

Tanzania

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THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN MOBILIZING WOMEN FOR DEVELOPMENT

IN TANZANIA

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It is impossible to deny that the women did and still do, more than their fair share of the work in the fields and in the homes. By virtue of their sex they suffered from inequalities which had nothing to do with their contribution to the family welfare. Although it is wrong to suggest that they have always been an oppressed group, it is true that within traditional society ill treatment and enforced subservience could be their lot. This is certainly inconsistent with our socialist conception of the equality of all human beings and the right of all to live in such security and freedom as is consistent with equal security and freedom of all others. If we want our country to make full and quick progress now it is essential that our women live on terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men.

Julius K. Nyerere 1967

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Background and Statement of the Problem

Tanzania is basically an agricultural country where more than ninety percent of the population lives and works in the rural areas. After getting her independence in 1961, Tanzania adapted a policy of socialism as a strategy for national development. In 1967 the government declared the policy of Education for Self-Reliance to match the objectives and aspirations of the country. Education for Self-Reliance set down principles which would serve as a revolutionary influence in creating socialists. It was the kind of education designed to

1. foster social goals of living together
2. inculcate a sense of commitment to the community
3. stress concepts of equality and responsibility
4. develop independent and self-reliant citizenry committed to truth and socialist values
5. counteract intellectual arrogance
6. provide a complete education within seven years
7. provide an education consistent with the realities of rural life¹

This policy is clear evidence that Tanzania has much faith in education as being central to development.

This study will examine the problem that exists despite the socialist principles of equity and the various innovations which have taken place in formal education: the education of women lags behind that of men. Since education is central in development, women consequently are left behind in other areas in the process of development.

For example, training in agriculture and the introduction of new agricultural technology have favored men. Women still use traditional tools for cultivation whereas a plough and tractor are sometimes used by men. This is a contradiction because it is the women who carry out most of the agricultural work in the rural areas. The amount of agricultural work done by women in these areas ranges between sixty and eighty percent. During the colonial period education tended to exclude women. The few women who did go to school got a kind of education which did not prepare them for their role in national development. Education in general therefore, has not prepared women to participate actively in a changing society. This lag in education among women impedes individual growth and societal progress.

Why the lag?

There are two areas in which an explanation for this lag in the education of women could be sought

1. traditional society
2. the development of underdevelopment

1. Traditional society

Various reasons have been given for the lack of participation of women in education in Tanzania, ranging from traditional beliefs to a lack of interest among women themselves. Much emphasis has been placed on traditional and cultural attitudes and practices; customs and prejudices which have endured for centuries as being barriers

to women's full participation in development. Some Europeans studying about African women for the colonial administration saw the indigenous African societies relegating to women a place which was inferior, even approaching that of a domestic animal. It was therefore felt that colonialism would emancipate African women by raising their living and educational standards. Women would also be freed from the drudgery of farm labor and the oppression of their own customs. These social customs included brideprice, arranged marriages, early betrothal and few divorce rights.

The East African Royal Commission of 1953 - 1955 identified the following as the obstacles to girls' education: early marriage and parent's general reluctance to send their daughters to school, teacher's tendencies to pay more attention to boys than girls, preference given to boys whenever financial constraints forced parents to make a choice between boys and girls, predominance of agriculture which required that girls stay at home to do the farming, resistance to foreign values, for example, Moslems did not want their children converted to Christianity, initiation rites and the desire for brideprice.

These factors did contribute to the backwardness of women to some extent. However, evidence from recent studies on the development of underdevelopment very convincingly suggest that colonial capitalist penetration into Africa not only contributed to the underdevelopment of African countries but also significantly undermined the status of

women.

