

## ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION INNOVATIONS IN TANZANIA

PHILEMON A. K. MUSHI

**Abstract** — A number of adult education innovations were introduced in Tanzania in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This article analyzes the context of three innovations, namely functional literacy, workers' education and the programme of the Folk Development Colleges. The analysis reveals that these innovations had firm roots within the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the country in the 1960s and 1970s, Nyerere's influence as President and Party leader, Tanzania's ideology of development, the policy of popular participation, the roots of educational policy in a humanistic philosophy of education, and indigenous education. Some of the factors which affected their implementation included lack of trained educators, inadequate financial resources, ineffective evaluation mechanisms, and a mis-match between participants' needs and actual programmes. It is suggested that there is a need to introduce economic innovations alongside educational innovations, to involve participants in determining their training needs, and to train and retain adult educators with a view to improving adult education initiatives in the country.

**Zusammenfassung** — In Tansania wurden in den späten 60ern und den frühen 70ern einige Innovationen auf dem Gebiet der Erwachsenenbildung eingeführt. In diesem Artikel werden die Zusammenhänge zwischen drei Innovationen, nämlich funktionale Alphabetisierung, Arbeiterbildung und die Programme der Folk Development Colleges (Volksbildungsschulen), analysiert. Die Analyse zeigt, daß diese Innovationen in folgenden Gründen ihre Wurzeln haben: in den im Lande herrschenden sozialwirtschaftlichen Bedingungen der 60er und 70er Jahre, Nyerere's Einfluß als Präsident und Parteivorstand, Tansanias Ideologie der Entwicklung, der Politik der Volksbeteiligung, den Wurzeln der Erziehungspolitik in einer humanistischen Erziehungsphilosophie und im einheimischen Schulwesen. Einige der Gründe, die ihre Verwirklichung beeinflussten, lagen im Mangel an ausgebildeten Lehrern, unzureichenden Finanzquellen, ineffektiven Evaluierungsmechanismen und einer schlechten Abstimmung zwischen den Bedürfnissen der Teilnehmer und den tatsächlichen Programmen. Der Autor stellt fest, daß es nötig sei, zusammen mit den Innovationen auf dem Gebiet der Erziehung auch wirtschaftliche Innovationen einzuführen, die Teilnehmer bei der Feststellung ihres Bedarfs an Bildung einzubeziehen und die Lehrer der Erwachsenen zwecks Verbesserung der Initiativen in der Erwachsenenbildung im Lande auszubilden und zu behalten.

**Résumé** — Des innovations en matière d'éducation des adultes ont été introduites en Tanzanie à la fin des années 60 et au début des années 70. Cet article analyse le contexte de trois de ces innovations, à savoir l'alphabétisation fonctionnelle, l'éducation des travailleurs et le programme des Collèges du développement populaire. Cette analyse met en évidence que ces innovations étaient intimement liées aux conditions socio-économiques prévalant dans le pays à cette époque-là, à l'influence de Nyerere en tant que président et chef du parti, à l'idéologie tanzanienne de développement, à la politique de participation populaire, à la politique d'éducation

ancrée dans une philosophie éducative humaniste et à l'éducation indigène. Le nombre insuffisant de maîtres formés, l'inadéquation des ressources financières, les mécanismes inefficaces d'évaluation et la disparité entre les besoins des participants et les programmes proposés sont quelques-uns des facteurs ayant entravé leur mise en oeuvre. L'auteur suggère qu'on introduise des innovations économiques à côté de celles éducatives, que les participants prennent part à la définition de leurs besoins de formation, qu'on forme et retienne les éducateurs d'adultes afin d'améliorer les innovations adoptées par le pays en matière d'éducation des adultes.

