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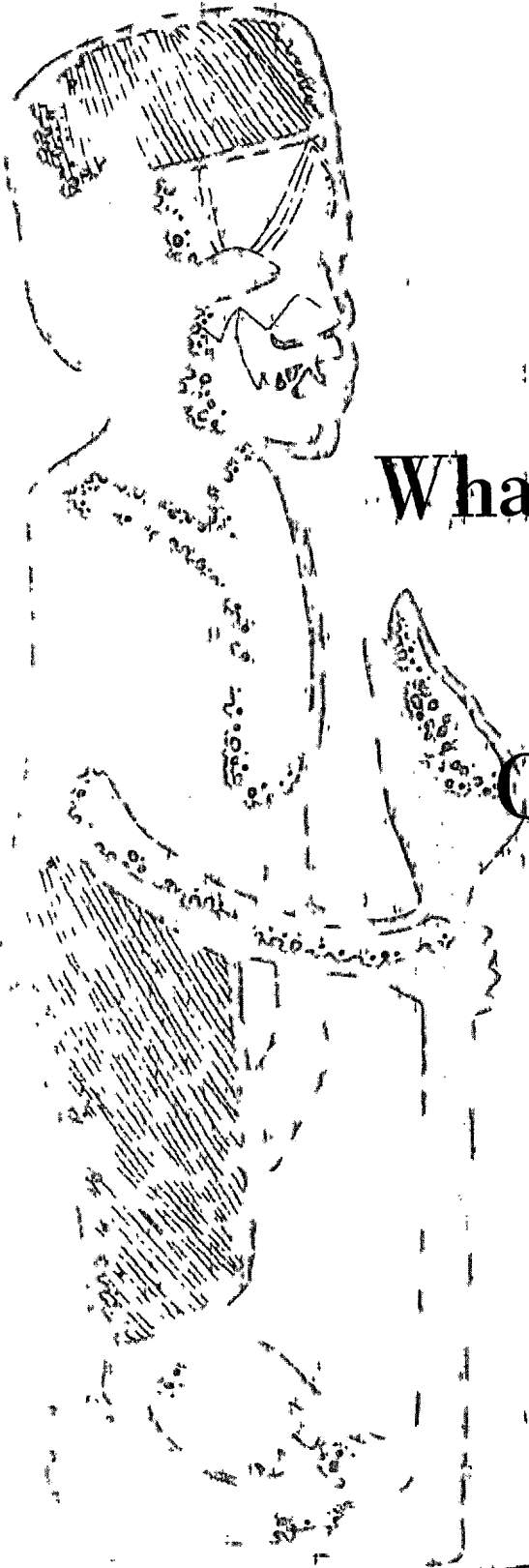
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THE PROGRAM OF EASTERN AFRICAN STUDIES

Eastern African Studies II



The Conflict Over What is to be Learned in Schools: A History of Curriculum Politics in Africa

by Stephen P. Heyneman

MAXWELL
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PROGRAM OF EASTERN AFRICAN STUDIES

Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs

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THE CONFLICT OVER WHAT IS TO BE LEARNED IN SCHOOLS:
A HISTORY OF CURRICULUM POLITICS IN AFRICA

BY

STEPHEN P. HEYNEMAN

EASTERN AFRICAN STUDIES II

Program of Eastern African Studies
Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs
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July 1971

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A HISTORY OF CURRICULUM POLITICS IN AFRICA

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Prologue

In June of 1968, the headmaster of a boarding school in Southern Malawi received a call from the Ministry of Education informing him that the minister was on his way to the school to deliver a speech to the pupils. Classes were to be held as usual and the minister would like to visit one of them before he gave his speech. The headmaster made arrangements for some tea and biscuits to be served in the staff room and, after informing the staff of the important event, nervously awaited the minister's arrival.

Although the students hadn't been informed, they knew immediately that a "big" person had come when a shining, uniformed-chauffeured Humber was seen speeding up the dirt road. Teaching stopped, classes fell silent. There was no sound except the buzzing of the flies outside in the hot sun and the slam of the car door in the distance. A thin man in a dark three-piece wool suit was seen walking down the rocky path with the headmaster. Whispering was heard in the classroom block.

After tea and a class visit the students were asked to enter the assembly hall. They filed in slowly and silently. The staff followed. When the minister entered, the pupils stood up in unison and began clapping with a slow rhythm, progressing faster and faster and louder and louder until the minister had seated himself.

No time was lost with introductory pleasantries. What he had to say was very grave. The students felt it even before he began to speak:

You are not going to finish school, without being trained in agriculture. Up to now you pupils have been too proud, too concerned with office jobs or jobs with the government. Your real job is at home, working with your parents and your family and helping with their gardens. You learn history and geography at this school, you also study French and math and physics - - from now on you will study agriculture and you will spend part of your school day working in a school garden with your shoes off like the majority of your mothers and fathers

When the minister had gone classes were resumed. Suddenly, loud discussions broke out; soon they were out of control. English and vernacular shouting were heard in each of the classrooms. Teachers could be seen trying to bring about silence, clapping their hands in desperation, and finally calming the students who were angry and comforting those who were near to tears.

The Importance of the Educational Conflict

African formal education is like education anywhere where government plays an important role in the administration of schools and the writing of curriculum. What is learned and who gets a chance to learn is essentially a political question and is governed by pressures of interest groups, public opinion, and political parties. In black Africa, schools are often the most important of the political issues. A good portion of parliamentary time and newspaper space is dedicated to discussion of their problems. Education often constitutes the largest category in budgetary expenditures and in some cases the schools account for more than forty per cent of total local government spending. Schools and educational policy concern very nearly the whole population, regardless of age, location, religion, ethnic identification or previous education. Education has close to universal acceptance among a population in which the majority have never been to school.

Returns from educational success have been known to advance the offspring of the poorest of peasants to a position of wealth, prestige and power. Western schooling has sometimes eliminated traditional methods of tribal learning since it constitutes an alternative and more profitable system of education. The growth of a small elite has tinted the aspirations of the whole society. If modernization means the acceptance of new ideas and institutions, then the degree of acceptance of western schooling is indicative of the nearly universal degree to which Africans desire to be "modernized."

Schooling, however, cannot be thought of as an undifferentiated, immutable whole. Teaching differs both within and between nations. Curriculum financial or administrative control, discipline, classroom psychology and types of elite selection are products of national cultures and subject to the pressures of the opinions of those who make up the society.

Unlike Europe, neither "secularization," nor the class domination of elite institutions has produced major political conflict. Instead, curriculum content and schooling's philosophical goals may become politically important. School curriculum goals are one focal point of the political, economic and historical strains on the society. In the conflict over the curriculum lie the issues of all the various inheritances of the colonial era, the demands for complete cultural and intellectual independence, the emerging ethnic and social stratification conflicts, the dependence upon expatriate staffing and advice, and the burdens of economic planning and development.

The curriculum battle is important for several reasons. The belief that differing political goals may be implemented through major curriculum changes presents an issue of political tension. It is believed that a change or a failure to change curriculum has long term collective effects on a nation's future leaders and personally upon one's own children. Perceived stakes in the curriculum's effects are very high for bureaucrat and peasant farmer, and because of this, the arguments of politicians, educators, and foreign experts may become heated with emotional appeals studded with slogans instead of logical analysis. Our first interest here, therefore, is to clarify the various positions taken within the

areas of conflict.

A Typology of Curriculum Liturgies

The use of the word "curriculum"

There is no more than a singular understanding of "curriculum." It may, in its limited sense, be thought of as the content of what is to be learned, subjects, for example, of a suggestive written guide for teachers and analogous to the word "syllabus." But curriculum may imply something considerably wider, such as "all the actual experiences of the pupils under the influence of the school."¹ This second understanding includes the conscious attempts to utilize the school's socialization process to aid in incorporating a desired learning response. In this sense "curriculum" is analogous to "school experience," e.g., "The curriculum/school experience should produce more farmers." It is this wider interpretation to which we will refer.

This paper is concerned with those rival arguments over "curriculum" which are vying for acceptance. Because the arguments do not originate from a single source, nor are they designed to be a unified doctrine, treatment is difficult without some categorization. There are similarities of assumptions and of evidence, and on the basis of these two similarities the following two categories are derived.

¹O. I. Frederick, "Curriculum Development" in W. S. Monroe (ed.) Encyclopedia of Educational Research (New York, Macmillan Company, 1941) quoted in Israel Scheffler, The Language of Education (Springfield, Charles C. Thomas Publisher, 1960), p. 23, f.n. #11.

"Adaptationist" Arguments

Adaptation arguments are those which consciously use the word "adapt" or a synonym when advocating a program of curriculum. Synonym verbs may include "orient toward," "geared toward," or "make relevant." The question of whether adaptation philosophies are useful, functional, or, in fact, "adaptative" is separate.

Adaptative arguments are often interspersed with phrases which, through their continued use, have become key slogans. "Curriculum should be adapted (oriented) (geared) (relevant) to the needs of the society (Africa) (rural environment) (nation) (state)" is one of the more typical. Other common adaptative phrase-slogans may include the following: "The curriculum should be Africanized," "The curriculum should not be too 'bookish,' 'literary' or 'academic,'" "The curriculum should be 'practical.'"

In The Language of Education Scheffler outlines a category of definitions which he labels "stipulative."¹ These, he suggests, are pieces of "terminological legislation"; they are to be understood in a special way, used throughout the discourse, and often are of little relation to previously accepted usage. The use of "adaptative" here is stipulative.

"Empirical" arguments

"Empirical" arguments tend to avoid slogans, metaphors and statements detailing what the schools ought to do. Conclusions concern what the curriculum (school experience) has not done and cannot do. Suggestions of what the school ought to or ought not to attempt are in response to goals which are decided by

¹ Scheffler, ibid., p. 13.

others. Argument is most often founded on what is thought to be feasible.

Differences in evidence and assumptions

Between the two argument types are three serious differences in assumptions which concern the nature of man, the role of the state in education, and the capacity for change in or from the educational system. Adaptation arguments tend to assume that man by nature is socialistic-- that is, he is cooperative and will respond in self-sacrifice to incentives of cooperation for the sake of the state, nation, party, or ideology. Empirical arguments on the other hand, do not overstate their case by insisting that the only motive is economic; but they do seem to suggest that man by nature is individualistic. Through the concern level of the individual to his primary and extended family, the empirical argument would tend to assume that as one proceeded outwards to kin group, tribe, region, ideology, party and nation-state, the natural incentive for self-sacrifice would decrease.

The adaptationist type of argument would look upon the state, party or nation as a logical tool of the individuals who make up the society. State planning is accepted, and state control is not mistrusted. On the other hand, the empirical type of argument would not necessarily assume the state to be the most efficient planner or the best educator. Alternatives are always kept in mind with an eye to both efficiency and economy.

Adaptation arguments are not overly concerned with the question of the capacity of the educational system to change itself or the capacity of the curriculum to substantially change the attitudes of its products.

Yet in empirical arguments we shall discover that these questions are of central concern. Adaptation arguments universally assume more capacity for change than do empirical arguments.

The sources of evidence are also a major difference between the two categories. Adaptative evidence places heavy emphasis to the left of the "therefore" clause in the following statement: "Because of social problem x, y, and z, the school therefore should do a, b, and c." Emphasized are the problems which have led up to the school taking a, b, and c action while the linguistic jump from "because of . . ." to "therefore a, b, and c" is the major concern of the empirical arguments.

The latter often admit to accepting the seriousness of social problems x, y, and z, but concentrate their attention upon why a, b, and c, should not, could not, or will not be done. Adaptative arguments may often suggest that their case example is unique (we will discover this in the discussion of Tanzania), that their example should not be judged on a comparative basis, and that situation x, y, or z is so pressing that it warrants unorthodox, perhaps even drastic, action. Empirical arguments draw their evidence from a variety of historical and transnational sources. They tend to emphasize the lack of uniqueness in situation x, y, or z, and the lack of bona fide experimentation which is in fact taking place.

CHAPTER II. EDUCATIONAL PRECEDENT:
CONTRADICTIONARY TENDENCIES WITHIN COLONIAL SCHOOLS

Equivalency Curricula Precedent

Under no colonial power were educational institutions philosophically unidirectional. Goal mixtures occurred among most schooling levels and within most individual institutions. But however difficult it may be to identify philosophically pure categories of institutions, there do seem to be two trends which consistently recurred in the pre-independence era. A brief sketch of the four major colonial experiences is mentioned for purposes of perspective before we specify particular trends in the case of Tanganyika.*

Each colonial administration allowed two basically contradictory institutional tendencies to flower; we here label them as "equivalency" schools and "converted" schools. Entrance to equivalency schools was limited by rigorous examinations or expensive fees. Primary emphasis was academic¹ and the primary rationale for the schools themselves was occupational status maintenance or advancement. Curriculum was designed to be equivalent in status to that of the metropole. Pupils in Africa learned the same subjects, sat for identical examinations and

¹Secondary emphasis, however, could have included adaptative goals. Achimota, for example, though based upon the premise of providing the "best knowledge the west had to offer" - - including vocational and agricultural work in its curriculum. John Wilson, Education and West African Culture, (New York: Teacher's College Press, Columbia University, 1963).

*Tanzania will be referred to as Tanganyika when discussing the colonial era.

at the highest level, sometimes competed for identical places in institutions of higher learning.

Equivalency primary schools (escolas primarias), for example, have operated in Angola since the nineteenth century. When a liceu was opened in Luanda in 1910, colonial pupils (white and black) could pass through the same seven-year, triple cycle course of studies as the pupils in Oporto or Lisbon. Those who passed and could afford it could proceed directly to the University of Coimbra or Lisbon. Because the Africans, coloreds, or Asians who found their way into these schools were expected to do equal work, they, by custom, were accorded equal privileges as any educated Portuguese.¹

Although the general emphasis of the colonial government was not upon educational curriculum equivalent to that of the metropole, Belgium did operate a considerable number of equivalent seminaries. The few lycées were often quite elaborate, as well equipped as any in Belgium itself and consistently dedicated to producing a highly qualified, well trained elite. The following is a description of the College du Saint Esprit, a lycée built in 1952.

On sunny days its white walls and inspiring tower shine like polished ivory, clearly visible to any visitors; on more cloudy days it stands high enough above the city and lake that the gray clouds move in upon it, burying it in their soft folds. If a person takes the trouble to ascent by foot or car the road which climbs up the twelve hundred feet above the city, he finds himself standing in the court of as magnificent a secondary school as he is apt to find anywhere in the world. Airy classrooms, fully equipped laboratories, a luxurious and well-

¹For an analysis of the Africans who did manage to receive an education in equivalent schools, see: John Marcum, The Angolan Revolution: Anatomy of an Explosion: 1950-1962, (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1969).

supplied audiovisual room, and a line of student dormitories surround the expanse of paved playing fields. An inspiring chapel raises the eyes of each student to still higher things, while his more mundane needs are provided for by dormitories equipped with individual rooms and private showers.¹

In 1954, Lovanium University opened outside of Leopoldville with Africa's first nuclear reactor as part of its physics equipment. In 1958, the government opened a second university at Elizabethville. Contrary to the popular castigation of the Belgian government for providing the African population with so little education before independence, there were in fact 18,000 secondary school pupils in the Congo in 1958 - - more than in Kenya, Tanganyika and Ghana combined. Although the United States press reported that the Congo had but sixteen college graduates at the time of independence, the actual number was sixteen Ph.D.'s. An additional 1,000 "junior college" graduates or B.A.'s (including 417 priests) were excluded from the figure.²

The French also included equivalent tendencies in their educational system. In each of the colonial capitals in the West African Federation an école primaire supérieure was situated. Entrance was gained by competitive examination at about fourteen. There were no school fees and, on occasion, pupils were provided with pocket money. After four years of an école primaire supérieure, pupils could find positions as government clerks, commercial agents, or compete for scholarships to a

¹John W. Hansen, Imagination and Hallucination in African Education, (East Lansing: Michigan State University, Institute for International Studies, College of Education, June, 1965).

²Bernard B. Fall, "Educational Factors in the Congo Crisis," Journal of Negro History, 30 Summer, 1961), p. 271.

secondary school. "The general impression gained, from a visit to the Bamako school," writes W. Bryant Mumford, an English colonial Commissioner for Education visiting French West Africa in 1934, "was that the institutions were equal in standing and equipment to the best that Europe could produce."¹

From the école primaire supérieure a few could advance to the William Ponty School in Dakar. Between fifty and eighty boys were selected yearly; about fifty per cent later became teachers and fifty per cent doctors, veterinarians or engineers. Begun in 1903, the William Ponty School was to train a substantial portion of the French-speaking political and social leaders of this century. As in the école primaire supérieure, the majority of the staff were European.

The work done is very similar to the kind of work covered in secondary schools in Europe, except that each subject is taught with special reference to Africa. The boys study world history, mathematics (including trigonometry), physics, botany, some English, and a good deal of French literature. The general impression, from conversation with the boys, is that they are French in all but the colour of their skin.

They read intelligently and are eager to discuss, not only the best known writings in French literature, but even the works of lesser known French philosophers. The graduate of the William Ponty School is so fine a product that the education there given seems a complete vindication of French educational theory and practice in Africa.²

After 1940, British colonial governments became increasingly interested in providing secondary and higher education. The curriculum, although not

¹W. Bryant Mumford, Africans Learn To Be French, (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1935), p. 44.

²Ibid., p. 47.

identical, was quite similar to that used in the United Kingdom. Pupils advanced to a two cycle five or six year secondary school. The School Certificate awarded was similar to that awarded in the United Kingdom, was called the African Higher School Certificate, and entitled a pupil, if financially able, to attend a British or African equivalent university. Although the French have been more noted for their "assimilation" policies and their high quality Francophonic schools, the difficulty of generalization is demonstrated by the fact that there was no French university in Africa until the University of Dakar opened in 1957. Yet, though British policy is more known for its "indirect" rule and its preservation of traditional culture, as early as 1827 Fourah Bay College was receiving students in Freetown and by 1876 had become equivalent to the University of Durham when the two degrees were accorded equal status.¹

Equivalency-oriented institutions provided an education which produced three common effects. First, they elicited some approval of the African from the European. The fact that there were Africans who had been to Cambridge, that there were some who could discuss "lesser known French philosophers" or write poetry and short stories,² aided in dispelling racial-intelligence myths which were prevalent in each of the colonial societies. In Europe, the academically accomplished person was one

¹Philip J. Foster and Remi Clignet, "French and British Colonial Education in Africa," Comparative Education Review, 8 (October, 1964), p. 191-8.

