, academic and bland. It was also pointed out that a degree of negative bias could be discerned i.e. the nationalist movement in Kenya is not given prominence at the primary stage. Tanzania contrasted sharply with Kenya in this aspect of the curriculum; History has largely been re-written by nationalist historians and has affected the teaching as represented by the curriculum guides in the schools. Programmes of Political Education, in part designed by the TANU team at the Ministry of National Education, have been introduced. The Political Education programmes have been shown to contain an overt commitment to dissemination of ideological material in order to provide positive support for the ruling party TANU/CCM. This very clearly reflects the divergence of approach within the two national systems to the development of political support. Schools in Kenya play a passive role in political development whilst maintaining the status quo, in Tanzania the school system is, since the Arusha Declaration, expected to play a radical part in the mobilisation of support for the new national political ideology, as well as performing a more prosaic task in the nation-building process.

The divergence in terms of curriculum content between the two systems is matched also in the education system beyond the school. Both systems have, since Uhuru, developed extensive provision beyond the school in

response to manpower planning projections for educated and trained manpower. This has involved the creation of a diverse range of tertiary institutions, teacher training colleges, and extended provision for adult learning - in addition to this there has been a strong emphasis in both Kenya and Tanzania on the provision of higher education within the new national universities.

This chapter examines the approach to politicisation in each system; where there is explicit evidence of political education programmes they will be interpreted through the same form of textual analysis as adopted in Chapter Seven. We start by examining the tertiary sectors in each system, though it must be noted that the organisational structure is different in each case; in Tanzania there is a wide range of specialist provision, whilst in Kenya courses at this level tend to be concentrated into fewer institutions. Adult education is examined for any political education provision and again is recognised in the Tanzanian context to play a significant role in the political development process and finally the role of the universities is taken into account. It is suggested that the extension of political education programmes into all the major areas of post-school provision in Tanzania marks very clearly another aspect of divergence and relates again to the differing ideological stances taken within each national system.

8.2 Political Education: Tertiary Institutions

The major mainstream tertiary institutions in Kenya and Tanzania are the Polytechnics, these are in Kenya the Mombasa Polytechnic and Kenya Polytechnic in Nairobi, and in Tanzania the Dar es Salaam Technical College and the newly built Arusha Technical College. In this section it is possible to draw some comparisons between the approaches to "political education" through an examination of course outlines in use in each system.

The General Studies programme in use at Mombasa and Kenya Polytechnic are very similar. The Aims are touched upon briefly here in order to demonstrate the orientation of the teaching within this subject. Written by expatriate personnel, it is clearly derived from the traditional liberal/general studies programmes used in English further education institutions. As such, it is based on the view that liberal studies are concerned, in the main, with the development of the individual through an extension of his general education. It aims:

- "1. To liberalise the student's education by bringing him into contact with topics outside the relatively narrow confines of his technical studies. -----
Some of the topics dealt with, will have a direct relevance to the students working life.
2. To improve the student's ability to communicate effectively. This is vital inside and outside the work situation.
3. To encourage the student to form his own opinions from the evidence."

Each of these points is elaborated and then set out in the form of a syllabus for the guidance of class teachers. What is taught is left to the individual teacher to decide and is as a consequence extremely laissez-faire in its approach. It is not that the programme is devoid of political content, there are a number of topic areas that are intended to provide a greater understanding of politics in Kenya. What is absent is any kind of direction in so far as the need for political education is concerned. It is interesting to note that Bessey Mission commended this approach to General Studies stating: "We were pleased to see that general studies were arranged not on a syllabus but on a topic basis. The topics were related to the local environment, local or national government, or were of international interest".³

This stands in marked contrast to similar institutions in Tanzania where again it was clear, on visiting Dar-es Salaam Technical College, that political education is seen as an important element within the curriculum. How this came to be, is explained above where it was demonstrated that the perceived need to ensure effective commitment to the system was articulated through TANU. At the Technical College a separate department of Development Studies has been established. The stated objective of this department is: "to educate the College Community on the philosophy and development strategies of our Country in particular and of East Africa in general".

Course content is only briefly described but takes the following form:

"The course lasts for two years. In the first year we give a historical perspective of development of society; bases of East Africa's present development, major elements in the development of the modern world and its impact on developing countries - the rise of capitalism; the Industrial Revolution; the colonial situation; the nationalist movement - birth of TANU and AFRO-SHIRAZI; socialism and development experience in socialist countries; self-reliance and socialism in Tanzania.

In the second year we cover in greater detail the challenges of development i.e. the scientific and technological Revolution: Social effects and prospects; socialist change in the economic and social structure between agriculture and industry; prospects for industrialisation, rural development and Ujamaa; social development - health welfare services, education and national culture".⁴

The course as described above, has the title "Development Studies" but is essentially concerned with *political education*. It is followed by all students on all courses provided by the college in technical education. Students spend two hours each week over two academic years on this programme. In addition all students attend classes in communication studies for two hours per week. One of the stated objectives within this course is to:

"assist the student in understanding his relationship and responsibility to the world around him, and the relationship between his individual goals and national goals".⁵

There is thus a very heavy emphasis within the Communication Studies programme upon the role of the individual in the context of national development.

Both Development Studies and Communication Studies are overtly political in their intention, and taken together amount to a total of four hours tuition in political education of the most explicit kind with a stress on socialist development, the role of TANU in the Tanganyikan situation, and the Afro-Shirazy Party in the socialist development of Zanzibar.

Since this is the first element of the tertiary system to be examined in the Tanzanian political development context, it is worth stressing that the aspects of political development emphasised in the Development Studies programme are quite typical of those that follow in other institutions. It is markedly different from the traditional Western approach to "General Studies" or "Social Studies" adopted in the Kenyan case and endorsed in a negative sense by KANU. The stress in the Kenyan context is placed upon the preparation of those who will, in the main, occupy various technician roles in Kenyan industry and commerce for the world of work, and is a necessary adjunct to the manpower planning process. In Tanzania, on the other hand, though students are under training as technicians in accordance with stated manpower planning objectives, it is also the case that positive politicisation is seen as a necessary part of the educational process; the new cadres of technicians are required to understand their role in the context of Ujamaa Socialism and Self-reliance.

Similarly in the other areas of tertiary education in Tanzania it is possible to discern a policy of politicisation of an extensive kind. Here just two

other major institutions are picked out in order to illustrate the point; the Dar-es-Salaam School of Accountancy, a parastatal organisation relating directly to the Ministry of Finance and Planning, and the Co-operative College, Moshi.

The majority of courses and subjects at the School of Accountancy are concerned with aspects of finance and commerce. However, the interest in this context centres on the content of the prescribed political education programme. The officially designed programme content is set out below.

CONTENT:

1. COLONIALISM AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The nature of underdevelopment; the historical development of underdevelopment and the economic, political, social and cultural implications of slavery and colonialism for Africa as a whole.

2. INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER

Putting political independence in its true perspective - assessing its importance and stressing its limitations in terms of reducing economic and cultural dependence, and domestic class conflict. Study and analysis of the various official statements embracing Tanzania's policies to achieve real independence through socialism and self-reliance, Socialism and Rural Development, Mwangoza and Siasa ni Kilimo.

3. PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN TANZANIA

Reviewing the role of the Party in Tanzania, especially with regard to Ujamaa development: The Party, the state and Workers' democracy, The peoples' militia and national service, Leadership and participation, Tanzania's foreign policy and its domestic implications.⁶

Just as with the outline programme in Development Studies provided by Dar-es-Salaam Technical College, there is a clearly expressed commitment within the curriculum to the aims of national and political/ideological development. The role of TANU and the development of Ujamaa Socialism is again a prominent feature. The study of "official statements" is a recurrent theme in most programmes of this kind and is apparently aimed at ensuring the understanding of TANU/Government policy. Thus though written in a slightly different form, the purposes of the political education programme within the School of Accountancy approximates closely to the content of the Development Studies programme at Tanzania's two technical colleges.

Though different in its orientation to the School of Accountancy, the Co-operative College Moshi nevertheless demonstrates within its overall programme and in political education in particular, a forceful presence in Tanzania's national and political development programme. The College is, like the School of Accountancy, a parastatal organisation relating directly to, in this case the Prime Minister's Office. In a real sense the College bridges the divide between the tertiary and adult education sectors by providing training courses described officially as:

"To carry out co-operative training to the staff of the Ujamaa Villages and the Ujamaa and Co-operative Division".