During the 1960s and 1970s, the government of Tanzania, like other nationalist governments that had just won their independence, was by and large politically committed to development conceived in terms of modernization, and to education as a necessary means of bringing this about. While the education of children received greater emphasis in the short run, it was acknowledged that educating children was a longer term investment. It would take the children a long time before they were able to contribute to development. The adult population was preferred in this regard; they were to be given the top priority in education since their impact on development was immediate. In order to achieve this perceived aim, a number of adult education innovations were introduced in the late 1960s and early and mid-1970s. These included mass education programmes, functional literacy, correspondence education, workers' education, Folk Development Colleges (FDCs), post-literacy and para-literacy programmes such as rural libraries, radio education programmes, rural newspapers and mobile cinemas. Now, what was the context within which these innovations were perceived and formulated? Was the context politico-ideological? Socio-economic? Educational? What kind of factors influenced their development?

### **Purpose of the Study and Research Methods**

The purpose of the study was to investigate and analyze three case studies of contrasting adult education innovations, namely, functional literacy, workers' education, and FDCs, in order to examine the factors which defined and influenced their origins and development in Tanzania. The outcome of this analysis was expected to be a clearer picture of how adult education initiatives were/are perceived, formulated and implemented in the country. The findings were expected to assist adult education policy makers and planners to understand the context and constraints which influence adult education policy making and implementation with a view to developing more informed innovations and modifications in the future.

Structured interviews were employed to delineate information relating to factors which defined and influenced the origins and development of these innovations. The interviews were directed to individuals who were involved in the origins and development of these innovations, notably adult educa-

tion policy makers and planners at the Ministry of Education, Workers' Education Division and FDC Section.

Data from these interviews were cross-validated through document analysis and the author's own experience in adult education. Documents such as cabinet papers, government directives, circulars, policy statements, adult education annual reports, annual conference reports, research reports and other textual materials were scrutinized and analyzed to delineate the context within which these innovations were perceived, formulated and implemented.

## **Major Findings and General Analysis**

### *Origins of Adult Education Innovations*

The analysis and investigation in this study reveal a number of factors which defined and influenced the origins of adult education innovations in the country.

#### *Socio-economic Conditions*

During the 1960s and 1970s, people lived under the constraints of poverty, disease, ignorance, hunger and miserable living conditions which were seen by ordinary people as their fate, and they thought that nothing could be done to remove them. They believed in taboos, sorcery and values which impeded them from transforming their living conditions. Adult education innovations such as functional literacy and FDC programmes were therefore thought to be needed to enable people to understand the root cause of these constraints and to cultivate in them the necessary enthusiasm for voluntary participation in transforming them.

#### *Nyerere's Influence*

When Nyerere emerged as President and Party leader in the early 1960s, he attributed the source of these constraints to ignorance, and he believed that they could be overcome by people working together and learning how to remove them. Poverty, he argued, was not the 'will of God' but something which could be eliminated by people (Nyerere 1967:15). Since cooperation was necessary to remove the constraints, socialism was considered by Nyerere to be necessary because it was only through collectivity that people could benefit from their efforts and could become committed to change and development. The task of mobilizing people, as the analysis showed, was to be undertaken by persuasion and consensus, involving them in working out the kind of change they wanted. This could not be achieved by force, and moreover it meant rejecting certain traditional practices which were inappropriate to change and adopting alternative modern ones.

It was against this background that adult education innovations were thought to be needed:

- to make people conscious of these constraints;
- to persuade them to live and work together in village communities;
- to enable them to participate in making plans for eliminating these constraints;
- to improve agricultural and industrial production; and
- to make them reject certain traditional practices inappropriate to change with a view to creating a liberated nation.

Nyerere therefore saw learning about agriculture, “ujamaa” (a socialist ideology emphasizing the family and the African nature of collectivity) and self-reliance, greater skills of production, better food and health, as programmes that would enable people to remove the constraints mentioned above (Nyerere 1975:14). Given Nyerere’s emphasis on the need to learn what he thought was necessary, adult education innovations such as workers’ education, functional literacy and FDC programmes were formulated in the context of this framework. It could therefore be argued that Nyerere was not merely writing about adult education for its own sake, but most significantly as the President and Party leader. He saw the whole country as an adult education class and he sought to bring about a desirable change by educating and mobilizing the population to learn what he thought to be relevant to the removal of the constraints. Moreover, he had the power to do so. Thus, he saw his own political role as that of an adult educator and hence the title “mwalimu” (“teacher”) Nyerere.