²G.M. Moser, "African Literature in the Portuguese Language," Journal of General Education, 13 (January, 1962), p. 270-304.

of the highest of social ranks. Accomplished Africans who could journey to the metropole were often accorded more status there than the majority of the lesser educated local citizens.

Secondly, equivalency-oriented institutions enhanced the African's understanding of the European. An awareness of science and math, regardless of how superficially memorized, began to unlock the mysteries of commerce, accounting, and communications. Systematic exposure to history offered a view on the colonial mentality, the rights and privileges of citizens of the metropole and a perspective on their own societies impossible without exposure to modern and, by definition, foreign methods of thought.

Thirdly, an equivalent education gave the African a feeling of self-respect and personal importance in a new context. Brought to a graduate were feelings that his competence was equal to some and better than many Europeans. In knowing what the European knew inevitably lay personal economic advancement. Knowledge equivalent to foreign standards could make a peasant's son socially important, an outcast or ex-slave a leader. Success could equip a young man with the power of an elder in a way unknown to traditional society. Educational attainment became associated with higher bride prices, more money income, better clothes, envy, and jealousy among peers, families, kin groups and tribes.

The effect of an equivalent-oriented curriculum in each colonial area was to produce a political and economic elite capable of thought of a quality similar to that produced by the colonial leadership. Economically,

equivalent-oriented knowledge brought incomes similar to many Europeans and many times greater than the parental income from cash crops. Intellectually, products of equivalency institutions though few, were often equal to Europeans. Politically, however, they usually remained second class.

A common reaction of those educated in equivalency-institutions was to form nationalist organizations which, at varying degrees of speed, demanded reform, political power, autonomy, and finally independence. By permitting the growth of an African elite schooled on a curriculum of international stature, whatever the humanitarian or economic motives, the fact is that politically the content provided the skills and the confidence necessary for the pupils to dig the colonial government's own grave.

Converted Curricula Precedent:
The Accommodation of Education to the Reality

Each of the colonial powers allowed a curriculum to develop related to what they perceived as the "needs" of the general society. Converted curricula and converted schools were applications of adaptation arguments. Converted curricula was most always intertwined with equivalent-oriented subject matter. No school avoided all modern western knowledge. Only at the extreme poles were schools relatively pure and opposite in their orientation, as, for example, the differences between a Portuguese escola primaria and the Tanganyikan "tribal schools." What is important is the fact that the "needs" of society were defined less by the fee-paying parent

than by the expatriate educationalist, missionary, or government administrator.

Economic needs of the pupil were seen as those needs relating to the rural environment: improvement in agricultural techniques, animal husbandry, personal hygiene and family nutrition. Psychological needs consisted of the desire to adjust Africans to modern life, and to instill colonial philosophy. The Portuguese, for example, attempted through the schools to infuse the society with their Missão Civilizada, the French with the Mission Civilisatrice, and the Belgian and British with both Christ and capitalist trade.

Unfortunately, the prevailing misunderstanding asserts that the colonial educational efforts held "slavishly" to the orientations of the metropole. Even as late as 1969 a scholar asserted that

In the past years, both the mission schools and the colonial schools slavishly followed the educational pattern of their home countries. This is not surprising since the school administrators, faculty, and text materials were all imported . . . Virtually no effort was made to accommodate methods or courses or abilities or interests of African students, nor was there any attempt to localize course materials.¹

In fact, however, the majority of African primary pupils never followed a curriculum anything like that of the metropole. Most were exposed solely to religious or vocational courses designed to "prepare" them for their rural environment. The rationale was similar in each educational system. Except for South Africa and Nigeria, early colonial territories had only the beginnings of urban centers. Because primary school children were the rural offspring of subsistence farmers, because

¹Robert D. Loken, Manpower Development in Africa, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publisher, 1969), p. 57.

few could ever continue beyond the pre-primary grades, and because only a small percentage would leave the rural areas or depend upon anything other than agriculture for an income, economically it seemed only natural to designers of curriculum to help solve some of their societal problems by equipping schools with programs in agricultural and rural vocational training. Diseases were common, most rural Africans had only rudimentary ideas about hygienic concepts of infection or sterilization; few knew of the value of using a plow, a cart or agricultural compost; and fewer still could construct stable brick buildings, build furniture or mend machinery. The converted school curriculum was seen as a major instrument in bringing about changes in these conditions.

A second goal was the psychological transference of colonial values. Efforts were always, in part, religious. Although different missionary societies adhered to differing Biblical interpretations, in each colonial system the introduction of Christianity to the pupils was a portion of what was learned. Also important was the elementary history, geography, language and national philosophy which was taught from a colonial perspective and instilled with the belief that exposure would breed a higher degree of political acceptance. For the majority of colonial pupils education overwhelmingly consisted of learning the things the government or missionaries thought would improve the rural society and rural social condition. The converted curriculum was emphasized as being terminally oriented; little attention was paid to status mobility as a rationale for schooling.

Portuguese schools are, perhaps, the most difficult to analyze because the government played no direct role in the education of rural, "unassimilated" Africans until 1961. As a result of the 1919 Decree (#5, 778) and the Missionary Statute of 1940, all African education was placed in the hands of missionaries whose duty was to civilize, to Christianize, to make the African respect hard work, and to become economically useful. The escolas rudimentares (renamed escolas da adaptação in 1960) were limited in their curricular offerings to Portuguese language, Portuguese culture, Portuguese history and geography, plus a dominance of agricultural techniques, animal husbandry, and handicrafts. The effort has been to produce "civilized" Portuguese cultural values, but in Africans who would remain agriculturally and vocationally non-competitive with white Portuguese. The effort has had the effect of producing Portuguese-speaking Africans whose limited knowledge binds them to the rural areas.

Converted curriculum village "industrial" schools were popular in Portuguese territories. The following is a description of a Methodist boys and girls industrial school at Quiongua in 1913.

A typical day at the Boy's Industrial School would begin with a prayer service at which a hymn was sung, prayers delivered, and one verse of Scripture read, explained and memorized by the boys. The morning was spent in farming, carpentry, masonry, sawing, printing, or other such activities. In masonry, for example, attention was given to the use of the square, level, and line; in carpentry the making of furniture and the repairing of buildings were stressed.

After the economic-cultural lessons of the morning, the religious-intellectual lessons came during the afternoon. Three to four hours of basic literacy, arithmetic, and Bible stories were taught. The literacy class, through a progression designed into materials produced within the Mission, gradually became a reading class

The education for girls was similar to that for boys. Industrial activities included laundry work, cooking, and, especially, sewing. Some farming and building were also undertaken.¹

The Portuguese educational system, in many ways, was typical of the colonial era. The pupils at the bottom of the educational pyramid were directed toward the "realities" of economic life, vocational skills, personal morals and political socialization. Missionaries were allotted the charge of the gross assimilation of the government point of view. The system was viewed as a means of helping the Africans as well as the authorities. "We try," writes Cardinal Cerejeira:

to reach the native population in both breadth and depth, to [teach them] reading and writing and arithmetic, not to make "doctors" of them . . . to educate and instruct them so as to make them prisoners of the soil and to protect them from the lure of the towns, the path of devotion and courage which the missionary chose, the path of good sense and of political and social security for the province . . . schools are necessary yes, but schools where we teach the native the path of human dignity and the grandeur of the nation which protects him.²

In 1954, there were 35,361 pupils attending escolas rudimentares in Angola. Less than one thousand of those who finished the three year course passed the final exam. A small portion of those who passed would be able to continue their education at equivalent curricular escolas primarias. By 1958, there were only thirty-two or -three African university graduates from Angola and Mozambique.³

¹Michael A. Samuels, Methodist Education in Angola 1897-1915, (Lisbõa, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1967), p. 90-2.

²Eduardo Mondlane, The Struggle for Mocambique, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 60.

³James Duffy, Portugal in Africa, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 177 and Marcum, op. cit., p. 20.

The Belgian converted curriculum was similar to the Portuguese. Missionaries monopolized the program of teaching literacy, agricultural and vocational skills, Christian devotion, and political socialization. Major differences lay in the fact that rudimentary schools were more numerous in the Congo and they were conducted almost exclusively in the vernacular. In 1958, only five per cent of the relevant age group (seven to fourteen) were in any primary institution in Angola while seventy-one per cent of the same age group attended schools in the Congo.

The majority of village converted curriculum schools had been opened by missionary societies competing for converts. They utilized teachers who were only semi-literate and who had been exposed to only a few years at a central mission station. Fifty per cent of the pupils at the time of independence were attending schools where only Tshiluba, Kikongo, Kiswahili or Lingala were spoken. Wastage rates ranged between twenty-five and eighty per cent before grade seven.¹

Belgian converted curriculum goals were to help the African in becoming a better and more efficient person in the rural context. A paternalist policy was fashioned from the idea that the African was a child who had to be ruled fairly but firmly and educated only in the ideas he was "capable" of understanding. Albert de Vleeschauer, the Belgian consul in the United States during World War II, aptly expressed this view when he said:

To civilize means . . . to open their intelligence to ideas which they might be able to grasp . . . to help him become a good and fine Negro . . . When parents who form a single

¹Barbara Yates, "Structural Problems of Education in the Congo," Comparative Education Review, 7 (October, 1963), p. 152-62.

unit educate their child, their love and authority are one, and are applied to the best interests of the child the natives are children, something of children whom a parent loves and for whose well-being he strives.¹

Even George Kimble, a geographer, seems to reiterate a need for a converted curriculum orientation when he comments that:

It is better to have ninety per cent of the population capable of understanding what the government is trying to do for them and competent to help the government in doing it than to have ten per cent of the population so full of learning that it spends its time telling the government what to do.²

Because of the needs of the Congolese economy, large numbers of lower level technicians were in demand. Although the equivalent-oriented secondary system had but one pupil for every eighty-three in primary school, there were in 1958, 19,643 technical students, more than the combined total in Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Tanganyika, Malagasy and Congo-Brazzaville.³

Thus, this "practical" education filled the blue-collar demands of modern industry, attempted to improve the traditional rural economy, and made an effort to control political expectations by mass vernacular teaching of the scriptures. Yet incongruous as it may be, scattered sparsely among these converted schools were some of the most modern equivalent-oriented institutions in Africa.

¹Albert de Vleeshauer, Belgian Colonial Policy (New York City: Belgian Information Center, 1943) p. 36.

²George H.T. Kimble, Tropical Africa, (New York: 20th Century Fund, 1960) II, p. 115, quoted in Donald Adams and Robert M. Bjork, Education in Developing Areas, (New York: David McKay Company, 1969), p. 53.

³Bernard B. Fall, op. cit., p. 270.

The French are often noted for their efforts in high quality, high status-mobility institutions with an aim of cultural assimilation. Yet there is evidence to indicate that the French were very concerned about the "unique cultural and vocational needs" of the African society, and that they converted their curriculum in order to meet those "needs." Albert Charton, Inspector General of Education in French West Africa, gave an indication of the disenchantment with the early universal application of equivalent-oriented, assimilationist education. The early plan had been formulated and drafted in Paris, and was grafted exclusively from the metropolitan system.

Too often the question of education has been summarily settled by the application of principles . . . which have borne no relation whatever to the needs and aspiration of the native population involved. Exotic educational systems, settled in all points, down to the very detail of timetables and curriculum, have been imported, ready made by the colonizing powers. The policy put into practice has assumed the mind of the young native as Europeans found him to be absolutely blank, and he has been treated as if he were one of Coldillac's statues, ready to imbibe all his ideas, all his notions, all his thoughts from the master whose task it was to set this piece of machinery working. The decree went forth for an abstract general and uniform assimilation, completely divorced from the realities of local needs and conditions.

This extremist attitude is today a thing of the past . . . in the first place we must adopt ourselves to the native's mental outlook. We must understand it in all its aspects before we can modify it and guide it . . .

Willy-nilly, creeds, customs, traditions, prejudices, and superstitions must be taken into consideration. This is inevitable if we are to avoid giving a type of education which is entirely divorced from reality, a purely bookish and formal affair, a mere set of formulae which run the risk of creating, side by side with the traditional mental outlook of the native, a purely foreign . . . superimposed attitude of mind. All

native education, to be of any value, whether from the moral or the intellectual standpoint, must be based upon psychology and ethnology.¹

Part of the plan to enhance the "relevancy" of education was to offer écoles rurales. These two-year initiation schools were similar to the Portuguese escolas rudimentares and the British pre-primary grades. The purpose was to initiate the child to French concepts and language, and to raise the rural standard of living. The medium of instruction was intended to be totally French, but when the activities of farming and sanitation were taught, vernaculars were permitted. At many schools a farm was kept, individuals often cared for their own plots and livestock. Profits from the produce went toward the improvement of school grounds and equipment. In areas of Guinea where mining was common, pupils learned smithy work and near the coast fishing was often taught. Out of eighty primary schools in Senegal in 1931, sixty-one were actually écoles rurales. There were twenty-seven in the Ivory Coast in the same year.²

By contrast with Belgian or Portuguese territories, more primary schools were operated by the government than the missions in French colonies. In 1934, the French government operated 261 village elementary and initiation schools with a total of 21,000 pupils while the missions

¹Albert Charton, "The Social Function of Education in French West Africa," quoted in W. Bryant Mumford, op. cit., p. 103-4.

²Philip J. Foster and Remi Clignet, op. cit., Rayford W. Logan, "Education in Former French West Africa and Equatorial Africa and Madagascar," Journal of Negro Education, 30 (Summer, 1961), p. 277-85, "L'Evolution de l'enseignement en A.O.F.," Bulletin de Comité de l'Afrique Française, (August, 1964), Ray Antra, "Historique de l'enseignement en A.O.F.," Presence Africaine, February-March, 1956), p. 68-86.

operated a total of 57 schools with a total of 8,000 pupils. Although the French civilizing mission was emphasized, unlike other colonial areas, religion played an unimportant role in the curriculum.

Other than the above, there was a type of school which centered the curriculum around the "need" of the colonies to maintain the skills in traditional crafts; Government "traditional craft schools" were established in central locations across from markets or town centers. Students were invited to come and learn to sculpt, weave, pot or carve at government expense without tuition and with some profit accruing to them personally as a result of selling their products. The hope for the craft schools was to re-stimulate African artistic production and rekindle the beauty found in the dying traditional crafts. Anyone of any age could attend a craft school; there was no literary work, and no graduation.

Unlike the French and more like the Belgians and Portuguese, the British depended heavily upon voluntary missionary efforts. Like the Belgians, the major British political socialization effort was through the emphasis upon religion rather than a government mission of civilization. In areas like Nyasaland, British missionaries preceded colonial government by almost twenty years. In most colonies the British made less effort to control the education offered than the governments did in French or Portuguese areas.

As in other colonial areas, the British encouraged offerings of vocational and agricultural education, and emphasized the ideas of hygiene, health and nutrition. Primary curricula often contained time blocs for working on agricultural demonstration plots.

Lord Lugard, a frequent writer on colonial education, represents, perhaps, a typical stance of the British educationalist. Part of his argument might be illustrated by his comments on Sir Valentine Chirol's book on the effects of British equivalent-oriented educational curriculum in India.

He [Chirol] showed how the adhesion of the Indian educational system to a purely secular and intellectual training, which rated the ability to pass examinations above integrity and good citizenship, had produced an educated class, for the majority of whom there were no openings and no future. Between this "intelligencia" and the vast illiterate masses there was an unabridged hiatus. The product of the universities - - for the most part non-residential - - became 'politically' minded - - a prey to the agitator and the anarchist; for the Western knowledge acquired by the student had no roots or foundations in his own traditions, beliefs or environment . . . experience has shown that the impact of Western civilization on primitive barbarism as in Africa must weaken and destroy the sanctions of tradition and belief on which the social order rests.¹

Lord Lugard was not alone in the stressing of the importance of converted educational policies. Following his lead, British educational study commissions and surveys conducted between 1920 and 1960 expressed similar concerns and suggested identical solutions. The 1925 White Paper: A Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, for example, suggested the adaption of education to local environmental conditions. Obviously not an original idea even in 1925. Identical suggestions had been made in the 1922 and 1923 Phelps-Stokes Reports,² and were to be made

¹F. D. Lugard, "Education in Tropical Africa," Edinburgh Review, 242 (1925), p. 1-9.

²John L. Lewis, ed., Phelps-Stokes Reports on Education in Africa, (London: Oxford University Press, 1962); Jessie T. Jones, Education in East Africa, (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1925).

by the 1935 Advisory Commission on Education in the Colonies Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, by the 1938 and 1957 surveys of Lord Hailey, by the 1943 Advisory Commission's Mass Education in African Society and Education for Citizenship (1948) and by the 1953 Nuffield Foundation's African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in Tropical Africa.

An example of a British converted curriculum school might be illustrated by the Mbereshi Girls School, founded in Northern Rhodesia in 1914. Describing her school in a paper to a General Missionary Conference in 1924, Miss Mabel Shaw, the headmistress, remarked that

The girls live as nearly as possible an ordinary village life. The work of the whole compound is done by them - - they draw their own water, get their own firewood, prepare their own food. We have two very extensive gardens in which a considerable amount of time is spent. We grow a great quantity of Kassava, the staple food of this people. In time we hope to grow enough for all of our needs, also enough green food, nuts, and beans. A considerable amount of flour pounding is done, each girl takes her turn at this . . . A certain amount of time is given to pot making. . . All the girls from the youngest to the oldest make their own garments. The big girls knit and crochet. Bead work is another form of handiwork . . . Singing is a great feature of school life, also drill and dances. Apart from organized games and the drill and dancing in the school timetable, there are games and dances in the moonlight, several nights each month . . . I have found that the secret of the happy contented school is to keep the girls happily and healthily employed.¹

Similar to the primary school experiments were the Jeanes experiments in teacher training colleges. The Jeanes Fund for Negro schools in the American south in conjunction with the Moga Training School in Punjab, India and the Bakto-a-Ruda school in the Sudan, gave impetus to the foundation of Jeanes training institutions in Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika

¹Miss Mable Show, quoted in S. H. Irving, "African Education in Northern Rhodesia: The First Forty Years," *Teacher Education*, 2(November, 1961) p. 46.

Kenya and Nyasaland. The belief of the educators who were active in the schools was that the normal primary schools were too "literary," and too aloof from the immediate village interests. They argued that primary schools should be centers of learning for the whole community, and should act as centers for distribution of new innovations, new ideas, and even new values. Like the converted curriculum primary schools, Jeanes training institutions and their products were supposed to maintain the important bond between the traditional community and those who were learning to read and write.

