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Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War World

A Dissertation Presented

by

Timothy Alan Nicholson

to

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Abstract of the Dissertation

Teaching Tanzania: Education and the Creation of Tanzania in a Cold War World

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This dissertation used education to highlight local and global dimensions of nation building in Tanzania. It examines the process by which the late colonial and early postcolonial education officials in Tanzania experimented with and developed educational and nationalistic institutions as a means to interact with their populations and satisfy increasingly vocal demands for social services. Using oral histories as well as sources from the Tanzanian National Archive and the archives of American non-governmental organizations, this dissertation also highlights the fundamental role that non-elite actors, such as teachers, students, and low-level government officials, played in acting as intermediaries between elite politicians and the general population. These transitional figures reproduced the ideology of the nation—state at the local level, while also using global resources, newly-available through Cold War rivalries, that developed institutions and educational structures that reinforced the scope and legitimacy of the nation—state. Nationalist celebrations became a critical part of this interaction as did controversies regarding immoral and unproductive female citizens. In examining the development of educational and post-colonial nationalistic institutions, this project argues that local issues, national agendas, and global paradigms of authority worked collectively to reinforce the ideals of national citizenship and the pre-eminence of the nation—state, in the new postcolonial world.

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List of Abbreviations and Terms

AASF—African-American Students Foundation

B.N.A—British National Archive

DEO—District Education Officer

ESR—Education for Self Reliance

PCV—Peace Corps Volunteer

RFA—Rockefeller Foundation Archive

Std—Standard [the Tanzanian equivalent of grades]

TANU—Tanganyikan African National Union

TAPA—Tanganyikan African Parents Association

TCA—Teachers' College Archive

T.E.A—Teachers for East Africa

T.N.A.—Tanzanian National Archive

T.N.A.M.—Tanzanian National Archive at Mwanza

Tsh.—Tanzanian Shilling

TYL—Tanganyikan Youth League

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In corresponding with his British friend and school sponsor, Tanzanian upper primary school student Clement Ndulute proudly informed her: "Frankly speaking the exams were extremely tough. But through my usual hard-working manner I managed to hold my first position in the form."[1] As the first member of his family to attend school, Ndulute represented the young generation of loyal, hardworking citizens that the Tanzanian[2] elite hoped to create. Ndulute further reflected these values as he described his father as one who hindered these efforts and the development of the country: "Parents who have not paid the fees for their children at Kibao were put in prison not so long ago. Father got away by saying that he had no children to send to school and that he has had no intention of doing so because he cannot pay for them."[3] Ndulute continued this theme in another letter: "But contrary to my appreciation is father's odd behavior, namely the reluctance to work hard. I am really very ashamed of him. It is very distressing to have a father of that nature who cannot willingly accept his responsibility as a husband and father."[4] His father's refusal to send the children to school represented a major failure and embarrassment to Ndulute and a problem for state

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[1] Clement Ndulute to Alison Redmayne, April 15, 1964, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, England.

[2] For the sake of simplicity, this dissertation uses Tanganyika to refer to the colonial era and Tanzania to refer to the post-colonial era. The official named changed when Tanganyika merged with Zanzibar in 1964.

[3] Clement Ndulute to Alison Redmayne, October 12, 1968, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, England.

[4] Clement Ndulute to Alison Redmayne, February 17, 1966, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, England.

officials. The holders of power in postcolonial Tanzania strove to ensure the next generation of citizens would act like Ndulute and attend school, where they could be taught how to be productive citizens, aware of their rights and responsibilities of belonging to the new Tanzanian state.

While providing an opportunity for young Tanzanians to study and become part of the educated elite, Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere and his advisers recognized the potential of using schools to shape the subsequent generation. With this mindset, in 1963 Vice President Rashidi Kawawa wrote to district education officers: "I would like you to take a special interest in visiting all the schools within your Region or District and giving the children an address on the current affairs of our country. This will help a number of children to be kept in contact with their Government and know its policies. You should take this matter very seriously."[5] These examples of debates by the Tanzanian state are important attempts to target students and teachers in an effort to foster national unity during the early postcolonial period.

As these two anecdotes demonstrate, this dissertation is about local and global dimensions of nation-building in East Africa, particularly Tanzania. It examines the process by which postcolonial African countries experimented with and developed educational and nationalistic institutions as a means to interact with their populations and satisfy increasingly vocal demands for social services. It elaborates on the idea of a pedagogical mandate that state officials took up themselves as they, like their colonial predecessors, confronted 'backward' rural

[5] R.M. Kawawa to District Education Officers, November 29, 1963, Tanzanian National Archive [T.N.A] Acc543/111.

masses and was demanded of them by citizens. As Dipesh Chakrabarty writes in his recent chapter on decolonization and popular politics: "Their [postcolonial states] leaders thought of their peasants and workers simultaneously as people who were already full citizens—in that they had the associated rights—but also as people who were not quite full citizens in that they needed to be educated in the habits and manners of citizens."[6] Throughout the postcolonial world, state officials viewed themselves as educators and recognized the need to establish educational institutions. In elaborating on this pedagogical mandate, this dissertation examines postcolonial institutions in Tanzania, with an emphasis on education, while demonstrating linkages regarding youth, postcolonial nationalist projects and the Cold War during the 1960s.

This dissertation also highlights the fundamental role that non-elite actors, such as teachers, students, and low-level government officials, played in acting as intermediaries between elite politicians and the general population. These transitional figures reproduced the ideology of the nation-state at the local level, while also using global resources, newly-available through Cold War rivalries, to develop institutions and educational structures that reinforced the scope and legitimacy of the nation-state. Therefore, by examining the development of educational and post-colonial nationalistic institutions, this project argues that local issues, national agendas, and global paradigms of authority worked collectively to reinforce the ideals of national citizenship and the pre-eminence of the nation-state in the new postcolonial world.

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[6] Dipesh Chakrabarty. "The Legacies of Bandung: Decolonization and the Politics of Culture." in *Making A World After Empire: The Bandung Movement and Its Political Afterlives,* ed. Christopher Lee (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2010), 45-68.

Methodologically, this dissertation examines postcolonial strategies of social engineering, articulated through such diverse structures and practices as developing new educational institutions, providing state-sponsored celebrations, and redefining conceptions over sexual morality. The two anecdotes above highlight a major effort by the national government to use the newly developed system of national education as a means to target, modify and reform both students and the Tanzanian population in general. Thus, this study raises major questions about the nature of the postcolonial state, including how these states targeted a population with little unity at independence in an attempt to create a viable nation, foster an idea of national citizenship and overcome colonial legacies. This chapter highlights these debates and brings together historiographies on youth and education, the Tanzanian and postcolonial state building and the Cold War. Reworking the largely teleological story of postcolonial state failure, the following pages highlight the optimism, excitement, transformations and international connections of the 1960s.

Colonial Background

Tanganyika as a territory rarely factored into major Colonial Office debates, despite occasional visits of UN officials, concern of German activity during World War Two and its close ties and proximity to Kenya. Proportionally fewer Tanganyikans participated in World War Two than in other colonies and the number of returning veterans, while active in the Tanganyikan African Association, never constituted the same threat to the British as those in Kenya or West Africa. Consequently, the territory lacked dramatic events, such as the

Mau-Mau Insurgency in Kenya or the Accra riots of 1948 in Ghana. Colonialism radically transformed life in Tanganyika. The colonial state oversaw the creation of tribal divisions and implementation of chiefs.[7] Colonial policies created a class of migrant labor which worked on sisal plantations, facilitated (although largely accidentally) the growth of regional cities and the sprawling Dar es Salaam, and transformed ideas of gender and sexuality. Education directly connected all of these transformations as it took a prominent role in the later colonial and post-colonial periods.

During the late colonial period of the 1940s and 1950s, education existed as an institution employed by the British to reform the population and inculcate ideas associated with their "civilizing" mission. In Tanganyika such interaction remained extremely limited, as only a select few possessed access to primary schools and even fewer could achieve a secondary education. Although the number of schools increased during the 1950s, British colonial officials demanded more production from Tanganyikan farmers, forced more land to be brought under cultivation and promoted massive development schemes, such as the infamous Groundnut Scheme from 1946 to 1951. In response to these new requirements, British-appointed chiefs began to lose their legitimacy with ethnic associations along with farming co-operatives now dominating local politics.

Without the common bond of education or anger at the colonial state, divisions plagued Tanganyika. As an invented state with arbitrarily drawn borders, the 'divide and rule' policies of the local state ensured that local ethnic

[7] John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 318-341.

groups possessed few ties with each other or with the state. As no single ethnic group dominated the colony's politics, anti-colonial leaders faced different issues as they needed to unite almost two hundred smaller groups and bring together increasingly strong ethnic associations. Additionally, leaders sought to downplay the religious differences between the Christian educated elite and the Muslim minority. The same leaders also needed to incorporate the large South Asian population that helped lead the anti-colonial movement in the 1950s but was viewed with suspicion by the majority of the population. With their urban focus and quick formation, anti-colonial movements failed to have the same hold on the masses as they did in other countries. Through the use of rallies and speeches, Julius Nyerere capitalized on the discontent and anti-British feeling existing throughout the country and worked to bring different ethnic associations together under the Tanganyika African National Union [TANU—the dominant political party in Tanzania].[8] Advocating both internationally (especially at the United Nations) and throughout the country, Nyerere and his supporters, including hundreds of locally prominent females, obtained self-rule in 1958 and independence in 1961.

Upon achieving independence, the country's inheritors of political authority, led by Nyerere, took over a nation-state foreign to its inhabitants and needing to develop institutions to ensure loyalty to the new regime. Consequently, education became a major preoccupation of the government. This dissertation examines the development of education as a postcolonial institution.

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[8] Susan Geiger, *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanzanian Nationalism, 1955-1965*, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997).

With their affirmation of authority, state officials worked to use these new state institutions for the dissemination of particular messages and deployed those most familiar with the new socialist paradigm to teach others about a new Tanzanian identity, its magnanimous leaders, and its increasingly socialist policies, especially after the implementation of *ujamaa* programs in 1967.[9] This local-national interaction highlighted the increasing dominance of educational programs that hoped to intervene in the everyday life of Tanzanians while promoting unity. In order to accomplish such a goal, this dissertation brings together works dealing with schools and national identity and those reassessing the African colony and nation-state during the 1950s and 1960s in a Cold War world.

The Power of the Young and an Overview of Education

As colonial officials transformed local societies and developed an education system, they began writing about problems associated with Tanganyikan youths, a colonially imposed social category recently established in Western Europe.[10] The East African young experienced tension between an increased control by elder patriarchs, who regulated initiation ceremonies, and the new ability to escape by participating in the colonial economy or associating with Christian missionaries. Colonial officials throughout the continent alternated between encouraging young male migrant labor, working to solidify their alliance with the elderly patriarchy (thus promoting social stability in their minds) and constantly worrying about the threat 'detribalized,' urban youth posed in urban

[9] *Ujamaa* refers to national development programs Nyerere implemented which focused on local communities acting together to increase production and unity.

[10] Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family*, (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

areas. Perceptions of juvenile crime and corresponding debates over what to do about the uncontrollable young became constant themes in colonial discourse, with schooling emerging as one possible method of control.[11] An examination of how education complicated colonial officials' quest for stability provides insight into the rationality of new colonial programs and shows how East Africans contested, appropriated and took advantage of these new educational programs and associations with the colonial state.

Just as colonial officials concentrated on youth and constantly debated education-related issues, colonized intellectuals, products of the colonial education system themselves, recognized that education created a loyal elite which facilitated British rule and also limited the scope of change following independence. In addition to wanting to return many of the government functions to the local level, Gandhi warned against brown Sahibs merely replacing white Sahibs, with even nationalist leaders complicit in preventing any revolutionary activity, a relationship Nyerere acknowledged but also could do little to change.[12] Similarly, Franz Fanon argued that this elite needed to be swept aside in a revolution designed to replace all the vestiges of colonial rule. This issue presented Nyerere and other postcolonial leaders with a dilemma—he (and the others) needed the service and leadership of the educated group but, especially Nyerere, did not want to create or reproduce this educated elite. Still, the number

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[11] Andrew Burton, *African Underclass: Urbanization, Crime and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005).

[12] Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World. A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993).

of schools remained limited and Nyerere recognized the necessity of continuing colonial education policies for the first years following independence, even if the decision reproduced this erudite class. Although remaining dependent on this group, Nyerere quickly joined these theorists and by the mid-1960s began to reform the country's schools under his conception of an expanded basic education necessary for economic development.

In addition to these colonial and postcolonial thinkers, historians and political scientists have recognized the transformative nature of schooling. Eugen Weber highlights the importance of schooling as well as other national institutions in his seminal *Peasants into Frenchmen,* demonstrating how different groups of historically divided people within France united under a national culture between 1871 and 1914.[13] For Weber, state agencies including the school system and military, along with roads and railroads allowed for this amalgamation, although Weber perhaps overemphasizes the smoothness of this transformation. In studying revolutionary Mexico, Mary Kay Vaughan demonstrates how the revolutionary Mexican government used schools to nationalize and modernize rural society. She argues against the top-down creation of a national culture advocated by the above authors by demonstrating the importance of teachers in transmitting, interpreting and altering education policy being stressed by the

[13] Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976).

central government.[14] Teachers and rural communities dialogued with the national government over the implementation of new policies.

Moving from Mexico to Tanzania, scholars also have stressed the importance of education. Recent scholarship highlights how education existed as one of the few areas of interaction between the colonial state and local population. David Morrison details the close ties between education and the politics of the newly created country and concentrates on debates and decision making during the colonial period. Based on field work done in 1966 and 1971, Morrison began assessing the implementation of postcolonial policies. Lene Buchert examines the evolution of education in Tanzania by examining the expansion of education over the entire colonial and postcolonial period.[15] Using mostly official reports, Buchert demonstrates the discrepancies between the formulation and implementation of national policies and how regions in Western Tanzania differed from what was planned. She also highlights the continuities in educational policies between the colonial and postcolonial state as well as providing an overview of education during the structural adjustment era.

More recent works examine education both within and outside of the formal school setting. Heather Sharkey demonstrates how schools brought young men together in colonial Sudan and, while creating bureaucrats for the colonial state, inadvertently fostered connections that helped create a sense of nationalism

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[14] Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1997).

[15] Lene Buchert. *Education in the Development of Tanzania, 1919–90* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1995).

among the Sudanese Arab elite.[16] More applicable to the Tanzanian case is the process Cati Coe describes in her study of education in Ghana as "state attempts to claim and appropriate the meaning of culture through schools."[17] She concludes that this attempt at control is an impossible task because the "nationalized culture taught in schools is devalued and is considered suitable only for children and adolescents."[18] While the state control ultimately failed in Ghana, the Tanzanian state elite in the 1960s were more successful in using schooling to shape the country's national culture.

In addition to questions raised by educationalists, historians now are recognizing the transformative nature of African youths and are focusing on youth in manners other than as the product of a social crisis. For the past fifty years, students and other youths have represented the largest segment of the population and constantly dealt with attempts by the state to control them.[19] This allows for the focus to shift away from the small elite class to the critical generation of those coming of age in the early postcolonial period throughout the continent. Perhaps no generation enjoyed such opportunities, experienced as much pressure, or dealt with new issues as the secondary school graduates of the late 1950s and early 1960s.

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[16] Heather Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism: Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).

[17] Cati Coe, *Dilemmas of Culture in African Schools: Youth, Nationalism, and the Transformation of Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

[18] Coe, *Dilemmas of Culture,* 6.

[19] For an overview, see G. Thomas Burgess, "Introduction to Youth and Citizenship in East Africa," *Africa Today* 51, no. 3 (2005): vii-xxiv. Also see Frances Vavrus, *Desire and Decline: Schooling amid Crisis in Tanzania* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007); Lene Buchert, *Education in the Development of Tanzania, 1919–90* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1995).

Historiography, Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone began questioning why Africanists neglected studying the African family and helped push studies of the African household and youth in 1983.[20] A decade later, Donal Cruise O'Brien furthered this focus on youth in 1996, arguing that the youths of the 1960s and 1970s were the transformative generation in African politics, helping shape and usher in authoritarian rule throughout Africa.[21] This generation experienced "the relatively comfortable socialization procedures" during the "boom years" only to be followed by the marginalization of the "lost generation" during the period of state collapse in the 1980s.[22] Other scholars, such as Jean and John Comaroff, argue that this generation is the "dominant line of cleavage" and argue youths often represented unruly, destructive and dangerous forces.[23] These works reflect the colonial biases of youths that the current generation of scholarship examines but must be subject to closer interrogation.

Scholarship from the late 1990s and 2000s emphasizes how young men and women, especially semi-educated, unemployed males, preoccupied colonial

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[20] Shula Marks and Richard Rathbone. "The History of the Family in Africa: Introduction." *Journal of African History* 24, no. 2 (1983): 145-161.

[21] Donal Cruise O'Brien, "A Lost Generation? Youth Identity and State Decay in West Africa," in *Postcolonial Identities in Africa*, ed. Richard Werbner and Terence Ranger, eds. (New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd, 1996). Also see Jean-Francois Bayart, *The State in Africa: Politics of the Belly* (New York: Polity, 2009).

[22] O'Brien, "A Lost Generation," 45.

[23] Jean and John Comaroff, "Occult Economies and the Violence of Abstraction: Notes From the South African Postcolony," *American Ethnologists* 26, no. 2 (1999): 279-303. Also see Jean and John Comaroff, "Reflections on Youth: From the Past to the Postcolony," in *Frontiers of Capital: Ethnographic Reflections on the New Economy,* ed. Melissa Suzanne Fisher and Greg Downey (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 267.

administrators.[24] G. Thomas Burgess and Andrew Burton argue that the late colonial state began targeting youths as the inheritors of more progressive colonial policies, while abandoning the older generation "as conservative relics of an outmoded African past."[25] The postcolonial leaders, recognizing the importance of the younger generation, continued this trend. Historians currently are examining how postcolonial politicians forged ties with the youth in an attempt to discipline this new generation and transform them into a generation of loyal followers, while at the same time furthering their skills and education in order to promote the development and modernity promised in nationalist campaigns.[26] The new state gave youths a powerful role to play, a role that young students eagerly accepted; they along with teachers, remain a transformative group.

This project builds upon debates over the role of African youths but argues that students and teachers need consideration within the same framework. Through the 1960s, a great deal of fluidity existed between teachers and students, especially as older students often taught the younger students at some point during their studies. The national Ministry of Education officials and regional education officials spent a great deal of time teaching both groups about new government policies. Such interaction allowed state officials to use both teachers and students

[24] Andrew Burton, "Raw Youth, School-Leavers and the Emergence of Structural Unemployment in Late Colonial Urban Tanganyika," *Journal of African History* 47, no. 3 (2006): 363-87.

[25] Andrew Burton and Helene Charton-Bigot, eds. *Generations Past: Youth in East African History* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2010), 9.

[26] James Brennan, "Blood Enemies: Exploitation and Urban Citizenship in the Nationalist Political Thought of Tanzania." *Journal of African History* 47 no. 3 (2006): 389-413. Andrew M Ivaska. "Of Students, "'Nizers," and a Struggle over Youth: Tanzania's 1966 National Service Crisis" *Africa Today* 51 no. 3 (2005): 83-107.

as intermediaries to then teach and reform the larger Tanzanian population and both groups became critical in spreading ideas of belonging to the Tanzanian nation. Scholars have shown the various functions intermediaries served in encouraging people to associate themselves with the colonial state. This dissertation shows the importance of postcolonial intermediaries who enacted new programs but often not in a manner that national officials envisioned.[27] Thus, this dissertation examines the differences between the ideology of postcolonial education and their actual practice.

In addition to playing a major role in building the formal school system, teachers and students became key participants in state celebrations which also served an important pedagogical function targeting Tanzanians apart from the formal school system. Thus, this project considers teachers and students within the same framework and shows the importance each played in institution building and reforming the population.

Inventing the Nation: Tanzanian Historiography

Unlike this dissertation, the first generation of scholarship concentrated on the political elite. Historians and political scientists debated Nyerere's policies and those in other positions of authority who worked to unify the country and overcome the divisions within society that developed during the colonial era. These highly educated politicians emerged during the late colonial period with a missionary-based primary education and a secondary education from the

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[27] Benjamin Lawerence, Emily Osborn et al., eds., *Intermediaries, Interpreters and Clerks: African Employees in the Making of Colonial Africa* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006).

government school in Tabora. Largely Christian, this small group of young men rose in stature outside of the chiefly rulers who dominated the colonial period. Steven Feierman's classic study highlights the triumph of this well-educated bureaucratic class who alienated both the traditional elites, including traditional healers, leaders and colonially appointed chiefs, and "peasant intellectuals" during the first few years of Tanzania's independence.[28] Thus, young, modernizing bureaucrats, those who graduated from secondary school in the late 1950s and early 1960s, became the inheritors of state power in Tanzania. R.M. Osotsi that argues this group throughout East Africa possessed a Western bias and "boarding school, baptism, and total alienation from traditional education processes had raised nothing but contempt from this elite for their own culture."[29] Referring to this group of dominant politicians as the Tanzanian elite, this study expands upon Feierman's focus as it argues this elite cohort attempted to indoctrinate young teachers and students through their control over educational institutions.

While political scientists largely concentrated on this postcolonial elite class, historians of the Dar es Salaam 'School of Historiography' focused on the pre-colonial period.[30] The Dar es Salaam school fits into the nationalist program as newly crowned nationalist leaders were able to incorporate pre-colonial history

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[28] Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1979), 223-244.

[29] R.M. Osotsi, "The Theatre in Independent Kenya." in *Themes in Kenyan History*, ed. William R. Ochieng (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1991), 211.

[30] Donald Denoon and Adam Kuper. "Nationalist Historians in Search of a Nation: The 'New Historiography' in Dar es Salaam " *African Affairs* 69, no. 227 (1970): 329-340. Terence Ranger. "The 'New Historiography in Dar es Salaam: An Answer." *African Affairs* 70, no. 278 (1971): 50-61.

into the nationalist discourse that developed during the 1960s and became a major component of the school curriculum. As such, schools became the first arena in which a new nationalist history was tested, modified and disseminated. In extending this focus from the pre-colonial to early postcolonial period, Terence Ranger points out: "A common history is promoted, often of oppression, to engender a sense of social cohesion and group membership to the majority of the population, whilst inculcating beliefs and socializing the population into a particular viewpoint."[31] The teaching of history on a broad scale also provided governments with a mechanism to target a specific version of history to be taught and promote the nation-building project.

The subsequent generation of scholarship has shown how postcolonial states worked to unify their populations, although this amalgamation occurred through the exclusion of other groups.[32] Susan Geiger's study highlights the importance of women (a group denied power in the postcolonial state) in the nationalist campaign as well as dancing and singing as a means to spread nationalist ideas and raise money for TANU.[33] Concentrating on Tanzania's South Asian minority, Ned Bertz's work demonstrates the exclusionary aspects of urban Tanzanian education as part of a project that attempts to highlight the

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[31] Terence Ranger. "Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Southern African History* 30, no. 2 (2004): 215-234.

[32] Sara Dorman, Daniel Hammett, and Paul Nugent, eds. *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa* (Boston: Brill, 2007).

[33] Geiger, *TANU Women,* 1-24.

exclusionary aspects of forming a nation-state in Africa.[34] Additionally, Emma Hunter analyzes the discourse of *ujamaa* outside of the periphery and by non-official or elite actors.[35] Finally, G. Thomas Burguess uses extensive oral histories to highlight the resources employed by Zanzibar's young state elite to bring people together and form a new revolutionary society, with education comprising a major role in this process.[36] These works demonstrate important attempts at unification through inclusionary and exclusionary means as well as the importance of non-elite groups, both of which help inform this dissertation.

In addition to focusing on more subaltern groups denied political power, the cultural dimensions of the postcolonial state have been examined by the current generation of Tanzanian specialists. Kelly Askew's analysis of Swahili music in the coastal north of the country argues that "nationalism ought to be conceptualized as a series of continually negotiated relationships…No amount of rhetoric can construct a nation if it fails to find resonance with the state citizenry."[37] Likewise, Andrew Ivaska's work emphasizes the contentious nature of cultural production in postcolonial Tanzania. He examines campaigns though which the state worked to ban undesirable behavior, including attire such as miniskirts, deal with protesting university students and reform colonial-era

[34] Ned Bertz. "Educating the Nation: Race and Nationalism in Tanzanian Schools." in *Making Nations, Creating Strangers: States and Citizenship in Africa*, Sara Dorman, Daniel Hammett, and Paul Nugent, eds. (Boston: Brill, 2007).

[35] Emma Hunter. "Revisiting *Ujamaa*: Political Legitimacy and the Construction of Community in Post-Colonial Tanzania." *Journal of Eastern Africa Studies* 2, no. 3(2008): 471-485.

[36] G. Thomas Burgess, *Race, Revolution, and the Struggle for Human Rights in Zanzibar: The Memoirs of Ali Sultan Issa and Seif Sharif Hamad* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2009).

[37] Kelley Askew. *Performing the Nation: Swahili Music and Cultural Politics in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 12.

marriage laws. Ivaska shows that campaigns were an important means through which state officials defined specific qualities important to the new modern Tanzanian state, especially in the vast metropolis of Dar es Salaam.[38] Ivaska adds an important analysis of the state's role in cultural production and the political culture of the 1960s, including the public debates over divisive issues. He also shows the tension that existed regarding student participation in these national campaigns and their awareness of global cultural trends.

This project also adds to debates surrounding detribalization in the postcolonial period. In his book *Citizen and Subject*, Mahmood Mamdani claims that the postcolonial African state was deracialized but not detribalized.[39] This project works to complicate these claims by demonstrating how postcolonial state institutions targeted teachers and students with detribalizing rhetoric. The education system worked to spread a detribalizing, nationalist agenda by promoting national history, a political party that downplayed tribal affiliations and a socialist project focused on national development. At the same time, education officials encouraged students and researchers to develop micro-histories within various localities that stressed the customs of different groups as well as their historical ties with other groups within Tanzanian borders. Using a variety of celebrations, cultural and education officials also stressed the different cultures of the state. Additionally, they encouraged the movement of students to show how

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[38] Andrew Ivaska, *Cultured States: Youth, Gender and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

[39] Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Colonialism* (Princeton, NJ: University of Princeton Press, 1996).

local views existed alongside national views. The message behind such moves was that only Nyerere and his political party were able to transcend such divisions and hold the Tanzanian state together. Thus, the postcolonial state promoted unity and difference—a message that this dissertation will explore in the following chapters.

Education in a Cold War World

This dissertation complicates the historiography which centers on single states by examining Tanzania with regard to the wider Cold War world. In doing so, it draws upon Cold War historiography. Much of the examination of sub-Saharan Africa during the Cold War has emphasized zones of conflict or the manner in which superpowers influenced African politics and developmental programs.[40] More recent works reassess the role of the superpowers in Africa during the 1960s and further the connection by promoting development, especially major modernization projects, and broader foreign policy objectives. For example, Burgess's work situates Zanzibar's (a semi-autonomous island in Tanzania) active engagement with the Cold War world.[41] Other literature recognizes the impact of the developing world on the politically dominant countries.[42] Historians now recognize how Africans influenced the United States

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[40] For example Gary Baines and Peter Vale, eds., *Beyond the Border War: New Perspectives on Southern Africa's Late-Cold War Conflict* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008), Sue Onslow, ed. *Cold War in Southern Africa: White Power, Black Liberation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), Vladimir Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War": The USSR in Southern Africa* (London: Pluto Press, 2009).

[41] Gary Thomas Burgess. "Youth and the Revolution: Mobility and Discipline in Zanzibar, 1950-1980." PhD diss., Indiana University, 2001.

[42] For example, see Larry Grubbs, *Secular Missionaries: American and African Development in the 1960s* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010).

Civil Rights Movement, staffed German hospitals and provided space for communist countries to demonstrate their claims of modernity.[43] This dissertation shows how Tanzania was not simply acted upon by the United States or Soviet Union. In an age without stringent ties to foreign aid, Tanzanian officials selectively worked to engage with the resources of other countries, especially in the field of education.[44] In a similar manner to state officials, Tanzanian students connected with the resources made available by the Cold War on their own terms and for their own educational advancement. In this context I argue how the postcolonial Tanzanian state sought to overcome colonially imposed divisions and demonstrate how the postcolonial state constructed institutions to target its citizens and develop a new modern national culture.

Targeting the Population

Over the past twenty years, perhaps no theoretical approach in African studies has been debated as much as the application of Foucault's work. As an entire generation of scholars now acknowledge, disciplinary power operates not through the spectacular but in a hidden manner through capillary networks. However, Cooper, Vaughan and others point out the limitations of Foucault's

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[43] Young-Sun Hong highlights East German encounters with Tanzania in Young-sun Hong. " 'The Benefits of Health Must Be Spread To All' : International Solidarity, Health and Race in the East German Encounters with the Third World." in *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics.* ed. Katherine Pence (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 183-210.

[44] For an example of Chinese aid to Tanzania see Jamie Monson, *Africa's Freedom Railway: How a Chinese Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009).

work in Africa and its Eurocentricity.[45] This dissertation engages with some of Foucault's insights. Tanzanian state officials hoped that District Education Officers, teachers and students would provide the capillary networks necessary to interact with, discipline and reform the local population. Power also serves to regulate the conduct of conducts, in which (in an ideal Foucauldian world) individuals internalize the values promoted by the holders of power and discipline one's self without the state (or non-state) actors having to intervene. Tanzanian officials wanted to create productive (and rural) national citizens who had internalized the values being promoted by Nyerere and the TANU elite.

Another productive way of looking at Foucault's ideas is to examine the institutions that colonial and postcolonial officials established to facilitate and ensure the rule of the state. As Nicholas Dirks argues, "colonialism was made possible and strengthened, as much by cultural technologies of rule as it was by the more obvious and brutal modes of conquest that first established power on foreign shores."[46] While both Dirks and Cohn might overemphasize (especially in regard to Africa) the transformative nature of the colonial project, especially in ways the colonized accepted and adapted to the classifications of the colonizer, their work provides insight into the goals of the colonial project in Africa. With

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[45] See Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991). Lynn Thomas, *Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction, and the State in Kenya* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

[46] Nicholas Dirks. "Forward" in Bernard Cohn. C*olonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), ix.

this framework in place, this dissertation examines the state institutions that were created to perpetuate state domination during the colonial and postcolonial period.

In addition to Cohn and Dirks, David Scott's focus on institutions provides an important corrective to the colonial and postcolonial applications of Foucault's thought. Adeptly applying Foucaultian notions to colonial South Asia, Scott examines the background and organization of colonial rule, defining colonial power as "historically constituted complexes of knowledge/power that give shape to colonial projects of political sovereignty." He later adds: "What I mean to illuminate are what I should like to call the targets of colonial power (that is, the points of power's application, the object or objects it aims at, and the means and instrumentalities it deploys in search of these targets, points and objects.)…"[47] Studying the construction of colonial and postcolonial institutions provides insight into institutional attempts to reform a state's population.

This theorization allows historians to consider state institutions in relation to how people perceived the authority of the state, not the degree to which the high modernist programs, such as education, succeeded or failed.[48] The postcolonial Tanzanian political elite, inheriting power and institutions from their colonial predecessors and well-versed in colonial ideas, attempted to construct new institutions and modify and strengthen existing ones to target their population to produce the desired effects of their rule at a local level. This approach also

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[47] David Scott. "Colonial Governmentality." *Social Text* 43 (1995): 199.

[48] James Ferguson, *The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development,' Depoliticalization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); also see Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

allows for the examination of state institutions beyond those at the center of state authority to the level where the Tanzanian population interacted with the state.[49] Using questions raised by David Scott, this dissertation highlights non-elite actors and their role in the creation and functioning of education as an instrument of governance that targeted the postcolonial population as a means to discipline and reform the population to increase the state's own legitimacy.

This dissertation works to further examine the role of institutions in the government's attempt to target various Tanzanian-populations. To accomplish this goal, it looks at the discourse being debated and produced by state and education officials and the relationship between this discourse and the specific practices in which these officials interacted with the targeted groups. It works to demonstrate how national, regional and local officials along with teachers and students engaged with each other and attempts to reform the population. At the same time, teachers and students were able to negotiate and reformulate these attempts and use their new influence for their own goals. Finally, debates over pregnant schoolgirls show the limitations of this disciplinary reach as sexually active school girls circumvented or simply ignored disciplinary attempts. Thus, Tanzanian officials' attempts at targeting specific groups within the population had unintended consequences but justified more coercive attempts seen with the brutal villagization campaigns of the 1970s.

[49] For an elaboration on this theorization see Jean-Francois Bayart, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* (New York: Longman, 1993).

Interactions with Teachers and Students: An Overview of Methodology

In order to highlight the postcolonial growth of education as a national institution and focus on attempts at reforming the Tanzanian population, my examination of the political deployment of education and the establishment of a new civic culture takes an interdisciplinary approach that puts a multitude of transnational sources in dialogue with one another. The project employs an ethnographic approach using the oral histories of Tanzanian teachers and students, who provide important accounts of their educational experiences in Tanzania during this time period as well as their subsequent experiences. Additional interviews took place with students who studied abroad during the 1960s, either as a result of private initiatives or bilateral programs. Although thousands of teachers taught during this era, many currently live in rural areas or are quite elderly and infirm. Much of my time in Tanzania was spent trying to locate retired teachers without much luck. However, teachers I was able to interview served in a variety of locales throughout the country and provided insight into the development of education during this period. Still, many of these teachers who experienced the social and economic chaos of the 1980s tended to over-glorify their experiences during the 1960s when teachers enjoyed more prestige, a better salary, regular pay, and the ability to purchase goods—all issues that worsened over the next twenty years—and influenced how people remember their past.

To counter this problem, this project also makes use of archives from Tanzania, the United Kingdom and the United States. It uses papers from both the National Archive in Dar es Salaam and the regional archive in Mwanza,

located in northwestern Tanzania, to gain insight into the growth of the educational system from the 1950s through the early 1970s.[50] Although organized by state officials and purged of damning documents, regional archives in Tanzania allow historians to see regional responses, reactions and worries over the implementation of national programs, and provide insight that national archives fail to provide. The documents examined at the regional and national archives in Tanzania include reports written by school inspectors, the correspondence of teachers with their superiors, and messages between head teachers, regional officials and high ranking administrators at the national Ministry of Education. While providing accounts of the rationality behind new programs and the development of institutions, many of these documents are problematic as they exaggerate the successes of the new policies and social engineering projects.

To correct this problem, this project examines documents outside of official state archives. Papers of educators, especially the collection of former British colonial officials at the Rhodes House Library in Oxford, and the personal correspondence of Tanzanian students, provide personal accounts of the late colonial and early postcolonial period and provide a more balanced approach than relying on official state documents.

Finally, Tanzanian newspaper articles, editorials, and letters to the editor provide insight into debates over the expansion of schools, issues with teachers and the role of female students. Long viewed as mere mouthpieces of a country's ruling party and elite, scholars now recognize the insight newspapers give into the

[50] After the early to mid-1970s, all documentation ceases to exist in the archives.

politics and everyday life of the late colonial and early postcolonial period, with certain newspapers being more critical of official initiatives. While the majority of the letters and opinion pieces were written by the educated few, many letters reflect their writers' range of educational backgrounds and provide insight into the perceptions and reactions to new governmental policies.[51] By examining these sources together historians enjoy a more complete understanding of the Tanzanian education system, the importance of students and teachers, and, more generally, the everyday aspects of state-building within a transnational framework.

The Pedagogical State: An Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation examines how nation builders used education as an institution to foster a sense of unity in Tanzania and inculcate others about how they should live and what their responsibilities were to the postcolonial state. In comparing discourse and politics in India and Tanzania, Dipesh Chakrabarty argues that the "pedagogical politics of Nehru, Nassar, or Nyerere, were firmly based on the territorial idea of the nation-state" and that they saw themselves "as teachers to their nations."[52] These postcolonial leaders needed to teach their countrymen about the historical and cultural roots of their new nation-state and exactly what citizenship entailed. In addition to these national leaders, Tanzanian students and teachers disseminated the messages of the nationalist project to those outside the formal education system. After an overview of education during

[51] On the overall importance of newspapers in Tanzania see Hadji Konde, *The Freedom of the Press in Tanzania* (Arusha, TZ: East Africa Publications, 1984). Martin Sturmer, *The Media History of Tanzania* (Ndanda, TZ: Ndanda Mission Press, 1998). For its use as sources see Ivaska, *Cultured States,* 28-34.

[52] Charkabarty, "The Legacies of Bandung," 54.

colonial rule, this dissertation takes a thematic approach in arguing for the important role education played in nation-building during the first decade of independence.

The second chapter focuses on education during the colonial period to show how the colonial state identified specific themes to ensure loyalty among the educated class to the colonial regime. The chapter also introduces readers to the four themes that will serve as the focus of this dissertation—education as a local phenomenon, the transnational component of education, the use of education to promote state celebrations, and how officials used the education system to reform gender roles. As graduates of colonial-era schools, the first generation of Tanzania's politicians incorporated these themes as a method to ensure the legitimacy of their own rule during the postcolonial period.

The third chapter examines the parallel systems of education that existed during the late colonial and early postcolonial period and demonstrates how the national government effectively incorporated expanding local schools into a national system of education. National leaders worked to implement a new curriculum and replace British teachers with Tanzanian educators, effectively decolonizing the British-established system of education. Following this expansion, education existed as the reason for state intervention, with the state elite and the Ministry of Education playing a heightened role in the affairs of local schools and furthering their everyday interaction with the local population. Officials within the Ministry of Education, along with national-level politicians,

leveraged local problems into opportunities to further monitor and regulate this expansion.

The fourth chapter examines the role teachers and students played in building these new institutions—they were both the targets of state reforms and, once they were co-opted into the growing state institutions, the conduit through which institutions could further expand. In many regards, teachers and students acted as intermediaries between national officials and the rural population. After undergoing extensive training and interacting with national politicians and state officials, teachers and students became key promoters of the new Tanzanian civics and history. Largely through this effort, people increasingly became aware of their belonging to the Tanzanian nation-state and their national history, which privileged the African male political leaders at the expense of women and minorities.

With this affirmation of authority, elite state officials worked to use the new educational institutions for the dissemination of particular messages and deployed newly trained teachers to educate others about a new Tanzanian identity. Additionally, schools became the sites where state officials first tested and implemented *ujamaa* policies in the country, as teachers helped espouse new socialist concepts to the rest of the population while students demonstrated in favor of them and helped local villages form collective farms. Developed by Nyerere, *ujamaa* programs were designed to promote economic development through collective agriculture and provide basic social services to the rural population. Aware of their importance, teachers and students used their relatively

secure positions for their own ends and quickly began demanding privileges and concessions from the political elite.

The fifth chapter examines how actors within the Tanzanian state, especially the Ministry of Education, sought to harness resources made available by the Cold War to build state institutions. Education officials worked to use teachers from the new Teachers for East Africa program and then, as the Peace Corp took over the program, used Peace Corp volunteers as well as British teachers. In addition to teachers coming to the country, Tanzanian students actively pursued and readily accepted scholarships abroad for the opportunity to obtain a university education before returning to Tanzania (or in some cases remaining abroad). The experience students had abroad shaped their views and caused many to question their role in Nyerere's increasingly autocratic state. Thus, the movement of students had unintended consequences for the postcolonial state. Overall, examining Cold War educators demonstrates the importance of transnational resources in providing the necessary manpower to staff domestic, nation-building institutions.

Having explained the construction of the educational apparatus and the use of transnational personnel, the sixth chapter then explores attempts to further employ transnational resources to construct cultural hegemony, specifically though national festivals. Building upon traditions established under colonial rule, local festivals functioned as a major attraction during celebrations while also creating an opportunity for student participation and allowing education officials to promote a new Tanzanian identity. Through the proliferation of these

messages, which were highly linked to the educational system, the state elite worked to detribalize the country, thereby altering the social structure of the country. Thus, state festivals functioned as a method to remind citizens of their political leaders, the benefits of TANU rule, and their connections to the nation as a whole.

The seventh chapter discusses how education created new concepts toward morality and linked this morality to Tanzanian citizenship. This chapter demonstrates the micro-interactions that bonded teachers, parents, and students with local and regional bureaucrats, a process that archival material and interviews promise to highlight. Building upon legacies left by missionaries, regulations about sexuality explicitly targeted immoral schoolgirls who, according to educational reformers, visibly spurned an important opportunity to further their own education and help develop the country.

In sum, this dissertation provides insight into the use of education in fostering a national identity and the implementation of new national programs. It illustrates Tanzania's early postcolonial history by examining attempts to reform the population through the fashioning of state institutions that would allow the political elite to regulate and reform the behavior of Tanzanian citizens, especially its youth. In an age dominated by rhetoric of nationalism and the historiography focused on the nation state, Tanzania's interaction with the world provides an alternative to this paradigm. Colonial and postcolonial education and state building were intertwined with transnational resources. State officials were able to reinforce their own legitimacy and that of the state by engaging with

international assistance. At the same time, students and teachers used their access to this assistance to empower themselves, help their families and further their careers. This project shows the ambitions and goals of the increasingly socialist and authoritarian state in trying to reform the population and the inherent challenges when encountering the ambitions of students, hesitations of parents, and differing local and national agendas with ties to the Cold War world.

Chapter 2

Imperial Education and Tanganyikan Students

In recalling his time as a colonial-era education officer, William Dodd wrote: "Reports came in every month…it was a way of keeping in touch with what was happening in the schools….on one occasion the head teacher reported: 'We have been invaded by pirates from Ukerewe Island; they have taken the school fund, and the school radio. I was tied up all night. I was rescued the next morning.'"[53] Dodd's casual mention of a pirate attack highlights an important aspect of the education system in late-colonial Tanganyika—parents, missionaries and teachers established schools in places with little other colonial presence, areas even susceptible to occasional pirate attacks. While this chapter does not provide a complete history of colonial education in Tanganyika, it will show the tensions inherent in colonial education as well as highlight themes that will be elaborated on in subsequent chapters. These tensions include the imperial goals of education pitted against local demands, the desire to develop loyalty to the colonial regime against creating discontent, and the attempt to foster both stability and change through education. Educators became contradictory figures themselves, possessing their own goals and ideas in perpetuating the colonial project as they targeted young students.

This chapter first examines the establishment of local schools and the debates it caused. Local schools existed largely outside the oversight of the

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[53] William A. Dodd, "The Memorandum of William Atherton Dodd," 1988, Rhodes House Library MSS. Afr. s. 1755/1122/Box XLIV.

colonial state and education officials constantly condemned their presence. A majority of these schools did not receive government support but instead were backed by missionary organizations and local communities. Graduates of upper primary school or African missionaries staffed these schools and, as colonial officials constantly demonstrated, students attended on an irregular basis. In contrast, students lived at or near government aided schools which existed in larger towns. Tabora, in central Tanzania, Moshi, in the north, and Tanga, along the Indian Ocean, all possessed large, government supported secondary schools that accepted students from the entire country. Possessing teachers from the metropole, these towns became known for their secondary schools and many of the early postcolonial government officials emerged from these three schools. By examining the two levels of school, this chapter demonstrates the tensions that existed within the colonial state over schooling and between the colonial state and Tanganyikan population.

After examining the emergence of local schooling, this chapter will then explore how education helped redefine patriarchy in Tanganyikan society. Missionaries and British educators worked to gender education in a manner that reflected their own ideology and upbringing. At the same time, educators and anti-colonial figures used schools and celebrations at schools to engage with students. Finally, this chapter examines the transnational component of Tanganyikan education as students attended school in Uganda and Great Britain. Others worked to study in countries such as America and Russia. Through such a global framework, this examination allows the tensions that existed during the

colonial period to emerge as well as acknowledges the continuities that existed between the colonial and postcolonial state.

The Education Paradox and Debates in Colonial Africa

While sometimes existing beyond the reaches of the colonial state in areas where outbreaks of piracy occurred, education by its very nature forced many colonial officials into uneasy debates in Tanganyika, as in all British colonies at the time. Not only did officials argue over the purpose of education, including the proper emphasis on agriculture and vocational training, but debated more controversial issues such as urbanization and taxes.[54] As scholars such as Andrew Burton argue, colonial officials mostly ignored the urbanization that was occurring although occasionally officials conducted campaigns to expel unemployed males and females, including their families, from major cities.[55] However, these same officials heard arguments from educational officials who desired to increase the number of urban schools to target local youths whom they feared would otherwise resort to crime. Additionally, District Officers, education officials, and those setting policies in the capital spent a great deal of time debating levels of taxation. Although district officers resisted raising taxes at the local level, fearing it would compound existing anti-colonial sentiment, education officials argued that any further expenditure needed to be borne by those actually

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[54] Andrew Burton, *African Underclass: Urbanization, Crime and Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2005).

[55] James Brennan, Andrew Burton and Yusuf Law, eds. *Dar es Salaam: Histories From an Emerging Metropolis* (Dar es Salaam, TZ: Mkuki Na Nyota Publishers, 2007). Also see Burton, *African Underclass,* chapters 2-3.

receiving the benefits of schools.[56] Here, tension existed within the colonial bureaucracy as officials with competing interests debated the need to expand education and how best to pay for it. Through the late 1940s and early 1950s, increases in local taxation and expenditures caused the Director of Education to strive to inform the public of what they were paying for. "It is obvious that more and more people will be asking more and more questions. It is our job to provide the answers and to carry the people with us in the very difficult task of trying to provide reasonable education services in a territory with relatively small financial resources."[57] Thus, issues associated with education caused colonial officials to debate questions at the center of imperial rule and on which groups within the state possessed vastly different opinions.

An examination of education highlights a contradiction at the center of the colonial project—education provided the uplift needed to perpetuate the social and economic mobility necessary in justifying colonial rule. Teachers working at newly established schools and colleges trained minor bureaucrats and inculcated Western superiority into a loyal class of subjects. Education also existed as a reward for the sons of loyal chiefs and prosperous farmers, those who provided a service to the state or participated in the colonial economy. As the British appointed large numbers of chiefs as part of their indirect rule strategy,[58] the education of their sons served as an additional mark of differentiation necessary in

[56] "Suggested Revision of African Education Plan." September 19, 1959. T.N.A. Acc471/E/17.

[57] G.H. Rushbridger, "Circular Letter No. 90." June 13, 1957. T.N.A. Acc471/E-7-VII-226.

[58] Using a model developed by Frederick Lugard, Governor David Cameron worked to divide up Tanganyikan society into tribes and appointed chiefs to rule over individual groups.

maintaining the status of chiefs. To the outside world and local population, the establishment of schools provided direct evidence of the civilizing mission colonizers used to justify their rule.

This expanding newly educated class of functionaries enjoyed increased prestige and economic opportunities in the new colonial system—evidence of the socio-economic advancement brought by schooling. However, this education also exposed the graduates of secondary school to their career limitations under European rule. Additionally, education helped create a sense of discontent and anti-colonial sentiment.[59] As the British only possessed a relatively minor presence in their territory and the vast majority of the population rarely interacted with colonial officials, education nonetheless represented one of the few voluntary encounters with a representative (no matter how loosely affiliated) of the colonial state.

Rural elites took advantage of educational opportunities throughout the continent. This group was the only group that could afford school fees and, along with the exceptionally gifted—those that did well on British designed and proctored exams— included those who were among the few who received any education beyond that at informal 'bush' schools. Tanganyika was no exception. In 1931, the territory possessed 3,400 native authority, missionary and government schools, which educated 167,523 people.[60] Factoring in unassisted

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[59] For example see Heather Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism: Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Sudan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).

[60] Lene Buchert, *Education in the Development of Tanzania, 1919-1990* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1994), 28. In this case, Buchert bases her statistics on annual reports published by the Department of Education in Tanganyika.

schools (those not receiving any government support), at best two-thirds of the African population in Tanganyika enjoyed access to some form of schooling. However, as Lene Buchert points out, access to these schools remained uneven, again not a problem unique to Tanganyika. The majority were located "in the centers of African cash crop production, plantation or white settler production and the centers of trade, administrative and service industries."[61]

Overall, less than two thousand (all male) students, roughly three percent of the overall school population, attended secondary school in one of the three government secondary schools located in the territory. The northern areas (around Arusha, Moshi and Lushoto) and areas around Lake Victoria enjoyed huge numbers of schools at the expense of the less productive and rural central and southern parts of the country, except around the main road that divided the country roughly in half.[62] In more neglected areas, education officials estimated that less than one-quarter of the eligible population attended school on even a semi-regular basis. Opportunities to attend school remained rare but, as will be explained below, began improving following World War Two which forced more colonial officials and Tanganyikans to confront these educational contradictions and debates. The implementation of a policy shift in Tanganyika reflects a change in colonial policy throughout the British Empire as the colonial state worked to promote social programs and intervene into the everyday lives of its subjects to a greater degree.

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[61] Buchert, *Education in the Development of Tanzania*, 30.

[62] Ibid., 31-32.

In addition to training the sons of chiefs, the Tanganyikan colonial education created trained workers needed in the lower levels of the colonial bureaucracy. The select few who received an education became the group targeted to staff the bureaucracy. Graduates filled positions such as medical assistants, veterinary assistants, and assistant public works engineers, with colonial teacher John Blumer acknowledging: "The greater proportion of boys was required to obtain as high an educational level as possible so as to fit them for subsequent specialist training and service the various government departments."[63] Administrators in Dar es Salaam worked to limit those graduating from secondary school or college (at Makerere College in Uganda)[64] and they also carefully estimated the number of vacancies in positions reserved for Africans, to ensure that positions were filled without training any additional African students.[65] The system worked well as long as the number of graduates equaled the number of positions, but soon the demand for these lucrative careers in urban areas increased and the number of graduates exceeded the available positions. The career limitations that the British imposed on their African workforce also created a great deal of discontent and, when African colonial employees reached the limits of advancement, they began to look elsewhere for educational opportunities.

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[63] J.A.C. Blumer, "Memorandum of J.A.C. Blumer" Rhodes House Library, 1985, MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (114- XXXIII).

[64] For more on the universities that existed in British Africa see Apollos Okwuchi Nwauwa, *Imperialism, Academe, and Nationalism: Britain and University Education for Africa, 1960-1960* (New York: Routledge 1997).

[65] "S. Williams to the Hon'ble Chief Secretary." April 7, 1938, T.N.A. S.25738.

Thus, British colonial officials created a workforce for the state at the expense of the long-term stability they also worked to foster.

Education as Local Interactions with the Colonial State

Despite the colony-wide goals of creating an administrative workforce and using education to promote loyalty, education primarily existed as a local matter during this period with schools operating outside the purview of the colonial state. The hope to use education to ensure a loyal subjected population was thwarted by an overall lack of oversight of schools at the local level. Former missionary students who enjoyed only a slightly higher level of education than their students established and staffed these schools, meeting the need of a basic education through locally accessible schools. For example, when describing these schools, missionary school inspector John Clague-Smith wrote: "An old man, with spectacles on nose, was going round to the pupils devoting himself to teach…There are well over 300 of these vernacular schools in the Nyasa area which are financed by the native congregations. The teachers are untrained and the schools rarely keep open for more than twenty weeks."[66] However limited, these schools provided the main method through which most African students received an education, especially those living in rural areas who would otherwise be unable to attend school.

In addition to promising the potential for non-agricultural work and employment in towns, the colonial education system provided a method by which district officers and other colonial officials demonstrated the generosity and

[66] John Clague-Smith, "Recollections." Rhodes House Rhodes House Library. MSS. Afr. s. 1755/ 37.

benevolence of British rule. Students and parents wrote to their local district officer asking for assistance in paying school fees. These letters requesting aid flooded district offices with parents promising future reimbursement or claiming to be too poor to pay. Here, colonial officials clashed with their educational counterparts. While generally frugal, district officers distributed aid to those they knew otherwise could not afford school fees. In contrast, school officials needed to maximize the collection of school fees and could not be as generous. Thus, colonial officials worked to demonstrate the kindness of the colonial state while also developing a talented future workforce.

The writers of letters asking for aid varied between relatively well-paid state employees and those on the margins of the cash-based economy. As teachers collected school fees averaging Tsh. 200 per student at the start of the term, at a time when an above average salary at the time was Tsh. 100 per month, even those employed by the state needed assistance. For example, Augustino Mbola of Tanga used his connections and English skills when asking for help: "My salary cannot pay for the fees at once and if there is a delay the children will be chased from school. Sir, I will be very glad if your response is positive."[67] A similarly well-connected and educated school teacher, making Tsh. 265 month, also wrote for assistance: "I have some challenges to pay fees for the two children not forgetting that I have a wife and four other children who need to eat, dress and fees for primary level schooling."[68] Others in need of aid cited past

[67] "Augustino Mbola to District Officer, Tanga." June 1, 1954, T.N.A. Acc177/E10/143.

[68] "Unknown to District Officer, Tanga." February 2, 1952, T.N.A. Acc177/E10/168.

assistance in their letters. "I ask for Tsh. 60 for the same child…I have a burden of 12 children to take to school. I will pay just as I did last year. I hope to receive your assistance again," wrote Salimu Nyuma.[69] Thus, even those firmly entrenched in the colonial economy needed assistance with school fees. Although no statistics exist on the exact aid given and in many cases education officials rejected requests, these letters highlight how important education had become by the mid-1950s, the degree to which parents sacrificed to pay school fees, and the small acts of generosity by colonial officials that allowed the state to be seen in a more positive manner as officials responded to local requests important to the subjected population (while also creating a loyal workforce).

In other cases, colonial officials at the local level provided assistance for promising students those officials knew could not afford school fees. In one case a care-giver wrote to the Assistant District Officer in Tanga: "The father of the child died and all that he has remaining is his mother who is weak because of her old age. For this reason it is challenging for her to raise his school fees."[70] Additionally, a teacher informed the District Commissioner about his student: "I have done some investigations and found out that he neither has anything nor anybody to take care of him leave alone paying for his school fees. I will be grateful if you help this boy to continue with his education because I know he is very hard-working in his studies."[71] In one final example, Standard Five student, Ally Salim, implored his headmaster to present a letter to the District

[69] "Salimu Nyuma to District Officer, Tanga." February 16, 1952, T.N.A. Acc177/E10/152.

[70] "Unknown to District Officer, Tanga." July 27, 1955, T.N.A. Acc177/E10/189.

[71] "Unknown to District Officer, Tanga." May 15, 1954, T.N.A. Acc177/E10/189, 14.

Commissioner which he wrote, stating his need for school fees "because I am an orphan and when my parents died I was not left with a guardian to take care of me."[72] After investigating these claims or believing local teachers, district officers used funds from the local treasury to assist in paying the school fees or entirely forgave the fees. These acts of generosity allowed poor but gifted students to continue attending school and demonstrated the benefits of British rule at an individual level.

Despite these successes, colonial inspectors viewed the majority of locally-administered primary schools as highly problematic and worked to close them—even as officials in London touted the numbers of students being educated in the colony. First, the schools did not possess the qualified teachers that the colonial state desired. Consequently, colonial inspectors also questioned the ability of local teachers to successfully educate students who would soon demand work with the colonial state and flood local towns. Second, as these schools existed often in very rural areas (hence they were known as bush schools), they were difficult for the colonial state to regulate. The undermanned education department rarely inspected these schools and could not monitor the curriculum. When inspectors visited these schools, the inspectors often condemned what they saw.

