

Education in Tanzania: attempting to create an education system for a sub-Saharan African country

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Abstract:

After the overthrow of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, Tanzania's societal (including educational) architecture was hailed as a model for sub-Saharan Africa. More than thirty years after the launching of Tanzania's "Education for Self-Reliance" in 1967, a stocktaking and assessment is timeous. In this paper I outline the societal-contextual background of Tanzania's "Education for Self-Reliance", before proceeding to outline the main tenets of that policy. In conclusion the policy is assessed and its relevance for South Africa spelled out. The policy had mixed fortunes — whilst great strides were made towards universal primary education and universal adult literacy, its economic and other external objectives could not be met. A major deficiency of "Education for Self-Reliance" was that it was a top-down operation. The present forces of political democratisation, economic liberalisation and structural economic adjustments according to prescriptions by the International Monetary Fund are shaping education in sub-Saharan countries. Tanzania is the venue of an extraordinarily forceful programme of political democratisation and economic liberalisation and will therefore once again (now and in the near future) have considerable illuminative potential for comparative education research in the Third World and especially in the sub-Saharan context.

Keywords: Comparative Education; sub-Saharan Africa; Tanzania

Abstrak:

Na die omverwerping van Ghana se Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, is Tanzanië se samelewings- (insluitende die land se onderwyskundige) argitektuur dikwels voorgedou as 'n model vir Afrikalande suid van die Sahara. Na meer as dertig jaar sedert die bekendstelling van "Onderwys vir Selfonderhouding" in 1967, is 'n evaluering tydlig. Hierdie artikel gee 'n oorsig van die samelewingskontekstuele agtergrond van "Onderwys vir Selfonderhouding", waarna die wesenstrekke van dié beleid uitgespel word. Ten slotte word die welslae van die beleid geëvalueer en die relevansie en implikasies daarvan vir Suid-Afrika uitgespel. Die beleid het gemengde welslae gehad — terwyl groot vordering gemaak is ten opsigte van die bereiking van die ideale van universele primêre onderwys en universele volwasse geletterdheid, kon die beleid nie sy ekonomiese en ander eksterne doelstellings verwesenlik nie. Die huidige kragte van politieke demokratisering, ekonomiese liberalisering en strukturele ekonomiese aanpassings volgens voorskrifte van die Internasionale Monetêre Fonds vorm tans die onderwysbeleid van Afrikalande suid van die Sahara. Tanzanië is tans die toneel van 'n buitengewoon kragtige program van politieke demokratisering en ekonomiese liberalisering en het dus weereens (nou en in die nabye toekoms) aansienlike potensiaal om insigte te lewe wat betref navorsing op die gebied van vergelykende opvoedkunde in die Derde Wêreld, veral in Afrikalande suid van die Sahara.

Introduction. Tanzanian education: a unique and noteworthy experiment

After the overthrow of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, Tanzania's societal (including educational) architecture was hailed as a model for the Third World, and especially for sub-Saharan African development from the colonial past (Van Rensburg, 1981:378-387; Coombs, 1985:220; Campbell & Stein, 1992:1; Leonor, 1985:3). More than thirty years after the launching of Tanzania's "Education for Self-Reliance" in 1967, a stocktaking and assessment are considered to be timeous. The aim of this research was to assess the course and outcome of Tanzania's policy of "Education for Self-Reliance" and to spell out the relevance and implications thereof for South Africa.

The article surveys and synthesises the scientific literature which has accumulated on the policy of "*Ujaama*" and especially the policy of "Education for Self-Reliance". Firstly, the societal-contextual background of Tanzania's "Education for Self-Reliance" is discussed, before proceeding to outline the main tenets of that policy. In conclusion the policy is assessed and its relevance for South Africa spelled out.

Situation demands

Geography: a harsh tropical environment

Tanzania occupies 937,952 square kilometres and is situated just south of the equator. The physiographical profile of the country is basically that of a large central plateau flanked on one side by a narrow coastal plain and on the other by lake basins. The physical environment is a harsh one. There is a high incidence of tropical disease, such as tsetse fly, malaria, and tick infestations.