Jeanes training institutions were to train primary teachers to be not only good in the classroom but innovative community development workers. Training was given to both man and wife; their home life was thought of as having equal pedagogical value to their classroom skills. Parallel courses were given to village chiefs or headmen to facilitate understanding in the problems of village improvement.¹ Training at Jeanes institutions was as approximate as possible to village conditions. Once placed in the field, a Jeanes teacher was promised periodic visits by a "master teacher." A Jeanes trainee received training in handicrafts such as clay modeling, raffia work, cardboard work, masonry, tailoring, and carpentry as well as the more usual fare of the converted curriculum including agriculture, animal husbandry, hygiene, first aid, and nutrition.

¹L. J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1954), p. 70-1.

Summary

Thus within colonial society was contained precedent for adaptation arguments of the present. The isolated equivalent curricular parity found in the Portuguese escolas primarias, French écoles primaires supérieures and in many post-primary institutions, was contrasted with the "reformed" offerings in the numerically dominant escolas rudimentares, écoles rurales, Belgian village vernacular schools and British primary levels. Rural vocational, agricultural and hygiene courses in the vernacular monopolized the greatest portion of class time for the overwhelming majority of African children.

Opinions on the colonial record vary, but it is certain that no colonial power provided as much educational opportunity as was desirable or possible. It is further certain that attempts at teaching traditional values failed to "stabilize" the individual and forestall ongoing cultural change. Attitudes toward change were found to be governed more by market forces already at work than the school curriculum. "Detribalization" and Durkheimian notions of urban cultural "anomie" lost favor with the rise of the Chicago school of sociology and its emphasis upon ethnic-oriented primary relations in the urban context.¹ Documentation was provided by the work of Kenneth Little, L. P. Maire, Max Gluckman and others² whose

¹Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," American Sociological Review, 26 (1956), p. 13; Morris Axelrod, "Urban Migration and Kinship Ties in Philadelphia," Social Problems, 6 (Spring, 1959), p. 35.

²Kenneth Little, "The Role of Voluntary Associations in Urban West African Culture," American Anthropologist, 59 (August, 1957), p. 579; Kenneth Little, "West African Urbanization as a Social Process," Cahiers d'Études Africaines 3 (1960), p. 90; Max Gluckman, "An Analysis of the Sociological Theories of Bronislaw Malinowski," Rhodes-Livingstone Paper, (Number 16, 1948); Max Gluckman, "Tribalism in British Central Africa," Cahiers d'Études Africaines 1 (January, 1960), p. 55; J. C. Mitchell, "The Kalela Dance," Rhodes-Livingstone Paper, (Number 27, 1956); A. L. Epstein, Politics in an Urban African Community, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1958); Lucy P. Mair, An African People in the 20th Century (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1934).

research pointed out that there were important differences between Europeanization, urbanization and "detrribalization." In short, as more was learned about the continuities within culture change, the less traditional values in the curriculum were viewed as being necessary for stability of the personality.

Certain also is the fact that attempts to improve society through the teaching of agricultural and rural vocational skills were most often wasted efforts. Profits and produce from school gardens more often went to the local headmaster's pocket than to the pupil. School gardens were used as punishment areas and rarely instilled a desire to remain a farmer. Rural-oriented vocational course knowledge was rarely applied into occupational paths; the more lucrative employment was usually a function of the more literate skills. When improvements in agriculture or hygiene were made, they were associated more with a general economic rise in the level of income than with the specific training received as a result of a reformed curriculum.¹

No reformed curriculum adequately prepared pupils for modern leadership of the soon-to-be independent countries. In terms of leadership, the major portion was drawn from the small portion of the African youth who had previously been exposed to equivalent curricular institutions.²

¹ Philip J. Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning," in Education and Economic Development, ed. by G. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966), p. 142-163.

² Margery Perham, The Colonial Reckoning, (London: Collins Publishers, 1962); E. Lucas, English Traditions in East African Education, (1959); J. Wilson, "Education and Cultural Change in Africa," Teacher's College Record, 63 (December, 1961), p. 189-95; L.J. Lewis, "Education and Political Independence in Africa," Comparative Education Review, 5 (June, 1961), pp. 39-49; Tanyi Mbuagbaw, "The African Educator and Africanization," Revue Camerounaise de Pedagogie, (1965), p. 9-14.

The effect of the differences in curriculum opinions was not to end at the time of independence. Though few tribal schools were to survive the demands of trained manpower, and efforts to convert curriculum to "local" needs decreased due to the pre-independence demand for educational parity, the precedents appear very much like the plans of the present educationalists.

Ministries of Education, subject to the same economic and social pressures which faced the colonial planners, are considering the same kinds of educational goals and policies which were expounded by their previous expatriate counterparts. Though the need for effective educational action has greatly increased since independence, the pressures on what is learned in African schools remain very similar to what they were in the 1930's. Though the debaters have substantially changed, the division of opinion over curriculum goals has remained profound. Whoever wins the curricular argument, in the minds of the debaters, has essentially defined the goals of the society and has determined the training of those who will become the leaders of the new societies.

CHAPTER III. THE TANGANYIKAN EXPERIENCE

Introduction

Having completed a colonial overview, let us concentrate upon one territory. If there is any one trend which flowed consistently through the colonial era, it was the sometimes independent and sometimes combined efforts of both government and missionary educationalists to adapt the educational content to Tanganyikan "conditions." A latent function of schools which taught even the most fundamental literacy and numeracy was to select and isolate a supratraditional African sub-population. But contrary to the popular view of colonial "literary" education, educationalists in Tanganyika made consistent efforts to insure that this group was not "culturally uprooted." Government and missionary alike attempted to insure that the literate population did not occupy what Margery Perham has described as a "mental no man's land"¹ where the school training did not prepare school products to do useful work in the rural environment.

For example, Rivers-Smith, director of education in Tanganyika, in 1920 said that "if as a result of education, a discontent with village life sets up permanent immigration, education will have failed."² The Phelps-Stokes Commission made similar statements in 1922.

¹ Margery Perham, The Colonial Reckoning (London: Collins Publishers, 1962) p. 27.

² O. W. Furley and T. Watson, "Education in Tanganyika Between the Wars: Attempts to Blend Two Cultures," South Atlantic Quarterly, 65 (Autumn, 1966), p. 475.

The overwhelming majority of the Africans must live on and by the soil, . . . the school program should provide such instruction in gardening as is necessary to develop skill in the cultivation of the soil and appreciation of the soil as one of the great resources of the world.¹

And even though under German administration there was a significant emphasis upon "practical" education,² the Ormsby-Gore Commission, touring East Africa in the early 1920's came to the conclusion that the schools were entirely

too literary in character, and not sufficiently devoted to the wider education of the African for life in Africa. There is a great danger in Africa, as elsewhere, lest over-emphasis on literary education will produce an unemployable clerical class divorced from the interests and activities of their fellows, and dissatisfied with the rewards that can be earned after the completion of their studies.³

It was common, perhaps even fashionable, in the 1920's for educationalists in Tanganyika to call for a more agricultural and rural bias to school curricula. "Agriculture," according to Rivers-Smith,

¹Thomas Jessie Jones, Education in Africa, (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922), p. 20.

²A. Smith, "The Missionary Contribution to 1914," Tanganyikan Notes and Records, 60 (March, 1963) and G. Hornsby, "German Educational Achievement in East Africa," Tanganyikan Notes and Records, 62 (March 1964).

³East Africa Commission, Report on the East Africa Protectorate, 2387, pp. 50, 52, Great Britain Parliament Papers 1924-25 and quoted in O. W. Furley and T. Watson, op. cit., p. 474.

shall be the keynote of our educational programme; . . . in the vast majority of cases the African's natural heritage is the land and it is therefore the first duty of the state to teach him to make the most use of that natural inheritance. It cannot be denied that educational schemes for Negro races in the past have had a tendency to encourage young men to forsake the hoe for the pen and the land for the office stool, and therefore populate the urban areas at the expense of the rural districts.¹

Besides being interested in agricultural inculcation, Rivers-Smith was concerned with the prospects of educational overproduction. Like the modern manpower planners, he advocated forecasting manpower requirements and limiting school output accordingly. "Probably the greatest pitfall . . . is overproduction," he once said,

saddling an unsuspecting posterity with a top heavy social system . . . In fact that ideal for a system of African education would be that based upon an employment census and a careful forecast of economic development; educational activities other than village schools having an agricultural bias, should be rigidly limited in output to the estimated capacity of the country's power of absorption.²

It may sound strange to hear Rivers-Smith express fears of an overproduction of educated Africans which would produce a "top heavy social system" when Tanganyika wasn't to initiate its first secondary school for another twenty years. Nevertheless, the fears were real. The legislative council in 1928, also fearful of an overpopulation of the African educated, expressed its desire to have education biased toward agriculture. "In any vision of future development," it said, "agriculture must occupy the fore-
more place. . . Everything, therefore, points to agriculture as the basis

¹Rivers-Smith, Tanganyika Education Report, (Dar es Salaam, 1925) and quoted in Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 474.

²Rivers-Smith, Memorandum to Chief Secretary, 1926, and quoted in A. R. Thompson, "Ideas Underlying British Colonial Education Policy in Tanganyika," in Tanzania: Revolution by Education, ed. by Idrian N. Resnick, (Arusha: Longmans of Tanzania, 1968), p. 25.

of our educational system . . . "1

The calls for curriculum adaption and reform were more than rhetoric. Whether government, missionary or Native Authority administered, schools in the 1920's could point to their gardens, livestock and experimental farms and claim with pride that they were being practical and relevant. Native Authority schools in the Kilimanjaro area, for example, kept coffee gardens. Chief Towegole's school in Ulanga District required each pupil to grow his own food which, by adopting the suggested modern methods of agriculture, could be achieved with but four hours per day of work.² Every school in some districts had model banana plantations. A 1923 report mentioned that in every school in Kondou District "every boy received ten pounds of good quality seed of Hickory King, Maize, Proso millet, Soya, and Canadian Wonder beans, all of which, though new to the district, gave a good yield."³ Schools were also utilized as initiators of tree nurseries, plowing, carpentry and weaving.⁴

¹Legislative Council quoted in J. Cameron and W. A. Dodd, Society, Schools, and Progress in Tanzania (Oxford: Pergamon Press Limited, 1970), p. 69.

²A. W. M. Griffith (District Officer), "The Primitive Native Educational System, Bukoba District," Tanganyika Education Report, 1930, cited in Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 478.

³Ibid., p. 479.

⁴Tanganyika Annual Report, 1923 #2 (London, 1924) cited in Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 479.

Government "Tribal Schools" -
The Search for a Separate Alternative

Possibly unique in colonial educational experience was the extent to which some educators in Tanganyika deemed it necessary for the psychological well being of the pupils that the traditional structures and values of the tribal society be preserved. The rapid population growth in the trading and mining centers gave rise to fears that newly migrant Africans would become "detrribalized" away from their traditional environments. Detribalization was thought to be associated with a breakdown of the "sanctions of tradition and belief on which the social order rests."¹ Morally unstable, detribalized Africans were thought free to rob, lie, cheat, generally become a social nuisance and ultimately a political danger. Pure literary education was seen as an influence causing Africans to reject traditional norms, to superficially adopt the white man's values without proper experience, and to migrate to towns without sufficient economic knowledge or skills to profitably support themselves.

For Rivers-Smith, Isherwood, Mumford and other directors of native education, the Tanganyikan primary schools were viewed at the same time as both the most important influence in perpetuating the trend toward detribalization, and the principal hope for its reversal. Going beyond the common converted curricula which emphasized agriculture, manual labor and practical

¹Robert Caldwell, quoted in Trevor Coombe, "Origins of Secondary Education in Zambia: Part One, Policy Making in the 1930's" Bulletin of the Institute for African Social Research, University of Zambia (June, 1967), p. 189-90.

skills was the feeling that the curriculum should also be designed to help develop a proud and stable African "personality." It was argued that the pupil needed pride and tradition. Courses on traditional beliefs were instituted, and it was hoped that through the use of traditional songs, poems, and tribal history, old feelings and values would not deteriorate with the influx of the new money economy, cash crops or even urban migration. It was hoped that the school literally could preserve the traditional society while at the same time altering its standard of living.

Robert Caldwell, a Director of Native Education in British Central Africa in 1934 once commented that the main aim should be

the advancement of the great multitude of villagers rather than the higher education of a select minority . . . the chief aim of the elementary school syllabus is to study the interests of the great majority of peasant children . . . to dispel illiteracy among the masses without bringing about a change so revolutionary as to dislocate tribal life.¹

Inauguration of Tanganyikan government tribal schools had a foundation in a philosophy that the African was not simply culturally and economically different, but was mentally and intellectually separate. Social Darwinism had helped to produce a belief in biological hereditary differences in races, differences which would never be eliminated by the introduction of a classical education based upon a system of parity with that of the mother country.

For example, C. S. F. Dundas expressed this notion in a paper entitled "The Ideal African Citizen" delivered in 1925 at an education conference in Dar es Salaam. Dundas commented that tribal traditions and customs should be

¹Ibid.

placed into the school curriculum instead of blindly importing Western education. Because of their distinctive nature and character, Dundas said that Africans should not be molded to imitate Europeans, that education should leave him in his normal environment, not uproot him; for the school must not stand in complete contrast to his accustomed life. Self respect must be preserved, he said, and a close study of tribal history must be made by educationalists to glean what is best from it.¹

The principal of the L. M. S. boys school at Mbershi explained his school's emphasis upon traditional values by saying that it is

obvious that a practical education will do for the African: he is not by nature learned . . . the essence of manhood is in being a good and efficient tribesman and not in existing independently as a "learned scholar."²

Little distinction was made between race and culture. The adaptation arguments bordered on being patronizing, racist, and culturally exclusive. Lugard, for example, who was a strong believer in the differences in racial mentality, suggested that colonial education, if it was to be successful, must take account of cultural and racial differences in the planning and administration of its schools. "The subject races," he said,

have a mentality of their own . . . today it is no longer counted absurd to doubt whether systems of government and administration, systems of education, and even systems of religion which western nations had evolved as the outcome

¹Conference of the Government and Missions Convened by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Donald Cameron, Report of the Proceedings, (Dar es Salaam, 5-12 October, 1925) cited in Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 476.

²Trevor Coombe, op. cit., p. 191.

of their own mentality are sealed pattern models . . . education must be a process of evolution based on African modes of thought, tradition, and environment and not on an attempt to substitute a European mind for an African mind.¹

W. Bryant Mumford, one of Tanganyika's most distinguished Directors of Native Education, agreed with Lugard. His criticism of a curriculum equivalent to the metropole is a clear demonstration of his belief in racial differences. "One system of colonial administration," he said,

involves the assumption of an underlying race similarity, in spite of differences of colour, between primitive and European peoples. This policy would educate them as if they were English children, and eventually introduce the British constitution and the ballot box. This system is based upon a mistaken basic assumption that culturally and from every other point of view the black, red, and white races are similar; they are not, of course, and the system does not work. In countries where it has been tried, the results have been disastrous.²

Mumford and others began to create new kinds of schools which were designed as vehicles for cultural and psychological stabilization of individual pupils. Within these new schools the traditional elites were to play a major role. In this way was authority over the younger generation to remain more stable.

New readers and specially prepared tribal history and geography books were published.³ European teachers were instructed on the important elements

¹F. D. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa, quoted in W. Bryant Mumford, "Education and the Social Adjustment of the Primitive Peoples of Africa to European Culture," Africa, II (1929), p. 141.

²Ibid., p. 144.

³W. E. Ward, "The Writing of History Textbooks for Africa," Africa, VII (April, 1934), p. 199; R. A. Fuller, The African Life Reader (four readers) (London: Ginn and Company, 1932).

of tribal culture, chiefs and traditional leaders were utilized as school planners, as instructors, and as enforcers of school discipline. Convinced by anthropological opinion such as that of Malinowski on the importance of one's cultural beliefs and the dangers of breaking the unity of a social system, educators in Tanganyika made sincere efforts to provide an educational setting which would stimulate rural living standards but maintain the traditional value structure.

The government hoped that the tribal school could successfully emphasize what was positive among the traditional African values and de-emphasize what was negative. Efforts were made, for example, to emphasize the kin, clan and age grade obligations and de-emphasize superstitions, dangerous initiation rites and old unhygienic practices. "Education," according to the 1925 White Paper,

should strengthen the feeling of responsibility to the tribal community and, at the same time, should strengthen will power; should make the conscience sensitive to both moral and intellectual truth and should impart some power of discriminating between good and evil, reality and superstition. Since contact with civilization and even education itself must necessarily tend to weaken tribal authority and the sanctions of existing beliefs, and in the view of the all prevailing belief in the supernatural which affects the whole life of the African, it is essential that what is good in the old beliefs and sanctions be strengthened and what is defective should be replaced.¹

Government tribal schools were established at Bukoba, Tabora, Iringa, Kizingo, Malangali, and Moshi. At the Bukoba school, pupils followed an agricultural curriculum based upon "modern" methods and individualized research. The school was a copy of the local tribal organization. Boys were

¹White Paper: A Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, 2374, (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1924), p. 4 and quoted in A. Mahew, "A Comparative Survey of Educational Aims and Methods in British India and British Tropical Africa," Africa, VI, p. 176-7.

divided into blood lines and selected for "model sultans and chiefs"; they ran their own courts and emphasized the memorization of traditional moral and legal customs. Bukoba was operated and staffed by Europeans with strong advice from local informants.

The Kizigo and Tabora experiments were schools for the sons of local chiefs who were to be trained in the principles of "native administration." Each of the schools was founded and administered by "local officials chiefs and headmen selected by the local tribal societies and approved by the local (government) district officers. The Kizigo and Tabora schools were administered by a representative of the six sultanates of the local province and rotated on a monthly basis. Tuition was charged for the first year only. In the second and subsequent years the pupils were to be self-supporting through the growth of subsistence and cash crops and the tending of small herds of cattle. The school year was divided into one nine-month term so as to avoid the necessity of making long treks home more than twice a year. The pupils lived in dormitories modeled after the British "house" system, but designed as typical African huts and arranged in three typical African villages.