2. The development of underdevelopment

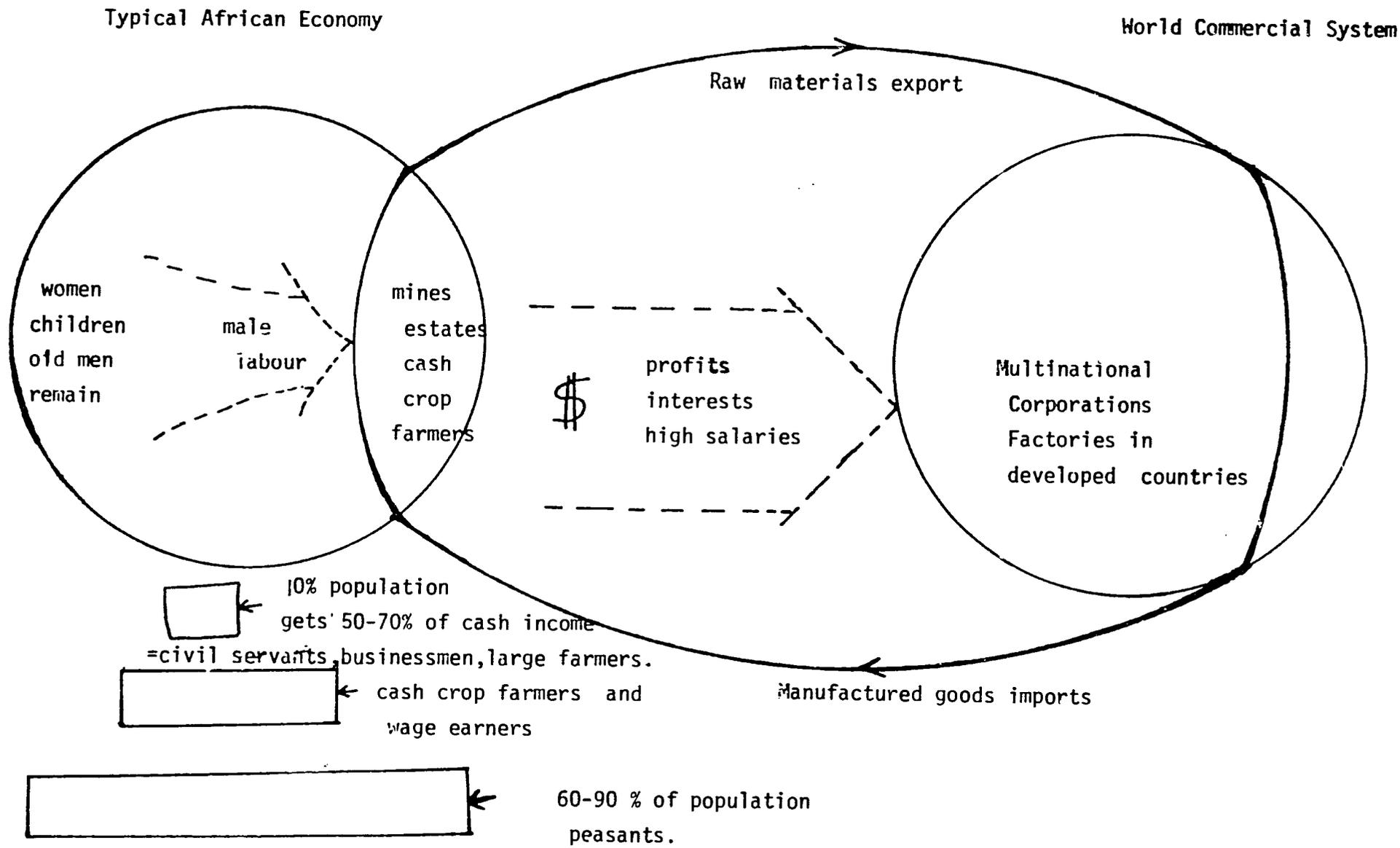
In their analysis of the impact of colonialism on the status of women in Africa, Pala and Seidman (1976) have come to the conclusion that inequality under colonialism emerged as an aspect of social differentiation which is characteristic of a capitalist society where sharp differences exist between persons on the basis of unequal access to the means of production. They have also formulated a pictorial model which supports their thesis very well by illustrating how the development of underdevelopment in Africa simultaneously undermines the status of rural women throughout the continent. (cf. Model p.5)²

The model illustrates how the typical African economy has been incorporated into the world commercial system since the imposition of colonial capitalist economy to date. In fact the model is not only adequately suited to the African economy but it could also be applied to the other countries of the Third World in Asia and Latin America.

Like many other African nations, Tanzania inherited at independence a socio-economic structure which reflected a pattern of dependence on external forces, primarily the need of the foreign capitalist markets for raw materials. Tanzania produced cotton, sisal, coffee, cashew nuts for export to Europe. In return she imported manufactured goods such as cloth, machinery, luxury items at a much higher cost than she was

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A MODEL TO SHOW HOW THE INTEGRATION OF AFRICAN ECONOMY INTO WORLD COMMERCIAL SYSTEM
AFFECTS THE STATUS OF WOMEN.



Associated skewed income distribution

paid for the exports. To ensure that African countries provided markets for their surplus manufactured goods, the colonial administrators discouraged local manufacture of goods in the colonies. For instance, up until 1961 Tanzania did not have any major factory for making manufactured goods from the materials she produced. She had a few factories producing luxury items like cigarettes and beer. Under the protective umbrella of colonialism, giant mining companies like de Beers, trading and banking firms like Grindlay's. dominated the exchange of raw materials for manufactured goods on their own terms. The major share of investible surpluses were sent to the metropolitan countries by these firms in the form of profits, interest and high salaries. Rodney observed that

Colonialism was not merely a system of exploitation, but one whose essential purpose was to repatriate the 4 profits to the so called mother country.

He concluded that the expatriation of surplus produced by African labor out of African resources mean the development of Europe as a part of the same process by which Africa was being underdeveloped.

The introduction of a capitalist economy demanded a labor supply for the estates, mines and farms where cash crops were grown. Forced labor was introduced by the Germans at the beginning of the twentieth century in Tanzania. Young able-bodied men were forced to migrate from their homes in order to provide cheap labor. To ensure this cheap supply of labor hut taxes were introduced. The tax had to be

paid in cash; therefore the men had no option but to go to work for cash in order to pay the taxes. Even today men still talk about the kipande, referring to the number plates they were given for identification in the labor force. Kipande literally means identification tag.

Men migrated from Kigoma to Tanga, west to east, to work on sisal plantations. The men who migrated were referred to as laborers. The wages paid to them were hardly enough to support the men themselves, for example, in one case the taxes were seven shillings a year whereas the wages paid were only six shilling.