The College performs this function by providing a number of Diploma and Certificate Courses relating to the functional needs of the co-operative movement. Courses are provided at the Moshi College or in some instances organised at what are described as "The Wings" - regional offices of the Co-operative Education Centre. Wings are provided to cope with the problems of distance and the co-operative educational needs of the more remote

areas. Radio is similarly utilised and permanent listening groups organised to follow the broadcasts. The College is responsible for this development through its Correspondence Institute. This aspect in the strictest sense forms part of the Adult Education system. The aims of their course are described as:

"To spread Ujamaa and Co-operative Education to as many people as possible in written study materials.

To prepare prospective students to be admitted to the Co-operative College for residential training".⁸

All major courses within the College have Political Education as a prescribed element. Courses in Political Education are provided by the Department of Co-operation, Political Education and Rural Sociology, through the specialised "Unit of Political Education". The course outline for what is officially described as the highest award offered by the College is set out below:

First Year: Accountancy, Auditing, Cost and Management Accounting, Statistics and Business Mathematics, Management, Economics, Marketing, Economics of Co-operative Enterprise, Political Education, Rural Sociology, Law (Commercial and Co-operative).⁹

It was not possible to gain access to a copy of the official content of the political education programme. In this context it is seen as a compulsory element in a programme which has other related "political education" elements such as Economics, Rural Sociology.

Though the main concern in this section has been with the content and existence of political education programmes within the curriculum in the tertiary sector, it must also be recognised that other forms of political education are taking place. One particularly strong example of this is

provided from the Tanzanian context. At both the Arusha and Dar-es-Salaam Technical Colleges there are branches of the TANU Youth League whilst at the Moshi Co-operative College there a TANU Party Branch. In the Technical Colleges the role of the TANU Youth League is described as the:

"National youth organisation under the leading National party, "The Tanganyikan African National Union" (TANU). The T.Y.L. constitution is maintained at the League's National Headquarters. Its aims and objectives are:

1. The same as TANU.
2. To prepare members of the league to become worthy members of TANU.
3. To act upon and implement the aims and objectives of TANU.
4. To campaign tirelessly for the formation and maintenance of Pan-African Youth Organisation".¹⁰

Though in the strictest sense outside of the formal curriculum the presence of the Party within the institution must be seen as an attempt by the actors within the political system to recruit and maintain support for the ruling party. In that sense the presence of the T.Y.L. is recognised here as a part of the politicisation political mobilisation process.

In much the same way the presence of the TANU Branch at Moshi fulfils a direct political education role. The branch was described as actively involved in:

- "a. Self-help activities
- b. Life and Death Farming Campaign
- c. Functional literacy
- d. Supervising training for peoples' militia and generally taking care of the Party's interests at the College. Also there are TANU Youth League Umoja wa Wanaka activities at the College."¹¹

The Tanzanian case thus represents a positive instance of party political penetration into the educational curriculum process. This is achieved, as has so far been illustrated through an examination of the tertiary sector, by

actively promoting the study of politicisation programmes and actively engaging students through TANU Party activities within the institutions. It is difficult to draw comparisons with Kenyan institutions because of the very neglect of any positive ideological direction from the KANU/Government. Institutions in Kenya are of course run and managed with needs of the Government to the fore, but they are expressed in manpower, and not political terms. An example of this form of orientation can be gained from the Mombasa Polytechnic - one of the major tertiary institutions in Kenya:

"The Mombasa Polytechnic maintains close contact with Government Ministries and Departments and with major industrial and public service organisations. The type of course offered is determined by the demands of the public and private sectors of industry".¹²

At no point in any of the documents relating to the courses and activities of these tertiary institutions in Kenya is there a reference made to KANU or any direct form of ideological purpose. Their clear purpose is to provide trained and educated manpower for Kenyan industry and commerce within Kenya's mixed form of economy.

8.3 Political Education and Adult Education

The central political mobilisation role of Kivukoni College has already been discussed. Briefly the college aims to train people for political leadership. All the subjects taught place the emphasis on Tanzanian Political and social Development. The basic nine month course had up to 1981 the following curriculum content:

Politics

The principles and practice of politics
Socialism and Self-Reliance
Public Administration and Government

African Politics

Economics

An introduction to Economics

Development Economics

Public finance

Agricultural Development

Industrial development in Tanzania.

History

Africa

East Africa

Tanzania

Sociology

Introduction to social development

Socio-economic analysis of Tanzania

Mobilisation of the people for economic and social change

Building a socialist society¹³

The content of the course though obviously emphasising socialist values and ideological position of the Party, TANU/CCM was not at this stage explicitly concerned with ideological political development. The syllabuses still reflected the influence of the original ex-patriate staff. Following the CCM 1981 Mwongozo directive the structure and content of courses was radically altered. The subjects currently taught at the College have been set out above, within this context just one of the main subjects taught on the nine month course is set out in order to illustrate overt political commitment by the Party CCM to ideological development and the creation of politically committed cadres within the leadership. The subject Ideology and Politics has its aims expressed as follows:

IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS

The aim of teaching this subject is to enable the students to understand fully the following:-

- * The evolution and essence of the ideology of Socialism and Self-Reliance.
- * The problems and achievements obtained in the process of implementing the Ideology of the Party.
- * The differences between the Government and the Party, the Supremacy of the Party and its authority over all other institutions in Tanzania.
- * Strategies, tactics and the requirements in the implementation of the policy of Socialism and Self Reliance.
- * The Union Government and the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar as tools for implementing the ideology of the Party.
- * Tanzania's relationship with foreign countries and the reasons for her commitment to the struggle for the liberation of Africa.

TOPICS OF STUDY:

1. Ujamaa
2. Ujamaa and Self-Reliance
3. Chama cha Mapinduzi
4. Democracy and its implementation in Tanzania
5. Liberation¹⁴ and the Party's Policy on Foreign Relations.

The whole emphasis within the course, is placed on the political party orthodoxy, stressing Ujamaa Socialism and policies for self-reliance. The critical role of the Party and its strategic position in relation to Government is stressed. In the Tanzanian context the Party is prior to Government - as the syllabus states the position: "The difference between the Government and the Party, the Supremacy of the Party and its authority over all other institutions in Tanzania".¹⁵

History is taught within the College and the course has similar objectives as Ideology and Politics whilst analysing the historical development of the nation; it focusses on pre-colonial times before going on to examine

critically the impact of colonial development. Again the role of the Party and the independence struggle is highlighted:

"Aims and Objectives:

- * The course focusses on the historical development of Tanzania society in their economic, political and cultural aspects.
- * It brings the student to a deeper understanding of the slave trade and its repercussions, the coming of colonialism and its impact on the development of Tanzanian Society and Africa at large.
- * It makes him understand the struggle against colonialism in Tanzania and Africa: and also exposes the methods which were used and those which are being used now in this struggle.
- * Furthermore, students are introduced to the emergence, development and successes of TANU and ASP in the struggle to liberate Tanzanians and finally to the birth of Chama cha Mapinduzi:

TOPICS OF STUDY:

1. Pre-Colonial Tanzanian Society
2. The Colonization of Africa
3. The struggle for Independence in Tanzania
 - (a) Before TANU
 - (b) Under TANU
 - (c) The Struggle for Independence before ASP
 - (d) Under ASP
 - (e) Emergence and Development of TANU
 - (f) Political thought of Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere
4. The Liberation Struggle in other Parts of Africa.¹⁶

There has been since its development as an ideological institute, strong emphasis at Kivukoni on integrating the theories of socialism and self-reliance with the daily life of the school. Kivukoni has been in the forefront of socialist innovation in Tanzania for many years. The concept of collective farming being practised there before it became government policy. Today self-reliance finds expression in the involvement of the students in cleaning and washing their own dishes. They also work on the college farm where cattle and poultry, cashewnut, coconut trees, pineapple,

citrus, paw-paw and vegetables are raised. Most of the food consumed by the students is provided by the college farm. The students also spend several weeks in Ujamaa villages in practical work.

Another major aspect of Adult education in Tanzania relates to the work of the Rural Development Centres. Emphasis was to be placed on education to improve agricultural techniques, health education, marketing of products, planning, etc. Hall and Øodd in reviewing the development programmes state that: "In practice the centres limit themselves to political ideology (policy and practice of Ujamaa), agricultural skills and rural technical skills".¹⁷

The table below illustrates the types of course provided and the attendance figures for such courses.