History: an arbitrary recently created entity

In the broadest terms the history of Tanzania has four main strands: the African population which has the longest presence; the Arabian traders who moved in and settled in the coastal areas after 700 AD; colonisation and cultural influence by the west since the turn of the nineteenth century; and the advent of independence on 7 December 1961. Tanzania is a new national entity, defined by borders arbitrarily drawn by colonial powers.

Demography: population explosion

The estimated mid-1990 population of Tanzania was 25.6 million (Europa Publications, 1996: 948). Typical of a country that fairly recently came under western influence, Tanzania finds itself in the second phase of the demographic transition process (Trewartha, 1969:47-48), which is characterised by a high population growth rate. Between 1985 and 1990 the population increased by a staggering 3.3% p.a. (United Nations, 1992:106).

Socio-cultural situation: Diversity. An historical legacy

There are more than 120 tribes in Tanzania — the largest (Sukorno) claiming only 13% of the population (Van Rensburg, 1981:386). At the end of the colonial era a sharp socio-cultural urban-rural dichotomy has developed, as witnessed by a traditional rural sector and a modern, westernised, financially better-off urban sector (Cameron & Dodd, 1970:13). There is still a remnant of an Asian population of c.100,000, a predominantly commercial class (Cameron & Dodd, 1970: 23-24).

Political system: centralised one-party socialism

The government of the newly independent state recognised the dangers of divisions arising based on tribe or race. Confronted with the social reality of a diverse, unintegrated society, the leader-

ship turned to socialism, centralism and party hegemony for nation building and economic development. Tanzania became a case of statism: political (state) ideological hegemony according to the pattern of Gramsci's model of ideological hegemony (Shivyi, 1992:43). The goal would be the creation of a nation through a type of socialism which, according to the leadership, is rooted in and originates from traditional African values (Bell, 1986:117-119; Stites & Semali, 1991:52).

Religion/Philosophy: "*Ujaama*" and self-reliance

The official line of thought of African socialism was formulated in President Nyerere's pamphlet "*Ujaama*" (1962) and in the Arusha Declaration of 1967. "*Ujaama*" is a Swahili word meaning "familyhood" and, according to Nyerere, describes the concept of African socialism as being based on "the extended family ... a person regards all people as his brethren ... as members of his ever-extending family" (Bell, 1986:117; Cameron & Dodd, 1970:158-60).

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 launched Tanzania on what was at the time a pioneering and revolutionary approach to national development. Development was to proceed from self-reliance, the deployment of Tanzania's own internal resources, notably its "people" and "land". Development should take the form of rural development built upon traditional structures. Rural development should be based upon communal ownership of land and other means of production (Bell, 1986:121-124).

Economy: socialism to liberalisation

In line with the philosophy and policy of *Ujaama*, financial institutions (such as banks), industries, businesses and land were nationalised. Tanzania, however, experienced serious economic deterioration. In 1985, for example, the per capita income was 26% lower than in 1980 (Nyerere, 1985:22). The economic problems, in particular the persistent budget deficit (in 1988/89 US\$ 202.16 million) (Europa Publications, 1996:962) and negative trade balance, increasing year after year (the shortfall grew from US\$ 37.6 million in 1975, to US\$ 560.8 million in 1985 (Stein, 1992:62)), forced the government to sign a stand-by agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1986 (Kiondo, 1992:23), the conditions of which imposed severe austerities on governmental expenditure), but which paved the way for economic liberalisation (Campbell & Stein, 1992:9-12). The economic collapse also brought the political system and official ideology into a legitimacy crisis, thus igniting a process of political democratisation (Campbell & Stein, 1992:8). In 1992 the one-party state ceased to exist when multi-party politics were legalised (Whitaker & Sons, 1995:1031).