Third, the teachers taught students whose labor was needed at home and whose parents often could not afford the annual school fees. Consequently, students attended irregularly for several years and often attended a variety of

[72] "Ally Salim to District Officer, Tanga." May 27, 1956, T.N.A. Acc177/E10/192.

schools. Following graduation, students expected to receive government jobs and often migrated to nearby towns, a practice that continued into the postcolonial era. The following report, authored by Superintendent of Education R.S. Foster, demonstrates the general critical attitude the colonial state possessed toward these schools with his sardonic writing highlighting a sense of African inferiority:

> Attendance. I found 24 boys in a school out of a possible 55 on the roll. Some of those absent were being circumcised. There appeared to be no very clear idea as to classes and standards but there was a more or less suitable grouping of the boys into three divisions according to their ability.
>
> Mwalimu [teacher] Mwanjano. Was not present when I arrived, his absence being explained simultaneously by three boys as being due to his attending
>
> 1. The court 2. Latrine 3. Hospital
>
> He appears to be almost entirely untrained though eager to please and do his best.
>
> Methods and Organization:
>
> There is really none at all, so I can only describe the state of School materials appear to be scarce, but it transpired that the teacher had sufficient in his house for all his pupils, but did not like having so many things in use!
>
> One class is taken at a time the others remained being left quite idle. In the reading lessons the teacher reads aloud (very badly) what the next pupil is about to read.
>
> Writing is very poor. Mental arithmetic seems to be confined to reciting the multiplication tables incorrectly.
>
> My visit coinciding with the fast of Ramadan, I witnessed the considerable skill shown by the boys, led by their teacher, in spitting out school windows from a great distance. Were this religious observation part of the curriculum I could safely award them full markings for it; all the same it would be advisable to teach them to go outside.[73]

While condemning the school, Foster nonetheless alludes to the demand for education and for local schools, even if that entailed hiring a teacher without the needed qualifications. He shows the relative autonomy of the local schools and

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[73] "Native Administration Schools: Kolo Wasi and Usandawi." February 3, 1929, T.N.A. S/11996.

the ability of the local community to establish these schools outside of the purview of the colonial state. Foster demonstrates the general lack of respect the colonial state gave these relatively autonomous schools, even if these schools satisfied the local desire for education. Colonial educational officials thought these schools were largely a waste of money while local communities continued to send their children to them.

At the same time as colonial officials were condemning local schools, the local population rarely welcomed outsiders. Thus, schools continued to be run by teachers whom the colonial state viewed as unfit. Education official J. Manson realized the difficulties both the colonial state and missionaries experienced when sending more educated Tanganyikans from other areas to establish schools or increase the level of education in a particular village. "Many a time the people simply refused to accept them in their schools because they did not come to them as leaders and servants of the Church as they expect them to be. The people accused the teachers of looking down upon them."[74] A school was viewed as a critical part of the local community to which outsiders did not belong.

Additionally, Manson realized that language problems existed as teachers did not understand the local language or spoke a slightly different dialect. While possessing over a hundred local languages, Swahili was starting to emerge as the national language as it spread from the coast to inland areas by workers moving

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[74] "J.A. Manson to Sydney H. Clague-Smith." 1992, Rhodes Hose Library, Syndney Clague Smith Records, MSS. Afr. s. 1755 (118), Box 37.

throughout the country.[75] At the same time, colonial schools worked to teach English, although the number of English teachers remained limited. Through the late colonial period, the lack of a common language in communities outside the coastal regions reinforced the notion that teachers were outsiders.

Incoming teachers with higher education viewed themselves as superior to the local villagers, creating a permanent divide that could not be overcome and generally did not exist with the local semi-educated teachers. According to Manson, villagers believed these teachers were "too proud to speak our language, whilst our own teacher repairs his own house and cultivates his fields, the newcomer asks for higher wages because he has got too soft hands to hold a hoe and expected us to keep his house in order whilst he himself will do nothing towards it." With these problems, education continued as a local matter with local successes and failures, much to the annoyance of the colonial state which worked to increase their control over local schools.

Director of Education G.H. Rushbridger summed up the general attitude of the barely educated 'bush' school graduates, stating that those who attended these six year schools "were unemployed and unemployable."[76] However, with money invested in their education and as often the most educated in the community, these graduates expected well-paying jobs in the colonial economy or with the colonial government. District Education Officer Spratt possessed the same attitude **as** Rushbridger toward the graduates of these rural schools, writing: "The selected

[75] James L. Giblin, *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refuge from State in Twentieth-Century Tanzania* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006).

[76] "G.H. Rushbridger to All Provincial Education Officers." June 13, 1957, T.N.A. Acc471/E-7-VII-226.

minority who had attended these schools, but proceeded no further, tended to produce a sort of spurious elite with pretensions to white collar work for which they were not adequately qualified, even if sufficient jobs had existed. The drift away from the land into urban unemployment caused concern."[77] Rushbridger demonstrates many issues that the colonial and the postcolonial state struggled to deal with. Education encouraged a divide between the towns and countryside as well as fostered elitist attitudes. Graduates of upper primary and secondary school demanded work in the colonial (and then postcolonial) bureaucracy in which jobs were limited.

Colonial officials wrote of their concern regarding local education. The youths, condemned by colonial officials as semi-educated at best, became the driving force behind the nationalist movement and the quick growth of schools throughout the country without the support of the colonial state. With this attitude regarding local education, the colonial state constantly battled with local communities and individuals over the registration and regulation (along with funding) of these schools yet recognized the local demand for education that would continue into the postcolonial period.

In reports to the United Nations, colonial Tanganyikan officials claimed education included "mental, physical and spiritual development"[78] of the population and that it was intended to bring progress in the more "backward

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[77] William Spratt. "Memorandum of William Spratt," 1987, Rhodes House Library, MSS. Afr. s. 1755.

[78] "Report to the United Nations Administration on Tanganyika 1955," CO1079/145, 129.

sections of the territory's population,"[79] while also providing increased opportunities for the South Asian and European communities, who enjoyed separate schools. With this new focus on education, the budget for the Education Department increased from £114,405 in 1938 to £595,831 in 1948, and £4,33,939 in 1955/1956, although the budget remained divided between schools for the three racial groups.[80] By 1955, the number of students attending school reflected this new focus on education, with 310,009 African students enrolled in over two thousand primary schools, with an additional 30,485 students in upper primary and 1,813 in secondary schools.[81] Thus, this period witnessed the rapid, if overdue, expansion of education in the country and a demonstration of the benefits of British goodwill which was often presented to local and international audiences as well as justifying increased economic exploitation. Access to primary school remained possible for large numbers of Tanzanians but the availability of spaces at upper-primary and secondary schools were much more limited.

However, this expansion was not uniform and varied by locale. Wanting to improve the quality of students and the education they received, the colonial state focused on increasing the opportunities for upper primary and secondary education (referred to as Std. V-XII and later Std. V-VIII and Forms I-VI) as

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[79] "Report to the United Nations Administration on Tanganyika 1955," CO1079/145, 129.

[80] Ibid., 129.

[81] "Report to the United Nations Administration on Tanganyika 1955," CO1079/145, 128; In early colonial and postcolonial Tanganyika, the counting of students was problematic as students often dropped out and reentered school several times over the course of even one year, not to mention schooling career.

opposed to increasing the number of primary schools, reflecting a trend that would continue on into the post-independence era and reaffirm students' elitist mentality. Officials wrote that in order to raise the overall standards of primary education, "the sub-committee has proposed that no new primary schools or primary streams should be opened in 1958 or 1959 but that during these years the emphasis should be on providing classrooms and teachers for existing primary schools."[82] While missionaries remained free to establish primary schools, the colonial government hesitated before committing to funding these schools and often required them to be in operation for a number of years and have an established student population before releasing any state funds. Education officials also limited the number of primary schools who would receive state funding. As many missionary and private primary schools constantly desired to become a grant-aided school (thus receiving government aid and less dependent on tuition or missionary support), the shift from aiding these primary schools was a major setback.

Further limiting the spread of education, education officials sometimes failed in their efforts to promote education in certain communities. District Education Officer R.F. Smart recalled his failures to increase the number of Maasai students attending school in northern Tanganyika. Dorothy Hodgson argues colonial officials viewed this northern Tanzanian ethnic group as a "nomad warrior race" content to raise cattle and limit their interactions with the colonial

[82] "G.H. Rushbridger to Education Secretaries." June 25, 1957. T.N.A. Acc471/E7/VII/226.

state.[83] Smart's recollection reinforces this stereotype as his inspector, from a neighboring ethnic group, complains about the difficulties in educating the Maasai:

> We were to set about getting the first Maasai trained teachers and developed education in that vast territory. Originally the magnitude of the task, the vast distances and the inherent hostility to this scheme of mobile schools, one moving each itinerant section of the tribe with its teacher were not apparent...I met recruits with my Kiarusha speaking African inspector. In modern parlance they as a group represented every known handicap from lame, blind, physically defective, deaf, dull, and downright stupid. A nice touch by obdurate elders. Nevertheless we set up the scheme, appointed a few Kiarusha speaking bush teachers, rejects from every teacher training system, gave them a short course, some slates, chalk, and a couple of textbooks, some pay and sent them on their way. Seemingly there was no further opposition, they joined with the women, children, and cattle and their migration.[84]

Some groups only nominally accepted the intrusion of colonial education, just as they minimized their overall contact with the colonial state. Still, Director of Education Rushbridger this expansion as a success on which he worked to show the benefits of British rule. In one instance, Rushbridger told his subordinates that it is "necessary that the general public should realize what has been achieved during the past 10 years. Where there are District newspapers full use should be made of them for publishing facts and figures relating to education."[85] Thus, in the opinion of colonial officers, Tanganyikans could benefit from British rule and education could offset the more intrusive and labor intensive programs enacted during this second colonial occupation. Local schools became critical in

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[83] Dorothy Hodgson, *Once Intrepid Warriors: Gender, Ethnicity and the Cultural Politics of Maasai Development* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 277.

[84] John Smart. "Memorandum of John Smart," Rhodes House Library, MSS. Afr. s. 1755.

[85] Ibid., 5.

educating the population while also demonstrating the limited degree to which the British actually controlled the schools.

European Schools

At the same time as the British battled local communities over schools, colonial officials worried about the schooling available for Europeans. With a small settler population, high ranking colonial officials worked to unify the European population in the territory. Starting in the early 1930s, British colonial officials expressed great concern about the poor settlers in the Iringa [in south-central Tanzania] area and especially worried that only nine attended school, with the others either unable to afford school fees, living too far away from a school or possessing "little faith in the institution."[86] These settlers of German and South African Dutch origin lived in rural areas and either worked on small farms or in local mines. More important than the various nationalities of these groups was the threat to whiteness that this poor group of European settlers represented. In the rural areas and mining communities, investigators noted: "Many of them [children] run about bare-footed in squalid shacks where the ordinary decencies of life are practically non-existent."[87] Officials in Dar es Salaam referred to this more transient European population as the "poor white problem" and condemned the schools, the irregular attendance, and lack of paid school fees in a comparable manner to the African population. With this behavior, the actions of these European groups threatened to erase the differentiation between the colonized and

[86] "Luembe European School." September 14, 1932, T.N.A. Acc77/10/20.

[87] Ibid.

the colonizer. Colonial officials feared the respect they demanded from their African subjects would be lost.

Needing to unify the population, local officials lobbied for the provision of a boarding school to educate the local children, as they hoped the South African Dutch population would also send their children to the school. Immediately, the government approved money to provide meals for the malnourished children. The following year, education officials and local community members formed a committee to establish a boarding school, with the colonial government contributing £700 for construction and upkeep.[88] The children of the Afrikaners and Germans were to be separated from their parents and taught how to behave like proper Europeans. Thus, schooling functioned to unify the European population and as an emergency safety net for the poor Europeans who threatened the desired racial prestige of the British. This intervention represented a major early social engineering project taken on by the colonial state. This attempt at reforming the white population reflected the same civilizing mission and desire to control local schools as was evident in the colonial interaction with African schools.

Imperial Education

As seen with the focus on European settlers, colonial education in Tanganyika also included a strong imperial character, especially as the number of schools expanded during the 1950s. Missionary, British and South Asian teachers staffed many of the schools. British officials in the colony also were mindful of

[88] "European Education." December 21, 1932, T.N.A. Acc77/10/19.

mistakes made elsewhere.[89] Education officials were well-versed on developments in education occurring throughout British Africa. In 1949, Secretary of State for the Colonies Arthur Creech Jones established a new colonial policy in his "Mass Education Bulletin," designed as a regular circular to highlight advances in mass education throughout the British Empire. Creech Jones was part of a new generation of colonial administrators and an important member of the Labor Party who long supported building institutions of education and providing social services in Africa. He hoped the expansion of social services would offset more economically intrusive policies brought about by the Second Colonial Occupation. Thus, education represented the strategy of London officials to win popular support for their new labor-intensive policies with humanitarian concerns being mentioned but in reality, not positioned at the heart of these programs.

Representing a major change in colonial policy, the "Mass Education Bulletin" highlighted advances in expanding education and described "accounts of all Mass Education work"[90] and "the techniques used in Mass Literacy and Community Development."[91] Through this publication, colonial officials could receive guidance from London and learn about successful programs implemented throughout the empire and their applicability to Tanganyika, the colony "just

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[89] For elite level of these elite educators see Clive Whitehead, *Colonial Educators: The British Indian and Colonial Education Service, 1858-1983* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003).

[90] Arthur Creech Jones, "Mass Education Bulletin" June 17, 1949., CO1079/13.

[91] Ibid., 5.

starting on the road of Mass Education."[92] Not only was the government in London becoming more concerned about economic aspects, they also began to set education policy to a greater degree than before.

By the late 1950s, the colonial state began to expand the scope of education at the local level. Officials now viewed education as a reward for the local population in return for the increased colonial intrusion during what historians dubbed the "Second Colonial Occupation" and as a method of demonstrating the benefits of colonial rule.[93] The Second Colonial Occupation involved agronomists, scientists, veterinarians and colonial development experts descending upon Tanganyika and the rest of the British Empire in order to increase the output of raw materials. With this increase in economic activity, the British hoped to finance their own post-World War Two recovery and improve their balance of payments to the United States. In Tanganyika, this involved both large and small scale developmental schemes that required large amounts of labor.[94] The Second Colonial Occupation also involved terracing land, cattle-dipping and growing more cash crops, all of which alienated the local population.[95]

Responsible for the vast majority of education during the colonial era, missionaries represented the prime example of the transnational educator. These

[92] Arthur Creech Jones, "Mass Education Bulletin" June 17, 1949., CO1079/13, 6.

[93] For an excellent analysis of the effects of the Second Colonial Occupation see Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania* (Madison: WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).

[94] Feieman, *Peasant Intellectuals,* 140-200.

[95] Iliffe, *Tanganyika,* 342-380.

teachers came from nearly every Western European country and from almost all sects of Christianity, with each group having a loosely defined territory that occasionally caused outbursts of rivalry. Scholars of the British Empire have demonstrated the breadth of the communication networks and influence missionaries possessed in both their home and host countries. As these scholars argue, missionaries promoted Eurocentric humanitarian ideals and possessed a separate agenda from both the settler capitalists and colonial state.[96] Missionaries spread colonial practices and ideas, including revolutionary ideas regarding work, time, and gender.[97] Although no longer at their peak of influence during the 1950s and 1960s, missionaries nonetheless staffed and helped expand the education system.

As previously discussed, many of those educated by missionaries opened rural schools, an activity that was largely condemned by the colonial administration. By 1956, 1,782 missionary primary schools existed, although most were small 'bush schools' run by local teachers. Through missionary efforts, over 140,000 students received a basic education with five thousand additional students at upper primary schools and another one thousand at secondary schools.[98] Although relying on local teachers for support, these transnational educators provided the means through which the education system

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[96] Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Vol. I: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[97] For a counter example involving missionaries see Olúfémi Táíwò, *How Colonialism Preempted Modernity* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 2009).

[98] "Report to United Nations on Administration of Tanganyika, 1956: Appendix XXII" CO1079/145, 119.

in Tanganyika reached local communities. Thus, education existed as an imperial endeavor with teachers, students and ideas moving throughout the British world.

Missionaries from different faiths provided a needed but sometimes contentious service to the colonial state as well as a means for the population to advance in the colonial world. In Tanganyika, missionaries sometimes complained about other religious societies encroaching on their territory but overall only one missionary society served a particular area. Missionaries staffed schools, interacted with the local population and helped fill the "civilizing mandate" that the colonial state possessed. At the same time, missionaries often altered colonial society, wrote of abuses of colonial power and worked to achieve their own goals rather than those of the state. Missionaries established local schools and trained teachers to establish and staff other schools, thus encouraging schools that existed outside of the colonial state much to the consternation of colonial officials. Overall, the relationship between missionaries and colonial officials depended on the particular moment and issue with each group often having overlapping but quite different agendas.

In addition to missionary teachers, educators also arrived from South Asia. The interconnectedness of the Indian Ocean world during the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial periods recently has drawn increased attention from scholars as has the role of South Asians in building and sustaining the British Empire.[99]

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[99] See Thomas Metcalf, *Imperial Connections: India in the Indian Oncean Arena, 1860-1920* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008). John C. Hawley, ed, *India in Africa, Africa in India: Indian Ocean Cosmpolitanisms* (Bloomington, IN: University of India Press, 2008), Jeremy Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008), Michael N. Pearson, *Port Cities and Intruders: The Swahili Coast, India, and Portugal in the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002).

Although this literature is expanding with regard to East Africa, as Thomas Metcalf argues, how East Africa existed as a colony of India. Education existed in a very similar manner. British colonial officials recruited teachers from the subcontinent to please their South Asian subjects living in Tanganyika. Best exemplified in M.G. Vassanji's *Book of Secrets* in which a retired, disillusioned and poor South Asian teacher living in Dar es Salaam serves as a narrator, education officials in Tanganyika needed the inflow of teachers to ensure the functioning of the racially segregated South Asian schools.

Education officials recruited highly educated but unemployed teachers for these posts, which paid the same as a clerk position of Tsh. 150 per year plus a Tsh. 40 housing allowance, by contacting agents in Bombay and placing advertisements in Indian newspapers.[100] Applicants for available posts included an experienced teacher with a degree from Bombay University with "distinction in Physics and Chemistry"[101] and, for another post, a graduate of Punjab University with a degree in teaching from Central Training College, Lahore.[102] Teaching positions in Tanganyika provided an important opportunity for those unable to secure employment in India and fostered contact between the two colonies while solving a pressing issue for the British. Although the records of these applicants are limited, they nonetheless demonstrate the highly educated background of teachers recruited to staff Asian schools in the colony and contrast

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[100]"Applications." December 1937, T.N.A. S/11558/VolII/150.

[101] "Applications." October 1937, T.N.A. S/11558/VolII/150., 151.

[102] Ibid.

with the rural African schools that generally were staffed with teachers having only a slightly higher education than the students.

South Asians currently living in Tanzania recall the high quality of these teachers who provided a world-class education in their well-funded schools. However, as M.G. Vassanji's novels highlight, the South Asian teachers brought to coastal and trading areas during the colonial period experienced difficulty in the later postcolonial period as the state was re-racialized with blackness replacing whiteness as the requirement for political authority. The majority of South Asian teachers became increasingly frustrated as they tried adjusting to this new life, which included decreased status, lessened political influence, and increased suspicion. Consequently, many returned to India or migrated elsewhere when their teaching careers concluded in the mid-1960s.

Tanganyikan officials also recruited British educators. While South Asian educators came to Tanganyika largely for practical employment opportunities, British teachers came for an adventure and to enjoy an upper-class standard of living. This British contingent provided the manpower for the three government secondary schools open to African students in the colony and also filled supervisory roles for the more numerous but still rare upper primary schools. Like their counterparts serving as District Officers, these teachers were trained in Britain, enjoyed a middle-class background and in many cases possessed family ties to the empire. Upon arriving in the colony, they began teaching in the middle or secondary schools along with a small number of other European teachers. Many imperial teachers quickly learned Swahili in order to advance into the

educational bureaucracy and many soon became administrators either at schools or with the Ministry of Education as District Education Officers. Along with their counterparts in farming, business, and other government sectors, educators worked to re-create British society in Tanganyika and in other colonies. Whirlwind romances and families flourished despite a sense of having to overcome obstacles. The personal and professional lives of British teachers continued to evolve, although in a much different manner than their colleagues in the metropole.

For the young teachers, chaperoning a bus or going on safari during a school vacation allowed for a sense of excitement that could never be replicated. Reflective of more general colonial tropes, these narratives portray a white heroine overcoming difficult conditions in exotic locales to fulfill her bureaucratic mandate. In one instance, a female school inspector, Peggy Ewell-Sutton, found herself on an adventure as she sailed to a remote school on Lake Tanganyika. Forced to disembark from a small steamship due to bad weather, she agreed to be further transported in a small fleet of canoes. After almost sinking, Ewell-Sutton continued her journey and after some distance her fishermen companions noticed a woman calling her from shore.[103] They picked up the missionary headmistress, Sister Friedburga, who guided them through the mangrove bushes to the correct landing point where they then had to walk a mile to the very remote mission school. The following day Ewell-Sutton oversaw the Standard VIII exams to determine which students would be admitted into secondary schools. The next

[103] Peggy Ewell-Sutton, "Recollections," Rhodes House Library, MSS. Afr. s. 1755, 3.

morning the local priest gave her a motor boat ride back to the prearranged spot to meet the steamer and she returned to Kigoma and "European civilization."[104] Thus, in her function as a minor colonial bureaucrat, Ewell-Sutton traveled for two days during which she constantly writes of the risks she took to ensure the successful administration of an exam.[105] While this incident was more extreme than most, nearly all British teachers in the colony experienced a series of adventures that they later would recall with great relish using colonial stereotypes and story settings.

Although often characterized as aloof, unfriendly, and distant, British teachers espoused colonial rule by teaching the imperial curriculum to the best of their abilities and actively engaging in extra-curricular activities within the school.[106] In recalling his own pedagogical methods, school teacher John Blumer shows his detachment, writing: "The question of 'method' of teaching never entered anyone's head. As long as the boys were happy and hard-working and as long as the teacher kept good order, was respected, and obtained good results, that was all that mattered."[107] Colonial education officers remained focused on the results of the examinations and the monitoring of wayward native teachers while allowing British teachers more latitude in their teaching.

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[104] Ewell-Sutton, "Recollections," 7.

[105] Ibid., 6.

[106] For a discussion on this point see J.A. Mangan, *Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience* (London: Routeledge, 2011).

[107] Blumer, "Memorandum," 14.

As British teachers enjoyed greater direct contact with Tanganyikans than anyone else in the colonial hierarchy, they provided a more caring and individualized approach to their students than is often assumed or written. Their expressed passion included endless arguments over the role of agriculture in education and the general purpose of education. Many failed to endear themselves to their superiors and were passed over for promotion. These teachers worked to run a quality school and occasionally put their concept of good ahead of the political needs their colonial superiors required, such as being asked to overlook the flaws of an important chief's sons. Blumer recalled one particular incident in 1948: "The younger son of a Shingyanga chief had proved to be thoroughly idle over an excessive period of time…The district officer begged me to keep the boy—mainly for political reasons—and I agreed to give the boy another chance."[108] Blumer caved to the political pressures being applied by the colonial state but resisted further demands. As a punishment to the offending Shingyanga student, "the father…requested me to apply to the boy no fewer than forty strokes! These could be administered all at once or in installments according to my judgment. The boy reported to my office each Saturday morning and asked for his 'six.' We kept it up for three weeks and then called it a day! The boy subsequently did very well."[109] Here, British teachers worked against the wishes of the colonial state and the boy's father. In a similar manner to

[108] Blumer, "Memorandum," 14.

[109] Ibid.

missionaries, teachers possessed their own agendas which frequently mirrored those of colonial officials but sometimes, such as in this case, differed.

Teachers questioned the official imperial curriculum and expressed dismay with what they were required to teach, revealing a tension between themselves as the local educators and the overall goals of education. "The official imperial curriculum which was by and large, written by Europeans 'from the outside' in the classroom, for example, pupils were taught that Lake Victoria was found by John Hanning Speke. My students from Usukuma whose forefathers had lived for generations on the shores of the Lake were able to understand that it had, as far as they were concerned, never been lost!"[110] British teachers believed that students attended school with the express purpose of "learning everything which we could teach them,"[111] and, consequently, teachers could brag about their achievements and 'uplift.' As British designed tests were the sole means of advancing into secondary school (and escape rural areas), students spent a great deal of time studying. Other teachers established clubs or investigated the geography, history and geology of the surrounding area with their students. One teacher established a history club which devoted itself to African history, recorded the oral histories and legends of the student's ethnic groups and incorporated the official history as infrequently as possible while still preparing students for their exams.[112] Thus, Tanganyikans experienced a long history of dealing with foreign

[110] Blumer, "Memorandum," 14.

[111] Ibid., 25.

[112] Thomas Spears, interviewed by Ernest Zaremba, Return Peace Corps Volunteer Collection, John F. Kennedy Library, November 14, 2004.

as well as domestic teachers with this imperial project serving to alter the domestic landscape.

Gendered Education, Imperial Interaction and Reformation

As the colonial government worked to expand access to schooling, the schools themselves reflected British conceptions regarding gender and reinforced the colonial patriarchy being created. The British government in Tanganyika concerned itself with the sexual activity and general behavior of its employees. British administrators in Tanganyika greatly sought to prevent miscegenation because it threatened their clear policy of racial separation. Improper behavior discredited district officers, whose aloofness helped establish the impartiality needed in legitimizing the colonial project.[113]

While able to punish its own associates, the British imperial project in Tanganyika never enjoyed the ability, nor ever truly desired the capacity, to interfere with or regulate the procreation of its African subjects. Following the British takeover of the colony, the indirect rule system devised and implemented by David Cameron devolved local governance to chiefs by granting them the power to uphold existing customs, oversee courts, and collect taxes.[114] As long as the chiefs met these conditions, avoided colonially-defined deviant activities and the population of Africans increased, the everyday behavior of Africans was

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[113] For example see the C.E. Anderson Case of 1928, CO 323/1018/1.

[114] Donald Cameron, *My Tanganyika Service and Some Nigeria* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1939); for a more general history see Anthony Kirk-Greene, *Symbol of Authority: the District Officer in Africa* (New York: I.B Tauris, 2006). Also see Frederick Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London: Nabu Press, 2010).

largely beyond the purview of the colonial government.[115] Thus, the colonial government engaged with Africans as a collective. While subject to the intervention of the local chief, indirect rule existed in a highly limited manner and, as James Giblin argues, African families remained a refuge from the state.[116] With this relative autonomy, African subjects constantly modified the demands of the colonial state and worked to remain separate from it.[117]

Local officials gendered the colonial project.[118] Over the past twenty years, a scholarship has developed that focuses on the gendered and patriarchal nature of imperial rule.[119] Historians and anthropologists have debated the transformative qualities of imperial rule over the past two decades. Terence Ranger argues British authorities invented traditions and created tribal societies in southern Africa.[120] Although he later nuanced his position, Ranger's claims caused scholars to challenge the idea of traditions, including debates over how

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[115] Megan Vaughan *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991).

[116] James Giblin, *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refuge from the State in 20th Century Tanzania* (New York: James Currey Press, 2005).

[117] Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

[118] For an argument about how the colonial state interacted with the educated elite see Heather Sharkey, *Living with Colonialism: Nationalism and Culture in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 32-61.

[119] There is an ever-expanding literature dealing with this topic. Recent works include: Nancy Rose Hunt, Tessie P. Liu and Jean Quataert, eds., *Gendered Colonialism in African History.* (New York: Blackwell, 1997). Elizabeth E. Prevost, *The Communion of Women: Missions and Gender in Colonial Africa and the British Metropole*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). Jean Marie Allman and Susan Geiger, eds.,. *Women in African Colonial Histories.* (Bloomington: IN: Indiana University Press, 2002).

[120] Terence Ranger. "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa." in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

colonialism created the authority of chiefs and influenced men and local inhabitants. Thomas Spears argues that Ranger and others overstate the power of colonial society and its ability to reform African institutions.[121]

Colonial officials passed laws to ensure the male dominance and allowed males to become more heavily involved in the colonial economy. As Dorothy Hodgson and Sheryl McCudry argue, African women "became significant sources of attention, debate and concern….'Stabilizing' marriage and reinforcing patriarchal control became a key concern of missionaries and colonial officers."[122] Despite this concern for stability, the presence of teachers along with missionaries caused change at the local level.

Unlike the colonial state intent on fostering stability, missionaries constantly worked to intervene in the social customs of Africans throughout the continent. By the 1920s they focused their efforts on African sexual practices. Historians, especially those examining Kenya, have detailed the role of missionaries in describing, condemning and reforming African gender relations and sexual practices.[123] Although never to the same intensity or divisiveness as with clitoridectomy debates in Kenya,[124] missionaries in Tanganyika intervened in debates over marriage and female sexuality. Missionaries highlighted two

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[121] Thomas Spear. "Neo-Traditionalism and the Limits of Invention in British Colonial Africa." *Journal of African History* 44 (2003): 3-27.

[122] Dorothy L. Hodgson and Sheryl A. McCurdy. "Introduction," in *'Wicked' Women and the Reconfiguration of Gender in Africa,* eds. Dorothy L. Hodgson and Sheryl A. McCurdy (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2001), 12.

[123] Lynn Thomas, *Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction, and the State in Kenya* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003).

[124] Ibid., 1-20.

overarching concerns—forced marriage and initiation rites where elders allegedly taught sexual practices to young girls. For example, missionaries constantly raised the case of a young girl, Kekwe, who "was recently sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for the manslaughter of the man chosen by her parents to marry her against her will."[125] This case became the rallying cry to intervene in local customs and regulate marriage in the colony. Both issues necessitated missionary involvement, helping to solidify their position in the country.

Peter Pels demonstrates the sexual nature of missionary accounts, writing: "The songs and other lessons taught cleanliness and discretion while washing, menstruating or having sex, and while the women sang in celebration for fertility, the pubic hair of the mwali [female initiatant] was shaven."[126] Wanting to avoid this teaching of sexual practices, missionaries worked with communities to reform society. They also lobbied the Colonial Office in London to enact laws reforming African customs and institutions of marriage.

Establishing schools throughout the colony, missionaries in Tanganyika sought to use education to remake African society. Missionaries worked to spread their beliefs to students and inculcate the idea that progress depended on more educated and 'enlightened' women. Furthermore, through this education, missionaries taught Africans of their own alleged failings and mistreatment of women while working to change what they viewed as repugnant sexual practices. The colonial government desired to uplift Africans without spending any money

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[125] "The Kekwe Case." 1935, CO 847/9/5, 438.

[126] Peter Pels, *A Politics of Presence: Contacts Between Missionaries and Waluguru in Late Colonial Tanganyika* (Amsterdam, Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), 175.

and they approved of this solution. Missionary schools became the only form of education available especially at the local and primary levels. In this general sense, missionaries and the colonial state worked toward a common goal.

With no other options, Tanganyikans desiring an education needed to attend missionary schools. Here they were taught directly by either missionaries or those educated in missionary schools. Local Africans teachers often possessed barely more education than the students and here the goals between missionaries and the colonial government differed. With this monopoly on instruction, missionaries educated local elites who would achieve political authority a generation later. Thus, reproduction of missionary beliefs in the leaders of the late 1950s led to major attempts to reform gender relations and uplift women according to the upbringing of the new political elite.

In addition to missionaries, British female teachers staffed upper primary and secondary schools as well as serving as education inspectors and officials, and they used these positions to reform Tanganyikan society. Muriel F.F. Pelham-Johnson was born in Uganda to a military father serving the empire, became Superintendent of Female Education in Tanganyika in 1939 and constantly campaigned to increase the number of female students in schools throughout the colony. In describing this process, she later wrote:

> I can hardly over emphasize how difficult it was to change the attitude towards girls' education…Most African men regard it as inconceivable. Their women should be taught a bit about sewing, knitting or cooking might be alright but not reading, writing, arithmetic and geography…Most African mothers wanted their daughters to help at home; from a very young age they were given the chore of watching even younger children, they learned to carry

> water in small pots on their heads, to hunt for firewood, to tend the old and generally to make themselves useful.[127]

Pelham-Johnson praises own her efforts and the changes she brought to the African communities with whom she interacted. At the same time, her condemnation of traditional communities and values shows through as she goes after both African men and women for supporting the traditional beliefs.

School inspectors helped female students overcome parental and local teacher reluctance (and traditional patriarchal views) to educate females by bringing females into the view of the colonial state and introducing them to new colonial patriarchy. During their visits to local schools, inspectors often encouraged female students to sit for the exams and apply for admission into secondary schools.[128] In one particular instance, the Provincial Education Officer, John Rogers, claimed that he helped win support of the local population. He recalled driving "a bus load of about twelve chiefs to see over [the local school at] Bwiru and its work. We laid on a programme to appeal including delectable good produce made by the girls and a display of making, mending, and laundering female clothes, which won their hearts and stomachs completely in favor of education for women!"[129] By demonstrating the practical aspects of female education, John Rogers convinced others about the benefits of sending females to school. Here colonial superiority was evident.

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[127] "M.F.E. Pelham-Johnson. "Memorandum of Miss M.F.E. Pelham-Johnson," Rhodes House Library**.** MSS. Afr. s. 1755/130/ XLV, 4.

[128] Ewell-Sutton, "Recollections," 15.

[129] John Rogers, "Recollections." Rhodes House Library. MSS. Afr. s. 1755, 8.

Writing about these 'successes,' British teachers congratulated themselves and the Tanganyikan females who fought the system. British teacher and school inspector Peggy Ewell-Sutton became close with a female student, Pili, and wrote about her path to secondary school. This closeness is reflected in Ewell-Sutton praise for Pili as, in the British educator's view, she successfully overcame restraints to attend the local primary and then regional secondary school. Once again, the patriarchy of the African home is emphasized as are reluctant parents. After this student was taught informally by her brother, Pili convinced her grandfather to persuade her parents to send her to school where only five other females attended and "the boys got all the teacher's attention."[130] At home, while her brother played soccer, Pili carried out her duties and "if she neglected anything her mother would say 'no more school.'" After excelling in primary school, Pili received the opportunity to attend secondary school and again the parents debated if this was a worthwhile cause, including questioning whether this education would bring a higher bride-price. Again, her grandfather intervened, offered to pay the first year of school fees and accompanied his granddaughter to the Loleza Girls' Middle School in Mbeya, a journey of over 200 miles. Again succeeding at school, Pili qualified for a place at Tabora Girls' Secondary School and, after again dealing with her hesitant parents, graduated from Standard XI and became a home economics teacher before running her own middle school and becoming one of the first female African school inspectors.[131]

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[130] Peggy Ewell-Sutton, "A Great Step Forward." Rhodes House Library. MSS. Afr. s. 1755, 3.

[131] Ibid., 3.

Colonial teaching was in a highly gendered state. Male students always heavily outnumbered female students. For example, in 1948 almost 30,000 male students attended government and native authority primary schools while just over five thousand female students did. Pelham-Johnson developed a curriculum for female education included a focus on cooking and homecrafts. After designing the classes, Pelham-Johnson wrote: "Each test was designed to help girls to plan a morning's work which included child care, cooking, laundry, hygiene, or housework."[132] Here, Pelham-Johnson's support of British patriarchal values are clearly evident. When planning the expansion of rural education, R.J. Manson planned to include the wives of male teachers in schools. He envisioned their training to include "(a) midwifery; (b) child welfare; (c) hygiene and sick nursing; (d) homecraft; (e) cookery, needlework and handicrafts."[133] Finally, he stated the overall goal of education was to "ensure that the work being done in these schools is along the lines that will lead to the improvement of home life."[134] Neither Manson or Pelham-Johnson ever questioned the relevance of European-style cooking, laundry and child-care to life in Tanganyika. Their conceptions and implementation of female education remained reflective of British ideals. Thus, British and missionary teachers worked to bring a greater number of female Tanganyikan students into the school system but at the same time limited the overall advancement of females. The schools remained segregated and female

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[132] Pelham-Johnson, "Memorandum," 7.

[133] R.J. Mason, *The Education of African Rural Communities and the Expansion of Education Services in Tanganyika Territory* (Dar es Salaam: Government Printer, 1938), 15.

[134] Ibid., 9

students received a home economics based education more relevant to England than to life in Tanganyika.

By the late 1950s, colonial education officials in Dar es Salaam began pushing to expand the scope of female education, which reflected more general trends in education. By 1959 6,000 female students attended middle school and another 250 attended high school in the colony.[135] Pelham-Johnson also developed an official curriculum for the new class of female students, which promoted basic literacy skills and also reflected prevailing British gender attitudes. Through the sometimes invasive methods, including zealous colonial officials and teachers, the education system expanded and began incorporating new segments of society and spreading colonial ideas and conceptions. With more students attending class, the conditions of females in Tanganyika could be further 'uplifted' and the civilizing mission achieved. Officials also hoped to increase the number of female students in secondary schools, hoping that then "girls will have the opportunity of qualifying for the entrance exam at Makerere University."[136]

Transnational teachers thus altered colonial domestic life and worked to gender domestic life in a manner that reflected British ideals that the postcolonial state would continue to promote. The same officials hoped that afterward more females would be available for community health programs and to serve as nurses and midwives, the only career options that female students considered or had

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[135] Buchert, *Education in the Development of Tanzania,* 34.

[136] "Female Educational Plans." December 1938. T.N.A. 41242B/27.

available to them. Other students eventually became teachers. Tanganyikan females emerged in a public sphere that was defined for them by the colonial state. Consequently, they perpetuated British values and teaching. Gendered careers were the only alternative and even women graduating from colonial schools would have subordinate roles. In addition to the well-examined work on missionaries, colonial education helped gender the colonial project in a manner that would continue into the postcolonial period.

The Colonial Legacy of State Celebration

As more students, both male and female attended schools, British colonial officials used celebration to legitimize their rule, promote a limited sense of belonging and demonstrate the colonial state's grandeur and power. With the publication of Bernard Cohn's chapter in the *Invention of Tradition* and the recognition of the importance of festivals in European history, British imperial scholars, both examining South Asia and Africa, began examining the importance of rituals and festivals in connection to British rule. While the celebrations constantly changed, they transcended class divides and furthered an imperial consciousness within the British population.[137] Imperial festivals also linked the Empire with the metropole, although the celebrations varied by colony and served a range of purposes at more local levels.

Scholars of the imperial world have demonstrated the importance of individual holidays, especially in India, as a key component of British rule and deliberate display of British might. From Imperial Day to visits by the monarch,

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[137] Jim English. "Empire Day in Britain, 1904-1958." *The Historical Journal*. 49, no. 1 (2006): 247-206.

holidays and celebrations helped generate displays of loyalty from these imperial subjects. Anna Clarkson demonstrates the importance of festivals as George V visited the Sudan, providing an opportunity for the Sudanese elite to participate and further their own position at the expense of their Egyptian co-rulers.[138] However, these festivals also created an opportunity for individuals to use them for their own gains and provided an opportunity for highly visible resistance, an outcome about which planners constantly worried.[139] Those implementing imperial festivals viewed the legitimizing factor of the festivals and their ability to connect disparate parts of the empire as more advantageous than any potential opportunity for resistance and led to the overall growth in imperial celebrations.

As with schooling in general, formalized celebrations worked to reinforce colonial rule in a highly localized manner, targeting specific communities and select groups of people, such as students. While highly orchestrated grand colonial displays inspired awe and reinforced the loyalty of more important chiefs, these smaller celebrations inspired loyalty, knowledge of belonging to the British Empire, and reminders of the British authority at a local level. As with other local celebrations, these displays especially involved the student population and local military, showing the might but also the benevolent nature of British rule. A British teacher at the government school in Tanga [in northeastern Tanzania on the Indian Ocean], John Whybrow, described the events surrounding the celebration of King George's birthday, with the ceremonies similar to the

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[138] Anna Clarkson, "Pomp, Circumstance, and Wild Arabs: The 1912 Royal Visit to Sudan," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth Studies,* 34 (2006): 71-85.

[139] For example, see Terence Ranger, "Making Northern Rhodesia Imperial: Variations on a Royal Theme, 1924-1938," *African Affairs* 79, no. 1 (1980): 349-373.

preceding years: "On Monday morning there was the usual King's birthday ceremonial parade and salute on the KAR [King's African Rifles] parade ground…There were the usual events—100 yards [race], relay race, one mile, children's races, womens' races, tilting the bucket, obstacle race, sack race etc. After the sports were over the various native ngomas [dancers] performed on the ground while we quenched our thirst at the club."[140] Through this interaction, Tanganyikans encountered their colonial governor for the first time and were reminded of the significance and permanence of the British Empire.

On another occasion, Governor Edward Twining, in "full dress blue and a plume of feathers,"[141] directly interacted with the students, exchanging words with them as he attempted to display the might of the British Empire. Teachers and officials of the British Empire made use of local ceremonies and celebrations to bring together local inhabitants from surrounding areas and teach them of their belonging to the British Empire and specifically worked to spread this belief with students. Postcolonial leaders continued to recognize the importance of festivals and used them largely in the same manner, working to bond the population with a new and largely unfamiliar postcolonial government.

Celebrations and other key days became important events for students as Tanganyika prepared for decolonization. By the mid-1950s, Nyerere and other Tanganyikans such as Ahmed Sykes and Oscar Kambona, revitalized the Tanganyika African National Union [TANU]. They worked to expand the party's

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[140] John Whybrow, "Recollections," 1985, Rhodes House Library, MSS. Afr. s. 1755, 8.

[141] Ibid., 12.

presence from Dar es Salaam and urban centers to throughout the country while capitalizing on the population's opposition to the Second Colonial Occupation. Using female organizers, they began to hold rallies and tour the country to mobilize support for independence. By the late 1950s, colonial officials recognized the eventuality of an independent state and appointed Nyerere as the country's Prime Minister. During this period, Nyerere recognized the transformative power of the territory's youth and the critical role those in upper primary and secondary school would play in an independent country.

Both Nyerere and the Tanganyika Governor Richard Turnbull used their occasional visits to schools as an opportunity to provide lessons to those in school Both Nyerere and Turnbull provided similar lessons designed to thwart any radicalism of the school boys. Posted at Mzumbe Secondary School in Morogoro, British teacher Phillip Clarke remembers a visit by Nyerere: "He came over and first went in to meet all the staff. Then he was to review the school on parade-it was a Saturday…Then he took the parade with aplomb; after all, he had been one of the most efficient Head Prefects at Tabora some 15 years before. He did however decline to 'raise the flag', part of the parade routine."[142] In addressing the students, Clarke remembers Nyerere's simple message that prepared the students for independence: "His theme was simple, work hard, 'do what you are told; respect your seniors—don't think that independence means freedom from obedience…And don't think it will be a time to rest. No! You may say we have been exploited up to now but *I* am going to *exploit you* more than ever before.'

[142] Philip Clarke, "Notes on Pre-Independence Education in Tanganyika." (Southampton, UK: Southampton University Occasional Paper, 1995), 16.

The boys lapped it up."[143] Although tensions existed between the energetic students and the anti-colonial leaders, the controlled nature of anti-colonial movements was evident here—students were to be kept under strict control. Nyerere also emphasized the importance of students in this process. Celebrations at school helped shape the relatively conservative nature of the anti-colonial movement. Reflective of the importance students, Nyerere used this opportunity to ensure the loyalty of Tanganyika's rising educated elite.

Tanganyikan Students, Imperial Competition and the End of Empire

Nyerere enjoyed the opportunity to study abroad and the students that he targeted sought this same opportunity. Nyerere's career highlights the difficulties and few options available to Tanganyikans. After becoming one of less than a few hundred annually to complete a secondary education, he was denied entrance to the East African regional university in Makerere because he received a second-class degree. After a few years of teaching, he obtained admittance to the University of Edinburgh and became the first black African in Tanganyika to receive a Master's Degree (in economics and history) when he graduated in 1952 and returned to Tanganyika to teach before becoming an anti-colonial leader.[144] An additional few South Asians, drawing upon their higher positions in the colonial hierarchy which conferred on them wealthy parents and access to better schools, also managed to study in the United Kingdom, but this too was restricted to the super elite or incredibly gifted (or lucky) student.

[143] Clarke, "Notes," 17.

[144] Like Nyerere, Nigeria's Azikiwe and Ghana's Nkrumah travelled abroad for university education. In these cases, the future leaders went to the United States and both graduated from Lincoln University in Nebraska.

Historians emphasize the movement of students from the colony to the metropole and the similar movement of goods, ideas and other groups of people. Tanzanian students complicate this model. While the imperial center remained the preferred destination and ultimate goal of elite students, Makerere University in Uganda existed as a more realistic alternative for Tanzanian students. By 1959, 159 Tanzanians attended the university with their tuition and living expenses covered by scholarships.[145] As detailed below, primary and secondary school students also attempted to attend school in Uganda while other students looked to Kenya for schooling. Still others sought scholarships and aid from the United States. Ullrich Lohmann argues that the lack of educational opportunities caused Tanganyikans to appeal to the United Nations and used reports from the United Nations to their advantage when complaining to colonial officials.[146] Thus, education began to have global connections rather than existing as simply a Tanganyikan issue.

At the same time, British colonial officials envisioned that they would continue to be the dominant foreign power in East Africa. With few high school graduates and less than one hundred college graduates, both Nyerere and the territory's governor, Richard Turnbull, recognized that British officials would continue in the civil service after formal independence. Those in school would encounter British headmasters and educational bureaucrats and the top students eventually would attend the British dominated Makerere University.

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[145] Ullrich Lohrmann, *Voices from Tanganyika: Great Britain, the United Nations and the Decolonization of a Trust Territory, 1946-1961* (London: Lit Verlag, 2008), 222.

[146] Ibid.

Additionally, Nyerere initially possessed postcolonial plans that stressed continuity with the colonial state. In personalized letters to the majority of the colonial staff, Nyerere encouraged British officials to stay following Tanzanian independence. Specifically, the army and education were two areas where British officials would maintain an especially large presence for a few years following independence. With these ongoing ties, British colonial officials felt secure with their future with East Africa and continued to imagine themselves at the center of a post-imperial world.

By the 1950s Tanganyikan students possessed a fifteen year history of studying abroad. Students quickly realized the opportunities that scholarships at foreign universities offered. With little opportunity at home, those who benefited from the cash crop economy and could afford to do so sent their children abroad to study, searching out the best chance for their children to receive an education. Still, few options existed for the African population while the children of white settlers freely crossed borders. Small numbers of students (less than one hundred) managed to obtain a spot in British university. Elite Tanganyikans turned to their East African neighbor of Uganda to help meet their primary and secondary schooling needs. For example, the colonial Chief Education Officer, E.T.L Spratt, angrily responded to a newspaper report that a number of students arrived at a school in Uganda that did not exist in a failed attempt to receive an education. In chastising his own subordinates and headmasters, he wrote: “You were instructed to warn parents who sought your advice against wasting their money in

travel expenses and fees at schools of extremely dubious worth."[147] Despite this message, Provincial Education Officer R.T. Adams noted that children who failed to advance in local schools often travelled to Kenya and Uganda for a private education. Like his superior, Adams tried to limit this transnational movement of people and keep Tanganyikan education separate: "These Secondary Schools which do exist in neighboring Territories do not have official recognition in this Territory and therefore when it comes to considering children for forms of further training, children who have attended Secondary Schools elsewhere (even though the children themselves are Tanganyikans) are not likely to be selected."[148] Incidents such as these not only highlight the pressing demand for education in Tanganyika and the failure to establish an adequate number of schools but also the lengths that those families who could afford to do so went to provide education for their children.

Despite their hope of remaining the dominant influence in East Africa and limiting opportunities to study abroad, British colonial officials quickly noted a rising United States presence. Cold War tensions as well as specific events like the chaos in the Congo (following Belgium's withdrawal) served as the impetus behind increased U.S. concern. Educators and activists quickly recognized the importance of education in promoting stability and US values throughout the decolonizing world. Cara West, along with support from famous baseball player Jackie Robinson and a number of other activists, established the AASF [African-

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[147] E.T. L Spratt, "Private Secondary Schools in Neighboring Territories," February 3, 1959, T.N.A. Acc471/E-7/Vol.II/226.

[148] Ibid.

American Student Foundation] to provide scholarships to African students for furthering their education in the United States and to centralize efforts aimed at arranging educational opportunities elsewhere. They also worked to recruit students throughout East and Central Africa to American universities.

Starting in 1959, the organization provided assistance in meeting costs such as the purchase of stamps for mailing applications, travel to departure cities, application fees and the three hundred dollars necessary to secure a visa. Recognizing the need for increased educational opportunities in East and Central Africa, the AASF directly involved leading politicians such as Tom Mboya, Gikonya Kiano, and Karfuki Njiiri (all Kenyans), Nyerere, and Kenneth Kaunda (of Northern Rhodesia).[149] The foundation directly questioned the success of small, elite, British-modeled institutions and argued in favor of the wide range of opportunities small liberal arts and large land-grant institutions provided. This movement of students to educational institutions abroad and growth in American funding occurred at the moment Tanganyika was readying itself for independence and became a major resource for those desperately seeking an education.

In his book *Airlift to America,* historian Tom Shachtman argues for the importance of the AASF in providing the necessary aid to East African students.[150] Those involved with the AASF worked to further the supply of educated leaders needed "to meet the urgent needs of self government, and the

[149] This included Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland.

[150] Tom Shachtman, *Airlift to America: How Barack Obama, Sr., John F. Kennedy, Tom Mboya and 800 East African Students Changed Their World and Ours* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009); Also see James Meriwether, " 'Worth A lot of Negro Votes': Black Voters, Africa, and the 1960 Presidential Campaign." *Journal of American History* 95, no: 3 (2008): 737-763.

demands for education coming from within the territories."[151] As a step toward accomplishing this goal, the foundation chartered planes in 1959 and again in 1960 to transport students from East Africa, mostly Kenyans, to the United States where the students were already accepted into various universities.

As 1960 existed as “The Year of Africa” internationally and as an election year in the United States, both American candidates worked to use issues emerging from Africa to win over African-American voters. Shachtman, along with James Meriwether, shows that the 1960 presidential race between John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon proved critical for the second wave of East African students needing assistance before coming to America.[152] As a relatively untested Senator, Kennedy needed to enhance his foreign policy credentials and increase his support among African-American voters. As a means of doing so, the candidate pledged funds from the Kennedy Foundation to ensure a successful 1960 AASF airlift effort and promote the arrival of East African students to America.[153] However, both Shachtman and Meriwether ignore the imperial and Cold War influences on the foundation, an organization which used Cold War rivalries to ensure additional East African students attended American universities.

The British colonial attaché in Washington, Douglas Williams, accidentally informed the State Department of Kennedy’s plan. Previously unaware of the Kennedy Foundation’s offer, Vice President Nixon responded by

[151] "The Airlift-Africa Program," July 25, 1960, CO 859/1433.

[152] Shachtman. *Airlift to America,* 59-80.

[153] Ibid., 80-94.

pressuring the State Department to reverse their previous decision not to assist Mboya. It also caused a dispute between Senator Scott and Kennedy on the Senate floor, with Scott alleging Kennedy was using his " 'charitable tax exempt moneypot' to deprive the U.S. government of the credit"[154] and garnering the publicity for his presidential campaign. In relaying events to London, Williams wrote: "Unfortunately the airlift exercise has become a prominent issue in the American Presidential Election scene with the State Department and Mr. Kennedy outbidding each other in offers to help,"[155] and Nixon now pressuring the State Department for $8—$10 million for funding African education. In addition to Britain's discomfort over being outshone in colonial East Africa, Kennedy's involvement also put those with knowledge of the airlift, including missionaries and education officials in East Africa, in an awkward position as they did not want to support the airlift scheme. At the same time, colonial officials in East Africa and London did not want to offend a potential President.

Additionally, officials did not want the American money allocated for Mboya distributed without their involvement.[156] Aware of this hesitation, Williams argued: "In a United States election year Anglo-American cooperation in the African field plays second fiddle to the over-riding importance of capturing the Negro vote."[157] Thanks to changing domestic issues, the American

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[154] “Airlift,” September 18, 1960, NA CO 859/1433.

[155] "Note for Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State," September 23, 1960, NA, CO859/1422.

[156] "East African Students," October 3, 1960, NA, CO859/1433.

[157] “US Presence in East Africa,” August 28, 1960, NA, CO859/1432.

government increased their involvement in the East African region, a presence that would continue to grow with America's rising Cold War involvement.

British officials monitoring these developments, especially the airlift effort, worried about increased American attention on East Africa. Crawford quickly realized travelling to America held a great appeal to young students, writing: "U.S. scholarships, however sub-standard- may have an irresistible attraction to the young graduate or School Certificate holder who, after a year or so in the Civil Service, feels the urge to travel and sees an easy way of doing so."[158] This interest caused British officials to lash out over this new competition. In condemning the activities of the AASF, K.D. Luke, adviser to colonial students in the United States and Canada, cited the long-term damage the recruitment of students might bring: "I am very perturbed about the activities of the A.A.S.F. It persists in its perverse assumption that it is rescuing students from colonialism, and it appears to me to be doing its best to encourage students to mistrust their home government and the British."[159] To their dismay, British officials quickly faced competition in East Africa and their dominant influence came under threat. New American programs immediately upset the imperial hierarchy as the British struggled to redefine their role in East Africa as the independence movement was gaining momentum in Tanganyika. Thus, the large presence the British envisioned for themselves in the post-imperial world came under pressure and forced British colonial officials to establish new programs.

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[158] NA, CO859/1432.

[159] "K.D. Luke to Christopher Cox," September 20, 1960, CO859/1433.

Following the 1960 US elections but before Tanganyika achieved independence in 1961, colonial educational officials recognized the impossibility of stopping the airlift program and began debating the need for supporting a university in the country. Crawford worked to ensure students remained in East Africa, stating: "If the output of 'A' level school certificate holders could be increased in East Africa, this would be a valuable political move."[160] Crawford and Cox also began planning ways to combine their aid with American assistance in order to increase the scope of secondary education in Tanganyika. Proposals surfaced that suggested both countries supply the teachers and aid necessary for any expansion. Such actions highlight the quick response needed from the British Department of Technical Cooperation (after 1964 it became known as the Overseas Development Ministry) along with educational officials and show how Britain was forced to alter its long-term planning. The nature of the debates over the university shocked other British bureaucrats, with W. Weban-Smith, another colonial education official, writing: "I am just as startled as you" by these quickly conceived proposals.[161] New policies enacted by the British in order to remain relevant in the area ultimately led to the establishment of the University College in Tanganyika, the forerunner to the University of Dar es Salaam, which would become part of a tri-college East African University system (the other two being Makerere and the Royal Technical College in Kenya). Thus, threats coming from abroad worked to alter the domestic and regional education system.

[160] "Anglo-American-East African Education Conference," October 23, 1960, CO859/1432.

[161] "W. Weban-Smith to W. L. Gorell Barnes," June 16, 1960, CO859/1432.