Course	No. of Participants	%
Socialism and Political Education	5,925	46.5
Agriculture	5,076	39.9
Co-operation, Health, Leadership	4,692	36.8
Rural Technical Skills	937	7.4 ¹⁸

These figures cannot be used to argue the case for a greater demand for political education for there is no evidence as to how course members were recruited. They are set out here to illustrate the extent of political education programmes in the post school sectors in Tanzania. The premise upon which such programmes are based is that: "Without the motivation of political awareness, the various adult education institutions could not be effective".¹⁹

The point that is being made here, is that whilst there is a concern with the transmission of basic skills as they relate to the need of agrarian

communities, there is also a policy commitment to the primary inculcation of ideological belief. Kassam in examining this aspect of political development in Adult Education states the position in no uncertain terms:

"At the rural training centres for farmers, including Ujamaa villages, instruction in political education is an integral part of residential courses on poultry keeping, the use of fertilizers, home economics etc., in keeping with the aims of the centres to equip the people with both the ideological and technical skills needed for the creation of viable Ujamaa villages. The ideological skills provide the basic understanding of national objectives that generate enthusiasm for collective endeavour, whilst the technical skills provide the means for implementing national policies and plans".²⁰

Though clearly optimistic in its tone, and in that sense expressing the normative views of TANU/CCM Government policy, it nevertheless makes explicit the strategies that are employed in order to mobilise the rural population and consequently, the great majority of the people in the country.

In Kenya there has also been a concern for the development of Adult Education programmes since Uhuru. The Ominde Commission expressed very clearly the need for a coherent development of institutions and methods that are relevant to the needs of adults and states that: Adult education is concerned with the training of the citizen, evocation of the powers of leadership and the deepening of the understanding of economic and social process".²¹ Two main centres were involved in the early stages of development of leadership training programmes, the Institute of Adult Studies at University College and the College of Social Studies. In neither case are the courses concerned with the transmission of a specific ideology.

Such forms of Adult Education have been mainly aimed at the development of leadership qualities. Programmes for Adult Training are provided under the label of Community Development. A major concern within them has

been the provision of Mass Literacy programmes and these continue in operation, and are according to the Bessey Mission Report, involved in relation to three distinct areas of activity:

- "(a) rural areas with the object of raising efficiency among small farmers and rural workers;
- (b) urban areas with the object of helping Government and industrial workers and young people who migrate from the rural areas to the town;
- (c) plantation areas to provide opportunities to gain literacy and basic education".²²

Concern with the problems associated with adult literacy had been expressed earlier by the Ominde Commission. In considering the problems associated with the development of mass adult literacy the Ominde Commission was concerned with the role of the vernacular languages in relation to the what later became the national language. The Commission stated that: "any further development of vernacular languages at the expense of a national language, particularly Kiswahili, would militate against the fostering of national unity".²³ Language policy in relation to the development of national unity and integration have been considered above. Clearly any programme of mass literacy for adults that concerns itself with the problems associated with the development of national unity has a political purpose; to that extent the emphasis on adult literacy in the Kenyan context is political. It is also clear however that adult programmes, unlike the provision in Tanzania, are not overtly concerned with the inculcation of party political ideologies. In the same way the development of adult programmes in Kenya for young farmers under the Ministry of Agriculture are aimed at the teaching of: "improved methods of agriculture to young farmers, to enhance their appreciation of agriculture, to help them produce food for their families and for sale and to develop leadership".²⁴

That there is a covert process of political education implied in such programmes cannot be denied. It is however designed to foster values that are appropriate at the local level and as a consequence militate against the overall aims of national unity.

It was recognised above that in the Tanzanian case, Adult Education has been placed within the Ministry of National Education to ensure effective co-ordination and control. In Kenya there is no such centralisation of control over Adult Education programmes. Kenya has adopted a policy which divides the development and control of adult education programmes amongst several ministries - the Ministry of Housing, the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Agriculture. In general this approach has tended to emphasise the divisiveness of the provision and reduce the opportunities for co-operation. Stabler does however point to one good example of co-ordinated development:

"One successful attempt at co-ordination can, however, be found in Programmes for Better Living. With funding from FAO and the Kenya Government these programmes have trained leaders, developed materials and initiated projects in family planning, nutrition, health, agriculture, home economics and community development".²⁵

Nevertheless, it remains apparent that no concerted attempt is made in the Kenyan context to inculcate overt ideological political values. In adult education increased opportunities for individual development are provided in line with the general education goal of equality of opportunity - by so providing there is an implicit assumption that political stability will be achieved without resort to mass programmes in an attempt to mobilise the adult population.

8.4 Political Education in Higher Education

The major institutions concerned with the provision of higher education in Kenya and Tanzania are the universities. Recent developments at the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University College have been examined above. What became clear was the absence of any planned programme of social studies that would attempt to associate the students with the aims of the nation. The clear indication is that the student body is provided with privileged access to greater economic and social opportunity and ought to be grateful as a distinct elite. The notion of service to the nation has not so far been seen as necessary since the purpose of the State is to operate a capitalistic form of economy and to maximise opportunity by providing access to education at different levels in accordance with ability. The expectation was that students at the highest level would accept their privileges without protest. Dissent from the accepted capitalistic, laissez-faire orthodoxy would be reduced by the use of punitive measures. Whilst the protest in the Kenyan context has in the initial period come from the left, in Tanzania it was first evidenced from the political "right". The student protest at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, which preceded the Arusha Declaration, made manifest the latent elitist attitudes of a number of students at the University College. In the first instance the approach of the TANU/Government was punitive - the students were rusticated. The second phase however was the introduction of specially designed programmes in "political education". It is to the content of such programmes that we now turn and in so doing make the very obvious contrast with the curriculum of the University of Nairobi.

The University of Dar-es-Salaam introduced a programme of "political education" under the title Development Studies and organised through the Institute of Development Studies. One of the declared functions of the Institute is described officially as: "the important function of inculcating

into the student community an ideology in keeping with the socialist policies of the country".²⁶ The first courses were introduced in 1968 with the aim of providing the "university community with general knowledge about Tanzania's problems. With the establishment of the Institute of Development Studies during 1970 full programmes with a distinct ideological emphasis were introduced. In this context the course which is provided for the undergraduate population will be examined, the Aims of the Course syllabus which is prescribed for all undergraduate courses is set out below in full. All students are required to pass in Development Studies - a policy designed to stress the importance attached to such programmes.

UNDERGRADUATE SYLLABUS

"The general aims of the undergraduate syllabus are:

- * To expose teachers and students to the problems of social development in the Third World and, more particularly, in Africa and Tanzania and to the theories and laws pertaining to social development.
- * To equip teachers and students with a clear understanding and consolidated knowledge of the socialist perspective and problems of socialist construction and reproduction both on a national and on an international basis.
- * To enable teachers and students to develop a broad and integrated approach that is relevant and suitable to development questions.
- * To prepare, in collaboration with relevant faculties, personnel qualified to deal with problems of development in Tanzania.
- * To ensure that teaching and learning remain consistent with the aims of the Party in Tanzania.
- * To ensure that continuity and links are maintained between university and secondary school education.

To acquire the appropriate tools and methods, the capacities for integrating theory with practice, and a concrete approach to social development problems, especially in Tanzania, students and teachers shall pursue:

- * The method of political economy.

- * The method of interdisciplinary analysis.
- * A thematic approach.
- * The practical analysis of specific selected social phenomena in the development of the peoples of Tanzania through specialized coursework in faculties.

To gain a sense of wholesomeness and intellectual creativity, teachers and students shall attempt to:

- * Rationalize the development studies course and the social sciences and political education courses of the secondary schools.
- * Provide an integrative framework for all the courses outside the Institute taken by the students in their faculties during each year.
- * Encourage wide participation through the seminar method.
- * Provide co-ordination across faculties.