The school at Iringa was co-educational and governed by a native board of directors who were selected for their age and respect more than their administrative or pedagogical abilities. In the proposal for the school, Mumford suggested that care would have to be taken in selecting board members and that

older, influential men who remember the old traditions and the state of affairs before the interference of the white men would be preferable to younger men who possibly might have more alert brains, but who may be prejudiced in favor of newfangled ideas rather than those of traditional value.¹

The boys at Iringa studied agriculture, animal husbandry, special vocational trades, simple politics and ideas about justice and government. Girls studied hygiene, sanitation, cooking, child welfare, nursing, first aid, horticulture and information on foodstuffs and flowers. Both the boys and the girls studied reading, writing, arithmetic, some English, history and tribal traditions, the social and economic obligations of an individual to his tribe and the development of social obligations of the tribe to the government. The school was not to introduce anything, according to Mumford, "which was so far ahead of present usage, or so elaborate, that it will not become a possible element in native life within one generation."²

At each of the tribal schools the question arose as to what clothes the pupils should wear. Lugard once mentioned that as far as possible, "schools should be conducted in accordance with native customs in matters of dress and etiquette, in order that the pupils may not become denationalized."³ Mumford concurred and said that

¹W. B. Mumford, op. cit., p. 153.

²Ibid.

³F. D. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa, loc. cit., p. 139.

if the Native wears European clothes he tends definitely to associate himself with European civilization; the result is, too often, a pathetic caricature of a European and inside the clothes there is that semi-Europeanized native that everyone agrees is a product to be avoided.

The problem, of course, lay in the fact that the "traditional dress" for many of the peoples in Tanganyika had been no more than a scanty loin-cloth draped over front and rear strategic areas of the torso. Few Europeans, regardless of how dedicated to tribal education, were willing to sanction that degree of realism. Consequently, the pupils at the Malangali and other schools were asked to wear a "myororo" (maxi-loin cloth) as a school uniform. Although the myororo was previously unknown in many areas of the interior, to Mumford it was thought of as a traditional dress because it compelled "a certain attitude of mind, of grace and dignity which is of distinct educational value."²

Pupils at Malangali were divided into groups of three. Each group was guided, instructed and disciplined by an elder who had escorted them from the village. The pupils took twice weekly courses in spear throwing and tribal dancing. Curriculum was divided into twelve hours per week of cattle and dairy work, twelve of "practical" agriculture, six to eight of tribal instruction and evening talks, and twenty of classroom instruction including three years of Swahili and four of simple English. For vocational apprentices there were only seventeen hours of classroom work and twenty hours of practical shopwork.³ A school almost identical to the Malangali

¹W. B. Mumford, op. cit., p. 153.

²Ibid.

³W. B. Mumford, "Malangali School," Africa, III (July, 1930) p. 265.

experiment was begun at Omu in the Ilorin Province of Nigeria during the same time.¹

The government school at Moshi was essentially a mixture between Tabora and Malangali. Besides academic work, the boys studied hygiene, handwork, agriculture, carpentry, metalwork, masonry, and tailoring. According to Furley and Watson, the boys were divided into tribes and

had to clean their own quarters, wash their clothes, and fetch firewood. A 'school court' or prefects sat twice a week. In 1926, new buildings were built largely by the industrial apprentices themselves; the buildings took the form of two village compounds, with clusters of huts for the boys to live in.²

According to the director, the school was

an experiment which we decided to try as being more in keeping with African life and mentality than are school dormitories . . . We have tried to make the conditions of their school life as little different from their home life as it is humanly possible to do.³

Post War Developments

What seems cyclical about educational liturgy in Tanganyika is the periodic emphasis, latency, and re-emphasis of adaptationist arguments. During the war years the state tribal schools were either closed or became

¹J. D. Clark, Omu: An African Experiment in Education, (London: Longmans Publishers, 1937).

²Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 484.

³Director of Moshi School, Tanganyika Annual Report 1926, #25, (London: 1927) quoted in Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 484.

less adamant about the non-bookish side of the curriculum. After the war, however, a resurgence of educationalist opinions drifted again toward the overtly "practical."

"Education for Africans," says the Binns Report of 1952, "should be based upon their own environment and own way of life and prepare them to live well in their own country and it should have an agricultural bias."¹

Accordingly, syllabi in all schools were revised (again) to insure that pupils were exposed to minimum agricultural and other adaptationist time blocs. The 1953 syllabus dictated that each school have at least one hour per day of manual work and one of four biases - - agriculture, animal husbandry, commerce, or homecraft. "It is obligatory," the syllabus said,

that every primary school should have a sufficient farm . . . The purpose of this farm is educational, that is to show the pupils the practices of good farming and to accustom them to follow these practices.²

A syllabus of 1955 insisted that the curriculum should be "inspired by a practical and lively approach related to the environment from which the pupils were drawn and that in which they were likely to spend their future lives."³

¹Report of the East and Central Africa Study Group, 1952, cited in Betty George, Education for Africans in Tanganyika: A Preliminary Survey, (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 36.

²Muhtasare ya Mafundisho Kwa Schule za Primary za Waafrika, (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1953) quoted in Cameron and Dodd, op. cit. p. 109.

³Tanganyika, Department of Education, Provisional Syllabus of Instruction for Secondary Schools, (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1955), p. iii, cited in George, op. cit., p. 36.

African Reaction - The Politics
of Adaptationist Curriculum Goals

Reaction to adaptationist arguments might be divided between traditional and non-traditional elite actors. Traditional ethnic elites appear to have approved of the Jeanes institutions and the tribal curricula. Besides their role in the government tribal schools, chiefs and elders were often consulted in the foundation of the forty-one Native Authority schools operating in 1938.¹ They often held important positions in administration and in choosing curriculum. By educating children to follow the policies of the traditional authorities, they stood to gain a continuing deference which they felt they would lose due to the increasingly important economic and demographic changes. By teaching primary school children traditional values, folk songs and rural vocational skills, traditional authorities felt they would gain community modernization without radically changing community social structure.

Other Africans felt differently. It was common to feel that the teaching of traditional values was an effort to reindulcate loyalties which had already changed beyond reversal. Common also was the opinion that the efforts to teach vocational and agricultural skills were not as remunerative as the learning of literary skills which more often yielded salaried employment.

Most importantly, it was common for Africans other than traditional elites to feel that an effort to "adapt" educational curriculum to "local needs" was an effort to provide inferior education. It was seen as an effort to keep African children from becoming too knowledgeable, an effort to localize learning and therefore hinder advancement.

¹Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 478.

The effort to teach traditional cultural values was suspected by some as an attempt to insure cultural divisions within a subjugated population. Emphasis upon traditional values and the vernacular language was thought to serve three divisive functions. It perennially divided Africans along ethnic lines, it tended to entrench the traditional authorities who were the most deferential to the colonial regime, and it prevented meaningful political dialogue and socio-economic competition between Africans and Europeans on the job market.

Contrary to a popular belief that Africans accepted all education equally, are many instances of strong objections to content which was supposed to be adapted to "local needs." In the Tanganyika Report of 1936, for example, a parent of a primary school child is described as entering one of the Jeanes teacher's classrooms, throwing the clay and paper models which had been made by his son on the floor and saying "the boy has come to school to learn to read and write and not to play stupid games . . ." ¹ A Jeanes teacher is quoted by Terence Ranger as once saying

Why do you teach our children only to use the Native
axe and knife and prevent us from using saws and hammers?
Why do you not want us to climb the ladder of civilization?
Is it wrong for our children to want to have chairs and
beds and be like the European? ²

Contrary also to the continual educationalist assertion that primary school leavers preferred "bookish" or "literary" learning for irrational

¹W.B. Mumford and N. N. Parker, "Education in British Dependencies: A Review of the Annual Reports on Native Education in Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Uganda, Gold Coast, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone," Journal of the Royal African Society, XXXVI (1937), p. 28-9.

²Terence Ranger, "African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa 1900-1939," Past and Present, 32 (December, 1965), p. 65.

prestige reasons is the evidence that in fact, preferences were developed from a relatively accurate perception of the labor market. In the late 1920's, for example, there was considerable demand for industrial skills which led to student preference of the industrial over the clerical orientations. The need for carpenters, tailors, and masons was very high and the numbers attending industrial classes outstripped those in English and literary classes. As soon as the labor market changed, however, and the demand for skilled craftsmen diminished, preferences rationally shifted to the next most promising return for training, i.e., academic or "literary" classes.¹

As a response to an unwelcome curriculum encouraged by government officials, organized efforts were made by Africans to control their own schools separate from the traditional authorities. Especially vociferous were the Africans who had previously received a literary education and wanted the same for their children. A voters' association urged Africans in 1923 to become as "clever" as the white man. It argued against primary education in the vernacular because the requirement to vote required literacy in the English language.² "People can say what they like," said the president of the Tanganyikan Civil Servants Association in 1924,

but to the African mind to imitate Europeans is civilisation. I cannot explain the reason why, but there it is. And I believe, as far as my little knowledge of history goes, there is no colony in the British Empire where they have convinced their subjects otherwise.³

¹Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 480.

²Ranger, op. cit., p. 69.

³Ibid.

The Reverend N. Sithole, a jailed leader of a banned political party in Central Africa, gives an interesting view of primary education as he perceived it as a young boy. It is quite representative. He says that

To us, education meant reading books, writing and talking English and doing arithmetic . . . at our homes we had done a lot of ploughing, planting, weeding, and harvesting . . . We knew how to do these things. What we knew was not education . . . Education was what we did not know. We wanted, as we said in Ndebele, 'to learn the book until it remained in our heads, to speak English until we could speak it through our noses . . .'

"Regardless of the efforts to educate in the vernacular," said M. J. White, a Methodist missionary at Bukoba, "Africans were determined to acquire English whether schools taught it or not. They would get it from another source if denied it by government and missions."²

It is not unfair to say that serious attempts were made in Tanganyika to instill education which would fit African "needs," but not African felt wants. Contrary to the functions of most schools, the adaptationist goals were to lead the pupil neither "up" nor "away."

"The criticism made by Africans," said Cameron and Dodd,

was that the education provided was insufficiently academic and that too much school time was being spent in the farm and workshop. The pupils were being given an inferior kind of education which fitted them just for that - - the farm or the workshop.³

¹N. Sithole, African Nationalism, (Capetown: 1959), quoted in Ibid., p. 69.

²Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 477.

³Cameron and Dodd, op. cit., p. 124.

Organized political efforts by voluntary associations and the Tanganyikan African National Union included vociferous demands that the colonial government quickly provide equivalent curricula "standards" to the metropole and that the occupationally inferior "adapted" educational approach be curtailed in the interests of social and political equality. "By 1960," according to Cameron and Dodd;

mounting criticism on these lines forced the government to abandon handwork in middle schools and retreat from its previously held convictions about the place of agriculture in primary education. There was little criticism of the content of secondary education because all interest in agriculture and handwork had long disappeared from secondary schools.

Tanzania might be viewed as a prime example of the colonial area. There were constant efforts from missionary, government and even traditional authorities to "adapt" the schools to "local needs." In each attempt, however, the effort was to become a misreading of "local needs" and what is more important, potentially inflammable to the school consumer.

¹Ibid.

CHAPTER IV. SOCIETAL PROBLEMS:
BACKGROUND TO THE ADAPTATIONIST LITURGIES

Common to all adaptation arguments is the call for a school curriculum which would aid in solving the complex problems of the society at large. It is impossible to understand this point of view without a short look at the problems with which they are most concerned. This section will briefly discuss a few of the most pressing problems outside of the school system.

Urban Migration

Although no African country has, as yet, more than twenty per cent of its total population living in urban areas,¹ the net loss of the urban migrants from the rural sector has been seen as partially responsible for the large imbalances in economic development between the two sectors.

Central to adaptationist assumptions is the belief that school leavers who have been influenced by this school with an unadapted curriculum tend to be the most likely to migrate. These young people have inflated hopes of employment and false standards of the kind of employment they would like. Over-migration to urban areas might be referred to as urbanization associated with an unacceptable degree of unemployment. By this definition, most African urban areas are today overpopulated.

This "over migration" is viewed as a waste of human capital. It is argued that African migrants have the ability, through the use of

¹L. Gray Cowan, Dilemmas of African Independence, (New York, Walter and Company, 1968), p. 109.

kin obligation, to live off the charity of a relative for long periods of time. During this time they do little or no productive work and add little or nothing to the national economy at an age when they are potentially the most productive. For cultural reasons, then, Africans are not subject to the same intensity of push-pull factors which in other areas limits over-migration to urban areas.

The above assumptions are empirically questionable and will be discussed in section VI on "Empirical Concerns." One assumption with regard to the demographic characteristics of the African migrant is correct. Since there are only a few "direct measurement"¹ studies, most of the data has to be extracted from secondary sources on resident populations over time. By looking at urban statistics, it can be seen that the majority of migrants must be between eighteen and twenty-five and have undergone some primary school experience before leaving the rural areas.

In Zambia, for example, the 1963 census shows that of all the Africans in urban areas, sixteen per cent had left school the term before. This compares with a figure of eleven per cent in the rural areas even though rural areas had proportionally more children of school age.²

In a study of migrants done by C. N. Ejiougu in Lagos, it was found that the migrants all seemed to have more educational experiences

¹ Donald J. Bogue, "Internal Migration," in The Study of Population, ed. by P. M. Hauser and O. D. Duncan (Chicago, University of Chicago Press), p. 486.

² Northern Rhodesian Government, Preliminary Report of the May/June, 1963 Census of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia, (Lusaka, Ministry of Finance, 1964) appendix A.

than the population of rural areas. Though the average attendance at primary schools in Nigeria is about fifty per cent of a given age cohort, ninety-three per cent of the migrants between fifteen and twenty-four had primary exposure. Even the older migrants had above average exposure rates. Seventy-two per cent of those over forty-four had attended a primary school.¹

Migrants tend to be young. With the migrants registered to find work at the Freetown labor exchange, eighty-five per cent were under thirty, twenty-six per cent were under twenty. In Tema, P. C. Lloyd reports that fifty-seven per cent of the population were between fifteen and forty-four, though the Ghanaian national mean in this category was only forty-three per cent.²

From the scattered but consistent evidence, it can be seen that migrants tend to be young and in disproportional possession of some amount of education. They tend also to be males. In Accra, Sekondi and Takoradi, the percentage of women between ages twenty-five and forty-four was found to be only sixty-six per cent of the number of men in the same age group. In Lagos, male migrants from Western Nigeria outnumbered the female in one survey by two to one, from Eastern Nigeria by three to one.³ A mine labor town such as Johannesburg may tend to have the most unbalanced ratio where women make up only seventeen per cent of the total African

¹C. N. Ejiogu, "African Rural-Urban Migrants in the Main Migrant Areas of the Lagos Federal Territory," in The Population of Tropical Africa, ed. by John C. Caldwell and Chukuka Okonje (New York, Columbia U. Press, 1968) P.327

²P. C. Lloyd, Africa in Social Change (Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1967) p. 123.

³Ibid.

population. But more stable, commercial towns such as Kinshasa or Lusaka tend to influence the ratio by their stability and diversity of occupational structure. The female population of Kinshasa, for example, amounts to approximately forty-six per cent.¹

With these characteristics in mind, an adaptationist argument would state that this out-migration has detrimental effects on the availability of young, talented, working-age rural males. When manpower is withdrawn, regardless of its marginal productivity, new manpower or womanpower or child-power has to replace the labor gap left by its absence.

Some areas suffer more than others. Among the Nyanja of Malawi or the Bemba of Zambia, the villages are often left with only the young boys and the very old men. Women must do the work of men plus their usual tasks. Men often stay away from their families a long time and twenty years is not at all uncommon. Many men will take second wives in the urban areas and cut off benefits to their rural relatives.

Because the young and the strong are away in large numbers, public works are more difficult to maintain in good repair. Often heavy construction which needs total male participation has to be delayed or disregarded. Also felt is the lack of trained manpower due to the departure of the most educated from the rural sector.

Corresponding to the negative effects of rural out-migration are the urban problems of both open and disguised unemployment. Though there has been a relatively large amount of industrial growth in Africa, there

¹T. E. Smith and J. G. C. Blacker, Population Characteristics of the Commonwealth Countries of Tropical Africa, (London, Athlone Press, 1963), p. 22.

are increasingly more urban migrants than there are salaried jobs to offer them. An important reason why migrants to towns have increased in disproportionate amounts has been due to the increase since the 1950's in the size of the primary educated - - the most likely group to migrate.

Table I illustrates the increase of primary school enrollments within the decade preceding independence. In two years, for example, Togo boosted its primary enrollment by nineteen per cent, Northern Rhodesia by sixteen per cent, Liberia by twenty-six per cent and Uganda by thirty-five per cent. The data indicate that places in primary school were greatly expanded at the time directly before independence, at a time when hopes of high salaries, new jobs, and economic growth were dominant.

The Organization of African Unity meeting of 1960¹ might have exacerbated the magnitude of the unemployed school leaver problem. The conference set a continental goal of universal primary education by 1980. The primary school leaver, they argued, would either be absorbed into what they assumed would be an expanding economy or would proceed to one of the newly created post-primary school facilities.

Though secondary school places have increased at a rapid pace, the increasing rate of population growth has usually made it impossible to absorb an increasing percentage of the primary school leavers. In fact, in Malawi, although the number of secondary school places has expanded from 343 in 1955 to 2,400 in 1966, the percentage of those

¹UNESCO, Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, Final Report, (Paris, UNESCO, 1962) Annex IV.

TABLE 1

Percentage Increase in Primary School Enrollment
In Various Countries in Africa
Within the Decade Prior to Independence¹

Country	Period	Per Cent Increase
Cameroun	1955-1958	36.1
Congo (B)	1955-1958	38.2
Congo (K)	1955-1956 & 1957-1958	35.1
Ivory Coast	1955-1958	11.9
Dahomey	1955-1958	37.6
Gabon	1955-1958	38.1
Gambia	1956-1958	16.3
Ghana	1956-1958	5.4
Liberia	1956-1959	26.0
Nigeria	1954-1957	48.0
Senegal	1955-1958	44.0
Sierra Leone	1956-1958	23.7
Sudan	1956-1958	19.4
Togo	1957-1959	19.2
Upper Volta	1957-1959	29.0
Ethiopia	1956-1957 & 1958-1959	16.4
Kenya	1956-1958	33.9
Madagascar	1957-1959	17.7
Northern Rhodesia	1956-1958	16.4
Nyasaland	1956-1958	4.1
Somalia	1954-1955 & 1957-1958	50.3
Tanganyika	1956-1958	9.4
Uganda	1954-1957	35.5

¹Robert Dottrens, "The Primary School Curriculum," In United Nations Education, Science & Cultural Organization (hereafter called UNESCO) Monographs On Education, 2 (Paris, UNESCO, 1962), p. 50.

receiving their primary school leaving certificates; and thus having the opportunity to continue in secondary school has dropped from twenty-eight per cent in 1955¹ to ten per cent in 1966.²

The Ugandan system shows the same features. If Uganda achieves its goal of universal primary education, only six or seven per cent of the twelve to thirteen olds will find places in secondary schools. Yet if enrollment is held at fifty per cent of a given age cohort, between twelve and fourteen per cent could continue to secondary schools.³

Table 2 illustrates the educational future of an eight year old Tanzanian boy in 1961. Although thirty-two per cent of the age cohort were able to experience four years of schooling and eighteen per cent were exposed to seven years, there were only enough places for two per cent who wished to enter secondary school in 1969. And these figures were taken after an unprecedented increase in the number of places available in Tanzanian secondary schools.