The colonialists' idea that the "woman's place is in the home" combined with pre-existing division of labor which confines the woman in the agricultural and domestic spheres, continued to leave the women behind to produce food to support themselves and their children. Moreover, women did not qualify for jobs available in offices, mines and estates. The loss of male labor from the rural areas forced women to combine their own tasks with those of men, without any assistance. Since the opening of new fields was usually done by men, women used the same land over and over. In areas where cash crops were grown, in addition to food production, women had to take care of the cash crops as well. However they did not have access to agricultural extension services. In general, productivity in the rural areas declined

during the colonial period.

With the introduction of cash crops and eventually individual land ownership, there developed differentiation among peasants so that rich cash crop growers, who were usually men, could buy more land. Once the land was purchased, women lost their customary right to use it. Furthermore, land became fragmented and scarce. Women were forced to walk long distances to get land to cultivate the annual subsistence crops. Since the cash crops were grown on the best soil, women had to cultivate on poorer soil. Hazards like frequent famines in the forties and fifties and malnutrition can all be attributed to the loss of productivity of land. Since women did not have access to cash income, they could not buy land and their status continued to deteriorate.

The Seidman/Pala model also illustrates how the pattern of integration of the typical African political economy into the world commercial system was accompanied by the emergence of an increasingly distorted pattern of income distribution. The export sector was dominated by colonial civil servants, large export crop farmers and a few businessmen. This top class was mainly composed of Europeans because Africans had only been educated to man junior offices. There were a few small scale farmers growing cash crops such as coffee, tea and cotton. All these cash crop growers were men. This top class constituted less than five percent of the entire population but

it took the largest share of the cash incomes which remained in the country. Most of the wage earners and cash crop producers were men. Women were left out of the cash earning activities. Nevertheless, women were still responsible for more than eighty percent of the agricultural work in the rural areas. In fact the majority of the women did not benefit from the introduction of the capitalist modern economy for they were left out of it altogether. Mulling (1976) in her study of women and economic change in Africa, summarized women's socioeconomic status:

It might be more useful to understand the deterioration of African women as bound to the disruption of African society as a whole through colonialism's imposition of social structure based on stratification by class and sex. Colonialism often resulted in the differentiation of social and domestic labor, the introduction of large scale production for exchange, and the transformation of productive resources into private property - processes that significantly altered the status of women. 5

Mullings conclusion about the deterioration of women's status under colonialism is congruent with the model of the development of underdevelopment proposed by Pala and Reidman.

In the post independence era the new government did effect changes with the most radical taking place in 1967 with the Arusha Declaration.⁶ Tanzania opted for a socialist way of development which demanded the total transformation of society with the new ideology coupled with restructuring of institutions.

Much effort has been made to promote the social and economic

status of women in Tanzania. The Women's Organization (Union of Tanzanian Women) was created to effect this. A variety of adult education programs have been initiated for women. The Third Five Year Development Plan 1977 - 1982 provides for more secondary school places for girls. In spite of this deliberate effort by the government and by the women themselves, education and all the other instruments of development have not yet reached the majority of Tanzanian women who live and work in the rural areas.

In order to fully understand the problem of women's exclusion from participation in the formal educational system which consequently affects their effective participation in national development, one has to examine the interaction of pre-existing sexist attitudes and institutions with those institutions imposed by capitalist penetration.

Rodney has aptly termed colonial education "Education for Under-development". Carnoy (1974) sees colonial education as education for domination.⁷ Both views are valid because the colonizers introduced a set of formal educational institutions which partly supplemented and partly replaced those indigenous educational institutions of Tanzania. Colonial education was not designed to serve the needs of Africans in the colonies but the needs of the metropolitan countries. Its purpose was to train Tanzanians to help man the local administration at the lowest ranks and to provide staff for the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans. This in effect meant selecting a few men

who could help in the exploitation of the country. The missionaries who were the heralds of colonialism and who dominated the field of education in Tanzania aimed at getting literate men who could help spread the gospel. Colonial education therefore favored boys while girls remained behind, a pattern which persisted even after independence. Enrollment figures in schools show a large disparity between men and women. Only in adult education does the number of women exceed the number of men. This disparity is evident in the following five areas:

1. indigenous education
2. Islamic education
3. missionary education
4. colonial education
5. Formal education after independence

Indigenous education

Cameron and Dodd (1970) point out

It is a fallacy to believe that the early pioneers moved into a complete educational vacuum. Every society has an educational system if only to the extent that it is its concern to pass on to the younger generation the values and beliefs which give it an identity and preserve its existence. 8

The generalization of indigenous methods of education in Tanzania in precolonial days is difficult as there are no contemporary written records of its nature and evolution. Tanzania is made up of more than one hundred and twenty ethnic groups and as such, the educational approach varied. It differed from one ethnic group to another.

Emphasis in education was placed on what the group considered essential to social and kinship continuity, and acceptability as an adult. For instance a pastoral Masai child would have a different upbringing from that of an agricultural Haya or Sukuma child. However there were conditions which were broadly similar in social, political and economic organization.