### *Ujamaa Ideology*

This was adopted by the Party leadership as a Tanzanian version of socialism, a strategy for development aimed at liberating people from the constraints inherited at independence. Adult education innovations such as functional literacy and workers’ education were again thought to be needed as a mechanism for explaining to the people the objectives of this strategy and the means by which they could be realized.<sup>1</sup> Emphasis was placed on “ujamaa” villages and cooperative service units in the rural areas, as they were seen as a means by which an increase in production of various goods could be expected.

Since living and working together depended on people’s willingness, the role of leaders was deemed imperative. They were required to persuade people through education to join the villages, rather than to force them to do so. Their political role was therefore expressed educationally; they were expected to use educational methods to explain the objectives of this strategy to the people and the ways in which they could be implemented. “Ujamaa” therefore came to be an educational strategy centred on innovations aimed at making people willing agents for attainment of its objectives.

### *Popular Participation*

The attainment of socialist objectives was thought to be impossible without popular participation in work places and village communities, a factor which influenced the origins of workers' education and functional literacy programmes. Popular participation was considered necessary because the building of socialism depended upon the active consent and participation of people<sup>1</sup> (Nyerere 1969). Popular participation involved people in making and executing decisions on matters which affected their life, taking part in political and policy discussions, elections and socialist development programmes. The political role of leaders was again expressed in educational terms; they were required to assist the people with necessary information so as to arrive at sound decisions. It was wrong for the leaders to simply decide for the people because they had technical information.<sup>2</sup> By their taking part in making decisions on development programmes in which they agreed to take part, the government hoped that the people would contribute their maximum effort to the task of creating a self-reliant society. Adult education innovations such as workers' education and functional literacy were therefore thought to be needed, as it was through their knowledge and skills that the people were to be empowered and helped to participate in the fora which were to operate within a framework of pre-defined national goals and objectives.

### *Humanistic and Indigenous Education*

The findings of the study also indicate that humanistic and traditional African 'education' contributed to the context within which these innovations were perceived and originated. Humanistic and indigenous education were both conceived as having a life-long dimension, the aspect which influenced innovations such as workers' education, and functional literacy. Their aim was to expose individuals to change and the continued acquisition of skills and knowledge needed to improve their socio-economic and cultural pursuits.

The humanistic conception of learning as a 'student-centred' approach can also be said to have partly contributed to the context within which these innovations were perceived. The government believed, for instance, that adults do not learn by compulsion but by what they feel to be significant to their purposes (Nyerere 1975:5), but this principle did not receive practical emphasis. This was because emphasis upon individual learners reflected the democratic spirit of 'individualism' which was opposed to the country's ideology of socialism and self-reliance. Practical focus was thus centred on social needs and problems in order to achieve social transformation and not 'self-development' as advocated by humanism. The statement that adults learn what they feel they need to learn was simply an ideology to persuade people to participate in vocational training programmes designed from above and aimed at helping people to improve their living conditions.

In the humanistic view, the role of educator is seen as that of facilitator, partner and helper in the learning process (Rogers 1969). Learning is a cooperative activity between the educators and learners. This is how the role of leaders was defined in Tanzania, and it had a tremendous influence on the formulation of innovations such as FDCs. Group learning experiences were therefore seen as the only meaningful means of enabling people who were seen primarily as 'learners' to learn and use their knowledge to bring about the desired change.

The humanistic conception of learning by doing, which was also one of the main principles of indigenous African 'education', contributed to the context within which these innovations were perceived and formulated. FDCs and functional literacy programmes, for instance, were originated on the understanding that demonstration and group projects would be initiated with a view to helping adults learn practically and meaningfully.