¹J. F. V. Phillips, Committee of Inquiry Into African Education (Zomba, Government Printer, 1962), p. 66.

²Malawi Government, Compendium of Statistics for Malawi (Zomba, Government Printer, 1966), p. 9 & p. 39.

³Susan Elkan, "Primary School Leavers in Uganda," Comparative Education Review, IV (October, 1960), p. 108, J.D. Chesswas, Educational Planning and Development in Uganda, (Paris, UNESCO Institute for Development Planning, 1966), p. 19.

Table 2

Education Available to the Tanzanian Age Cohort of 1961/1962¹

	Numbers in 000's	Per Cent
Did not enter school	117	46.8
Exposed to four years schooling	81	32.4
Exposed to seven years schooling	45	18.0
Entered secondary school (1969)	7	2.0
Total in age cohort	250	100.0

Traditionally thought of as a pyramid, the African educational system perhaps, is better viewed as a ziggurat; and it will remain so even if the highly optimistic goals of the 1960 Addis Ababa conference are met.²

Urban Unemployment

Because of the percentage increase of the age cohort in primary schools, the same certificate is worth less. Educational devaluation has meant that jobs which were once open for primary school graduates are now, because of the larger supply, limited to secondary students. Susan Elkin has mentioned that:

¹Guy Hunter, "Manpower, Employment and Educational Needs in the Traditional Sector, With Special Reference to East Africa," in UNESCO, Manpower Aspects of Educational Planning (Paris, UNESCO, 1968), p. 15.

²Karl W. Bigelow, "Problems and Prospects of Education in Africa," in Education and Foreign Aid, ed. by Karl W. Bigelow and Philip H. Coombs, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 48.

The idea that a boy could get a good (i.e., clerical) job with just a primary V or VI education was widespread because their fathers had done it before them when schooling was much more scarce, now the qualifications have risen.¹

Table 3 illustrates the fact that in Tanzania, 250,000 young men enter the labor force yearly, in competition for only 23,000 open jobs and 6,000 places in schools. In Kenya, 150,000 school leavers compete annually for only 35-40,000 new jobs in the economy, even with one of Africa's fastest growing industrial sectors.

Table 3

Annual Creation of Unemployment
In the Wage Sectors of Kenya and Tanzania

	Tanzania ²	Kenya ³
Annual number of new job seekers	250,000	150,000
Annual number of new jobs*	23,000**	35-40,000**
Annual increase in unemployment	221,000	95-111,000

* Including annually vacated jobs

**Plus 6,000 secondary school places

*** Plus 15,000 secondary school places

¹Susan Elkan, op. cit., p. 108.

²Guy Hunter, op. cit., p. 166.

³Ibid., p. 168.

Annually, approximately 100,000 are added to Kenya's unemployment rolls. Only one-fourth of the men who are presently unemployed will find a job within the next ten years.

In Accra in 1961, there were over 31,000 unemployed people, equal to approximately ten per cent of the population. The majority of the unemployed have been estimated to have been Middle School leavers.¹ In Ibadan, twenty-eight per cent of the total male labor force has been estimated as unemployed. Seventy-nine per cent were labeled as school leavers.² In Zambia, the urban unemployed was listed as 20,000 in the census of 1963 although a further 27,680 urban males between seventeen and forty-five stated that they were unemployed but had given up seeking employment.³ Estimated unemployed in the cities of Kinshasa, Brazzaville, Lagos, Nairobi, Abidjan and Dar es Salaam range between ten and twenty per cent of the total population at any given time.⁴

The life of many urban migrants seeking employment is a life of the streets. Often they have to leave early in the morning and come home late at night so they can get to employment offices early and so that they will disturb their relatives very little, disrupt their home life a little less and consequently be allowed to stay in the home all the longer.

¹ Philip J. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana, (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 202.

² Archibald Callaway, "Unemployment Among African School Leavers In An African City," in UNESCO, Manpower Aspects of Educational Planning, op. cit. p. 131.

³ Northern Rhodesian Government, op. cit., p. 12.

⁴ Peter Gutkind, African Responses to Urban Wage Employment," International Labour Review, 97 (February, 1968), p. 135.

Unemployed often go without fish or meat for days. Life consists of making the rounds of the possible places of employment, making inquiries, filling out applications and requests for interviews, waiting in lines, bribing clerks, waiting for a lucky chance.¹ The experience has been described by one of the applicants and is quoted by Anthony Kirk-Green from his experience in Northern Nigeria.

It is a common sight to see hundreds of these secondary school leavers, primary school leavers, technicians and clerks sitting or standing by the walls of the Public Service Commission offices. Others move from ministries to ministries, from firms to firms, often returning to their lodging places late in the afternoon unsuccessful . . . These jobless days are often critical to the applicants. They eat the worst type of food which the city can spare, sleep in the worst rooms which are in most cases bedless; they wear torn clothes, move along the streets and by offices with pale and hungry faces.²

Because the unemployed are able to live off relatives, they are able to remain in the urban areas for a longer time than would otherwise be possible. Archibald Callaway found in Ibadan that thirteen per cent of the unemployed school leavers he interviewed had been unemployed for more than three years, twenty-six per cent between two and three years and twenty-one per cent between one and two years.³ Of the total, fifty-eight per cent had never been employed once. This would not have been possible without family subsidy.

That there is a serious problem of disguised unemployment is illustrated by some of the data from Lagos where £ 192 per year was the

¹Cyprian Ekwensi, People of the City, (London, Heinemann Publishers, 1963).

²Anthony Kirk-Green, "Profession: Applicant," Corona, (May, 1962), p. 177-182.

³Archibald Callaway, op. cit., p. 131.

minimum wage that government believed was necessary for keeping a family of three above the poverty datum line. Yet this was about double the existing wage scale for those lucky enough to find a job.¹ An unskilled day laborer will earn about £ 100 per year, a primary school teacher will earn £ 120.² One should . . .

take a look at the single young people who predominate among migrants to the urban area. They lack ties with the local society. They are likely to show a pallor from too little sleep, under too poor conditions, after too hard work at too low pay. They walk the streets silently, doing anything to escape the cramped quarters they must face as lodgers in other people's modest living areas. They range in experience from the naive, wondering new arrivals to those with a pseudo-sophisticated air of "old-timers" who arrived a few months earlier. They have reached the urban area from countless points of origin after having paid their pittance of tribute for a bone-shaking ride on a produce truck. We see them endlessly walking, walking, walking, or squatting in a corner nibbling on their spare portions of daily fare. They scramble on and off the ubiquitous "mammy wagons" of West Africa in a fretful sleep returning from the urban market.³

It is evident that the unemployed are poor. It is also evident that as the unemployment increases, as towns swell in size, the crime rate will increase at a speed which is consistent with what one would expect of a poor, highly motivated and mobile population of young males. In Tanzania, for example, crimes "against the public order" increased from 246 to 546

¹P. C. Lloyd, op. cit., p.123.

²Ibid., p. 104.

³Wilbert E. Moore and Neil J. Smelser, eds., Urbanization In Newly Developing Countries (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 74.

between 1963 and 1964. Thefts rose from 28,984 to 31,376 and robbery and extortion from 562 to 850.¹

Adaptationist arguments hinge upon an image of masses of these over-expectant, literate, unemployed male youths. "It is obvious," remarked the representative of the Congo (Brazzaville) to a symposium on unemployed youth in 1962, "that the unemployed youth who needs money to enjoy the advantages that a town has to offer is tempted to stray from the straight and narrow path and to obtain money by stealing that he can't obtain by working."²

The Minister for Transport and Works in Zambia gave a similar explanation in speaking to a conference on the rural exodus of youth in 1965.

Every year sees a steady increase in our town populations and a growing number of young adventurers who have decided to leave their villages and seek their fortunes in the towns. Unhappily, many suffer from disillusionment and are unable to find work, shelter, or even food, and in consequence, there is a growing number of young people in the urban centers who have to live on their wits, by anti-social conduct - - for example crime and prostitution - - or on the charity of friends and relatives.³

Besides constituting a potential political and criminal danger, the unemployed population tends to keep the wages of the employed sector down and to retard rises in the general standard of living. When employed, or even marginally employed, migrants bring their wives and children, thereby

¹Allison B. Herrick, Sidney A. Harrison, Howard J. John, Susan MacKnight and Barbara Skapa, Area Handbook for Tanzania (Washington, D. C., United States Printing Office, 1968), p. 441.

²Inter African Labour Institute, op. cit.

³H.D. Banda, "Social Effects of Rural-Urban Migration," in World Assembly of Youth, Rural Exodus of Youth: Report of the African Regional Seminar Organized by the World Assembly of Youth, Mulungushi, Zambia, April-May, 1965, (Belgium, World Assembly of Youth Publication Center), p. 8.

putting demands on the civil authorities for housing, water, sanitation, light and other services which they cannot adequately meet. Slums are not desired by any government; but slums are abhorred in Africa where the hope for building a just and successful social order is quite new. The urban situation is viewed by most African governments as being critical to their development efforts, their most pressing problem. Though the urban population is less than twenty per cent of the total, a decrease in the number of new migrants is being thought of as the sine qua non of economic and political survival.

Problems of the Rural Areas and the Importance of Agricultural Productivity

At the opening of the independence decade, it was common to argue that if education were increased, per capita industrial and agricultural yields would follow. Close correlations between universal literacy and economic development in the west was mistaken for causation of the latter by the former.

Today, few would argue this point with the same degree of confidence. Primary school attendance has increased until it now amounts to an average of about fifty per cent of an average cohort. Yet per capita agricultural yields have not risen accordingly.

Most African farmers depend upon the hoe; only in a few areas has a draft animal been introduced.¹ Most of Africa is plagued by soil which has either leached by incessant rains or baked by unsheltered sun until its nutrients are half or one-quarter what they should be to compare to

¹L. Dudley Stamp, Africa: A Study in Tropical Development, (New York, John Wiley and Sons Incorporated, 1964), p. 92.

Western European soil. Africa's farmers are hindered by insects and rodents in large quantities. Possibly a third of the maize crop of Malawi and Zambia is lost every year after it is picked, as a result of unprotective storing in the traditional "nkokwes."

Efforts to change the methods of traditional farmers have suffered because of a lack of ready-made formulae for successful crop production. There is yet no wonder rice or super wheat developed in Africa as there has been for the Philippines and India. Tanzania is attempting a "revolution in the traditional sector" while operating with a ratio of one agricultural extension agent for every 3,000 farmers. And where the soils are rich, such as in the highlands of Kenya, Uganda, the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania or the Cholo region of Malawi, either the land has been divided into large estates or the continuing presence of African farmers has produced maximum land densities.

It is difficult to achieve higher crop yields where good soil is available without the ability to increase acreage as well. Most of coastal West Africa and the eastern and central highlands are characterized by land densities between 50-250 persons per square mile, compared with the all-African average of 21.¹

Rural areas suffer also from a net population increase of almost three per cent per year. Without corresponding increases in agricultural yield, especially in protein high vegetables and meats, many children become malnourished, diseased with parasites, and function as adults at only a fraction of their potential capabilities.

For those who wish to earn an income, the future does not seem to lie in agriculture. Table 4 illustrates the differences in earned income

¹ Ibid., p. 130.

between the salaried and the non-salaried sectors of the Tanzanian economy in 1965. Though averages such as these are always to be viewed with suspicion, there is an undeniable gap between the expected wage earnings and the expected earnings in the agricultural sector.

Table 4
Per Cent Increase Over Farm Income
 and
Average Income Per Week of a Head of Household*¹

	Shillings/week	Per Cent Increase Over Farm Y**
Farm Family	8.25	- - -
Farm Family with Additional Income	38.16	325%
Non-Farm Family Income	55.06	588%

* Measured in 1965 Tanzanian shillings.

**Y = income

These are the problems, then, which cause African planners, academicians and bureaucrats the most concern. As in other areas of the world when societal problems are of deep concern, the schools are among the first institutions to be saddled with meliorist responsibilities. Attention is now turned to the Tanzanian experience where the educational liturgies have acquired a new symbolic importance.

¹ Guy Hunter, "Education in The New Africa," African Affairs, 66 (April, 1967) p. 173.

CHAPTER V. PRESENT DAY TANZANIA LITURGIES

Introduction

I think that the educational institutions which the Colonial Powers gave to Africa are likely to inhibit economic and social progress so severely as to endanger the future of liberal regimes in that continent. . . a swift and drastic reform of education is Africa's greatest need. . .

Education, far from becoming a spearhead of agricultural renaissance, develops into the greatest enemy of rural progress. . .to generalize this education on the European model, far from aiding African development, would cripple it.

Education must become a centre not merely of a drive for literacy but of a drive for better techniques of raising crops, of choosing and preparing foods and eventually even for the establishing of rural industry, processing the crops grown. The school must become a centre for community development. . .it must take the leadership in a social modern life. . .There is no need for teaching complicated things. . .¹

Tanzania might be considered to have "symbolic" importance in the present African context. Although centralized into a one-party state, the democratically humane personality of the president pervades the party, the state bureaucracy, and the nation's ideology. Refusing to be selected as a life president, willing to admit error, consistently conceding overwhelming problems and miniscule accomplishments, enforcing pronouncements of personal austerity, acting politically moral and yet neutral in the cold war, Nyerere and his Tanzania give a somewhat unique impression of being a poverty-stricken nation which is willing to be honest with itself. Experi-

¹Thomas Balogh, "Misconceived Educational Programs in Africa," Universities Quarterly, 16 (June, 1962), p. 343-7.

mentation is taken seriously. Unlike some socialist countries, agrarian reform implementation makes earnest nods to voluntary support of the peasants, local control and internal criticism. Commonly modeled as a one-party democracy,¹ Tanzania has fostered the adoration of liberal academicians; the "Tanzanophile" must be taken seriously as a definitional label.²

Since independence the nation has been subjected to a series of political, economic and educational reforms. Because they are single-sourced and basically unidirectional, the three are not easily separable. However, for our purposes the educational arguments will be isolated for scrutiny. President Nyerere's speech Education for Self Reliance³ is by any standard the most influential educational document since perhaps the Organization of African Unity educational goals set in 1961. Important also for understanding the Tanzanian adaptation arguments are articles by A. C. Mwingira,⁴ Walter Rodney,⁵ and books by Idrian Resnick⁶ and Cameron and Dodd.⁷

¹G. Andrew Maguire, Toward "Uhuru" in Tanzania: The Politics of Participation (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969); Lionel Cliffe, ed., One Party Democracy: The 1965 Tanzania General Elections (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1967).

²G. Bennett, "Tanzania and Tanzaphilia: a Review Article," African Affairs, 67 (July, 1968), p. 248-52; Ali Mazrui, "Tanzaphilia: a Diagnosis," Transition (Kampala), 31 (June/July, 1967).

³Julius Nyerere, Education for Self Reliance (Dar es Salaam, Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1967).

⁴A. C. Mwingira, "Education for Self Reliance: The Problems of Implementation," in Education in Africa: Research and Action, ed. by Richard Jolly (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1969), p. 65-81.

⁵Walter Rodney, "Education and Tanzanian Socialism," in Tanzania: Revolution by Education, ed. by Idrian N. Resnick (Arusha: Longmans of Tanzania, 1968).

⁶Idrian N. Resnick, Ibid.

⁷J. Cameron and W. A. Dodd, Society, Schools and Progress in Tanzania, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, Limited, 1970).

Adaptation arguments in Tanzania, as elsewhere, tend to assume that people can acquire a desire for self-sacrifice, that the state is a welcome mover of values, and that these values can readily (if not easily) be acquired through adaptation of the schools and the school curriculum. Nyerere, for example, has stated that the state educational system:

. . . has to foster the social goals of living together and working together for the common good. . . inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past. . . it must emphasize cooperative endeavour not individual advancement.¹

In the Tanzanian context, there are presently five areas of concern: the value orientations of the pupils, the kind of information in the curriculum; the cost and benefits of schooling investment, the relationship of the school to traditional culture and the surrounding community, and, lastly the desired effects of specific reforms.

Value Orientations

Proponents of adaptation in the Tanzanian context argue that the school inherited from the colonial past orients pupils towards values which are dysfunctional to the "needs of the society." It is argued that schools should produce youths who are agriculturally knowledgeable, willing to work hard at the dirtiest of jobs, and to sacrifice for their nation. A functional content should produce pupils who are not swayed in a pursuit of foreign luxuries in towns but who hold a love for the domestic opportunities of rural areas.

¹Nyerere, op. cit., p. 7.

Instead of producing the kind of youths needed by society, it is argued that the school influences pupils to resist manual work. The curriculum causes pupils to use education in gaining personal status, to seek imported pleasures, to lose a desire to sacrifice for their country, and to value irrelevant and foreign knowledge. In short, the adaptation arguments can be interpreted as a major attack upon the existing function of education as a societal institution.

Adaptation arguments hold, for example, that examinations give pupils a false sense of accomplishment, an undeserved feeling that they have done more than master difficult subject matter. Exams make pupils feel "puffed up" and proud; they make pupils feel deserving of high status and special treatment in the form of scholarships, salaries and public deference. What exams really do is simply test the cognitive skills of details in the academic curriculum. They give no indication of a pupil's values, his dedication to the nation, his willingness to sacrifice, or to do manual work. Neither do exams offer a suggestion as to a pupil's ingenuity, honesty or obedience. Nyerere has said that those who pass exams

have a feeling of having deserved a prize--and the prize they and their parents now expect is high wages, comfortable employment in towns and personal status in the society. . . And the examinations our children at present sit are themselves geared to an international standard and practice which has developed regardless of our particular problems and needs.¹

It is thought that the primary school is the ideal location for induced formation of values. The children are young, impressionable and eager to learn from their teachers; they are also more manipulatable than at other stages. Little serious question is raised as to the empirical evidence which would support the argument that the school itself can determine attitudes.