Some western critics contend that education was for conformity to already approved values and beliefs. An example of this analysis said

The unwritten laws of religious observation, family relationship, inheritance and marriage were as detailed as they were rigid. 9

This is apparently a justification for the emphasis on education that encourages "an enquiring mind" in Education for Self Reliance. 10

The setting of indigenous education was the setting of life itself; it was a lifelong process whereby a person progressed through different stages of graduation from birth to death. It was vocational whereby boys were prepared to become warriors, hunters, fisherman or farmers; girls were prepared to perform domestic and agricultural duties with strong emphasis on their roles as future wives and mothers. It is important to note here that when colonial education was introduced, it enhanced the same practice of confining girls to the home by emphasizing domestic science in school. Colonial education did not train women in agriculture. Instead it only trained boys in agriculture, although not

not on a large scale. Thus those who needed agricultural education as a tool were denied it.

The content of traditional education included and stressed the norms of acceptable behavior including sexual relationships according to four main precepts: good manners, good character, obedience and respect especially for elders and superiors. Civic education was provided in the clans or tribe's history, religion and organization, hence self social management was learned in peer groups.

Through initiation which was very formal in nature young men and women acquired full citizenship in a clan or tribe which continued to change status and functions with increasing age. Women became more important and authoritative so that later education was imparted by those who were even older. The change in status and the commanding of respect as one grows older is demonstrated by the fact that any woman who is old enough to be a mother is addressed as mama.

Sharing and conformity to the already established norms of the society was stressed. Everyone had to work and there was not exploitation, a virtue that was emphasized in education.

In our traditional African society we were individuals in a community. We took care of the community and the community took care of us. We neither needed nor desired to exploit our brothers.¹⁰

There were no full-time professional teachers in the traditional education system since all adult members of the society acted as educational agents. In short, Tanzanian traditional education was

aimed at preparing the young people for service in the community. It was relevant practical, immediate and life-long.

But how can traditional education be interpreted in relation to the status of women? Some recent writers have made a harsh judgement of traditional education. According to them, it was

personal conditioning and education in conformity
 In a society where behavior is prescribed and
 transmitted, knowledge is not to be questioned...
 Where there is an approved formula for everything,
 the hypothesis has no place. 13

These writers do recognize traditional education as being coherent and successful as a means of instruction and socialization for the survival of society. Their judgement may be based on some apparent facts but their own value system, which is western, individualistic and industrial, makes them blind to the fact that traditional education in Tanzania responded to the economic, social and political conditions of that time. It is in relation to these conditions that indigenous education must be examined and analysed, on its own terms and its own time.

As President Nyerere (1967) stated, the assumptions of traditional were not questioned or even thought about because

the whole society was based upon them and designed to uphold them. They permeated the customs, manners and education of the people. And although they were not always honored by every individual, they were not challenged; rather, the individual continued to be judged by them. 14

Education was not differentiated from other spheres of human activity. It was not confined to places like schools and therefore was not purchased as no one had a monopoly. Education took place everywhere, and every adult was a teacher. It was functional, relevant and community oriented; it was in harmony with society . Both boys and girls got their share of education according to the roles they played which were differentiated according to sex but which were complementary. The quantity of education received by either sex was determined by the kind of functions they performed. The question of girls education lagging behind that of boys in terms of quantity did not arise. Up to the age of six children of both sexes were under the care of their mothers. From age six on girls remained with their mothers while boys were taught by their fathers or any designated male. This is not to suggest that in traditional society men and women were equal in status. In most communities women were regarded as having a place in the community which was different.

It is impossible to deny that the women did and still do more than their fair share of the work in the fields and in the houses. By virtue of their sex they suffered from inequalities which had nothing to do with their contribution to the family welfare. Although it is wrong to suggest that they have always been an oppressed group, it is true that within traditional society ill treatment and enforced subservience could be their lot. 15

By all means this is contrary to the socialist principle which calls for equality for all human beings. The intrusion of Islamic missionary and colonial education did not improve this unequal status of women.

Islamic Education

From their early contacts with the East African coast the Arabs established Koranic schools which were primarily involved in teaching literacy and numeracy with emphasis on memorization. Until very recently not much attention has been given to the influence and contribution of Islamic education. Most of the Koranic schools were concentrated on the coast, in Zanzibar and along the major slave routes where towns like Tabora, Kigoma and Ujiji sprang up. These schools were later expanded by the Germans and the British so that by 1930 the mainland had not fewer than 700 schools 80% of them being on the coast.

The participants in these schools were mainly boys. But even if the girls had participated actively, the content of Islamic education, arithmetic, literacy and a reading of the Koran in Arabic, would not have prepared them for their future roles in society. Moreover the Moslem ideology did not allow for extrafamilial activities for women, therefore confining them to the home.

Missionary education

Gillette (1976) stated that the first wave of missionaries announced an educational imperialism whose design was radically different, total domination both geo-political and mental. This statement is valid because it was the missionaries who were first to introduce the notion of a differentiated education dispensed by a special institution in a special time at a special place by a special staff. This was given

widespread application in Tanzania as an alternative to and an assault on traditional undifferentiated African education. Their aim was to get converts who would later become teachers and preachers of the gospel. The aim and method of education suggests that the content was also alien.

The missionaries were interested in quantitative expansion. According to Cameron and Dodd (1970) by the beginning of the twentieth century there were six hundred mission schools in Tanzania with fifty thousand pupils. Literacy, numeracy and bible knowledge were emphasized. Vernaculars were used to ensure transmission of the evangelical message. Again Cameron and Dodd pointed to the broader meaning of the curriculum:

the early missionaries not only propagated the gospel and in so doing taught the three R's, but sought to inculcate the moral and social values of the civilization they represented and which they, like their secular contemporaries, had supreme and unquestioning confidence. 16

The social values in this case were those of individuality and personal achievement which were contrary to those of indigenous African society.