Apart from this, indigenous African 'education' was functional and an integral part of community activity geared to solving the problems of society (Scanlon 1964). Innovations such as functional literacy programmes were formulated with a stated aim of meeting defined needs and defined realities in the rural areas; they were seen as having firm roots in traditional African education and not as an importation of foreign curriculum models.

### *Development of Adult Education Innovations*

In view of the analysis advanced in this study, it can be argued that the three innovations investigated, namely, functional literacy, workers' education and FDCs, were *political*; they were aimed at educating and mobilizing people with a view to getting them to participate in the task of socialist transformation.

### *Functional Literacy*

In pursuance of the above objective, the analysis reveals that functional literacy innovation restricted itself to economic pursuits, generalized at the national level. In some areas therefore this innovation did not match people's economic concerns.<sup>3</sup> The primers concentrated on, among other things, the use of fertilizers and seeds which had to be bought from cooperative shops at prices higher than could be afforded by the villagers, rather than on manure and seeds which could be obtained locally. This subsequently resulted in irregularity in attendance, dropout and passive participation in programmes (Kweka 1987). To sustain participation in literacy classes, bylaws and sanctions had to be instituted, as persuasion per se was insufficient. This was in stark contrast with andragogical principles of learning.

The analysis further shows that although the government instructed government institutions to assist in teaching literacy, in practice the task was left to primary school teachers and leavers, and these were trained

neither in adult education methods nor in agriculture. Lack of adequate training in the vocational aspects made participants unable to apply the skills and knowledge in their socio-economic pursuits. Voluntary teachers were sometimes forced to drop out because of the inadequacy of the honorarium, which was at times delayed or not paid at all.

Despite the fact that illiteracy has dropped considerably (i.e., from 69% in the late 1960s to 9.6% in the mid 1980s) (Tanzania 1986), complete eradication has not been successful due to the population explosion, the failure to admit all school-age children in primary schools, and the lack of qualified instructors, of teaching incentives and of instructional materials. The government, as the analysis reveals, is still determined to proceed with its efforts to wipe out the remaining level of illiteracy and to retain the level of literacy attained.

### *Workers' Education*

Apart from functional literacy, workers' education was introduced to give workers the appropriate knowledge and skills required to improve their efficiency and their participation in advisory functions. In addition to this, it was introduced as an instrument of domestication aimed at making workers embrace labour laws, procedures and work attitudes so as to avoid industrial conflicts.

The analysis shows that the implementation of workers' education was very slow to begin, for it was not immediately known what aspects were to be covered. Workers' education was misconstrued by management to mean professional training for middle-level and senior personnel, and literacy for the shop floor personnel. The confusion was cleared by the leadership in 1974, when it defined workers' education as literacy, vocational training, continuing education and general education (Kawawa 1974). However, according to the analysis, some industrial enterprises concentrated on vocational training and left out the courses meant to make workers socio-politically conscious. This is attributable to the fact that there was no guiding policy enunciated to reinforce the implementation of this innovation, with the result that programmes differed from one industrial enterprise to another<sup>4</sup>. It is clear from the analysis that the government's directive that industrial enterprises should set aside funds for workers' education, was not seriously adhered to. In certain enterprises, the amount set aside was too small to allow for effective implementation of workers' education programmes. This is attributable to the low status accorded to adult education, and in part resulted from management's constraining it in terms of resource allocation at the expense of other industrial undertakings.

In addition, industrial enterprises lacked a competent teaching force. Apart from using their own employees as teachers, some were employed from government institutions on a part-time basis but they lacked teaching skills, particularly for teaching adult learners.

The analysis further reveals that workers did not take part in workers'

education programmes merely to increase efficiency or chances of participation in the advisory functions per se, but had other motives connected with promotion, salary increments and status as well.<sup>5</sup> Certain industrial enterprises that had trained their workers and failed to meet their expectations lost workers who left after training to join other industrial enterprises that were able to meet their demands.