¹Ibid., p. 9 & 16.

The argument holds that with no other governmental agency is it possible to reach so many people for such an extended period of time. Agriculture or health extension branches using posters, radio, or sound trucks in the rural areas reach only a small portion of a heterogeneous population for a short time. In a primary school, the government has an opportunity of exposing up to eighty-five or ninety per cent of an entire age cohort to the desired social goals for a period of up to eight years. In no other arena could a government hope for such an audience.

In reaction, two categories of social attitudes have been selected for inculcation: political socialization and development socialization. Each is seen as functional because it is associated with positive development attitudes. By "political socialization" we mean the internalization of a sense of national identity, the feeling of involvement and participation with national objectives, and a desire for self-sacrifice in the national interest at the necessary expense of motivation for private ends.

Political instruction has been called for by two methods: indoctrination and civic education. By indoctrination we mean the learning of a specific political ideology designed to rationalize and justify the existing political regime; civic education, the learning of how a good citizen participates in the political life of the nation.¹

It has been suggested that both be transferred through direct curriculum change, the designing of special classes, the re-education and subsequent influence of the teachers, the introduction of political youth league activities and the institutionalization of classroom ritual such as songs, flags, pictures, national heroes and events.² Whatever the method, the

¹James S. Coleman, Education and Political Development, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

²These techniques are typical of political socialization methods. See for example: Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1967), p. 106;

Tanzanian goals are supposed to produce a national value consensus, a generation of younger people who will have strong, positive feelings toward the state and who will look to the nation rather than the ethnic or family group as an object for self-sacrifice. As Moumouni has suggested in another context

. . . students must be adapted to concrete conditions of life and work in Black Africa. Education is not simply a matter of teaching peasants "literacy," or training political and economic cadres and technicians, but also and above all of training Africans. To work effectively they must know their country, its history, its greatness, and its weaknesses, and understand the essence of its peoples.¹

By "development socialization" we mean the inculcation of attitudes which are consistent with development plans and priorities. The three economic areas of reformist interest are in orienting children toward agriculture, building a foundation from which they can develop rural cooperative commercial enterprises, and eliminating prejudices against doing manual labor. The curriculum has been called upon to be involved with directly improving the economy. Each primary school should offer information on economic techniques, and each pupil should learn the simple principles of supply and demand, of marketing, of accounting, of figuring out short and long-run costs, and the differences between a benefit and a profit.

Every primary school should teach agriculture. Every pupil should learn new methods of planting, weeding, harvesting and the storing of crops.

Sidney Verba, Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965); G. Almond & Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969).

¹ Abdou Moumouni, Education in Africa, trans. by Phyllis Nauts Ott (New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1968), p. 118-119.

Pupils should be made familiar with different soils and seeds; they should be taught that they may be able to make as much profit in agriculture as they could in an urban salaried position and that agricultural production serves the national interest.

Every primary school should have a garden. It could be a collection of individual plots on which individuals might make a profit, a large school farm from which the school would derive a portion of its finances, or a small economically unimportant demonstration plot on which pupils and teachers could test various crops, soils, and seeds.

Information

It is argued also that the school curriculum is overly academic, bookish, and that it emphasizes information which is useless, irrelevant and inconsistent with the priorities of society. Even when the curriculum has been revised to include local examples, the orientation is not upon forming attitudes which are cognizant of the major societal problems. Pupils who study African geography are thought to spend more time studying scientific names for land formations than the importance and development of agriculture.

Although pupils study African more than European history, an adaptationist liturgy would hold that the emphasis upon what is taught does not give children an opportunity to learn any more than military or political events. "Revised history" by itself does not foster national pride. An African place name by itself does not elicit better understanding of societal problems, nor does it mean a more efficient farmer, community development worker or health assistant.

It is believed that the effect of the present curriculum is to teach the pupils a foreign mumbo-jumbo. The value of any esoteric knowledge lies in how much it is respected by the local people, and since complex western medicine, agriculture, transportation and communication all command respect, the pupil feels he is party to privileged and powerful information. His ability to describe unknowns such as a glacier, a far-away war or the area of a triangle has a status production effect simply because they are unknowns of complex origin and not because they have economic or intrinsic value. In relation to this, Nyerere has complained that pupils are taught that the only knowledge worth having has to come from books or from "educated people."¹

Economic Waste: The Costs and Benefits
of Investment in Schooling

As stated above, the arguments cannot be understood with reflection on the increasingly serious situation of unemployment.² The point is made that unemployment is exacerbated by a curriculum which is functional only for those who continue in post-primary institutions. Since the proportion of an age cohort in post-primary institutions is not likely to rise above ten per cent for as long as the planners are willing to predict, the curriculum should prepare the primary pupils for a reality they will experience, and not an advancement they will never make.

Because it is believed that the curriculum is designed for those who continue, the drop-outs are seen as having wasted their schooling. Primary

¹Nyerere, op. cit., p. 11.

²Archibald Callaway, "School Leavers and the Developing Economy of Nigeria," in The Nigerian Political Scene, ed. by Robert O. Tilman and Taylor Cole (Durham: Duke University Press, 1962); Gus Edgren, "The Employment Problem in Tropical Africa," Bulletin of the Inter-African Labour Institute, XII (May, 1965), p. 174-190

education should be designed to fit reality, and not seen as a training ground to fit international standards and definitions to be used by less than ten per cent of an age cohort. Primary education should be designed as terminal education, as education of and for the local community. The primary curriculum should be geared toward the ninety per cent, and should make resourceful, productive, localized citizens out of the majority instead of the minority.

Because education of the non-continuing pupil is perceived as a near waste, the society is seen as frittering away nearly ninety per cent of its resources spent on primary schools. The cost to society for the education of those who continue to post-primary schools increases the financial burden considerably. The concern over wastage may be illustrated by the negative returns to investment in primary education¹ and by the financial chaos stemming from insatiable popular demand for more schools.²

If educational content were to be changed so that it assumed a powerful agricultural production function, the returns from educational investment would be more worthwhile. The investment in universal primary education may often be a negative one simply because the chance of finding employment is slim and the curriculum is not a sufficient source for increasing agricultural output. The thrust of the Tanzania argument holds that in a reformed primary education lies the key to agricultural productivity and, therefore, to societal profitability in the primary school educational investment.

¹Stephen P. Heyneman, "Dysfunctional Educational Planning in Southern Nigeria" (Paper presented in the Economics of Education, University of Chicago, Winter, 1970), p. 13.

²David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case (Stanford University Press, 1969).

Relationship of the School to the Traditional Culture
And the Surrounding Community

Tanzanian adaptation arguments hold that the present school has the effect of "separating" the literate from his own environment, de-Africanizing him, and essentially assimilating him into a foreign lifestyle.

"Education," says Nyerere,

divorces its participants from the society it is supposed to be preparing them for. . . We take children from their parents at the age of seven years, and for up to seven and a half hours per day we teach them certain basic academic skills. . . the school is always separate; it is not part of the society.¹

Fault is fixed on the "elitist nature" of the selection system and the disproportionate advantage allowed for those who possess English language skill and western values. Present selection is based more upon a pupil's facility with imported ideas than it is upon a realistic assessment of ability or intelligence. Selection favors sons and daughters of elites who are influenced by their exposure to an English, imported consumer-item culture and an urban environment. As a solution, alternatives to academic ability are suggested as criteria for selection. Both teachers and pupils would be called upon to evaluate the personality and social responsibility characteristics of potential secondary or tertiary school applicants.²

Also suggested is the utilization of local leaders in the primary school community to act as teachers. Pupils could learn their agricultural skills and their historical and cultural perspectives from traditional

¹Nyerere, op. cit., p. 10.

²Nyerere, Ibid., p. 23 and A.C. Mwingira, op. cit., p. 69.

experts. School and local populations could pool resources and mutually aid one another in building roads, purchasing agricultural equipment, planning irrigation and planting certain crops. The school, it is said, should become one with the local community.

Desired Effects of Specific Reforms

The schools have been called upon to aid in the development of Tanzanian socialism. Suggestions of radical reform of pupil attitudes, content, and school activities are thought to be essential for the national socialist goals. Three social changes are expected as a result of concerted educational changes. First, the problem of urban migration is expected to decrease due to the primary school emphasis upon the dignity and opportunity within the rural environment. Because pupils should gain new respect for the values of rural society, national goals and agricultural labor, there should be less of a need to leave rural areas in search of a salary-oriented life style.

The problem of low agricultural productivity is expected to be lessened as a result of education. Because of the pupil's new respect for manual work, his knowledge of agricultural methods and his new awareness of agriculture as a national goal, it follows that more of the pupils will become modern farmers.

Lastly, it is hoped that an attitudinal change will occur in those that continue to post-primary institutions and end up working in bureaucracies. Expected is a decrease in dishonesty, bribery, and nepotism. Expected is an awareness of a national spirit, a feeling of collective effort over private gain. It should be realized that dishonesty and personal gain hurt the society at large, that it slows national progress, and it does more damage to the national good than it benefits the private individual.

CHAPTER VI. EMPIRICAL CONCERNS

Introduction

Empirical arguments, though sympathetic to the rationale for Tanzanian reforms, have major reservations regarding their consistency, pertinency, and viability. Based upon comparative-historical, cross-national or logical modes of analysis, empirical arguments are phrased in prudent terms. Adaptationist arguments have effected a prominent impact among not just educationalists, but agronomists, economists, and other development personnel who, disappointed in the results of the recent "development decade," appear desperate for solutions. To defer approval on popular reform opens one to the bite of reactionary labels. It is hoped, however, that labels, if attached, will be considered with as great a caution as are the empirical arguments.

Four central concerns manifest themselves. First is the notion of normalcy of the same social problem phenomena which the adaptation arguments view in crisis proportions. A second concern is the fallacious assumptions endemic in adaptation argument. A third is the concern for economic and cost considerations. Last, and most obvious, are the questions of precedent: what quantity of the suggested reforms are in fact original and how strict are the lessons of experience to be applied in what is argued to be an original post-independence environmental context?

The Normalcy of Social Phenomena
(Tanzanian Problems are Not Atypical)

An empirical argument would insist that it is not the school curriculum which turns children away from manual labor, nor is it the curriculum which "orients" the child toward town life and therefore "causes" urban migration.

School leavers are to be viewed as economically rational beings. They are realistic in that a non-farm income, regardless of its scarcity, is superior to earnings from traditional agriculture. As cited above, a survey in Tanzania indicated that non-farm income was as much as 588 per cent above the average income from the agricultural sector.¹

With this degree of return at stake, migration should be considered as a normal and rational response to a very difficult economic situation. Comparative data indicate that migration of the young, male literate is a demographic certainty whether in Africa, Asia or Europe. This is the group with the most mobility, with the most cognizance of economic opportunity; it is realistic to assume that most men will take advantage of new economic opportunities and more profitable wage employment where it is located. School leavers do not wish to avoid manual labor as much as they wish to maximize economic opportunity.² This opinion was expressed in an Inter-African Labour Institute symposium on unemployed youth in Nairobi in 1962.

For half a century commentators on Nigeria have said that school leavers refuse to work with their hands; they want 'white collar' jobs, is an expression still frequently heard. The implication is always that the school leavers are lacking in some undefined morality. The school leaver turns out, however, to be more perceptive of economic opportunity than the commentator. Naturally the school leaver will make his strongest bid for the class of job with the most appealing net advantages, of which money income and its regularity are principal ingredients. If a school leaver can win a job as a junior clerk or as a messenger in a government office @ 100 pounds/year, and if he watches his living costs carefully, very likely he will be better off than his father who is farming in the home village.

¹ Guy Hunter, "Manpower, Employment and Educational Needs in the Traditional Sector, With Special Reference to East Africa," in Manpower Aspects of Educational Planning, ed. by UNESCO, (Paris: UNESCO, 1968); p. 15.

² H. M. Gillespie, Education and Progress, (London: Evans Brothers Limited, 1966), p. 29.

Present day school leavers do work with their hands and many may be classified as labourers. They compete first to work on town building sites rather than on up-country roads. Their pay is between four and five shillings/day. Some harbour thoughts of becoming labour clerks or eventually rising to positions as headman of the gangs.¹

If paid a comparable salary, or if assured of an income equivalent to non-agricultural employment, school leavers will readily assent to becoming farmers. Kenya Standard VII pupils who had perception of incomes from modern farms, for example, most frequently listed a cash crop farmer as the best job in the country. When asked which job they themselves preferred, cash crop farmer was more frequently mentioned than nurse, doctor, engineer or politician.² Similar results were obtained in Sukumaland, Tanzania, when agricultural work ranked ahead of policeman, carpenter and shopkeeper.³

That pupils will be persuaded to return to agriculture by a curriculum emphasizing the dignity of labor is strongly doubted. In reality, work with a hoe is hard, unrewarding and boring; the student cannot be blamed for finding less stultifying work. Those who speak most about the dignity in manual labor are often those least accustomed to it. Tregear comments on this when he says that,

Schools should not expect to turn the student back to traditional agriculture. This is stupid for it would never

¹Inter-African Labour Institute, Symposium on Unemployed Youth (Nairobi, Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa, 1962), p. 82.

²David Koff, "Education and Employment: Perspectives of Kenya Primary Pupils," in Education, Employment, and Rural Development, ed. by James R. Sheffield, (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1967), p. 403.

³Primary Education in Sukumaland, (Amsterdam: Center for the Study of Education in Changing Societies, December, 1967), p. 16.

work. There is no dignity in manual labour--if there is, the manual labourer doesn't know about it. . . Is it not strange that the people who talk most about the 'dignity of labour' are themselves the people who are the most undignified of all--since they do no labour. . . ¹

The proposal that an agricultural curriculum in primary schools would in any way stem the migration into the urban centers is very suspect. The issue is not confined to the third world. An empirical argument would point out that an agricultural curriculum was attempted in the rural schools of Europe and America without success and comparative data from other African countries would not be any more encouraging. Dr. Ibukum reports that,

In Nigeria, agriculture was introduced as a subject in the School Certificate examinations and, after eight years, only eleven candidates entered for this particular subject. In Ghana where rural science was taught energetically in rural schools, only about two per cent of the school leavers went back voluntarily to farming.²

In sum, agricultural education, which is out of joint with the economic and social trends of the area, has never been able to counter the motivation toward seeking salaried employment where it is located. The feeling is clearly expressed by C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman when they write

As might be expected there are loud voices urging the teaching of farming in rural schools. Indeed, one gets the impression of a chorus urging that the principal function of the village school is to orient the child to his natal milieu and to prepare him to be a peasant, deterring him from a flight to the city by instilling an appreciation for rural life. One would have thought that this historic lament

¹P. S. Tregur, "The Primary School Leaver in Africa," Teacher Education, 3 (May, 1962), p. 15.

²Olu Ibukum, The Objectives of Primary Education in Emerging Countries and the Necessary Educational Means, (Amsterdam: Centrum Voor De Studie Van Het Onderwijs In Veranderende Maatschappyan (CESO), juli, 1968), p. 7.

would have disappeared from the minds of academics; western experience has demonstrated so conclusively that no such happy program (if happy it is) could succeed. Indeed, we already have sufficient experience of the developing world to know that this solution is in vain.¹

An empirical view is that pupils concentrate upon their academic subjects from a realistic knowledge of the economic returns in achieving educational certificates. Knowledge for its own sake, or for the sake of the state, is an unrealistic demand from people who are very poor. Gillespie mentions that

Through education he (the pupil) hopes to avoid a shack and move to a four-room house. . . the education must be of the right sort. It is those with an academic education who have risen in the world to become doctors, clerks, lawyers, civil servants. The advice of anyone to aspiring scholars that they first learn to grow cabbages or cook meals would be rejected with vehemence.²

Weaknesses in the Assumptions of Adaptationists

The Role of Curriculum as an Instrument of Attitude Formation

Skepticism over the means of attaining social goals through the schools stems from a knowledge of the curriculum literature. While not uniform, data from important studies indicate that curriculum plays a less important role than is generally ascribed to it.³ For any significant impact it is necessary for teachers to be consciously committed to the curricular goals. Without consistent teacher attitudes, curricular effects

¹C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, (Commentary on AID Educational and Manpower Programs in Africa, (Chicago: Comparative Education Center, mimeographed, n.d.) p. 114.

²H. M. Gillespie, op. cit., p. 30.

³Equality of Educational Opportunity, (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1966); Laurence White, Village in the Vancluse, (Cambridge; Harvard University Press, 1957).

are minimal.¹

A child's attitudes stem from numerous sources. Parents, kin, peers, mass media, tradition, personality, religion, and many other factors play determining roles. A child spends relatively little time in a school classroom. The depth of the classroom impact will depend upon how consistent it is with the attitudes of the general society and the attitudes of the school children as to why they are in school. If, for example, parents send their children to school to learn the ways of the modern world well enough to attain white collar employment, it will take considerably more than a curriculum change to convince the child of the value of agricultural education. The importance of the educational experience as a family investment in white collar employment is illustrated by Dr. Ibukun.

When I was a boy, I remember the conversation I had with my father. . . he reminded me that it was important that I worked hard so as to cope with the responsibilities that were waiting for me. He swore that he would try his utmost to find each penny for my school fees, but, in return, he expected me to pay the school fees of any other children he might have and also to look after him in his older days. It was made clear, beyond any doubt, that I was being sent to school on a purely commercial basis. His expenditure on my school fees was merely an investment which was expected to produce substantial results.²

What is taught has relatively little to do with the success or failure of a particular school system.³ Children are motivated to school by social forces outside of the school, and will continue to be influenced by those same social forces while in attendance. It is unrealistic to

¹Warwick B. Elley, "Attitude Change and Education for International Understanding," Sociology of Education, XXXVII (1964), p. 325; Robert Dreeben, On What is Learned in School, (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1968).

²Olu Ibukun, op. cit., p. 1-2.

³Philip J. Foster, "Status, Power and Education in a Traditional Community," The School Review, 72 (1964).

assume also that societal attitudes outside the school can be altered quickly, as the Tanzanians wish to do, given a lack of communication technology or a lack of willingness to use Soviet force methods.