In theory missionary schools were open to both boys and girls who were already Christians. In practice girls were left out of the higher forms of education. The few girls who managed to get some education often did not go beyond primary school. They got there the kind of education which did not prepare them with any useful skills

for responsibility in society.

For instance, in the Catholic Church women have not yet been accorded public leadership roles, a fact which corresponds to the role pattern in traditional African society where public roles were allotted to men while women's lives were limited to the domestic sphere. Women are not even allowed to join the seminary to prepare for priesthood in the Catholic Church. The bible in some respects resembled the Koran. Both emphasized the superiority of men over women and the obedience of women to men. The book of Genesis has it that God created woman (Eve) from the rib of man (Adam)

And Adam said, this is the bone of my bones and
the flesh of my flesh She shall be called woman because
she was taken out of man¹⁷

The introduction of Islam and Christianity enhanced the already existing gap between men and women. Neither of the two religions advocated the equality of men and women or critical thinking.

Colonial education

The aims of colonial education had earlier been mentioned and it is clear that it was an education designed to inculcate the values of the colonial society, with emphasis on "subservient attitudes and on white collar skills." It induced attitudes of human inequality underpinning the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field. The inadequacy and inappropriateness of the colonial education which was inherited by the new state have been central points

of attack by the state and the struggle continues.

As Mbilinyi (1972) observed in her study of the state of women in Tanzania, educational opportunities provided by the British administration did not benefit girls. There have always been more places for boys than for girls in schools at all levels. Parents invested in education for boys because of the economic value. At least boys could get jobs and earn money to support their parents. They were the future "patriarchs of their households". On the contrary, the future role of girls was that of wife and mother, so the best training for them was at home under their mothers and female relatives. This value was keeping with traditional expectations for boys and girls. Moreover the school fee too was quite high so that many parents could not afford it and whenever they could, priority was given to boys. This trend of discouraging girls continued even in schools. The following figures of enrollment of African girls and boys in the years 1956 - 1961 give evidence that the girls were left behind

YEAR	GRADE 1		GRADE 4		GRADE 8		GRADE 12		HSC	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
1956	38,693	71,341	16,276	48,049	851	4,635	8	125	-	-
1957	40,029	70,464	18,444	51,549	975	4,604	5	145	-	-
1958	39,358	67,903	21,408	55,066	1,045	5,380	11	163	-	-
1959	40,456	66,817	24,450	58,885	1,225	5,983	23	295	-	-
1960	43,474	70,611	26,244	59,389	1,309	6,724	36	442	4	80

These figures not only reveal the difference in enrollment but they also show a marked contrast between the two sexes in the higher grades. When Tanzania became independent in 1961, only five girls had finished Higher School Certificate (HSC) and the boys numbered eighty. Girls had only nine secondary schools in 1961 and all but 2 of these were boarding. Boarding schools were quite expensive and only a few parents could afford to send their daughters. The idea of a boarding school was a calculated measure to separate the learners from the communities in which they were to live. This made it easier and more convenient for colonial educators to teach girls subjects which had no relevance to their possible future roles in society. Emphasis was on domestic science subjects. Vocational and technical skills like agriculture, local handcrafts, planning and budgeting, leadership, cooperative management and marketing were neglected. This inappropriateness and inadequacy of education for girls did not end with colonialism but continued long after independence.

Unequal educational opportunities exist even today and the proportion of girls gets lower with each successive level of education. It is only on the primary level where the gap seems to be disappearing. For instance, in rural Moshi, the ratio is now nearly equal. One of the aims of Universal Primary Education is that it will bring the girls at par with the boys.

Another neglect notable in colonial education was that of ignoring the adult population, despite recommendations from various commissions like the Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1924 which emphasized relevance in education the education of women adult mass education and family life education for both boys and girls. The colonial administration did very little to implement these recommendations. Adult Education was left in the hands of voluntary organizations and religious groups. Some agricultural extension services were given to men since it was they who grew the cash crops. Extension services followed the British model which assumed it was the men who were the farmers. In reality it is, as we have seen, the women who do the farming in most parts of Africa. It has been estimated that only ten percent of the agricultural training is given to women in Africa. The content of adult education programs for women in the colonial period was planned by Europeans who did not take into consideration the women's needs and problems: it consisted of childcare, embroidery, cookery and sewing, nutrition and some literacy. These subjects might have been typical of women's clubs in Europe.

Generally speaking, Africans did not get enough education in the colonial period. The little that they did get was elitist, inappropriate and alienating. Women were worse off than men and this continues even today despite seventeen years of independence. This

however does not mean to suggest that women have been completely neglected, nor does it mean that women themselves have given up. The role of women as human resources in economic, social and political development is a subject that is gaining increasing attention. Their status too in society is now being seriously questioned. Policies and laws promoting the status of women are being made but usually what is legislated is far from what is being practised.