There is evidence to show that certain industrial enterprises did not respond to the government's call for the creation of workers' participatory fora. In these enterprises, there was a high degree of abuse of public office, workers' disputes, low morale and productivity; where they were created, the agenda was controlled by management (Shaidi 1989:5). However, while industrial disputes have been reduced, in the majority of industrial enterprises and government offices, the ills that were to be removed were still prevalent.

#### *FDCs Programme*

In the light of the analysis made of this innovation, it can be said that these institutions were introduced as a response to rural poverty and ignorance, which Rural Training Centres (RTCs) had failed to solve. Vocational training programmes (i.e., agriculture, domestic science and technical education) were therefore designed by the government to impart to the people the kinds of skill and knowledge considered appropriate to the removal of these conditions. Although it was the policy of the FDCs that villagers should be involved in determining their training needs, this was simply rhetoric because it was the government that planned these courses: village governments did not participate. This made village governments send participants to the FDCs without having projects or concrete plans as to how they would use them after their training.

The findings of the study indicate that although some of the graduates were eager to return and serve their villages, these villages were poor and unable to initiate income-generating projects (Mosha 1983). The introduction of this innovation was not accompanied by economic innovations to accommodate FDC graduates. Despite the government's decision that the FDCs should assist students in making some of the tools with a view to initiating some projects in the villages, such tools were restricted to carpentry and masonry activities making T-squares and mortice gauges. In domestic science however, this was difficult because tools like sewing machines or needles could not be made. The implementation of this idea therefore seemed impractical, as these institutions did not have enough resources at their disposal to undertake this task.

The findings further reveal that the policy of the government to admit neo-literates to these institutions was met with resistance. Neo-literates were adults with family and community commitments, which made them unable to stay away for a long time<sup>6</sup>. The tendency therefore was to enrol primary school leavers. These were thought to be more competent in



handling FDC programmes than neo-literates. In addition, the majority of neo-literates who were the parents of these youths, conceived FDCs as an avenue for advancing their children who had not been selected for secondary education.

Despite the government's decision to denounce formal grading as a means of evaluating students' performance, the analysis shows that the emphasis was gradually shifting in favour of paper qualifications, particularly in the core subjects (i.e., agriculture, domestic science and technical studies) in response to social pressure from village governments and industrial enterprises, which wanted to know of their students' academic progress. Students therefore worked hard in these subjects in order to pass their examinations. However, they performed poorly in the theoretical subjects (i.e., political education, national culture and accountancy), since these were not examined.

### **General Discussion and Recommendations**

The study reveals a number of constraints which influenced the context within which these innovations were formulated and implemented. The purpose of this section is to reflect more closely on these and to suggest ways in which they could be alleviated, with a view to helping adult education policy makers and planners to make more informed modifications in the future.

#### *Trained Facilitators are Essential*

The study reveals that despite Tanzania's having the most extensive adult education network in Africa, she failed to produce real adult education facilitators. In literacy activities, primary school teachers and leavers continued to be used as literacy teachers, and these did not undergo any substantial training in adult education methods or agriculture, except for occasional seminars. These teachers therefore failed to marry in practical terms the theory and practice of functional literacy.

In industrial enterprises, workers' education was faced with a similar problem. Management relied extensively on literate workers as teachers, particularly for literacy and post-literacy programmes. In instances where courses became more complicated and difficult, teachers were employed from other educational institutions such as secondary schools on a part-time basis, but then lacked teaching skills, particularly for teaching adult learners. While financial constraints were always held responsible for this, at times the problem was aggravated by poor management procedures. Trained adult educators were mis-allocated and the few available were not retained. This exemplified the low status accorded to adult education; adult education was seen as a non-professional job that could be left to voluntary

teachers. The government should consider very seriously the question of training adult educators if the people are to be effectively equipped with the knowledge and skills needed to achieve the nationally defined development objectives. This can be possible by training ward adult educators in adult education methods and agriculture, since each ward has an agricultural extension officer. These in turn could conduct weekend seminars for literacy teachers to improve their teaching skills. Apart from this, short courses and seminars should be organized and strengthened to introduce part-time teachers into adult education methods and psychology with a view to improving their teaching skills.