Education system

Education Philosophy: From "Education for Self-Reliance" to "*Laissez faire*"

Nyerere's educational policy statement "Education for Self-Reliance" appeared in 1967, a month after the Arusha declaration. Education was seen as a powerful instrument of radical social change. Schools were to prepare people for life and service in the rural areas of the country (Cameron & Dodd, 1970:222; Nyerere, 1985:46). In response to the changes brought about by the IMF-agreement, the government abandoned socialist rhetoric and adopted a more pragmatic approach. Politicians lost their dominant voice in Tanzania. The 1980s saw a return to the view that development is principally a technical process. A transition took place from the proudly political to the apolitical, from self-consciously socialist to dispassionately neutral (Samoff, 1987:358-359; Stites & Semali 1991:69; Rubagumya, 1991:75).

Educational objectives: politically orientated to client orientated

After gaining independence, in the era of "Education for Self-Reliance", Tanzania pursued the following objectives with its education system:

- Internal objectives (i.e. objectives within the education system)
 - Universal primary school attendance (Stites & Semali, 1991:54);
 - Universal adult literacy (Nyerere, 1985:45; Roy-Campbell, 1992:152);
 - Adult Educational Upliftment (Roy-Campbell, 1992:52);
 - Africanisation and Tanzaniasation of curricula and textbooks (Cameron & Dodd, 1970:189; 224; Stites & Semali, 1991:53);
 - Anti-elitist education and equal educational opportunities (Blakemore & Cooksey, 1980:227; Bray, 1986:73).
- External objectives (i.e. objectives outside the education system)
- political
 - national unity, becoming a socialist person (Cameron & Dodd, 1970:189; 191; 224; Stites & Semali, 1991:53);
- social
 - making children attached to and useful members of their rural communities (Bray, 1986:73-74; Saunders & Vulliamy, 1983:352);
- economic
 - economic growth and self-reliance (Cameron & Dodd, 1970:189; 224; Saunders & Vulliamy, 1983:351-352).

In line with the liberalisation of the economy and the free-market in the 1980s, a transition occurred from "education as social transformation" to "education as the transmission of skills and values" (Samoff, 1987:359; Stites & Semali, 1991:69).

Organisation and administration of education

After independence (1961) all private schools were nationalised (Samoff, 1987:339). Centralised, top-down policy formulation and decision-taking characterised the administration of education in Tanzania (Mushi, 1991:174; Njabili, 1994:9; Saunders & Vulliamy, 1983:353; 356).

"Education for Self-Reliance" was meant to prepare children for work in rural society — primary education therefore had to be terminal for most pupils (Roy-Campbell, 1992:151; Sifuna, 1992:7). Only 4 out of 100 primary school pupils gained admission to secondary schools and only one in every hundred who started primary education gained admission to higher education (Urch, 1992:100).

The primary school language medium in the colonial period, i.e. up to 1961, was Swahili and the secondary school medium English. Plans to make Swahili the medium of instruction in secondary schools as from 1985 were put to an end in 1983, with a statement by the Minister of Education that English would remain (Roy-Campbell, 1989:8).

Because of the economic crisis of the 1980s the government could no longer afford to subsidise education. Consequently, school fees were introduced in 1985. Parents, in turn, gained more say in the running of schools (Stites & Semali, 1991:69). The new education policy of the 1990s has encouraged the development of private schools (Urch, 1992:93). Private schools came to be owned and managed by voluntary agencies, community organisations and local governments. By 1989 there were more private than government schools in Tanzania (Roy-Campbell, 1992:159).

School structure

The education ladder consists of seven years of primary school, four years of lower secondary and two years of senior secondary education (Urch, 1992:101). As selection for secondary education is still (as it had been in the colonial era before 1961) extremely restricted, examinations are of great importance (Blakemore & Cooksey, 1980:214).

A primary aspect of "Education for Self-Reliance" was the attempt to make agriculture an integral part of the curriculum. The *shamba* (small farms), on which teachers were supposed to work collectively, were to be the vehicles for engendering respect for agricultural work, with the produce from these *shamba* providing food for the school and extra funds for purchasing school equipment (Roy-Campbell, 1992:151).

Political education in the subject of "Civics" taught pupils the ideas of socialism for the purpose of developing a commitment to socialism (Urch, 1992:37).