African children simply do not attend school to learn to be good farmers or to establish their links with their cultural or political heritage in a socialization process. Whether agriculture or rural vocational biases are introduced will not influence their basic orientation to acquire enough training to provide an income, security and personal satisfaction, which, at the present time, continues for economic reasons to be salaried employment and not agriculture. Societal attitudes are simply not dictatable from the capital, and empirically, attitudes are found to be more influenced by profit maximization than by spontaneous desires for self-sacrifice to the nation. Because profit is still the economic-social rule of socialist Tanzania, the schools should not easily alter attitudes away from life facts.

This notion was aptly expressed at a symposium on unemployed youth.

The truth is that school leavers' attitudes towards employment are determined almost exclusively by what is happening outside the schools, in society and the economy. No amount of instruction by itself--whether in primary or post-primary schools can make modern farmers.¹

The "Design" of the School System

Other fallacies in the liturgy exist which are equally serious. In Education for Self Reliance, Nyerere's arguments are persuasive, but superficial. Consequently, he touches acceptability only occasionally. The

¹Inter-African Labour Institute, op. cit., p. 83.

following examples are one or two of the skips. He says that

The education now provided is designed for the few who are intellectually stronger than their fellows; it induces among those who succeed a feeling of superiority, and leaves the majority of the others hankering after something they will never obtain.¹

A key question here is the use of the word "designed." Does it mean to plan, or to construct, or to envision; and can it be said that the education of Tanzania or anywhere was in fact consciously "designed"? Does it imply the fact that only a small percentage of primary school graduates ever enters post-primary institutions; if so, does this actually mean that the system serves only those who can proceed?

The fact is that all systems are selective, and there is no plan to make the Tanzanian system non-selective (i.e., terminal education for all at primary school). There is no evidence to suggest that non-selected Tanzanian or children anywhere have not benefited (however defined) from the school experience. Although there is evidence to indicate that children who fail examinations do suffer,² there is no evidence of any solution in a society where the number of secondary or tertiary places are not sufficient to meet the demand. Can one, therefore, even speak about "designing" school systems without due respect paid to their de facto functions? Were it possible to actually "design" a system, would it be possible to create one where those selected to continue didn't feel in some way "superior" to the

¹Nyerere, op. cit., p. 10.

²Glen Elder, "Life Opportunity and Personality: Some Consequences of Stratified Secondary Education in Great Britain," Sociology of Education, 38 (September, 1965).

Unrealistic Occupational Expectations

In speaking about the "problem of primary school leavers" Nyerere makes another erroneous assumption.

The society and the type of education they have received both led them to expect wage employment--probably in an office. In other words, their education was not sufficiently related to the tasks which have to be done in our society.

It is evident that Nyerere assumes that school leavers exhibit unrealistic occupational expectations, though there is ample evidence to conclude that occupational expectations are relatively accurate reflections of the job market. Yet, even were school leavers filled with faulty expectations, there is no evidence to conclude that the school in fact had a major role in their formulization or conceptualization. Evidence on the relative weight of sources of attitude formation would lead to a conclusion contrary to Nyerere's assumption. School curriculum and pedagogical technique fall significantly behind teacher attitudes. Teacher influences, in turn, contain far less an accountable influence than peer attitudes, and peer attitudes, in turn are primarily accountable to the home social economic status.² Nyerere and other adaptationists are therefore doubly at fault here: first for assuming irrational (and dysfunctional) occupational expectations, second for overestimating the influence of the school and the school curriculum.

¹ See for example, Philip J. Foster, "Secondary School Leavers in Ghana: Expectations and Reality," Harvard Educational Review, 34 (Fall, 1964), pp. 537-558; Albert J. McQueen, "Aspirations and Problems of Nigerian School Leavers," Inter-African Labour Institute Bulletin, 12 (February, 1965), pp. 35-51; David Koff, op. cit.; Margaret Peil, "Aspirations and Social Structure," Africa, 31 (January, 1968), pp. 71-78.

² United States Office of Education, Equality of Educational Opportunity, op.cit.

Similar to the views of Nyerere are those of his followers. What is falsely assumed regarding occupational white collar expectations is also falsely assumed with regard to manual labor. Walter Rodney gives evidence of the old naivete when he says that

The schools of independent Tanzania, in spite of reforms, continued to alienate their products from the type of labouring activity in which the overwhelming majority of the people are engaged--namely, agriculture and other forms of manual work.¹

Socialist Misunderstandings

There are illusions concerning the equalization of rewards to labor in the future socialist economy. Thus, in criticizing the current situation, Rodney observes that at present schools are

. . . providing a locally trained bureaucracy who would strengthen the existing petty-bourgeois social formation, appropriating to itself a great part of the fruits of the nation's labour, and conducting a holding operation for international capitalism.²

What Rodney confuses is the necessity for some differential reward for differential worth, common to even the most "egalitarian" of societies, and the differentiation with regard to class or caste entrenchment. The confusion has not proceeded unnoticed. Foster has mentioned that

The process of structural differentiation in African countries will lead to inequalities of wealth and opportunity but this does not mean that 'social classes' in the western sense will necessarily emerge, for social class has a cultural as well as structural connotation. Objective differences are a necessary pre-condition for processes of class formation but social classes cannot be said to exist

¹ Walter Rodney, "Education and Tanzanian Socialism," in Tanzania, Revolution by Education, ed. by Idrian N. Resnick, (Arusha: Longmans of Tanzania, 1968), p. 74.

² Ibid.

unless they are associated with differential subcultures and a degree of self-consciousness and corporate identity among members of a given stratum.¹

What is lacking, in Rodney's argument, is the knowledge that African elites might be considered democratically representative of the society. There is no elite-mass gap, as Foster puts it, insofar as most elite members are of non-elite origin,² while perhaps African elites are even more representative than in European or North American societies.³

Alternatives for Standard Achievement Measurements

One last example could be cited as representative of the confused quality of the adaptationist argument. Speaking with reference to the need for "self-reliant" teachers, the Tanzanian Minister of Education suggests what seems to be a radical reform. "We propose," he states, "that these trainees shall in the future be accepted not only on the basis of their academic record, but also on assessment of character and social responsibility."⁴

Comparatively, of course, no school system employs a teacher below university level upon his academic record alone. And empirically, any continued use of academic record in trainee selection will imply selectivity of similar groupings of people. Since even the most revolutionary of Tanzanian reforms do not propose to eliminate academic standards from the process of selection, one must remain suspicious of any qualitative change

¹Philip J. Foster, "Education for Self-Reliance: A Critical Evaluation," in Education in Africa: Research and Action, ed. by Richard Jolly (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1969) p. 87-88.

²Ibid.

³Philip Foster, Education & Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. 258.

⁴A. C. Mwingira, "Education for Self-Reliance: The Problems of Implementation," in Jolly, op. cit., p. 69.

in those selected. In practice the political and administrative difficulties of non-integral scales of criteria would precipitate the reliance upon the more predictable academic standard. Other criteria, unless utilized in only a supplementary fashion, would engender serious manipulations of the system. In a country like Tanzania, where salaried positions will always be at a premium, reliance upon subjective criteria may simply be unviable or counter-productive.

Cost Considerations, Curriculum Reform
and Economic Development

As it is, formal education is very expensive. But education is more expensive in a nation with low per capita income. For example, to give every child eight years of education at current prices would cost only .8 per cent of the United States national income, but 1.7 per cent of the Jamaican, 2.8 per cent of the Ghanaian, and 4 per cent of the Nigerian national income.¹ Therefore, less developed national budgets are already pushed to a maximum. Empirically, it may be true to say that further educational expenditures as a portion of government spending may prove counter-productive and seriously limit a country's ability to maintain its infrastructure, service its industries, research its mineral or commercial potential, or expand its economy.

Yet educational reforms would entail increased expenditures. Adaptation goals would entail the retraining of the single largest professional employment category in Tanzania, the writing, publishing, distributing and

¹ W. Arthur Lewis, "Priorities for Educational Expansion," Organization for Economic and Community Development, Policy Conference on Economic Growth and Investment in Education, III (Washington, D. C.,: O.E.C.D., 1961, p. 37-2.

replacing of new texts, new curricula, new teaching materials and new supervisory personnel. An empirical argument would have to argue that these additional expenditures would simply be too much for the moderate Tanzanian budget--even if instituted gradually over a period of years.

An empirical argument with respect to Tanzanian liturgy would hold that the curriculum is overloaded with enough demands at present; extraneous courses should be kept to a minimum. Proved effectiveness would be a criteria for institutionalization. A core curriculum of world recognized subjects should be the central learning diet.

An empirically realistic goal of the primary school curriculum would be to build the literate, functional skills of the individual in preparation for what one hopes will be further learning either on the job or on the farm. It is expected that the curriculum prepare the pupil for change and not for specific vocational tasks. On the primary level, functional literacy is all one can empirically expect, especially in the bush or rural areas. "The problem," according to Ladislav Cerych, "is not to make the schools turn out a greater number of trained people, but to enable them to supply the economy with people who are capable of being trained."¹

Empirically logical priority investment should be spent on modern but applicable equipment, job-located vocational programs (not schools)² and increased programs for providing agricultural workers. The expenditure of funds on schools should always be priced against expenditures outside of schools or in the area of physical capital formation. Unless an undeveloped

¹Ladislav Cerych, The Problem of Aid to Education in Developing Areas, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 105.

²John Hansen, Imagination and Hallucination in African Education, op. cit., p. 30.

country has unlimited amounts of capital, the provision of literacy might be an uneconomical expenditure beyond forty per cent of an age cohort.¹

In an empirical argument, education has universalistic criteria which must meet international standards. Knowledge and what is most important to know is pretty much the same the world over. Empirical argument is not so much against education's being relevant to the local environment as it is against inefficiency, shoddy standards, and unprofessional overloading without the necessary empirical evidence to justify the effort.

The argument suggests that, historically, major developments of previously backward nations have been associated with rises in literacy and mathematical skills.² Among the most quick to develop, little concern was paid to consistency with "economic theologies or the insecurities of self-esteem" when the issue of the importation of technologies and technologists was under consideration.³ In 1877, for example, salaries of foreign teachers consumed 67 per cent of the Internal Affairs budget in Japan.⁴ Eighteenth Century Russians imported German ideas, and English often modeled their educational plans from those already operational on the continent. But in order for imported technology to have maximum effectiveness, native children had to be well trained in literate skills.

¹C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, "Perspectives on Education and Development: Facts and Fallacies in Educational Planning," International Development Review, VI (September, 1964).

²T. W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital," in Economics of Education, I, ed. by Mark Blaug, (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 13; C. Arnold Anderson & Mary Jean Bowman, "Theoretical Considerations in Educational Planning," in Economics of Education I, op. cit., p. 351.

³Mary Jean Bowman, "From Guilds to Infant Training Industries," in Education and Economic Development, ed. by C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company) p. 128.

⁴Koichi Emi, "Economic Development and Educational Investment in the Meiji Era," in Readings in the Economics of Education, ed. by UNESCO, (Paris: UNESCO, 1968), p. 95.

The role of the primary school throughout the world has been to train the child for technological training. Since technical training is seen as a function of job or work-related contact, the school's major role has been and should be to prepare children as efficiently as possible, and with as little cost to alternative needs of the society. The schools in Africa, as in Japan and the United States, should teach literacy, for it is upon literacy that both personal and national mobility is predicated.

Historical Context: Reform Redundancy

Constantly throughout the adaptation argument runs a misunderstanding concerning education under colonial rule. A prime example is when Rodney asserts that essentially colonial education

was a system designed to buttress the status quo which meant for the Africans economic exploitation, social inferiority, and political dependence. . . colonialism, by its very essence, could not fulfill the demands for education for the masses. . . The well-tried colonial education system was to a great extent self-perpetuating. Few Africans raised fundamental challenges to the bourgeois ideology which dominated their school systems, and whenever possible the colonial powers handed over the reins of government to trustworthy products of their schools.¹

Logically, the status quo is opposite to exploitation, inferiority and political dependence since the former had to be disturbed to achieve the latter two. Neither is it certain whether colonialism was responsible for not fulfilling the masses' demand for education or whether disappointment is a normal phenomenon in a society where school, by necessity, is a scarce commodity. Africans, as noted above, did protest the content and orientation of their education, but contrary to what Rodney may infer, when

¹Rodney, op. cit., p. 71, 72, 73.

protesting, it was consistently not in challenge to but over the scarcity of curricula which he would probably label "bourgeois." Lastly, is it not absurd to consider a society where the reins of government are handled by the successful products of the nation's schools?

Even Nyerere who experienced colonial education both as pupil and as teacher is not immune from gross over-simplification.

The educational system introduced into Tanzania by the colonialists was modeled on the British system, but with even heavier emphasis on subservient attitudes and on white collar skills. . . it emphasized and encouraged the individualistic instincts of mankind, instead of his cooperative instincts.¹

What is surprising is the degree to which adaptationist argument ignores the serious and sincere efforts made during the colonial era to avoid subservient attitudes and instill a repudiation of white collar skills. The present adaptationist arguments are very similar to those of the colonial era, and, in fact, a relevant empirical question might be whether, other than language tone, any differences exist between the educational liturgy of the colonial era and that of the present. Constant concern has been expressed that the schools were not relating to needs of the rural society, that they were corrupting the attitudes of the pupils, that they were disorienting those who could not proceed to a post-primary experience, and that they alienated pupils from their "true" environment. The following is a list of quotations which suggest that there is more than a superficial similarity.

¹Nyerere, op. cit., p. 3.

Colonial Assertion:

Because the population is primarily rural, the school must adapt to specific rural needs.

The great mass of the people were likely to remain agricultural peasants; therefore, education should be geared to their needs.¹
(1939)

The overwhelming majority of the Africans must live on and by the soil. . . the school program should provide such instruction in gardening as is necessary to develop a skill in the cultivation of the soil and appreciation of the soil.² (1922)

Present Assertion:

Tanzania will continue to have a predominately rural economy for a long time to come. And it is in the rural areas that people live and work, so it is in the rural areas that life must be improved. . . This is what our educational system has to encourage.³
(1967)

Elitism should be avoided.

If the Native wears European clothes, he tends definitely to associate himself with European civilisation; the result is, too often, a pathetic caricature of a European and inside the clothes there is that semi-Europeanized Native that everyone agrees is a product to be avoided.⁴ (1935)

Education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance; for this leads to the well-educated despising those whose abilities are non-academic.⁵
(1967)

¹ Sir Donald Cameron, My Tanganyika Service and Some in Nigeria (London: 1939), p. 128-9, quoted in Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 475.

² Thomas Jessie Jones, Education in Africa (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922) p. 2

³ Nyerere, op. cit., pp. 6 & 7.

⁴ Mumford, "Education and the Social Adjustment of Primitive Peoples," op. cit., p. 153.

⁵ Nyerere, op. cit., p. 7.

Colonial Assertion:

The Primary school should be oriented toward the terminal pupil.

The aim is to insure that children who do not proceed for further education--still the majority--will be permanently literate and that they will be able to pursue intelligently and in a progressive manner their normal activities in the daily life of the country. . .¹
(1950)

The course is designed to be complete in itself so that those who pass through it, whether they proceed further or not, will have received an education which will assist them to follow in a more intelligent and capable manner whatever pursuits they take up and, generally, to play a more useful part in the development of the locality to which they belong. To this end, the form and bias of the course at any particular school will, so far as possible, be reflected to the needs and reflect the life of the area in which the school is situated.² (1955)

Present Assertion:

Education in our primary schools must be a complete education in itself. It must not continue to be simply a preparation for secondary school. Instead of the primary school activities being geared to the competitive examination which will select the few who go on to secondary school, they must be a preparation for life which the majority of children will lead.³ (1967)

¹"Scheme for the Revision of the Ten Year Plan for Education," Annual Report for Tanganyika, 1950, Appendix II, p. 227-58, quoted in Betty George, Education for Africans in Tanganyika: A Preliminary Survey, (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 35.

²Mutasare ya Mafundisho Katika Middle Schools, (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1955), quoted in Cameron and Dodd, op. cit., p. 109.

³Nyerere, op. cit., p. 15.

Colonial Assertion:

The purpose of this organization is that those who leave after finishing each stage or cycle should have received a balanced course of education which will enable them to play a more intelligent and efficient part in the development of the territory and, in brief, be better citizens.¹
(1959)

¹Tanganyika, Department of Education, Provisional Syllabus of Instruction for Middle Schools, (Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1959), p. 1, quoted in Betty George, op. cit., p. 36.

Colonial Assertion:

Education should be for the majority of children and not for a special elite.

The main aim should be the advance of the great multitude of villagers rather than the higher education of a select minority. . . the chief aim of the elementary school syllabus is to study the interests of the masses without bringing about a change so revolutionary as to dislocate tribal life.¹
(1930)

Present Assertion:

Our sights must be on the majority; it is they we must be aiming at in determining the curriculum and syllabus. The purpose is not to provide an inferior education. . . The purpose is to provide a different education--one radically designed to fulfill the common purposes of education in the particular society of Tanzania.²
(1967)

The value of manual labor must be emphasized.

The danger that besets all secondary schools is that an academic education will estrange pupils from the realities of African life. It is important that leaders in all walks of life should be aware of the paramount importance of the land, of agriculture and of the dignity of manual tasks.³ (1952)

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 hard physical labour or on jobs which are uncomfortable and unpleasant.⁴
(1967)

¹ Robert Caldwell, quoted in Trevor Coombe, op. cit., p. 189-90.

² Nyerere, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

³ Binns Report, East and Central Africa Study Group, 1952, quoted in Cameron and Dodd, op. cit., p. 109.

⁴ Nyerere, op. cit., p. 13.

With the exception of the colonial paternalistic language tone, adaptationist arguments have remained stable for the last forty years. The same faults and lack of confidence in the school today surfaced as early as 1920. Because of the more-than-considerable emphasis placed upon adapting education to meet local needs during the colonial era, little difference can be found in the present liturgy which calls for the same action and cites identical needs. "The frequent assertion," says Cameron and Dodd, "that the British imposed upon the country its own unadulterated metropolitan system of primary education is certainly unfounded."¹ "The fault," they go on to say

in the colonial era was not that the educationalists were out of date or lacked ideas, but that chronic shortage of administrative staff, poorly trained teachers, bad communication and lack of money made their implementation slow if not impossible. . . Tanganyika never lacked printed syllabuses which were constantly revised. . .