To increase their awareness of, and their abilities to be conversant with, Party ideology and Party development, teachers and students shall seek:

- * Access to Party documents, resolutions, and literature when these are available.
- * Constant co-operation with the CCM headquarters staff and the CCM's college.²⁷

The Aims as set out above clearly illustrate the political commitment to the use of the curriculum to the purposes of political ideological development amongst the student community. More intellectual in its tone and content than similar programmes provided at other levels within the system, it nevertheless is characterised by similar points of emphasis. The courses are expected to equip students with: "a clear understanding and consolidated knowledge of the socialist perspective and problems of socialist construction and reproduction both on a national and international basis". There is also the expressed need to: "ensure that teaching and learning remain consistent with the aims of the Party in Tanzania". Particularly emphasised is the aim to: "increase their (students) awareness of their abilities to be conversant with Party ideology and Party development, teachers and students shall seek: "Access to Party documents, resolutions, and literature when these

are available. Constant co-operation with CCM headquarters staff and CCMs college."

In a sense the inclusion of political education programmes at the University as a compulsory element within all undergraduate courses in itself celebrates the commitment to the development of Ujamaa Self-reliant socialism. It was the students' protests over the introduction of national service that acted as the catalyst out of which was born the Arusha Declaration, and the more radical introduction of policies of self-sufficiency and socialism. The elitist attitudes that were demonstrated at that time would need to be contradicted or suppressed by force; political education programmes are part of a process of contradiction through the inculcation of acceptable political and social values.

Similar though less intensive courses have been designed for students in teacher training colleges. The Programme for Grade "A" teachers states in its Appendix under the heading "Political Education" that:

"In this course students are given an opportunity to study the political history of the country, the role and functions of Tanganyika African National Union, the national ethic and international co-operation".²⁸

Again of particular interest within this study is the overt role of the Party TANU in curriculum development is given clear expression in that it is openly declared that:

"This content of the course has been prepared by the Political Education Department of TANU. This covers the background and the history of TANU and the Afro-Shirazi Party, the Arusha Declaration and subsequent Policy statements, and how the Government, the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations Organisations function".²⁹

In a sense the education of teachers differs from other forms of higher education in so far as it stresses in a number of its educational subjects the

ideological purposes of the ruling Party; for example in Principles of Education - Colonial ideas of education are explored and compared with, "the underlying philosophy of Education for Self-reliance". In a similar way the task of the teacher in colonial times, (i.e. a classroom instructor) and the teacher in present day Tanzania (i.e. one who promotes Ujamaa and initiates and stimulates progress in the village through the school) are compared to bring out the principle of relevance in the modern context.

Educational Psychology is also adapted to take into account the ideology of co-operative living, under the psychology of motivation the need to understand, "better how to change the atmosphere of a school from an individualistic society into an Ujamaa society with Ujamaa values, morals etc."³⁰

The content of teacher training courses illustrates the manifest concern within the Party and the Ministry of National Education with the production of teachers who are sympathetic to the aims implicit in the ideology of Ujamaa and Self-reliance.

Summary Review

The obvious difference between Tanzania and Kenya in the post school sectors has now been outlined. Thus, whilst it is the case in Kenya that some attempt is made to provide educational programmes that contain elements of political education in schools in the form of History and Civics, such is not the case in the post-school sectors. In Tanzania on the other hand, radical attempts have been made to introduce political education into the curriculum at both tertiary and higher education levels and also to ensure its inclusion in a major way in adult education programmes. Just as within the Tanzanian school curriculum we were able to recognise a latent bias, so too within these other sectors. In all cases the emphasis is on the

Tanzanian case with a total commitment to the views of TANU and Ujamaa Self reliant Socialism.

Extended political education beyond the school provides an indicator and point of comparison in the use of education for political development. In Tanzania there exists an overt commitment to the use of formal educational programmes for political purposes. To that extent such policies are attempting to mobilise support for the national government and the political party in power. It is not possible within the context of this analysis to evaluate the success or lack of success of such programmes. The aim here is to illustrate the markedly different approaches to political development in the two systems.

Obvious parallels with programmes in the schools sectors can be drawn. The Input Phase can in part be distinguished from the expectations of the Throughput Phase. Inputs as we have recognised are biased towards the orthodoxies of the ruling Party TANU/CCM.

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CHAPTER NINE

AN OVERVIEW IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: SOME CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

- 9.1 Past and Present
 - 9.1.1 The Western Period
 - 9.1.2 Divergence in Education Policy
- 9.2 The Efficacy and Implementation of Educational Programmes for
Political Development
- 9.3 Final Thoughts

"Once regarded as an essentially conservative, culture preserving, culture transmitting institution, the educational system now tends to be viewed as the master determinant of all aspects of change".¹

James S. Coleman.

CHAPTER NINE

AN OVERVIEW IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: SOME CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

9.1 PAST AND PRESENT

A basic premise within this study has been that it is possible to reach valid conclusions concerning the relationship between education and political development by a process of comparison of two separate national education systems. The comparative approach is expected to illustrate the dynamics of particular systems by drawing comparisons and emphasising contrasts. But this would not be possible without the implicit assumption that the systems under scrutiny have much in common and yet vary in significant ways. The study of education and political development in Kenya and Tanzania was selected because these countries appeared to meet such criteria for comparative analysis. The thesis has, in the main, been concerned with an examination of the similar and dissimilar aspects of educational policies for political development. At this point, therefore, in the study, it is essential to look back at significant determining factors before attempting to reach any final conclusions.

The similarities between Tanzania and Kenya in the early developmental stage have been recognised above, here it is only necessary to point in general terms to such aspects - though they are of course significant. Both systems had experienced colonial dependency under British rule; as neighbouring East African countries they shared, what might be termed, a common regional culture; each territory was socially organised into tribal groups with disparate language patterns; systems of agriculture were similar, as was the mode of settlement in scattered rural communities; indigenous forms of education through the family, kinship group and tribe,

were common to each area. Each regional area had also been subjected to exploitation through the slave trade and had made contact through trade with the "outside" world prior to the arrival of the Europeans and colonisation. Significant in terms of their common experience with European forces, was their exposure to mission forms of education and the missionary's attempt to transmit alien cultures and values.

Of particular significance in the early post independence phase, was the common inheritance of segregated systems of schooling. Schooling was both divided into racial groups and proportionately more of the colonial education budget was spent on the European and Asian racial minorities. Problems associated with the development of national systems of education, of a non-segregated kind were in part, to dominate the early post Uhuru period. Here then, are some of the similar factors, providing the background experiences of Tanzania and Kenya. It is possible now to turn to a consideration of some of the significant dissimilar determinants of political and educational outcomes.

In examining what each country had in common, we point to the tribal structure of society. It is important however to recognise that ethnicity in different societal contexts may have differing impacts. This has been indicated above, where the difference in tribal structure between Kenya and Tanzania has been emphasised. Kenya, it was noted, has fewer tribal groups and such groupings are larger. Paradoxically, the greater number of tribal groups in Tanzania has provided the opportunity, politically, for the achievement of social and political and national cohesion. Another particularly significant factor, and major difference between the two national systems, is the question of language. Whilst Tanzania was fortuitously provided with an indigenous language form in Kiswahili, Kenya was not so fortunate. Language, it has been recognised, is a potent force

for national unity; Kenya has yet to resolve the language issue effectively. What became apparent, in this consideration of the dissimilar aspects of each country's experience, is that their points of difference led in the first instance to an opportunity within Tanzania, to achieve national unity more easily than Kenya. It must be recognised, however, that other, more overtly political, factors were also at work.

The movement towards independence in Tanzania was more smooth than in neighbouring Kenya. Whilst each territory had evolved political parties in order to articulate demands for Independence, in Kenya the process was, in part, retarded by the impact of the Mau Mau (emergency) period. In the Tanzanian context, the Party TANU, was able to develop as a national organisation and to establish local branches "nationally". In Kenya, the Kenya African Union (later to become KANU), was unable to forge a similar base. This was in some respects due to the narrower tribal political base of KAU with a predominance of Kikuyu within it and a lack of effective political leadership (Kenyatta was absent for long periods). TANU, though never a wholly unified party, was ably led and able to comprehensively unite what were essentially disparate political groups in the countryside. TANU became a "national" party prior to Uhuru, and the nationalist struggle for Uhuru became its "ideology". On gaining Uhuru TANU quickly set about developing a socialist ideology. In Kenya the independence party KAU, was suppressed during the emergency; independence came without the presence of the KAU. After gaining power as KANU there was never an attempt to develop a coherent "ideological" base for the Party; KANU started as a coalition of factions and has remained an extremely plural party through to the present.²

9.1.1. The Western Period

During the early post Uhuru period the educational policies - determined within the political arena - were remarkably similar. Faced initially with the problems associated with nation-building and national unity both new nation states turned their attention to the adoption of western approaches to development. Priorities were placed on acquiring trained manpower, and this meant the expansion of secondary and higher education for Africans. In terms of the "systems model" this meant that the leaderships' assumptions behind the planning process were based on the view, that by providing increased opportunities, and improved economic performance, political support for the new nationalist governments would follow.