Non-formal and adult education

With a 75% adult illiteracy rate at the time of independence, Tanzania embarked on a massive adult educational upliftment effort. The campaign was based on the principles of combining literacy with the spreading of vocational skills needed by the people in the rural villages and towns, such as crop and animal husbandry, rural reconstruction, political education, health and home craft (Lasway, 1989:481-482; Mushi, 1991:173-177; Nyerere, 1985:48-49).

Evaluation of exercise of "Education for Self-Reliance"

What follows is an evaluation of "Education for Self-Reliance", using as criteria the internal and external objectives of the policy (as set out above).

Internal objectives

Universal primary education: The percentage of the primary school cohort that attended school rose from 27% on the eve before independence in 1960 (UNESCO, 1968:75) to 39% in 1981 (UNESCO, 1993:3-32). Primary school enrolments increased from 455,293 in 1990 (UNESCO, 1968:111) to 3,538,183 in 1981 (UNESCO, 1993:3-90).

Alphabetisation of adult population: Adult illiteracy in Tanzania was reduced from 90.5% in 1962 (UNESCO, 1976 :64) shortly after independence, to 53% in 1978 (UNESCO, 1993:1-15). Tanzania's accomplishments in combating adult illiteracy are widely hailed. According to Armove (1982:433), in the history of national literacy campaigns, three cases stand out as truly remarkable: that of Cuba in 1961, that of Nicaragua in 1980, and that of Tanzania in the 1970s.

Adult educational upliftment: By the mid-1980s an estimated 1.5 million adults had been involved in post-literacy programmes (Nyerere, 1985:49). However, the "top-down" manner in which courses were designed meant that local learners' needs were not always provided for. This criticism was raised at many seminars (Mushi, 1991:175). Furthermore, according to Thompson (1981:251), many of the rural non-formal education training centres lost much of their practical focus, and as a result of poor utilisation of staff and facilities, became very cost-ineffective.

Africanisation and Tanzaniasation: Brock-Utne (1995:177-197) argues that in spite of a resolution taken by the ministers of education of African countries at the Conference on Education in Africa at Addis Ababa in 1961 to revise and to reform the content of education in the areas of curricula and textbooks, so as to take account of the African environment and

cultural heritage, there seems to be an agreement in the literature that, in the newly independent states in Africa, increasing the quantity of education (raising enrolment levels, moving from elite to mass education) has taken priority. Meanwhile the problems of content and the relevance of education had been relegated to the backburner, not because they were not important, but because there were more urgent problems (The 1961 Addis Ababa Conference of Ministers of Education of African countries set the tone for the creation of education systems for these recently independent African states. (For a summary of the proceedings and resolutions of this conference, see UNESCO, 1961 and for the placement and evaluation of this conference in the series of education renewal strategies followed in independent Africa, see Sherriff, 1986.) Brock-Utne (1983:177-199) also contends that the increased involvement of foreign aid agencies in Tanzanian education, in the wake of Tanzania's economic collapse, is a further constraint on the way towards the Africanisation and Tanzanianisation of education.

Equal educational opportunities: According to Rubagumya (1991:76), the education system of Tanzania still functions as a reproductive mechanism for a small elite, rather than as an instrument towards egalitarianism. Several studies, as well as nearly all observers, confirm that the children of more affluent parents are more likely to enter school and to progress than children of less affluent parents (Samoff, 1987:355). It seems clear that children from middle and upper classes are more likely to get more and better schooling than are workers' and peasants' children (*ibid.*). Inequality persists in society: in 1988 the poorest 20% of the population received 5.8% of the national income, whilst the corresponding figure for the richest 20% was 50.4 % (Todaro, 1989:155).

Beyond primary school the percentage of female pupils/students declines dramatically (Samoff, 1987:355). Empirical evidence shows a disparity in performance between urban and rural schools in Tanzania (Moshia, 1988:38). Urban schools are also better favoured with respect to the distribution of higher quality teachers and teaching and learning materials (*op cit.*:40). Differential performance is also witnessed in different regions (*ibid.*). Evidence suggests that Muslim pupils enrolled in education institutions make up a smaller portion than the percentage Muslims of the total population (Samoff, 1987:355). There is also evidence that Asians and Europeans are enrolled in higher proportions than Africans (*ibid.*).