Post independence: Women in Formal Education

Ever since independence, Tanzania has been trying to overhaul her total education system in order to match it with its own new goals, aspirations and challenges of development. As stated earlier, the most revolutionary re appraisal of purpose and the of the whole system of education began with the proclamation of the Arusha Declaration of 1967, and the publication of Education for Self-Reliance. A marked and increasing shift in importance and priority can be seen moving away from formal education which caters to a small proportion of the population towards nonformal education and adult education which could provide a more functional service to the masses of the people. Nonformal education will be discussed later. Formal education has been undergoing a gradual transformation both in content and structure. As in many countries, formal education

in Tanzania serves a small fraction of the population. More schools have been built and racial discrimination has been abolished; the content of education has changed so as to be more relevant, all education is now free. It was hoped that primary education would be universal by 1977. Despite all these changes, in terms of percentage, only about 52% of the children of school age got the opportunity to enter primary schools in 1975. In an effort to achieve universal primary education, this percentage has risen. Only 3% of the 52 % entered secondary schools and only 0.2% of that original number go to higher secondary education. Only 0.3% of these go to university.

The participation of women in formal education has only improved very slightly. An examination of the professions open to women in Tanzania reveals that most women who are employed are absorbed by the teaching and nursing professions. Mbilinyi (1972) has quoted the following figures:

Women represent 24% of the professionals (total: 53,700) This includes 24% of the teachers (22,500, mainly primary school level) 40% of medical personnel (14,400, mainly nurses) and only 8% of university academic staff Women are 47% of the typists (2,340 total) but only 10% of other clerical staff (28,000) . Women hold 23% of domestic help positions (50,000 total) but only 4% of the jobs in industry (109,000) and only 2% of the managerial posts. (9,300)¹⁸

If Tanzania is really moving towards a socialist society this picture depicting the contradictions between men and women must be changed. Women must have equal access to employment in which case they must have equal access to education, so that they can acquire the required qualifications. Girls for a long time have been limited by the curriculum which differs from that of boys on the secondary level. For instance, the pure science courses have usually been reserved for boys while girls have been left to take arts and a few science subjects. Home related subjects like cookery, needlework and childcare have been emphasized for girls. This does not give them a wide choice, but prepares them for the role of wife and mother.

Secondary school enrollment figures into all classes between 1965 and 1975 show this proportion:

YEAR	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
1965	16,463	5,452	21,915
1969	22,391	7,567	29,958
1971	24,223	8,380	32,603
1974	26,791	9,135	35,926
1975	28,266	10,061	38,327

The significance of these figures has been reflected in the occupational structure. The gap between boys and girls still persists. This gap is

widest at university level. At the university of Dar es Salaam women represent fifteen percent of the entire student body. Again Mbilinyi (1972) pointed out that these are predominantly found in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and rarely in the physical sciences, law, medicine, and agriculture, areas of major importance to the society. The new system of selection for university which requires that the candidate must have worked for not less than two years, almost excluded women completely from the university. When this was first introduced the intake of 1975-1976 was 708 of which only 48 were women. This situation has now been corrected. The government allows women to enter the university directly after they have completed Form VI.

The following table of enrollment at the university by areas of specialization illustrates the point observed earlier that women are predominantly found in the arts. These figures include students in the First, Second and Third years. (Fourth and Fifth in the case of B.Sc. Engineering and M.B.Ch.B. respectively) (Figure I)

From the evidence that has been given it is clear that the educational gap between men and women is still wide. Since education is one of the major instruments for accelerating development, women are continually left behind. They cannot get employed as men can because they lack the formal qualifications offered by education. Neither indigenous nor colonial education ever equipped women with

FIGURE I

YEAR	1969/70		1972/73		1973/74		1974/75		1975/76		TOTAL
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	
B.A General	47	262	90	452	87	405	86	403	54	450	364
B.A Ed	93	332	44	212	44	214	34	218	29	230	244
B.Sc. Gen	6	17	12	102	22	137	20	124	13	87	63
B.Sc.Ed	42	224	39	222	34	261	42	271	46	250	256
B.Sc. Ag		18	21	143	32	157	41	163	36	161	130
B.Sc. Forest						16		44	1	50	
LLB	5	103	12	105	14	91	10	101	10	97	
Medicine	8	91	13	143	9	167	12	185	14	201	
B.Sc Hydrol					1	32	1	40	1	44	
B.Sc. Engin						61		149		199	
B.Sc Geol								19		26	

Source: Ministry of National Education
Dar es Salaam 1975

knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for dealing with the changes and complexities of a new socialist state. Development of a new society needs and creates a new worker, who understands the principles of socialism and works towards the achievement of those principles. To meet this requirement an education which is different from both the indigenous and formal educational system inherited from the colonial

period must be sought. Also different methods of delivering this education must be established. This is not to say that indigenous and formal education should be done away with. In fact these two systems have much to offer the new educational system. Formal education with its many limitations alone cannot accelerate development. It is still serving a small portion of the population, at worst, excluding women who feed the nation, raise its daughters and sons. This calls for more attention to the search for alternative means of education.