Economic planning was never, of course, pursued to the complete neglect of more clearly defined policies of educational reform to achieve national unity and integration. Such aspects in each system have been examined in some detail. Indeed, it was recognised that whilst operating a "western" approach to development, there was also a concern with aspects of the curriculum and its reform for relevance. Attention was paid to issues such as relevant history, civics and related forms of curriculum development.

What was distinguishable about developments in Tanzania and Kenya even during the western phase, was the steady shift in emphasis in each new country in their interpretation of African Socialism. As a terminology, African Socialism is vague; it was clearly possible for different interpretations to be placed upon it. In Tanzania the trends were established at an early stage following Uhuru; Nyerere's writings in the early 1960's were clearly pointing to an increasing acceptance by the TANU leadership of overtly collectivist policies. This in itself is no paradox; it was due to built-in factors. The Party, TANU had developed a strong power base in the country through the creation of TANU branches, on the other hand,

TANU membership did not always imply the acceptance of a mono-political viewpoint, disparities were contained in, what in the early phase, was a relatively pluralistic Party.³ To ensure cohesion after the flush of nationalist fervour, it was made increasingly apparent to the TANU leadership, faced by social and economic discontent, that a clearer commitment to a socialist ideology was required. These points have been made above in a more detailed form - it led, as we have seen, to the articulation of a uniquely Tanzanian form of African Socialism. The acceptance of Ujamaa Socialism and Self-reliance following Arusha set Tanzania on a wholly different political and economic path to development. It could be argued, therefore, that in Tanzania the "western phase" was never complete; the emerging political ideology, given greater emphasis following the political union between the mainland and Zanzibar, was always likely to qualify the western orientation built into early attempts at planning.

Kenya also adopted the broad principles of African Socialism; the "ideological" position of KANU is expressed through the KANU constitution and given direct application in Session Paper 10. The key aspects of KANU philosophy have already been explored above, and the emphasis on aspects such as Africanisation, equality of economic, social and education opportunity, tempered by freedom, political democracy and mutual social responsibility recognised. Harambeeism, the principle of self-help developed during the colonial period, was endorsed within Session Paper 10 as a basic tenet of African Socialism in Kenya. However, it became increasingly obvious that, whilst Harambee was an effective rhetorical rallying cry at national level; it was at its most potent at the local community level. The Harambee spirit of "pulling together" was in no sense an equivalent political ideology to Ujamaa, self-reliance in Tanzania. This was in part a result of the clear differences in Party structure. KANU had

never been comprehensively organised in the countryside, nor did it manifest a coherent political ideology. KANU was from its very beginning a coalition of interests; the stresses within its organisation only increased as smaller political parties were persuaded to join KANU as the only legitimate Party. Harambee, the rallying call for national unity, thus provided opportunities for politicians to exploit their local positions through a variety of projects, including major educational harambee schemes.

9.1.2 Divergence in Educational Policy

The factors leading to the development of divergent political paths, that would inevitably affect education policies for political development were, in a latent sense, in existence during the early phase of development that followed Uhuru. The function of political ideology has been examined quite fully in Chapter Three. It is brought out in this final consideration of major points as an example of a dominant determining factor that accounts, when combined with other factors, for the divergence of policies as they have affected education. The concept of Ujamaa Socialism, based upon traditional African forms of living, has been elaborated by Nyerere in his many publications. It was possible as a consequence to define clear educational responses to it. Indeed, so much so, that education, as defined in Education for Self-reliance, became a major aspect of the dominant political ideology. The process of gaining political support through the education system often became inseparable from the process of politics. The Party TANU/CCM through its national leadership set out on a clearly defined policy which would attempt to utilize the educational system at all levels to mobilize political support for the polity. It is this latter aspect that has been examined within this thesis to illustrate the fundamental nature of the relationship between political development and education. For the education system, we have perceived it as a process of institutional reform extending across the whole range of educational provision.

Divergence in educational policy is thus a direct response to demands emanating from the political system. The radicalisation of Tanzanian policies, the acceptance of a positive political ideology as the solution to the development problems of the new state, and the held views concerning the function of education within the political leadership, led to a restructuring and expansion of education in accordance with the ideological purposes of the ruling Party, TANU/CCM.

Kenya kept closely to the policies developed in the early phase of Independence. For Kenya the "western period" has been continued, indeed Kenyan policies for education are a reflection of the political orthodoxies enshrined within Session Paper 10. Kenya has placed its developmental priorities firmly with the principles of laissez-faire "capitalistic" forms of organisation. This in turn has led to the development of an educational system that is designed to provide for the industrial and commercial manpower needs of the increasing modern sector of the economy.

The overall political divergence between the two systems has been drawn in an exaggerated form in Fig. 3 above; it is not that the differences in political and educational approach are absolute. Clearly each system has had to ensure the development of the modern sector, whilst safeguarding the needs of the majority of the people who remain within the traditional sectors of the economy. It is the degree of emphasis placed upon each aspect that establishes the point of divergence, and it is the political ideological thrust that ensures the distinction. Kenya is not without "ideology", no national system is. Kenya's ideology is functional and pragmatic and based upon semi-western views of social economic and political development. This in turn is tempered by the need to ensure the unification of the new nation, based upon the loyalty of citizens; this latter factor is only in part entrusted to the schools.

The main thrust of educational policy, in the Tanzanian context, is with political attitude change. Whilst manpower needs are kept in view, indeed the secondary school sector is controlled with manpower needs to the fore, it is to ensure that all citizens are aware and supportive of Ujamaa that the educational structure is designed and new curricula are developed. Political education programmes have been established at all levels and in all sectors of the education service. Specially trained cadres of "political education officers" have been produced, and increasing control over the content of political education programmes established. These aspects we have highlighted in the Tanzanian context as positive strategies for political development. The comparison has been made with Kenya. There it was perceived that "political education" in this formal sense was not energetically pursued. The approach to "civics" training in Kenya follows the western orthodoxy and is contained, in the main, in school history and civics programmes. Some aspects of nationalism are discernible, as we have noted, with a bias towards the views of the ruling Party. On the other hand, it was recognised that the Party KANU does not attempt to promote itself through the school curriculum.

Divergence in curriculum development for *political development* is extreme. It is extreme in terms of political content and extreme in terms of the extent of its provision. In Kenya any positive attempt to invoke the curriculum for political and social purposes ceases at the end of the school programme. Whilst in Tanzania, political education extends beyond the school into tertiary, adult and higher education. Nevertheless the process of reform in the Kenyan education system continues to be recognised as important, as indicated by the number of Government enquiries and reports; however, the pace of change is relatively slow. This, we have noted, to be the result of a general lethargy within the political and educational arenas.

It contrasts significantly with the pace of change and the whole ethos of decision making in Tanzania. This might not be wholly the consequence of different political ideological approaches; it is likely that the role of the political party leadership in each situation is also a major determinant. In Tanzania the Party (CCM) is seen as prior to Government, whilst in Kenya the One Party Constitution operates within a quasi-Westminster system, in this latter case decisions are mediated by the bureaucracy in contrast to Tanzania where Party directives (Mwongozo) can often have the effect of government decisions. The process of "we must run whilst others walk"⁴ has had the effect in Tanzania, of bringing about change, often more rapidly than has otherwise been thought possible - the early introduction of UPE is a particularly good example in the Tanzanian context.

9.2 The Efficacy and Implementation of Educational Programmes for Political Development

Throughout this study the concern has been to recognise the interaction of education and political development at the national macro level. Any concern with more detailed aspects of what actually happens at the level of the school classroom and individual learning situation has only been touched upon in passing. What has been emphasised, in examining the processes of educational reform for political development, is that political leaders actually believe in the efficacy of the educational institution as a transmitter of acceptable political values and attitudes. The acceptance of the view by the political leadership in Tanzania has led to a radical reorganisation of the educational system and a massive reform of the curriculum. Similarly, in Kenya, though less radical and less zealous in terms of reform for political development, there remains an implicit acceptance of the value of schooling in nation-building and national unity.