Word quickly spread of the educational aid provided by organizations such as the AASF through networks outside of the colonial state. Students throughout East Africa, especially in Tanganyika, began writing letters to obtain scholarships, funding, or other opportunities to study abroad. As the letters followed the same general template, several prominent themes emerge in the requests sent abroad. Many writers to the AASF recognized the true purpose of the organization while asking for financial help after obtaining admission to an American university and highlighting the limited scope of their request. For example, student F.B. Mugobi wrote to the President of the AASF: "The problem now confronting me is to get money to cover all necessary expenses which is required by the school. As I do not have finance nor have I had reliable support while I am out for studies, I have found it unavoidable to appeal to you."[162] In another case, a student wrote: "My college will be opened on September 10, 1961 and I am asked to leave for the US immediately. I need fare only."[163] By limiting the scope of their requests, the writers hoped to improve their chances in receiving the support they needed to continue their studies.

Tanganyikan students worked to prove their poverty as another method of obtaining scholarships from outside countries.[164] One former student, M.

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[162] "F.B. Mugobi to the President, African American Students Foundation," April 5, 1961, African American Students Foundation Archive [AASFA], Michigan State University, Tanzania Correspondence File, 15.

[163] "Mathias Mwimbirzye to Mrs. Weiss," April 29, 1961, AASFA, Tanzania Correspondence File, 5.

[164] Young-Sun Hong, "'The Benefits of Health Must Spread Among All'. International Solidarity, Health, and Race in the East German Encounter with the Third World," in *Socialist Modern. East German Everyday Culture and Politics,* eds. Katherine Pence and Paul Betts (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 183-210.

Gaudency Pipi, worked as a veterinarian assistant and wanted to continue his education. Pipi wrote to the AASF: "I was born in a poor illiterate family, and it has many children to support and it cannot afford the expenses of sending me to a University college."[165] In addition to personal destitution, the writers detailed their own impoverishment and that of their community, thus removing the student's individual situation from blame. Student Charles Nganda wrote: "I am very much interested to pursue a course in medicine that is not only for my own benefit but also for my tribe which I was sorry to say, greatly lacks."[166] The country's lack of opportunities and resources served as the final way of proving poverty. Nganda continued: "My educational qualifications is an ex-Standard XII. Indeed I feel it is not the highest standard I can be satisfied in, but only fail due to financial problem which exists not only in my family but also in the whole of the Tanganyikan people."[167] Gaudency Pipi also wrote about how the colonial government lacked the financial wherewithal to send students to Makerere or overseas universities.[168] By proving their poverty, students highlighted the systemic issues that limited their educational advances while also highlighting their poverty in a manner consistent with the stereotypes held by the outside world.

[165] "M. Gaudency Pipi to Board of Directors," November 8, 1960, AASFA, Tanzania Correspondence File, 12

[166] "Charles P. Nganda to African American Students Foundation," December 29, 1960, AASFA, Tanzania Correspondence File, 14.

[167] Nganda, "Charles P. Nganda," 15.

[168] "M. Gaudency Pipi to Board of Directors," November 8, 1960, AASFA, Tanzania Correspondence File, 15.

Another strategy involved letter writers complaining they were stuck in colonial era jobs which limited their intellectual and career progression. D. Werandumi acknowledged: "I am one of the unfortunate young men who have fought hard but have not gained anything as a result of their struggle...due to the poor facilities in my country, I was naturally forced to join a Medical Assistants' Course in 1955 after I had left school."[169] Writers hoped to impress those who received the letters and show how the colonial system rather than their individual actions had limited their education. The anger possessed by these letter writers is evident in their posts to outside institutions.

Students trying to study abroad felt highly constrained by the colonial government who placed them in second-tier jobs with little hope of advancement. Supporting the anti-colonial movement, they felt ignored in the postcolonial state that began concentrating on educating the next generation of students and needed these workers to continue in their posts. Thus, this generation of students felt their only chance for furthering their education existed in the world beyond Tanganyika. Letter writers were focused on increasing their chances of receiving assistance by writing what they hoped the foreign institutions and providers of scholarships wanted to read, including the use of anti-imperial rhetoric and appeals to the United Nations to bolster their argument. Thus, the very education provided by the colonial state gave these letter-writers the ability and limited opportunities necessary to look beyond the British Empire for educational opportunities.

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[169] "D. Werandumi to African-American Students Foundation." September 1, 1960, AASFA, Tanzania Correspondence File, 8.

Conclusion

Tensions existed at the different levels within the educational system. The colonial state continued to condemn and fight the expansion of local schools while many communities, anti-colonial leaders and teachers established new ones. These small, locally run primary schools continued to exist beyond the regulatory ability of the colonial government. This autonomy caused additional tension as the postcolonial state needed to control these schools in order to develop a coherent system of education, a tension which will be the focus of the subsequent chapter. Educational bureaucrats in London and Dar es Salaam never possessed the control over local schools that they desired and the population of the territory could never be targeted in the manner that colonial officials envisioned. The postcolonial state experienced the same problems although with a greater mandate on education, this additional support and effort led to more control over local schools.

This chapter also worked to demonstrate the transnational component that existed with colonial education and the tension that existed as students worked to study abroad. In addition to the missionaries and British administrators that other historical works highlight, British and South Asian teachers took jobs at local schools and worked to spread their version of the civilizing mission during the 1940s and 1950s. Tanganyikan students became important actors in this process, they travelled all over the country for education and to schools abroad. While only a select few went to the metropole for education, others established their own transnational educational links as they became frustrated with their educational

and career limitations in the colonial system. Students took advantage of new Cold War opportunities by seeking educational opportunities throughout the world, including the United States. The colonial state could not regulate the opening of local schools nor could they regulate the movement of students, which thwarted the ambitions of the British during the late colonial era.

In addition to the various tensions, this chapter demonstrated the initiatives of individuals and communities. Students and their parents worked to achieve access to educational opportunities—whether writing to the colonial state for aid or to foreign countries for scholarship opportunities. Communities worked to build schools and pay teachers. This communal enterprise will be further detailed in the next chapter as the level of school building increased at the village level. Thus, localities worked to overcome the limited opportunities provided by the colonial state which created a great deal of tension but also create responses to these constraints.

Unemployed or underemployed, discontent youths became early supporters of the anti-colonial movement and worked to study abroad. These youths combined with the graduates of secondary schools become the inheritors of the colonial state and would dominate the politics of the postcolonial era. With their background in missionary schools, these postcolonial officials were Christian and relatively conservative in nature. The educational programs were gender-biased, highly transnational and used celebrations. After independence, those in positions of authority felt threatened by the younger university graduates; thereby creating a new tension between the first generation of office holders and

those that followed. Their experience and background encouraged the eventual implementation of agriculturally focused education both as a way to overcome the emerging tension but also as a way to solve many of the issues highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter 3

Building the State: Local-National Interactions in Education

This chapter demonstrates the process by which a postcolonial state targeted its population and reformed the character of its citizens through schooling. The goal in this process was the inculcation of a new nationalistic Tanzanian identity. Before elite postcolonial politicians could implement new ideas of nationalism and socialism, they needed to fuse local schools with the national Ministry of Education to create a strong system of education. Through this new state institution, the postcolonial elite now could attempt to teach about the government's concept of Tanzanian citizenship and introduce postcolonial programs to teachers and students, groups with the most immediate contact to the state. In this process, teachers and students co-opted and altered these reforms. Consequently, District and Regional Education Officers became instrumental intermediaries to implement reforms and stay in contact with those at the local level.

This chapter highlights several stages in the growth of education as a postcolonial state institution. First, this chapter examines education as a local institution and local efforts to build more schools. Then it explores how the District and Regional Education Officers implemented these reforms and how the national government worked to assert its authority over local schools. The local government officials spent their time touring their assigned areas, meeting with the headteachers, the postcolonial position of headmaster, and teachers to talk

about effective pedagogical techniques. Every month, they observed classes, noted the conditions of the school grounds and reported on funding issues. Passing these reports to their superiors in the capital of Dar es Salaam, they also worked to implement new directives coming from the capital. As one of the first positions to be Africanized, these officials were the link between the national Ministry of Education and the local schools. The process and institutions by which the state attempted to target its population provides insight into the ambitions and reforms of the postcolonial state.

Postcolonial nationalism and the role of the nation state has been a major historiographical issue. Benedict Anderson highlights the constructed nature of national belonging and the nation itself.[170] However, in the Tanzanian case the nation needed to create an imagined sense of heritage that could exist alongside the strong local feelings which the state also actively promoted. Educators at the Ministry of Education worked to implement a new national history, language, customs, movement and associations but at the same time recognize the local traditions that continued to exist. Mary Kay Vaughan's examination of revolutionary Mexico also adds to this debate.[171] She shows how schooling promoted a common discourse while also allowing for diversity within local teaching practices. In both revolutionary Mexico and postcolonial Tanzania, schools were central in the establishment of a national culture. Additionally, this process was more than a top-down phenomenon. Teachers along with Regional

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[170] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections On the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

[171] Mary Kay Vaughan, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants and Schools in Mexico, 1930-1940* (Tuscon, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1997).

and District Education Officers, who were members of the national Ministry of Education, had the most direct contact with local schools and were instrumental in this process.

Looking directly at schools and the mediating figures in the schools shows how the "pedagogical" mandate was fulfilled and used. As this chapter provides an overview of schooling during this early postcolonial period, it posits government school inspectors as mediators between the local and the national. School inspectors were central actors in moving local debates over education to the national level. These figures worked closely with newly constructed schools, recently hired teachers and local governments. They raised the issues they discovered regarding these schools and teachers to their superiors at the Ministry of Education and politicians in the capital. These reports provided the justification for the national government to assert its control over local schools.

As the central government asserted its authority over the school system, Nyerere and other first generation postcolonial leaders used District and Regional Education Officers as the means to build the school system into a national institution through which ideas of nationalism and of belonging to the new Tanzanian state could be disseminated to teachers and students. With the relatively successful inculcation of these two groups, teachers and students (both school leavers and graduates) could inform the rest of the population of the new conceptions regarding Tanzanian citizenship.[172] Thus, the growth of schools as

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[172] For example see Frances Vavrus. *Desire and Decline: Schooling amid Crisis in Tanzania* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), Lene Buchert. *Education in the Development of Tanzania, 1919–90* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1995); Cati Coe. *Dilemmas of Culture in African Schools: Youth, Nationalism, and the Transformation of Knowledge.* (Chicago: University of

an institution became an instrument by which the postcolonial state could target and reform its population and increase its presence at the local level to remind people of their belonging the Tanzanian state.

Constructing Local Schools and Decolonization, 1957-1963

The late 1950s witnessed the explosion of primary schools at the village level because of local initiatives, largely outside of official policy or control by either the British or Tanzanian officials in Dar es Salaam. The growing number of primary school graduates pressured local officials to meet the demands for such services. Parents increasingly recognized the importance of having at least a primary school education for their children's advancement and began to build schools themselves and send their male children for an education.

The Tanzanian educated elite used their skills to subvert colonial rule in a highly visible affront to the departing colonial state. Schools became a means by which TANU [Tanganyikan African National Union], the party of Nyerere and anti-colonial agitation and the only party to hold power in Tanzania since 1961, could assert its distance from the colonial state. As a former school teacher, Nyerere recognized this opportunity to win support from the local population and train workers that he recognized would be needed following independence. Schools also informed local areas about TANU as being a political organization with national ties. Through deliberate messages, schools also worked to temper expectations associated with independence and promote a more conservative decolonization movement. Thus, schools allowed the political party to fulfill the

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Chicago Press, 2005) places education within a wider cultural framework in her work on Ghanaian education.

role of the state before achieving independence while also attempting to control the anticolonial movement and win popular support.

In response, colonial education officers became preoccupied with this expansion, referring to it as uncontrolled growth. As a young British teacher in Tanzania in the 1950s, John Smart recalled this alarm, writing: "My main concern was with the falling standards in the UMCA [United Missionary Church of Africa] schools and the rapid, almost uncontrolled growth of bush schools."[173] He mentioned his losing battle against school expansion led by a TANU official, even though both were friends and standout soccer players at the secondary school where the inspector formerly taught. "It was my sad duty to initiate proceedings against my old star pupil who had become a national soccer hero for opening and running unregistered bush schools on behalf of TANU."[174] Smart tells us, after the court only gave the offender a light punishment for establishing the schools, "we shook hands. Lozzie [the student/friend/antagonist of the officer] with renewed energy departed to open more schools and I sadly left Tanga for home leave."[175] In Smart's example, the departing colonial state officials lacked the authority and the motivation to target the rapid expansion of schools.

Additionally, historian David Morrison found instances of TANU and Tanganyikan African Parents Association [TAPA] schools being established near missionary schools, so that these organizations would appeal "to parents to

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[173] John Smart. "Memorandum of John Smart," Rhodes House Library, MSS. Afr. s. 1755, 5.

[174] Ibid., 5.

[175] Ibid.. 6.

abandon the institutions of ‘imperialists’ for those of the ‘people.’ Political leaders at the centre found it difficult to punish stalwart party supporters for this sort of behaviour.”[176] During the last years of colonial rule, the system of education constantly expanded and existed as an extremely local endeavor with nationalist support, and the colonial state was nearly powerless to control this explosion. Students, unhappy with their lack of advancement, and parents, who demanded more educational opportunities for their children, began to support anti-colonial movements, which then capitalized on this discontent by promising a huge expansion of education with the end of colonial rule. Through the provision of education, TANU worked to increase the level of social services to the Tanzanian population, thus fulfilling its pedagogical mandate during the last years of colonial rule.

During the transition from colonial rule to independence in 1961, the Tanzanian populace genuinely believed that with the end of the exploitative colonial rule their standard of living and, more importantly, the lives of their children would improve. With this anticipation, many believed the next generation in Tanzania would receive the education that the racially biased and highly exclusionary system of colonial education previously denied to them. Parents were willing to invest their limited resources to ensure the overall advancement of their children. With increased access to schools, the first generation of Tanzanians became fundamental to the advancement of their family's socio-economic status and their country’s development; no youthful

[176] David Morrison, *Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case* (New York: C. Hurst Publishers Ltd, 1976), 131.

generation in Tanzania ever held so much promise and expectations. To meet this need, parents, community leaders, and residents of the nascent nation-state built schools and involved themselves in efforts to better their children and, according to the rhetoric of government leaders, participate in nation-building activities. With support from the national government, education became representative of the massive social services that the colonial state failed to implement and that the new postcolonial government worked to enact as quickly as possible.[177]

Although enjoying more support from a central government, which was intent on increasing the provision of social services, the expansion of education during the early postcolonial period remained a local affair. Residents, with support from their local district councils, worked together to construct new school buildings, including houses for teachers, kitchens, and latrines. Individuals and local governments, in the form of district and town councils, controlled the comprehensive primary education system. They possessed the responsibility and ability to finance primary schools, planned the development of local primary education, controlled the expansion and management of new schools, obtained grants from the national government, and enforced school attendance. TANU party members, hoping to increase popular support for the party, worked to bring education to as many people as possible and began building new schools throughout the country.

Local governments also helped fund the purchase of supplies and provided guidance on organizational issues. For example, when describing the

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[177] Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 104.

addition of a Standard VII [seventh grade] classroom, the local head teacher in the Njombe District, in southwestern Tanzania, wrote: "The [local] Council has agreed to assist the Self-Help scheme by providing iron sheets, white wash, cement, and windows. The natives are busy making bricks which will be burnt in July. The building is likely to start in early August 1964."[178] These communities only needed bricks, roofing materials, and a small amount of land for the school. Here, District Education Officers played an advisory role, helping the communities obtain materials and organize labor as well as providing encouragement for this early school expansion. These officials also publicized that the national government provided some funding but made it clear that this money was only to be used for materials and that they expected volunteers to provide the labor.[179] Efforts such as these served as the primary means of expanding the education system, allowed for local participation, and existed as a country-wide phenomenon. While not designed to function in perpetuity, these buildings fulfilled a basic need of the community, reflected the resources available to the builders, and enjoyed widespread support.

The school system consisted of eight years of primary school, referred to as Standards I-VIII, with the latter four standards known as upper primary school. Students in primary school studied a wide range of subjects including English, Swahili, history, math, and science. Although most students attended irregularly, those who attended on a consistent basis faced tests after Standards IV and VIII

[178] "Std. VII 1965," June 10, 1964, T.N.A. Acc578/A107/7.

[179] "Developments in Primary Education," January 31, 1961, T.N.A. Acc578/K/161/18.

with only the most successful advancing. After Form II, teachers divided students into an arts and humanities—focused track or, for the students generally with better grades, a science—based track. Students then faced another exam following Form IV, with only roughly 10% advancing to the remaining two years of high school. However, students leaving school at this stage could receive a primary school teaching certificate or, in many cases, use their education to open businesses. For the gifted "one-in-a-hundred," doing well in Forms V and VI practically guaranteed an opportunity to attend university and become a member of the educated elite of Tanzania.

Students who graduated from upper primary school were fluent in English, had a strong background in math and a variety of other subjects, and, with luck, possessed the ability to secure a decent paying white-collar job such as a clerk. School inspectors agreed with this assessment with Njombe school inspector, A.J. Sajine, condemning the appearance of the school but conceding: "The academic standard of the school is high and pupils learn their lessons efficiently."[180] Another report referred to a new Standard V class as obtaining "a remarkably high standard of attainment and quality of work."[181] Recalling these days, teachers remarked that this period was the golden age of education in Tanzania, largely through localized efforts. Although the quality of education varied by region and access to schools was still limited, the expansion of education during the 1960s highlights an important advance in educating the country. With the

[180] A.J. Sajine, "Primary School Inspection Report: Mbandu," June 17, 1964, T.NA. Acc578/A10-7/10.

[181] Sajine, "Primary School Inspection Report," 15.

provision of an important social service, the national government could increase its legitimacy despite the fact that this expansion was largely the result of local efforts.

The late colonial period and early postcolonial period reflected a continuation of educational policies that existed since the late 1940s and early 1950s. Nyerere continued to depend on British administrators in the education system through the early 1960s. With little change in those at the top, few policies changed for everyday students. Students still sat for the Cambridge Exam, an exam coming from the metropole. However, the results of the exam were often ignored. Local elites, including teachers, politicians and bureaucrats, could use their influence to advance the interests of their children.[182] Local influence subverted the national program of merit-based promotion and corruption plagued the local educational system during these early years.

While problems concerning advancement plagued local schools, new schools continued to be built largely outside of national government oversight. Lists of these newly built schools highlight the dramatic expansion of education and the level of community involvement needed to support these programs, which saved the postcolonial government hundreds of thousands of shillings. With local communities providing funding for the equipment and materials, district self-help projects continued on an extensive scale through 1966. One district, Ngara, reported building 18 classrooms during 1963 allowing schools to have a third

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[182] Z. Ergas. "Can Education be Used as a Tool to Build a Socialist Society in Africa? The Tanzanian Case." *Journal of Modern African Studies* 20, no. 4 (1982): 571-594.

classroom or expand to allow Std. I or Std. V and VI students to enroll in the school. In many cases schools failed to receive the money from the national government and needed to raise it locally.[183] This shows the high level of support local communities gave for education and the degree to which they propelled its expansion.

Even with the high level new construction, the demand for education still exceeded the ability of the community to build classrooms. "A number of new classes which opened in the last 2 or 3 years are without proper classrooms. This state of affairs cannot be allowed to continue and your councils are in fact deceiving the public by accepting or drawing up new plans which they can not implement," the Regional Commissioner of the West Lake Region warned district councils in 1967.[184] In this case, middle-level bureaucrats started to provide more cautionary advice. They also recognized that local elected officials were promising more dramatic school expansion than the community might afford or have a need for. According to these District and Regional Education Officers, who were aware of development projects throughout the country, certain campaigns of expansion needed curtailing and a tension developed between local officials, intent on building new schools, and their national counterparts.

The local nature of these projects became evident as the central bureaucracy frequently wrote to determine what exactly was taking place in the regions. Here, education officers from the national government appear relatively

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[183] "Developments in Primary Education," January 31, 1961. T.N.A. Acc578/K-161/16.

[184] Ibid., 18.

helpless as they struggled to determine what was taking place at the local level. "Please let me know what contributions has the local community made to educational development of self help projects," wrote Njombe's District Education Officer, J.A. Sawa in 1962.[185] In addition to constant pleas for information, education officials wrote to their local counterparts that school expansion needed to be "within the development plan of the local council as approved by this Ministry."[186] The desire to expand local schools unleashed a demand that local communities could not meet and created a situation that attracted the attention of the national government.

The reports of District Education Officers illustrate the rapid expansion of education taking place throughout the country, inspired by local efforts. One school builder, Gerald Kimario, recalled his experiences in building these schools and the relationship he enjoyed with the local government:

> Our workshop helped the building up of a number of schools and teachers offices in Moshi town [in northern Tanzania]. I remember we had ten guys in our workshop who used to help through subcontracting activities. The classrooms we used to build were simple. In some areas we used cement but in some areas we used mud for plastering. The classrooms we built were standard which could accommodate 45 to 50 students. We were paid in cash. But sometimes we were provided with food stuffs or products whenever there was a delay for cash payment. There were leaders selected to supervise the building activities. Political leaders like the village chairmen ward secretaries and many others played an important role to the success of the education projects. They were responsible in providing us with the building material in organizing the work for example what should be done within a week.

[185] J.A. Sawa, "Education Development and Self-Help Schemes." August 15,1962, T.N.A. Acc578/K-161/179.

[186] "Developments in Primary Education," January 31, 1961, T.N.A. Acc578/K-161/16.

> They were also responsible in distributing the building materials in other areas and paying us….Local citizens also provided labor power in the building activities when they were asked to do so by their leaders.[187]

This recollection shows that the building of local schools was not a spontaneous coming together of peasant labor that Tanzanian nationalists highlighted a highly organized local affair with involvement by local governments. In Kimario's recollection, the national government was not involved. Instead, local governments found a way—either through direct taxation or even barter—to build the schools local communities demanded. The individual efforts in supporting these schools and providing the labor as well as the local enthusiasm for school expansion were the driving forces behind this growth.

Local-National Interaction In the Immediate Independence Era, 1962-1964

This section deals with how schools in the immediate postcolonial era interacted with the national government. In addition to meeting basic educational needs, the school expansion process created a forum for local and national politicians to interact with residents. These meetings highlight early attempts by national politicians to try and fuse the local with the national as well as demonstrating the importance of schools during the early postcolonial period. The *Tanganyika Standard* reported that Nyerere and other elite politicians at times directly helped with this expansion, laboring beside villagers. "At the site the colourfully dressed village women clapped and sang songs of welcome. The President joined in, clapping in time to the singing before grabbing a shovel and

[187] Gerald Kimario, interview by author, November 14, 2009.

helping with the building work."[188] Laboring on school construction provided an important opportunity for Nyerere to be seen supporting local efforts to provide educational opportunity for the community. He physically was helping the country to develop in a manner the common person could relate to.

Other leaders involved themselves in the building process as well. For example, Bibi Titi Mohamed, Secretary to the Ministry of Community Development and hero of the anti-colonial movement, often toured and praised the efforts of local nation-builders, including one instance of visiting the newly completed Achira Primary School in October, 1964.[189] Laying the stone of new schools was a popular activity as it provided opportunity for brief speeches. In 1965, the Minister of Education, Solomon Eliufoo, did exactly this at a new school in Ilala, Dar es Salaam, proclaiming: "Every time I see a new school being built or being extended, especially in the city where we all want our children to go to school, I am particularly happy."[190] Thus, schools provided national politicians an opportunity to remind inhabitants of their belonging to the country and how their efforts worked to benefit the country in general, providing an important shared experience for people to be a part of something larger.

With the involvement of politicians in the expansion of education, problems and misunderstandings arose especially as the building of schools continued. One such occasion occurred when the Second Vice President, R.M. Kawawa, met with a large crowd of people and acquiesced to their wishes by

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[188] "People 'raising the standards of schools.'" *Tanganyika Standard*, April 1, 1963, 3.

[189] "Bibi Titi Spurs on the Nation Builders of Kilimanjaro," *The Nationalist*, October 10, 1964, 5.

[190] "Eliufoo Lays Stone of New School at Ilala," *The Nationalist*, April 10, 1965, 3.

ordering the construction of a school for them. However, as the Area Commissioner reported, this demand caused other problems. "In order to comply with this order, the easiest way is to strike off the register the Kilawalawa Primary School where local people do not show interest in having a school and transfer it to Mhukuru where the need is urgent."[191] This decision caused outrage in Kilawalawa, leading the District Education Officer to ask the Area Commissioner to "convene another meeting…and explain clearly to the people what the people have to do if they still would like a school."[192] According to education officers and officials at the Ministry of Education, expansion was getting out of control at the local level and this growth needed greater oversight at the national level.

Prominent local politicians also helped establish new schools, directly associating themselves with schools and working to bond themselves with locals. In addition to opening the schools, leaders personally donated money, coordinated fundraising efforts, ordered schools to be built, and ensured the proper number of teachers. An incident with Parliamentary Secretary Bhoke Munanka highlights the personal role politicians played in this experience, recorded by the District Education Officer. "[He] has offered to pay upper primary school fees for a Standard Six pupil at Nyakaguku Upper Primary school, Mr. Stanslaus, whose parents have so far failed to raise the 1963 School fees….Mr. Munanka's offer to pay School fees for pupil Stanslaus was the result of the excellent way he read a

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[191] "Lower Primary School Mhukuru," August 15, 1966, T.N.A Acc511/E1/1/25.

[192] M. Nyoni. "Kikole/Kilawalawa School," August 5, 1966, T.N.A. Acc511/E1-1/115.

speech of welcome."[193] The politician also donated one hundred shillings for school construction, showing his generosity and new wealth while earning the gratitude of the local population.[194] Finally, Mananka visited the newly constructed local schools and other projects designed to help develop the nation, associating himself with these projects and reminding the people of their larger contribution. Newly established schools became an important forum through which politicians could interact with their constituents and remind people of their belonging to the postcolonial state. These interactions and grand gestures also became a major forum by which both local and national politicians could win the support of the local the population. As politicians became more despotic and less responsible to the popular votes, interactions with schools became an important legitimizing measure.

In researching the quick expansion of Tanzanian schools, David Morrison found instances of education expansion following tours by various ministers. Quoting a District Education Officer, Morrison wrote that following the promises by national leaders to staff any newly built school "the local people have jumped at the opportunity to extend existing lower primary schools after the Ministers tour."[195] The situation was an opportunity for the politician to further his popularity and for the local population to ensure additional education for their children.

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[193] "Munanka Gives Out 300/= to Encourage Development," October 24, 1968, T.N.A. Acc47/E/1B/98.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Morrison, *Education and Politics,* 133

Local schools also invited neighborhood TANU officials to address the school children in a ceremonial display of the national state's authority. For example, in 1964 the students of Kidugala Girls School wrote to M. Nyoni, the Area Commissioner in Njombe: "We would like you to give a talk to us about TANU and your work. We have also invited the Executive officer to come on that same day to give us a speech about how the local government is run…The girls are mostly interested in learning about the development of the district during the past 5 years."[196] In another example, a highly choreographed visit by the Regional Commissioner to Luhira Upper Primary School, in Songea Region, included meeting the teachers, inspecting the school children, seeing the construction, addressing the students, opening a fish pond, and signing the school's log book before leaving.[197] Such occurrences exemplify how local schools began to take on a more political role and tied the local community with their TANU delegates. Through these interactions, national politicians started to co-opt local efforts at school expansion in order to gain better control over construction projects as well as for their own gain and to promote nationalism.

Overall, by the mid-1960s, education represented a major success for the postcolonial state, with the national government taking credit for largely local reform and education expansion. National officials used this success to show their effectiveness to both a domestic and international audience. Compared with fewer than ten thousand mostly male African students during the late colonial

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[196] "Class VIIIs to Area Commissioner," September 30, 1966, T.N.A. Acc578/E10/20/II37.

[197] "E. Burisha to the District Commissioner, Pare," June 9, 1962, T.N.A. Acc517/E1/22.

period,[198] government figures show that 486,470 students were enrolled in schools in 1961, rising to 537,725 students the following year. By 1966, schools taught 774,604 students and 829,182 students in 1967, [199] including 319,064 females.[200] With such massive local efforts at establishing local schools, their number increased with approximately five hundred new schools, mostly at the primary level, being established between 1962 and 1966.[201] Education expenditure increased from Tsh. 4.227 million (Tanzanian shillings) in 1962 to Tsh. 6,514 million in 1966, before reaching Tsh. 16.988 million in 1975, or 5.7 percent of the GDP.[202] These numbers highlight the prompt expansion of education and its astonishing growth among female students. The number of Form IV candidates rose from 3,620 (of whom 2,223 passed) in 1962 to 6,472 in 1968 (of whom 5,700 were successful).[203] This success caused the Minister of Education, Simon Eliufoo, to boast in 1967: "Very few countries have managed to expand their education system as rapidly as we have in the past six years."[204] Similarly, by the

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[198] Julius Nyerere, *Tanzania: Ten Years After Independence* (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1971), 42.

[199] Statistics differ between Lene Buchert, *Education in the Development of Tanzania, 1919-90* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1994), 110 and Mbughuni, L.A. and G. Ruhumbika "Twenty Years of TANU Education." in *Towards* Ujamaa*: Twenty Years of TANU Leadership*, ed. Gabriel Ruhumbika, (Dar es Salaam: East Africa Literature Bureau, 1977), 227.

[200] Majorie J. Mbilinya, *The Education of Girls in Tanzania* (Dar es Salaam: University of Dar es Salaam Press, 1969). 15.

[201] Buchert, *Education in the Development of Tanzania,* 110.

[202] Ibid., 104.

[203] Ibid., 110.

[204] Simon Eliufoo, "Education: A New Era Begins," in *Self-Reliant Tanzania*. eds. Knud Eric Svendsen and Merete Teinsen (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1969), 219-231.

late 1960s, the number of teachers increased exponentially and education became the single largest expenditure of the Tanzanian state.

Still, the monitoring and regulation of schools remained rather limited. National politicians were caught between the unpopular move of limiting the spread of education and finding difficult ways to help subsidize these schools, an expense that represented a growing portion of the national budget.[205] Countering these issues, the expansion of education allowed more students to attend school and, more importantly, brought a sense of belonging to the larger Tanzanian state into the everyday lives of its citizens.

Teaching Tanzania: Tribalism and the Nation

Acting on orders from the Ministry of Education, curriculum reforms provided a means for the national state to further intervene at the local level and to solidify its presence. Both the rapid expansion of education and pedagogical changes created space for school inspectors to further their authority and ensure local schools taught students about their belonging to and role in the new postcolonial state.

The idea of tribalism in the Tanzanian case has been contentious. John Iliffe argues that British authorities created tribes during the 1920s as they implemented their system of indirect rule.[206] The postcolonial Tanzanian state worked to portray the newly formed nation as a desirable alternative to tribalism and argued that tribalism was an issue that the state quickly would overcome.

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[205] For more on the attempts to regulate this expansion see Morrison, *Politics and Development,* 135-140.

[206] John Iliffe. *Tanganyika: A Modern History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 270-275.

This focus on developing a strong national identity highlighted a major shift from the tribal divisions of the colonial period and the failure of the anti-colonial movement to foster any national loyalty.

Tanzanian nationalism was constantly changing and shows the elite's commitment to develop the colonially imposed nation-state at the expense of ignoring a larger East African or pan-African identity. For the small number of students (roughly 20%) who advanced into upper primary school, this change demonstrates a major example of the state's effort to overcome the ethnic divisions of the colonial period and create a strong national identity. Reforms remained limited to expansion and curriculum changes, as Nyerere and the Ministry of Education still depended upon colonial-era British bureaucrats, needed graduating secondary school students to fill newly created institutions and hesitated to drastically alter the system of education. However, the focus on creating a national identity still represents a major shift in the educational philosophy and began altering students' experiences at schools.

Fostering a sense of Tanzanian nationalism required greater involvement of the national government which had to define concepts of citizenship. Curriculum debates and reforms at the national level allowed the government to shape and define this agenda as well as move the teaching away from the tribal based history of the colonial era. National reformers noted the tribal based history problem in 1963, two years after independence, as they began to take control over local schools. Education panelists noted: "The history section of this syllabus [Std. V or early upper primary school] is Tribe-centered. This approach could

have most harmful effects in a newly independent nation. There is nothing in it to indicate that he is a member of a nation and no attempt is made to arouse a proper sense of national pride or show that a Tanzanians' loyalty must be to Tanzania not to that tribe."[207] Tribalism was a problematic legacy of colonial rule and education officials spent a great deal of time debating the issue and transforming the curriculum to overcome local sentiment. By starting to intervene in the education system, the national government quickly discarded the tribal identity that the colonial state depended upon and that Tanzanians identified with, moving instead to a new national identity. Although this issue is described in more detail with regard to state celebrations, planners drew upon pre-colonial connections the ethnic groups with each other and their shared customs to emphasize the commonality that young Tanzanians possessed. Cultural performances of individual ethnic groups were highlighted but then subordinated to that of the larger nation.

The changes that the national Ministry of Education worked to promote justified the role of District and Regional Education Officers and increased their mandate to intervene in the affairs of local schools. In working to overcome feelings of tribalism and localism, educational officials required that Tanzanian history and civics be taught in every grade. Intervention by the national government sought to instill a sense of national loyalty within students that worked to triumph over local identification. An education reformer contended: "The civics section…is concerned only with the life, work and government of the

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[207] Ministry of Education. "The Sub-Panels' Views on the Present Syllabus, Dated 1963." July, 1966, T.N.A. Acc578/ Syl1/1/1.

local district. The pupil is nowhere shown that whatever is going on at the District today is just part of the wider Nation Building process."[208] The report concluded by highlighting two major deficiencies within the education system: "[The curriculum] does little to arouse a proper sense of national pride…[and] is insufficiently concerned with nation building and development which is one of the main features of Tanzania's life today."[209] Over the course of the early 1960s, Ministry officials developed additional plans to make primary and secondary education increasingly political, District and Regional Education Officers were charged with overseeing this change. Overall, teaching of civics, politics and history focused on the local, national and pan-African levels with all three being highlighted and co-existing.

In 1967, Swahili replaced English as the language of the nation as leaders worked to emphasize the Africanness of the state. The switch in language instruction also allowed the postcolonial to distance itself from its colonial predecessor in an attempt to rejuvenate its rule. The focus on Swahili also needs consideration within the more general curriculum reforms. Planners argued that students should learn a national history and communicate in a national, non-colonial language. Language became an important means to overcome both tribal and colonial legacies.

Teaching Swahili prevented the educated elite from relying on a different language than the one used by the general population and became a means of

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[208] Ministry of Education, "The Sub-Panels' Views on the Present Syllabus, Dated 1963: Appendix A," July, 1966, T.N.A Acc78/Syl1/1/1.

[209] Ibid.

furthering unity in the state. Nyerere envisioned primary school leavers, who were the majority of students, as the future farmers and residents of rural areas whose knowledge of Swahili would be more important than possessing a basic background in the English language.

Further changes in education worked to celebrate Tanzanian identity and encourage a sense of loyalty and nation-building at the local level. Through various activities, experts worked to make a Std. V student's education revolve around two themes—incidents from Tanzanian history and the role of Tanzanians in building the nation.[210] To support these themes, the Committee on Education Reform identified two main goals. "(a) To encourage students to think of the people of Tanzania, PAST as well as present, as Tanzanians, rather than members of this tribe or that tribe…(b) To awaken a proper sense of national pride by ensuring the pupils are aware of the struggles and achievements of past generations of Tanzanians."[211] More specifically, reformers called for teaching about major chiefs who united various people around them, bringing together different ethnic groups. The aim was to "show the benefits derived from larger communities,"[212] that large kingdoms existed in Tanzania's precolonial past, and that long-distance trade existed before Arab and European domination.

Additionally, various anti-German resistance movements also were highlighted, including the Maji Maji Rebellion of 1905, emphasizing the agency

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[210] Ministry of Education. "The Sub-Panels' Views on the Present Syllabus, Dated 1963: Appendix A," July, 1966, T.N.A Acc78/Syl1/1/1, 1.

[211] Ibid., 1.

[212] Ibid., 1.

of Africans rather than the German response. Finally, narratives demonstrated the benefits of cash crop farming, local nation-building projects, and the early life of Nyerere followed by the founding of TANU and its fight for independence. [213] This history that was being developed at the University of Dar es Salaam was quickly implemented into schools curriculums to educate students about the emerging subject of local, national and Tanzanian history. Thus, reformers recognized the need to historicize the idea of the Tanzanian state as a method of promoting nationalism and pan-Africanism for its young student population.

The new syllabus also highlighted the role of civics for upper primary school students. Civics class included teaching about the rights and duties of citizenship in the postcolonial state. District Education Officers and reformers at the Ministry of Education required that teachers show the nation was "a union of local communities" and that the student was "a member of the larger family, the nation."[214] Again both the local and national were concurrently emphasized. Various occupations were also explained, emphasizing how each, from the farmer to the President, contributed to the development and welfare of the country. Every citizen played a vital part in the nation building process by "working well, learning more, keeping himself and his family healthy, law abiding, taking part in elections and meetings, paying taxes and other dues promptly."[215] In a similar

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[213] Ministry of Education, "The Sub-Panels' Detailed Suggestions for Syllabi Changes in Primary History and Civics, 1963: Appendix C," July 1966, T.N.A. Acc578/ Syl/1/2.

[214] Ibid., 3.

[215] Ibid., 5.

manner to teaching history, civics became a platform to inform Tanzanian youth about their government and their responsibilities as citizens.

However, school inspectors, caught between teachers and the Ministry, quickly noticed hesitations in the implementation of the new curriculum. In Njombe, a town in southwestern Tanzania, inspectors pointed out the government needed to institute some change and this nation building effort experienced resistance from students. Inspectors noted: "Detribalization should be more practical."[216] Proving the success of colonial indoctrination, students encountered difficulty in believing certain people did not belong to certain tribes. To counter this problem, Ministry officials responded: "We therefore suggest that only those persons who are famous for their activities of our common concern should be studied. For the fight against aliens was a common problem to all tribes."[217] Primary school inspectors reported that teachers misconstrued their given 'facts' when teaching their country's history, Still, these problems helped with the political education and advanced notions of the modern Tanzanian state through the invention of a common struggle.

In addition to promoting certain pedagogical ideas, the national government deracialized schools, a goal that provided an opportunity for further involvement in local affairs. The African population saw South Asian schools as possessing more resources and better teachers. It was also noted that they received more funding from the colonial state, and students began attending

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[216] A. Sojene, "Proposals for a New History Syllabus in Primary School, Standards IV to VII," March 18, 1968, T.N.A. Acc578/ Syl1/1/60.

[217]Ibid., 4.

schools they were previously excluded from. The new policy developed by the Committee on the Integration of Education recommended: "Any child should be eligible for admission in any school in the Territory provided that his knowledge of the language of instruction is such that he would be able to maintain his place in the school…"[218] Through the passage of this recommendation, race stopped becoming a basis of admission for schools. This seemingly simple move represented a major shift from colonial-era racial divisions and the African population welcomed this move which came at the expense of the South Asian community. Thus, in an early and highly populist move, education experts targeted the very visible physical discrimination of the colonial state.

Although on one level this highlights the deracialization of the postcolonial state, postcolonial politicians and education officials deliberately targeted European and South Asians. In effect, the state was reracialized on the basis of blackness, with Tanzanian politicians working to further African interests. Again, District and Regional Education Officers played a key role in enforcing this regulation and ensuring that schools actually admitted African students. In a few cases the demographic composition of the schools failed to drastically change, but in the majority of cases black Tanzanians began attending schools once reserved only for Europeans or South Asians. Symbolically, this reracialization represented a major public relations victory for the national government as both Europeans and South Asians were viewed as 'exploiters' by the local community. Curriculum planners systematically overlooked the

[218] "Ministry of Education to Headmasters and Headmistresses of all Government Schools," September 23, 1960, T.N.A. Acc578/K/161/12.

contributions made by the South Asian community to the anticolonial movement at the same time District and Regional Officers were targeting South Asian schools.

To further feelings of national unity and continue a process from the colonial period, the Ministry of Education required secondary school students, over whom the Ministry enjoyed more control from the start, to attend schools in different regions of the country. Students would be provided with train and bus vouchers at highly subsidized rates to attend secondary schools throughout the country. Consequently, one secondary school might have a majority of students from outside of that area. One missionary at Marion Girls School near Morogoro, in central Tanzania about two hours west of Dar es Salaam, recalled that her school taught students from the extreme north, west and south of the country. She enjoyed meeting these students and recalled the degree to which students traveled: "These girls, some of them traveled for seven days. From the time they'd leave their village, they'd get a bus, then a boat, go through the lake, and then get a third class ticket on the train."[219] Students of different ethnic groups and religions mixed together and, ideally, taught their fellow students about their cultures. "They learned how to get along. This was one of the big things, getting to know others from other tribes and finding out what their customs were. We'd have a campfire and they'd do those group dances. And then they would learn from others. And they'd enjoy that very much," the missionary teacher remembered.[220]

[219] Mary Theresa, interviewed by author, March 15, 2007.

[220] Ibid.

The movement of students allowed people throughout the country to experience a multitude of different cultures and ethnic groups. Through this experience of sharing, national planners hoped that students would realize the vastness of the country and the only instrument capable of holding the country together was the TANU-backed national government.

Charley Samson, a Std. XII student, highlighted the great effort students expended when traveling to and from secondary school and the distance these schools were from their homes. In the Malangali School magazine, Samson wrote:

> Initially the sea breezes were quite refreshing and the sea itself spread out under the sunshine, a dazzling stretch of blue water which turned into green and finally silver. For a time, all was quiet. It was not until we reached the middle of the lake that the dead silence was broken by ringing thunderstorms and gales. The atmosphere became gloomy. Mountain-like waves gave the lake its characteristic undulating appearance and they seemed to alter our hopes. We struggled across this unbelievable stormy lake and to our disappointment, found ourselves in a rolling ship running at a terrifically fast speed. Because the situation became very serious, our leader had to declare that everyone should seek refuge in one of the boats which, I as knew, were far from sufficient. I did not hesitate to seek for a place. Therefore, I embarked on one of the boats with other people. We rowed across the Lake all night long. Hungry, weary, and half starved, we eventually reached a desolate shore. In such a terrible situation, we all ate fruits. After several days of hardship we finally reached our native village.[221]

In addition to showing a student's determination to get to and from school, this story demonstrates the dramatic process of traveling around the country. The postcolonial government worked to ensure that students from, in this case, Western Tanzania attended school in other parts of the country. This way the

[221] John Smart, "Memorandum of John Smart," Rhodes House Library, MSS. Afr. s. 1755.

students could get a better sense of belonging to the country and teach other students about their respective homelands. Through this policy, the Ministry of Education attempted to fuse the local with the national.

The government's attempt to detribalize students, connect them to the nation, and inculcate a Tanzanian identity was not without problems, according to the teachers of the era. "The behavior of the indigenous people felt that they were superior to the people coming from other regions. Sometimes indigenous students felt that they were better than the teacher simply because they were born there and the teacher was transferred in."[222] Tribal identity remained an important force and, despite massive campaigns to replace this identity with a more national one, still existed and caused problems in schools. For example, retired teacher Cecilia Moris Masanja remembers:

> The previous school I started didn't have enough classrooms so the Government decided to expand the intake by increasing the classrooms and also taking other students to Iringa. So, I was selected to go to Iringa where we found tribalism. The teachers we found in Iringa didn't have a good heart. They said why should we teach students from other regions outside Iringa? Some of us went to Moshi while the other group went to Turiani (in central Tanzania). When we arrived in Moshi we found the same situation that was tribalism. Students who were coming from outside Moshi were few, therefore they were discriminated against.[223]

This is one example of the obstacles experienced when students and teachers failed to associate themselves with the nation and the local tribalism struggled to coexist ed alongside the nation. Also, District Education Officers frequently failed [neglected] to comment on these problems and continued praising the

[222] Joseph Mwakalinga, interviewed by author, October 29, 2009.

[223] Cecilia Moris Masanja, interviewed by author, November 4, 2009.

efforts of national government in to move students around the country. To educational officers, the physical movement of students was a means to achieve the national unity they hoped to promote.

The national government thought detribalization would occur in response to the growing emphasis on teaching and the movement of students Although it became evident that tribal and local ties remained, officials conceded that by bringing different tribal cultures together and showing diversity of the nation-state, TANU and Nyerere furthered their own authority. The diversity of the state could be acknowledged and encouraged but the movement from tribalism to nationalism was more than a linear progression. Rather than lose the battle, leaders allowed for tribal identities to continue but reconstituted tribalism to show the diversity of the state.

As tribalism continued to exist, the government continued to push nationalism and highlight the shared culture that those in the newly created nation-state could hopefully relate to. The development of a national history and liberal paradigm of teaching demonstrates the acceptance of the early postcolonial state to pursue a colonially imposed idea of a nation-state and justified intrusions by the national government into previously local issues.

Problems with Education

Despite the success of expanding education and teaching of Tanzanian nationalism, problems began to emerge at the local level, thus necessitating the intervention of the national government. Concerns over manpower caused constant consternation at the Ministry of Education, leading regional education

inspectors, experts who were in direct contact with the Ministry and local councils, to argue that small classes in newly established schools wasted the resources of the country. Often, reports highlighted the fact that teachers in areas with poor attendance could be more efficiently used elsewhere. In Kigoma, the Regional Education Official protested to his superiors: "While we are confronted with a nation-wide shortage of teachers and Government as well as District Councils are financially hard pressed, it is a sheer waste of manpower to see that teachers in some schools are tied up teaching small classes of 15-20 children."[224] As their ability to see larger education issues allowed them to focus their attention on the limited number of teachers throughout the country, Ministry employees possessed different priorities than their local counterparts, who remained intent on increasing the number of schools and classes available to their constituents.

The expansion of schools and scarcity of teachers led to a massive reduction in the requirements to become a teacher. Now, those with an upper primary, Std. VIII education could take training classes at a nearby teachers' college and then easily become primary school teachers. For example, now retired teacher Maingu Mrimi recalls that after finishing Std. VIII, "I was selected to join a teachers' college in Mwanza where I started my studies in 1962 and finished in 1965." However, as the decade progressed and the shortage of teachers became more acute, the amount of time spent on teacher training decreased to the extent where only a few classes were required before being placed in front of a classroom. In schools that desperately lacked teachers, upper

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[224] E.A. Kisenge, "Low Attendance and Poor Enrollment in Primary Schools," March 8, 1966, T.N.A. Acc542/E/10/16/25.

level primary students taught the lower grades and, although school inspectors condemned this practice, by 1975 it existed as official government policy. Those passing their exams at the end of Form IV largely chose notto join the ranks of the teaching profession, instead knowing that attending university guaranteed them more prestigious and higher paying employment.

Additionally, a 1973 letter to the editor of the *Daily News* highlights many of these issues, while also reflecting the worsening economic situation of the early 1970s and decreasing prestige of the teaching profession. "All of the teachers I have talked to have assured me that they joined teaching because they had no other alternative…All the graduates I have talked to have convinced me that they were forced to take teaching or lose their bursaries," complained G.K. Mubuiru, himself a teacher only as the last resort.[225] He illustrates the fact that many teachers did not want to teach and resented the job. To regional inspectors and their Ministry superiors, this lack of training and the forced employment created an opportunity for what they feared most—unsupervised teachers who failed in performing their duties while receiving a government salary. Stemming from this precipitous drop in qualifications and changing attitude, inspector complaints regarding problems with local teachers dominated school reports from the era. This created the perception for those at the national level that local authorities and parents' associations were unable to properly monitor these facilities and educate the next generation of Tanzanians.

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[225] "Many Take Up Teaching as a Last Resort," *Daily News*, January 19, 1973, 9.

Aware of the declining teacher qualifications, inspectors asserted their authority by reporting and often exaggerating the problems at schools. Ministry workers and District Education Inspectors constantly complained about the laziness of unsupervised teachers. In a similar tone to his colonial predecessor, one inspector wrote: "On arrival at the School, students [in Standards I-III] were playing about with practically nothing to do and no one was looking after them … Miss Maria David was sitting comfortably on a chair under the shade of a tree outside the classes. She was relaxing and having a nice conversation…No one was worried as to what the children were supposed to be doing."[226] To inspectors, these teachers represented a massive waste of state resources and a failure to inculcate a Tanzanian identity in the students. Their reports represented concerns that the national government possessed regarding unsupervised and largely unregulated local schools.

In other cases, teachers failed to attend school, which led a Moshi inspector to complain about local schools. While this area in northern Tanzania possessed a history of establishing and well funding schools, the inspector wrote: "It is a pity that this school is a time wasting pit for children. The lack of concentration and irregular attendance by teachers which is known to all administrative staff has been left unchecked for a long time now."[227] When at school, teachers used students for everyday chores and running errands, including

[226] "Safari Notes on 6th February, 1964. RGO Muslim Primary School," February 6, 1964. T.N.A. Acc555/6/5/141.

[227] "School Inspection Reports Moshi and North," June 27, 1967, T.N.A. Acc555/6/5/9.

frequent trips to the post office.[228] With their high numbers and little direct supervision, national officials worried that teachers, if left to themselves, would receive salaries while doing little actual work.

The growing cost of the expanding education system strained the financial capacity of local communities as education-related expenses began to dominate local budgets. For example, in the Kilimanjaro region in 1964, local officials budgeted over 7 million Tanzanian shillings for primary education costs out of a total estimated revenue of 11 million shillings, spending that could not be maintained.[229] Later in the decade, as schools continued to expand, some districts were on "the verge of bankruptcy"[230] and needed to carefully consider any further expansion. With fewer local contributions, J.A. Mneney at the Ministry of Education complained: "Many a council are still contributing less than 50% of the primary education cost in their areas."[231] These reports, based on the observations of District Education Officers, led national officials to conclude that local schools faced a crisis of chronic underfunding. Additionally, private associations such as TAPA [Tanganyika African Parents Association], formed during the late colonial period, established and ran local schools during the early 1960s. By the mid-1960s, they faced even more dramatic shortfalls as funding and membership decreased following the initial wave of enthusiasm of the late 1950s and early 1960s. Reflecting the controversies over school fees discussed in

[228] "Sending Pupils for Mail etc.," October 1, 1964, T.N.A Acc511/Ed1/I/257.

[229] "Education Report." January 5, 1965, T.N.A. Acc555/E1/43.

[230] "Secondary Schools." February 7, 1964, T.N.A. Acc471/E1/1/311.

[231] Ibid., 34.

the previous chapter, the community funding of schools became increasingly problematic. In turn, this caused salary disputes with teachers, resulting in their writing their regional supervisors that they failed to receive their salaries. As a result, the national government became increasingly convinced that local governments could not financially support their own schools.

Despite earlier praise, the school buildings themselves, the product of local nation-building efforts, quickly became a subject of critique by education experts and school inspectors mediating the reports at the national level which again asserted their position and worked to justify national control. Highlighting a major shift in policy, inspectors reminded local politicians that a school was more than just a building of four walls and a roof, and what had been deemed acceptable in earlier years was no longer suitable. For example, one retired teacher lamented: "In Moshi they didn't have many buildings so they used to go and hide under big coffee trees and teach them [the students]."[232] More specifically, inspectors noted that some schools lacked latrines, while others lacked proper areas for cooking. A particularly critical report, written by A.J. Sajine in 1963, stated: "All the buildings of the school are very bad … they are beyond description; they are more suitable for cattle than a school."[233] Parents and local officials, so involved in the school construction of the early 1960s, lessened their efforts later in the decade, retarding the growth of schools and causing major complaints among school inspectors making their first and second

[232] Cecilia Moris Masanja, interviewed by author, November 4, 2010.

[233] A.J. Sajine, "Primary School Inspection Report: Mawala," March 13, 1964, T.N.A. Acc/578/A10-7/11.

visits to schools. Unlike the previous few years, the alleged poor quality of schools provided justification for the central government to control any new construction and question the successes of local initiatives to build schools.

Thus, according to school inspectors, many problems existed at local levels through the rapid expansion of education. While expansion provided important opportunities for both local students and the politicians that involved themselves with the schools for their own gains, supplying the schools, maintaining school buildings, and ensuring quality teachers were problems that could not be solved through local efforts. These problems created space for District Education officers that the Ministry of Education capitalized on.

Schools in Transition: Asserting Control and Nationalization, 1964-1967

Issues, including the poor financial situation, the unregulated expansion, and the poor teaching at local schools emerged in the discourse at the national level, problems which were quickly used to justify the intrusion of Ministry officials into previously local issues. Aware of these problems through the efforts of District Education Officers, national bureaucrats first worked to limit the ongoing expansion of the education system.

Ministry inspectors made their opposition to the dramatic and largely unplanned school expansion known. They possessed a great awareness of the possible shortfalls in teachers and funding that plagued uncontrolled expansion. "I fear that if we continue urging people to build schools on self help schemes just because the people are prepared to volunteer … we shall have schools without teachers," wrote the District Education Officer of Njombe, B. Maluwa, in

1962.[234] Additionally, as concerns over funding began to dominate government discourse, Ministry bureaucrats started to complain that local residents failed to understand the annual costs involved in school expansion. Although slightly earlier, the Chief Education Minister highlighted this issue in a 1960 speech: "Communities who want schools must begin to think in terms of their own contribution, it is not enough merely to put up the necessary buildings."[235] The Njombe Regional Education Officer pointed out to community officials: "Opening a class VII is a lot more than just building—it means money both capital and recurrent."[236] On another occasion, his colleague explained that education expansion depended on local authorities being prepared to pay for any growth.[237] In a major shift from the quick building policies of the early part of the 1960s, national officials cited financial concerns and started to assert their authority by preventing problematic schools from being built. However, this change went against popular sentiment and was reflective of colonial controls which worked to limit the unplanned establishment of local schools. If they could not control it, postcolonial officials worked to at least realize what was going on at the local level and use school inspectors to establish a local presence.

Ministry planners also stressed the need to improve existing primary schools rather than build new ones, further tempering the pace of expansion and

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[234] "Education Development Self Help Scheme," August 22, 1962, T.N.A. Acc578/ K/161/182.

[235] "Developments in Primary Education," January 31, 1961, T.N.A. Acc578/ K/161/18.

[236] "Standard VII, 1965" June 19, 1964, T.N.A Acc578/A10/7/19.

[237] Minister of Education, "Policy in Regard to the Expansion of Primary Education," February 20, 1961, T.N.A. Acc578/ K/161/176.

asserting their authority over problematic schools. At the same time as the Chief Education Minister of Education pushed communities to increase their own funding, other government officials recognized the need to limit overall expansion. "The Government attaches greater importance at the present time to increasing the length of the primary course than to starting new ones [schools], and that the Government is unable at the present time to undertake greater financial responsibility than it does now from primary including middle school education," stated Minister of Education Oscar Kambona in 1960.[238] The central government recognized its fiscal limitations but it still desired additional oversight at the local level.