Nonformal Education and Rural Development

The recognition of the shortcomings of formal education has led Tanzania into paying more attention to the rapid development of nonformal education. In this paper nonformal education is defined as

Any organized educational activity outside the established formal system whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity - that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives. 19

The importance and priority which is increasingly given to nonformal education can be traced back to President Nyerere's policy statement in parliament in 1964 when inaugurating the First Five Year Development Plan (1964 - 1969)

First we must educate adults. Our children will not have an impact on our economic development for five, ten or even twenty years. The attitudes of the adult on the other hand, have an impact now. 20

The Arusha Declaration of 1967 has laid down the foundations of the policy of socialism and self-reliance in Tanzania. One of the key principles of the Arusha Declaration is the need for mobilizing the human resources for development. As has been pointed out, the formal educational system in Tanzania falls short of developing all human resources as rapidly as possible. Kassam (1975) suggested that

Nonformal education, together with the creation of a national political consciousness, can be major instruments for an effective and quick mobilization of the people for development.

The focus of such mobilization is put on rural populations which constitute more than 90% of Tanzania's total population. Agriculture is the backbone of the Tanzanian economy. Rural development, especially through the formation of ujamaa villages therefore assumes a logical strategy of development. The word ujamaa means familyhood. An ujamaa village is an economic, social and political unit, where people live and work together for the benefit of all. The villagers run their own affairs, supervise their own schools, organize the improvement of their own living conditions. In this way they become a community for all purposes.

The ujamaa villages approach aims at providing a socialist organization of production in the rural economy. It therefore strives to bring together the segmented and scattered kinship units and rural

communities into viable multi purpose cooperative units in which all members participate as equals in decision making, work and distribution of incomes. The policy aims at taking advantage of the economies of scale and organization. It also strives to enhance the freedom and power of the people to participate fully in the transformation of their village economy and eventually in the national economy.

Going back to the model of the development of underdevelopment which has been elaborated on in the preceding pages, it is obvious that changes have to be instituted if the model is to change. The dual economy has resulted in the underdevelopment of the rural areas where the people live. The rural areas are characterized by poverty, disease, malnutrition, illiteracy, unemployment and the general absence of essential services that are more readily available in the urban areas. It is now that

African planners have begun to emphasize the necessity of decentralized planning with a view to uncovering potential investible surpluses hidden in underemployed rural labor supplies or neglected possibilities for increasing the sales of agricultural products. Given adequate price incentives, there is ample evidence that the African peasant family will increase its output.

This suggests that resources in the rural areas, specifically human resources, have to be mobilized if development is to take place. The successful establishment of the ujamaa villages hopes to solve the problems of rural underdevelopment on the basis of cooperation, self-reliance and the spirit of socialism among the villagers and thereby stimulate development. Development in the Tanzanian context means

the giving to the people power in deciding on matters that affect them, that is, freedom to manage their affairs. It also means increases in people's material well-being.

For people who have been slaves or who have been oppressed, exploited and humiliated, development means liberation. Any action that gives them more control of their affairs is an action for development even if it does not offer them better health or more bread. 23

TANU GUIDELINES 1971

If peasants are to be involved in a more meaningful way in their own development, education becomes essential. Considering that women are the majority and given the fact that they have been left out of the mainstream of development, their training needs must be incorporated in all development planning at all levels. This does not in any way mean that women should be given consideration because they are women. What is important to note here is the serious loss of potential caused by the neglect of women's roles.

Women's Training Needs for Rural Development and the Role of NFE

It might be useful to look at the various components of rural development before examining the areas to consider while assessing the training needs of women. According to Coombs, Prosser and Ahmed (1973) rural development means

rural transformation - change not only of the methods of production and of economic institutions but of social and political infrastructures as well, and transformation of human relationships and opportunities. 24

Rural development seen in this context would have as its goals:

1. increased production and income
2. equitable distribution of income
3. increased employment
- 4 land reform
- 5 better health
- 6 nutrition and housing for all
- 7 expanded educational opportunities for all
- 8 the strengthening of local means of community self-government and cooperation
- 9 the eradication of poverty and the promotion of social justice

These components of rural development make clear the point that successful rural development requires a variety of specialities and specialized education in areas like agriculture, small industry, irrigation, health, nutrition, cooperatives and others. There is however, need to fit these specialized educational activities into a larger framework and strategy appropriate to the development of the area. It is important to note that education in the absence of other complementary factors cannot bring about rural development.

Although education by itself is not enough to tackle the complex problems of rural areas, it can act as one of the major factors in stimulating and sustaining the process of rural development. Any

educational program for women must prepare them for their new roles in the society. Women are primarily involved in agriculture beside their household duties. In some areas like Kilimanjaro, women cut grass for the animals and also do some marketing. Since formal education has not adequately prepared women to participate in change, nonformal education must be an alternative for them.

The necessary institutional changes suggested as a strategy to overcome underdevelopment have been instituted in Tanzania:

- 1 taking over the commanding heights through the process of nationalization in 1967
- 2 long term national plans for development are being implemented
- 3 decentralization of planning and people's participation in decision-making has taken place from 1972
- 4 the policy of education for self-reliance has been formulated to match the socialist goals
- 5 villagization has taken place and people are now living together in larger units to take advantage of the economies of scale and social services
- 6 small scale industries have been established and given emphasis in rural areas.

The following are some of the considerations worth taking into account when planning educational programs for women in light of the changes taking place in Tanzanian society.