The research interest in the polity/education nexus generated in the United States was due to a concern to discover how political systems sustained themselves over a period of time. That political support for the regime was in part the result of what takes place in institutions like schools, was accepted but unproven. Early attempts at analysis concentrated on how, and at what age children acquire political allegiances to the political system. Such "idealizations" as take place in childhood were expected to transfer into adult life. Little attempt is made within such studies of childhood political learning to evaluate the effectiveness of specific political education programmes. Indeed such research would, by its very nature be problematic - on the other hand, it might be supposed that if national political systems are not subject to violent political opposition, that politicization processes are proving successful.

It is now well recognised that all political systems attempt either directly or indirectly to utilize the school curriculum for the development of supportive attitudes towards the polity.⁵ In the developed world the apparent contrast between East and West was in part contradicted by the study of exposure to "political education" in the USA and the USSR.⁶ Though there was an obvious difference in the *content* of educational programmes defined as "political" there was little difference in terms of the *extent* of exposure between the two contrasted political systems.

New nations must, of necessity, take steps to ensure the loyalty of their citizens because of the "built in" difficulties considered above. Some 20 years ago the problems associated with what was described as "political socialisation" and "culture change" within new nations was considered by Robert Levine. He concluded that:

"In every new nation, including those that are making no strenuous effort to modernise their populations,

there are assimilating institutions operating to introduce at least part of the population to new ways of life and to new political ideologies and images. These include schools, universities, industrial and bureaucratic organisations, and religious groups.

The study of Tanzania and Kenya within this thesis clearly bears this out, though the difference in approach has also been recognised as significantly divergent. Levine then goes on to stress the need for more research into the effectiveness of politicisation in the development of attitudes and values, stating that: "Very little research has been done to assess empirically the effects of individual attitudes and values of these institutions, and this would seem to be a task of high priority for students of the political modernisation process in new states".⁸ There has, as we have recognised, been a recognisable increase in research into the effectiveness, as judged by attitude and value change in new national systems. Here we shall point to research studies that apply to the East African context.

Amongst the earliest studies of East African schools in the politicisation process, is the work by Koff and Muhll on Kenya and Tanzania. Though too early to base any judgements as to the success of new approaches in Tanzania subsequent to the innovations that followed from the Arusha Declaration, there is some evidence of supportive attitudes towards the schools in both systems. Indeed the findings at this stage (1967) are remarkably similar in each instance. It was found for example that teachers scored high in the ratings for "trust"; the authors conclude from this that: "Teachers who enjoy the trust of a large majority of their students are able to play an effective part as agents of socialisation".⁹ Indeed it is interesting to note that at this early stage in the post-independence period teachers were ranked highest in the assessment of who taught students most about being good citizens, and that: "Teaching students to be good citizens ranks first above two instrumental purposes: the teaching of skills

necessary to get good jobs and the passing of examinations".¹⁰ In this role teachers were ranked above Parents and Politicians. Some evidence of the progressive developmental character of schooling in this area is gained from the finding within the study, that support for the nation over tribe increased as students progressed from the primary school into the secondary level.

A further study, this time of Tanzanian secondary school students indicated an important role for the school in the development of forms of affiliation and orientation. For example, religion appears to hold strong allegiances and in Prewitt, et al, they found that:

"The tenacity of religious identity in orienting the views of young Tanzanians lingers on despite the insistence in that nation on a nationalistic political culture; moreover, the extent to which religious identities shape political and social views is affected by the schooling experience of the young".¹¹

Such a finding though providing support for the view that schools may play a positive socialisation role, also indicate the need for national leaders, concerned with the transmission of new ideologies, to counter the dominance of other persuasive societal forces. This is a particularly significant point in national educational systems, such as Tanzania and Kenya where Churches remain a potent force as providers of Mission Schools.

The formalisation of education programmes can never provide a guarantee of their successful implementation. In addition to the possible countervailing forces within the school environment, there are other factors that may either mediate or directly impede the process. Here we are concerned with what is often described as the "hidden curriculum". In the Tanzanian context a prominent academic and educationist has described the problem in a particularly graphic form:

"The teaching methods and the organisation of school and classroom prevalent in primary and secondary schools are diametrically opposed to the objectives of developing creativity, critical thinking, self-confidence and co-operation. The classroom is run in bureaucratic fashion, one-man rule at the top, students powerless at the bottom. The prevalent use of the cane is symbolic of the authority relations in the schools and classroom. Rote memory learning is relied upon: partly because of lack of teaching materials and text books; partly because some teachers lack the initiative and/or incentives to create their own teaching materials and books; ----- If placed in a competitive situation where students are ranked on a weekly and term basis according to who does best, if one's rank objectively depends on doing better than others on an individual basis, then it is objectively necessary for that person to behave in a competitive way."¹²

Mbilinui's criticism extends beyond issues of formalism in organisation and teaching in Tanzanian schools. She also points to the "contradictions" which affect the development of self-reliant projects in schools: "In most schools, teachers do not themselves join students in productive or manual labour. The most they do is to supervise student's work."¹³ Others too have looked critically at the problems associated with developing a relationship, between the principles of Ujamaa Socialism/Self-Reliance and the process of learning. It has been stated, for example, that in many schools, "self-reliant" activities are a distinct aspect of the school curriculum. Ndunguru quotes disparagingly from a school Headmaster who is reported to have said:

"If you want to watch your student's lessons, do not come on Wednesday afternoon, because that is the time we have education for self-reliance".¹⁴

The criticism of such a separate approach to self-reliant learning is that though possibly worthwhile in itself, for effective transfer and understanding there is a need for a more integrative approach. This is, after all, what Nyerere had indicated in Education for Self-reliance: "farm work and products should be integrated into school life, thus the properties of fertilisers can be explained in science classes, and their use and limitations experienced by the pupils as they see them in use".¹⁵

In looking in particular at the development of such a "unity" of approach to learning in Tanzania one researcher reaches the conclusion that:

"despite the real efforts of many schools to redefine curriculum practice in this way and the development of an assessment system which includes elements which are not based upon literate skills, it appears that productive work has remained largely dissociated from academic learning in the secondary school. The "unity" expounded by administrators and headteachers has not, in general, been internalised by teachers as a way of life".¹⁶

Such purposes are not, of course, part of the objectives of schooling in Kenya. Nevertheless some doubts have been expressed in Kenya about the school and classroom situation. On the general context Wellings comments that: "Education remains traditionalist, academic, severely hierarchical, highly formalised and examination orientated within the school system".¹⁷ These features are not perhaps too discordant in the Kenyan context, for as we have recognised above, the Kenyan solution to the problem of "equality" is to attempt, through sustained economic expansion, to provide opportunities for school leavers. On the other hand the criticisms sustained by others, in relation to the school environment are probably more valid. In looking at the New Primary Approach Stabler expresses some views concerning its effective implementation; of the teacher he says: "He is satisfied if his pupils acquire mechanical skills in reading, writing and arithmetic and memorizes a few facts in history and geography".¹⁸ Similarly Stafford Kay notes the conflict between the values implicit in the NPA programme and the practice in the schools. Whilst the societal and political aim in Kenya is expressed in corporate terms with a philosophy of "pulling together" based upon traditional values; the philosophy of NPA is individualistic. Kay states the case most clearly: "Faced with the persistent social valuation of corporateness and ascriptive authority, we must now ask how can the fledgling Kenyan be expected to develop

spontaneity, self-reliance, initiative and adaptability in the upcoming generation?"¹⁹ Taking the point somewhat further she states that: "Even more important education officials and curriculum specialists have not asked whether: the values embodied in child centred education are indeed those which are desired for the type of truly African nation Kenya seeks to become".²⁰ These points have been made previously within the thesis, they are expressed in this final section of the study to emphasise the possible disjunction that may occur between the set objectives of the polity and the operation of the educational system.

An attempt has been made to make clear some of the disparities that may exist at different levels within national systems. Curricula may be designed, as we have demonstrated, with particular aims in view. The model developed in Fig. 4 above attempts to describe the *Input*, the *Throughput* and *Output* phases of curriculum development. It is clear that there are problems associated with the throughput phase, simply because the successful implementation of programmes cannot be assured. The output phase is similarly uncertain given the inadequacies of effective measures and the variations in institutional environment indicated above.