Regional education officers, through their reporting to superiors in the Ministry, recognized that some schools, especially those with low enrollments, could not be justified and were a potentially embarrassing situation for the national government. In one such case, the Regional Education Officer in Songea wrote to the Ministry: "For many years this school [Kituro Lower Primary School] remained a one-teacher school. It was last year that the appointment of a second teacher was approved. This years' enrolment in Standard one is very weak and certainly below the minimum of 30 pupils. It is a waste of public funds to keep two teachers at a school where enrolment is as weak as this."[239] The quick expansion of the school system created a number of schools that could not be staffed, while other schools with excess teachers failed to have the required

[238] Minister of Education, "Policy in Regard to the Expansion of Primary Education," February 20, 1961, T.N.A. Acc578/ K/161/176.

[239] "Kituro Lower Primary School," March 31, 1964, T.N.A Acc511/E1-I/III/224.

number of students. Reading these reports, the officials at the Ministry of Education, who already were working to assert their authority, furthered their calls for a greater presence at the local level.

The Rise of the National: District and Regional Education Officers

Educational officers and inspectors justified an increased presence at the local level. Their reports on the chaotic situation and possible insolvency of local schools justified calls for increased oversight by the national government. Responding to this need, the Ministry of Education worked to increase training and the number of District Education Officers, an important policy shift in furthering the control of Ministry officials. As mediating figures, the overall authority of these officers was also increased which allowed the national government to further assert its authority over local schools. "The number of Primary Schools was increasing at a very rapid rate soon after our Independence. The District Education Officers and the School Supervisors were increasingly absorbed into administrative duties and the breakdown in Inspectorial services to schools became evident,"[240] stated Chief Education Officer J.A. Sawe to the *Nationalist* newspaper, highlighting the need to make further changes.[241]

By the middle part of the decade, the Ministry managed to recruit additional inspectors and revitalized the profession, with Sawe highlighting this change: "In addition to the Inspectorial duties the Primary School Inspector has to be on the forefront in the promotion of new ideas relevant to modern

[240] "The Sole Purpose to Raise Standards of Primary Schools," *The Nationalist,* May 4, 1965, 2.

[241] Ibid., 2.

education."[242] The importance of school inspectors grew as the positions of District and Regional Education Officers became more institutionalized and the role given more formal authority. With this recognized importance, the Ministry began an intensive training program for the inspectors, educating them on new pedagogical ideas and firmly incorporating them into the Ministry hierarchy. The national government called on the District and Regional Education officers to intervene in and ensure proper oversight of local schools, thus limiting their autonomy and ensuring the teaching of a national curriculum.

In 1965, the Ministry of Education sent out the first wave of highly trained school inspectors and education officers in a major attempt to increase government oversight. These overseers visited local schools, attended classes, reported on the quality of teaching and buildings, held training seminars, and planned holidays. Effectively, these inspectors became the key point of interaction between the bureaucracy of the Ministry, intent on increasing its authority, and local—level educators. Inspections provided the Ministry of Education an opportunity to expand its oversight, gain insight into the everyday functioning of local schools, and create an important bureaucratic connection between local concerns and the national government.

In addition to asserting its authority and oversight through increased inspections, the Ministry of Education also used the issues stated in these inspector reports to begin limiting the autonomy of private schools. These private schools, mostly run by TAPA in rural areas, were the product of the expansionist

[242] "The Sole Purpose to Raise Standards of Primary Schools," *The Nationalist,* May 4, 1965, 2.

wave earlier in the decade and generally enjoyed a great deal of public sympathy and support. For example, the *Standard* newspaper reported: "The Minister said that he and his Ministry, as well as all the people in the country, understood and appreciated the extent to which TAPA has helped, and continued to help, in the country's fight against ignorance, especially where the Government or local authority could not provide educational facilities because of a lack of money."[243] However, these schools experienced decreased funding and declining enrollment over the course of the early 1960s.

Starting in 1965, Simon Eliufoo, the Minister of Education, announced that the national government would take control over various underperforming schools being run by TAPA throughout the country, thus beginning the process of limiting the autonomy of private schools, furthering state control and co-opting local school-building efforts. In an interview given to explain this action, Eliufoo cited the varying standards in TAPA schools, including teacher standards, and the need to better regulate the schools that were founded by parents. He succinctly summarized the position of the Ministry, stating: "Many TAPA schools are not in the required conditions—they have no proper buildings, insufficient equipment, and our children are not clean."[244] Reflecting the shift in priorities regarding education, he noted: "The time when parents could open schools wherever they wanted was over. What was wanted now was careful planning."[245] With this,

[243] "New Deal for TAPA Schools," *The Standard,* January 26, 1965, 3.

[244] " 'Improvement' Plea to TAPA," *The Standard,* January 20, 1965, 5.

[245] "New Deal for TAPA Schools," *The Standard,* January 26, 1965, 3.

Eliufoo started the process of nationalizing schools throughout the country and directly increased the scope of the national governments' authority.

Internal government documents highlighted the financial, employment and student-related issues that privately-run schools possessed. In examining TAPA schools, one inspector wrote: "(i) Education secretaries have misused TAPA funds and even misappropriated grants-in-aid paid by the Ministry quarterly. (ii) After conviction for theft of the last Education Secretary last December, the Agency has failed to employ another Education Secretary thus throwing their burden on shoulders of the Local Education Authorities."[246] In this instance, the private organization of TAPA failed in their mandate to provide quality education for Tanzanian students. Corruption and the theft of funds necessitated the intervention of the local government. The District and Regional Education Officers observing this issue wrote of such problems to the national Ministry who now possessed the justification to limit the role of the once popular TAPA organization. Additionally, officials argued that TAPA no longer possessed the funds necessary to "run schools effectively." [247] Other officials found similar problems with these schools: "Management of the school has proved unsatisfactory, and in order to maintain the required standards the Local Education Authority has undertaken some of its major administrative responsibilities of running the school. This school should be taken over by the Kigoma District Council."[248] Likewise in Ujiji (in the Kigoma region of Western

[246] "Issues with TAPA Schools," December, 1965, T.N.A. Acc598/E1/145.

[247] Ibid., 15.

[248] Ibid., 19.

Tanzania), local education authorities again took control of TAPA schools, a process other officials applauded as they felt this would allow the proper supervision and up-keep of the school.[249] According to Ministry workers, the schools founded during the decade of expansion began experiencing problems with teachers, finances, and supplies which necessitated the increased presence of the national government.

In addition to the Regional and District Officers, headteachers represented a potential major ally for the postcolonial state. Headteachers oversaw the day-to-day operations of local schools, including hiring and overseeing teachers. Most headteachers were British, whom the Ministry of Education viewed with suspicion. The process of asserting control continued with the requirement that all headmasters be Tanzanian citizens. Consequently, the Minister of Education and Nyerere hoped to replace any remaining British influence in schools. Elite politicians increased popular support for these measures by focusing on Africanization, which had begun earlier in the decade and still remained an issue, especially in the school system. With the new citizenship requirement, the government hoped to complete this Africanization process, arguing that the state needed Tanzanian school masters to further implement a Tanzanian identity in the schools. Additionally, regional and national leaders hoped this measure would allow them to select the new headteachers and further their control over previously autonomous schools. According to Ministry officials, headteachers

[249] "Issues with TAPA Schools," December, 1965, T.N.A. Acc598/E1/145, 29.

would be incorporated into the national hierarchy of education and local autonomy would be further limited.

However, individual headteachers sometimes subverted any attempts at replacement. Reverend Dick, the long-serving headmaster of the Roman Catholic school in Dodoma, demonstrated resistance to this policy by writing of his efforts to ensure that the subsequent headmaster was selected by the school's Board of Governors and not the local regional commissioner:

> Near the end of the first term in 1967, we heard over the radio that with immediate effect, the Headmasters of all secondary schools in Tanzania should be citizens. It was the day when the Regional Commissioner had informed me that he wished to visit the school in the afternoon and would I assemble all the students so that he could address them…I got up and said: "I have considered it a great privilege to be able to join you during your first years as a Nation, but by that very fact I realised from the beginning that my work was for a short time only and would only be complete as I was able to hand over the School to a citizen Headmaster. It is therefore with great pleasure that I announce the name of my successor, the first citizen headmaster of this school who would be shortly coming to take over from me. For this morning the Chairmen of the Board of Governors has received confirmation that his request had been granted by the Ministry for the posting to this School as the new Headmaster of Mr. Richard Juma." The school was absolutely stunned…After a prolonged silence he started clapping and all joined in. The Regional Commissioner was completely taken aback. Perhaps it was unfair not giving him warning. He tried to say something complimentary and I do not think the afternoon had gone quite as he had planned![250]

Although not Tanzanian but British, Reverend Dick thus demonstrates the popular sentiment associated with this process—a general acceptance mixed with some reluctance of this move toward nationalization. He also demonstrates the agency quick-acting individuals enjoyed in tempering the process through which the

[250] Rev. A.W.H. Dick, "Recollections," Rhodes House Library, MSS. Afr. s. 1755. 10.

central government exercised its authority over local schools. Dick also highlights the manner by which the will of District and Regional Education Officers could be thwarted. Although there were impediments, the national government continued its work to nationalize and Africanize the leaders of individual schools and ensure that local schools would be run by someone having the approval of the national government. This effort represented a major assertion of the national government's will.

Conclusion: Education Officers and Control of Local Schools

This chapter worked to show the interactions between the local and the national during the first six years following Tanzania's independence. As schools were developed, the Africanization of the school staff and curriculum, the teaching of Swahili, the movement of students, development of subject matters such as history and civics all worked to spread ideas about belonging to the new nation-state to students. The local was not replaced but co-existed along with the idea a larger entity. Local traditions remained part of the educational system, communities were a part of local schools, and both national and local politicians interacted with local students. At least partially due to the efforts of national inspectors, programs radiating out from the Ministry of Education could be implemented and reproduced at local schools. District and Regional Educational Officers provided the critical link between these two levels.

Due to the increased authority of school inspectors, the nationalization of private schools, and the replacement of local headteachers, the national government enjoyed a great deal of oversight over the local activities of newly

established community schools by 1967. Intervening in an attempt to solve many of the problems plaguing local educators, the Ministry of Education used its financial wherewithal and regulatory ability to work toward higher quality and more efficient schools. Those within the school system experienced the most interaction with the Tanzanian state and were the most capable of being influenced. Thus, education no longer existed as a local issue but rather as a means through which the centralized state could intervene. With this increased local interaction, the Ministry of Education, along with Nyerere and elite TANU politicians, now hoped to target students and inculcate a new national agenda among the population.

Chapter 4

Education for Self Reliance, *Ujamaa,* and the Dominance of the National Government

By the mid-1960s, Nyerere and the officials of central Tanzanian government no longer relied upon colonial-era British bureaucrats. They enjoyed greater control over local schools and continued to dominate Tanzanian politics. However, after six years in power, Nyerere and TANU needed to rejuvenate their rule. As Cranford Platt argues, Nyerere's regime was decreasing in popularity by the mid-1960s. The promises made at the time of independence were not coming to fruition. The overall economic development of the country stagnated as the employment opportunities that existed in the early 1960s became increasingly limited. The army briefly mutinied over disputes over pay and the failure of Africanization. Finally, the number of schools and other social services failed to grow. Overall, the population became dissatisfied which translated into less political support for Nyerere and TANU.

To counter his eroding level of support, Nyerere introduced several reforms designed to ensure the continued rule of himself and his party. He enacted a new constitution which only allowed for the existence of one party, arguing for the need to maximize unity in the country. Nyerere justified this by citing his understanding of African history, saying that traditional African culture did not have parties but people talked until they agreed. The National Assembly, the elected but acquiescent elected body, also lost power to the National

Executive Committee and TANU increasingly asserted itself. The move toward a more authoritarian government reflected concerns Nyerere had over losing power or being criticized by people outside of his direct control. The following year, students from the University College (the precursor to the University of Dar es Salaam) protested in a highly visible march through Dar es Salaam over being forced to join the National Service, thus delaying their careers as high-level and well-paid bureaucrats.[251]

Facing a crisis of leadership and needing to justify moving away from democratic elections, Nyerere needed to increase the overall level of confidence in his rule and find a new method to rejuvenate his leadership. On February 5, 1967, Nyerere delivered what was to become his most well-known and studied address, the Arusha Declaration, which brought together and formally articulated policies that Nyerere had conceptualized, written about and gradually enacted since independence.

This declaration implemented a collection of policies known as *ujamaa* in which Nyerere hoped Tanzanians would work together to develop the country. Based on the Swahili word for family-hood, *ujamaa* was a development philosophy that worked to develop the country through stimulating agricultural production, promoting equality, and institutionalizing TANU rule. *Ujamaa* also increased the pedagogical mandate of the postcolonial state through the development of compulsory education at the newly created schools. Since the Tanzanians population needed to be informed about this new program of national

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[251] For more on this crisis see Andrew Ivaska, *Cultured States: Youth, Gender and Modern Style in 1960s Dar es Salaam* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).

development, state officials began targeting teachers and students before attempting to reach those outside the formal education system.

The Arusha Declaration begins with the TANU creed which, among other points, states: "It is the responsibility of the state to intervene actively in the economic life of the nation so as to ensure the well-being of all citizens, and so as to prevent the exploitation of one person by another or one group by another, and so as to prevent the accumulation of wealth to an extent which is inconsistent with the existence of a classless society."[252] Using nationalist rhetoric, Nyerere encouraged Tanzanians to reject the individualist attitudes promoted by the colonial state and the benefits that only a small minority of urban dwellers enjoyed.

Furthermore, Nyerere called upon the peasants of the country to cooperate and work together to increase production through hard work and more intelligent farming. Living in collective *ujamaa* villages, peasants could promote their own self-reliance and that of the country "because the main aim of development is to get more food, and more money for our other needs, our purpose must be to increase production of these agricultural crops."[253] This increased production, in turn, would drive Tanzania toward becoming economically self-sufficient and limit outside intervention in the guise of foreign aid, with Nyerere explaining: "It is even more stupid, for us to imagine that we shall rid ourselves of our poverty

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[252] Julius Nyerere, "Arusha Declaration" in *Nyerere on Socialism,* ed. Julius Nyerere (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1969), 33.

[253] Ibid., 72.

through foreign financial assistance rather than our own financial resources."[254] Transcending economics, these programs called upon Tanzanians to overcome the continuing colonial legacies of division and exploitation and, through the combined efforts of all, develop into a prosperous and united country.

The declaration solidified the leadership of TANU and Nyerere while establishing a means to limit the acquisitions of top civil servants and politicians.[255] As Hyden argues, "It was becoming increasingly difficult to show disapproval of the new policies by remaining silent,"[256] and those who expressed their disapproval of Nyerere's ideas could be removed from office. Thus, the Arusha Declaration worked to rejuvenate TANU and, as the euphoria of independence faded, restore people's trust in the ability of the party. However, leaders needed to introduce ordinary Tanzanians to this policy by teaching its details and supposed benefits. Tanzanian teachers and students, those in direct contact with the state, were to be the key link between the political elite and the population in general. This role created space for teachers and students to assert their own demands, negotiate with the political elite and mediate new *ujamaa* programs. Thus, *ujamaa* programs were more than a top-down imposition by the Tanzanian political elite.

Analyzed by Cranford Pratt and highly critiqued by Goran Hyden and more briefly by James Scott, *ujamaa* called for massive state involvement in the

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[254] Nyerere, "Arusha Declaration," 32.

[255] Earlier works include Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945–1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist Strategy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 232.

[256] Goran Hyden, *Beyond* Ujamaa *in Tanzania* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980), 97.

economy and the everyday life of its people.[257] Issa Shivji critiqued *ujaama* early on, claiming that state workers were a bureaucratic bourgeoisie "with no commitment to socialist revolution."[258] The following generation of scholarship demonstrated the coercive aspect of *ujamaa* policies that started in the early 1970s. Other scholars, including Andrew Coulson and James Scott, show how the forced *villagization* campaigns that were part of *ujamaa* reforms brought social services and the people closer together and made the rural 'known' to the state just as schools were. More recent works examine regional responses to these *ujamaa* policies as well as showing *ujamaa*'s evolution over the course of the 1960s, a return to its economic focus. Others focused on the effects of *ujamaa* on the family and its environmental consequences.

This chapter shifts away from debates over the success or failure of various aspects of *ujamaa* by examining the interaction that took place between the national Tanzanian government and, teachers and students. It shows how teachers and students implemented, interpreted and negotiated new ideas originating from the national government. Thus, this examination of how *ujamaa* proponents interacted with teachers and students provides an important case of

[257] More recent works include James Brennan, "Blood Enemies: Exploitation and Urban Citizenship in the Nationalist Political Thought of Tanzania, 1958-1975," *Journal of African History* 47, no. 3 (2006): 389-413; James Giblin, *A History of the Excluded: Making Family a Refuge from State in Twentieth-Century Tanzania* (Oxford: James Currey, 2005); Michel Jennings, "'We Must Run While Others Walk': Popular Participation and Development Crisis in Tanzania, 1961-9," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 41, no. 2 (2003): 163-87; and Leonder Schneider, "Freedom and Unfreedom in Rural Development: Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa Vijijini, and Villigization," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 38, no. 2 (2004): 344-92..

[258] Lionel Cliffe and John Soul, eds. *Socialism in Tanzania, Volumes 1 and 2* (Dar es Salaam, 1973).

not just oppression or resistance but intense cooperation and debates both over *ujamaa* and the creation of a new Tanzanian citizen.

Education for Self Reliance and Schools

To both better reach the people and ensure that they became aware of the government's new agenda, Nyerere introduced his policy of Education for Self Reliance (ESR) a month after the Arusha Declaration. Based on the ideals already established in the Arusha Declaration, Nyerere designed ESR to move the education system away from its colonial heritage, instead using it to reproduce the values important to Nyerere's new Tanzania. Education was now to encourage "the social goals of living together, and working together, for the common good … Our education must therefore 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."[259] In order to accomplish this goal and realistically prepare students for their future, schools "must produce good farmers; it has also to prepare people for their responsibilities as free workers and citizens in a free and democratic society, albeit a largely rural society. They have to be able to think for themselves…."[260] Nyerere hoped that students graduating from primary school would return to their farming villages with new skills, which would limit the massive influx of youth to towns and cities and increase the overall productivity of the national economy. According to Nyerere, the new emphasis on agricultural productivity would promote

[259] Julius Nyerere, "Education for Self Reliance," in *Nyerere on Socialism*, ed. Julius Nyerere (Dar es Salaam: Oxford University Press, 1969), 72.

[260] Ibid., 73.

Tanzania's overall economic development and limit the necessity of foreign aid, thus, literally making individuals and country more self-reliant.

The Tanzanian President targeted education as the means to provide the approximately 90% of students who did not advance past primary school with the values of being Tanzanian and the skills needed to farm. Here Nyerere added an important qualification to the conceptions of Tanzanian citizenship he hoped to create—being a productive farmer was now an intrinsic qualification and the school system needed to promote this alteration. Overall, ESR policies represented an attempt by the national government to reunite schools with society by specifically emphasizing the connection between agricultural and education. Nyerere also hoped to end the elitist, enclave secondary education that he argued existed and to counter the emerging Tanzanian oligarchy. Tanzanian leaders required schools to be a part of society, and, by learning ESR ideals, become a part of the larger socialist Tanzanian community.

By 1967, local councils and groups who built the schools saw their efforts being appropriated by the Ministry of Education and national government. The methods by which the centralized state previously worked to intervene in local schools, including using school inspectors, implementing a new curriculum and funding the schools, quickly were overshadowed by the massive campaign led by Nyerere himself to promote *ujamaa* ideas throughout the country. Through this co-optation, the Tanzanian political elite involved themselves with the everyday life of a major segment of the population. Consequently, the education system, a bonding force between the government and the Tanzanian population, became the

means by which the national government could use its oversight to implement an entirely new agenda.

Capturing the Teachers and Implementing *Ujamaa*

New ESR programs, as part of the larger *ujamaa* project, were more than just top-down reforms pushed by Nyerere and the TANU elite. Teachers and students mediated, re-conceptualized and implemented this project of national development. Since teachers were already in contact with the institutions of the central government, they served as the first implementers of ujamaa activities outlined in the Arusha Declaration and Nyerere's ESR pamphlet. In a direct assertion of his authority, Nyerere hoped to quickly convert teachers and students to support his new programs and anticipated that those involved in education would provide a positive example for nearby villages. If others saw the benefits of being self-reliant then they too would join the new program. Thus, education bureaucrats provided maximum publicity to those schools with successful ESR programs, with publicity officers wanting notification regarding "where the most promising agricultural activities are carried out and whether they require publicity to be done promptly."[261] From here, planners hoped ujamaa ideas would radiate outward from where the central government enjoyed the most control to populations with fewer ties to the bureaucracy.

With greater control, Nyerere and the Ministry of Education worked to change the purpose of education from developing an educated elite to creating a more productive agricultural-focused population while simultaneously reflecting

[261] C.R. Itibal, "Information on Agricultural Activities, Iringa Region." September 22, 1967. T.N.A. Acc578/ESR/26/15.

nearly the same debates that took place under British rule. However, now Nyerere could label these ideas as authentically Tanzanian and, through the increased control of schools, better ensure the implementation of ESR than previous governments.

At a more immediate and practical level, education officials used ESR rhetoric to require schools to cover a higher percentage of their operating costs, an idea met with mixed emotions at the local level. Planners, especially regional education officers, hoped that farming and selling of crops at primary and secondary levels would reduce the reliance on funding from the central government (while increasing their oversight) and decrease school fees. Local politicians especially welcomed cash-generating activities such as raising small animals and fowl, beekeeping and providing labor at local farms, to help offset the difficulty they experienced in funding the schools. The increased focus on improving school agricultural production actually allowed school fees to be reduced, or at least limited their increase, and furthered the government's goal of free universal primary education.

Tanzanian parents also largely embraced these activities because the price of cash crops dropped from the previous decade, making school fees increasingly unaffordable to the poorer segments of the population. As Emma Hunter points out, parents in the Kilimanjaro region, located in the coffee growing north, experienced exactly this type of financial stress as the price of coffee collapsed while school fees increased. All over the country, people sold cattle and land to educate their children, risking their economic future in the hope their children

would get a non-agricultural job.[262] Some parents wrote to local newspapers protesting the new *ujamaa* policies. Parents, and sometimes teachers, increasingly became embittered as they viewed education as a means of advancement and not as a return to farming as Nyerere envisioned.

Working to overcome local opposition, Minister of Education Eliufoo and Nyerere, along with their subordinates, continued to push ESR programs and quickly recognized the key role teachers played in the implementation and spread of *ujamaa* reforms. Consequently, they worked to earn the support of teachers for these policies. While presenting the reforms to the National Assembly in 1967, Eliufoo highlighted the importance of teachers, demanding that teachers know socialist principles, be provided with proper teaching materials, and encourage their pupils to practice self-reliance in their own community.[263] His successor, C. Mgonja, also emphasized the importance of properly educating teachers, stating: "If we are to succeed in bringing the revolution we want in our schools and the whole country, the most important things are great effort, nationalism and the spirit of revolution amongst our teachers. Once our teachers have understood our policy and consolidated the spirit of the revolution which they now have, we should no doubt succeed."[264] Government officials recognized teachers as critical intermediaries and the group best positioned to implement *ujamaa* programs. Thus, early *ujamaa* and ESR campaigns focused on those involved with the

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[262] Emma Hunter. "Revisiting *Ujamaa*: Political Legitimacy and the Construction of Community in Post-Colonial Tanzania." *Journal of Eastern Africa Studies* 2, no. 3(2008): 481.

[263] "Reform in Education," *The Nationalist*, July 1, 1967, 1.

[264] C.Y. Mgonja, "Budget Speech," June 1969. T.N.A Acc513/E1/III/ Part II /120.

education system and ensured that teachers understood and implemented these new policies.

With this dependence on schools, national education authorities implemented programs to retrain teachers, allowing national officials to further their dominance over local schools. Education officers at the national level, such as John Tesha, encouraged district and regional officers to teach educators about the new philosophy of self-reliance, highlighting the need to hold seminars in local schools to ensure proper explanation.[265] In a memo to all education officers in September 1968, Mgonja made the policy even more explicit: "[The] Ministry has now made a decision that Education for Self Reliance should be included as a special subject in all teaching Courses and Seminars. In addition to this, Inspectors should convene weekend seminars with Heads of Primary Schools on Education for Self Reliance."[266] With such backing, seminars such as these proliferated and elite government officials disseminated ideas regarding ESR to local teachers, a process which further bonded these two groups. District and regional education officers still enjoyed an important position in implementing *ujamaa* programs even as teachers became highly targeted and received the greater focus of Ministry attention after 1967.

Demonstrating the importance of new ESR programs, Nyerere spent time sharing his ideas with the teaching population. Along with other top officials, he focused on the most impressionable members within the teaching population and

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[265].J. Tesha, "Seminars for the Heads of Primary School," August 28, 1968, T.N.A Acc578/ESR26/I/38.

[266] "Education for Self Reliance," September 25, 1967, T.N.A Acc578/ESR/21/1/43.

worked to spread these new ideas to teachers receiving their graduation certificates. In his address to the teachers graduating from Morogoro Agricultural College in December 1967, Principal D.J. Njau instructed them in the presence of Nyerere: "It will be up to you to observe and learn the rules of the plan…and we will be proud if you will attain the excellence in performance as called for in the principles of the Arusha Declaration."[267] At the Teachers' College in Moshi, Nyerere, who constantly linked the "Arusha Declaration" with independence from colonial-style education, called upon teachers to create a new Tanzanian citizen.[268] Now, ideally enjoying the proper background and understanding of the "Arusha Declaration," these young, newly trained teachers were in the position to transform others, the student population in particular.

Despite the concerted effort of this re-education, teachers, especially more senior ones, often implemented ESR programs according to their own background and goals much to the chagrin of the elite bureaucrats who spent a great deal of time and effort targeting this population or used ESR for their own advantages. Teachers used the increase in farming that the plan required as a tool to punish misbehaving students or used student labor for their own farms. In response, the Minister of Education, A.C. Mwingira, reminded teachers that farm work was not to be a punishment for poor behavior or poor academic performance, as associating farming with punishment would subvert the desired changes in behavior and the push for farming that ESR called for. Another regional school

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[267] "Address by the Principal D.J. Njau at the Official Opening and Graduation Ceremony," December 7, 1967, T.N.A Acc518/C10/4/ 35.

[268] "Create a New Tanzanian—Nyerere," *The Nationalist*, August 17, 1968, 1.

inspector also reminded teachers of this point, asserting that agricultural activities should not be assigned as punishment.[269] Nyerere expressed his opinion, stating: "They [the students] must not see this new development as a sentence of labour, but as an exciting challenge to their ability and their dedication to the Arusha Declaration."[270] Furthermore, teachers threatened the success of these reforms as they used the students to labor on their own farms. This issue prompted a regional inspector to rebuke the teachers, stating that this use of labor would quickly prevent the success of the new programs.

In addition to misunderstanding the policies and despite the mostly positive recollections of many teachers, former Peace Corps teacher Roger Howard recalled that many teachers, part of the educated elite themselves, did not like these policies: "The government announced a major initiative on self-reliance that says all schools should find a way to add economic value to the community and to defray the cost of school activities…The headmaster asked the teachers to come up with schemes so the Tanzanian teachers are quite cynical about this. They've been through a lot."[271] Teacher input became necessary in developing new programs and the process evolved into more than simply a top-down imposition.

Teachers enjoyed their status as members of the educated community and often entered the profession to avoid farming. They did not want to return to

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[269] "Revolutionise Pupils' Minds Teachers Urged." *The Nationalist*, July 31, 1968, 1.

[270] "School Reforms Impresses Nyerere," *The Nationalist*, December 12, 1967, 1.

[271] Roger Howard, interviewed by Ernest Zarembia, April 27, 2005, John. F. Kennedy Library, Boston, MA.

agricultural work and resented this imposition which threatened their social standing. With this background, teachers worked to mitigate and even alter ESR policies. Thus, Nyerere and the Ministry of Education experienced a number of hindrances as they attempted to implement their new ideas regarding the purpose of education.

The problems, misunderstandings, and skepticism teachers had with ESR caused Ministry officials to criticize the attitude of teachers and reveals the major initial problems with these radically new policies. For example, A.C. Mwingira complained: "'Education for self reliance' initially meant little more than a return to school farming, with the optimum credit likely to be given to the school with the largest acreage and heaviest crop….Some in true capitalist fashion, drew up grandiose plans … and sought financial support they should have known would not be available."[272] The implementation of ESR deviated from Nyerere's conception. Another problem existed as teacher's projects failed. *The Nationalist* newspaper reported that Mwingira's immediate subordinate Muhaji warned primary schools that pupils' efforts should not be wasted in overly ambitious projects that threatened to fail and did not uphold the spirit of ESR.[273] Teachers almost thwarted Nyerere's policies as they developed their own conception of *ujamaa* and enacted their own new projects. As District and Regional Education Officers viewed the altered plans as problematic, they and other Ministry officials became further involved in the day-to-day functioning of local schools.

[272] A.C. Mwingira, "A Critical Discussion of the Issues and Problems of Implementation." Quoted in "Twenty Years of TANU Education," in *Towards* Ujamaa*: Twenty Years of TANU Leadership*, ed. Gabriel Ruhumbika (Dar es Salaam: East Africa Literature Bureau, 1977), 225.

[273] "Warning to School on Projects," *The Nationalist,* July 30, 1968, 8.

To combat these problems and clarify his ideas, Nyerere spent a great deal of time over the next year targeting teachers already in the school system and, in the process, increasing the oversight of the national state. Meetings with teachers created important opportunities for the national government, already possessing a strong control over most facets of education, to use these pedagogical moments to further assert its authority. He emphasized what the polices hoped to accomplish: "What we are aiming at is converting our schools into economic communities as well as educational communities … self reliance activities must be integrated with school work; the relevance of one to the other must be made clear."[274] Overall, these meetings created a forum whereby Nyerere directly interacted with local teachers to explain ESR programs and the role the national government demanded teachers play. Thus, Nyerere worked to localize new national programs, ensure that changes originated from the central government rather than local efforts, and establish important pedagogical moments with these teachers, the ultimate implementers of *ujamaa* ideas.

In one such meeting, illustrative of others, Nyerere met with all the teachers from the Dodoma (the major city in central Tanzania) region to explain and popularize ESR. A report of this meeting by the local district education officer deserves quoting at length given the major pedagogical moment it represented for local teachers:

> The meeting took place at Alliance Secondary School and was attended by all the teachers from the Region. It lasted 4 ½ hours. In his speech, President Nyerere appealed to teachers that the education we give should promote—

[274] Nyerere. "Progress in Schools," 93.

> a. real Africaness
> b. Socialism and
> c. It should be practical
>
> In general he stressed we have long inherited education which was intended to fit European children under European Conditions. All our schools have been taking examinations intended chiefly to test the value of the teaching given in English schools for fitting children to live in English conditions. Because that Education has been the key to successful employment in Government Service and trading firms, and because it has proved its money value, many of us are today very suspicious on the introduction of Education for Self Reliance.
>
> Briefly, Mwalimu ["the teacher," i.e., Nyerere] emphasised that the Education we are to give in this country should prepare our pupils to live satisfactory lives in our surroundings. This education should be able to clear away the difficulties which stand in the way of their happiness and success. It should help them to earn their living once they leave school … Once this is achieved, all the youths who leave school and tend to end up in towns and villages as social parasites will enjoy the benefit of Education for Self Reliance.
>
> In the end, Mwalimu invited questions from the teachers.[275]

During this rather lengthy meeting Nyerere focused on the practical nature of ujamaa and the difficulties it faced from the onset. He worked to overcome its problems by highlighting Tanzanian independence and distancing himself from the colonial project. Additionally, his goal of transitioning from English to Swahili would further unite the students with the peasant population and allow students to become the local teachers of *ujamaa*. The end result would be to highlight the istinctive nature of the Tanzanian nation and overcome the gulf developing between students and the rest of the country.

This meeting also addressed the issue of school—leavers. While teachers and students were becoming instrumental in implementing *ujamaa* ideas, the state

[275] "November 1968 Report from Dodoma Region," December 17, 1968, T.N.A. Acc9016/E80/6/30.

was increasingly failing in its pedagogical mandate. Even by 1964, 14,000 primary school students, mostly in the Kilimanjaro region, could not get placed in secondary schools. David Morrison wrote: "Field officers in Moshi had to face an especially exhausting and frightening experience…Queues formed outside the Regional Education Office, sometimes a hundred or more long."[276] Unable to open more schools to quell this unrest, ujamaa programs, which worked to send students back to their rural homelands provided a practical solution as much ideological change. Those fortunate enough to be enrolled in school now held increased importance while those leaving school were equally critical in teaching the masses about *ujamaa* and developing the country in rural areas.

Meetings such as this demonstrate the degree to which Nyerere worked to promote his ESR program and his efforts to use the existing school infrastructure as a means to push *ujamaa* reforms. By emphasizing the practical nature of ESR, he attempted to move the attitudes and identities of students away from their alleged European heritage and the elite nature of schools. A year later, in another documented meeting, Nyerere praised the residents of a new *ujamaa* village for their construction of a school. Later, at the same village, students presented Nyerere with donations collected for national development funds before Nyerere met with teachers to appeal for "more Ujamaa Villages with economic plans to end exploitation of man by man, and that of African by African."[277] In all these cases, Nyerere worked to combine state control with local efforts and, through his

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[276] Hunter, "Revisiting *Ujamaa*," 482.

[277] "Combined Monthly and Safari Notes for March, 1970," T.N.A Acc578/A10/7/114.

personal charisma, worked to ensure local teachers followed his directives in creating a socialist Tanzania.

Teachers remained hesitant about the new ESR programs even after hearing from Nyerere himself. They also recognized that they were being targeted by Nyerere and worked to capitalize on their new found importance. "On behalf of my fellow teachers of this region in order to give you a special thanks for having the time to teach us about the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self Reliance … we would like to ensure you that we, with all our hearts, are ready to follow what has been aimed for,"[278] one teacher read to Nyerere. By thanking Nyerere and pledging their support of ESR programs, teachers brought attention to the important role they would play in this new system as the critical link between the government and the population. The self-recognition of teachers over their increasingly important role was a common occurrence. One teachers' declaration stated: "We are the important part that makes a bridge between the Government and its citizens. We are giving a promise in front of you and the government that we will use all of the efforts to educate every citizen of this country about Education for Self Reliance…we will also make sure that all which is understood is put into practice."[279] With such an emphasis being placed on ESR, local teachers realized that it was their job to promote such programs and that their future careers depended on active involvement in ESR programs both within the education system and among the

[278] T.N.A. Acc576/E10/ 16.

[279] Nyerere, "Education for Self Reliance," 24.

wider population. Through this active support, teachers also solidified their position as important intermediaries between the national elite, including Nyerere himself, and the local population. Pedagogical meetings such as these occurred throughout the country and involved national politicians stressing and explaining the various aspects of ESR to local teachers and students, thus proving the importance of students and teachers while allowing the national government to directly increase its influence over local schools. Notwithstanding the national focus and continued meetings with Ministry of Education officials and other elite politicians, teachers enjoyed an ability to reframe the use of *ujamaa* ideas as they saw fit.

Teacher's professional lives now revolved around learning *ujamaa* policies and they spent a great deal of time learning about the philosophy and programs associated with Nyerere's program. Politicians and education officials focused on ensuring the success of ESR and, through constant retraining and co-opting of large numbers of teachers, expanded their presence and oversight within the general education system.

Growing and *Ujamaa* Discourse, Recasting

Teachers took their training to the students and spread ESR ideas in a manner they saw fit. They educated their students on the new policies, ensuring that the majority of students who failed to advance past upper primary school would remember their lessons and become loyal and productive farmers who remained loyal to Nyerere and the larger Tanzanian state. "We were able to translate the policy [of Education for Self Reliance] into a simple language but

very clear and we gave a chance to students to understand the content of the policy," recalled former teacher Yuktan S. Kabebwa.[280] Maingu Richard Mrimi, another retired teacher, remembered these new programs in a similar manner: "A number of self-reliance activities were encouraged at school in order to promote the sense of ownership, unity, and hard work…The main idea was to make these public schools independent, a place to teach kids about their future roles and also to ensure support for the national policy of *ujamaa.*"[281]

After meetings with their political leaders, teachers recognized the importance of this task. "I was given the task to make sure that the students I taught knew exactly what it means when others speak about *ujamaa* and self-reliance as far as villagization is concerned. I had to prepare a number of topics and lectures elaborating on aspects of *ujamaa* policy to teach the students," recalled former Dodoma district Swahili teacher Maingu Richard Mrimi.[282] More specifically, he added: "In schools, especially primary schools, there were a number of activities done by the students under the supervision of their teachers. There was a subject on Education for Self Reliance which was concerned with teaching students how to cultivate, plant, maintain and how to harvest the products such as maize, millet, and potatoes."[283] As a new subject, teachers enjoyed the ability to interpret, develop and implement ESR programs. Teachers were able to reinforce their own authority and show their importance in these

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[280] Yuktan S. Kabebwa, interviewed by author, September 8, 2011.

[281] Maingu Richard Mrimi, interview by author, November 5, 2010.

[282] Ibid.

[283] Ibid.

schemes which were evolving at the grass roots level rather than solely from the top-down.

Another way of examining the spread of *ujamaa* programs and related thinking is by examining how district and regional officers constantly focused on Nyerere's new policies. The discourse within the country shifted from school expansion efforts to the implementation of school farms and self-reliance programs. Those who were part of the Ministry of Education quickly centered their discourse only on *ujamaa* programs and few were writing about anything else. Reports stated that schools harvested their crops with the large scale participation of students and teachers.[284] "Many schools have built cattle bomaa, semi-permanent kitchens, dining halls, cages for fowl and tamed animals. Most schools are clearing gardens for sowing maize…It is really interesting that most teachers have now realised that manual work is not only a health exercise, but a noble and profitable hobby in terms of finance."[285] The labor of students increased the level productivity at schools and the surrounding area and students felt they helped in promoting the overall development of the country.

Although exaggerated to further the careers of the reporting officials, these reports demonstrate the degree to which schools quickly established ESR activities and highlight the degree to which both students and teachers became involved in the programs. These efforts, especially the sale of crops, allowed for large-scale participation in ESR programs and helped the Ministry of Education

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[284] M.N. Malewe, "Njombe Monthly Report August, 1968," September 1, 1968, T.N.A. Acc578/A10/7/ 71.

[285] D.K. Rulagera,"Njombe Monthly Report November, 1968," November 30, 1968, T.N.A. Acc578/A10/7/75.

save money. Highlighting this success, Ministry bureaucrats announced that in 1971 combined schools saved seven million Tanzanian shillings through self-reliance projects, up from four million in 1970.[286] Reflecting the new priorities of the central government, any reporting about local schools now centered on the degree to which the schools were complying with ESR programs and growing crops.

Thus, growing crops became central to a school's existence, and school inspection reports now centered on the activities that promoted self-reliance and agricultural success at each school. The Ministry of Education circulated a memo detailing all the potential activities that schools could adopt into their curriculum, including growing food and cash crops, raising chickens, making bricks, handcrafts, and housework.[287] Aware of the need to participate in ESR programs, head teachers soon promoted these activities for their own survival and that of their fellow teachers. Consequently, school inspectors reported immediate success and *ujamaa* became the means by which one supports his career. For example, a few months after the passage of ESR in 1967, the agricultural education officer in Dodoma region reported: "Harvesting has been finished in many schools and teachers have been instructed to sell their crops to co-operative Unions."[288] Within the first year of its implementation, nearly every school participated in various *ujamaa* activities and students began raising crops. Through massive efforts and expenditures of energy, ESR activities quickly

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[286] "Schools Save 7m/- Through Self-Reliance," *Daily News,* June 7, 1972, 2.

[287] "Short Notes on Education for Self Reliance," T.N.A Acc578/ESR/21/1.

[288] Ibid.

prospered in select places where the national government could exercise its authority.

Despite such reported successes, there were teachers and parents who disliked the goals and in some cases actively worked to mitigate the effects of ESR programs on their lives. Some teachers did not want to lower themselves to laboring on school farms. More prevalent were teachers who continued to use farming and ESR projects as a way to discipline students. Swedish investigators in the mid—1970s reported on teachers punishing students through increased farm work, even though education officials and Nyerere continuously spoke against this action. Their comments noted the problematic role of teachers in these programs, noting that teachers failed to follow up on new projects, and needed to work with students to "organize projects at school and in the community."[289] Growing crops became a pedagogical and disciplinary tool for teachers who might report about their enthusiasm but used ESR tools for their own personal benefit.

Additionally, parents, who saw children educated earlier in the decade advance economically and socially, continued to view education as an investment in the future of their family. Through sending children to school, parents hoped their children would advance into the emerging Tanzanian elite, now dominated by those educated in the 1950s and early 1960s, and not return to their homeland and labor beside their parents. Here, the aspirations of families were directly linked with someone going to school or receiving a scholarship to study abroad.

[289] "Short Notes on Education for Self Reliance," T.N.A Acc578/ESR/21/1.

With such hopes, parents wanted their children studying, not working on school farms and implementing ESR programs. With an already entrenched elite, *ujamaa* programs were increasingly perceived as a hindrance to the social and economic advancement of students and quickly turned parents against the program. Consequently, despite all the government efforts to change the attitudes of the general population, people still remained against the programs and despite having a better understanding of *ujamma* ideas, thanks to the efforts of teachers and students, never embraced many of Nyerere's ideas. The hesitation on the part of of parents created the space necessary to further the authority of the teachers with whom the central government placed greater reliance to reinforce ideas surrounding *ujamaa* to the more general population. The hesitation of parents also helped justify further state intervention and more drastic villagization campaigns that soon followed this early implementation phase.

Teaching the *Ujamaa* Curriculum

In addition to promoting farming, changes in education policy led to a revised curriculum released in February 1968, reformed to increase national awareness and stimulate loyalty to the greater nation in concert with Nyerere's *ujamaa* ideas. As with reforms earlier in the decade, the teaching of history and civics changed to meet the new national philosophy. In his opening address to the panel assigned to reform the curriculum, the Chairman of the History Panel highlighted the goals of the education system, stating: "The effective cultivation of spirit of dedication to the country and the desire to build the nation, is best done by the study of national ethics through Ujamaa philosophy, and through

history and civics. Both the Civics and History Panels are working to instill national spirit. Teaching materials in all these subjects should reflect political indoctrination."[290] Always aware of the political importance of history and civics, education planners heeded these calls as they altered the national curriculum. Planners now wrote more explicitly about and teachers furthered their role as key intermediaries in this process. Experts expanded the length of civics courses, including political education, and separated civics from history, thus allowing more time to spread new political values. Second, planners worked to better reach the students who left school after Std. IV, the youths who hopefully returned to farming in rural villages. Planners envisioned school-leavers returning to their homeland as an indispensible resource for educating their village about the benefits and importance of *ujamaa* programs.

Citing a need to possess a better comprehension the country's history, the new proposals stated that school leavers should "have at least some inkling of and interest in their national heritage."[291] Finally, planners moved local history to the higher grades, claiming that the Std. V course "misses that opportunity, when the pupil is most impressionable, to instill a proper sense of national pride."[292] Education planners at the Ministry of Education ensured the national curriculum reflected the changes of ESR, promoted the idealized communal past of the Arusha Declaration, and promoted the politicization of students. This curriculum

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[290] "Chairmen's Opening Address," March 18, 1968, T.N.A. Acc578/Syl1/1.

[291] Ministry of Education, "Proposals for a New History Syllabus in Primary School, Standards IV to VII," March 18, 1968, T.N.A. Acc578/Syl1/1.

[292] Ibid, 19.

reform provided the Ministry with still another opportunity to assert its control and provide additional pedagogical moments to reinforce ESR ideas.

The new curriculum also promoted local history and worked to connect local projects with that of the larger nation. These projects highlighted local heroes, village histories, the role of religion (both Christian and Muslim), local festivals, traditional societies, and traditional proverbs (which could then be nationalized by being translated into Swahili). By developing new state historians and encouraging field work, the country also worked to write, invent, and preserve its own national history. Students were encouraged to conduct oral histories from the elder generation and, as they moved around the country, this program allowed students to learn about a new area. Those at the University of Dar es Salaam also conducted many of these local histories and shared their findings with researchers. The Maji Maji Rebellion of 1905 against early German colonial rule became a major focus of these oral histories. National politicians hoped to prove this was a national project and the findings of these students were incorporated into the Dar es Salaam "School of Historiography" which worked to show the antecedents of the nation—state and resistance to colonial rule.[293] The new emphasis on field work also fostered a personal bond between the student and the country's history and allowed students to create such a connection in their own learning.

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[293] T.O. Ranger, ed. *Proceedings of the International Congress of African Historians Held at University College, Dar es Salaam* (London, Heinemann, 1968). Also see Henry Slater, "Dar es Salaam and the Postnationalist Historiography of Africa." in *African Historiographies: Which Africa?,* eds. Bogumil Jewiewcki and David Newbury (London: Sage Publications, 1986), 255.

At the same time, educators recognized the dangers associated with promoting local histories, a problem the Ministry had been working to overcome throughout the decade. One Ministry proposal stated: "Local history not only leads on to national history but requires constant reference to it….It must on no account result in the resurgence of tribal feeling to the detriment of national unity."[294] Some at the national level espoused the unitary nature of the postcolonial state and that the advancement was linear ending with the triumph of the nation-state. With this emphasis, the ties between schools and local communities strengthened as a relationship that was furthered through the increased involvement of students in village life, an important aspect of *ujamaa* ideas. The highly debated new curriculum was introduced to promulgate ideas of national belonging and unity, identify the local as part of the national, and place Nyerere firmly and correctly in charge. Studying the local worked to emphasize each individual's belonging to the nation rather than simply promoting the much broader idea of conception of the national.

The process of increasing control over education by the central government culminated with the passage of the Education Act of 1969, an act viewed as a necessity because of the continued problems in local schools and the priority of new ESR programs. This act placed all schools under the authority of the central government, including missionary schools which were formally nationalized the following year. The act allowed the Minister of Education greater control over school fees and increased the penalties for employing

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[294] Ministry of Education, "Proposals for a New History Syllabus in Primary School, Standards IV to VII: Appendix B Proposals for Std. VII Syllabus," March 18, 1968, T.N.A. Acc578 Syl1/II.

unregistered teachers, continuing with illegal schools, and using banned books (although with few books available, this act was not as drastic as it may seem and was more symbolic).

This act also firmly established the role of local education authorities, as it formally established their specific responsibilities while more directly ensuring their subordination to the Minister of Education. For example, the act required that local education authorities "submit to the Minister for his approval plans for the promotion and development of education … [and] to make recommendations to the Minister with respect to the ownership, management and registration of new schools."[295] Thus, the Minister of Education and his subordinate bureaucrats enjoyed even greater control in establishing, regulating, and enforcing the long process of asserting control over the nation's schools. The chaotic expansion that occurred over the first half of the 1960s was officially over. The Act of 1969 again reflected the greater oversight the central government was demanding in order to ensure that teachers focused on ESR ideas and the new role political education was to have in schools.

Furthermore, in response to problems regarding the payment of teacher salaries, the Ministry of Education now directly paid teachers in primary schools. The Minister of Education, perhaps overly optimistic at the time, emphasized this change before Parliament: "In this way, teachers will be paid their salaries on time, and for that I have no doubt they will do their job with greater efforts and confidence, and bring socialistic revolution through education, with greater

[295] T.N.A. Acc54/E10/24.

emphasis on Education for Self-Reliance."[296] The rhetoric and scope of ESR programs allowed the Ministry of Education to increase its presence in the schools as well allowing formerly local issues to become the concern of national officials.

The establishment of self-reliance activities in schools created an opportunity for top politicians and leaders to directly interact with the local school population, both teachers and students, to a much greater degree and for both to become directly involved in new national programs. For example, the Njombe District Education Officer, M.N. Malewe, reported in 1968: "At Kidugala Primary school the 2nd Vice President, Hon. R.M. Kawawa officially opened the School building and talked to pupils, teachers and members of the public..."[297] Officials now did more than prove their importance to the local population and campaign—they interacted using the language of *ujamaa* with the local student population, tied these local efforts with that of the nation in general, used these moments to inculcate ideas regarding ESR, and expanded the presence of the central government at the local level.

Conclusion: Students and Teachers as State Agents

With teaching continuing to revolve around ESR and *ujamaa* policies, youths became the implementers of Nyerere's socialist ideas. As James Brennan and other scholars have recently highlighted, the youth in late colonial and postcolonial African countries played an important role in supporting the dominant political party, although, as Brennan argues in Tanzania, the political

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[296] C.Y. Mgonja, "Budget Speech," June 8, 1969, T.N.A. Acc513/E1/III.

[297] "Njombe Monthly Report March, 1968," April 1, 1968, T.N.A Acc578/A10/7/57, 6.

elite eventually needed to reassert its control over the disobedient youth.[298] Recognizing their great importance, Nyerere and major proponents of the "Arusha Declaration" directly targeted the youth. "The flames of the spirit of Arusha are now sweeping the country and you should be the vanguards of socialism and self-reliance. Defy all difficulties and carry forward all undertakings which will contribute to the implementation of the Arusha Declaration," Nyerere called upon the youth at the 1967 TANU Youth League conference in Dar es Salaam.[299] In a similar endorsement, First Vice President Karume stated youths were the torch of the nation and "if the youth sleep, then the nation's torch would have been put off, the enemies of the Arusha Declaration would get in and undermine it because it was depriving them of their needs."[300] With this emphasis on establishing a model for self-reliance and *ujamaa* programs in schools, leaders saw the Tanzanian youth as the fundamental group needed to ensure the success of the socialist revolution. Thus, the youth began to function as state agents designed to implement the national agenda at an extremely localized level.

While parents and members of the community dominated the nation-building activities earlier in the 1960s, ESR caused a shift with teachers and students emerging as the new participants in nation-building and self-help schemes later in the decade. This interlocking group possessed the knowledge of *ujamaa* ideas that the political elite desired of people as well as time to participate

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[298] See James Brennan, "Youth, the TANU Youth League, and Managed Vigilantism in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, 1925-1973," *Africa* 76, no.2 (2006): 221-247

[299] "Youth Urged Forward to Socialism," *The Nationalist,* September 28, 1967, 1.

[300] "Youth Tool for Progress," *The Standard*, May 3, 1969, 1.

in such projects. Because of the events of the preceding years and the increase in state influence within the education system, the political elite could use teachers to exercise a high degree of control over students, now requiring them to implement projects that had to be approved by the central government, unlike the more autonomous projects of the earlier period. Thus, this young generation of students, along with their teachers, became the nation-builders after 1967, and as they helped to expand *ujamaa* ideas outside the school, they effectively became agents of the political elite.

As part of ESR programs, teachers and students left the school compounds and spent more time teaching villagers literacy skills. In a 1969 account, D.K. Rulagera reported: "The teachers at Madilu L.P.S. have engineered the formation of Wangama *Ujamaa* Village. The school is a centre of Literacy and adult classes, there is a block farm of wheat which is owned jointly by the school and villagers."[301] This large scale extra curricular participation in ESR programs by students and teachers, especially during school holidays, allowed adult education to rapidly expand. The government reported that over 200,000 adults registered for literacy classes in 1970 (dubbed the 'Year of Adult Education' by Nyerere), all of whom needed to be taught by teachers and the new student educators. To further educate the population, more radical reformers argued: "The burden of teaching adults thus falls on every literate Tanzanian whether trained or new."[302] Thus, when spreading this needed skill outside of the formal school system,

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[301] D.K. Rulagera, "Combined Monthly and Safari Programme Reports for February, 1969, Njombe Distict," March 1, 1969, T.N.A. Acc578/A10/7/ 102.

[302] "Proposals to Assault Illiteracy From All Corners," *The Nationalist,* September 3, 1970, 5.

leaders saw Tanzanian students and teachers as equals and readily called upon their services. For Nyerere and the TANU elite, adult education signified a major opportunity for those already knowledgeable about *ujamaa* to spread its ideas to an entirely new population and provide tangible benefits of Nyerere's rule and attempted revolution.

Students and teachers performed a variety of tasks for the state outside of teaching. For example, the student highlighted in the previous chapter wrote in 1967 that he was serving as a census worker employed by the state. "This is the fourth day I have been here attending a Census Seminar....About 270 boys from Mkwawa School and 30 others from Aga Kan School Iringa are here. These boys plus a few from this School will be the Census Enumerators. All secondary school students in the country will have to 'serve' the nation by participating in this Population Census."[303] Local teachers also played an important role in these tasks along with the students, serving as supervisors in various operations. No longer just students, the young and increasingly well-trained students of secondary schools began performing important functions for the national government.

Furthermore, in addition to providing assistance, students provided the logistical support necessary for creating *ujamaa* villages. "We were participating in different activities in Ujamaa villages whereby we were helping people to transfer to the Ujamaa villages together with their belongings; we also helped them to harvest their crops. In those villages with large numbers of people we

[303] Clement Ndulute to Alison Redmayne, August 16, 1967, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, United Kingdom.

helped them to build schools,"[304] recalled Sylivia Corneli Maingu, a teacher in Dodoma who began teaching in 1964. Here, the ideals and new programs associated with *ujamaa* expanded from the school to the countryside where students and teachers their own version of *ujamaa*. Teachers and students became the first participants to implement Nyerere's goals and ensure the messages of the "Arusha Declaration" reached ordinary Tanzanian farmers. Thus, teachers and students existed as nation-builders and important intermediaries who linked the development programs from the central government with the local population.

With this degree of interaction with education officials, students also learned that they could make demands on the state to ensure the success of their own goals. Upon learning that his younger brother was no longer attending school, the secondary school student chronicled in the previous chapter used the confidence and feeling of superiority that his education entitled him to and wrote to the district education officer:

> I am compelled to express my very great disappointment at the attitude of the authorities towards this matter. I should have expected you, Sir, to take some stern effective measure upon the truant or taken the initiative to inform me of the matter. I have written this letter to REQUEST if not AUTHORIZE you to take immediate effective steps to ensure that Tom resumes school and does not play the dirty game again. I would suggest that, in case of any difficulty you employ the assistance of any other relevant authority.[305]

Students, especially those in upper levels of schooling with years of experience interacting with state bureaucrats, realized their ability to make requests for state

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[304] Sylivia Corneli Maingu, interview by author, May 27, 2010.

[305] Clement Ndulute to District Education Officer, Iringa, October 2, 1967, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, United Kingdom.

resources. Students and teachers acted as state agents and worked to use their position as intermediaries and translators of state policy to their own advantage.

The late 1960s represented a high point for the teaching profession and students. They were the implementers of *ujamaa*. The position teachers and students now enjoyed as of the builders of the nation were solidified as they capitalized on their role as intermediaries. At an individual level, teachers demonstrated their understanding of *ujamaa* and created their own pedagogical moments to convey ESR polices to students as they envisioned it. Teachers became the critical link through which Ministry officials and elite politicians could reach a greater population although this expansion ultimately proved to be problematic and never as Nyerere and the TANU elite planned.