Psychological Considerations

The effects of ambivalence and the dual nature of society produced by the colonial situation have been the distortion of

ownership and self-reliance in the traditional sector. It is very important that people in general be aware or conscious of their ability to liberate themselves from the oppressive conditions they suffer. Women need to develop a consciousness of their historical position and a will for unified action. This is now possible in the ujamaa villages. Nonformal education should stimulate critical thinking among women through the various approaches which promote a horizontal working relationship between learners and educators. Nonformal education should also promote positive attitudes towards cooperation, work, community and national development.

Economic considerations

Since women are primarily engaged in agriculture and extension services have always favored men, it is high time that women were trained in agriculture so that their productivity can be increased. Women have from time immemorial used hoes to cultivate. Their knowledge and skills have been handed over from generation to generation without any improvement. Yet women have been able to feed the nation and provide a bit of surplus. Agricultural training should include techniques of food storage and preservation. It is said that thirty percent of the food produced in Africa is wasted

due to poor means of preserving and storing food. Besides agriculture women need training in vocational skills which would enable them to get employment in other sectors of the economy.

Social and political considerations

Women must understand the policies introduced as these affect their lives. Here women need to be motivated. The question of motivation is tied up with values and beliefs which are engrained through the process of socialization and reinforcement by socio-political mobilization. The principles of ujamaa and self-reliance demand that people themselves be equal. This would be one of the major preoccupations of the Union of Women of Tanzania (UWT). So far, women have been confined to their locales but as change takes place and technology advances, women need to know their linkages with their neighbors beyond their own villages. Nonformal education should enable women to understand the ideology of ujamaa and self-reliance, and to be aware of government structures and functions. Very important is the fact that women should be aware of the forces that interact to keep them in a state of underdevelopment so that they can together fight against these forces of exploitation and oppression. For example, women should be made aware of their linkage to a wider world economic system which affects their lives.

Functional Literacy and Numeracy

Functional literacy and numeracy, sufficient to enable one to read and comprehend a national newspaper, information sheets and numbers is essential. Functional literacy is a useful tool but it should not be made a prerequisite for training. Women in Tanzania have responded very positively to the functional literacy campaign, and also to the other mass campaigns of Man is Health (Mtu ni Afya) and Food is Life (Chakula ni Uhai). When the functional literacy campaign started in 1970 56.2% of all adults registered were women. By the end of the campaign in 1975 only 23% of the total female registered illiterates had learned to read and write. What is the reason for this? This question calls for more research. The women themselves can answer this question better than any experts.

Family and Household considerations

Family and household considerations include family health, nutrition child care, sanitation budgeting, pricing, inflation and everything else related to economy of the family. When prices for commodities go up or when coffee and cotton prices fall, usually it is the leaders and the government who are held responsible for the situation. It is important that women know the economic link between the family, the village, the region, the nation.

other nations of the world. They should be aware of who controls what.

Appropriate technology

The most burdensome activities for rural women in Tanzania have been identified as

- 1 pounding and grinding grain
- 2 walking long distances to fetch water and firewood
- 3 using traditional tools for cultivation and cooking
- 4 carrying heavy loads

The provision of time and labor-saving devices are essential for relieving women these burdensome activities so that they can have time to spend on other development plans and projects.

Women can be taught to operate a simple plough, a grinding mill and pushcarts. The more important aspect of appropriate technology is the utilization of local resources available such as skills, knowledge and materials.

Leadership skills

With the policy of decentralization, people are supposed to make their own decisions at the local level. This is very important for women because men have always made decisions for them. When such decisions are made, women are rarely consulted. What is needed now is not to be merely consulted by men, but to participate fully

in decision making. Nonformal education should prepare women for leadership roles. Women are the first teachers in the family and in the community. If they have to contribute effectively to the education of their children, they must be educated first.

The education and training that helps women to participate effectively in rural development bears long term results. Their attitudes shape those of their children since they educate children in their formative years of development. Dean Rusk expressed the important role of education in development in the following words

Education is not a luxury which can be afforded after development has taken place; it is an integral part, an inescapable and essential part of development.

Because of the importance of women's contribution to society the urgency of involving them in the development process as full and equal partners in all areas calls for nonformal education which will enable them to make their maximum contribution. However it has been mentioned earlier that education alone cannot bring about development. Training in skills must be accompanied by employment opportunities otherwise it does not mean much. Peoples expectations from education have always been that it should enable them to obtain gainful employment.

Conclusion

Despite seventeen years of independence women are still lagging behind men in development in Tanzania. This gap between men and women was precipitated by the domination of Tanzania by colonialists who created institutions and attitudes which inter-acted with the pre-existing division of labor. Evidence shows that educational opportunities have always favored men, and that the kind of education offered to the few women in the colonial period did not prepare them for future roles. P.K.A Gardiner made the following comment about this

There is no point in teaching women to embroider pillows with SWEET DREAMS when the malaria mosquitoes will not let the people sleep.

The Arusha Declaration calls for equality; the TANU creed professes that all human beings are equal. There is not a single law in Tanzania which discriminates against women but what it states is far from what is practised. Equality between men and women is still far from being achieved.

The establishment of ujamaa villages has given much hope to women for it is there where they can work and get paid according to their work. However, they still do most of the work. The work they do outside the production activities at home is often the most difficult. We must plan nonformal education programs

plus employment opportunities which will enable women to participate effectively in rural development for the improvement of their families and of the whole nation.

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