There is nevertheless some evidence of the successful implementation of political education programmes in Tanzania, with positive results. Shengena reported a move among secondary school students towards a greater awareness of political problems, with a more positive attitude towards Tanzanian culture and socialist values.²¹ It might also be that other means of assessing the value of political education programmes in schools need to be devised. If some effective link, between levels of political stability and the existence of political education in the educational system could be derived, it might prove the basis of a new form of evaluation. Whilst it cannot be taken as evidence of such a success, that the University of Dar-

es Salaam, with its programmes in Development Studies for all students has been free from student protest since 1971; and that the University of Nairobi has been subjected to frequent disruption and closure in the same period of time, it is nevertheless interesting to speculate on the possible relationships in the two situations.²²

What becomes particularly clear in the comparative analysis of differing and divergent strategies in the utilization of the education system to the galvanizing of support for the political system; is that the more explicit the doctrine, the easier it is to formulate its transmission. This particular finding supports the view expressed by Prewitt and Oculi:

"It is a truism that the first condition to be met in a focussed programme of political education is for the country to have a doctrine or ideology to which the student can be introduced. The doctrine should be fairly specific. A diffuse amorphous message does not lend itself to highly structured teaching programmes. Furthermore the doctrine should be stable so that the time it takes to communicate it through teachers and textbook writers does not overlap with radical shifts in the ideology".²³

The clearly expressed character of the ideological position in Tanzania has clearly allowed for the communication of its message to the educational system, as has been described within this thesis. The political position in Kenya is less tangible, its message is more amorphous and, as a consequence, difficult to formulate and project.

9.3 Final Thoughts

In a study area such as this it inevitable that issues arise which cannot, because of the specific direction of the study, be taken into account. They remain nevertheless as other possible areas for research. It is reasonable to suggest, for example, that more research is required into the relationship between education for political development in other African countries or in the developing world generally. One worthwhile approach to such studies

could be through the development of typologies, with the groupings of systems in accordance with different political/educational characteristics. It would be worthwhile also, to research the forms of political education programmes introduced in new national systems, by taking in a wider sample for comparative study, and to discover, which countries had taken the path to the development of political support adopted in Tanzania.²⁴ On a rather different note, it would surely be valuable to discover more clearly the impact of political education programmes upon different societal groups. The question of gender in educational studies has tended to centre on the relative access of females to educational opportunities generally within the educational system;²⁵ it would be of interest to research how far improved educational opportunity increases levels of women's participation within the political system. Similarly with ethnic groups in developing countries, it is recognised that certain groups are discriminated against, due in many instances to historical factors during the colonial period. Some tribal groups which were relatively favoured by the colonial administrations, gained an ascendancy and have managed to retain their position following Uhuru. Access to education has been a factor in determining the political position of particular tribal groups in developing countries.²⁶

In this study the concern has, in the main, been with the development and utilisation of the formal educational system for the development of political support; it is recognised however, that other agencies are of vital importance. More research is required into the use of the media, particularly the function of government controlled newspapers and radio.²⁷ The development of literature in the national language containing approved ideological values is clearly worthy of research in that it relates very closely to the general educational process.²⁸ The institutionalisation of "out of school" activities, such as the Young Pioneers and CCM Youth Wings in Tanzania ought also to be the subject of research, for again it is

recognised that the imparting of political values is a process which is only in part carried on within the formal educational system.

Whichever aspect of study, in this particular area of concern, is decided upon, it is surely always worthwhile to recognise the value of comparative analysis. A comparative perspective forces an attention to the particular whilst preventing, in part, the tendency to generalise. In this context comparative education studies become, as Arnold Anderson has written, a "tool for the destruction of superficial generalisation"; interestingly also, in relation to education for political development, he was referring specifically to the question of the, "contribution of education to civic enlightenment".²⁹

Notes and References

1. Coleman, op.cit., p.3.
2. The background to the development of KANU in the post independence period is very well documented. In particular see, C. Gertzel et al., Government and Politics in Kenya, East African Publishing, Nairobi 1969, pp.104-105.
3. See, H. Bienen, The Ruling Party in African One Party States: for a consideration of the relationship between the central party organisation and local party groups, Princeton p.225. Also in H. Bienen, Tanzanian Party Transition and Economic Development, Princeton 1967, Ch. 10. Also see J. Samoff, Politics, Politicians and Party: Moshi Tanzania 1968-69 Ph.D. University of Wisconsin 1971.
4. G. Hyden, "We Must Run While Others Walk": Policy Making for Socialist Development in Tanzanian Type of Politics, ERB Paper 75.1. p.1. He also states that: "Every polity change is dramatized so as to make people feel that the country is making great leaps forward".
5. See D. Heater et al., op.cit., for a contemporary account of political education in Western systems. The Journal Politics Teaching also contains useful articles on issues relating to political education in the U.K.
6. Bereday and Stretch, op.cit., pp.9-17.
7. R. Levine, Political Socialisation and Culture Change, in C. Geertz Ed., Old Societies and New States, Free Press, 1963, p.302.
8. Ibid., p.303.
9. Koff and Muhll, op.cit., p.23.
10. Ibid., p.24.
11. Prewitt, et al., op.cit., p.220.
12. M. Mbilinui, Contradiction in Tanzanian Education Reform, in A. Coulson, African Socialism in Practice: The Tanzania Experience, Spokesman Books 1979, p.222.
13. Ibid., p.223.
14. S. Ndunguru, "Education for Self-Reliance" and the Curriculum. East African Journal, February 1971, p.13.
15. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance" op.cit., p.73.
16. M. Saunders, Productive Activity in the Curriculum: the changing literate bias of secondary schools in Tanzania, British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1983, p.52.
17. Wellings, op.cit., p.225.

18. E. Stabler, Education Since Uhuru, Ch. 3, The New Primary Approach, p.35.
19. Kay, op.cit., pp.189-190.
20. Ibid., p.190.
21. J.J. Shengena, Education and Ideology, Documents on Adult Education, No. 4, Institute of Adult Education, Dar-es-Salaam.
22. The University in Kenya has been closed 18 times during the last 10 years. Reported in The Times Educational Supplement, March 1983, p.20.
23. K. Prewitt and O. Oculi, Political Socialisation and Political Education, in Education and Political Values, Chicago, 1968, p.7.
24. For example the introduction of formal political education programmes in Zambia recently (1979) followed a very similar form to the approach in Tanzania. The syllabus was designed within Party Headquarters "Freedom House" and presented to the curriculum developers at the Curriculum Development Centre.
25. See M. Mbilini, Access to Education in East Africa, Rural Africana, 25, 1974. Mbilini is particularly concerned with the social and economic limitations on girls entry into schools and recognises the "traditional" constraints that operate against women.
26. See, J.B. Olson, Secondary Schools and Elites in Kenya, Comparative Education Review, February, 1972, pp.46-49. He estimates that the Kikuyu had between 80 and 90 percent over their quota of secondary school places between the years 1961 and 1968.
27. For an interesting short analysis of the role of the press see, J.C. Condon, Nation-building and Image Building in the Tanzanian Press, Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 5., No. 3., 1967, p.530.
- 28., See, P.M. Mbuguni, From Oral to Written: Politicisation of Swahili Literature, Ph.D. Indiana, 1978. This is a penetrating analysis of the ideological content of contemporary Swahili literature in Tanzania.
29. C.A. Anderson, Report of Activities, University of Chicago Comparative Education Centre, 1959-1960, p.9.

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APPENDIX 1

A NOTE ON SOME GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

The geographical location of the two countries under review within the thesis is represented on the attached map of Africa. A description of the spatial context is also provided in this note in order to effectively locate the area of research interest in this study. The closeness of the two new nation states is obvious; it ought to be recognised however, that the links between the countries are based upon more than geographical position. From the early sixties through to 1977 both Kenya and Tanzania formed, along with Uganda, the East African Community - in effect an East African Common Market. Other links existed up until the breakdown of the East African Community, including East African Airways, to provide for a high degree of integration between the two newly established autonomous nations.

Kenya

The Republic of Kenya is located on the East Coast of Africa, it is a relatively large country covering an area of some 583,000 square kilometers. The country straddles the Equator and extends about 4⁰ on either side, its longitude position stretches from 34⁰ East to 42⁰ East. Kenya shares common borders with Somalia to the North-East, Ethiopia to the North, Sudan and Uganda in the North West and Tanzania to the South. Kenya is also a coastal country with some three hundred miles of coast looking out to the Indian Ocean.