The incorporation of local efforts into the national system of education brought important opportunities for politicians and state bureaucrats to educate teachers, and subsequently students, about their Tanzanian identity, their responsibilities to the postcolonial state, and the new policies implemented in 1967. With education ensuring students and teachers acted essentially as agents of the state, they spread the state's ESR messages to people outside the formal education system and allowed *ujamaa* ideas to be further implemented. In this manner, Nyerere and top government officials experienced a great deal of success with early *ujamaa* programs and became able to interact with a previously largely unreachable population. The central bureaucracy triumphed in its efforts to become relevant in the everyday life of Tanzanians and, thus, became able to commence their efforts to reshape Tanzania. Through the growth of schooling

and national involvement, the national government promoted a sense of belonging in the Tanzanian nation-state which eventually included supporting new *ujamaa* programs. Despite emerging as an extremely local issue, the failings of schools during the initial expansion of education allowed the state to increase its relevance and its influence at the everyday level and further the ideals of *ujamaa*. Thus, the nation-state became increasingly able to target and, in a contested manner, mold the Tanzanian population as well as implement its own increasingly socialist agenda and programs.

Chapter 5

A Global Education with a Nationalist Agenda: Cold War Networks, Imperial Angst and the Development of Tanzanian Schooling

At the same time, three Tanzanian students studying in the United Kingdom in 1967 began to hear rumors that their Commonwealth scholarships were about to be revoked and they would be forsaken in the former imperial metropole. Nyerere threatened to sever diplomatic relations with their host nation over continued British support to Rhodesia and South Africa and disputes over paying the pensions of colonial civil servants. In response, the overseers of the scholarship fund began debating the future of these three students if Tanzania left the Commonwealth. However, after a series of angry memos, the overseers agreed to let the students keep their scholarships and continue with their transnational education.

Upon achieving independence in 1961, Nyerere positioned the Tanzanian state at the forefront of international relations by engaging with and providing shelter for anti-colonial movements throughout southern Africa. This foreign policy furthered their country's standing to the extent that, although poor and African, it could not be ignored by others and necessitated greater interest by the superpower countries of the world. With a strong statesman in Nyerere, Tanzania positioned itself at the forefront of international relations in the African Cold War and began campaigning for transnational resources, such as foreign aid and volunteers, through which to build its education system and other state institutions.

Possessing a population with a limited education, the postcolonial Tanzanian state needed to develop a highly trained workforce for its expanding bureaucracy and education system. Whereas the previous chapter highlighted the domestic issues pushing the expansion of education and its oversight by the national government, this chapter explains the transnational dynamic to this process. Recognizing the country's limitations in the immediate postcolonial period, state planners, educational bureaucrats and students wanted to maximize opportunities for education, with students also looking to advance their careers and fulfill a genuine desire to see the world. Using sources from the National Archive in Tanzania, Tanzanian newspapers, the National Archives in London, the Kennedy Library, and newly collected records of Tanzanian students abroad, this chapter highlights the transnational aspects of Tanzania's institutional development and demonstrates the linkages between individual students and teachers within the Cold War world.[306]

To accomplish this goal, it first examines the creation of the Teachers for East Africa (T.E.A.) program, a private organization with British and American backing that provided an opportunity for Tanzanian students to study in the United States. It then analyzes the role of United States Peace Corps teachers in staffing Tanzania's rapidly expanding secondary school system. Finally, this chapter explores the experiences of Tanzanian students who, thanks to

[306] This includes records gathered from the Rockefeller Center Archive, African-American Student Foundation Archive at Michigan State University and records from the Teachers College of Columbia University.

opportunities made available by the Cold War, studied abroad in the former metropole and the new imperial countries of the United States and Soviet Union.

Through examining the movement and use of transnational educational resources, this chapter shows that the Cold War in Africa was more than outside powers acting upon African countries through proxy wars, assassinations, direct interventions and ideological confusion. The programs that Nyerere promoted and that were part of the nation-building process of the 1960s, including working to promote associations with the nation-state and teaching about new socialist programs as well as a new national history, needed transnational assistance. Transnational aid served to further national programs including the Africanization of the upper-level of government, educating future technocrats and allowing for the growth of schools. The emergence of these programs allowed Tanzanian politicians to take credit for their success and furthered the legitimacy of the national government. Additionally, the government inserted itself as a mediator of transnational assistance which furthered its own legitimacy. Thus, the strong association between transnational resources and nationalism during this period needs examining.

Only in the last few years have studies detailed the ways in which the Cold War affected non-elite actors both in and outside of super-power countries. Historians are beginning to realize how Third World countries engaged with the non-superpower countries and how these countries also provided aid and opportunities for Third World countries—for these countries the world was

multipolar.[307] Tanzanian students enjoyed the opportunity to study in many different countries and the influence of the Soviet Union or the United States was limited by the presence of others, especially after the entry of China into Tanzania during the late 1960s. Limitations to the power-satellite relationship also existed. Engerman notes: "Soviet leaders followed their Asian and African clients, very often dragging their feet in doing so."[308] Thus, developing countries often influenced Cold War policy to a greater degree than previously thought and the Cold War was more complicated than the superpowers simply imposing their will on the rest of the world.

As recent scholarship is starting to highlight, the Cold War existed as a period during which the more powerful countries forced their will and conditions on under-developed countries. The global rivalry of the 1960s created a situation that Tanzanian state officials and students were able to exploit for their own gains—attracting teachers to the country and obtaining scholarships for students to study abroad. Thus, students and teachers circulated between countries to serve their own needs and that of their state. By leveraging colonial connections and Cold War resources, the Tanzanian political elite could better target its population, unite the population, and reinforce its legitimacy as an emerging nation-state. Through this focus, this chapter delves into the role that state and

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[307] Young-sun Hong. " 'The Benefits of Health Must Be Spread To All' : International Solidarity, Health and Race in the East German Encounters with the Third World." in *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics,* ed. Katherine Pence (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2008), 183-210.

[308] David Engerman, "The Second's World's Third's World." *Kritika* 12:1 (Winter 2011), 183-211.

non-governmental institutions played during the Cold War and how they interacted with Tanzanian students.

In addition to the opportunities stemming from colonial connections, the Tanzanian state and Tanzanian students operated in global fields of power dominated by the Cold War. Traditional Cold War studies have focused on the interaction between the two great powers or how these countries intervened in Africa as part of their own global agenda. Recent studies of African engagement in the Cold War have focused on military aspects of this interaction, although others demonstrate how countries such as Angola, Namibia, and South Africa made use of this global rivalry to further their own agenda.[309]

The Cold War also created opportunities for students and teachers. These opportunities relied on non-governmental actors that also played a major role as they used resources made available by the Cold War and were the institutions that students throughout the region interacted with. The other major factor that needs consideration is the legacy of decolonization (and the post-imperial presence that existed in Tanzania. Thus, this chapter works to put non-governmental organizations, students and a non-superpower state in dialogue and demonstrates how global paradigms of power played out in Tanzania.

Cold War Networks and Imperial Worries

During the late colonial period, British colonial officials envisioned continued dominance in East Africa. With few high school graduates and less

[309] See for example Gary Baines and Peter Vale eds., *Beyond the Border War: New Perspectives on Southern Africa's Late-Cold War Conflicts.* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2008); Sue Onslow, ed, *Cold War in Southern Africa: White Power, Black Liberation* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), Vladimir Shubin, *The Hot "Cold War": The USSR in Southern Africa* (London: Pluto Press, 2009).

than one hundred college graduates, both Nyerere and Governor Turnbull in Tanzania recognized that British officials would continue in the Tanzanian civil service after formal independence. Those in school would encounter British headmasters and educational bureaucrats and the top students eventually would attend the British dominated Makerere University in Uganda. Additionally, both Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Julius Nyerere, the leading anti-colonial politicians of each territory with relatively moderate postcolonial plans, welcomed the continued presence of British officials and viewed the metropole in a positive manner. With these ties British colonial officials felt secure with their future within East Africa and continued to imagine themselves at the center of a post-imperial world.

British officials possessed a history of fighting any socialist influence in the decolonization process. With British rule associated with capitalism, socialist policies tied with the need to develop and modernize a country enjoyed great support among anti-colonialist parties since World War Two. As Hakeem Ibikunle Tijani notes, the Colonial Office established a committee to combat the spread of communism in 1947.[310] The following year, Creech Jones worked to strengthen intelligence and police units to combat the spread of communist ideas and both the Colonial and Foreign Offices worked to ensure these ideas were limited.

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[310] See Hakeem Ibikunle Tijani. "Britain and the Foundation of Anti-Communist Polices in Nigeria, 1945-1960." *African and Asian Studies* 8 (2009): 47-66. Also see Roger Fieldhouse, "Cold War and Colonial Conflicts in British West African Adult Education, 1947-1953" *History of Education Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1984): 359-360. Ebere Nwaubani,. *The United States and Decolonization in West Africa, 1950-1960.* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2001).

As discussed when talking about colonialism, opportunities to study in the United Kingdom started to increase but still remained limited. The East African regional university at Makerere only took elite students and was dominated by Kenyan and Ugandan students. New opportunities to study abroad emerging during the last years of the colonial period enjoyed a profound impact on students in the region. For those who managed to study abroad during the late colonial period, the experience was transformative. Viktoria Stoger-Eising demonstrates how Nyerere's transnational education influenced his ideas surrounding *ujamaa*. Nyerere studied at Makerere and then at the University of Edinburg. Stoger-Eising argues that Nyerere's study of John Stuart Mill and his time in Scotland "reinforced and enriched the moral and political sensibilities Nyerere had imbibed from his native Zanaki culture."[311] Nyerere's writings also incorporated ideas from the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights and the protection of human rights. Nyerere's nationalist programs possessed a high degree of transnational influence both in their conception and, as will be detailed below, in their incorporation.

Unlike the United Kingdom which possessed long-standing historical ties to Tanzania, East African countries remained largely overlooked by officials in the United States. Concerns over communism topped the United States' foreign policy agenda and through the 1950s, United States officials concentrated on Europe not Africa. However, by the last years of the decade and with the election of Kennedy, Africa received more attention. As James Meriwether points out, US

[311] Viktoria Stoger-Eising. "*Ujamaa* Revisited: Indigenous and European Influences in Nyerere's Social and Political Thought." *Africa* 70, no. 1 (2000): 118-143.

officials viewed Africans as unready for independence and preferred the continuation of colonialism to circumvent the threat of communist penetration.[312]

Ghana's independence in 1957 and subsequent tours of America by Ghana's President Kwame Nkrumah and other African leaders, such as Nyerere, forced State Department policy makers to recognize the importance of Africa and the need for greater engagement. With the independence of the Congo in 1959, fears that Patrice Lumumba would limit access to the Congo's needed raw materials, including uranium, made the strategic importance of sub-Saharan Africa even moreclear. The United States quickly began playing a more active role in the East Africa. With 1960 proclaimed as the "Year of Africa," students began arriving in the United States from East Africa and African-American voters were paying greater attention to events in sub-Saharan Africa, the region existed as a new priority for the United States government. The entry of Americans into East Africa and rising Cold War tension served as the impetus that quickly shaped educational opportunities in the region.

The Need for Teachers and the Teachers for East Africa Program

As Britain worked to maintain influence in East Africa, the Tanzanian state actively sought to incorporate transnational aid for its education system to counter its teacher shortage and further other domestic programs. As described in Chapter 2, colonial rule brought transnational educators to Tanzania as missionaries, South Asians and British teachers arrived to staff the small but expanding educational system. Due to popular demands, the desire to limit the

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[312] James Meriwether, *Proudly We Can be Africans: Black Americans and Africa, 1935-1961* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).

influence of British colonizers and indigenize the education system, the postcolonial state quickly worked to replace all 'foreign' educators in the country. However, the corresponding need to Africanize the civil service caused problems in staffing the local schools, especially as the national bureaucracy claimed all Tanzanians who graduated from the University of East Africa.[313] As the educated elite, other teachers became politicians and moved into leadership positions at local, regional, and national levels. As a colonial education official, John Morris recalled with some contempt:

> The major difficulty with the rapid localization which took place after independence was not in filling the top posts—although there was a certain amount of inefficiency about—but in the large gap that was left in the middle reaches (i.e. the working part of the system) after mass promotion had taken place. A good illustration of this occurred within the primary school system, when in the first year after independence, we lost over 300 primary school head masters—mostly on promotion out of the education system altogether. It was not difficult to replace them—albeit at the cost of some fairly young and immature heads—but they in turn left a great gap in the number of teachers qualified to teach the upper classes of the primary school. But the shortage of teachers and funds to keep the schools going is hardly ever realized by the parents and indeed it is very difficult to follow the education plan.[314]

As Morris highlights, the dramatic expansion of education helped create space necessary for outside influence. Newly appointed leaders and politicians started looking for help from foreign entities and began going on recruiting trips all over the world.

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[313] I.M Bhoke Munanka, "Tanzanians Fill 93 Per Cent of Government Posts" *The Standard,* December 9 1966, 4.

[314] John Morris, "Reminiscences on Service in Tanganyika," Rhodes House Library, Oxford University. Mss. Afr. S. 1975/XLIV.

Morris also highlights different levels of education. At the Ministry level, Tanzanian officials continued to replace the remaining British officials brought in during the early 1960s, with upper bureaucrats including the Chief Education Officer being replaced. Tanzanian officials worked to quickly limit the role British officials played in shaping policy and developing a new curriculum. British head teachers and school masters also were being replaced, but, lacking the trained manpower, this process went slower. Tanzanian teachers went to the United Kingdom for an advanced education with the goal of returning and replacing these overseers. At the ground level, British teachers, including missionaries, who taught students and staffed local schools were still welcome. Tanzanian education officials encouraged teachers to stay and even recruited British teachers to come and teach. At the Ministry level British officials were being replaced while at the local level teachers, necessary for the functioning of the schools, remained desired. Overall, the rapid expansion of education caused an acute teacher shortage and the Ministry of Education began developing plans to find new teachers.

This scarcity led to an overall easing in the requirements to become a teacher. By the mid-1960s, those with an upper primary (Std. VIII) education could take training classes at a nearby teacher's college in order to easily obtain employment as a primary school teacher. For example, now retired teacher Maingu Mrimi recalls that after finishing Std. VIII: "I was selected to join a teachers' college in Mwanza (on Lake Victoria in northwestern Tanzania and the second largest city in the country), where I started my studies in 1962 and

finished in 1964."[315] The Tanzanian government (during both the colonial and postcolonial eras) constantly worried about the expense and effectiveness of these teachers since they were responsible for inculcating Tanzanian nationalism.

Outside intervention also played a major role in influencing Tanzanian education. UNESCO investigators wrote of the same problem with teachers: "Instruction is handed out to bright eyed children by Grade C teachers whose educational and vocational torches burn but dimly."[316] Thus, outsiders pushed for and helped fund more teaching colleges so that additional training could be provided before placing teachers in front of a classroom. However, the overall demand for teachers surpassed the pace at which quality new teachers could be educated.

These problems continued to evolve and state officials as well as the public subjected teachers to increasing criticism over educators' alleged lazy work habits and high pay, causing such educators to vent their frustration. To do so, they attacked problematic government policies. Furthering the nationwide shortage of teachers, some simply resigned and attempted to find new careers. Suleman Shie condemned the entire system in a resignation letter to the local parents' association school in Mwanza. He pointed out that even though he was the head teacher, he failed to receive his salary—a problem which became more widespread through the 1960s and 1970s. Salaries simply went unpaid, were lost, or only went to the towns, forcing rural teachers to spend an entire day walking to

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[315] Maingu Mrimi, interview by author, October 12, 2010.

[316] UNESCO, "Report of UNESCO Educational Planning Mission for Tanganyika June to October 1962," January 31, 1963, 46.

the post office or government building to receive their pay. Second, Shie complained about the school inspectors, writing: “I can’t finish my probation course properly because of not being supervised by the school inspectors”[317] and, thus, could not be promoted. Finally, he acknowledged he could no longer support his mother or pay his taxes, and worried he would soon be imprisoned.

Such issues created widespread animosity at the local level—between teachers, school administrators and the local community—and contributed to furthering the shortage of teachers within the country. Mindful of this shortage, Tanzanian officials looking abroad for assistance in the early 1960s and they welcomed American aid in the form of the Teachers for East Africa (T.E.A.) program.

The Entry of Transnational Educators

The interests of Tanzanian officials looking for teachers and newly conceived American programs coincided. Established by Professor Kenneth Bigelow and R. Freeman Butts, both associated with Teachers College of Columbia University, the T.E.A. worked to further the education systems in East Africa, hoping to increase the stability and overall development of the countries.[318] By providing teachers the T.E.A. fostered cooperation between the aid agencies of the United States and United Kingdom, the three East African governments, Columbia University, and the Carnegie Corporation. Although led by Americans, both Bigelow and Butts envisioned that the United Kingdom

[317]“Sulaman Shie to the Regional Secretary TAPA, Mwanza,” June 4, 1963.Tanzania National Archive at Mwanza [T.N.A.M] Acc9/1011/III/299/33.

[318] R. Freeman Butts. “A Second Program of Teachers for East Africa,” February 1, 1962, Teacher’s College Archive [TCA], Columbia University, Butts Correspondence File, 33.

would play a major role in helping to fund the organization and provide teachers. In the early years, Americans, outside of official government employment, worked with the British Overseas Development Ministry in hopes of expanding the scope of education in East Africa. Over its ten-year existence, T.E.A. supplied 631 educators for teaching and teacher training in East Africa and kept Americans informed about the educational situation in the region.[319] These teachers helped expand the relatively limited education capacity to accommodate record numbers of students.

To recruit teachers, the organization visited universities throughout the United States, mailed over 12,000 letters and utilized the resources of the National Education Association to increase awareness of the T.E.A. program. The organization was highly selective—only approving top applicants (including over 150 teachers with Master's degrees) who, as Butts stated, were a "group of academically able, professionally well-prepared, soundly motivated and personally adaptable young men and women."[320] In a similar manner to their Peace Corps colleagues, applicants to the program confessed to having a different outlook on life than their parents, whom applicants generally condemned for their greed and focus on work. More cognizant of events in the world, applicants possessed a strong desire to see foreign lands and wanted to discover themselves as well as help others.[321]

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[319] Butts. "Teachers for East Africa." 34.

[320] Ibid., 33.

[321] "Application Essay." December 7, 1960, TCA, Application File, 9.

The desire to help the downtrodden both domestically and throughout the world influenced the motivations of those going overseas. In this case, the burgeoning civil rights movement also shaped the view of applicants and furthered their desire for foreign uplift. However, events in 1964—including the Zanzibari revolution, an attempted military coup in Tanzania, and unrest in Kenya and Uganda—hampered the overall recruitment of teachers and applications dropped dramatically. Still, American students remained interested in the program and dozens left for East Africa every year.

In Tanzania, the T.E.A. trained, transported and placed over three hundred American teachers in schools during the early 1960s. Through these efforts, the T.E.A. helped the Ministry of Education move closer to meeting the ambitious goals established by their first five-year plan for education released in 1963 in which education experts estimated a shortfall of 541 teachers in 1964.[322] Teachers arriving through the T.E.A. filled critical needs which the Ministry could not fill itself. By 1964, Tanzania possessed 143 T.E.A. teachers or roughly one third of the total teachers.[323] These teachers allowed program director Butts to state "for the first time within memory, the schools are reasonably well staffed" and the presence of T.E.A. teachers allowed "the development plan for the expansion of secondary education" to be possible.[324]

The Tanzanian government also recognized the importance of the program, with Parliamentary Secretary Al Noor Kassum stating that the

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[322] Butts, "Teachers for East Africa." 33.

[323] Zanzibar is not included in this calculation.

[324] Butts. "Teachers for East Africa," 33.

expansion of secondary education would not have been possible without the program and working to ensure their continued supply.[325] On one occasion, Nyerere visited Tabora Secondary School and praised the American teachers in the school for providing the needed science teachers for the school while emphasizing the importance of science to the development of the country.[326] In this case, T.E.A. volunteers' assistance helped solve an especially blatant shortcoming. Finally, these additional teachers also freed the Tanzanian government to promote existing teachers to the supervisory level and increase the Africanization of the civil service. With this transnational assistance, the education system in Tanzania was able to expand and better meet the growing needs of a demanding population and help fill the promises of Tanzanian politicians.

However, problems arose with some of the new British and American teachers in the program throughout East Africa, including an international incident involving a stolen car in Uganda but also specific difficulties in Tanzania. A few arriving teachers failed the orientation course, leading to awkward debates between Butts and Bigelow over what to do with the volunteers, especially when they wanted to stay. Tanzanian school officials rated other teachers as "borderline" teachers, leading to disputes with these inspectors and necessitating the intervention of T.E.A. administrators.[327] In another case, a

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[325] Butts. "Teachers for East Africa," 33.

[326] Ibid., 33.

[327] "Arthur Lewis to Ken Toepher," August 28 1963, TCA, T.E.A. Personnel Communication File, 12.

teacher in Moshi reported late to her assigned school and made it well known that she was unhappy that she was not posted with a friend. She claimed to be ill while Tanzanian inspectors argued: "She is a psychoneurotic and unsuitable for further service in East Africa."[328] In response, the teacher in question continued to claim she was indeed sick with a urinary tract infection and complained to her parents as well as to her Congressmen about her treatment. Other disputes arose as the Tanzanian government was slow to pay the final months' salary and gratuity of the T.E.A. staff, causing teachers to leave disgruntled and complain to the Ministry of Finance.[329] Fortunately for the program, incidents such as these were rare, although they created additional work for American, British and Tanzanian officials involved. T.W. Gee, an employee of the British Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM), doubted "the value of American teachers."[330] To the British, the nascent was problematic and American teachers, whether in Tanzania or other former colonies, were not as effective as their British counterparts.

Finally, the T.E.A. program was dominated by Americans, with only eight British teachers graduating from Makerere, including one teacher who returned to the United Kingdom following the death of his father.[331] This lack of recruitment caused embarrassment within the ODM and reflected their failure to properly recruit for the T.E.A. With American teachers and funding playing an

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[328] "Arthur Lewis to Ken Toepher," 13.

[329] Ibid., 13.

[330] "T.W. Gee to Mr. O'Regan," December 6, 1962. B.N.A. ODM17/86.

[331] B.A. Astley to J.S. Goldsmith," March 26, 1963. B.N.A. OD17/86/384.

increasingly prominent role in the program, officials in London began to feel marginalized and wondered about their future in the field of East African education.

British teachers and other officials on the ground in Tanzania complained about the attitude of the arriving volunteers. With their long-standing ties to the Empire, these teachers wrote of the "it is our turn now" approach of the Americans and argued the new teachers failed to recognize the contributions of their British colleagues. Raymond Gold found instances of British headmasters, used to living in East Africa and already insecure about their positions, protesting that Americans were "inclined to grumble about their extended work obligations and generally were overly concerned about their health," to the degree that many headmasters labeled them hypochondriacal.[332] Additionally, headmasters complained about the long holidays their American teachers took. ODM officials shared this criticism as they received complaints from local officials and letters from American teachers wondering how much time for travel they actually would have.

Typical of the holiday-first attitude of the teachers, this action caused T.E.A. leaders to condemn this lack of responsibility and reinforced British attitudes towards the newly arrived American teachers. In contrast, the American teachers noticed the "aloofness, attitude, the formality of the older British type

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[332] Raymond L. Gold, *A Teaching Safari: A Study of American Teachers in East Africa* (Baltimore: Publish America, 2004), 214.

teacher."[333] While the teachers eventually overcame these problems, it nonetheless highlights the rift between these different groups of transnational teachers.

As the Tanzanian Ministry of Education worked to replace senior British educators—especially the head teachers and inspectors—and Africanize the educational bureaucracy, they recruited British volunteers to teach in Tanzania. Here, the Tanzanian educators wanted to assert their independence by having full control over the Ministry of Education and developing new policies. However, even strident nationalists such as Kawawa recognized that the country needed teachers from the former metropole. Therefore, the remaining colonial links were important as both Tanzanian and British officials worked to recruit British teachers and used colonial-era rhetoric based on development and uplift to do so. Thus, Tanzanian officials worked to use both colonial ties and new Cold War linkages as a means to develop their educational system.

Although Tanzanian newspapers highlighted incoming British volunteers, including 22 in 1964,[334] both the British ODM and Tanzanian officials experienced disappointment in recruiting British volunteers to teach in Tanzania. In a number of visits to the United Kingdom, Minister of Education Simon Eliufoo highlighted the urgency of attracting teachers from their former colony masters, although he experienced little success.[335] The British retreat from their

[333] R. Freeman Butts. "First Impression of Teachers for East Africa in Action," August 10, 1961, TCA, Butts Correspondence File, 11.

[334] "Volunteers Asked to Correct Wrong Ideas Abroad About Africa." *The Nationalist*, September 3, 1964, 2.

[335] "Teacher Plea to Britain," *Tanganyika Standard,* May 15, 1963, 3.

African empire further limited the availably of postcolonial aid coming to Tanzania and forced Tanzanian educators to look elsewhere for assistance, furthering the connection with the world's new powers—the Soviet Union, America, and (in the case of Tanzania) Germany.

By the mid-1960s, the feeling of disappointment changed to a sense of failure with ODM officials reporting little success in attracting teachers for the TEA program. British students remained less than enthusiastic since they had long enjoyed the opportunities to serve the empire and teach overseas, unlike their counterparts in America where this was a new opportunity. In one call for applications, H. Holmes at the ODM highlighted this problem, writing: "Although there were about 60 first enquiries, only 10 application forms were returned."[336] Of the 10 applications, only two made it beyond initial stages and neither applicant ended up working in Tanzania. "I am afraid that the response to our Tanzania adverts was very poor indeed…Now we hear reports of a probable increase in the number of teaching periods per week. News such as this quickly gets round the schools here and does not help our recruitment efforts," Holmes wrote, trying to explain the lack of interest by British teachers.[337]

According to recruitment officials in the United Kingdom, Tanzania's active foreign policy harmed their efforts to recruit teachers for foreign service. Specifically, they blamed the unfavorable press which Tanzania now was receiving in response to disputes over South Africa and the official severing of

[336] "J.K. Thompson to A..F Bull," April 26, 1962, B.N.A, ODM17/86/171.

[337] "J.K. Thompson to Mr. Leach," June 15, 1965, B.N.A. CO1045/1004.

relations with Southern Rhodesia following its unilateral declaration of independence under a minority-white controlled government. These officials also claimed that new socialist policies being developed in the country made it less desirable for British teachers. The recruiting problems continued to worsen and, by the mid-1960s, the British ODM was no longer encouraging British volunteers to go to Tanzania, now citing bureaucratic delays in appointments and the uncertain future of volunteers.[338] British teachers seemed content not to travel abroad and this apathetic attitude furthered the retreat going on within the country toward supporting the British empire.

Despite the shortcomings in recruitment, British teachers remained involved in Tanzania on an individual level. For example, exam proctors helped with the Cambridge Exam, which Tanzanian officials used as their basis for selecting students until its replacement in the mid-1960s. The Cambridge Exam, designed in the United Kingdom and administered to students throughout the Commonwealth, highlights another example of transnational education. The results of the exam determined who would advance into secondary school and teachers spent a great deal of time preparing students for the test even though the questions often did not reflect the life experience of the students. Through their individual efforts in Tanzania, British educators provided a necessary service in determining who would be eligible for advanced education.

Rarely rich, this group of British educators took advantage of networks of friends, travelers, and an efficient postal system to communicate and send money

[338] "J.K. Thompson to Mr. Leach," June 15, 1965, B.N.A. CO1045/1004.

to Tanzania and help the Tanzanians with whom they came in contact. In a specific case, a young British doctoral student, Alison Redmayne, provided the necessary school fees so that a child and his siblings whom she befriended in the mid-1960s were able to attend school, especially after their parents refused to pay school fees. Furthermore, she leveraged her clout as a foreigner to intervene on behalf of the students she supported. In 1968, Redmayne became concerned about the future of a female student she supported and wrote to the DEO in Iringa in order to secure a place for this young girl: "I have already spoken to you and written to you about this girl whom I wish to send away to boarding school from Std. 5-7 so that, when she is no longer cold and hungry and having to walk a long way to school and do most of the housework at home, she may have a better chance of getting a place in secondary school in three years' time."[339] These actions earned Redmayne the gratitude of the students she supported, who were aware that without her support they would not be able to attend school.

In these individual cases, British students and teachers remained involved in Tanzanian education but operated outside of formal aid programs. Redmanyne's actions and engagement with Tanzanian students highlights a growing trend of individual engagement with students, outside of any state programs and beyond any formal Cold War ideology. Nearly impossible to measured, this transnational assistance became vital on a micro-level for students to attend school and gave them contacts to draw upon when travelling abroad. Individuals, along with the non-governmental organizations, became important

[339] Alison Redmayne to Regional Education Officer, Iringa, October 19, 1968, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, United Kingdom.

catalysts in promoting transnational engagement and furthering the movement of students, teachers and resources between the United Kingdom and its former colonies.

With fewer British teachers involved, the T.E.A. became primarily an American program and debates soon emerged over its viability. Tensions occasionally flared between the T.E.A. and the newly established Peace Corps program in East Africa, especially as the Peace Corps assumed control over the teaching programs the T.E.A provided. Kennedy established the Peace Corps in 1961 through which volunteers would promote American goodwill and interests in developing countries. Despite the best efforts by the leadership of the Peace Corps and T.E.A. to limit arguments and recognizing that both were at least partially funded by the American government, tempers flared on several occasions. In one case, a T.E.A. visitor, Professor of Education Margaret Lindsey, stated her bias "in favor of teachers who had a career commitment to teaching and who had received extended and specialized professional training for their jobs,"[340] thus praising T.E.A. teachers and putting down the other volunteers who did not have the same education-related background or training.[341] At the same time, rumors circulated of disputes between the T.E.A and Peace Corps, prompting Butts and Bigelow to report: "T.E.A. teachers were being openly told that T.E.A. was 'through' and that the Peace Corps was going to take over,"[342] a

[340] R. Freeman Butts, "Butts to Williams," May 27, 1964, TCA, Butts Correspondence File, 41.

[341] "Butts to Williams," 41.

[342] Ibid.

disheartening statement to their volunteers and indicative of the rivalry that existed between the two organizations.

T.E.A. volunteers worried that the newly developed Peace Corps (whose origins will be detailed in the following section) would replace the organization. Peace Corps teachers replaced their T.E.A. counterparts and the number of T.E.A. teachers serving in Tanzania quickly decreased. Although the organization remained in the region, its activities were largely curtailed to the actual training of teachers, its funding from Washington was highly limited and potential recruits now went to the Peace Corps. However, the Tanzanian government welcomed this transition—although Peace Corps volunteers did not possess the same training or background in education, Peace Corps teachers came at no financial cost while T.E.A. teachers required government funding. As the Cold War throughout the world became a more pressing issue and Kennedy worked to make U.S. foreign policy more interventionist, Tanzanian education moved from a program that interacted with an organization only loosely (at best) associated with the United States' government to one that was a part of the government and more directly reflected U.S foreign policy. As the Cold War heightened, the American government became more involved with this especially critical country and brought development programs more under its direct control.

Cold War competition forced a dramatic retreat from British imperialism and compelled post-colonial colonies such as Tanzania to turn toward other countries. Likewise, imperial angst among the Soviet Union and United States provided additional opportunities for the Tanzanian state to establish new schools

in order to meet the demands of its population. Once built and staffed through transnational aid, state officials could teach ideas regarding Tanzanian citizenship and further its own legitimacy.

The New Empire: Peace Corps and US-Tanzanian Interests during the Cold War

By the mid-1960s, Nyerere successfully positioned Tanzania on the world map. Events in Zanzibar, South Africa, and Rhodesia necessitated calculated responses and created space for the Tanzanian state to assert itself.[343] This complicates earlier assessments of Tanzania's foreign policy which was characterized as "a series of diplomatic frustrations which portrayed the shallow limits of Tanzanian power."[344] While Tanzanian officials might have had limited ability to influence outside events, the Tanzanian state under Nyerere was able to engage with imperial ties and Cold War resources to further its domestic agenda.

Outsiders also viewed Nyerere's Tanzania as a country needing consideration. To American diplomats and foreign policy experts, Nyerere's aggressive foreign policies in dominating regional politics and welcoming communist aid furthered America's interest in the country and necessitated American involvement, both through increased aid and the Peace Corps program. According to retired State Department official Francis Terry McNamera, the United States was interested in Tanzania for a variety of reasons including its geographic location as well as the information that "the war of liberation going on

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[343] For a detailed analysis see Paul Bjerk, "Postcolonial Realism: Tanganyika's Foreign Policy Under Nyerere, 196-1963." *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 44, no.2 (2011): 215-247.

[344] S.S. Mushi, "The Making of Foreign Policy in Tanzania." In *Foreign Policy of Tanzania, 1961-1981: A Reader*, K. Mathews and S.S. Mushi, eds. (Dar es Salaam: Tanzania Publishing House, 1983), 9.

in Mozambique was being supplied and run from Dar es Salaam…Dar was the liberation capital of Africa…The South Africans were there, both ANC [African National Congress] and PAC [Pan-African Congress]. The Zimbabweans, the Zambians, the Angolans, the Mozambicans were there."[345]

Additionally, twenty miles off the Tanzanian coast in Zanzibar, a revolution occurred in 1964, overthrowing the Arab elite who had dominated the island for two hundred years. New Zanzibari leaders called for Soviet and Chinese aid and flirted with communist ideas, all of which catapulted this island nation to the headlines of newspapers throughout the world. Through its location and foreign policy, Tanzania forged a unique place in the Cold War to which other countries, especially the United States and Soviet Union, needed to respond. The result was a government positioned to claim additional transnational resources.

However, this engagement was not solely the product of Tanzania's active foreign policy. The United Kingdom, the United States and Soviet Union along with other countries and multilateral organizations worked to remain active in the region to promote their own interests. As detailed above and will be mentioned again, the United Kingdom desired to remain relevant in the region and not be displaced by countries new to the area. The United States possessed a strong desire to combat communism by expanding its own ideological presence in the area. The Soviet Union donated large amounts of aid and worked to promote its

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[345] Francis Terry McNamera interviewed by Charles Stuart Kennedy, March 18, 1993, Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project Archive, Library of Congress.

own ideology by attracting students to its universities. China, now asserting itself, both Germanys, the Eastern Bloc, North Korea (by sending drill instructors to teach students how to march) and Scandinavians countries all enjoyed a presence in the area and worked to promote their own interests and ideologies. These desires to act on Tanzania created development opportunities for the Tanzanian state and the general population.

Just over one year after the 1960 East African Airlift program, in which hundreds of East African students were brought to America partially due to the efforts of presidential candidate John F. Kennedy, government officials worked to increase the United States' presence in the region. To do so, the United States needed to counter the influence of several countries providing aid for Tanzania's educational development. In 1964, the Soviets pledged to build a technical school for one thousand students and provide fifteen Soviet teachers to man the school until local personnel took over.[346] Multilateral and private institutions also donated or lent money to finance the education system in Tanzania. For example, the International Development Association, an institute of the World Bank, granted a £2 million loan to complete a secondary boarding school designed for six hundred students and to improve 24 existing secondary schools.[347] UNESCO aid provided an additional £250,000 for building a new girls' secondary school at Korogowe, which would eventually house five hundred female students.[348] With other countries already involved, Kennedy and officials in the State Department

[346] "£15m. Aid From Eastern Bloc," *Tanganyika Standard,* August 31, 1964, 1.

[347] "UNESCO Aid for Korogowe School," *Tanganyika Standard,* January 26, 1964, 3.

[348] Ibid., 3.

felt it necessary to quickly involve the United States in Tanzanian affairs. Education in Tanzania quickly became one of global engagement and transnational assistance flowed into the country.

Historiographically, the Peace Corps has recently been subject to reexamination and historians are now analyzing how this organization helped project American power throughout the world. Gerald Rice, author of *The Bold Experiment: JFK's Peace Corps*, provides a comprehensive overview of the organization. Rice argues teaching was the perfect job for quickly trained volunteers as "it provided a relatively structured environment, was well suited to young college graduates, had a direct people-to-people impact, and it allowed the agency to get off to a dramatically fast start."[349] However, the Peace Corps needs examining more than just as a domestic institution serving the needs of American politicians. Fritz Fisher complicates the role of the organization by highlighting the divide between the organizers of the program and its participants. He shows that although Kennedy viewed the Peace Corps as a cornerstone of his Cold War policy, its volunteers realized the problems of dividing up the world into two camps, promoting a linear sense of development and, as was the case in Tanzania, becoming critical of American foreign policy itself.[350] This analysis is especially

[349] Gerard T. Rice, *The Bold Experiment: JFK's Peace Corp* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985); also see Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman., *All You Need is Love: The Peace Corps and the Spirit of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), Jonathan Zimmerman, "Beyond Double Consciousness: Black Peace Corps Volunteers in Africa, 1961-1971," *Journal of American History* 82 (1995): 999-1028.

[350] Fritz Fisher, *Making Us Like Them: Peace Corps Volunteers in the 1960s* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998).

relevant for Tanzania during the 1960s as volunteers began to possess a different outlook on American foreign policy than those in Washington.

Finally, Larry Grubbs includes Peace Corps volunteers as one of many secular American missionaries during the 1960s, reminding readers of the modernization paradigm preached by Kennedy's development experts.[351] Despite this focus, local reactions and interactions to these Cold War programs, as well as their use domestically by host nations, have not been adequately considered. Tanzania's need for assistance, with its teacher shortage and poverty, made it the ideal host for the nascent and quickly expanding Peace Corps.

Peace Corps volunteers (PCVs) largely consisted of college graduates, although rarely with teaching degrees, with middle class backgrounds from throughout the United States who were ready to see the world and hoping to have a life-altering experience and, later, to escape the Vietnam War. After quick training courses in Kiswahili and teaching methods at Syracuse University, volunteers left the country (most for the first time) and arrived in Tanzania to replace T.E.A. volunteers and further "liberate" the country from remaining British colonial teachers. While Peace Corps teachers were aware of official goals that included promoting American culture, remaining idealistic and promoting Western notions of education, they were largely welcomed in areas they lived. However, the hurried training of these teachers, their youth and their experiences in Tanzania limited their effectiveness in furthering the foreign policy goals of the American government.

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[351] Larry Grubbs, *Secular Missionaries: Americans and African Development in the 1960s* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010).

National education officials in Tanzania, aware of the massive shortage of teachers within the country, recognized the importance of making use of these teachers and other arriving American experts. Nyerere personally welcomed the first group of PCVs to East Africa and received a telegraph from Kennedy stating that these volunteers reflected the true spirit of friendship from the American people.[352] Nyerere also praised this precedent-setting project and acknowledged the desperate need for teachers to fill existing vacancies throughout the region.[353] Minister of Education Simon Eliufoo also welcomed teachers, stating: "The present struggle required more know-how in many different ways and this was why the overseas teachers' contribution was so important."[354] Top officials welcomed these volunteers and quickly put them to work furthering Tanzania's domestic education policy.

The PCVs arriving in the country helped staff newly built schools and interacted with newly appointed Tanzanian teachers. Despite any local conflicts, programs associated with the Peace Corps also helped further the expansion of Tanzanian education through the building of classrooms. PCVs were required to complete a second project in addition to their everyday teaching. Volunteers contacted their friends in America to raise money for this construction and promoted private assistance to Tanzania. Taking advantage of this funding, the Mwanza Regional Government ordered local councils to "carry on with the work of making bricks, etc. for the new classrooms as per new development offered"

[352] "Teachers from Abroad Vital," *Tanganyika Standard,* September 12, 1964, 5.

[353] "Teachers Told to Be Friendly," *Tanganyika Standard,* July 19 1961, 3.

[354] "Teachers from Abroad Vital," *Tanganyika Standard,* September 12, 1964, 5.

and "borrow building materials and start building."[355] Consistent with previous Tanzanian programs, this aid was not allocated to cover labor "which must be provided by the local community,"[356] which once again necessitated community involvement. The results achieved through PCV second projects were similar to the school building efforts earlier in the decade and helped with the continued expansion of the education system.

In Tanzania, American teachers were to be treated as everyday teachers with all the typical duties. In preparation for their 1963 arrival in the Mwanza region, the Chief Education Officer instructed head teachers that PCVs "will take their turn as Duty Teacher; supervision of sports and games, supervise cleaning, grass-cutting, garden work; take charge of school societies, and assist in store keeping. In every way they expect to be treated, and they should be treated, as ordinary members of staff."[357] Such treatment allowed American volunteers to interact with local teachers and students in a highly intimate manner, both inside and outside the classroom, thereby fulfilling Kennedy's goal of promoting American interests abroad through the Peace Corps. Thus, vacant teaching positions in the rapidly expanding education system often were filled by American volunteers who—after a shaky and nervous start—provided the necessary instruction to promote language, science and math skills.

Most of the records within the Tanzanian archives dealing with the Peace Corps document mundane matters—where to house them, how to find furniture

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[355] "School-to-School Programme," October 19, 1966. T.N.A.M Acc10/14/226.

[356] Ibid.

[357] "Peace Corp Volunteer Teachers," November 25, 1963. T.N.A.M Acc10/14/19.

for the rooms, and who to displace so the volunteers could have the housing guaranteed to them. For local head teachers, receiving a PCV necessitated a great deal of preparation to ensure they met the housing and furniture requirements, the latter of which the Peace Corps would pay for. Judging by the number of repeated requests for information, local head teachers voiced a number of concerns—including questions about payment—to the Ministry, who in turn constantly sent additional information to the local schools to inform the teachers exactly what the responsibilities and expectations of the volunteers were and how to treat them.

Peace Corps volunteers who staffed upper primary and secondary schools also became involved in enforcing the sexual morals of the postcolonial state. Often witnessing the wrath of overzealous minor state officials and teachers, these volunteers experienced a difficult decision as they needed to weigh their own views on proper behavior and the need to uphold the rules of the school. For example, PCV Leonard Levett recalled his experience with sexual regulation as he reported a male and female student walking together and holding hands. With this information, the head teacher brought the two students into his office and interrogated them, hoping that one would admit to improper relations. After neither did, the other teachers then beat the boy until he confessed and began naming others who were also having intercourse.[358] After naming all the girls in the school, the head teacher brought in all the girls who then named their partners causing nearly every student to receive a beating. Needing information and

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[358] Leonard Levitt, *An African Season* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 136.

wanting to counter immoral behavior among students, teachers used every resource available to them, including relying on Peace Corps volunteers.

In addition to teaching responsibilities, PCVs assumed the unofficial role of state agents through their individual efforts. In one example, Leonard Levitt shows his role in trying to succeed where the teachers' colleges and rapid hiring of teachers left inadequacies, although he lets his superiority become evident. "The next morning he [a Tanzanian teacher] came to see me as I went to math class. Did I think he could come and sit in on my class? He had never understood graphs very well himself."[359] The teacher then attended Levitt's class, "sitting there in the back, as attentively as the boys" and learned from his American colleague.[360] While the recollection reflects an imperial bias of uplift, to the work of select PCVs, Tanzanian teachers enjoyed greater education, which they would then pass along to their students. Here, the failure of the state to properly train its teachers created an opportunity for outsiders to further interact with the population and help educate students and teachers.

Notwithstanding some attempts at normalcy, PCVs always stood out as wealthy and highly visible outsiders in the local community. For many locals, aware of the relative wealth of the volunteers and the fact they employed a housekeeper/cook, volunteers became a source to receive a loan (which hopefully would not have to be paid back). In one particular incident, Levitt lent a fellow teacher two hundred Tanzanian shillings (roughly $30 or one month's salary),

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[359] Levitt, *An African Season*, 136.

[360] Ibid., 137.

with the promise that he would be repaid within two weeks. After nearly a month, Levitt became determined to get the money back, and, after a series of failed attempts, visited the man's home. "I began shouting at him in Swahili, calling him a mwizi [thief]. I wanted my money. And right now. And if he ran off to Mbeya as I heard he might, I couldn't be responsible for what might happen."[361] After this demonstration, he received the money back and continued his work, although now more hesitant to loan money and display his wealth.

The Reaction to Peace Corps Teachers

The Peace Corps was a contentious program at the local and national level. While Ministry of Education officials openly welcomed the volunteers and realized their importance in providing critical manpower, Tanzanian critics pointed out the imperial nature of the program. In doing so, they demonstrated a knowledge of Cold War events and differentiated American teachers from their British counterparts. Most importantly, the mere presence of the Peace Corps in Tanzania provided a highly visible reminder of the state's failure to fully Africanize the bureaucracy, provide the necessary teachers, and end its dependence on outside assistance. By 1965, the government boasted that Tanzanians held 93% of all government posts.[362] The reliance on Peace Corps volunteers reminded others that the government's success with regard to Africanization was still incomplete and that Americans merely replaced the British in enjoying undue influence within the country.

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[361] Levitt, *An African Season*, 128.

[362] "Tanzanians Fill 93 Per Cent of Government Posts," *Tanganyika Standard,* December 9 1966, 4.

Debates over the imperial nature of the Peace Corps took place within the Tanzanian Parliament. Seeking the support of the masses through a populist move, Regional Commissioner for the Southern Highlands John Mwakangale stated: "Wherever they [PCVs] are we always hear of trouble, you hear of people trying to overthrow the Government. These people are not here for peace, they are here for trouble. We do not want any more Peace Corps."[363] Mwakangale then acknowledged that he had never met with the volunteers nor had any concrete evidence to support the allegations. His speech was immediately condemned by Prime Minister Kawawa as "the most irresponsible speech ever heard in the House."[364] Gerard Rice suggests that periodic criticism of this nature was a deliberate ploy by the Tanzanian government to appease the Soviets and ensure aid from Communist countries continued.[365] Thus, through attacking United States aid and using international rivalries, domestic programs could be expanded.

At a local level, teachers and officials also criticized the role of the Peace Corps. For example, one teacher highlighted the lack of training volunteers possessed, especially when compared to T.E.A. workers, stating: "The children in the schools complain they cannot understand the American-English these teachers use," before adding: "If the government wants to get teachers under a scheme like the Peace Corps they should make sure they get fully trained people" and

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[363] "M.P. Attacks Peace Corps," *Tanganyika Standard,* June 12, 1964, 1.

[364] " 'Most Irresponsible Speech I've Heard Here' Says P.M," *Tanganyika Standard,* June 12, 1964, 1.

[365] Rice, *Bold Experiment,* 275.

should not be "picking anyone off the street in order to fulfill the need."[366] This comment led the Peace Corps' Director for the African Regions to respond that the volunteers never displaced Tanzanian teachers.[367] The rising demand for teachers and the growing need to address local problems provided sufficient reason for officials to concede that PCVs could teach at their schools. The transnational resources made available by the Cold War bolstered the expanding system of education and became instrumental in solving domestic shortcomings.

Due to their country's active engagement with other Cold War powers, Tanzanian students outside of the university became highly engaged in the politics of the era. PCV Reed Kramer writes that his collogue Tamela Hultman encountered a young student in 1966 who "queried her group incessantly about civilian casualties in the war in Vietnam, U.S. support for apartheid, and whether the CIA had been involved in the assassination of Kennedy and the overthrow of Nkrumah in Ghana."[368] PCVs reported constant questions about American involvement in the world. "Soon some of the local TANU officials began stopping at the school, speaking to the boys about the Congo…Then they would start about the Congo and Tshombe, American imperialists murdering their African brothers," reported PCV Leonard Levitt.[369] In even remote areas of the

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[366] "Teachers Hit at Peace Corps," *Tanganyika Standard,* November 12, 1963, 3.

[367] "U.S. Teachers 'Filling a Gap'," *Tanganyika Standard,* November 19, 1963, 3.

[368] Reed Kramer. "Durham, Durban, and All-Africa," in *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists Over a Half Century, 1950-2000*, eds William Minter, Gail Harvey, and Charles Cobb, Jr. (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2008): 134-138.

[369] Levitt, *An African Season,* 120.

country, debates over outside engagement with Africa showed the incredible penetration of Cold War events.

University students felt Cold War events, especially the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, represented the dangers of American influence within Africa.[370] As Andrew Ivaska argues, university students, on the verge of receiving prestigious and well paying employment, represented the hopes of their families and communities. As the Tanzanian bureaucracy slowed its expansion in the mid-1960s, fewer opportunities existed for those at the university. Additionally, students resented the possibility that they would be forced to farm and live in rural areas as part of a national service program put forth by the government. Aware of these issues, university students were politically engaged and aware of both Tanzanian and global politics. They were also quick to debate the American presence in Tanzania.

Having just achieved independence, charges of neo-colonialism resonated with Tanzanians, a common charge against the Peace Corps and its volunteers throughout the continent. Kwanza Kilewela, a university student, developed the following acrostic in a letter to *The Nationalist* newspaper condemning the presence of the Peace Corps:

[370] With scholars such as Walter Rodney, the University of Dar es Salaam was widely known as a home for leftist intellectuals and students. For more on the university students see Andrew Ivaska, "Of Students, "'Nizers," and a Struggle over Youth: Tanzania's 1966 National Service Crisis," *Africa Today* 51 no.3 (2005): 83-107.

P—Plunder
E—Exploitation
A—Aggression
C—Colonialism
E—Espionage

C—Corruption
O—Opportunism
R—Racialism
P—Piracy
S—Sabotage[371]

Many of these terms, such as plunder and exploitation reflected anti-colonial rhetoric that circulated around Tanzania over the previous decade and re-emerged in response to the Cold War. The others, such as racialism, piracy and sabotage, reflected new concerns such as debates over apartheid in South Africa and white-rule in Rhodesia. References to piracy and sabotage referenced the Tanzanian government's fears that saboteurs existed in the country and threatened to destroy new developmental projects and overall economic prosperity.

In response, B.S. Kajunjumele of Dar es Salaam wrote of PCVs: "Being young University graduates, they are bound to be tolerant to our shortcomings, cautious in their approach, rational and keen to help us in every aspect. They will work under the administration of our Ministers and they will have nothing to do with politics."[372] Furthermore, he added: "I cannot imagine that any politically mature nationalist would associate such an invaluable humanitarian venture with neo-colonialism."[373] A vigorous debate took place in the newspapers and among the educated class of Tanzanians that reflected a high degree of awareness over the Peace Corps and individual engagement with Cold War policies. In

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[371] Kwanza Kilewela, "The Peace Corps," *The Nationalist*, December 30, 1967, 4.

[372] "Peace Corps Volunteers are Needed," *Tanganyika Standard,* July 4, 1961, 2.

[373] "Peace Corps Volunteers Are Needed," 2.

increasingly creative ways, Tanzanians argued both for and against the presence of the Peace Corps.

The broader Tanzanian population also was aware of the details behind the volunteer presence and aware of background, purpose, and leadership of the Peace Corps. "Shriver, a millionaire, made his pile in land speculation in Chicago was also known as the friend, confidant and co-worker of the former head of the Central Intelligence Allen Dulles," wrote university student John Kabwela.[374] He then condemned the Peace Corps: "The Peace Corps are completely engaged in subversive activities in collaboration with local agencies which they have already subverted to further their mission."[375] Thus, students remained focused on attacking Peace Corps programs themselves, an assault the government felt safe printing in newspapers as it did not directly criticize Tanzanian politicians themselves.

However, nearly all Tanzanians differentiated between the individual Peace Corps volunteers, whom were acceptable to them, and the broad American foreign policies that implied ulterior motives of the Peace Corps program. In one illustrative instance, PCV Levitt writes of his experience: "No matter, they would say, laughing and shaking their heads. These are *mambo ya siasa*—political matters—and we ordinary people cannot be expected to understand them, the way our leaders do. You both are very good, but your government is very bad." However, a Tanzanian teacher came up to his friend and worked to make them

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[374] "Letters to the Editor: The Peace Corps," *The Nationalist*, January 8, 1968, 6.

[375] Ibid., 6.

understand that "what they were saying had nothing to do with us, [PCV] Mike or me. We were their friend, they all knew that."[376] While those with direct contact with the volunteers or in the Ministry of Education mostly were thankful for their work, those with more distance from the teachers were highly critical of their presence. Still, nearly everyone remained wary of any American program in Tanzania and debates over the imperial nature of the program manifested themselves in periodic outbursts of anti-American sentiment.

Marches against perceived American involvement in the country were not necessarily specifically aimed at the PCVs or necessarily even the role of the United States in Tanzania. Instead of using the rallies as a means to actually remove the Peace Corps, officials used them for domestic ends including motivating and re-energizing the people. According to PCV John Bush, local officials "created a demonstration…The African politicians to their credit in the stadium took the opportunity to present to the people that now that they had the freedom they had the need to behave responsibly. That we have to work harder than ever to maintain the freedom and make it work for us….But he still was asking other people why the Americans were here."[377] These rallies reminded Tanzanians who did not directly interact with PCVs or partake in the newspaper debates about the Peace Corps, about the presence of the Peace Corps in Tanzania and promoted Tanzanian nationalism and development.

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[376] Levitt, *An African Season*, 137-138.

[377] John Bush Interview, November 14, 2004.

By the late 1960s, the national government would mount anti-American campaigns with Nyerere going on the radio and accusing missionaries and PCVs of plotting to overthrow the government. “Those were very tense times. Tanzanian friends would say to us ‘We've been told not to have anything to do with you socially. If we don't acknowledge you on the street, it's not because we don't like you.’"[378] The presence of PCVs and knowledge of American policies became a tool by which local politicians could rally and unite the local population. These rallies reached large segments of the population, not just those in schools, and PCVs became the targeted outsiders through which the government could reinforce the spirit of Tanzanian nationalism it was working to promote.

PCVs helped to connect rural areas in Tanzania with the global Cold War. Students began to enjoy direct contact with the Cold War warriors of the Peace Corps. However, as with the Tanzanian students detailed below, ideology remained less relevant. Although reflecting and aware of the ideology they were intended to promote, PCVs were rarely as ideologically passionate as their superiors in Washington had envisioned and in many cases were influenced by Tanzanians more than any PCV spread American values to Tanzanians.

Peace Corps and the Arusha Declaration

As the role of the Peace Corps expanded and Tanzania implemented new, more socialist programs, Peace Corps volunteers provided critical feedback and suggestions for implementing Arusha Declaration and Education for Self Reliance

[378] Levitt, *An African Season,* 138.

(ESR) programs, the key components of Nyerere's *ujamaa* programs. Thus, *ujamaa*, a nationalist project designed to foster Tanzania's self-reliance, development and unity, possessed an important transnational component.

Volunteers worked to ensure the viability of these projects within the school system and proposed "ideas on practical projects that could be initiated at the secondary schools."[379] Existing PCV programs, such as poultry keeping, egg selling, and milk production, dovetailed with the goals of ESR. As the Ministry required schools to increasingly stress agriculture, Americans became key participants. The expanding focus on agricultural subjects kept foreign PCVs from teaching sensitive subjects such as history and provided them with an opportunity to use their agricultural training. This emphasis continued until the volunteers "will not be expected to teach other academic subjects."[380] Ironically, PCVs eventually became key instruments in ensuring the proper teaching of new socialist programs.