External objectives

Political: Political socialisation and national unity: It is difficult to assess the exact extent to which education contributed to identification with the political system and ideology, if at all. There was, however, evidence of widespread political dissidence during the Nyerere years (Europa, 1996:949-952), and to such an extent that Shivyi (1992:43-49) indicates that by the late 1970s a "crisis of ideological hegemony" developed. Some observers mention a still deep-seated animosity towards the country's Asian community, which has a strong hold over business and trade in Tanzania (Tunbridge, 1995:16). According to Campbell there is also increasing tension between Zanzibar and mainland Tanzania (Campbell, 1992:102-103). With respect to the teaching of political education in Tanzanian schools, Blakemore and Cooksey (1980:238) report that research showed that pupils approach the subject in the same way as any other subject: merely something to be memorised and reproduced in the examination. The inclusion of the subject in the school curriculum does not guarantee that pupils will internalise the patriotic message. At the apogee of the education system, the University of Dar es Salaam had a persistent history of political unrest among students (Omari, 1991:200-201). Schools, likewise, were repeatedly the scenes of socio-political unrest (Leonor, 1985:40-41).

Social Objectives: Stopping children's estrangement from (rural) community: Tanzania's education divorced its participants from the very society it was supposed to be preparing them for. Children and parents hoped that the schools would provide them with other alternatives than to become farmers and continue living in the village (Bray *et al.*, 1986:173). Empirical (survey) findings show that despite party and government insistence that the main goals of primary education in Tanzania were to prepare school pupils for life in their communities and that primary education should be (for most pupils) terminal and a goal in itself, the majority of pupils indicated that to them the purpose of primary education was to get selected for secondary education (Mosha, 1988:37; Urch, 1992:93). The incorporation of vocational (agricultural) subjects did not decrease the demand for more schooling (Psacharopoulos, 1985:517). The highly selective nature of secondary education created an elite-consciousness among secondary school pupils (Leonor, 1985:41). They felt that they were in a class of their own (*ibid.*). The widening differential between wages or incomes in villages and towns created a steady flow of better educated people from rural to urban areas (*ibid.*; Roy-Campbell, 1992:158). Events in Tanzania once again confirm the conclusions of Philip Foster's case study in Ghana, which by now has assumed classical status in comparative education, as to the futility of giving vocational (including agricultural) education priority above academic education in developing countries and sub-Saharan African countries, in particular, because it ignores a series of critical variables (Foster, 1965:142-166).

Economic Objectives: Economic Growth and Self-Reliance: It is in the fields of economic growth and self-reliance that Tanzanian education had its most disappointing results. Mention has been made of the drop in per capita income in the 1980s. In 1982 the per capita Gross Domestic Product was US\$ 280 (Van Rensburg, 1981:386). Forty-six percent of the population of Tanzania live under the poverty line (poverty line defined as annual income US\$ 125, in 1980 real value) (Todaro, 1989:32). With regard to the ideal of self-reliance, Nyerere accepted more foreign aid than most African countries. In 1980 Tanzania received R500 million in grants and low-interest loans (Van Rensburg, 1981:386). The afore-mentioned persistent negative trade balance and forced acceptance of IMF aid and conditions delivered the final blow to any prospect of economic self-reliance.

Problems to achieve the educational objectives of "Education for Self-Reliance"

The two common denominators underlying most of the current educational problems facing Tanzania are the economic squeeze and the population explosion.

Economic squeeze (Lasway, 1989:488; Mosha, 1988:25; Nyerere, 1985:52): Financial constraints brought the educational expansion of the first two decades after independence to a halt, in some respects even reversing gains made. Austerities imposed by the IMF agreement limited access to formal education (Roy-Campbell, 1992:166). School fees had to be introduced. In 1989 the minister of education reported that since the introduction of school fees in 1984, primary school enrolments had dropped by 10% (Roy-Campbell, 1992:166). School fees are rising each year (*op cit.*:167). Roy-Campbell (1989:8-13) views the halting of plans to convert the medium of instruction in secondary schools from English to Swahili — with all the problems involved in retaining English (*infra*:11) — as a consequence of the financial constraints surrounding education in Tanzania.