Secondly, the issue of retaining trained teachers is of paramount importance. Efforts should be made to increase the amount and reliability of the honorarium for voluntary teachers, as adult education cannot survive without adult educators.

#### *Educational and Economic Innovations are Parallel*

The analysis shows that adult education innovations were seen by the leadership as a panacea, a solution for removing the constraints and bringing about socio-economic transformation. However, other necessary conditions such as ox-ploughs, fertilizers, insecticides, carpentry equipment, sewing machines, etc., were not considered. It also emerged in the analysis that FDC graduates left their villages to look for paid jobs, claiming that the village governments had failed to employ them. The village governments did not have projects or even plans as to how the graduates could be used. The belief that educational innovations are a means of bringing about socio-economic change explains why many education programmes in developing countries fail. Introduction of educational innovations should be accompanied by economic innovations, since educational innovations themselves do not have the capacity to bring about socio-economic development.

#### *Joint Needs Assessment is Necessary*

In this study, it was revealed that there was no needs assessment exercise conducted to determine villagers' needs. In some villages, there was a mismatch between these innovations and villagers' activities. In these places therefore, irregularity in attendance was not uncommon, a factor that prompted village governments to employ disciplinary measures as persuasion per se was not enough.

There is a need for the government to address seriously the question of identifying training needs before courses are offered, if the constraints inherited at independence are to be abolished. Since different people participate in programmes for different reasons which may not reflect national interests, 'mutual' agreement on learning priorities is necessary to

eliminate the gulf between government and participants' expectations. This could be undertaken through participatory research, with a view to helping participants to work together with their leaders to determine these needs and interests. Programmes imposed from above which do not reflect local interests have slender chances of survival. It is therefore suggested that there is a need to decentralize the system of designing the primers so that learners' interests and capacities could be taken into account, rather than to generalize these at the national level. This may avoid a possible mis-match between the villagers' needs and actual programmes. This would make the content responsive to local needs, as well as challenging. Energy should also be directed to designing programmes that would take into account the use of local materials such as manure, rather than importing these from outside and at prices which cannot be afforded by the villagers.

In the case of the FDCs, village needs should be identified in relation to available resources. Short courses should be introduced. These are preferred by neo-literates because they do not have to stay in the colleges for a long time, and moreover a large number could be admitted in a short span of time. Strict adherence to long courses would eventually turn the FDCs into formal institutions.

#### *Socio-economic Aspects require Practical Emphasis*

The analysis indicates that certain industrial enterprises concentrated mostly on vocational training, to increase the quality and quantity of production. The analysis further indicates that the primers' main thrust was on economic pursuits, particularly agriculture. In both cases, the aspects that were meant to make participants socio-politically conscious were not equally stressed. However, economic pursuits can only be improved if people are socio-politically conscious. The practice of workers' education or functional literacy should therefore be extended to include socio-political and cultural aspects, since development is not only economic advancement but also a change in socio-political and cultural aspects. The government should therefore initiate a guiding policy that would reinforce the practice of these in the country.

#### *Workers' Participation needs a Law to Enforce it*

It emerged in the study that workers were not fully involved in the participatory fora in work places in accordance with the government's directive. Management issued agendas without involving workers' representatives, and meetings were held without giving workers enough time to gather the views of their fellow workers. There is a need for the government to enunciate a law that would reinforce the practice of this directive, and measures should be taken against managers who fail to involve workers in decision-making. If workers are not fully involved in advisory functions,

then the question of making them conscious of their constraints, and charting ways by which these could be removed, becomes meaningless.