The curriculum at the time of independence was essentially drawn up in 1953 and contained environmental studies on such topics as the home, market, food, health, water, agriculture, and local crafts. It stressed the importance of relating education to the children's environment, of group and activity methods, and of the use of teaching aids. The only changes which had been made in it by the time of independence were that from 1958 onwards English was introduced as a subject in Standards III and IV, and practical agriculture progressively abolished. Both of these changes were in response to popular demand.²

Once the adaptationist liturgy is analyzed in an empirical fashion using comparative, historical and philosophical reasoning, the arguments become less appealing as solutions and more understandable as slogans. All

¹Cameron and Dodd, op. cit., p. 187.

²Ibid.

of the ambitious post-independence curriculum changes as Cameron and Dodd said, "are as predictable as they are unexceptional."¹ Adaptationist arguments, as barren as they are, have been reduced and simplified still further and now act as rallying cries for an educational adoptionist movement. A phrase like: "Education in our primary schools must be a complete education in itself," carries with it a set of assumptions on the needs of a rural society and a set of definitions as to the appropriate education necessary. A slogan such as this helps attract converts and reinforce converted veterans. As symbols over time, as Scheffler mentions,² they may be interpreted literally by both critics and adherents and take on the activities of doctrine.

Since the arguments are doctrine, and since it seems unlikely that the doctrine is unique, is there any method of assessing its potential worth? The most likely differences between present and past doctrine lie in the doctrinists themselves. Today they are black, and in the case of Nyerere, charismatic. For some, this alone is reason enough for hoping that the same reforms which have failed previously in the same and in other environments will be successful. "The big change," said Cameron and Dodd,

lies in the person who has now prescribed the remedies . . . there is a vast difference between the solutions arrived at by foreign administrators to deal with problems which they identified, so to speak, from the outside looking in, and those of a respected national leader who knows where he is going and can see into the very hearts of his own people.³

¹Cameron and Dodd, op. cit., p. 193

²Scheffler, op. cit., p. 36

³Cameron and Dodd, op. cit., p. 225.

Yet this is too simple. It is difficult to find a leader who has caused social change, much less social transformation, without totalitarian methods. Universally, reform has a way of being broadcast more than it occurs. People's attitudes, institutions, and ambitions have a way of solidifying themselves over time. The educational adaptationist arguments, since they are not new, will be unlikely to grow old. Identical arguments with identical vehemence may be heard over the next decade. As Cameron and Dodd themselves mentioned

Educational systems do not as a rule change radically and suddenly, for even when educational policies can do so, their implementation on a national scale in the huge field of numerous schools, administrators, teachers, and almost innumerable children and parents, against a backdrop of sociological and economic resistances, takes much longer. . . the more rapid the change, the greater has been the hiatus between what appears on paper as a desired change and what manifests itself in classroom practice.¹

One can imagine in Tanzania, as elsewhere in Africa, that rhetoric stressing the urgency of massive school reform will remain an eternal feature of the educational landscape. Most likely, the sad fate for Tanzanian adaptationist pleas for reform is to be doomed to permanency.

¹Ibid., p. 170 & 193.

CHAPTER VII. POLITICS AND SOLUTIONS

The Political Conflict Over
Educational Content

In Western Europe, the questions of educational expansion, secularization, and comprehensivization have been major issues which have involved at times the redistribution of resources between competing status groups. In Africa, however, there are few groups who object to educational expansion; secularization has met with little serious opposition, and where segregation had existed, desegregated schools quickly took their place in the post independence era. A major political and educational conflict could clearly develop over the issue of what is to be taught. The stakes are high. Differential scores on examinations, more than any other single factor, determine the occupational future of the individual who wishes to hold wage employment. In turn, success of the individual defines the collective status of the social group he represents.

Involved in the political discussion are four important groups: two consumers of curriculum and two producers of curriculum. The most important dichotomy, however, may indeed be between elite and the non-elite.

Consumer Group Opinions

If it were politically allowable, elites would tend to oppose adaptationist reforms so far as their own children are concerned. They would admit the necessity of improving agriculture, limiting unemployment and maintaining

cultural links with tradition, yet they would object to having their own children oriented towards becoming farmers or petty traders. Elites would argue an adapted education is appropriate for rural peasant-farmer children, perhaps, but would be against the use of their children in any national-social experiments.

Non-elites in general are not aware of what is taught in schools.¹ However, non-elites are very much aware of what they want schools to accomplish for their children, and despite the most forceful government efforts, they react very suspiciously to the idea of their children learning agricultural skills which may not lead to a salary.

The vast majority of the non-elite are peasant farmers. To send their children to school, they would feel, is an investment of major proportions. If they wished their children to learn agricultural skills or tribal lore, they probably could have saved their investment and taught the children themselves. Non-elites, then, would most likely be suspicious of all adaptationist reforms. Their hostility is normally latent, but at some time may be expressed openly.

Producer Group Opinions

Producer groups may be divided between government policy makers and teachers. Governments generally favor adaptationist reforms and express their joint determination to infuse their societies with agricultural education as in the joint statements made at the Organization of African

¹ Philip J. Foster, "Status, Class, and Power in a Traditional Community," School Review, 72 (1964).

Unity and UNESCO meetings. Governments differ, however, in their styles of rhetoric and in their seriousness of implementation. Those types of government styles defined by Coleman and Rosberg as having "revolutionary-centralizing tendencies"¹ tend to be more specific in their efforts than the governments having "pragmatic" or "pluralistic" styles. Both Sekou Toure and Hastings Banda, for example, have favored adaptationist ideas. Toure, however, has done a good deal more in terms of implementation.²

But governments are functions of the experience of their leaders. And the leaders tend to be elitist in life-style, oligarchic in authority style, and too old to have had much experience with any new innovations in teaching methods. Dr. Banda, for example, received his primary education during the 1920s and today demands that his country's children memorize all the definitions to the English parts of speech just as he was made to do. He argues that it was successful for him, and it, therefore, should be successful for his country's children.

Teachers differ in their opinions according to the quantity of their educational experience. Though there is to date no data available on this question, it is not unreasonable to hypothesize that less qualified teachers

¹James S. Coleman and Carl G. Rosberg, eds., Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964), p. 5.

²T. Noel Stern, "Political Aspects of Guinean Education," Comparative Education Review. (June, 1964), p. 98-104; Sekou Toure, "The Development of Educational Reforms," The Political Action of the Democratic Party of Guinea for the Emancipation of Guinean Youth (Cairo: Orientale de Publicite, 1962), p. 3773; John W. Hanson, Report on the Supply of Secondary Level Teachers in English Speaking Africa: Malawi, (East Lansing: Institute of International Studies in Education and the African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1968).

with no secondary school experience might tend to favor more locally-oriented curriculum goals. They might tend to be frightened of demands for changes in teaching skills. This "unqualified" group might also tend to favor more cultural tradition or ethnic skills in a curriculum, a curriculum based upon an experience with which they were all familiar. They would tend to support adaptation reforms.

Efforts to employ a more high pressure or academic curriculum might be resisted, and suggestions of new discovery methods may indeed be beyond their abilities. Because their formal education is deficient, retraining requirements are more of a threat. Because their prestige depends upon instituting arbitrary and authoritarian methods, the "partnership" in the learning game advocated in the discovery method approach may be viewed with great apprehension and hostility.

More trained teachers have less need to protect arbitrary social status. Those teachers with secondary school and teacher training experience are probably more apt to view retraining as further opportunity, the institution of English in Standard I as a good suggestion and a possibility to earn more, and the introduction of new teaching techniques and teacher-pupil relationships as possible means to becoming "better" teachers--a goal they tend to express more openly and with more conviction than their less-qualified colleagues.

What is Likely to Happen

Four assumptions about African politics and African social systems will guide the outcome of curricula politics. First is a realistic assessment of the strengths of African government to fulfill national policy

aspirations. No African government has sufficient amounts of physical capital to institute all the goals of any of the curricula. Those who do have larger amounts of physical capital (Nigeria, for example) also have large populations. African governments for one reason or another have uniformly been blessed with a surplus of ideas and a scarcity of capacity. This is very typical of Tanzania.

Secondly, there seems to be a trend in the developed world to institute "discovery" methods, at least on the primary level.¹ This orientation not only epitomizes the modern ideal of guiding youth through a mutual respect rather than authoritarian control, but has become, perhaps, the most efficient and effective method of teaching certain material.

There is something inevitable about the trend toward the using of these new techniques in Tanzania and elsewhere as Africans become more concerned with less authoritarian values and increased efficiency in the learning process. Tanzania, whether she will admit it or not, increasingly will be guided by Western tested techniques the more it develops sophisticated, modern institutions. Instead of becoming more independent of "foreign" ideas, Tanzanians will have to become prepared to accept what has been adopted as normal by developed standards.

Thirdly, mention must be made of the political consequences of a government which makes a major effort to institute adaptationist goals. Elites would, send their children to private schools, if such schools were available. The top elites in Tanzania do this at the present time.

¹ Charles Silberman, Crisis in the Classroom, The Remaking of American Education (New York: Random House, 1970).

If non-elites perceived the adaptationist curriculum their children were receiving as being terminal and inferior, they would be less likely to send their children to school at all, and if panicked, would attempt to do violence to the government itself.¹

With governments as unstable as they are in Africa, it is entirely conceivable that the decision to institute adaptationist curriculum arguments with the goal of lessening the dangers of urban unemployment may be a more explosive issue than the unemployment itself. Recalcitrant army officers have already proven difficult to control in Tanzania as well as elsewhere, but rival ethnic groups, demanding trade unions and protective civil servants are also serious challenges to the relatively inexperienced government; adding widespread peasant dissatisfaction over school issues on top would perhaps be too much for the political system to withstand.

Lastly, although many producer groups which make educational decisions advocate adaptationist arguments, they have vested interests in seeing that they are not instituted. The same government officials who travel to Paris and Addis Ababa to issue notice of intentions of requiring universal agricultural subject matter so that the children will return to the land, are also elites with children for whom they wish the "best" in education.

¹David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education: An African Case, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969).

These pronouncements are somewhat schizophrenic. The strongest proponents on the one hand feel omnipotent in their social decisions, but on the other hand they feel persecuted by the effects of those same decisions. The situation is comparable to a racist governor with all of his children in public schools, asking for total integration. His statement may be more for a public impression than for implementation on the personal level. The difference between the two situations is only that empirical data can justify the expense of an integration effort, but data cannot yet be found to make the same statements about adaptationist activities.

Suggestions for Reform: Possibilities and Limits

It is evident that those who argue for radical adaptation know about the problems of Tanzanian and other African countries; they are correct to deal with the issues of unemployment and agricultural unproductivity as a matter of urgency. But they understand very little of the role of curriculum in attitude determination. Their suggestions are often unrealistic, over-optimistic, uneconomical and, as mentioned above, politically untenable.

Empirical arguments, however, are often excuses to do nothing in the way of change. The opinion that knowledge is universalistic is less true, the lower one applies the principle on an age-grade continuum. Since more than ninety per cent of the African children never have a post-primary experience, some adaptation of emphasis is of absolute necessity. At times, the academic call for more cost benefit analysis impedes time schedules and retards the ability to experiment.

On the other hand, much of the cultural-adaptation argument is naive and unnecessary. Experiments in Kenya demonstrate the psychological acceptability of a European language in Standard I.¹ Furthermore, it is possible that a child's interest may be more aroused by the "foreign" than the domestic.² The popular call for providing material which is "relevant" should be careful to avoid providing material which overlaps into the redundant. As in the case of a vernacular, the use of traditional methods and values may ultimately be counter-productive. By emphasizing traditional values, one may find oneself lauding exactly the same characteristic one would wish to eliminate to speed the process of development.

In answer to the adaptation arguments which are justifiably concerned with wastage, unemployment, and a lack of rural productivity, a few suggestions might be made. Dealt with first must be the fallacy that it is more profitable to farm than it is to seek employment -- regardless of its scarcity. This is not necessarily so. It may, in fact, be more profitable to seek employment even with the minuscule chance of finding it. If agriculture is to be more desirable, it must be made more profitable.

Support should be given to particular kinds of post-primary agricultural training. A post-primary agricultural institution must seek out primary school leavers who have left school, looked for employment and have not found it. No agricultural institute will function efficiently

¹Ernest Stabler, Education Since Uhuru: The Schools of Kenya, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1969), p. 49.

²C. Arnold Anderson and Suellen Fisher, The Curriculum as an Instrument for Creating Attitudes and Values, (Chicago: Comparative Education Center manuscript), p. 50.

unless a clear and consistent profit can be shown in agriculture and the graduates actually become committed to farming. Any institution or government must supply enough follow-up aid so as to keep in constant informal contact with the graduates.¹

Other schemes to decrease the consumption aspects of societal high cost, low return educational plans might be tried. The high cost of civil service could be reduced by controlling salaries through measures of "loan repayments" for receiving a government education. Because of the expansion of facilities and the subsequent educational devaluation, many countries are faced with a surplus of middle-level manpower. Salaries should reflect the fact that it is a buyer's market and be adjusted accordingly. Tanzania has experimented with the notion of loan repayment, but has not yet thought it necessary to set salaries at a market level.

It is suggested that full salaries of newly-recruited civil servants not be reached for four or five years after employment. Salaries of those presently employed should be reduced between five and ten per cent per year until they reach an equality level with those of the new civil servants at approximately sixty per cent of the present scale.²

Waste might also be minimized by cutting back on the achievement of universal primary attendance. Except for purely prestige reasons, literacy rates need not exceed forty or fifty per cent of an age cohort

¹John W. Hanson, Imagination and Hallucination in African Education, op. cit., p. 34-38; John Moris, "Farmer Training as a Strategy of Rural Development" in Education, Employment and Rural Development, ed. by James R. Sheffield, op. cit., p. 345.

²Andre Daniere, Higher Education in the American Economy (New York: Random House, 1964); Koichi Emi, "Economic Development and Educational Investment in the Meiji Era," op. cit., p. 94-107.

until the per capita level of physical capital has reached proportions sufficient to justify further investment. Guy Hunter agrees when he argues for a hold-off in further construction of Harambee schools.

"The need now," he says,

is to organize and to help, and to divert the direction of effort away from gaining extra "standards" which nourish illusions of employment and into the practical activities which nourish awareness of the local environment and its possibilities, physical health and skill and the practical uses of literacy.¹

Educational savings might also be made by shifting part of the burden of financing onto the local levels and requiring local village councils or district governors to construct and maintain buildings at a level consistent with their area's educational ambitions.²

Investment in capital intensive teaching materials should be viewed with great suspicion.³ Results from the developed countries where capital is relatively cheap, have not consistently justified the expense of educational television, teaching machines or other electronic equipment. The returns of their introduction into African school systems would be more uncertain still.

Constantly kept in mind must be the fact that schools are not the primary movers of economic and agricultural development. Perhaps desirable but certainly not essential, universal primary school attendance is only

¹ Guy Hunter, "Primary Education and Employment in the Rural Economy with Special Reference to East Africa," World Yearbook of Education, 1967, p: 253.

² John W. Hanson, Imagination and Hallucination in African Education, op. cit., p. 19-20.

³ The Use of New Educational Techniques in the Developing Countries, Ditchley Paper No. 7 (England: The Ditchley Foundation, 1966).

associated with developed countries; it is not part of development's definition.

Schooling is most effective and therefore most efficient when its goals are congruent with the goals of the pupils and parents. Curriculum efforts to guide attitudes and encourage change should be only as one part of a general strategy involving and agreed upon by all agencies of government. Efforts should be concentrated in strategic areas selected as being the most likely to produce the most dramatic results. Equal distribution of resource efforts is second in importance to producing more substantial and dramatic effects in these selected areas.

The idea that schools are only one agency of social change is reiterated by V. L. Griffiths. "To educate regardless of employment opportunities," he says,

may work where the society is fluid and where individual initiative is prized; it is not effective where society is only emerging from a static and authoritarian stage. The schools alone are helpless in effecting dramatic change in rural life. They can only be effective if part of an economic and social plan which (a) makes farming economically attractive and (b) creates a sympathetic youth and adult opinion to back the progressive aims of the school.¹

It must be emphasized that African governments are under no moral compulsion to provide universal, "free," and compulsory education at this stage of development. Nor should governments feel obliged to provide education in any greater amounts than other social investments or in

¹V. L. Griffiths, The Contribution of General Education to Agricultural Development, (New York: The Agricultural Development Council, Inc., 1965) quoted in Guy Hunter, "Primary Education and Employment," op. cit., p. 248.

greater quantities than their own people are willing to sacrifice for it. African governments are under compulsion to spend their small resources wisely and efficiently. If this means spending on roads instead of schools, then school plans must be sacrificed; if it means less spending altogether, then the level of expenditures must be sacrificed as a unit.

CHAPTER VIII. SUMMARY

The colonial precedents of adaptation argument should not be forgotten. Though Africa is ruled by new leaders with different assumptions and goals from their colonial counterparts, the colonial experience should be instructive. The arguments for differing curriculum content are surprisingly similar today to what they were after World War I. The same pressures to reform, the same economic restraints, and the same resident attitudes within the African population act as stimuli in creating the same response from educational decision-makers.

The lessons of caution should be learned. Past claims that inflate the potential role of the schools should be viewed in the light of previous failures. Equivalent curriculum successes at producing an elite should be balanced against the dysfunctionalities of over-expectations and the attendant problems of school leaver disappointment. With one eye close upon cost-benefit constraints, perhaps a meaningful compromise lies in the limitation of schooling to a lesser percentage, the inauguration of capital-saving reforms, and the gradual institution of modern and more efficient teaching methods.

Part of the political disagreement over curriculum issues arises from the misconception among the people that governments can succeed in implementing any of their goals. Costs are not as well understood as they should be. Yet committal to cost evaluation should not prevent experimentation.

At least part of the curriculum controversy might be clarified if the misunderstanding that curriculum style is the major factor in determining occupation could be better understood. Perhaps the argument is an unnecessary one. It must be realized that African governments are constrained by the political consequences of instituting what would be a truly unpopular curriculum. They are constrained because of the hesitations of the decision-makers in applying the decisions to their own families, and by the pervasive lack of funds and manpower. Adaptation curriculum reform is simply never going to be implemented in toto.

The greatest danger at the present time lies in the loud and threatening rhetoric of the adaptationists which may cause concern among the elites and perhaps panic among the non-elites. The unnecessary pandemonium created by the Malawian minister described in the prologue should be kept in mind. In the interest of strength and stability for its social institutions, African governments should pay careful attention to past experience and to empirical research when considering curriculum questions of political and economic importance.