By the time the ESR programs filtered down to the local level, PCVs possessed two years of experience in Tanzanian schools and possessed opinions about what worked and what failed. Needing feedback about ESR projects, Tanzanian government officials enjoyed the rare opportunity that teachers, albeit foreign teachers, willingly provided this information. Since the PCVs were leaving the country and did not have careers or a vested interest in the system, their feedback could be direct and blunt. For example, volunteer Carl Halpern

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[379] "Summary Report of Secondary Teachers' Conference at Machame Girls' School, April 27-29," T.N.A.M. Acc10/14/222.

[380] "Duties of New Peace Corps Agricultural Teachers," December 13, 1966. T.N.A.M. Acc10/14/176.

suggested: "Crops grown at the school should be sold through a cooperative"[381] allowing students to attend meetings, learn about the operations of cooperatives, and learn real-world skills. Others were more critical. One PCV noted: "Since this is the period of transition between Cambridge exam and Education for Self Reliance, how do we adjust teaching to the new conditions?"[382] PCVs noted the lack of student involvement and other problems associated with the new program, with one volunteer stating: "Our school is having a difficult time getting organized."[383] Other comments from PCVs reflected students' attitudes that the Ministry hoped to change, along with concerns that "elitist attitudes are set in primary school"[384] and "students say that Agriculture is good for the country, but is for other people to do, not them."[385] This feedback forced the Ministry to recognize that engrained elitist attitudes still existed and more reforms were needed to ensure the success of ESR. Thus, PCVs provided a direct conduit for the Ministry to gain feedback on the success of ESR reforms, evaluate new programs, and determine which programs worked outside of the formal channels where the success of ESR was greatly exaggerated. Here, programs designed to foster Tanzanian nationalism and economic self-sufficiency relied on feedback

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[381] "Summary Report of Secondary Teachers' Conference at Machame Girls' School, April 27-29," T.N.A.M. Acc10/14/222.

[382] "Summary Report of Secondary Teachers' Conference at Machame Girls' School, April 27-29," T.N.A.M. Acc10/14/222.

[383] Ibid., 4.

[384] Ibid., 2.

[385] Ibid., 3.

from outsiders, which further demonstrates how national programs depended on outside assistance.

Nyerere expelled the Peace Corps from Tanzania in 1969. He cited the war in Vietnam but was also caving to pressure from the more radical elements in Tanzania, those who had been writing letters and condemning the Peace Corps for the past nine years. However, by this point Tanzania enjoyed increased aid from other socialist countries. Although records are limited, Ministry reports show that Cuba, China, the Soviet Union, and Sweden all give assistance during the early 1970s, aid brought about largely by the need to initially compete with American involvement. For example, in 1975, the Ministry of National Education announced the successful recruitment of 160 teachers from Sweden and Denmark, 120 from India, and a few from Britain.[386] After the United States declined, Chinese assistance and workers built the country's railroad and the two countries worked in an increasingly symbiotic manner. Reflective of Tanzania's more socialist orientation, the Cold War in Tanzania turned towards more socialist countries at the expense of American influence and causing Peace Corps transnational educators to leave the country.

At the same time, increased aid from Scandinavian countries allowed for the continued expansion of education and the building of new schools.[387] Norwegian students also directly contributed to funding this expansion, donating over two million shillings in 1975, which the Tanzanian government used to fund

[386] "160 Foreign Teachers to Work Here," *Daily News*, October 8, 1975, 5.

[387] "Work Begins on 4 Secondary Schools," *The Nationalist,* November 9, 1970, 8.

the construction of thirty classrooms and twenty teachers' quarters.[388] With increased aid from other countries, Nyerere could terminate the Peace Corps program while at the same time enhancing his own domestic prestige and socialist credential. Thus, even in its withdrawal, the transnational Peace Corps program helped to further legitimize Nyerere and his government. These PCVs helped encourage Tanzanian students to study abroad and as PCVs volunteered to come to Tanzania, Tanzanian students worked to study abroad.

Tanzanian Students Studying Abroad

For those students desiring to study abroad following the conclusion of the 1960 airlift, the Tanzanian government began providing funds for overseas study. The educational bureaucracy inserted itself as the provider of scholarships. Ministry of Education officials forced individuals and local governments to write to the national government for scholarship information. The Office of the Prime Minister also directly combated the problem of local school officials writing to foreign embassies in Dar es Salaam asking for student scholarships. Prime Minister (soon to be Second Vice President) Kawawa decreed: "The Government has decided that all scholarships offered by foreign Governments will be dealt with by the Ministry of Education."[389] This announcement stressed that contact with foreign governments was function the national government dealt with and whose rules needed to be followed. This forced students to interact with those in the Ministry of Education in ways they would have otherwise ignored. State

[388] "Norwegians Aid our Schools," *Daily News*, June 5, 1975, 3.

[389] "All Regional Commissioners," July 28, 1962, T.N.A. Acc493E1-1/355.

officials could also award scholarships to those they deemed worthy or politically loyal. As the gatekeepers to transnational education, the justification for the state's existence expanded.

The Tanzanian government provided financial support for nearly 80% of the students attending school in North America. This aid ensured students did not have to work while attending university abroad. However, students needed to be a member of TANU. An astonishing 93% (all but four students) of the students in North America were members of TANU, showing the importance placed on belonging to the political party and the role that Tanzanians were expected to play if they wanted to receive support for studying at an American university.[390] By providing scholarships to students, the central bureaucracy of the Tanzanian state furthered both its own interaction with the population and its legitimacy while knowing the graduates would be better prepared to return and staff the expanding state institutions. Through these efforts, Tanzanian students enjoyed opportunities to study in the United States, United Kingdom, China, the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia as well as Israel, Nigeria, and India.

Due to the reputation of universities in the United States, students viewed these universities as the first choice for their studies. In researching for his dissertation, Melkizedeck Temu noted a number of similarities among Tanzanian students studying in America. The majority of parents with children abroad never received any schooling but ensured their children attended the local mission

[390] Melkizedeck Temu, "Major Social Background Factors Preexistent to the Educational Leadership Career Choices of Sixty Tanzanian Students Studying in North America in 1974," (Phd. Diss., Kent State University, 1975), 141.

school. In their long quest for education, most students attended more than one secondary school, with the historically dominant Moshi and Tabora secondary schools sending the most students abroad, although all secondary schools claimed students studying abroad. Of these students, nearly half completed Form IV while only a small minority completed Form VI, again consistent with the difficultly in reaching Form VI and again showing that the elite learners (those who graduated from Form VI) remained in the country for university study or attended Makerere. Consistent with their second and third class degrees, the majority of students moved on to attend teachers college and then taught at upper primary and secondary school for at least 2-3 years, but often more, before securing a place in American universities and continuing with their studies.[391]   Here, a quick transition occurred with first-generation students having the opportunity to study abroad—an opportunity that their parents never had and was furthered by Cold War rivalries.

The trajectory and life stories of the students also surprised researchers and countered existing colonial-era stereotypes. In one instance, Rockefeller Foundation investigators, interviewing students for potential fellowships at Makerere University, met with a student who "is a Maasai, a very unusual boy who wandered around Africa for some years before getting to Dar, thirsting for education, against the will of his Maasai elders."[392] Obtaining a scholarship, he studied at Haverford University and maintained a B- average at what researchers

[391] Temu, "Major Social Background Factors," 124.

[392] "Special Lectureship Programme," November 2, 1965, Rockefeller Foundation Archive [RFA], Sleepy Hollow, NY, R.F. 1.2-477-4-28.

deemed a difficult school. In another interview, a future professor at the University of Dar es Salaam had "only reached Std. 8 for formal education, then trained as a teacher (grade 2), taught for 4 years" before attending Pacific Lutheran University and continuing on to earn his doctorate in history.[393] The typical transnational student worked or otherwise interrupted his/her schooling before obtaining an unforeseen chance to study abroad.

Rockefeller investigators who interviewed students and investigated their background noted that Tanzanian students in America often struggled during an initial adjustment period before generally excelling at their studies. For example, one Tanzanian student in the early 1960s was "one of those 'slow-starters,' who had trouble at Lincoln University but who in the end was awarded the prize for the graduating senior who has shown the greatest improvement."[394] Others were "lost for quite awhile." Although part of another program, one missionary student, Godwin Moshi, described his loneliness: "One day my wife wrote to me that one of our daughters is crying because she wants to see me. I was very sad…I just want to insist that it is very hard for anybody to do things successfully when he or she is away from the family."[395] Many of the teachers interviewed by the Rockefeller investigators cited the great improvement made by Tanzanian students and how most overcame the obstacles of life in America to ultimately succeed in their American education.

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[393] "Special Lectureship Programme." December 2, 1965, RFA, R.F. 1.2-477-3- 20-476.

[394] Ibid.

[395] Godwin Moshi, "Daniel Moshi to Family," April 12, 1968, Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, Elk Grove Village, IL, Tanzania Correspondence File, 14.

Tanzanian students studying in the American South during this period raised additional issues.[396] British officials, still concerned about the educational experiences of their former colonial subjects, believed the African-American only institutions in the region were "fifteen to twenty years behind similar northern institutions" and argued African students needed to have as much contact as possible with people of other races, and particularly with white people, an aspect that was very problematic in Southern colleges.[397] Rockefeller investigators also found that 25% of those students surveyed mentioned "embarrassing experiences that might be attributed to discrimination."[398] African students were reluctant to share their negative experiences since they did not want to discourage other African students from attending.

Walter Bgoya, a young student who won a scholarship to study in the United States, recalls that while at the University of Kansas he became involved in the American Civil Rights movement. According to Bgoya, this experience "exposed me to unpleasant experiences with rightist groups, including the John Birch Society and the Ku Klux Klan, who burned a cross outside my apartment. I was called all sorts of names in threatening letters and phone calls—I was a 'communist' and a 'foreign agitator'—and I was advised to take these threats

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[396] For more on this and the concerns of the US government related to Southern racism, see Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War, Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[397] "African Students in the United States," No Date, CO859/1433.

[398] Ibid.

seriously."[399] The United States government feared such experiences would undermine its reputation abroad as participants recounted these experiences to others as they returned home; however, students were still welcomed to these institutions and Tanzanians continued to request scholarships.

With strong historical ties between the two countries and a history of accepting students from throughout the former empire, the United Kingdom existed as the second most popular destination of Tanzanian students. The Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Program provided assistance for Commonwealth countries to send students and teachers to the United Kingdom, along with other Commonwealth countries, for further training and also provided teachers to assist underdeveloped member states. Although the number of teachers volunteering to go abroad remained limited, the program enjoyed greater success with students coming to the United Kingdom to study. Through this effort and with additional funding coming from the other developed Commonwealth nations, the United Kingdom looked to reassert its dominant role in its former colonies while taking advantage of help from other Commonwealth countries.

Not unlike the U.S, Tanzanian students in the United Kingdom experienced a number of difficulties. Rockefeller researchers noted: "The British visa system and the organisation of University study makes it virtually impossible

[399] Walter Bgoya, "From Tanzania to Kansas and Back Again." in *No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists Over a Half Century, 1950-2000,* William Minter, Gail Harvey, and Charles Cobb Jr. eds. (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2008), 103.

[399]Ibid., 14.

for a student to support himself."[400] Additionally, three-quarters of Tanzanian students in Britain reported discrimination, especially in housing-related matters.[401] As numerous scholars have demonstrated, the cosmopolitan metropole did not welcome non-Europeans of the Commonwealth and, especially in terms of housing and employment, was prejudiced.

The breaking of relations between the United Kingdom and Tanzania over Rhodesia further limited the number of Tanzanian students studying in the former metropole.[402] In 1973, under Heath's Conservative government, Home Secretary Robert Carr condemned Kenyan and Tanzanian students studying in the country as they "abused our hospitality by contriving in one way or another to extend their stay."[403] Although students from throughout the Commonwealth continued to attend school in the United Kingdom, the age of welcoming imperial students ended with domestic issues overriding the objections of former educationalists and ODM officials.[404]

Many Tanzanian students managed to obtain scholarships to study in continental Europe and the *Standard* newspaper in Tanzania occasionally profiled these students. The paper wrote about a Tanzanian studying in Germany. Onesmo Nkomolla accepted a scholarship from the Tanzanian government that

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[400] "A Report on a Visit to Universities Abroad," June 8, 1965, RFA, RF1.2-477-4-28, 2.

[401] G.W.R Kalule, "African Students in the United States." No Date, B.N.A. CO859/1433/205A.

[402] Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the United Kingdom, "Draft Entry for Britain in the Eighth Annual Report on the Commonwealth and Scholarship Plan," April 4, 1968, B.N.A. FO13/70.

[403] "Conclusions of a Meeting of the Cabinet," December 4, 1973, B.N.A. CAB 128/53/20.

[404] Ibid.

was funded by the Carl Dulsberg Society, which assisted foreign trainees studying in West Germany.[405] The majority of students in Europe received adequate funding and reported positively of their time abroad; although there was an acknowledged sense of isolation associated with the smaller universities located outside the larger, more cosmopolitan cities.[406] In France, for example, Adolphe Simbaulanga reported his positive experience as a student in Paris. In addition to receiving help finding a place to live, students in France received larger stipends than their Eastern-bloc counterparts, although both groups experienced difficulty with the language. "The French government unfailingly makes the student's stay a happy one. There are organized trips weekly or monthly…Dance parties take priority where one has the chance to meet French girls if one cannot meet them on the outside. Towards the end of each term, the French Government holds a cocktail party."[407] It is readily apparent that proper funding helped make life in the European countries quite enjoyable once students overcame language obstacles and feelings of loneliness.

After the Soviets failed to attract the attention of African leaders to its "Friendship University" and could only maintain their influence through large amounts of foreign aid, the Soviets turned their attention to attracting large numbers of African students. By 1972, communist countries started to enjoy increased success in recruiting Tanzanian students, especially Form VI level

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[405] "A Tanzanian in Germany," *The Standard*, August 7, 1969, 4.

[406] G.W.R Kalule, "A Report on a Visit to Universities Abroad," June 8, 1965. R.F.A., R.F.1.2-477-4-28, 11.

[407] "Adoplhe Simbaulanga, "Student in Paris," *The Nationalist*, September 17, 1964, 3.

graduates who were not guaranteed a place in the University of Dar es Salaam. Scholarships were provided for the students and the USSR took the majority mainly to study engineering. Soviet universities increasingly became an alternative to studying in the West but scholarships were accepted only after attempts to study in Western countries failed or if the student desired an education in certain fields.

Additionally, Poland, Romania, and the German Democratic Republic also hosted students, with the GDR focusing on medicine and veterinary care.[408] Tanzanian students studied in these countries through the sponsorship of the host governments and their political party. This assistance allowed Communist countries to demonstrate their commitment and solidarity with third world nations, especially those claiming some socialist ideology, as well as demonstrating their advancements and modern technologies. As Young-Sun Hong argues, countries such as the GDR used African students, especially those from Zanzibar, to solve their own labor shortages.[409] Additionally, Hong demonstrates the difficulties that students and health workers from Africa experienced in East Germany, including discrimination, lack of preparation (including language training courses), a failure to acknowledge a lack of training experience, poor food, and housing issues—all of which served to limit the success of these foreign training programs.[410] While overcoming these obstacles, African workers helped develop institutions in the Communist Bloc and, through

[408] "85 Selected to Study Overseas," *Daily News*, June 10, 1972, 5.

[409] Hong, "The Benefits of Health Must Spread Among All," 188.

[410] Ibid., 197.

their labor, helped Communist leaders meet the expectations of their own populations.

After interviewing Tanzanian students in Eastern Europe and meeting with their professors, Rockefeller researchers concluded that the scholarships tied to Communist countries "have not been very popular in East Africa perhaps mainly due to the lack of information about the qualifications obtained and the political attachment involved."[411] This detriment resulted in these scholarships attracting students possessing lower academic qualifications than students obtaining scholarships to other countries. Likewise, East Africans studying in Communist countries felt like "they were fighting an endless battle," having to overcome more obstacles including language training, long course work, and a low regard their home governments placed on these degrees.[412] Students preferred attending universities in Western countries but still welcomed the additional opportunity offered by the universities in Eastern Europe and many took advantage of these opportunities to further their own education.

The ideological differences between the East and West that dominate Cold War studies were rarely mentioned by Tanzanian students. While aware of the differences, most students simply wanted an opportunity to study and further their own education as a means to advance their careers upon returning home. If the opportunity to study in one country disappeared, students pursued the opportunity to study in another. Students also realized that certain countries offered certain

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[411] Kalule, "A Report on a Visit to Universities Abroad," RFA, R.F.1.2-477-4-28, 6.

[412] Ibid., 9.

advantages—the United States was the ultimate goal but degrees from the United Kingdom were also valuable and more immediately recognized. For engineering (especially with regard to mining) then the Soviet Union or Eastern Bloc universities were desired. To Tanzanian students, scholarships mattered more than ideology or global posturing of the superpowers.

The Return Home and Conclusion

Students returning home from their time studying abroad never fit into the ultimate plan Nyerere and the Ministry of Education envisioned. The hope that these students would become productive bureaucrats was limited by their experiences abroad and a desire to continue with their studies. Aware of the students' advanced education, their Tanzanian superiors viewed these returnees with skeptism and even hostility.

Arriving back in their homeland, these highly educated students became critical to meet staffing needs of the expanding Tanzanian bureaucracy, teaching at schools and fulfilling politicians' promises of increased bureaucratic Africanization. Nearly all of these students were promoted from their old jobs, with many such promotions being promised before the candidate left the country. Despite many students longing to continue with their studies, the Ministry of Education forced them to terminate their studies immediately after earning their undergraduate degrees in order to go back to Tanzania to help build the nation. Thus, the more immediate needs of the country took precedence over the desires of the students or the long-term benefits of having an expanding resource of citizens with advanced degrees. With one or two years of training abroad, many

teachers returned to become the head teacher of their school, replacing British officials. Others were placed in high positions in the central bureaucracy, including finance, foreign policy or helping to run expanding parastatals.

In addition to increasing the number of students graduating from school the process of placing educated citizens in strategic jobs allowed Nyerere to highlight the Africanization of government positions, which existed as an expectation of the people, a preoccupation of the government and, with its success, a point of pride among elite politicians. Government officials constantly reminded the population about the success of Africanization programs through articles in various newspapers and by publishing annual statistics about how this process was faring. This process, well covered in the local press, allowed for positive coverage of the regime, although, as Cranford Pratt points out, no secondary school or university graduates were allowed to enter into private sector employment but were required to work for the government for five years.[413] The diversion of talent during this period limited economic development within the private sector. As a result of this effort, the percentage of Tanzanian civil servants increased from 26% in 1961, to 66% in 1965 and reached over 80% in 1969, although some positions remained unfilled.[414] While the Tanzanian elite still relied on expatriate civil servants, the quick Africanization campaign was a success and Tanzanian officials possessing overseas training soon dominated the bureaucracy.

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[413] Cranford Pratt, *The Critical Phase in Tanzania, 1945-1968: Nyerere and the Emergence of a Socialist State* (New York Cambridge University Press, 1976), 128.

[414] Ibid., 130.

The more radical politicians argued that time abroad changed the students' values. They expressed fear over emigration and the corrupting nature of being abroad. Politicians also worried that students would not be familiar with new Tanzanian policies when they returned. These worries were true. In every country where students studied, unexpected issues arose that complicated their experience and diminished the effectiveness of the hosting country. Both Tanzanian students and PCVs were influenced by their time abroad and their experiences shaped attitudes that differed from those expected by the institutions they represented or were expected to join.

Students returning home and applying for jobs also faced some skepticism concerning their newly acquired degrees. Demonstrating his bias and familiarity with the British system of education along with reflecting earlier British concerns over the quality (and general philosophy) of the American university system, the Assistant Chief Education Officer, Julius Mganga, stated: "I'd rather have a student with a British Higher School Certificate than one with an American bachelor's degree. The American-educated one has only a very wide education while the Higher School Certificate chap has concentrated on two or three courses."[415] This bias led several students, all of whom possessed ties to American education, to condemn the statement. For example, Suweid Sadiq, the Assistant Secretary of the East African Students' Union in the Americas, wrote: "Many of us here [in America] read the above statement with complete dismay and disgust. It is a statement that could only be expected from an unthinking

[415] Siweod Sadiq, "Students Are Dismayed Over Official's View," *Tanganyika Standard*, August 17, 1971, 3.

individual whose basis of judgment and evaluation is extremely prejudicial, poor and shallow; an individual who is not cognizant of our country's immediate needs…"[416] However, Mganga's statement demonstrates the obstacles students who studied in new places needed to overcome and the lasting legacy of the British education system.

In a similar manner, the experience of PCVs never functioned as planned. The interaction between Tanzanians and PCVs and being forced to defend America and seeing the effects of American foreign polices abroad helped alter the perceptions of the PCVs. Most PCVs recall returning to America more critical of American interventions abroad, including debating their own role in this new imperialism. Those coming later in the decade experienced support for their anti-war feelings and felt further alienated from their homeland. The experience of being abroad and serving in villages "much like those being bombed in Vietnam"[417] changed the mindset of the PCVs and limited their effectiveness in winning the hearts of the Tanzanian people. Additionally, PCV John Bush recalled that Tanzanians in Bukoba were aware of American activities in Vietnam, remembering that he was also asked about American involvement, especially the Tet offensive.[418] In a manner Kennedy envisioned, PCVs countered the negative overall perceptions of Americans but in most cases, the volunteers found themselves on the defensive when dealing with criticism over America's

[416] Siweod Sadiq, "Students Are Dismayed Over Official's View," *Tanganyika Standard*, August 17, 1971, 3.

[417] Thomas Spears, interviewed by Ernest Zaremba, Return Peace Corps Volunteer Collection, John F. Kennedy Library, November 14, 2004.

[418] John Bush Interview, November 14, 2004.

foreign policies. Peace Corps volunteers returned home with a different view of their country than when they left.

The absorption of students returning from studying abroad did not always go as planned and Tanzanian students returned with unforeseen baggage. For example, Walter Bgoya was expected, due to his education, to take a high post at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but his outspokenness fostered and engrained while at Kansas "did not endear me to my superiors" or "to the politicians who did not accept that their ideas could be challenged…Tanzania was hierarchical and authoritarian, and one was expected to conform and to do as one was told."[419] By the late 1960s, with Nyerere and the political elite highly entrenched, left there was little room to question official decisions

In addition to language issues, financial stress, and dealing with unfamiliar cold weather, students also experienced the problem of attending school in socialist countries, countries whose model the Tanzanian student worked to use and returned home aware of problems associated with socialism. First, the amount of financial assistance provided by the Soviet government only covered the bare winter necessities and it was difficult to raise money in Tanzania for any additional purchases due to a poor exchange rate. Students also recalled that despite the race-blind rhetoric, "black people were not accepted in the Soviet community" and one stated he was often called a monkey.[420] Students also complained about the food: "Food and most other things are scarce and this leads

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[419] Bgoya, "From Tanzania," 104.

[420] John Kamuhabwa, interview by author, September 2, 2010.

to long and boring queues. To buy a kilogram of rice can take you one hour standing in a queue…and before getting to the kitchen you may find you have lost three hours in queues."[421] Upon returning to their homeland all obtained jobs with the government, mostly as engineers and scientists, and Tanzania soon possessed the highest number of engineers in the region but they also began questioning the benefits of the socialist ideology being promoted by their superiors. The socialist utopia they learned about was not as promised.

To combat these problems, the Ministry of Education implemented a policy in 1974 by which the Ministry would pay for students to return to Tanzania every two years to familiarize themselves with new government policies. The two million Tanzanian shilling cost of this program showed the seriousness of their concern. Ministry officials hoped the state-oriented seminars would define "the country's stand on major international issues to our sons and daughters who have been outside the country for a long time."[422] Additionally, officials recognized the fact that these students represented Tanzania abroad. "They're our 'ambassadors' abroad and they should behave in accordance with the country's policies and aspirations wherever they are," stated the Junior Minister of Education, Ndugu Mbembela.[423] Thus, students played a number of critical roles—they became the educated elite, staffed state institutions, and promoted Tanzania to the outside world.

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[421] "Tanganyika Students in Russia," *Tanganyika Standard,* August 31, 1963, 2.

[422] "Students 'Will Return Home After Every Two Years.'" *Daily News*, July 29, 1974, 10.

[423] Ibid.

Nyerere needed newly educated students to staff institutions and establish programs that would further his rule over the country. For those returning from studying abroad, such as Bgoya, conforming could be difficult although most students fully expected to enter this bureaucracy and join the lower levels of the elite. Despite the occasional problem, students returning from abroad became instrumental in expanding Tanzanian state institutions, which the state used to promote greater interaction with its previously out of reach population.

While helping Nyerere expand his bureaucracy and, correspondingly, his authoritarian rule, transnational education resulted largely from the efforts of individual students. These students scholarships themselves, with support coming from their parents, their communities and teachers.

The use of transnational resources, especially educators from abroad, provided both practical and symbolic domestic benefits to the Tanzanian government. These foreign teachers helped the Tanzanian state provide additional secondary education opportunities, staff vacant teaching posts, and fulfill promises made during the late colonial and early postcolonial eras. These educators also freed other teachers to move into the bureaucracy of the Ministry of Education, become head teachers, and teach additional Tanzanian history and civics classes. The civil service could be further Africanized and state institutions further developed. More students could be inculcated with new notions of belonging to the new nation.

Symbolically, these foreign teachers provided a major 'other' around which to rally and unite the population, including those outside of the formal

education system. The Tanzanian nationalism being promoted by the new state could be more easily emphasized. With their mere presence, debates of neocolonialism and the Cold War enjoyed more resonance and provided an important rallying cry for politicians to mobilize Tanzanians. Thus, the presence of transnational educators and resources from the Cold War furthered the domestic strength of the Tanzanian state, increased its legitimacy, and helped unify the population. Finally, as will be discussed in the next chapter, these Cold War rivalries and imperial angst created opportunities for Tanzanian students to study abroad and enjoy an education beyond what the state could offer.

During this age of nationalism and the development of newly decolonized nation-state, transnational resources became critical for the growth of national institutions and the movement of students who then returned to staff these expanding national institutions. Foreign countries came in to further their own agendas but they also provided the resources that relatively small states were able to take advantage of. Students developed their own ties to outside powers and while they helped the nation-state during the 1960s, they used their connections a decade later when the state cut back and left for new opportunities abroad. By examining the development of education as an institution, the local, national and transnational elements are tied together and their various interactions during the height of the Cold War defined.

Chapter 6

Marching Towards Unity: State Festivals, National Identity and the Legitimization of Rule in Tanzania

In a newspaper article detailing the 2010 Saba Saba festival**,** columnist Tony Naleo recalled his own memories with the Saba. As a member of the first postcolonial generation living in a small village, this day of celebration was unlike anything he ever experienced and he dreamed of being able to attend the celebrations in Moshi. Fellow students claimed to have attended previous celebrations and boasted: "Men dressed in colourful costumes swallowed sticks of fire and spat flames…Others who walked on sticks and appeared so tall they could literally pick mangoes off trees without having to climb any tree. Other mean-looking men in brightly colored clothes beat drums, blew horns and made loud music with instruments that no school mate could identify by name."[424] During these state holidays, attendees willingly associated themselves with the Tanzanian state and the TANU elite recognized the opportunity to employ cultural events as a means to reinforce their political standing. These festivals represent the most extensive pedagogical moment for the Tanzanian state working to create a lived experience that bonded people with the new country and its political leaders.

With the successful expansion of the education system solidified with the harnessing of transnational resources, this chapter, like the previous one, moves

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[424] Tony Naleo, "Saba-Saba International Trade Fair at Dar Evokes Lots Of Memories" *The Citizen*, July 14, 2010, 3.

beyond the confines of the school yard, highlighting how the Tanzanian planners deployed students and teachers to implement new state festivals. With these new attractions, officials hoped that the Tanzanian population would voluntarily interact with the state and learn about the new Tanzanian identity being promoted. While other scholars emphasize holidays as a production by a national elite, the examination of local and regional holidays demonstrates that state planners largely depended upon local and regional officials to produce and disseminate intended national culture.[425] This chapter deals with four interrelated themes regarding state sponsored celebrations and their pedagogical role. First, this chapter examines local celebrations which depended upon students and teachers and used competitions as a means to attract audiences. Second, this chapter highlights the two major holidays of the postcolonial state—Independence Day

[425] Cultural historians demonstrate the importance of performing commemorative events in establishing and shaping the identity of participants. Mona Ozouf's *Festivals and the French Revolution* highlights the pedagogical aspects of state sponsored celebrations during a time of upheaval, writing: "The festival was a school," but "however much one wanted the festival to be the school, it had to be something more" in order to attract people. Additionally, she demonstrates the centrality of images in these festivals, the need for excitement, and their importance in teaching wide audience. Building upon this work, Lynn Hunt argues for the importance of culture in transforming the public sphere and legitimizing the French elite in her seminal *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*. For Hunt, citizenship is created through emblems, ceremonies, and cults, with festivals central in creating the citizens of the French republic. More broadly, the importance of state sponsored celebrations has been recognized for legitimizing and popularizing fascist and communist rule as well as promoting a sense of identity among groups ranging from Irish immigrants to Israeli settlers. More recent interpretations emphasize the personal initiative, constant re-invention of history, resistance, and failures of state sponsored celebrations, especially in the Soviet Union. Historians, anthropologists and political scientists also underscore the importance of celebrations in the newly established Central Asian republics, as these states attempted to foster a sense of belonging, differentiate themselves from their Soviet predecessor, and legitimize their largely personal rule. Finally, although few scholars of education include celebration in their analysis and, conversely, scholars of celebration largely overlook the importance of education, Mary Kay Vaughan provides an important exception as she shows how villagers looked to teachers to organize, interpret, and perform in national festivals in revolutionary Mexico. However, she focuses only on local celebrations and the role of teachers in popularizing these festivities and further legitimizing the rule of dominant political parties.

and Saba Saba (literally seven seven and the day commemorating the founding of the TANU political party on July 7, 1954)—and examines the pedagogical uses of these days by the national elite. Third, this chapter highlights the limitations in spreading specific messages through state sponsored celebrations while also recognizing that even though problems existed, holidays and festivals managed to help legitimize the state and reinforce its sovereignty. Finally, it shows how celebrations became an important method of informing people and gaining support for the Arusha Declaration enacted in 1967 and discussed in previous chapters. Thus, this chapter shows the importance holidays played in functioning as a pedagogical apparatus to target and reform the Tanzanian population and disseminate ideas held by the political elite regarding the past, present, and future of the state

Although sometimes acknowledged by journalists, rallies, celebrations, and festivals throughout Africa constitute a largely ignored phenomenon but important in learning about attempts by the state to reform its population. Leroy Vail and Landeg White's *Power and the Praise Poem* provides a rare look at the use of popular traditions and festivals in both legitimizing and undermining African leaders during the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial era. According to Vail and White, the use of tradition and celebration could greatly enhance the prestige of the ruler.[426] However, traditional praise poetry also provided a forum beyond the reach of official censorship that often undermined the legitimacy of other rulers even as they embraced the effort. Autobiographies, fictional accounts

[426] Leroy Vail and Landeg White, *Power and the Praise Poem: Southern African Voices in History* (New York: James Currey, 1992).

and the occasional journalistic work also highlight the transformative nature of celebrations. Authors of the works recall being transfixed by charismatic leaders and, when asked, chanting along with fairly simplistic and overly manipulative speeches. By combining traditional symbols of power, literary techniques, dramatic speeches and modern technology, the first generation of African leaders created spectacle that awed audiences and help legitimize the authority of the new holders of state power.

Besides the great difficulty in holding these events, the potential backlash of celebrations is overlooked in much of this literature. State officials who planned the celebrations and the politicians who attended the festivals risked poor attendance, a lack of interest, a reappropriation of events and possible chaos—all of which could harm their prestige. Still, the potential gains provided an opportunity too great to ignore as celebrations provided a rare opportunity by which the population would voluntarily interact with politicians and state officials during an era when peasants remained largely 'uncaptured' or outside of state control.[427] Newly created state holidays, especially independence days, represented a major site of interaction between state officials and the general population, with students and teachers instrumental in this process. From the legitimizing and controlled celebrations in Nigeria to the deliberately charismatic celebrations in Zaire which allowed Mobutu to define himself as the state, state officials quickly became aware of the power festivals possessed. Holidays still

[427] For the debate on the degree to which peasants were controlled by the state see Goran Hyden, *Beyond* Ujamaa *in Tanzania: Underdevelopment and an Uncaptured Peasantry* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980) .

provided a method of promoting unity and reminding people of Julius Nyerere and TANU's successful leadership. Thus, building on the efforts of local officials and incorporating community celebrations, the postcolonial Tanzanian leadership used education to adapt celebrations and rallies as an important way of legitimizing the new bureaucratic, exclusionary regime and provided a method of reasserting itself, its relevance, and its power in the years immediately following independence. Through the labor of teachers and students, celebrations provide a major example where postcolonial state officials could interact with and instruct the country's population. Thus, celebrations demonstrate that the postcolonial African state enjoyed a greater capacity to reform its citizenry than previously acknowledged.

From Colonial to Postcolonial State Celebrations

As colonial rule faltered, both somewhat spontaneous and well-planned rallies constituted a major method to garner support for nationalist parties throughout Africa. During this era, celebrations and rallies existed as critical turning points as anti-colonial leaders used these gatherings to inform others of new moments and their ideology as well as informing British officials about the strength of the anti-British sentiment. Isaria N. Kimambo writes of the importance of protest and popular rallies in late colonial Tanzania as crowds of people protested new, more intrusive colonial policies.[428] Additionally, Susan Geiger uses oral histories of female participants to show how massive public rallies

[428] Isaria n. Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: The Impact of the World Economy on the Pare* (London: James Currey, 1991).

helped the TANU anti-colonial movement increase support, demonstrate its strength, and promote specific messages.[429]

Celebrations and other important days of school became important events for students as Tanganyika prepared for decolonization. Both Nyerere and the Tanganyika Governor Richard Turnbull used their occasional visits to school as an opportunity to provide lessons to those in school, who both parties knew would become important figures in the future of the country. In visits Nyerere and Turnbull, both provided similar lessons, designed to thwart any radicalism of the school boys. Posted at Mzumbe Secondary School in Morogoro, British teacher Clarke remembers a visit by Nyerere: "He came over and first went in to meet all the staff. Then he was to review the school on parade-it was a Saturday…Then he took the parade with aplomb; after all, he had been one of the most efficient Head Prefects at Tabora some 15 years before. He did however decline to 'raise the flag', part of the parade routine." In addressing the students, Clarke remembers Nyerere's simple message that prepared the students for independence: "His theme was simple, work hard, 'do what you are told; respect your seniors—don't think that independence means freedom from obedience…And don't think it will be a time to rest. No! You may say we have been exploited up to now but *I* am going to *exploit you* more than ever before.' The boys lapped it up."[430] Though targeting the elite in schools, both Turnbull and Nyerere recognized the importance of the young educated generation and, although not acknowledged by

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[429] Susan Geiger, *TANU Women: Gender and Culture in the Making of Tanganyikan Nationalism, 1955-1965* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997).

[430] Philip Clarke, "Notes on Pre-Independence Education in Tanganyika." (Southampton, UK: Southampton University Occasional Paper, 1995), 16.

Nyerere, upheld the British goals of a conservative decolonization process. Neither wanted or was ready to implement large scale reforms and both worked to temper students' overblown expectations of opportunities in the new state. Celebrations at school helped shape the relatively conservative nature of the anti-colonial movement and Nyerere used this opportunity to ensure the loyalty of Tanzania's rising educated elite.

From the customary lowering of the British flag at midnight to the dramatic lighting of a torch on top of Mt. Kilimanjaro, the first Independence Day celebrations, especially the main event in Dar es Salaam, have been described elsewhere. However, regional celebrations remain largely overlooked, yet they actually combined to attract larger audiences. In order to maximize participation, the new Tanzanian central government encouraged all district headquarters to have a similar flag-lowering and raising ceremony, which "should be conducted with full ceremonial and Civil Uniforms should be worn."[431] In more rural locales, the ceremony commenced at ten the following morning rather than at midnight to ensure the proper lighting and so "large numbers of people could attend and enjoy it."[432] The Prime Minister, concerned about the prestige of the ceremony, agreed with this change in time, claiming: "It may be difficult to keep large crowds both entertained and well-behaved throughout the hours of darkness until midnight."[433] Planners also distributed records of the national anthem, to be played at the ceremony, which allowed many to hear the new anthem for the first

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[431] "D.A. Omari to All Area Commissioners." October 3, 1962, T.N.A. Acc 471C.1-13/10 /102.

[432] "Republic Day Celebrations," July 13, 1962, T.N.A. Acc471C.1-13/1.

[433] Ibid.

time. [434] Along with the record, planners provided a translation of the song into English so that those unfamiliar with Kiswahili could understand it. Hoping to make the event even more memorable, officials used schools to distribute memento pins and national flags for students to remember the occasion.[435] As with British ceremonies, the new Tanzanian state did not want its new prestige to be threatened by poorly planned or attended ceremonies.

William Dodd, a school inspector under the British and early Tanzanian governments, found himself in charge of ensuring large scale participation of school children in the Independence celebrations. Over the six days of celebrations he oversaw twenty thousand young participants, including ten thousand parading at any given time. Children became instrumental audience members, lining the streets, waving flags, and cheering as passing processions. He recalled the difficulty and enormity of the task: "On all these occasions many thousands of school children had to be provided with flags at the right time and at the right place. This may sound simple enough but there was the transport by which to move these children; one had to decide which sections of streets each school should occupy; one was concerned about supervision, about water, about latrines, and so on."[436] However, the main event for Dodd and the children involved was the Youth Rally, which because of its scope, could not be rehearsed. In highlighting its complexity, Dodd remembered: "This involved a shuttle service with some 20 vehicles which started to move quite early in the morning

[434] "Republic Day Celebrations," July 13, 1962, T.N.A. Acc471C.1-13/1.

[435] T.N.A. Acc471/C.1-13/80.

[436] William Dodd, "Recollections." Rhodes House Library, MSS. Afr. s. 1755, 14.

and returned quite late in the evening. There was the manufacture of various costumes, flags, and other equipment…[problems included] crowd control, of keeping the streets along which the children and children's buses would move at appropriate times."[437] As perhaps the pinnacle event during the independence ceremony, children played a key role in rallying the population, a role which many still remember. This key role reflected their importance, the future of Tanzania and the accomplishments by the British. Both rising Tanzanian politicians and departing colonial officials desired to share this image with the world. Overall, school children existed as a willing and able group for the first Independence celebrations, a role the British had long exploited and the new Tanzanian state was ready to utilize.

Local and School Celebrations

While holiday planners and regional officials realized that local celebrations at the school functioned as important sites of interaction between education officials, teachers, students, and the public at large, these celebrations remained largely organized and controlled by local authorities. Most small farmers in rural areas lacked the time and ability to travel to larger festivities but remained a segment of the population that regional and national officials hoped to interact with and shape. To reach this rural audience, school celebrations became a vital tool for these planners. School grounds also possessed the best and often only available space to hold local celebrations and enjoyed a readily available of willing participants.

[437] Dodd, "Recollections," 15.

Although declining in importance and becoming condemned as mere "social occasions,"[438] postcolonial administrators worked to revive the importance of these days. "The time has come when the argument that the Education Institutions of the country stand aloof from local affairs and peoples can be dispelled by the intelligent use of such open days,"[439] wrote Tanzania's Chief Education Officer, Joseph Sawe, in urging local schools to institute and popularize such days. With schools, especially secondary schools, still existing as relatively elite sanctuaries, education officials needed to justify schools and illustrate their importance to the local community. By including local prominent officials, parents, and students, the "people will be made to feel that they too, have a part to play in the education of the youth of the country and also enable them to see how their money paid through taxes, is being used, and also be acquainted with school activities."[440] To accomplish such goals, Sawe commanded: "Speeches should be in Swahili, this being the language that most people can understand…events and activities should be of a varied and interesting nature, presented in such a way to portray the work and life of the institution to the local people."[441] Organizers also hoped that by demonstrating the success and importance of the schools to the local community, some of whom questioned the value of such institutions, that the significance of such institutions would become evident. In addition to justifying and legitimizing such institutions and the related

[438] Ministry of Education, "School and College Open Days" June 19, 1964, T.N.A. Acc471/E1/1.

[439] Ibid.

[440] Ibid.

[441] Ibid.

expenditures, these events provided a pedagogical opportunity to instruct the local population through speeches, meet the children who benefited from the schools, explain why the outsiders sacrificed for the education of others, and to remind all audiences that they were citizens of a larger Tanzania.

Sports existed as a major draw at the local festivals and provided an opportunity to increase student participation and excitement. Dan McNickle, one of many ex-patriot teachers at Malangali School in Iringa region, recalled the sports day of 1963 in his book *Teaching and Hunting in East Africa*:

> The rains finally quit by mid-May, just in time for the organization, practice and work to begin for the biggest athletic event of the year: Sports Day. This was a track and field competition between houses (dorms), and the largest social occasion of the year for the village of Malangali. Over 200 people would come, some from as far away as Iringa and Mbeya. Politicians, village elders, parents, European settlers, Indian shopkeepers, and local spectators would line the field to take in the races and field events.[442]

For McNickle, as well as for local authorities throughout the country, celebrations at schools, especially those having a sports theme, provided major social and entertainment events for the local community. McNickle and other teachers spent a great deal of time preparing these events which quickly became a major social occasion for the entire community. Both sexes eagerly participated in these events and they became a reward for the involved, well-rounded citizen-student that education officials hoped to create. Well behaved students were welcome while those not conforming to what the officials deemed proper behavior—including paying taxes (for parents), attending school and not becoming

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[442] Dan McNickle, *Teaching and Hunting in East Africa* (London: Trafford Publishing, 2006), 113.

pregnant—were not prohibited from these events. Overall, local celebrations helped fulfill the need for local and regional officials to reach a segment of the population that otherwise enjoyed little interaction with state organizations.

The recollections of Tanzanian teachers highlight the importance of sports but also other nationalist activities during these festivals. Officials worked to increase the scope of activities, all of which revolved around the theme of nationalism or national identity. "Sports and games were also encouraged at school as the best way to promote unity, a hardworking spirit, and being independent. There were a number of school competitions that involved different schools during the celebrations of public holidays like Saba Saba and Uhuru Day. There were different kinds of sports and games like football, handball, traditional activities, and many other exciting activities," recalled Kiswahili teacher Maingu Richard Mrimi.[443] This festival brought together a number of schools, allowing students to transcend localism and interact with a larger community. Mrimi continued: "I remember Pahi village hosted the celebration…A number of schools from different villages like Busi, Kelema, Mrijo, Kwa Mtoro, and Mwilanje were invited and participated in the school competitions."[444] Other competitions worked to promote the new national Kiswahili language and government policies that the government wanted highlighted. "We prepared Kiswahili poems which were concerned with *ujamaa* and education for self-

[443] Maingu Richard Mrimi, interviewed by author, November 5, 2009.

[444] Ibid.

reliance. We won first place in writing and reading poems."[445] Not only did these events bring different schools together, they transformed abstract nationalist issues into a lived experience for both the participants and the community at large. Through careful planning, these events became the highlight of the local social scene and an event to many wanted attend, a feeling recognized by education and national cultural officials. This intra-school competition brought together a large numbers of students and attracted an audience through which the importance of schools, the Kiswahili language, and new programs could be taught to a large number of people. With these experiences enacted in a somewhat controlled manner, little possibility for reconceptualization existed and the events and the meaning behind them would not be radically transformed at the local level and performed by an eager population.

More broadly, local competitions and celebrations provided an opportunity to draw rural people into larger celebrations, which often included local and regional political officials. Since the majority of rural residents could not attend the larger celebrations held in major cities, the local competitions functioned as the best opportunity for officials to include rural residents in celebrations of the nation. For officials needing to reach farmers, these open days existed as the only pedagogical opportunity possible and officials viewed these festivals as especially important. However, students and teachers alike tolerated open days for what they were—a day off from school but a day when one was

[445] Maingu Richard Mrimi, interviewed by author, November 5, 2009.

required to endure the ramblings of local party officials and politicians.[446] Traditional and local celebrations remained much more important than ones on a national scope—for example, the Morogoro area honored the coming of the first Tanzanian bishop, a man that many personally knew. On these occasions, the crowd listened with greater attention. However, these local festivals, no matter how limited, successfully reinforced the sovereignty and legitimacy of the national government. Many winners of the local competitions went on to compete and in, and were incorporated into, regional competitions held during major state holidays and festivities. Through these events, officials created a lasting memory that would hopefully bond this susceptible and malleable population both with the party and state.

Competitions

To help ensure success, national planners relied on local officials to advertise the competitions throughout the country. Additionally, government planners asked local officials to send and, more importantly, pay for school teams to participate at the regional level. However, realizing its budgetary constraints, the central government refused to pay for the "fares or accommodation for those taking part in the competition" except for "those teams and persons who came in first in the regional festivals in 1963."[447] Former teacher Cecilia Moris Masanja recalled children participating in a national dance to celebrate Saba Saba, thus

[446] Blair Bolles, interview by author, April 14, 2010.

[447] T.N.A. Acc493/C1-12.

firmly linking local students with the larger nation.[448] Additionally, F.M Ruangisa, the Area Secretary in Kigoma, wrote to a head teacher about the need for participation, saying: "You are hereby informed that 5 boys from your School will be required to be in Njombe on the evening of the 3rd July 1963. Two boys will be for the 100 and three boys for the One mile. This applies only to Mdandu, Mtwango, and Uwemba. The boys of Mdandu and Mtwango should come with the Railway Buses and their fare will be refunded."[449] Through these competitions, officials worked to tie those at the local level to the larger region and allowed male and female students to interact with the government at various levels. Thus, through the use of educational infrastructure, organizers used competitions and athletic events to attract audience members and gave state officials a way to educate and hopefully reform the lives of students and the general population.

However, problems existed and caused some angry responses written to Regional Education Officers. In one example an angry sports director castigated the education officer for the lack of planning that existed during local competitions in 1964. After receiving contradicting letters, the sports director reported that the Regional Education Officer ordered the team to take part in the regional Saba Saba completions. When the team arrived, no opponent existed for the team to play and only a scrimmage commenced. Afterwards, "we had to look for the organizers for what had happened but no-body was seen near at hand. We

[448] Cecilia Moris Masanja, interview by author, November 4, 2009.

[449] "F.M Ruangisa," June 28, 1963, T.N.A. Acc578/E11/26.

had to wonder about like lost sheep where to kill a night, nowhere to get food and nobody to ask for help etc. On the day that followed (Monday, 22 June, 1964) we had to seek a truck back home."[450] This lack of organization angered the sports director and hurt the overall prestige of the competition. Overall, while these events possessed a great deal of potential interaction, they also enjoyed a number of potential problems that could hurt the overall prestige of the state. Still, for politicians and planners, the events were worth the risk.

Like their local counterparts, national and regional holidays generally called for some form of friendly competition designed to promote participation and nationalist and TANU ideology. In addition to sporting events, event organizers worked to maximize community and individual involvement by adding non-sporting events. At the national celebration in Dar es Salaam, contests included a fashion show, where participants were to "reflect an African personality,"[451] (and win Tsh. 200) and a dancing competition, where traditional dances were performed. Furthermore, to demonstrate diversity and familiarize visitors with different customs, contestants built and lived in traditional housing with the best house again winning a prize.[452] In such ways, different customs would seem less strange and visitors to the festival could familiarize themselves with traditions from throughout the country. Further allowing for the success of these festivals was the fact that they did not favor any particular ethnic group or

[450] "Application Form: Tanganyika Fashion Parade—Competition No. 18," June 20, 1964, T.N.A. Acc543/C1/1/A.

[451] "Regional Traditional House Competition," June 30, 1964, T.N.A. Acc543C1/1/A4.

[452] Ibid., 65.

draw too heavily on any real tradition but instead relied on aspects of a mythical past that could incorporate a variety of groups. This focus allowed organizers to continue highlighting the precolonial history of the nation itself in a shared history of combatting outsiders—Arabs, Germans and British—and not the distant past where this unification against an outsider could not occur.

Additionally, in 1964, seven fields of competition existed for the national Independence Day celebrations in Dar es Salaam—carving, creating window displays, street decorating, essay writing, poetry reciting, choir competitions, and painting. Although officials restricted the window display and street decoration contests to only residents of Dar es Salaam, the others promoted the broader concept of belonging to and interacting with the new Tanzanian nation. For example, the essay writing competition involved composing, in English or Swahili, a paper about "a person, man or woman, who you think contributed much culturally or politically to your region."[453] Thus, these poems would honor the heroes of the anti-colonial movement and often focused on important TANU leaders. In a similar manner, the poetry competition involved composing a poem, only in Swahili, around the topics "The Beauty of Swahili" or "My Country of Tanganyika."[454] Choir competitions called for participants to perform one traditional song and one patriotic song. These competitions encouraged and required the participation of citizens, rewarded winners with cash prizes, and allowed people to 'perform nationalism' and spread these ideas to others.

[453] "Regional Festival Committee," May 5, 1964, T.N.A. Acc543C1/2/22.

[454] "Singing Competition," No Date, T.N.A. Acc543C1/2/30.

Through the development of these activities, the general population enjoyed access to the nation-building events put forth by the state and responded with large scale participation.

Also in 1964, celebration planners at the national level worked to make the Saba Saba celebrations especially impressive, as this day commemorated the tenth anniversary of TANU's founding. Hoping to meet their self-imposed high standards, planners sought to include as many participants as possible, especially students, by adding competitions and promising large prizes. The planning committee laid out the following plans to commemorate the founding of TANU through local, regional, and national competitions:

> a. There will be sporting and cultural competitions and exhibitions open to all who wish to take part and who are up to the required standards.
> b. That the competitors will be induced to take part by the provision of large prizes both monetary and other; there will also be other smaller prizes.
> c. That in those events which will be held at the National Festival the teams and person who came in first in their respective regional events in 1963 will be invited to take part.[455]

Finally, these competitions brought people together, a major accomplishment in itself, to hear political messages and participate in state sponsored activities. As the Festival Report for the Kigoma region pointed out that participants came from throughout the region and a variety of activities existed, including "Departmental exhibitions, commercial displays, local arts, painting, hand crafts, sports, open athletic meeting, tug of war, concerts, ngoma (dancing), football (including

[455] T.N.A. Acc493/C1-12/43.

ladies), dance, scientific displays, and baby shows."[456] With this range of competitions, planners hoped to attract a large number of people to celebrate the holiday through which citizens would interact with the new nation-state. Another report highlighted the importance of bringing communities together, stating: "There is no doubt that Regional celebrations provide a dynamic form of projecting the Regions' 'oneness' and a viable vehicle for the Regions' public relations."[457] Thus, as competitions existed as an instrument to bring people together and planners worked to use students to maximize entertainment, they also subtly reminded those in attendance that they were celebrating a national holiday of the new republic.

In areas with different tribal identities fostered by the colonial state along with religious divisions and regional boundaries imposed by the postcolonial state, few connections existed between communities. In addition to encountering political messages, festivals provide an opportunity for people to associate with those from other parts of the region, areas once considered foreign. Additionally, these festivals provided government officials a rare opportunity to attempt to replace a local tribal identity with a new regional and national identity which inherently linked to Nyerere, TANU and the new state. Thus, regional celebrations worked to connect small communities to the region and ultimately to the Tanzanian state and served as one of the few connections that existed between the elite officials and their population.

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[456] T.N.A. Acc523/10-1/V1/57.

[457] "Report on the Evaluation of Regional Festivals, 1963-1996," October 12, 1966, T.N.A. Acc523 N.10-I-Vol.I/31.

National Holidays

Incorporating the participants and winners of local competitions, national and regional celebrations centered around two main holidays—Independence Day and Saba Saba. The national government used the opportunity created by these two days to assert itself and attempt to shape its population by promoting unity, highlighting a shared past and a unified future, and demonstrating the improvements in life brought by independence and TANU. These celebrations allowed the central government an additional avenue to assert its authority as well as create a means through which the postcolonial state taught citizens about the Tanzanian state; thereby, further legitimizing both it and TANU. Although local officials routinely exaggerated the numbers of attendees and the overall success of the festival, these accounts still provide accounts of the being performed and demonstrate the assertion of sovereignty by central state officials.

The overwhelming positive newspaper, written by journalists who rarely questioned officials, coverage of national celebrations also allowed the government to prove its success to literate elites in the capital, a group Nyerere needed support from. Photographs of participants from around the country showed successful celebrations and people of various ethnicities and ages happily participating in government holidays. The accompanying articles reminded readers of TANU's accomplishments, the evils of colonial rule, and the authority of the Tanzanian state enjoyed throughout the country. In a country with a rising but still small literacy rate allowed the population to participate in this shared Tanzanian culture and be reminded of their common Tanzanian belonging.

Education officials, teachers, and students constituted the planners and crucial participants of newly created state holidays. As their monthly reports reveal, district and regional education officials spent large amounts of their time planning the festivities for major holidays. Typical entries on a monthly report generally included a summary of these preparations, with the officer noting: "Attended a meeting at Nansio TANU office of the TYL [Tanganyikan Youth League] working committee to arrange for members of the [Youth] League who were to go to Mwanza for the National Youth Week Celebrations. The meeting of this committee agreed that a total of fifty youths i.e. 25 schoolers who are members of the youth league and 25 others go to Mwanza for the Celebrations."[458] These officials often worked with local TANU officials to plan in as much detail as possible the activities of the next holiday to determine what was needed and how to include students, thus playing instrumental roles in the success of state holidays.

Teachers also participated in the celebrations, helped spread messages being promoted by the state and garnered critical student support. Education officials were cognizant of the need for teachers and staff to participate in festivals. Teachers often attended major celebrations in the capital, which created lasting memories and worked to reinforce the bonds and high level of interaction that teachers enjoyed with the state. One such teacher, Charles Kiguu, clearly remembers such an event as a highlight of his teaching career, saying: "The memory that I won't forget in my life was in 1968 when all the head teachers

[458] G. Ngerageza, "Meeting attended by the district education officer," February 21, 1969, T.N.A. Acc543/E.1/25.

were invited and met together in Dar es Salaam to celebrate the Saba Saba holiday. Mwalimu Nyerere gave green trophies to a number of winners of school activities which we were proud of. We had a good time in the Diamond Jubilee Hall."[459] On January 28, 1969, the District Education Officer wrote that he attended a meeting in which the Area Commissioner of the region, T.A. Msenge, briefed a group of teachers about their upcoming trip to Dar es Salaam for the National Youth Festival Week. "He told them to keep it in mind that they were going as representatives of other teachers in the District and the public in the Region. They were ambassadors. He asked them to co-operate and attend to orders and instructions. He warned them to be aware of seeming good and important people," he chronicled.[460] For teachers, state holidays represented a rare chance to travel to the capital, a nearby city, or another region and provided them an opportunity to represent their locality in a larger setting. However, this effort caused some superiors to complain that excessive class time was spent on non-academic issues, with one regional administrator writing: "Teachers together with their students are needed for meetings, demonstrations, etc," but only he could grant permission for such events.[461] One Minister of Parliament, J.P.C. Ndobh stated: "During the Saba Saba festival here in Dar es Salaam, we saw magnificent displays by school children. This is not bad but I gather from informed sources that these children had to spend a lot of time which was meant

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[459] Charles Kijuu, interviewed by author, October 28, 2009.