#### *Adequate Financial Resources are Vital*

The study reveals that the three innovations all suffered from financial constraints, the problem that appears to be attributable to the low status accorded to adult education in general. In industrial enterprises for instance, the government did not issue a guiding policy as to the percentage that was to be set aside in relation to the labour force, and at times the amount to be used for workers' education was cut down at the expense of other industrial activities such as housing, production and expansion of industrial enterprises. The government should make workers' education a part of industrial activities that deserves top priority, for production and expansion of industrial enterprises depend on workers' efficiency in production, which in turn depends on workers' education.

#### *Evaluation Mechanism needs Improvement*

The analysis further shows that the introduction of a grading system in the core subjects in FDCs made students neglect the other courses which were equally imperative in raising their awareness, but were not examined. This was because a subject that does not end up with certification is considered to be a second-class training which does not lead to high income or status. Certification therefore gives what one learns a high status. The Ministry should introduce examinations in these courses in order to strengthen academic standards. Although some observers have argued that the introduction of examinations led to the formalization of FDC programmes, evaluation of this sort is necessary to monitor programme implementation and to strengthen academic standards.

Apart from this, the findings indicate that one of the most serious problems facing workers' education was the lack of common criteria for evaluating and reporting workers' education activities in the regions and at workplaces. Each region and workplace had its own way of doing this, which made it difficult for the government to monitor the implementation of workers' education activities in the country. It is suggested that the Ministries of Education and of Labour and Manpower Development should decide on common criteria to be adopted in the regions, government offices and industrial enterprises. Without common criteria it will be difficult for the government first to know whether the objectives of workers' education are being realized as planned, and second to introduce informed modifications.

It is revealed in this study that the government has assessed functional literacy using tools used to assess formal education. A farmer cannot be evaluated by a paper and pencil examination. The government's efforts to

evaluate functional literacy concentrated on the 3Rs leaving out the functional aspects. Even with evaluation of the 3Rs, results from certain districts were ignored as they were found confusing. The government should devise assessment tools capable of evaluating functional skills, and establish an efficient control mechanism at ward levels to monitor and to synthesize test results from adult education centres. This calls for a participatory approach to evaluation which will include both adult learners and their educators in assessing and interpreting qualitative and quantitative aspects of functional literacy. It is therefore suggested that adult educators should go to the villages and participate with adult learners in those activities which functional literacy was intended to improve, with a view to finding out the extent to which this innovation has improved them. The only measure of achievement in functional literacy in the country should therefore be the extent to which the constraints inherited at independence have been alleviated or removed.

## Notes

1. Interview with Director, Zawadi Adult Education Enterprise, 1989.
2. TANU Party Guidelines, 1971.
3. Interview with Head, Functional Literacy Section, 1989.
4. Interview with Workers' Education Officers, Workers' Education Division, 1989.
5. Interview with Director, Workers' Education Division, 1989.
6. Interview with Head, Folk Development Colleges Section, 1989.

## References

- Kawawa, R.M. 1974. Hotuba ya Waziri Mkuu na Makamu wa Pili wa Rais Katika Wizara ya Kazi na Ustawa wa Jamii.
- Kweka, A.N. 1987. Adult Education in a Village in Tanzania. Stockholm: SIDA Education Division Documents No. 36.
- Mosha, H.J. 1983. United Republic of Tanzania: Folk Development Colleges. *Prospects* 13(1): 95-103.
- Nyerere, J.K. 1961. Risala ya Rais Kwa Kuadhimisha Siku. Kuu ya Uhuru Desemba.
- . 1969. Life-long Learning. In: *Adult Education Now/Elimu ya Watu Wazima Sasa*. Dar es Salaam: Institute of Adult Education.
- . 1975. Education Never Ends. *NAEAT Adult Education and Development 1*.
- Rogers, C. 1969. *Freedom to Learn*. Columbus, Ohio: Charles Merrill.
- Scanlon, D.G. 1964. *Traditions of African Education*. New York: Teachers College.
- Shaidi, J. 1989. Participation of Workers in Literacy and Post-Literacy Education in Tanzania. Paper presented to the Inter-University Council for East Africa Workshop, Arusha, Tanzania.