Population pressure (Mushi, 1991:357): The annual population growth rate of 3.3% (*supra*: 12)

translates into a doubling of the population every 22 years. That means that every 22 years the number of schools, teachers, desks, textbooks, etc. have to be doubled just to maintain present levels.

Schooled unemployment: An acute problem, resulting from the fast population and enrolment growth on the one hand and the economic decline on the other, is that of schooled unemployment. 360,000 Tanzanians are leaving school each year with nowhere to go (Roy-Campbell, 1989:16). Because of the strict admission selection policy applicable to upper secondary and tertiary education levels, the problem of schooled unemployment has been limited to primary and lower secondary school levels (Leonor, 1985:11).

Medium of instruction: The persistent use of a language other than the mother tongue, English, as medium of instruction in secondary schools has been identified as a problem by many researchers (Brock-Utne, 1995:177-197; Rubagumya, 1991:67-81; Roy-Campbell, 1989:8-13). It is estimated that only 5% of the population of Tanzania have some knowledge of English (Rubagumya, 1989:68-69), and — at least by the mid-eighties (twenty years into "Education for Self-Reliance") — competence in English seemed to be generally decreasing in Tanzania (Roy-Campbell, 1989:13). Most secondary school pupils are not able to follow and understand lessons conducted through the medium of English (Roy-Campbell, 1989:11). Lindsay (1989:91) quotes documentary evidence underwriting this statement.

Brock-Utne (1995:177-197) views the continual use of English as a medium of instruction in secondary schools as an element in the (western) cultural conditioning and dependence of Tanzania, and therefore a counter-force to the movement towards Africanisation, Tanzanianisation and self-reliance (for an explanation of the cultural dependence theory in Comparative Education, see Arnove, 1980:50-62; Epstein, 1983:17; 19; 20).

According to Rubagumya (1991:68-69) and Roy-Campbell (1989:8), the use of English as the medium of instruction contributes to the reproduction of socio-economic stratification in Tanzania and the exacerbation of socio-economic disparities, thus undermining any egalitarian (equal education opportunities, anti-elitism) aims pursued by education (for an explanation of the theory of economic reproduction in Comparative Education, see Berkhout & Bondesio, 1992:129-133, and also the pioneering trend-setters of this paradigm, Bowles & Gintis, 1976, "Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational and reform contradictions of economic life", New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul).

Other: Other problem areas include the poor physical infrastructure of educational institutions (Nyerere, 1985:51; Roy-Campbell, 1992:157-159; Mosha, 1988:25). For example, in primary schools the average ratio of pupils:desks is 3.7 (i.e there are 3.7 pupils for every desk) (Roy-Campbell, 1995:157). Contrary to the philosophy of "Education for Self-Reliance", the examination system and the power of examinations are determining a pupils' future to promote rote learning (Bray *et al.*, 1986:74; Roy-Campbell, 1992:159; Njabili, 1994:6). Secondary and tertiary enrolments need to be increased; by the mid-eighties, for example, only 2% of primary school leavers proceeded to secondary school (Bray *et al.*, 1986:76).

Synthesis from a South African perspective

Synthesis and future perspective: *Ujaama* and "Education for Self-Reliance" as a model for an African Renaissance and the place of education in it

"Ujaama" and the nascent credo of an African Renaissance both essentially promote the deve-

lopment of Africa by utilising its own internal resources. The experience of "Ujaama" and "Education for Self-Reliance" is therefore instructive for the charting of a course towards an African Renaissance, and the place of education in it.