[460] G. Ngerageza, "Report of January 1969," T.N.A. Acc543/E1/20.

[461] "Children Missing Class," January 23, 1967, T.N.A. Acc533/E1/15.

to be sued to benefit of their pupils, in learning to conduct the display."[462] In a similar manner to the colonial state, postcolonial leaders, with limited reach of their own, needed groups of people to reform the population. Due to their close association with state leaders and emerging hierarchical institutions, teachers provided critical labor, audience participation and ensured student participation in such events. Here teachers need consideration as critical intermediaries between Nyerere along with the political leadership and the student population. With the successful incorporation of teachers and then students, planners realized that only then would ideas radiating from the capital reach the local population.

With such participation from teachers and education officials, celebrations clearly both targeted students and relied on their contributions. Students accounted for the majority of the participants at the various competitions held on celebratory days and provided an easily accessible audience. Education, government, and party officials realized this importance as early as 1962, when they began planning the first anniversary celebration of Tanzanian independence and actively sought to engage the student population. For example, the Secretary of the Republic Day Celebration Committee, J.S.M Vinter, wrote to regional officials: "The needs of young persons and school children should always be born in mind and every effort should be taken to allow them to participate fully in the celebrations. It is hoped to be able to distribute to all school children a special brooch like that issued last year before the Independence celebrations."[463]

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[462] "More Classwork, MP Urges Teachers," *The Standard*, July 14, 1969, 5.

[463] J.S.M Vinter, "Republic Day Celebrations: Memo to Area Commissioners," July 13, 1962, T.N.A. Acc471/C1/15/1.

Subsequent Independence Days remained important events and the school term was extended by two days to ensure that students remained at school to participate in celebrations regarding their country's freedom. This process of reforming the population involved aspects of entertaining and giving out special commemorative gifts, both of which leaders hoped would better attract an audience and create a lasting memory with participants. Thus, through the proper celebration of holidays, deployment of students, and granting of gifts, officials attempted to politicize the students and ensure their loyalty as well as guarantee an audience.

National Ceremonies--Independence Day

Subsequent Independence Day celebrations, also referred to as Republic Day, attempted to recreate the excitement and energy of the first, reinvigorate the public, and remind the population of TANU's legitimacy. State officials worked to make Independence Day a major, all-inclusive holiday to unite people and celebrate being Tanzanian. In short, officials hoped to make Independence Day gatherings "mass demonstrations of the popular will," although planned in a highly organized and controlled manner by national and regional officials.[464] The Secretary of the Republic Day Celebrations wrote to regional commissioners about the need to bring people together: "My Chairman, the Minister for Home Affairs, wishes me to stress that he attaches the greatest importance to the widest participation in the Republican celebrations...There should be participation in the arrangements by TANU, the co-operative societies, Missions, trade unions and

[464] Vinter,"Republic Day Celebrations," 1.

commerce. In short, all local bodies, whether political, religious or commercial, should join together…"[465] Additionally, in the Mwanza celebrations later in the decade, planners recognized a need to advertise the event in Hindi, in order to inform the South Asian community about the importance of the holiday, the need to close stores on this day and the significance of the demonstrations.[466] Celebration planners worked to include minority groups then as they were being excluded from authority and written out of the nationalist narrative. In this case, exclusion at one level existed concurrently with attempts of inclusion at a more local level, especially as local officials needed donations from this community and remained concerned with more practical matters. Overall, the day existed as a major unifying event for all people to partake in as one national body.

Subsequent celebrations also paralleled the original ceremony that followed Tanzania's dramatic independence, when people's optimism translated into a sign of TANU support. In the capital, organizers arranged to raise Nyerere's personal flag at the climax of the ceremony, with Nyerere trying his leadership and that of TANU with the country's independence in a highly visible manner.[467] Since this option did not exist at the regional and local levels, the central organizing committee devolved its power to the local committees, writing: "It will therefore be necessary for Districts to decide for themselves what would

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[465] Vinter,"Republic Day Celebrations," 1.

[466] Tanzanian National Archives at Mwanza [T.N.A.M] Acc1/C3/30.

[467] J.S.M Vinter, "Republic Day Celebrations: Memo to Area Commissioners," July 13, 1962, T.N.A. Acc471/C1/15/1.

be a fitting climax to the Celebrations."[468] To solve the problem and add excitement, the trade regulators permitted additional imports, including the purchase of fireworks. However limited, officials carefully planned the scripts of these celebrations to maximize exposure of their messages and create excitement for participants.

Leaders' addresses to the population during the first commemoration focused on reminding people of the accomplishments of the previous year, especially with regard to building the nation, and highlighted goals for the government to accomplish over the following year. "But the most important thing which has been done since December 1961 was giving the people the opportunity to take a direct and practical part in nation building. The self-help schemes have already begun to make an impact on the life of people in the villages and towns throughout the country," Julius Nyerere told the crowd in Dar es Salaam in 1962.[469] Working to emphasize local issues that impacted peoples' everyday lives, Nyerere then linked the government to the people: "The other thing that Government must do is to undertake the major schemes which are necessary to support local effort…Thus the Government and the people are all doing different aspects of the same job—developing the country."[470] Finally, he spoke of the need for unity: "As a nation we have travelled at a very fast speed and we have

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[468] Vinter, "Republic Day Celebrations: Memo," 1.

[469] "Speech by President-Designate Dr. Julius Nyerere," December 8, 1962, T.N.A. Acc493/C/1/12.

[470] "Speech by President-Designate Dr. Julius Nyerere." T.N.A. Acc471/C1-15/10.

done so because of our unity."[471] This desire to highlight the unity of the country shows the efforts of planners to replace tribal identities with a national one and the need to create the concept of a unified Tanzania. The country's overall progress included two reinforcing measures—development and unity. Only unity and people's willingness to sacrifice would promote economic development and in turn a more cohesive state—a goal that became more explicit with the passage of *ujamaa* reforms.

As retired teacher Charles Kiguu recalled above, independence celebrations through the 1960s brought people to the capital and created direct ties between the government and the people, who could then bring these nationalistic messages back to the local regions. "It has been decided to invite one representative from each District and Town Council to witness the Celebrations which will be held in Dar es Salaam between the 7th and 11 December, 1962," wrote J.S.M. Vinter, Secretary of the Planning Committee, to district and town councils in November 1962.[472] However, due to a shortage of funds, the national planners required local councils to pay the fares for those coming and help find accommodations during the celebrations. Consequently, the national government needed to debate its desire for large scale participation versus its ability to fund such events and its reliance on local contributions for this important holiday.

Independence Day also served as an opportunity for state leaders to instruct the population about the successful new institutions that existed,

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[471] "Speech by President-Designate Dr. Julius Nyerere." T.N.A. Acc471/C1-15/10.

[472] J.S.M Vinter, "Republic Day Celebrations: Memo To All District and Town Councils," November 14, 1962, T.N.A. Acc471/C1-15/1.

especially education and judicial systems. With the increased opportunities, especially for female students, the Minister of Education wrote: "Here, great things have been achieved…The development of extended primary schools, which has been mainly responsible for the increase n Standard V enrolments from 19,000 in 1961 to 45,000 this year."[473] As with Open Days, Minister of Education Simon Eliufoo worked to justify the focus and expenditures on education while highlighting its successes to those outside of the education system. Similarly, the Minister of Justice worked to inform the public of the improvements to the justice department—especially the Africanization and increased accountably of the judges.[474] Through these messages, nascent government departments hoped to win the trust of the public and encourage the population to interact with them in the future. This also became an important opportunity for those in government institutions to convince people about the necessity to interact with those institutions they previously avoided, such as the justice system. To the government in general, Independence Day represented a major opportunity to inform people of new and improved government organizations.

Outside of the capital, regional ceremonies, similar in structure to their national counterparts, allowed the central government to remind the population who their leaders were and what they looked like—personalizing rule and creating direct links between the people and national leaders. "20,000 copies of these pictures [of President Nyerere] are being sent to the Regional Information

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[473] Simon Eliufoo, "Taking the Initiative in Education," *Tanganyika Standard*, December 6, 1964, 9.

[474] "Taking Justice to the People," *Tanganyika Standard*, December 6, 1964, 4.

Officer in your region for distribution for the celebrations period," wrote M.J. Pappa to regional commissioners, adding twelve pictures of Nyerere for the personal use of the commissioners.[475] For the 1965 Saba Saba festival in the Kilimanjaro region, the central planning committee sent "3 large photographs of the President, the 1st Vice President, the 2nd Vice President, and sizable photographs of Ministers and Junior Ministers for a successful display at the Saba Saba Celebrations of this year."[476] Additionally, festival programs, both at the regional and national level, included pictures of Nyerere (sometimes sitting in full state and chief regalia), often along with Prime Minister Kawawa and the Regional Commissioner. Subsidized by advertisements, these pamphlets included a brief biography of the leaders and their important quotes which highlighted the importance of the region and linked it with the nation at large.[477] For people who never met Nyerere or his associates, they could now see them both as a chief and a modern leader of state, allowing the past and future to be emphasized. Thus, Nyerere and other leaders depended on traditional historical ties to legitimize their rule while also reminding visitors of the modern importance of these leaders. Those living in or visiting Tanzania notice Nyerere's picture hanging in nearly every store, constantly reminding people of their common past. The initial effort was a massive one by cultural officers to spread the images of the leader throughout the country and remind as many people as possible about their leader, his prestige and the large scope of his authority.

[475] T.N.A.M. Acc1/C6/10/188.

[476] "Saba Saba Celebrations 1965," June 23, 1965, T.N.A Acc549/TIS/KR/19.

[477] "Saba Saba Celebrations: Moshi.," July 7, 1964, T.N.A Acc549/TIS/KR/19.

In addition to the general population, Independence Day allowed the youth, generally the most radical part of Tanzanian society, to demonstrate their patriotism and raise money for their own clubs. "We have arranged some plays and a concert to certain people, and, as a secondary aim, to collect money," wrote Peter Mwalo of the Nyegezi Branch Students to the Area Commissioner in Mwanza, hoping to be allowed to participate in the celebrations of 1966.[478] Cognizant either of how to frame such requests or an exceptionally nationalistic student (probably both), Peter echoed this nationalistic rhetoric, describing Independence Day as "the day we broke away from the colonial tentacles and the day we reached our final state of independence, the Republic." [479] Aware of the lack of funding that existed and that the student organization would not receive any support, he found their own lodging and brought their own cooking supplies. While the nationalist rhetoric was likely a ploy done in order to receive approval for the activity, youths were aware of the messages that the state was pushing and found ways to use these gatherings for their own advantage, in this case to raise money. Overall, youths remained instrumental in regional celebrations and recognized an opportunity to perform nationalism for their own benefit.

Regional officials used Independence Day as an opportunity to reward the most successful and progressive farmers in an attempt to both encourage productivity and instruct other farmers in more modern methods. For example, the local representative of the Ministry of Agriculture, Kamando Mzinza, praised

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[478] T.N.A. Acc471C1/1-29/29.

[479] Ibid.

a local farmer for "besides being very popular on the use of Fertilizers, Mr. Mzinza is a very good example to other farmers in his area. Over the past year he has harvested some 2,500 lbs. [of cotton] from his one acre."[480] Officials also honored Magonzi Igobe, who set the record for growing 3,273 pounds of cotton as he "applied with Fertilizer and followed Agricultural Advices."[481] Officials rewarded model farmers who followed the advice of officials, taught others, grew large quantities of cash crops, and contributed to the development of the country. Other regions honored these farmers during the Saba Saba festivities, as did the national government who rewarded the best regional farmers with $350 donated by USAID.[482] Thus, by providing festivals that encouraged interaction between the government and population, Independence Day worked to reward loyal farmers and spread messages of belonging to the Tanzanian state.

National Celebrations—Saba Saba

Saba Saba (literally translated as seven seven and celebrated on 7/7) existed as the second major Tanzanian state holiday during the 1960s. Commemorating the founding of TANU in 1954, the holiday provided the opportunity for TANU and the Tanzanian state to highlight its accomplishments, emphasize the economic advances in the country, and demonstrate major social and political improvements. Concentrating on the economic themes of Saba Saba, the *Tanganyika Standard* defined the holiday as "an expression of our nation prime in the past, joy over present achievements and a mark of the

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[480] "Officer in Charge; Ministry of Agriculture," December 8, 1966, T.N.A. Acc543/C1/2/1.

[481] Ibid., 67.

[482] "Saba-Saba Festival Best Ujamaa Village Prize," April 29, 1969, T.N.A. 471/E1/1/157.

country’s willing acceptance of the labour and sweat that still lies ahead.”[483] Every year the holiday gave the newspapers and political leaders a chance to favorably compare the country's current state to the problems that existed during the colonial period. Saba Saba served to compliment Independence Day ceremonies by further reinforcing national ideologies and teaching the population specific messages from the elite.

During the celebrations, officials introduced the Dar es Salaam International Trade Fair, started in 1963, as an innovative way to increase support for the holiday and teach attendees. In addition to highlighting trade goods, each government department provided a display to inform Tanzanians about their respective function and purpose. For example, the Ministry of Justice hung posters to “explain in Swahili and English the structure of Ministry and its responsibilities.”[484] Ranging from exhibits of the new roads being built to explanations of the national service, each major government department competed to win the prize for best exhibit. Officials ensured this important opportunity to inform the public was not wasted.

From highlighting traditional dances to reenacting histories, Saba Saba especially allowed for a dissemination of state approved histories and for the state to promote its version of Tanzanian history and culture. During local and regional celebrations, students acted out sanctioned national historical narratives which emphasized the unity of local people and the cruelty of the German colonial

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[483] “Festive Days,” *Tanganyika Standard*, July 1, 1964, 4.

[484] “Wide Range of Products on Show at Fair,” *Tanganyika Standard*, July 1, 1964, 1.

project.[485] For example, one reenactment script developed for the Singida region Saba Saba festival stated:

> a. It is related that many hundreds of years ago the Ajiari clan were driven out of Abyssinia. They wandered down the coast past Tanga and struck inland to Haneni. They were beset by many difficulties and attacks.
> b. From Haneni they went to Handa in Usandwai country and few went to Urugwe near Tabora.
> c. At Handa they intermarried with the Wataturu but eventually quarreled and moved into Singida District and took the name Wanayaturu from the hill called Turu. Here they intermarried with the Watatuu.
> d. They lived in a clan and were attacked by Masai who defeated them and the Wanyamwezi with muzzle loader whom they repulsed.
> e. The Germans arrived in 1900 but were at first repulsed in thick bush. They returned later and set up a Boma in Singida.[486]

Through this reenactment, students learned, taught, and participated in a nationalist history that the central bureaucracy wished to promote and became actors in the promotion of a unifying nation-building project. As with the traditional housing demonstration, the planners of celebrations combined an ethnic group's actual history with a glorified past, including aspects of intermarriage and resistance, in order to tie it with the history of the nation. Planners did not ignore the ethnic group but linked their history with larger, shared historical trends to which the entire country could relate.

Likewise, TANU officials hoped to use the Saba Saba celebrations as an opportunity to expound on the developing nationalist historiography coming out of the University of Dar es Salaam in order to remind citizens of the exploitative

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[485] Ironically, the German colonial period is remembered by some to be better than British rule.

[486] "Culture and Youth," June 15, 1963, T.N.A. Acc523/N1-10/67.

colonial period and how Tanzanians under TANU worked together to fight against such rule. Planners highlighted the accomplishments of TANU and contrasted their successes with the abusive colonial past. For example, TANU leadership encouraged local officials to explain how various colonial powers, including the Portuguese, Arabs, Germans, and British used "divide and rule" techniques to "suck our blood for their interests."[487] The Maji Maji Rebellion of 1905 united the people against the exploitation and humiliation of the oppressive colonial state. Although this insurgency failed, the next historical lesson highlighted the success of TANU, implicitly drawing parallels between the two and adding legitimacy and a greater sense of accomplishment to the relatively conservative anti-colonial party. According to this lesson, Nyerere reinvigorated TANU to fight colonization and ultimately responsible for eradicating the foreign regime. The narrative continued, emphasizing the movement's lack of success before a "young schoolmaster, seeing it as a nucleus of a body capable of political action rewrote its constitution. The schoolmaster was Julius Nyerere. His suggested constitution called for a party which, through unity, could wrest independence from colonial rulers so that the people, as a free nation, could choose their own destiny."[488] According to this narrative, all Tanzanians united together to fight colonial rule, with TANU and Nyerere ultimately freeing the country and, consequently, being the rightful leaders of the state.

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[487] "TANU Builds the Nation: A Special Note Issue Concerning Saba Saba Ceremony 1969," T.N.A Acc546/C1/219; for more on blood suckers see James Brennan, "Blood Enemies: Exploitation and Urban Citizenship in the Nationalist Political Thought of *Tanzania*, 1958-1975," *The Journal of African History*, 47 no.3 (2006): 1-25.

[488] "Festival Days," *Tanganyika Standard*, July 1, 1964, 2

Not surprisingly when considering the megalomania of other African leaders in power at the same time, these lessons where increasingly about Nyerere. While this focus provides for a similar narrative, it also reflects the increasing personification of rule in Tanzania while overlooking the accomplishments of once popular politicians such as Oscar Kambona and Bibi Titi Mohammed, who were being excluded from the inner circle of power, not to mention the prominent role of South Asians. As the elite politicians, including even Nyerere, worried about their own authority weakening, these messages became increasingly critical.

This invented past that everyone in the country shared also allowed bonds to be created without privileging one ethnic group over another. Vail and White's *Power and the Praise Poem* illustrates how rulers sometimes worked to incorporate specific aspects of tradition or were weakened through the adaptation of traditional culture to attack their rule in a manner in which they could not control. Hobsbawm and Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition* shows the constructed nature of official celebrations.[489] Tanzanian officials also recognized the transformative nature of state holidays when combined with a mythical past to promote the rule of their party. As these messages promoted by Tanzanian politicians focused on common resistance to German occupation and immediately transitioning to the rise of TANU, the individual histories could be acknowledged but remained subordinated to the myths of the nation-state. In a country with over 180 different ethnic groups and without one dominant group (unlike in Kenya), no

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[489] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

single group could be offended or (with possibly the exception of the Massai)[490] remain outside of the common history.

In addition to using tradition to promote loyalty and a common identity, the official teaching associated with Saba Saba allowed TANU to insert itself into the projected history of the country. Campaigns focused on the better and common future Tanzanians would enjoy because of TANU efforts. Centrally written, nationally structured lessons stated: "Citizens are supposed to remember that TANU...has the target to lead the country to enhance peace and happiness without threats and raise the standard of living of the people…"[491] Furthermore, celebration organizers worked to divert people's attention from existing issues by giving participants a sense that they were helping to create history. For example, when planning the celebration in 1964, the Minister for National Culture wrote: "It is incumbent upon us to give the Festival a real local look. Let us, therefore, all pull together and give the National Festival top priority. The 10th anniversary of TANU must be an historical event in the history of our country."[492] This shared history and future worked to link the two entities--Tanzania and TANU. It also reinforced the idea of TANU as the leader in the development and progression of the country and the harbinger of a better life for the citizenry.

Regional celebrations created the opportunity for competitions and marches, highly inclusive and visible activities often which mirrored the marches

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[490] Nyerere and other leaders vacillated between specifically trying to reform the Massai or leaving them largely outside of the nation building project.

[491] "TANU Builds the Nation: A Special Note Issue Concerning Saba Saba Ceremony 1969," T.N.A Acc546/C1/219.

[492] "Minister for National Culture and Youth," April 24, 1964, Acc523/N-10-1.

taking place in Dar es Salaam. After the sports and dance competitions in Kigoma's 1966 celebration, TANU leaders led mass rallies where "they called upon their people to intensify their efforts in nation building" while also encouraging people to pay their monthly TANU dues.[493] The celebrations climaxed with the arrival of "tens of thousands of people" who marched from Ujiji to Kigoma, symbolically ending their march at the Uhuru Torch tower, before marching to the city stadium where TANU leaders again addressed the masses.[494] Students, party officials and workers participated in highly orchestrated demonstrations intended to rally the population, reenergize them and remind them of TANU's rule. Thus, due to the success of state celebrations, people voluntarily interacted with state officials and a previously unreachable population began receiving state-approved messages of belonging and heard of their responsibilities.

Saba Saba festivities also attempted to link the citizens with the state by maximizing participation in a variety of activities and creating a shared experience. Carvings, drawings, mats, and photos chosen as the region's best were taken to Dar es Salaam to be displayed. Tanzanian citizens voted for the best regional song and jazz music played over Radio Tanzania. The best dancing group from each region also earned a chance to compete in Dar es Salaam for the national prize. A massively publicized savings bond competition between regions

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[493] "Minister for National Culture and Youth," April 24, 1964, Acc523/N-10-1.

[494] T.N.A Acc543/10/1/57.

culminated during these celebrations.[495] This savings bond competition, which targeted the peasantry with limited resources, created people a financial bond between the two, and gave the bond holders a financial state in the future of the state, which they interacted with on a limited basis. These celebrations, like the others, worked to involve as many people as possible, and worked both to encourage development and teach the population. They were designed to maximize participation and worked to involve people in increasingly creative ways, while also helping with national development by encouraging loyalty, providing direct ties with the government and raising needed money.

Planners also encouraged additional, often ignored, segments of the population to participate in various ways. Female students taught older women more modern methods of sewing and cloth production by school girls (see Chapter 5) who then showcased and sold their products at regional trade fairs, setting a positive example for others, and interacting with TANU officials. Productivity was once again linked to nationalism and the overall progress of the country. Festivals also brought real advantages to the population who were able in various ways to participate in the trade fairs associated with the holidays and sell the goods they produced. Finally, planners worked to include often ignored groups of the population to ensure their messages reached the largest numbers possible, including those beyond the age of schooling, and female students became critical in ensuring the participation of older women.

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[495] "The 1966 Saba Saba National Savings Bond Competitions-Presidential Cup," April 15, 1966, T.N.A. N-0-I-vI/10.

Finally, much like other holidays, Saba Saba provided an opportunity for the government to display itself and its functions to the ordinary people, thereby legitimizing the state at a practical level and using the day for directly pedagogical activities. This fair, the largest annual event in the country, demonstrated modern goods and taught attendees about Tanzanian institutions and economics.[496] Additionally, the Administrative Secretary ordered department heads in Mwanza to "make immediate preparation to design a stand at the Show Ground displaying the work of their departments."[497] In Mwanza, the regional commissioner, Galinoma, reminded government employees: "Not only have we the right to celebrate our well deserved Uhuru [independence] but it gives us a magnificent opportunity to display our achievements and show the people, whom we serve, what our various organizations do for them."[498] The recollections of Cecilia Moris Masanja, a longtime teacher, highlight this participation:

> There were a number of sports, drama, traditional dances, games and we had also National dance whereby children across the country were selected to perform in celebrating this holiday…We were selected to play movies—in a local way whereby teachers were supposed to be very skillful at zooming the pictures and make everyone see the pictures clearly. So skillful teachers were selected to play the movies and to teach on how to play these movies. Children were sitting on the sides of the grounds at the National Stadium.[499]

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[496] "Wide Range of Products on Show at Fair" *Tanganyika Standard* 1 July 1964. The fair currently draws an alleged 500,000 visitors per year.

[497] "Saba Saba Day 1967," T.N.A Acc543/C1-2-1/131.

[498] "Tenth Uhuru Anniversary-December 1971," August 28, 1971, T.N.A.M. Acc1/C1-8/257.

[499] Cecilia Moris Masanja, interview by author, November 4, 2009.

Through large scale participation, competitions, and presentations, organizers worked to familiarize the population with state functions and create bonds between the people and state officials. Again borrowing a method used by the British to spread important messages and instruct the population, celebration planners used modern technology to remind participants about the modernity of the state and tie traditional aspects of Tanzanian life with the future, with TANU and Tanzania being the common links.

Thus, national holidays, with Independence Day and Saba Saba as the most important, provided an opportunity for central and regional state officials to enact a highly regimented festival that served to further the prestige of the state. These activities allowed the state to remind people of its legitimacy and scope, assert itself over regional and local officials, and spread specific messages to the population—one inventing a history and another from the elite—but both served to further legitimize and justify TANU and Nyerere rule.

Messages from the Elites

In addition to local notables reminding people of their common history and encouraging them to pay their TANU dues, holiday messages always included an address by Nyerere, widely known as the father and teacher of the country. Nyerere and the political elites used both Saba Saba and Independence Day as occasions to remind everyone of the state's major accomplishments as well as to rearticulate major policies of the year and, thus, reflect the major shifts in policies throughout the 1960s. In 1964, Nyerere used Saba Saba to garner support for the East African Federation. The following year, Nyerere used his

Independence Day address to warn people of possible hardships if Tanzania broke off diplomatic relations with Great Britain over its relations with South Africa. In 1968, while celebrating Zanzibar's Revolution Day, Nyerere attacked ostracized politician Oscar Kambona who had criticized Second Vice President Kawawa.[500] Themes in these addresses constantly highlighted the importance of education, dangers of foreigners, and the hazards of tribalism.

The importance of unity existed as another constant theme in addresses by the political elite. "One crucial factor accounts for the success of the people's struggle for independence—their unity," stated Second Vice President Kawawa during his Independence Day address of 1965.[501] "The outstanding event has been the formation of the United Republic of Tanzania…This merger of sovereignty, so that a single international entity has come into existence, represents the first step on the long road of continental African unity,"[502] stated Nyerere on Independence Day 1964, highlighting continent-wide implications for the merger between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. In a manner found throughout the continent, the political elites worked to further unify the population by highlighting a constant threat from the outside and the intrigue of foreign and neocolonial powers. This theme of unity worked to remind Tanzanian citizens of their common links, define Tanzania against a mysterious and unnamed other, and assert Tanzania's importance in Africa.

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[500] "Kambona, A Thief, Lackey," January 13, 1968, *The Nationalist*, 1.

[501] "Unity Won, Uhuru and Must Protect it—Kawawa," *Tanganyika Standard*, December 10, 1965, 5.

[502] "Be on Guard, Warns Mwalimu," *The Standard*, 8 December 8, 1964, 1.

Messages surrounding and targeting the youth existed as an additional theme throughout the decade. Elites used holidays to encourage the participation of the youth in Tanzania. Many national ceremonies included reading letters of loyalty written by Tanzanian students, an especially important issue after the dramatic university student protests of 1966 that startled the country. Demonstrating the importance of these letters, Nyerere often read several to cheering crowds during both the Independence Day and Saba Saba festivities. These observances, both in the capital and regional cities, also included large and highly visible children's parades and marches. For example, reporters claimed the "primary school boys forming the Tanganyika flag in its colours and correct pattern was one of the most impressive events" of the 1963 Independence Day celebrations. From Boy Scouts to the TANU Youth League, planners made use of and included children as much as possible and their participation was highlighted in newspaper coverage.[503] For the youthful participants parading around the National Stadium, the scope, sovereignty, and ability of the state was on full display and the political elite worked to bond the two students with Nyerere and TANU leaders.

Other more localized messages targeted various ethnic groups, the Asian minority in particular, as Tanzanian leaders attempted to redefine Tanzanian citizenship and debate who to include and who to exclude. In the Saba Saba celebrations of 1964, Minister A.H. Jamel targeted the Asian community, calling upon them to join the Tanzanian community. "Not all the cheques and cash

[503] "Showing the Flag," *Tanganyika Standard*, December 14, 1963, 3.

payments made by way of contribution to various funds and causes put together will bring racial harmony in this country. Only a fundamental change of heart will meet the need of the situation…Unless every non-African, and the Asian in particular, makes it his very serious business to educate his family and children at home every day," Jamal read in a speech, hoping to prevent Tanzania from becoming racialized like South Africa.[504] Despite this effort, the Asian community in Tanzania went largely ignored in newspaper coverage of these events—they remained African holidays. Messages, at both the national and regional level, allowed the government to convey very specific, highly flattering messages, thus both teaching its audience and working to define their concepts of Tanzanian citizenship—one of the unity of the Tanzanian African population and the exclusion of others.

Limitations

Despite the success of celebrations, especially in the major cities throughout Tanzania, organizers experienced several constraints. National holidays created space for certain groups to ignore the holiday and portray their lack of nationalist beliefs and limit any pedagogical attempts by the state. Most notably, the Chagga (in the Kilimanjaro region), angry over a perceived lack of respect and advancement, generally failed to participate in these days. As the 1960s progressed, the Chagga's infuriation increased as the government forced *ujamaa* reforms on their communities and used the sale of Chagga coffee and bananas to finance development throughout the country. Their lack of local

[504] "Speech by the Hon A.H. Jamal on T.B.C. of Monday 29 June, 1964," T.N.A. Acc518/C10/8/25.

involvement and refusal to acknowledge a larger imagined community not only diminished the prestige the state desired but also showed the degree of power that still remained at the local level of Tanzanian polity. The Chagga could deal with the larger nation-state on their own terms. However, since most ethnic groups throughout the country did participate in some manner, especially those living in urban centers, issues around funding became more important than those dealing with participation.

After a costly celebration upon achieving independence, celebration planners worked to cut expenses by 75% for Tanzania's first anniversary, budgeting less than £100,000.[505] However, highlighting a lack of planning and resources, the Republic Day Planning Committee wrote: "[It] has not yet been decided nor is it yet known how much money will be available for allocation to you for sub-allocation to District Councils. However, the amount you will be given will certainly be no more and may well be less than that granted last year for the Independence celebrations."[506] Further demonstrating this weakness, the central planning board encouraged District Councils to spend their own money on the celebrations to relieve the central government of this increasingly onerous and unsustainable burden. Thus, the precarious financial situation threatened the prestige and authority the state had worked so hard to build.

In addition to limiting most aspects of the celebrations, large budget constraints also led to practical issues needing resolution. The planning

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[505] J.S.M Vinter, "Republic Day Celebrations: Memo to Regional Commissioners," July 13, 1962, T.N.A. Acc471/C1/15/1.

[506] Ibid., 30.

committees limited the number of competitors, especially those in large dancing teams, coming to the capital. Planners constantly debated and worried over the number of contestants to invite to these events. Aware of the limited per diem money, the secretary of the national planning committee wrote to regional commissioners: "I will, therefore, suggest that dancers should come, if possible, with their own cooking utensils."[507] Furthermore, reflecting the lack of hotels in the capital and the government's inability to pay for such accommodation, he informed dancers that they would be lodged in schools and, along with cooking utensils, "should bring their own bed-rolls."[508] Thus, the national government needed to compromise its scope in an attempt to find a balance between the excitement and prestige associated with being part of the ceremony and the lack of available funding.

Over the next several years, the financial situation of the celebration committee worsened as the government increasingly hoped to use holiday celebrations as a pedagogical tool. In 1964, the head of the planning committee, C.S. Mengisen, informed regional committees: "It is therefore regretted that financial assistance cannot possibly be made to the Regions on this occasion." Mengisen then empowered the Regional Commissioners to be enthusiastic, proactive, and "to initiate their own method of doing this [financing] effectively." For the more minor holidays, such as one commemorating the Zanzibar Revolution, funding became nearly non-existent. Central planners allocated only

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[507] Vinter, "Republic Day Celebrations: Memo," 34.

[508] "Traditional Dancing for Republic Day Celebrations," September 15, 1962, T.N.A. Acc471/C1/15/12.

10,000 Tsh for government ceremonies celebrating the 1966 Revolution Day and told regional planners that funding needed to be locally raised and would not come from the central government.[509] However, the need for local funding allowed local notables to directly contribute for these days. If students were the key participants, local businessmen—especially Asian business owners—were the key financial backers who allowed for increased participation in festivals. However, the majority of the time these financial contributions arrived late, resulting in planning nightmares, purchasing issues, and hurting the overall quality of the celebrations.

Issues and disputes over celebration funding also allowed the national government to remind local governments of its authority. National festivals such as Independence Day and Saba Saba provided an opportunity for the national government to instruct and, when they could afford it, fund local celebrations. "The government should have, and has, the liability to make Saba Saba celebrations worthy of their name," wrote C.B. Jana in debating whether the national government possessed the responsibility to fund regional celebrations of the holiday. Additionally, planners such as Jana hesitated before giving money to local officials and festival committees. "I feel reluctant to send monies straight from our office to the field…as they are subject to little, if any, control," he then cautioned.[510] In some instances the national government provided loans or nothing at all. However, at no time did the national government fail to constantly

[509] M.A. Hassan. "Zanzibar Revolutionary Day Celebrations 1967," December 12, 1966, T.N.A. Acc543/C.1-2-1/99.

[510] C.B. Jana, "Saba Saba Celebrations Loans to Regional Committees," September 9, 1964, T.N.A. Acc523/ N/10/5/V.

instruct local and regional officials on how to celebrate, the best ways to include people, and how to hold mass rallies.

Planning difficulties also existed. A lack of contributions and effort at the local level, as well as planners simply not attending meetings, often hampered efforts to effectively organize and carry out celebrations. For example, organizers in 1963 realized that at times simply too many events were planned, which left many unfulfilled and gave the festival a chaotic appearance.[511] In planning the Saba Saba Celebration of 1964, the Minister for National Culture and Youth complained: "Very few regional commissioners have so far responded to the urgent requests for detailed information concerning the events and number of participants coming from each region. We must have this information immediately in order to carry out our plans for all activities and to provide proper accommodation for performers."[512] Failure to respond to state requests for information regarding costs, events, and participants caused great consternation among central planners and revealed the ineffectiveness of the state when it came to spreading its messages. Consequently, central planners constantly appealed to regional planners for information regarding participants, especially with regard to the large dance teams, and repeatedly called for more frequent communication between regional and national offices.[513]

Additionally, local personnel hampered the prestige of the Tanzanian state and further limited the legitimacy it hoped to promote. In one particular incident,

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[511] "Regional Festivities Report: Ideas for Future Festivals," T.N.A. Acc523/N/10/1/VI.

[512] "Minister for National Culture and Youth," April 24, 1964, T.N.A Acc523N/10/1/117.

[513] "Memorandum to All Regional Festival Officers," May 21, 1964, T.N.A Acc543/C/1/2.

a police officer caused an embarrassing scene as he argued that he had already paid his entrance fee to a dance in the police hall. As he became more belligerent, organizers refunded his money and convinced the policeman to leave peacefully, but not before he "uttered nasty words before the Secretary and the door keepers."[514] This incident caused the administrative secretary to demand an investigation and condemned the action, arguing the one irresponsible policeman marred the festival.[515] More importantly, this action diminished the government's reputation, reversing the purpose of these festivals.

However, problem such as these gave the central bureaucratic planners and TANU an opportunity to assert themselves and remind various local governments of their subservience to their regional and central counterparts. "You may wonder why I am popping in my nose but it is within your realization that TANU is much concerned to know every activity intended in this process," wrote the Regional Secretary in Kilimanjaro Region to local planners while expressing his dismay about the lack of information he was receiving from local participants.[516] Low attendance or poorly planned regional celebrations gave state officials an opportunity to chastise their subordinates and reaffirm their own dominance and that of the national government. Conversely, celebrations allowed local officials to win support from their bureaucratic bosses. For example, in Kigoma, a regional bureaucrat finally began writing the report of the 1964 and 1965 Saba Saba festivals in 1967 after several predecessors failed to accomplish

[514] A.G. Heri "Regional Festival Celebrations," January 23, 1968, T.N.A Acc523 N/10/I/V /28.

[515] Ibid., 28.

[516] "Regional Festival Celebrations," June 19, 1964, T.N.A. Acc471/C1/13/24.

the task. However, his Regional Commissioner hoped to win the favor of national officials by submitting reports describing the success of the Saba Saba festivities of 1964 and 1965. Consequently, the original bureaucrat complained: "There were no files which were kept for the memory of the Saba Saba ceremonies of 1964…I think what you want is me to write a fake report to satisfy you and your entire office so that you can please the minister and please the members of the Parliament."[517] Historical accounts such as this highlight the desire to win favor and personal advancement from higher authorities through the acknowledgement of their authority.

Despite the many limitations the central and regional planners faced when planning celebrations and the fact that many rural areas were largely ignored by planners, celebrations allowed the political elite an opportunity to formulate messages that reached the thousands attending these festivals. Relying on the relative success and experience gained in organizing national and regional festivals, Nyerere and his top bureaucrats used celebrations to inform, promote, and spread a new message—that of the Arusha Declaration.

Celebrating the Arusha Declaration Domestically and for the World

In January 1966, 412 students at the University College, Dar es Salaam, representing the first generation of students educated by the postcolonial state marched on the capital and ultimately the State House in response to a plan requiring a period of national service in the countryside for university graduates. As Andrew Ivaska argues Nyerere then confronted the student and condemned

[517] "Report Concerning Saba Saba Ceremonies Held at Tanga Region 1964 and 1965," T.N.A. Acc471/C1/19.

their attitude before expelling the them, symbolizing a battle "between the political elite and educated elite."[518] Nyerere sent the home without the prospect of jobs and economic advancement.[519] Secondary school students along with National Service members then marched in support of Nyerere, who recognized the need to combat the expectations of the newly educated youth. In this highly popularized case that became part of the myth of Nyerere, marching became the key method of protesting or reaffirming one's loyalty to official state policies and officials used marching as a method of promoting the Arusha Declaration. By the second half of the 1960s, local, regional, and national leaders possessed the experience necessary to organize successful holiday celebrations and overcome the limitations previously discussed. With this background, officials used celebrations to popularize and convince people to follow the Arusha Declaration of 1967. In a manner similar to the change in farming rewards mentioned earlier, holiday organizers worked to incorporate themes of the Arusha Declaration into already existing celebrations and rely on lessons learned at all levels to further legitimize the Arusha Declaration. Speeches that previously emphasized unity now emphasized unity in support of the Arusha Declaration and a common war against exploitation. "We should think where we came from and where we are going…I am sure no one can come here in front of the people and declare that the Arusha Declaration is bad,"[520] stated Nyerere, echoing earlier rhetoric and rallying the audience during the Saba Saba Festival of 1967, the first major holiday

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[518] Ivaska, *Cultured States,* 146.

[519] Ibid., 124-140.

[520] "Don't be Blind Sheep-Nyerere," *Tanganyika Standard*, July 8, 1967, 1.

following the Declaration in February. Furthermore, holidays became places to demonstrate, promote, and clarify the self-reliance activities that the Arusha Declaration required. Nyerere constantly emphasized themes of people thinking on their own and making responsible, educated decisions, a message paralleling the purpose of Tanzanian education as defined by "Education for Self Reliance."

In the Mwanza region later that year, Nyerere shifted celebration and pedagogical strategies to better include the local population and link the nation with the local, drawing on local traditions of celebration. He began a week long march to rally the local population, with a national audience following his progress, in support of the Arusha Declaration. In meeting with villagers and local politicians along the way, Nyerere explained to the people why this major policy shift was needed for the overall progress of the country and how each person promoted national development. Describing the carnival-like atmosphere, the *Tanganyika Standard* reported that the marching was "covering an average of about three miles per hour, the column has National Service Men, army and a police band with them."[521] According to the same report, Nyerere "reminded the people that the Arusha Declaration was 'meant to awaken them and stimulate their initiative towards hard work in order to remove any persisting weaknesses…to become self-reliant."[522] Additionally, Nyerere used the opportunity to promote education, reminding people to "send their children to school in time. He condemned delays caused by parents who kept their children

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[521] "Mwalimu sets the pace" *The Standard*, October 9, 1967, 1.

[522] Ibid.

late to look after the cattle."[523] In front of a crowd of 2,000 previously unreachable people at another village, Nyerere blamed some people of the Sukuma for refusing to use modern methods of farming before explaining the benefits of the Arusha Declaration.[524]

Overcoming reported foot pain, Nyerere created a Gandhi-like moving celebration to promote the Arusha Declaration and educate people about their proper role as Tanzanian citizens. Other officials felt obligated to join this march if they wanted to remain in Nyerere's favor and newspaper coverage showed the political elite walking among the people. Stories of Nyerere marching with the people began circulating and soon, through the promotion of cultural officers and education officials, became a myth in the story of national struggle. Through his actions, Nyerere directly connected with the people and brought the more abstract centralized state and politicians, whom people typically never met, to the local level.

Likewise, local celebrations highlighted new self-reliance policies and demonstrated the importance of the Arusha Declaration to the local population. As schools became the first site of change and concrete examples of the Arusha Declaration and its policies, student demonstrations provided additional support for the Arusha Declaration. Paralleling Nyerere's actions, students marched everywhere throughout the Kigoma district, working to bond the local with the national. For example, students walked five miles to the Kasulu District

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[523] "Mwalimu sets the pace" *The Standard*, October 9, 1967, 1.

[524] "Nyerere Defies Sore Feet—and Walks On," *The Standard: Sunday* News, October 8, 1967, 1.

Headquarters, others walked sixty-one miles to Kigoma, and fifty primary school students walked twenty-five miles to support the Arusha Declaration and Education for Self Reliance.[525] Also, The District Education Officer attended a procession and rally of pupils who supported the Arusha Declaration. "On the 24th of August 1967 all pupils from Urban schools marched to the regional commissioner in support of the Arusha Declaration and self-reliance," Regional Education Officer Jutta reported to his superiors.[526] However, much remains unknown about these demonstrations, including the background of the demonstrators, the role of teachers and administrators, and the motivation of the students, who may have just wanted a day off, and the effect the demonstrations had or failed to have on the local population. Still, Nyerere recognized the symbolic importance of these marches that occurred throughout the country: "I believe that these young people in their marches were inspired by an idea, and that they learned something of the practical meaning and practical difficulties of self-reliance in the process."[527] With ideas surrounding *ujamaa* now added to the new Tanzanian national identity, student participation became especially critical and necessary for these ideas to spread. In a mutually beneficial manner, these marches served to raise awareness of the new declaration and highlighted the degree to which students supported it.

Although school children were always critical components to any festival, they were especially important in the National Youth Festival, particularly the one

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[525] "Kigoma Monthly Report August 1967, Report 69," T.N.A. Acc523/E/10/14.

[526] B. Jutta, "Kigoma Monthly Report March 1967," T.N.A. Acc523/E10/14.

[527] "Schools' Reform Impresses Nyerere," *The Nationalist*, December 12, 1967, 1.

that honored the anniversary of the Arusha Declaration in 1968. "[This] year that calls for increased dedication to hard work both in the schools and villages in order to obtain our national objectives," stated Bhoke Mumanka, the Minister of State, to the gathered youths, calling upon them to continue their work in implementing the ideas of the Arusha Declaration. Overall, the youth, as the most willing and most radical part of Tanzanian society, played an important role in supporting these new policies of the government and demonstrating for the Arusha Declaration in a celebratory manner before the public.

Tanzanian celebrations eventually enjoyed a major transnational component, as planners invited African and world leaders, including socialist leaders and former colonial officials, to Tanzania to celebrate Independence Day in 1971, allowing Tanzania to assert itself on the world stage and remind the domestic audience about the prestige and importance of Nyerere and TANU. A chartered East African Airlines plane flew in more than 120 former colonial officials, including former Governor General Richard Turnbull, for the occasion, most of whom were curious about the socialist experiments they read about and visit the increasingly radicalized state. While most condemned the the *ujamaa* villages that they visited and lamenting about the failure of many of the colonial-era projects, they still welcomed the opportunity to return to their former home and meet with their former subjects.[528] The celebrations included the unveiling of the Arusha Monument in front of a reported 30,000 people and the invited

[528] "Tanzanians—We are Here to Join You," *Tanzanian Standard*, December 2, 1971, 1.

colonial officials.[529] In addition to opening new buildings and monuments, Nyerere used the occasion to remind Tanzanians and the world of the important role Tanzania was fulfilling by backing anti-colonial fighters in South Africa, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe. This event became an important opportunity to teach colonial officials about the rapid advances that the population enjoyed a mere decade after the ending of colonial rule, including the growth of education, importance of Tanzania in the region and success of *ujamaa* policies. Thus, not only did Nyerere work to build upon local traditions to connect the local to the national but also worked to connect local struggles to those of the world.

As a further draw and ultimate competition, the celebrations also included a soccer match at the National Stadium between the Chinese national team and its Tanzanian counterpart.[530] Continuing with the traditions discussed above, this match brought a reported 11,000 fans to the National Stadium to participate in these important Independence Day celebrations and be reminded of their Tanzanian identity. As China was constructing a major railroad in Southern Tanzania, this match allowed Tanzania to remind the world of its support of the mainland government along with deliberately violating FIFA regulations,[531] currently under British leadership, to assert its own independence, especially to its own population. The invitation of the Chinese also reflected the change in Tanzanian foreign affairs as Nyerere turned towards the support of China and

[529] "Second Decade of Challenge," *Tanzania Standard*, December 3, 1971, 1.

[530] "Comment," *Tanzania Standard*, December 10, 1971, 1.

[531] China was not yet a FIFA member. Thus, the Tanzanian team risked disciplinary action by playing China.

away from America and British support, with Peace Corp volunteers no longer welcome in the country.   Symbolically, the two teams tied, with each scoring a goal. These national celebrations served important domestic and transnational purposes as well as reinforcing the bond between Tanzania and China. Transnational ties again served a major domestic function as they were a major attraction through which politicians were able to rally the population and bring people to major events rather than having the population remain beyond the reach of the central government.

Nyerere and Tanzanian youth both played major roles in this eight day celebration, with Nyerere opening the ceremony by banging on a traditional drum. Youths "from all over the capital singing revolutionary songs in school uniforms and other special dress will march through the city to the headquarters and converge on the birth place of the party where members of the public and invited guests will assemble," the *Tanzania Standard* reported.[532] Thousands of TANU Youth League members performed at the National Stadium, including 54 who were born on Independence Day and enjoyed prominent role of releasing pigeons.[533] The youth worked to teach the audience about hygiene and nutrition by demonstrating "with a broom in one hand and fruit in the other."[534] After spelling out the Arusha Declaration and acting its messages, "the whole stadium burst into thunderous cheers and deafening applause when a group of some of the schoolchildren, clad in people's militia uniforms took their positions before

[532] "Nation Enters Carnival Time," *Tanzania Standard*, December 1, 1971, 1.

[533] "Youth Display Shows Our Progress," *Tanzania Standard*, December 9, 1971, 1

[534] "Thousands See Youth Display Our Struggle," *Tanzania Standard*, December 11, 1971, 5.

demonstrating various military tactics and preparedness to defend the nation against external enemies and internal saboteurs."[535] These celebrations also depended on female students parading around in militia units and teaching about proper hygiene. For those upholding the ideals of female citizenship, this was a welcome reward, complete with a visit to the capital. For the mostly male audience, this demonstration highlighted the gender equality being promoted while also reminding the audience about the proper role of female students. Finally, the festival ended with a reception for the young participants at the State House on 11 December 1971. Thus, often in front of foreign dignitaries, Tanzanian youth taught and entertained the larger population, reminded people of their vital role in this revolution, and were rewarded by Nyerere, again linking himself with the youth.

Events around the country again involved maximizing participation, and officials were aware of the need to attract people to these events. In Mwanza, officials worked to increase turnout with the Administrative Secretary, S.K. Galinoma, calling "upon everyone of us to play his part in achieving this end."[536] Events included a mass procession from the TANU headquarters to the Saba Saba grounds, and local events included a traditional dancing celebration.[537] Elsewhere, "a surging crowd gathered at the Mbeya regional Tanu Office before marching on a two-mile procession to the Mbeya stadium where 20,000 witnessed various festival events…the crowd, which included guests from Zambia, burst

[535] "Thousands See Youth Display Our Struggle," *Tanzania Standard*, December 11, 1971, 5.

[536] "Tenth Uhuru Anniversary-December 1971," August 29, 1971, T.N.A.M Acc/1C1/8/257.

[537] "The Whole Nation Celebrates," *Tanzania Standard*, December 10, 1971, 7.

into cheers at the marches, displays, songs and acrobatics exhibited by 2,400 pupils from eight Mbeya primary schools."[538] Nearly every regional celebration incorporated student groups and concluded with a mass rally including a demonstration in support of the Arusha Declaration and calls for more education to develop the country. Echoing the rhetoric of the Arusha Declaration, celebrations provided an opportunity for the population to participate in these programs in ways other than focusing on productivity. Tanzania asserted itself to the world and used the opportunity to link, and therefore instruct, very localized groups with the nation.

Nyerere Day and Conclusion

Ironically for a man who did not want any streets or buildings named after him, Nyerere Day exists as the only holiday honoring a Tanzanian individual. Established after his death, during a time of decreasing unity and increasing resentment over Structural Adjustment Programs, this holiday serves to remind the Tanzanian people of their world-renowned leader, their shared anti-colonial struggle, and the glorious moments under Nyerere during the 1960s while overlooking the troubled economic times and increased coercion of the late 1970s and 1980s. This day also serves to remind the world of Tanzania's most famous citizen, as scholars and diplomats from throughout the world come to partake in conferences and celebrations. Nyerere Day reinforces the continued importance of holidays and national celebrations in Tanzania as well as their inherent weaknesses.

[538] "Mwalimu Give a State House Party for 12,000 Children," *Tanzania Standard*, December 11, 1971, 5.

Overall, national and regional officials expended a great deal of time, money, and effort promoting, organizing, and carrying out celebrations, constantly striving to spread certain messages. Both male and female students participated in these events as a reward for their contribution to the country although those students deemed immoral, unproductive or otherwise ungrateful (the subject of the following chapter) were denied this opportunity. These festivals created a new popular political culture which celebrated the new Tanganyikan nation-state. Through local, regional, and national celebrations, national officials used students and teachers to disseminate an invented past, in which TANU and Nyerere played a prominent role and groups throughout the country worked together, to a population that existed largely outside of the formal education system. These festivals also provided an important opportunity to inform the Tanzanian population about the new Arusha Declaration which Nyerere and the TANU elite needed to explain to the Tanzanian population, whose participation the state needed in the new program. Additionally, while acknowledging its diversity, state planners worked to promote and teach about the unity of the Tanzanian state. Planners hoped to replace tribalism or tribal identities promoted under British rule with loyalty to TANU as well as to reinvent Tanzania's past and shape its future.

These major pedagogical events reinforced the sovereignty and legitimacy of the state and TANU with the population and worked inform the British and the world about the importance of Tanzania and its socialist revolution. More importantly, to the domestic audience, this individualized participation in building

the nation-state created interactions at a personal level and a shared lived experience with the state, which worked to bond Tanzanian people to the state, ensure the implementation of the Arusha Declaration, and remind the world of Tanzania's accomplishments. Celebrations provided an opportunity for state planners to use attractions as a means to get people to associate themselves with state officials and to voluntarily learn about newly enacted programs, their leaders, and ideas about *ujamaa*. Through this shared experience, both in and outside of the classroom, ideas surrounding a Tanzanian identity and nationalism could be reinforced and officials could attempt to reform the population.

Chapter 7

Immoral Students and Apathetic Parents: Everyday Life and Gender in Postcolonial Tanzania

With the successful implementation of a national system of education, a state institution capable of reaching vast numbers of people, Tanzania's political elite worked to target and reform those visibly failing to fulfill these new requirements of citizenship—a moral, hardworking, loyal, socialist Tanzanian. To these regulatory officials, immoral school girls and parents who refused to send their children to school or pay school fees needed to be punished for openly disregarding these new obligations. As mentioned in Chapter One, missionaries and colonial officials arrived with their own conceptions regarding gender and sexuality and spent a great deal of effort trying to enact programs to reform Tanzanian society. However, the inherit weakness of colonial institutions limited the effectiveness of any reforms. With postcolonial state leaders, such as Nyerere himself, educated in missionary schools, they possessed a similar outlook regarding ideas surrounding gender. The legacy of colonialism continued as the missionary educated elite became the new holders of state power. With the expansion of the institution of education highlighted in pervious chapters, the postcolonial government officials possessed a greater ability than its colonial predecessor to implement reforms regarding morality on the female Tanzanian population.

With this outlook inculcated earlier in life, postcolonial officials continued the process of defining new roles for females that began during the colonial

period. Building on Foucault's work on sexuality and governmentality, Ann Stoler refers to the policing of sexuality as "microsites of governance" where the authority of the state was reproduced and used to regulate intimate relations. The state strove for people to monitor their own behavior without actually being present.[539] While this perspective provides for insight into gender relations within Europe countries and their settler colonies, the postcolonial Tanzanian state never enjoyed the ability to induce people to monitor themselves.[540] David Scott's approach, highlighted throughout this dissertation, again provides more productive approach to this material. After state officials used newly created institutions as a means of interacting with and reforming Tanzanian society, state officials then targeted female students deemed immoral. Although student resistance and the weakness of postcolonial institutions and ineffective agents again limited the success of these reforms, programs created for reforming gender roles increased the people's everyday interaction with the national bureaucratic officials, justified further intrusion into people's lives and reinforced the sovereignty of the Tanzanian government. This chapter first examines how teachers and school officials attempted to teach students proper moral behavior and gender roles being pushed by the postcolonial elite. Second, it examines attempts to reform parenthood as an attempt to ensure students attended schools

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[539] Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the College de France, 1977-78* (New York: Picador, 2009). Also see Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol.* I trans. Robert Huxley (New York: Vintage, 1990); Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

[540] For a further critique on the use of bio-power in Africa see Frederick Cooper, "Conflict and Connection: Rethinking Colonial African History." *American Historical Review* 99 no. 5 (1994): 1516-45.

and that proper female behavior existed outside of the classroom. Finally, it looks at the failure of this campaign in the early 1970s and how this failure justified further state intervention in the form of *ujamaa* programs following the Arusha Declaration.

While teachers and student remain the primary focus, this chapter examines issues outside of the formal schoolyard as the behavior of students at home, parents and the general population now existed as the target of these reforms. Through this selective targeting, the Tanzanian elite strove for what Achille Mbembe describes as "the unconditional subordination of women to the principle of male pleasure remains one of the pillars upholding the reproduction of the phallocratic system," a problem endemic to all postcolonies.[541] Thus, debates over sexuality allowed the nascent central bureaucracy under President Julius Nyerere to assert its authority by promoting certain messages, enforcing regulations and, as these reforms failed to be internalized by female students, overtly disciplining its population.

Productive Citizens or Immoral Schoolgirls

With missionary teaching engrained in the minds of teachers and newly elected leaders, the now independent and increasingly socialist postcolonial Tanzanian government led by Julius Nyerere worked to change the role of woman within society while expecting every citizen to be loyal, productive, and supportive of TANU rule. All Tanzanians, especially women, were to fully participate in building the country and take advantage of the new opportunities

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[541] Achille Mbembe. "Provisional Notes on the Postcolony." *Africa* 62 no. 1 (1992), 9.

offered by the state. Additionally, postcolonial leaders expected women, to whom they largely denied political power, to use state funded programs for personal advancement and through increased productivity to become more beneficial to the nation and national economy. Likewise, the state elite envisioned youths as loyal, capable of furthering its agenda in a highly disciplined manner, ready to take advantage of new educational opportunities, support TANU policy, and spread new ideas to their rural homelands.