It is possible to divide the country into four main geographical areas:

- a) The Coastal Belt which comprises a stretch of land bordering the Indian Ocean and varying in width from about 10 miles in the South to 40 miles further North. Whilst the coastal belt is reasonably fertile in

the South it becomes more arid in the Northerly areas. The major port of Mombasa is located at the southerly end of the Coastal Belt. Whilst remaining important as a port, Mombasa is also seen as significant in the development of modern Kenya as the starting point for the main railway route through to Uganda.

- b) The Coastal Hinterland which is a largely arid desert like region, is unsuitable for cultivation at the present time.
- c) The Kenya Highlands which is comprised of some of the best agricultural land in the country and is about 5000 ft. to 9000 ft. above sea level. The Capital City of Nairobi is located in the Highlands and enjoys the pleasant climatic conditions to be found at such altitudes.
- d) The Lake Basin is an extremely fertile area of land adjoining Lake Victoria. The Lake Port of Kisumu is linked to Nairobi and the Coast by the old Kenya - Uganda Railway.

Tanzania

The Republic of Tanzania is located in East Africa and shares a number of common features with neighbouring Kenya. Again it is a large country in terms of its spatial land dispersal; mainland Tanzania alone is some 883,621 square kilometers in size. Wholly South of the equator Tanzania is situated at 1° latitude and 12° South and longitude 29° to 41° East. Modern Tanzania has common borders with Uganda and Kenya to the North, Rwanda and Burundi and Zaire to the West and Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to the South. As with Kenya, Tanzania has a long coastline facing out to the Indian Ocean, the old Capital of Dar-es-Salaam on the coast remains the major seaport for the country.

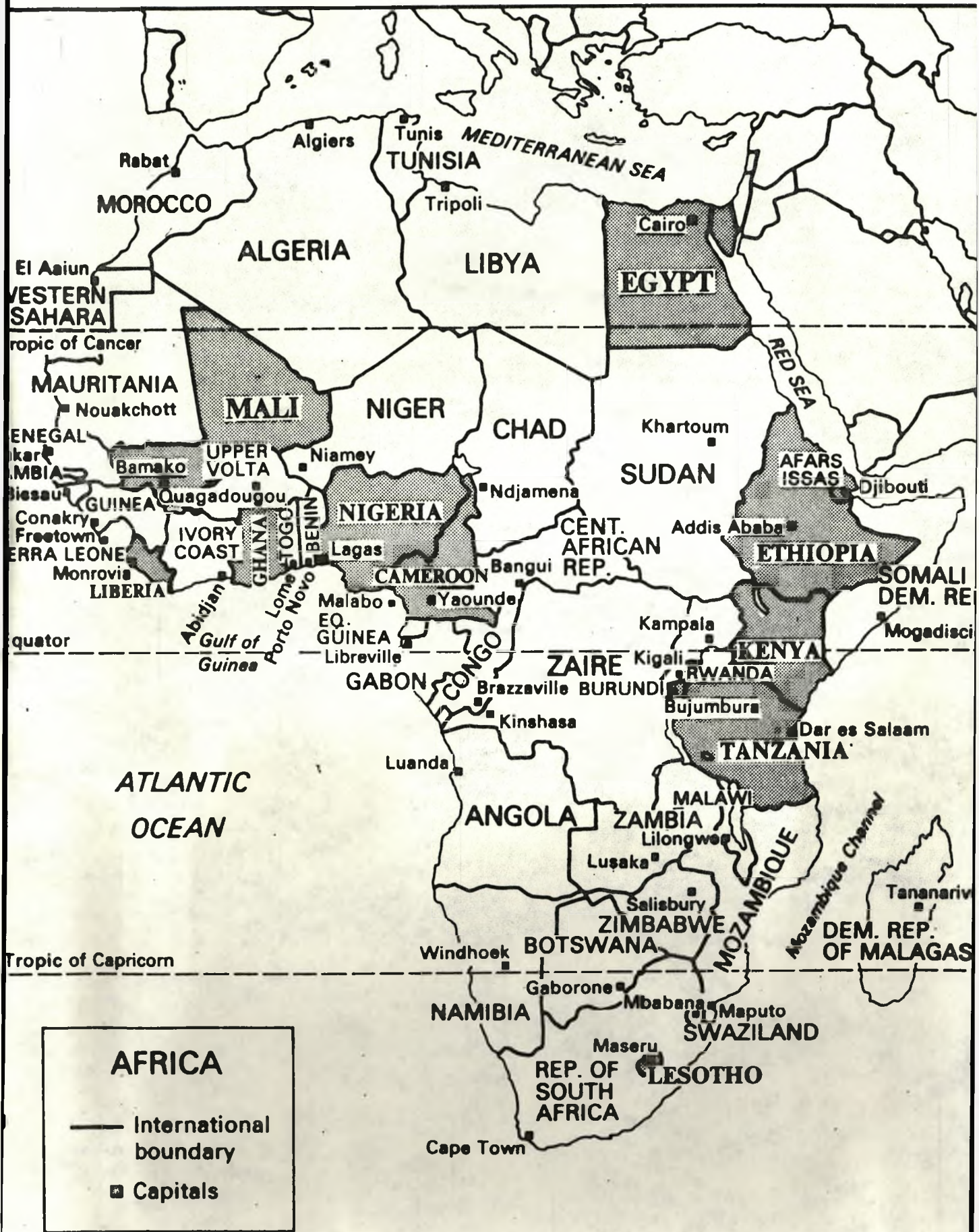
The country can be divided into distinct geographical areas that are not too dissimilar to those found in neighbouring Kenya:

- a) The Coastal and Island Region with a coast that has a reasonably fertile narrow strip but is skirted by 150 miles of coastal plain where making a living from the land is difficult.
- b) The Inland Plateau, dominated by Mount Kilimanjaro - the highest mountain in Africa - provides the country with some of its most fertile land. Unlike Kenya "highlands" there was no extensive inflow of white settlers to the region, though Europeans did become involved in the production of coffee and cattle in the region. The new administrative centre and national centre is located to the south of Kilimanjaro at Dodoma.
- c) The Lake Basins; there are three lakes that form part of the character of Tanzania, Lake Tanganyika, Nyasa and Victoria. Each provides a valuable source for food from fishing and from agriculture on the fertile shores of the lake basins. About one third of the population live close to the three lakes.

Economic Factors

Both Tanzania and Kenya are classified by the World Bank Development Report 1978 as Low Income Countries. Tanzania is ranked 25th and Kenya 32nd amongst the poor countries of the world. Despite the apparent similarity of their economic positions it is clear that Kenya is the more fortunate of the two countries. This is in part illustrated by the relative rates of production in the post Uhuru phase - whilst both were above the mean for low income countries (1960-70 = 3.6% and 1970-76 = 2.9%) the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for Tanzania declined from 5.4% 1960-70 to 4.2% for the period 1970-76. Kenya, for the same periods, recorded a GDP of 7.1% for 1960-70 and 4.8% during the period 1970-76. During the same

periods of time agricultural production expanded rapidly in Kenya, particularly in the 1960-70 phase with an average annual growth rate of 5.9%; for the same period in Tanzania the rate of agricultural growth was just 3.7%. The rate of agricultural growth declined for each country during 1970-76, Kenya increasing at 1.6% and Tanzania had a slightly improved position at 2.5%. Industrial rates of growth are even more disparate between the two countries. For the period 1960-70 Tanzania expanded industrial production by 8% per annum with Kenya at 7.5%, however, from 1970 to 1976 Tanzania grew industrially at only 2.9% whilst Kenya continued to expand at the rate of 9.8%.



GLOSSARY OF TERMS

- AFRICAN SOCIALISM* : *A generic term describing attempts in many African countries to establish socialist forms of government that are neither Marxist nor Western Social Democratic in origin.*
- HARAMBEE* : *Let us pull together. Used as a slogan for National Unity in Kenya*
- MWONGOZO* : *CCM Party Directive*
- NEGRITUDE* : *An idealisation of the African past prior to the colonial period*
- UHURU* : *Freedom from colonialism*
- UJAMAA* : *Familihood, forming the basis of the Tanzanian form of socialist development*