In the first twenty years (i.e. 1967-1987) of "Education for Self-Reliance" great strides towards universal primary education and universal adult literacy were made. Making basic education accessible to all Tanzanians is a commendable achievement for an economically poor, underdeveloped country. In order to have achieved these accomplishments, however, the country has overextended its economic base. Furthermore, the political, social and economic goals of education were not realised. As far as the utilisation of education as an instrument for the achievement of economic objectives (economic growth) is concerned, the practice turned out to be the other way round: education proved to be a function of the economy. Economic stagnation and decline eventually brought the educational expansion to a halt as well. It appears as if education in Tanzania in the future would depend upon

- the success of the present economic restructuring, and the curbing of the population growth,
- expanding education in tandem with economic growth, and
- resolving the issue of the medium of instruction in schools.

Finally, the educational counterpart of the present political democratisation and economic liberation in Tanzania would be an education built up from "grassroots level" (sensitive to people's needs, views, etc., with a great deal of local autonomy), rather than the top-down dictatorial management style that characterised the "Education for Self-Reliance" era.

It is from the above that the beacons for the place of education in an African Renaissance could be discerned.

Comparative perspective

From a South African point of view a thorough investigation of the Tanzanian programmes of adult alphabetisation and provision of adult basic education may be a useful exercise, in the light of the rate of adult illiteracy (18.2% of the adult population, or 4.7 million people (UNESCO, 1995:1-9) and the lack of adult basic education (11.3 million people, or 29% of the population have had no school education in South Africa (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1995: 218)).

In the Tanzanian education experience the local trust in the provision of education as a means towards economic growth and affluence seems to be misplaced. In the course of the Tanzanian exercise of "Education for Self-Reliance" education was at least as much if not more a function of the economy than the other way round. Indeed, in the end education became the victim of economic collapse.

The Tanzanian experience of the problem of the implications and impact of a high population growth is also not without relevance for South Africa. Finally, in the local education debate, the Tanzanian experience does not pronounce a condoning verdict upon the uncritical acceptance of a medium of school instruction other than the mother tongue.

Scope for further research

As mentioned in the introductory paragraph, Tanzanian education has been a focal point of comparative education research. The model that was the subject of international attention — "Education for Self-Reliance" — had mixed fortunes. Whilst great strides were made towards universal primary school attendance and universal adult literacy, its economic and other external objectives could not be met. Neither could access to secondary and tertiary education be

appreciably widened. The present forces of political democratisation, economic liberalisation and structural economic adjustments according to IMF prescription which have been witnessed in Tanzania, and which have had significant ramifications in the field of education, are taking place in most sub-Saharan African countries (including South Africa) as well as in many other Third World countries, with a time lag and not as forcefully as in Tanzania. By 1988, for example, over 28 African countries had embarked upon IMF structural adjustment programmes (Campbell & Stein, 1992:6) and in South Africa's governmental circles the possibility of approaching the IMF for assistance in the future has also already been mooted. The educational ramifications of worldwide economic liberalisation (Mateju & Rehakova, 1996:158-176; Honig, 1996:177-193) and political democratisation (McGinn, 1996:341-357) have become a prominent feature on the Comparative Education research agenda. As Tanzania is the venue of a precocious and extraordinarily forceful economic liberalisation and political democratisation programme, continual research on Tanzanian education, especially the educational implications, dividends and caveats of its current political and economic changes will have considerable illuminative potential for comparative education research in the Third World and especially the sub-Saharan African context.

A major deficiency of "Education for Self-Reliance" was that it was a top-down operation (*supra*: 5). The new economic and political climate will demand an education system based on the views, needs and desires of the Tanzanian people at large. Research determining the "grass roots" feeling on education is necessary (Brock-Utne, 1995:194; Mushi, 1994:174; Omari, 1991: 87) in order to provide the knowledge needed to underpin the construction of such a system of education. The recent upsurge in the research methodology of critical ethnography (for an exposition see Maseman, 1986:11-25; Carspecken, nd) seems to be a promising line of investigation to follow.

If, within the new political and economic dispensation, a consumer-tailored education system could be developed that is able to repeat the success that "Education for Self-Reliance" had in primary education and adult alphabetisation on the secondary and tertiary levels and succeed with respect to the economic and other external goals of education, Tanzanian education could once again become the lodestar for sub-Saharan African education systems, and a new round of research on Tanzanian education would be a worthwhile and fruitful exercise, not least from the vantage point of comparativists in South Africa.

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