Following the successful expansion of education, Nyerere's regime prioritized female education, a popular move that bolstered his government's legitimacy. He worked to ensure that young females attended school and witnessed the successful expansion of education through which nearly four hundred thousand new female students attended school. In showing his support, Nyerere claimed: "One of the priorities of our revolution will be our womenfolk."[542] Through the education of women, the postcolonial Tanzanian state differentiated itself from its colonial predecessor and worked to interact with and include women. Thus, women remained a critical group for the state to educate yet those in authority placed strict limitations on this uplift.

Tanzanian officials and national politicians also used education to reshape domestic relations and provide modern but highly gendered opportunities for female students. To accomplish this uplift, the government introduced technical education for women as the government strove to increase productivity and economic output. The success of such programs by the mid-1960s led C.Y.

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[542]"On Tanzania Women," *The Nationalist*, October 9, 1967, 3.

Mgonja, the Minister of Education, to state: "Girls can learn science subjects as well as boys and even better sometimes,"[543] before blaming colonialism for the prevailing gender biases. Additionally, education officials designed a domestic science course to train female graduates of Standard VII to not only be successful at home but to also work in canteens, thus contributing to the national economy. Community leaders and local officials encouraged schools to build modern kitchens and fashioned a domestic science curriculum that female students could choose, with the goal of creating "efficient mothers of the future."[544] One cooking teacher reported: "Girls are also taught to use electric cookers, gas cookers, and paraffin cookers as well as charcoal stoves. They are taught to use all utensils, modern and old."[545] Government leaders hoped to use education to increase the number of workers in Tanzania and positioned the government at the lead of reforming gender relations as part of its socialist revolution, well before and during the explosion of *ujamaa* campaigns of the late 1960s.

Educated and well—behaved female students became increasingly important as model female students acted as agents of the state and helped teach previously ignored older women, hopefully increasing their productivity. One young female community development worker taught more modern methods of sewing, cooking and gardening to middle age and elderly women in Kigoma,

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[543] "Big Changes Planned for Schools," *The Nationalist*, December 5, 1970, 1.

[544] "Domestic Science at School," *The Nationalist,* June 25, 1966, 3.

[545] "These Girl School Leavers," *The Nationalist,* February 10 1968, 3.

getting them to produce goods for display at the Saba Saba Festival of 1965.[546] Celebrations provided an opportunity for female students deemed moral and productive to demonstrate their importance, directly contribute to the national economy and take a leadership role in interacting with a largely forgotten segment of the population. Other female students taught adult literacy classes to much fanfare, which brought ideas a new modern, socialist Tanzanian identity to an additional group of people. Furthermore, the expansion of education permitted the central bureaucracy to spread its ideology and teach values to the formerly ignored half of the Tanzanian population. "To educate a woman is to educate the complete house,"[547] stated the Regional Commissioner of Kilimanjaro in an opening address to the teachers of a female upper primary school and showing the desire by education and state officials to reach the whole population. Thus, female students became key agents to reach an additional group of people and effected acted as agents of the state in promoting new concepts of citizenship and modern female behavior.

With this significant role, the character of female students became increasingly important and could help female students gain entrance into higher learning. For example, when advocating for the Area Commissioner to admit a female student who could no longer pay her school fees, Secilya William Liwawa, a head teacher in Njombe stressed the girl's good behavior**,** writing: "I

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[546] Saba Saba is one of the most important Tanzanian holidays as it celebrates the founding of TANU and economic accomplishments of the country, for more see the previous chapter. "Tanzanian Women Resolve to Learn Modern Skills," *The Nationalist*, October 18 1965, 6.

[547] "Regional Commissioner Speech to Open a Course to Teachers in Usangi Girls Upper Primary School," September 11, 1964, T.N.A. Acc518/E10.

recommend the girl's character and ability."[548] Additionally, school administrations, regional officials, and the Ministry of Education believed that youths proving to be moral although having failing grades were more useful to the nation than those with strong scholastic credentials. Thus, the character of the student mattered especially as female students helped the state to teach those not directly involved with the school system.

This close interaction between teachers and students, the school system provided the postcolonial Tanzanian bureaucracy unprecedented insight and access into the private lives of its young female citizens, an especially critical matter if students were going to act as agents of the state. This proximity allowed local agents of the state, namely head teachers and local administrators, to monitor and attempt to regulate the sexual behavior of young women. These local state agents countered indecent and immoral female behavior with the two strongest tools at their disposal—they reported the behavior to the parents of the delinquent and expelled the student from school. Thus, education existed as a method for the Tanzanian state to reform and regulate society and while providing greater opportunities for females, education also highly constrained and people contested the message and actively resisted these state impositions.

With this concern over character and increased interaction, pregnant school girls posed a major dilemma for education officials and bureaucrats in Dar es Salaam. While these officials encouraged females to attend school and adhere to the values espoused by the state, officials feared the spread of the immoral

[548] "To The Area Commisioner, Njombe," January 3, 1965, T.N.A. Acc578/E10/20/II/21.

behavior of pregnant females to other school goers. As seen with the incident at the start of this chapter, school officials expelled pregnant female students, using this removal as a means to set an example for other female students. Although actual pregnancy rates remain unknown, the perception existed within Tanzanian society that student pregnancy was widespread and growing at alarming rates. To early postcolonial leaders, pregnant students represented all the worst attributes of the new Tanzanian—someone who enjoyed a wonderful opportunity provided by the state but rejected it through his or her own greed, licentiousness, and carelessness.

These concerns over immoral behavior began to dominate school reports by the mid-1960s. Written by regional education officers and school investigators, these reports highlight the damaging consequences resulting from misbehavior. In a report to his superiors, the Regional Education Officer in Kigoma wrote of the gravity of this issue: "This region's record has been disappointing this year in the number of pregnancies among school girls…In Kasulu a Standard Eight girl who was leading the class and who I was sure to send to a Secondary school was impregnated by a jobless rogue…"[549] Although education officials such as this portrayed pregnant students as both relatively passive victims, unaware of their actions, head teachers still expelled such students, and pregnant school goers were blamed for violating the standards of the new Tanzanian citizen. Education officials also condemned school girls from entire regions based on perceived immoral activity. For example, in Kigoma, the

[549] "Pregnancies Among School Girls," March 8, 1966, T.N.A Acc518/E18/45.

District Education Officer agreed with several head teachers, doubting if "it would be useful to accept any more girls from the Kigoma Region."[550] Similarly, Coast Region officials reported: "Moral behavior of the pupils in the City have been a great problem and much time of Education Officers was wasted in trying to solve some of the most complicated cases of immorality among girls. This problem gave alert to all members of the Region Administration and parents as well."[551] Thus, the actions of a few girls inflamed passions and debates over morality and demanded the majority of attention from education officials since, as local representatives of the central bureaucracy, they possessed the responsibility for upholding state-determined morals.

With this concern, school officials began actively policing the sexual activity of female students, further taking advantage of the close relations they enjoyed. In certain areas, such as Mwanza, head teachers further intervened to combat pregnancy by mandating certain schools require girls receive regular vaginal exams, effectively attempting to regulate an issue previously dealt with between families. After determining the pregnancy of two school girls, a District Education Officer in Mwanza ordered the local head teacher to expel the girls and "arrange with the Medical Officer to examine the rest of the school."[552] In this school, all female students now experienced the regulatory ability of local officials. Additionally, head teacher E.L. Zambia wrote to his superiors: "During

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[550] "Pregnancies Among School Girls," March 8, 1966, T.N.A Acc518/E18/4., 5.

[551] "Outbreak of Pregnancy," January 18, 1966, T.N.A. Acc518/E10/43.

[552] T.N.A.M. Acc10/2023/ 208.

the end of the second term, I had prepared Medical Examination Certifications for all the girls and I told them to send the certification to the Doctor for examination."[553] State oversight and attempts at promoting its message now reached the point of attempting to subject the wombs of female students to its vision, thus forcing students to prove their innocence, while avoiding any underlying causes of the problem or any role played by male students. To Zambia's seeming surprise, one girl failed to report back to school after the holidays and required medical consultation. The head teacher launched an investigation into this absence, only to be further disappointed when he discovered that the parents already knew of the pregnancy but failed to inform him. Although acceptance varied by locale, the full medical examinations of female students seemed to be a perfectly acceptable and relatively efficient, although highly intrusive, method of discovering pregnant students and deterring others from becoming pregnant. Through the education system, the local actors of the Tanzanian state, especially the more voyeuristic teachers, possessed the right to sexually and morally regulate their female student populations.

In 1965, after four years of independence, the head teacher of Nyakabungo Upper Primary School in Mwanza launched an investigation into the activities of a female student, Zainab Mzee, after becoming irritated with her unruly behavior and suspicious of her frequent absences. He visited the girl's house, where her mother informed him that "Zainab [the girl in question] did not sleep at home the

[553] T.N.A.M. Acc10/2023/113.

previous night."[554] Under his questioning, Zainab admitted to spending the whole night "at one of the school boys' homes."[555] The head teacher then notified Zainab's mother and requested the medical officer determine whether the girl carried a child "so that I and her mother should be able to know what can be done on such a very serious case."[556] Upon confirming the pregnancy through a medical examination, the head teacher again interrogated Zainab, who now admitted to sleeping with one of the male students of the school on repeated occasions. The head teacher informed Zainab's parents and the male student's family of his findings, concluded that both students were guilty of immoral conduct, and immediately expelled Zainab.

This policing action and increased authority led teachers to couch other disciplinary infractions in sexual terminology, taking advantage of this overt concern with female sexuality. While accusing two girls of drinking beer in class, avoiding school, and lying, the Nyakabungo head teacher claimed the worst offense was the students' flirtations with other men and school boys, an act against accepted morality. The head teacher then expelled the girls from the school "so that their corrupted behaviour may do no more harm to the rest of the school."[557] When their minor but disruptive disturbances did not warrant expulsion, the implications by the headteacher of immoral sexual behavior justified expelling the troublesome girls. The enforcement of state policy differed

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[554] "Pregnancy-Zainab Mzeee," March 22, 1965, T.N.A.M. Acc10/2023/14.

[555] Ibid.

[556] "Re: Pregnancy," March 19, 1965, T.N.A.M. Acc10/2023/19.

[557] "Master Hemis Jums," September 7, 1966, T.N.A.M. Acc10/2023/155A.

for this head teacher since, rather for waiting for a pregnancy confirmation, now it was the potential for pregnancy that constituted immoral behavior.

Although to a more infrequent degree, this policing action also allowed education officials to target the immoral behavior of male students. In one instance, the head teacher at Nyakabungo Upper Primary School asked his colleague at another school to "have the above pupil from your School expelled, who together with his three other friends, are making silly friendships with my School girls."[558] On other occasions, head teachers attempted to locate the offending male student, although this was dependent on the cooperation of the pregnant student. If the head teacher was successful, the offending male student could be expelled, especially as student pregnancies remained a problem into the following decade.[559] Still, state officials rarely possessed the ability to locate male offenders and could only target those visibly violating state morality.

This attempt at sexual regulation also involved the use of transnational resources, especially Peace Corps volunteers who staffed upper primary and secondary schools. Often witnessing the wrath of overzealous minor state officials and teachers, these volunteers experienced a difficult decision as they needed to weigh their own views on proper behavior and the need to uphold the rules of the school. For example, Peace Corps volunteer Leonard Levitt recalled his experience with this sexual regulation as he reported a male and female student walking together and holding hands. With this information, the head

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[558] "Master Hemis Jums," September 7, 1966, T.N.A.M. Acc10/2023/155A.

[559] "Rules on Pregnant Schoolgirls Explained," *Daily News,* July 15 1972, 3.

teacher brought the two students into his office and interrogated them, hoping that one would confess. After neither confessed, the teachers then beat the boy until he confessed and began naming others who were also having intercourse.[560] After naming all the girls of the school, the head teacher brought in all the girls who then named their partners causing nearly every student to receive a beating. Desperate for information and to counter immoral behavior among students, teachers used every source available to them, including relying on Peace Corps volunteers. Here, the internal regulation promoted by Ministry officials and other national politicians failed to take hold and local officials relied on corporal punishment to combat the perceived problem. Thus, while working to limit the student pregnancies, local officials often took a different approach in order to achieve immediate results and please their superiors.

However, students quickly recognized the possibility of using these policing actions for their own advantages, effectively reappropriating this concern but not questioning its underlying assumptions or threatening the sovereignty of the state. Blair Bolles, a Peace Corp volunteer in a rural school in Morogoro region, recalled one prefect using this concern of sexuality to remove one particular unpleasant teacher, who caned students for the most minor of infractions. To protest this brutality, the prefect led an unprecedented student strike in 1967 to the amazement of all the teachers in the school. When the Regional Education Officer came to investigate, the prefect, knowing that the original complaint of excessive discipline was likely to be ignored, informed the

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[560] Leonard Levitt, *An African Season* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 138.

officer that the teacher was engaging several female students in sexual relations. The education officer immediately transferred the offending teacher to another district and the students ended their strike.[561] Students recognized the power that this official concern over sexuality possessed and used it to their advantage when possible. Additionally, when accused of immoral behavior, students also escaped punishment by appealing in TANU inspired rhetoric that a particular school or teacher failed to support the party or its attempted revolution.[562] Students realized the only concern greater than immoral behavior was treasonous discourse and used this to counter disciplinary action. While the authority of the teachers and the head teacher suffered, state officials managed to maintain their message regarding proper gender relations.

In addition to exploiting concerns over sexuality, students also quickly learned how to resist punishments associated with improper moral or sexual behavior. Officials could recognize pregnant students, constantly worked to regulate what they deemed immoral behavior and sometimes resorted to harsh methods of discipline. Students recognized this discipline symbolic of the relatively ineffective nature of the Tanzanian bureaucracy and its limited the regulatory ability. Students quickly realized that officials could only punish those that actually attending school. When investigating one troublesome female student, Asha Karume, with alleged questionable morals and a potential pregnancy, the head teacher realized this weakness. This head teacher then

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[561] Blair Bolles, interviewed by author, March 25, 2010.

[562] Njelu Kasak, "Discipline in Our Schools," *Daily News*, October 26, 1972, 4.

complained to his superior: "I have been unable to get the girl who could explain in writing as requested as to how she was eloped because she does not attend the school and I have found out that she does not stay at her parents."[563] Through simple measures this female student evaded the regulatory body of head teachers and escaped the official state punishment of immediate expulsion. The head teacher expressed further dismay, as "up to now, no one of her relatives has come to me to report the whereabouts of the girl and I am sure they knew definitely where the girl is."[564] In dealing with another potentially pregnant student, an equally frustrated head teacher complained: "I couldn't send the girl to be medically examined because her father refused."[565] Without the cooperation of the parents or relatives and through moderately evasive maneuvers, students such as Asha Karume escaped punishment, although she could not return to Standard VIII. Once outside the school system, the students existed beyond the purview of state officials and their ability to punish wrong-doers for violating concepts regarding proper female relations and good citizenship.

Further limiting the consequences of immoral behavior, certain head teachers and government officials failed to enforce state policies over immoral behavior but rather used their authority over female students to their own advantage. Teachers were often guilty of transgressions with female students and often worked to cover up these sexual relationships. For example, the agenda of a

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[563] "Asha Karume," July 1, 1964, T.N.A.M. Acc10/2028/105.

[564] "Re: Asha Karume," July 9, 1964, T.N.A.M. Acc10/2028/106.

[565] "Re: Asha Karume," July 17, 1964, T.N.A.M. Acc10/2028/110.

1965 regional teachers meeting makes the misbehavior of the teachers clear, especially the seemingly mundane mention of disturbing behavior. "The main items on the agenda were: (a) To consider disciplinary cases (b) To recommend teachers from one grade to another (c) Pregnancies out of wedlock (d) Teachers involved in murder cases (e) Housing problems in the Dodoma District."[566] With this shocking behavior taking place in schools, teachers concurrently worked to blame students to deflect any blame, hide their own relations with students and limit any additional investigations. In another case, teachers caused a scandal in the Chinyika primary school as the Mpwapwa District Education Officer reported: "[Met with the] transfer committee to find a solution for Chinyika primary school where most of the teachers had been involved in elicit relationship with their female pupils. The committee decided to transfer three teachers including the head teacher."[567] In the earlier incident reported by Leonard Levitt, a teacher worked to end the investigation into the sexuality activity of students as that teacher was engaging in sexual relations with a student being questioned. When this affair was made public, educational officials needed to react with Levitt recalling: "And in a few days Mr. Ngubile had his letter and the truck was appearing through the brick arch for him."[568] While teachers were as much to blame and often exhibited improper (and murderous behavior), the desperate need for teachers kept them out of trouble while female students were especially targeted and blamed by the increasingly gendered postcolonial state. As these

[566] "September 1969 Report from Dodoma Region," October 15, 1969, T.N.A. Acc545/E90/6/62.

[567] "February 1968 Report from Dodoma Region," March 22, 1968, T.N.A. Acc545 E90/6/22.

[568] Levitt, *An African Season*, 138.

incidents demonstrate, teachers possessed many of their own problems and consequently worked to keep the focus on immoral school children, thus shifting any attention away from themselves.

In addition to teachers, Ministry of Education officials also violated their own policies. Some young women in Dar es Salaam blamed the officials in the Ministry of Education, those ultimately responsible for enforcement, for both being very casual about expulsions and for trading sexual favors for educational opportunities. "We have known schoolmates who have failed their exams but still managed to secure employment or training even before those who passed well; through their contacts. So what does one get by acting the foolish virgin?" commented one anonymous school girl to an equally anonymous reporter.[569] Aware of their decreasing economic opportunities, school girls colluded with those who top officials empowered to regulate their morality and sexual activity, thus limiting the success of these government campaigns. In contrast to fairly successful school expansion, the enforcement of expelling pregnant students varied, demonstrating the relative weakness of interventionist state programs. However, students never questioned the discourse over improper relations and by recognizing the authority of corrupt officials this regulation furthered the sovereignty and phallocratic nature of the state.

The Proper Role of Females

This attempted regulation of female sexuality, especially with regards to students, led to larger debates within the society, including debates over

[569] "Why Do Some Dar School Girls Roam the Streets?" *Daily News*, January 10, 1975, 3.

punishment, marriage, and corruption. Reflecting concerns about the spiraling costs and decreasing quality of education, some complained about the sheer amount of resources wasted by expelling pregnant students and debated the proper means to punish offending female students. For example, one newspaper columnist stated: "Let us say, the girl has been enjoying free education for ten years and abruptly she is expelled from school due to pregnancy. How is she going to recover our services rendered to her? Which means our efforts to educate her are all in vain."[570] Additionally, others blamed African traditions of not talking about sex or the greed of the school girl who used her sexual allure to receive gifts. This non-revolutionary, customary behavior needed changing for the benefit of the country at large and called for increased government intervention and behavior modification. In realizing the potential long-term consequences for any accusation of sexual activity, some school and government officials hesitated before condemning the student. In commenting on the expulsion of a pregnant school girl in 1962, the Chief Executive Officer in Kilimanjaro appealed to the Headmistress of a local school: "I hope you will agree with me that the School, the parents and this administration are duty bound to assist the child so that her future is not ruined by the corrupt and confusing world around her at this stage in her development. It will be a complete wastage of funds and energy for the seven years she has been in School. Her last home

[570] "Chief Executive Officer, Kilimanjaro to Headmistress, R.C. Girls Middle School, Moshi," September 19, 1962, T.N.A. Acc555/5/4/107.

will be perhaps be in the streets of Moshi [the closest city]."[571] Still, such debates never escaped from the highly moralistic language promoted by the state.

Even after graduating or leaving school, sexual biases interfered with the modern, model Tanzanian worker the state hoped to create—one that graduated from at least upper primary school loyal to Tanzanian ideology and desiring to contribute to the national development of the country while enjoying increased opportunities. Simply, many young females became pregnant while searching for a job, thus destroying perceptions of the ideal state citizen. One woman recalled her attempts to find a job, stating: "I can't find a job. I have been to many interviews but they tell me the same thing: 'Give us something you have got, then we will give you a job.' When I ask them what is that something I have, they tell me, you are not a baby, you know what we mean."[572] The recent graduates and modern women that the Tanzanian state worked to create, faced immediate gendered constraints on her opportunities in the new Tanzania. Ministry officials who developed campaigns targeting student pregnancy now immediately solicited sexual favors from recent female graduates, further highlighting the lack of concern by government officials and the unforeseen roadblocks to attaining the goal of equality Nyerere and his officials desired.

This discussion of gender roles also provides important examples of what Tanzanians called sensual corruption or the use of official state authority to benefit sexually, often trading favors for jobs or coveted places in secondary

[571] P.B. Mayemba, "Miss Genovefa Petes." September 19, 1962, T.N.A. Acc555/6/5/107.

[572] "Why Girls Go Wrong." *Daily News,* November 28, 1970, 5.

schools. Having sexual relations with those in authority was quickly viewed as a means to achieve increased success. Correspondents of the *Nationalist* newspaper highlighted this issue in 1970, writing: "The greatest evil emitting from this issue is that it has made the public complacent towards it."[573] This practice flagrantly disregarded Nyerere's goals of combatting corruption, developing a meritocracy and ensuring at least the basic rights of the Tanzanian female population. This problem also furthered in the interventions agenda of the postcolonial state as the authors blamed females and their parents. "The best thing for parents to do is to take precautions and the best of these is to teach girls to behave properly in all circumstances."[574] Flaunting their authority and realizing that they would not be punished, officials used their influence and authority in a manner that was rarely reported but existed as a widespread problem in that officials overlooked.

Finally, actions taken by local officers in enforcing their message with regard to pregnancy reinforced nascent state institutions and the education hierarchy. Previously acting under local control with little oversight from the Ministry of Education, school officials now followed the orders of district and regional education officers, who in turn answered to the Ministry of Education. For example, when the head teacher at Mategere Extended Primary School, in Songea District, expelled a student due to pregnancy, the District Education Officer chastised the head teacher for acting without "prior consultation to this

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[573] "Why Girls Go Wrong." *Daily News,* November 28, 1970, 5.

[574] Ibid.

office" and ordered the teacher in question to explain his actions in person.[575] In addition to working to reinforce the hierarchy of the education system, head teachers referred cases of pregnant school girls to the court system, where families could receive compensation from the male student's family over the now wasted school fees. This change attempted to replace traditional justice systems of settling disputes between families in rural areas of Tanzania and highlighted an effort by the Nyerere government to promote state institutions. For a court system struggling to involve the population and also assert itself as a government institution, judges welcomed any increased role.[576] These disputes brought distant and new state bodies into the everyday lives of Tanzanians in concrete ways and allowed state officials to reinforce their message regarding proper gender relations.

Education officials enacted campaigns to regulate and modify the behavior of female students to ensure their participation in state institutions and define the role of female citizens in the postcolonial state. While expulsion existed as a highly visible deterrent, it depended upon vigilant head teachers for enforcement. Schools possessing head teachers, who were often overly watchful, managed to expel such students. However, the constant turnover and transfer of these educators, as well as the existence of corrupt or apathetic ones, limited the effectiveness of these campaigns. Thus, interaction with officials created space for students to avoid participating in pedagogical state programs but did so in a

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[575] "Pregnance at School: Hawa," August 5, 1966, T.N.A Acc511/E.1/1/116.

[576] Jennifer A. Widner, *Building the Rule of Law: Francis Nyalali and the Road to Judicial Independence in Africa* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2001).

highly gendered manner. Local state agents concluded that expelling pregnant students was better than dealing with their corrupting behavior and that not everyone would be a loyal, productive citizen. However, according to teachers and education officials, only females were immoral and in need of punishment. As these state programs continued, the more interventionist campaigns failed as students learned how to successfully resist intrusive and overly gendered state policies, but never questioned their gendered nature or legitimacy of the state. With such limited success, education officials switched to monitoring the behavior of parents as a method to better reach Tanzanian students.

By the early 1970s, attempts to expand the number of primary schools combined with a perceived crisis of pregnant school girls created constant debates over the correct form of action. Nearly all assumed the number of school pregnancies were increasing and "are now so alarming that everyone is compelled to complain about it."[577] This public outcry forced the Minister of Education, Simon Chiwanga, to defend state policies. He refused to allow maternity leave for school children on the grounds that it "would bring many problems to the whole educational system and greatly encourage men to spoil girls."[578] In response, other columnists acknowledged that these girls could corrupt the morality of other students and set a poor moral example, but argued that expulsion and other drastic measures were ineffective and needed change. As the creation of a next generation of Tanzanian citizens was established through the educational

[577] S. Wakadi, "Pregnant School Girls Are a Dilemma," *Daily News*, April 9, 1974 , 2.

[578] "No Maternity Leave for School Children," *Daily News*, July 10, 1974, 3.

system, the expulsion of pregnant school girls removed a number of people from the reformation efforts and caused concern among the elite population in general.

Educating Parents and Reforming Parenthood

As troublesome female students continued to thwart Nyerere and other top officials' efforts to ensure the practice of what they defined as suitable female behavior, these officials began attempting to reform female behavior outside of the school system. Parents became the new target of state authority as a means by which officials could reform the behavior of female students. In this regard, including parents, especially mothers, needs consideration in the same framework as Tanzanian officials used the actions of unruly female students to enact laws that targeted mothers and the female population that existed outside of the school.

Minister of Education Simon Chiwanga became a key official in this debate and in 1969 he quoted a resolution passed by the TAPA Annual Conference Meeting: "TAPA also advises the government not to be tolerant or passive towards any people of such kind [those who impregnate school girls] and not care about the status or positions of these people who cross school boundaries and impregnate school girls and ruin their educational career and also ruin the national strategies in education."[579] Again, female students were both passive victims and those who were blamed. Additionally, Chiwanga agreed with the parents association in that "these people have to be punished harshly"[580] and expressed concern over the seeming relaxation of discipline and morals in the

[579] Simon Chiwanga, "Discipline and Morals," April 8, 1974, T.N.A. Acc523/E.10/7.

[580] Ibid., 3.

schools of the country. Although he failed to advise the head teachers how to combat this problem, he urged school teachers to "repel and undo the unwarranted interference with the school girls."[581] This letter reflects how student pregnancy interfered with nation-building policies, of which morality constituted a part. Still, Chiwanga indirectly blamed school girls for the 'relaxation' of morals and referred to them in a paternalistic manner. However, education officials and parents worked together and parents assumed an ever increasing role in attempting to regulate the morality of their children by specifically targeting females.

As teachers and head teachers increasingly failed in their duty to control the morality of school girls, government officials and educators called for an increased role of parents both in regulating behavior and involving themselves with disciplining their children, in effect teaching parents how to ensure the state-approved messages reached children. For education to succeed and the model citizen to be created, officials realized that the behavior of both students and parents, especially mothers, needed transforming and parents soon became the focus of state campaigns. Thus, education officials worked to find ways to insert themselves into parenthood but, unlike with students, these officers lacked any close interaction with the parents and ultimately, their disciplinary ability was highly limited.

Reformers and advocates of school girls argued it was the duty of the parents to raise their female children in such an environment so that they could

[581] Simon Chiwanga, "Discipline and Morals," April 8, 1974, T.N.A. Acc523/E.10/7, 4.

attend school, remain childless, and become part of Nyerere's new Tanzania. Debates over morality and proper sexual conduct justified the attempted intervention into this formerly private domain**.** "How many parents try to understand their children…How many parents today have, and impart, a healthy attitude about sex and thus sex education?"[582] wondered one newspaper writer in a weekly column targeting literate females. Other writers argued that since female students partook of sexual relations during their visits home, parents failed to "show enough interest in the well-being of their children."[583] In response, parents needed instruction on such issues, especially how to train their children in the "fundamentals of life,"[584] an aspect schools were reluctant to fulfill, again reflecting missionary concerns about teaching about sexual relations. Top Ministry officials, especially Simon Chiwaga agreed with this assessment and called upon parents to discipline their children so as not to provide the opportunity for them to become pregnant.[585] The sphere of education needed to be extended beyond the physical school environment to include the parents so that the educated and moral Tanzanian women could take part in building the nation.

To state officials, parents, especially mothers, who failed in these critical aspects of promoting education, prevented the building and development of the

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[582] Scholastica Mushi, "School-Girl Pregnancies: Time We Were Less Harsh," *Daily News*, January 31 1972, 2.

[583] "Why Do Some Dar School Girls Roam the Streets," *Daily News*, January 10, 1975, 4.

[584]"No Maternity Leave for School Children," *Daily News,* July 10, 1974, 3.

[585] Ibid.

nation. Hoping to instruct others, a TANU delegate provided an instructional anecdote at a TAPA meeting:

> Parents who do not care for the education of their children should be locked up. One of the boarders in my house had a very bad attitude towards her daughter's education until I threatened to report her to the authorities concerned. Her daughter was the cook, the housekeeper, and the ayah for the young children. And while her daughter was doing all these jobs, the mother spent most of her time on her bed surrounded by empty and full bottles of beer. Her daughter had stopped going to school long ago because all that the mother cared about her was that she works in the house. I asked her why she does not send this daughter to school. She said, "She has no brains. She goes to school and when she comes back I ask her what she has learnt she cannot tell me one thing. She is brainless."[586]

Although the narrator of the story possesses an obvious agenda, the story provides insight into attitudes regarding education in Tanzania during this time. From the references to alcohol to staying in bed, the narrator portrays the mother as the antagonist to the revolution TANU strove to accomplish. Not only is the mother refusing to participate in nation building programs, she is preventing the next generation from allowing TANU to succeed. Additionally, due to her own laziness, the mother kept her daughter locked in a traditional relationship. Finally, the narrator never blames the father, only the mother. To the TANU official, the mother epitomized the traditional views the state worked to change and consequently was a poor Tanzanian citizen. Through messages such as this, the new perception that to be a productive and loyal member of society meant paying school fees and ensuring the proper and full education of their children

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[586] "Opinions on Children's Home-work," *The Nationalist*, February 28, 1968, 3.

was brought to the everyday citizen. This woman failed as a mother and as a Tanzanian citizen.

Even more worrisome to the central bureaucracy were reports from district education officers that showed huge numbers of students failed to attend school, and thus remained unreceptive to the state's messages and actively spurned a major opportunity. "Most schools do not have enough students and even for those schools with an average number of students, the numbers keep decreasing everyday,"[587] complained one regional commissioner. Among the Maasai in the north of the country, a habit existed of "going home on holidays and disappear," a problem which the Executive Officer of the Maasai District Council stated was a "drawback to national development."[588] Consequently, thousands of places in the Masai schools remained vacant and only ten of 503 students in the Masai schools received the exam necessary to attend secondary school.[589] Thus, parents successfully limited the Tanzanian government's attempt-to politicize the Maasai and further attach them to the Tanzanian nation. Additionally, a regional education officer in the Tanga region wrote: "A number of students have got the behavior of leaving school without any proper reason, and parents or guardians do not care about this or take any steps when children do not care about education. This is a very bad behavior because it retards the national plan in extending

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[587] Most of the reports highlight this fact. For example see "Annual Report, 1966," December 5, 1966, T.N.A. Acc511/E1/1/140.

[588] "Plea to Avert Worsening Situation in Maasai Education," *Daily News*, December 22, 1966, 1.

[589] Ibid.

education."[590] Student absenteeism caused schools to close, which in turn led to a less viable education system and less interaction with the population.

To combat these problems, the state investigated "what is troubling these parents and making them not allow their children to carry on with their studies."[591] Keeping children away from school was seen as rebuffing the opportunities provided by the government and preventing the development of the country.[592] "It is frustrating to note that this unsatisfactory state of affairs is happening at this critical time in our country of building up the young nation, especially when we take into account our school children who will form a new generation of tomorrow to whom education is badly needed," wrote the Parliamentary Secretary, E.A. Kisenge, before ordering regional and district education officers to take action and increase attendance.[593] One regional education officer felt "sorry that parents of Lyassa are not pleased to see their children go on with their studies after finishing Standard IV."[594] For the children who were selected for upper primary school, the state urged parents to send their students to school in order to better the nation. "Please make sure that you make them [the children] utilize the chance which they have for now," urged Simon Eliufoo in 1964.[595] Five years later, showing the lack of overall progress, the Minister of Education

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[590] "School Attendance for Children," June 10, 1966, T.NA. Acc509/E1/17.

[591] "Parents," April 6, 1968, T.N.A. Acc543/E1/12.

[592] "President Office Regional Authority," February 13, 1968, T.N.A. Acc513/E1/15.

[593] "Low Attendance and Low Enrollment in Primary Schools," T.N.A Acc542/E10/16/25

[594] Ibid.

[595] "The Speech by the Minister of Education on the Radio about the Selection to Join Standard IX," January 8, 1964, T.N.A Acc491/E1/15.

sent out a similar appeal: "I would also like to remind the parents of the selected student that their children have a task of building the nation…Parents are highly encouraged to make a follow up of their children's performance."[596] Although mostly wanting a better life for their children, parents needed their labor and put their own needs ahead of that of the nation.

Consistent with the regulation of female sexuality, the enforcement of a new mandatory attendance policy depended on local state officials. If any such officer failed to ensure proper attendance, than the District Education Officer in Njombe wrote: "You are strongly requested to work vigorously with the Sub-chief…to bring back to the school all the absentees shown on the enclosed list, and to ensure that they attend regularly," thus, asserting his position in this nascent education hierarchy. Parents also needed to be punished and regional officials worked to ensure local officials punished delinquent parents, writing "to punish him [the parent] according to the law."[597] The regional commissioner went on to insist that teachers and local officers needed to force children to attend school or he would bring them to court. Thus, as with pregnant students, new state laws worked to reinforce the authority and scope of state courts and poor local enforcement of attendance policies led to district and regional authorities asserting themselves over their subordinates and parents.

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[596] "Minutes of Educational Minister in the Students Selection to be Admitted in Standard Nine," T.N.A.M. Acc2022/298/14.

[597] "The Compulsory Public Primary School Attendance Order 1965," March 4, 1965, T.N.A. Acc511/Ed1/I51.

In an instance personal transnational assistance, correspondence between Allison Redmayne, a young British researcher, and Clement Ndulute, the Tanzanian student she was sponsoring, highlights this parental indifference, obsession with school fees, and sometimes incompetent officials. Nearly every letter written makes some reference to the fees or an attempt to raise money to pay the school related expenses. The student attempted to borrow money from his British sponsor, work at a tea company, raise chickens, grow maize, and sell various possessions to ensure that his fees and that of his siblings could be met. In one letter, for example, Ndulute wrote: "If you are a good position, kindly lend me the money for these children. I don't mind having to do something for you in my two next holidays to make up for this of course. You know you are my only hope." Despite his constant obsession with school fees, his father did not share the same dedication or desire to pay for his children's education, reflecting the parents whom the state desired to reform. Ndulute told Allison: "Rosina and Ted are in a very awkward position. Tsh. 90 to cover their fees has not been found. Father (though now all right) seems unconcerned." As a result of not paying the fees, the student's father was put in prison. However, this did not change his attitude. "Parents who have not paid the fees for their children at Kibao were put in prison not so long ago. Father got away by that he had sent no children to school and that he has had no intention of doing so. Those who are schools, he told the court, had been sent there by you [Allison] and I. He denied all responsibility for them,"[598] Ndulute claimed. To education officials, this parent

[598] Allison Redmayne to Clement Ndulute, October 4, 1968, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, England.

represented all that they hoped to change as the father failed to support this children's education but also prevented the overall development of the nation.

However, officials failed in their efforts to enforce the payment of fees and kept changing their responses, preventing any unified action. In some cases, the student reported that his siblings continued to attend school even though they did not pay their fees, a widespread problem in the 1960s and 1970s. For example, Ndulute wrote: "I am told that so many of the pupils have not paid their school fees. Stopping them from going to school would have meant closing half the school."[599] This lack of response allowed students such as Clement to wait and see if any response would be forthcoming before having to pay the fees for his siblings. A few months later, the students who had not paid their fees were expelled causing Ndulute to lose sleep over debating how to send his siblings to school. Again, Ndulute mentioned his concern for seeing his siblings' education, writing: "You see it is really a sorry sight to have all three children playing around here when you think they are supposed to be at school."[600] Still, his brother again attended school without having to pay the required fees along with all the other students who failed to pay their fees.[601] The following year, Ndulute realized the school's lack of information excused him from having to pay already owed school fees. "He [the head teacher] thinks only Ted's fees were not paid

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[599] Allison Redmayne to Clement Ndulute, March 23, 1967, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, England.

[600] Allison Redmayne to Clement Ndulute, February 23, 1967, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, England.

[601] Allison Redmayne to Clement Ndulute, May 5, 1967, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, England.

last year. And *I mean* to pay only what he demands. Yes, sometimes it is advantageous to have stupid school masters. He was so good this time as to suggest that I could postpone (indefinitely) paying for Rosina"[602] However, the lack of any student dismissals only reinforced the father's claims that he did not have to pay school fees and ended any chance the state possessed to reform his behavior.[603]

Through this close interaction, parents and officials threatened the successful growth of Nyerere's expanding bureaucracy. As had been true in colonial times, the non-payment of school fees worried the local and national Tanzanian state as it prevented the education of future citizens and highlighted willful disobedience. Fees helped local primary schools cover recurring costs—food, teacher's salaries, books, and general supplies—while the national state focused more on providing major capital outlays. Simon Eliufoo, the Minister of Education until 1968, needed to spend a great deal of time explaining the purpose of school fees, as well as insisting that the fees were the prerogative of the national government so as to promote education. Many parents believed that local education officials "were making up our own rules on things"[604] and consequently refused to pay. Head teachers, education officials, and local government officials constantly complained about the failure of parents to make their required contributions. While most parents were willing to pay, fee disputes

[602] Allison Redmayne to Clement Ndulute, October 4, 1968, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, England.

[603] Allison Redmayne to Clement Ndulute, May 14, 1969, Personal Files of Alison Redmayne, Oxford, England.

[604] "Education Report June 1966," T.N.A.. Acc523/E10/15.

threatened the prestige of government institutions and allowed people to subvert state policies and teachings.

Despite these problems of enforcing regulations and modifying behavior, by the mid-1970s, education officials once again called upon parents to play an increased role in combating the declining standards and morality issues in schools. With rising class sizes and decreased teacher oversight, parents needed to involve themselves to make up for the shortfalls of their child's education. A.T. Mweyo wrote to the newspaper: "In 1958, for example a Std. VIII leaver may have schooled for nine or even ten years…This enabled pupils to master languages and other subjects. They could write and speak English very well. Do we have such things today? NO. Instead we have 53 pupils in one class…Is it possible for a teacher to help the whole batch of pupils effectively…?"[605] Again, the government did not take the brunt of the blame—it was the parents who urgently needed to reform. A teacher also wrote of the need to involve parents in education to combat the increasing class sizes and lack of materials, stating: "If the child is not reading properly don't blame the teachers, just get busy and teach him or her."[606] Parents, especially mothers, needed to promote a "spirit of inquiry" in their children, which involved an increased role of parents and a major response to the opportunities the government now provided. The central bureaucracy and reformers argued that parents needed to be taught how to ready their children and the state worked to insert itself into this previously private role

[605] A.T. Mweyo. "Parents: Play Your Part," *Daily News*, April 24, 1973, 9.

[606] "If He Cannot Read Well, Don't Blame Teachers." *Daily News*, May 4, 1974, 3.

as parents worked against the state. In a major last-ditch effort to increase student enrollment, Nyerere introduced universal primary education in 1976, thus ending the battle over the school fees while not conceding the battle over education.

As the Tanzanian government provided, and required, more opportunities for female students to be educated and sought more interaction, parents needed to take more of a role in shaping the morals of their female children. This shift also absolved teachers and the Tanzanian state from direct responsibility for the immoral behavior of students. Although female students spent little actual time with their parents, education officials worked to hold parents, especially mothers, responsible for the actions of their children and to successfully become educated and modern Tanzanian women. By 1975 these problems remained, leading Vice President Jambe to state: "It is a sin to see that there are parents who do not care if their children attend school. We must wage war against this attitude. It is against our revolutionary spirit."[607] Thus, successive state efforts failed to alter the behavior of parents and attendance and payment problems remained in school and state officials needed to find other methods to teach and regulate ideas of citizenship to local population.

Ujamaa, **State Cleavages and the Phallocratic State**

Reflecting the desires of the central bureaucracy, regional education administrators and head teachers expected students and parents to fulfill certain obligations. Officials deemed those who failed bad citizens and in need of punishment and reform. However, these messages and punishments existed in a

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[607] Juma Penza, "It Is a Sin Not to Send Children to School," *Daily News*, August 7, 1975, 1.

highly gendered manner—female students were punished for immoral activity and mothers were largely blamed for the failings of their children. As unprecedented numbers of female students attended schools, the promises of equality were limited by gendered messages, the worst of which was being blamed and punished for becoming pregnant. Consequently, the gender equality of which Nyerere promised never materialized due the biases of local officials, gendered punishments and inadequate or inefficient resources on the ground. While state officials strove to increase the legitimacy of the state and create a modern, socialist citizen, it did so in a highly gendered manner and encountered limits on its pedagogical messages.

These attempts by the central state bureaucracy to interact with and discipline its population helped justify new modes of state intervention and oversight in the guise of new programs and more explicit attempts to directly increase productivity and to better ensure state messages were heard. A council in Mwanza reflected this need, stating:

> The majority of citizens have not yet awoke to education therefore most of them do not care about education. Then there are some students who hate school, rather they are fond of traditional dances, fishing, working on farms and cattle. Other children fail to study because their parents do not have a permanent settlement. The majority of students do not study because their houses are located far away from schools. Therefore they fail to go to school because of the distance. These problems will decrease when citizens stay together in *ujamaa* villages which are in the process of being built in this region.[608]

Ujamaa programs and ideology called for greater discipline of the population at a time when programs to discipline the population increasingly failed. Nyerere

[608] "Minutes," T.N.A.M. Acc9/N10/23.

worked to enact Education for Self-Reliance as part of his *ujamaa* programs, which called for the state to "inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community"[609] and hoped that education would regulate the future lives as people returned to their villages. Thus, Tanzanian citizens would be productive and loyal citizens, ready to produce Tanzania's next generation and promises to reform gender relations were quietly dropped.

These ambitious intervention programs increasingly escaped the ability of the central Tanzanian government to regulate and modify the behavior of its population. The Tanzanian elite attempted to use sexuality as a micro-site of governance but lacked the capacity to properly monitor its population and reform their behavior. This process of subordination furthered the everyday interaction between the government, as represented by teachers and local officials, and its local population. Consequently, the expulsion of pregnant students and issues over the payment of school fees remain major issues with regard to education in present-day Tanzania and represent an ultimate failure of the state to successfully reform its population.

Still, as exemplified in school programs and pedagogical messages, the postcolonial Tanzanian remained highly gendered and female students continued to face devastating consequences for their behavior. The growth of education as a state institution allowed Tanzanian officials to use schools as a manner to reform conceptions of gender within the population at large. Schooling allowed this continued colonial conception of gender to reach the population and, as education

[609] Julius K. Nyerere, *Freedom and Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 293.

was high demand, to punish those not upholding this conception which was linked with Tanzanian citizenship. State officials attempted to subtlety discipline its population and have female students (and parents) regulate themselves. When these reforms failed to effectively combat student pregnancies and get parents to pay their school fees, teachers and local officials became increasingly frustrated. This led to more overt punishments becoming necessary, although in both cases the target of their authority remained the same. Thus, officials moved between "modern techno-state" methods of reform, which national officials promoted, and corporal punishment which local officials reverted to. Although contested and never fully functional, these new reforms reached a large population than their colonial predecessors and through the active targeting of female students, an already phallocratic state became increasingly biased. By 1970, upholding national citizenship became intimately linked with attending school, attending celebrations participating *ujamaa*-related activities and raising the subsequent generation to become moral, productive citizens aware of their shared Tanzanian identity.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The correspondence of Clement Ndulute, the student highlighted throughout this dissertation, highlights a number of structural problems associated with the Tanzanian education system in the 1960s. According to his letters, teachers failed to adequately teach their classes or receive their salaries, and head teachers ignored unpaid fees and failed to enforce attendance. Parents did not want to send their children to school or raise productive citizens. However, his letters also demonstrate that in many instances the education system actually worked— a number of students passed their exams despite stiff competition and numerous obstacles, students generally received good instruction and they possessed a better education than their peers when they studied abroad. Despite the difficulties they encountered, Ndulute and thousands of other students successfully completed Form Six and went on to enroll at the University of Dar es Salaam or other institutions throughout the world. After graduation, like a number of Tanzanians highlighted in this dissertation, Ndulute obtained a scholarship for graduate studies in America and became a transnational student with the expectation of returning to Tanzania.

The problems raised by Ndulute were of no surprise to those in the Ministry of Education or national politicians. The lack of proper oversight and proper control over schools in rural areas plagued both the colonial and early postcolonial state. The actions and apathy of local and regional officials limited the effectiveness of educational campaigns originating from the central

bureaucracy. Officials at the national level during both the colonial and postcolonial periods remained unaware of the activities of their regional counterparts. Additionally, issues revolving around the proper financing of schools existed at the time of independence, which constantly limited early postcolonial expansion efforts at institution-building and damaged new propaganda campaigns aimed at establishing a national culture. Both colonial and postcolonial officials realized the country was too large, too rural and too poor for many of these national reforms and expansion campaigns to be successful.

Nonetheless, during the early postcolonial period state officials leveraged the legitimacy they enjoyed as the successful leaders of the anti—colonial movement, the excitement that existed with achieving independence and a period of relatively successful economic growth to fund institutional expansion, especially education. Leaders viewed these new institutions as a means to ensure interaction between people and state officials and used this dialogue to promote reform. This dissertation has highlighted the growth and successful national takeover of education and the harnessing of transnational resources. It also has demonstrated the use of celebrations as the means by which state officials spread ideas regarding a national Tanzanian identity, the legitimacy of the nation and TANU. Although structural problems were evident, the decade following independence was a period during which the postcolonial state successfully established new institutions to target and reform the Tanzanian population.

More generally, this dissertation illustrates major themes in African history and broader postcolonial debates. Scholars must look beyond the ultimate

failure of the Tanzanian nation-building effort and analyze how the postcolonial state developed institutions to target and reform its population and how this effort fostered a national identity and legitimized the postcolonial state under Nyerere and TANU. This dissertation also describes the major effort of state officials to build institutions and target the Tanzanian population in an effort to overcome the country's artificial creation and divisions fostered by the colonial state. As Basil Davidson and others highlight, African countries were cursed with artificial, arbitrary and forced implementation of nation-states across the continent.[610] However, in a world divided into states, African countries needed to act as nation-states and consequently developed institutions to achieve this expectation. Such institutions were introduced throughout the 1960s as a means to reach the targeted population. It becomes necessary to examine these institutions, how they worked to target and reform the population and establish the authority of the nation-state imposed upon African countries during colonial rule.

Teachers and students played a key part in building these new institutions—they were both the targets of state reforms and, once they were co-opted into the growing state institutions, the conduit through which institutions could further expand. In many regards, teachers and students acted as intermediaries between national officials and the rural population. After undergoing extensive training and interacting with national politicians and state officials, teachers and students became key promoters of the new Tanzanian civics and history. Largely through this effort, people increasingly became aware

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[610] Basil Davidson, *The Black Man's Burden: Africa and the Curse of the Nation-State* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1993).

of their belonging to the Tanzanian nation-state and their national history, which privileged the African male political leaders at the expense of women and minorities. Additionally, schools became the sites where state officials first tested and implemented *ujamaa* policies in the country, as teachers helped espouse these new socialist concepts to the rest of the population while students demonstrated in favor of them and helped local villages form collective farms. Aware of their importance, teachers and students used their relatively secure positions for their own ends and quickly began demanding privileges and concessions from the political elite.

Closely intertwined with the system of education, celebrations became an additional means by which the national government could to target the population. Again, teachers and students served critical functions as organizers, promoters, participants, and audience members at celebrations from the local to national level. Through their efforts and massive campaigns by the state, state-sponsored celebrations became a major point of interaction between the population and national government. This allowed politicians to remind the population who their leaders were and of their accomplishments, as well as reinforcing the concept that the population belonged to a national Tanzanian entity.

This new institution of education, in combination with celebrations, worked to make the idea of Tanzania a real experience for the thousands who participated in the education system or were targeted as parents. Officials undertook efforts to ensure celebrations and the lessons associated with them were occasions to be remembered, with students receiving small gifts,

photographs or other trinkets. Thus, these events at schools worked to remind participants, especially students, of how their lives directly interacted with the abstract and largely foreign idea of a Tanzanian state. As these practices existed throughout the continent during the 1960s, this examination helps open up new lines of research as to how different states used both celebrations and students in an attempt to reinforce the sovereignty of the nation-state and gain the loyalty of their citizens.

The case of so-called immoral school girls provided a highly visible and vulnerable target for state officials to condemn and then to justify further intrusion. By targeting allegedly promiscuous school girls whom state officials accused of violating their responsibilities of citizenship, the national state was able to insert itself into the lives of the colonial and then postcolonial population. Such intervention provided the evidence necessary to justify further intrusion and cast the idea of immoral schoolgirls as an epidemic problem. The institution of education allowed state officials to target this group and reinforce its phallocratic nature. This practice continued to exist in both official and popular minds as the Ministry promised to expel pregnant students and condemn their parents, an attitude which still exists today. Although never enjoying the ability to reform society as they desired, elite males took advantage of controversies over morality as a means to further legitimize their rule and cast themselves as defenders of traditional Tanzanian culture even as the state constantly worked to modify these ideals.

As demonstrated throughout this dissertation, state officials used schools and celebrations to foster a national Tanzanian ideology and strove to have citizens associate themselves with the Tanzanian state rather than with particular tribes or local ethnicities. This effort complicates Mahmood Mamdani's claim in *Citizen and Subject* that the postcolonial state was deracialized but not detribalized.[611] While postcolonial Tanzanian leaders acknowledged their "tribal" precolonial and colonial past, they worked to re-appropriate customs and traditional practices in a manner that would celebrate the diversity of the state. For Nyerere and TANU, with no ethnic base to draw upon, the new national culture, through which people associated themselves with the Tanzanian nation, existed along with tribal identities but not in a manner designed to cause conflict but to celebrate the strength of the state, the only organization capable of bringing such groups together . Tribal identities remained but a new national character was added. Thus, education and celebrations were identified as important catalysts for promoting a new nation with a common history, a shared struggle in the present, and a unified future.

An often overlooked transnational component existed within this institutional building process that built upon and often went beyond colonial bonds and relationships. This component involved the movement of people around the world during the 1960s and highlights the efforts of a state to take advantage of resources made available by Cold War rivalries.

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[611] Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

In addition to showing the agency of individual states to act in an independent nature, students also took advantage of these opportunities to further their own education in an effort to achieve better positions within the national government. Here, the goal of the Tanzanian government and individual students again intersected. Due to scholarships made available for Tanzanians to study abroad and foreign teachers coming to staff Tanzanian schools, the institution of education was able to expand in a manner that otherwise would have been more difficult.

The efforts of teachers and students allowed the postcolonial state to achieve a greater degree of involvement with its population than historians previously acknowledged. Although the system of reform began breaking down by the early 1970s as teachers became increasingly disgruntled and under-qualified, celebrations never fully functioned in the manner envisioned by national planners, and pregnant school girls constantly thwarted the authority of head teachers and district education officers. However, state institutions were able to reinforce the sovereignty of the state at the local level. These campaigns also justified increased intrusions into the lives of the Tanzanian population during the late 1960s and 1970s, which reinforced the presence of the Tanzanian state and worked to firmly establish a sense of belonging to this new nation. Overall, education provided the method by which the state was able to interact with and reform society as well as providing the means for legitimizing Nyerere's and TANU's rule.

Events over the following decade limited the success of these states reforms, leaving Tanzanians longing for their "glory days" of the 1960s when institutions functioned, a better life seemed possible and people throughout the world idealized Tanzania. Historians, anthropologists and political scientists have analyzed these reforms as they attempt to explain the collapse of the postcolonial African nation-state, a collapse that happened after a fairly long period of productivity. First, as James Scott, Goran Hyden and others argue, the state elite became increasingly coercive in forcing *ujamaa* programs on the rural population. This dissertation has largely concentrated on the early days of *ujamaa* when students excitedly popularized its components and, albeit more reluctantly, participated in agricultural programs at school. These students then staffed official youth leagues, a history yet to be written, and in an increasingly violent manner compelled peasants to collectivize their farms and support *ujamaa* ideas. Government officials, along with their youthful supporters, forced peasants into villages near roads so they could be more easily targeted by the state and their goods brought to market. Other students, those who had graduated from university, often became the new generation of bureaucrats with a vested interested in the system but remained outside of the core circle of leaders which remained dominated by an earlier generation. By the early 1970s, Nyerere, the political elite and youthful supporters resorted to increasingly harsh measures that included forced relocation. Peasants throughout the country failed to embrace agricultural collectivization, especially when agricultural officials failed to properly reward or compensate them for their efforts. Consequently, the rural

population increasingly refused to participate in the Tanzanian economy and, as Goran Hyden argues, remained beyond the reach of the state.[612] With this bureaucratic over-extension, state officials became overly regulatory, increasingly bloated and infamously inefficient. The growth of the state through its coercive attempts to reform the population largely failed, especially when compared to the earlier, more subtle strategy of using schools to reform the population.

Increasingly poor leadership or poorly conceived and implemented state programs did not entirely cause these problems Natural forces came into play when Tanzania experienced a massive drought throughout the early 1970s. As this calamity combined with the already decreasing agricultural output from a discontented population, Tanzanian exports fell dramatically and the country began importing food. With a worsening balance of exchange, the state could not afford to sustain its extensive system of education. Teachers, already experiencing trouble receiving their salary and maintaining the lifestyle they expected, became more concerned with their own personal matters than with working for a state who often did not pay them, a problem that continues to exist today. Additionally, the dramatic rise in oil prices during the 1970s hurt Tanzania's already precarious economic situation. Officials used valuable foreign exchange to import oil, which lead to a dramatic rise in Tanzanian debt with leaders having little control over the situation. Finally, Nyerere declared war on Uganda after Idi Amin invaded northwestern Tanzania in 1978. Although this war has not received the attention it deserves, it necessitated diverting spending

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[612] Goren Hyden, *Beyond* Ujamaa *in Tanzania* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980).

from schools and other social programs to the military. With little money available, Tanzania's dramatic expansion of education ceased and schools already built could no longer be adequately maintained. By the time Ndulute completed his graduate work abroad in the late 1970s, Tanzania no longer was attractive to return to and Ndulute stayed in America as part of the growing African diaspora of the highly educated who left for economic and personal reasons.

Ultimately, the quality of Tanzania’s system of education quickly eroded due to internal and external problems. As schools became increasingly dependent on the central state since the mid-1960s, local resources were no longer expected to fund schools, buy supplies or pay teachers. However, with the acceptance of neo-liberal reforms in 1985, national support for education drastically declined. Education increasingly became a local matter, relying on transnational assistance and local community support to establish and finance schools. By 1995, the government’s official policy on education relied upon NGOs, private organizations, individuals and communities. Education had for all practical purposes reverted back to the way it existed at the start of this dissertation in the late 1950s and early 1960s. However, despite this recent decline, by the 1980s Nyerere and the TANU political elite already had used education to legitimize their rule and the ideology of belonging to a unified Tanzania began to take hold among the general population.

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