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A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION FOR SELF - RELIANCE WITH REFERENCE TO SWAZILAND

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A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE WITH REFERENCE TO SWAZILAND

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A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

In this research report I try to critically investigate the concept of education for self-reliance, a policy which some African leaders such as Julius Nyere of Tanzaniz have tried to implement. Amongst other things these African leaders claimed that the education system provided in the 1960's in former African colonies was inadequate and inappropriate for peoples who were still developing. For example Nyerere of Tanzania claimed that graduates of the education system in Tanzania prior to 1967 had the attitude of looking down upon manual skills and manual labour in preference to knowledge appropriate to white-collar jobs. As a result Nyerere launched his policy of education for Self-reliance for Tanzania in 1967. Implicit in Education for self-reliance is the idea of the vocationalisation of education. However, the research report posits that while such an idea is acceptable the concept of education for self-reliance needs careful analysis in order to be a viable notion of any education system. Education for self-reliance as practised hitherto by former African colonies seems to have been bi sed towards community or national development to the extent of undermining individual development of a person's individuality. Thus this research report focuses on the concepts of individual and community regarding the aims of education with reference to Swaziland. The education system in Tanzania before 1967 is examined in order to provide some case study since Tanzania seems to have been the only country which has formaly put into practise the policy of education for self-reliance.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other universities.

NAME OF CANDIDATE

22nd DAY October 1993

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the 1960s newly independent former colonies adopted educational policies which were aimed at their rapid socio-economic development. These countries were highly optimistic of the potential role of education in this regard. These countries also hoped that such education would counteract social inequalities and irrelevancies. Colonial education was criticised as having induced undesirable attitudes in its recipients, for example, mainly looking down upon manual skills and knowledge in preference to white-collar jobs. As a result of this general dissatisfaction changes were made in methods and school curricula in favour of vocational subjects in order to instil the love of skills and knowledge appropriate to manual work (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982: 40-45; Booth 1983: 60-70; Morrison 1976: 255-290). Thus President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, launched his programme of Education for Self-Reliance in 1967.

This research report attempts a critical examination of the concept of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) with reference to its applicability in Swaziland. It is a conceptual analysis of assumptions of educational theory and practice in post-colonial

African countries but especially that of Tanzania. The aim is to show that Tanzania's educational policy does not constitute a viable notion of ESR, because it overemphasises the good of the community but does not sufficiently emphasise the good of the individual. A viable notion of ESR, it will be argued, should emphasise the good of both the community and the individual. The implications of this assertion will become clear as we proceed.

The first issue with regard to ESR concerns the relationship between its concepts of individual and community. The emphasis put on education by post-colonial African countries as presented above is apparently on the self-reliance of the community rather than on the self-reliance of the individual. I want to assert in part that this emphasis on community development results in the undermining of the development of the individual with regard to his/her individuality. By individuality I mean the development of personal traits such as moral autonomy, self-responsibility and respect for persons as argued by John White (1982) in his The Aims of Education Restated. By community development I mean development of those needs which are basic to the survival of a nation or group of people considered as a unit, for example food, water and shelter.

The second issue with regard to ESR is that it is based on the concept of African socialism, which will be explored in Chapter

2. The third issue concerns the confusion brought about by adherents of African socialism, that pre-colonial Africa was "democratic". Here I am assuming the conventional modern sense of democracy. I will return to these issues in Chapters 2 through 5 since these are the main themes of this research report.

Here I want us to note what underlies these three issues. Firstly, there seems to be a conflict between the concept of individual and community in ESR, which I want to suggest can be traced back to the disagreement between Marxism - Leninism on one hand and liberal capitalism on the other. Secondly, I want to suggest that the problem with Nyerere's ESR is that the needs of the community are over emphasized over those of the individual because he assumed that there is no conflict between individual and community. For example Nyerere's (1968) argument for Tanzania's policy of development is:

> In our African traditional society we were individuals within the community, we took care of the community and the community took care of us. We neither needed nor wished to exploit our fellow men. (Nyerere 1968, 46-47)

Again in the same book Nyerere (1968) says:

> But every man and woman in the community works to the limit of his or her ability for the good of the whole society; Tanganyika (Tanzania) will prosper and that prosperity will be shared by all her subjects. (Nyerere 1968, 11)

As can be noted from these two passages, Nyerere's arguments for Tanzania's policy of development, including ESR, seemingly assume that there is no conflict between individual and community needs. An initial glance at the two passages above gives the wrong impression that the needs of both the community and those of the individual are catered for in Tanzania's ESR. However, a further examination of Nyerere's work shows that this is not the case. Let us look at the following quotation:

> This means that the education of Tanzania must emphasize co-operative endeavour not individual advancement. It must stress concepts of equality and responsibility to serve which goes with any special ability whether it be in carpentry or in any academic pursuits; in particular our education must counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance for this leads to the well educated despising those whose abilities are not academic. (Nyerere 1968, p. 47)

Here Nyerere's argument is explicitly for the policy of education which puts greater emphasis on the good of the community than on the good of the individual.

Thirdly, I want to assert in part that adherents of African socialism ignore the conflict between the concepts of individual and community because they believe that such a conflict was not a feature of pre-colonial African societies. Hence Nyerere says we took care of the community and the community took care of us. The adherents of African socialism claim that the pursuit of self-reliance in Africa is an alternative to the western colonial

strategy of economic development. This is explicitly stated by Nyerere in the Arusha Declaration of 1967. Nyerere claimed that the Arusha Declaration introduced an alternative socialist economic strategy in Tanzania. He claimed that the main themes of the Arusha Declaration and of Tanzania's development programme are non-exploitation of man by another, equality in wealth distribution, human respect and public ownership of the major means of production (Nyerere, 1968: 53). These aspects of African socialism are explored in Chapter 2.

It seems that other African former colonies pursued educational programmes which were similar to Tanzania's ESR. This is implied by the discussion of the origin of the concept of self-reliance which follows shortly.

What emerges clearly from this discussion is that each African leader was interested that his country as a whole (and not necessarily people as individual entities) attain self-reliance. But there are two levels of self-reliance, "group or national self-reliance" and "individual self-reliance". National self-reliance refers to a group or community of people making their own efforts to be self-sufficient in their needs - health, agriculture, industry. Individual self-reliance may refer to an individual relying on himself/herself and own resources to attains his/her needs including economic needs. We therefore need to be clear which level of self-reliance is meant in ESR.

We will also need to examine the related concepts of democracy, individual and community since these concepts attain different meanings according to the different contexts in which they are used.

I turn now from these general introductory observations on the concept of ESR to its closer examination. I will begin by examining the origin of the concept of self-reliance which is the main component of ESR.

The concept of self-reliance usually occurs in particular socio-economic environments, namely (i) among newly decolonized peoples, for example, Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania and (ii) colonized people where race is the segregating factor, for example South Africa (Leatt et al 1986: 169). The concept of self-reliance can manifest itself in certain types, for instance socio-economic self-reliance (Bayl 1975). In this regard we can say that Kaunda's African Humanism, Senghor's "Negritude" and the Black Conscious Movement (BC) of South Africa are socio-political concepts. Nyerere's African socialism seems to emphasise the socio-economic and to some extent the cultural and political aspects (Morrison 1976: 260-260). The concepts of self-reliance vary in that some place greater emphasis on socio-economic self-reliance while others emphasize cultural or political self-reliance. However, the unifying factor among the African movements is that they are an attempt by the African leaders

concerned to give a sense of self-worth or self-identity to people who have been dispossessed or colonized (Leatt et al 1988: 169).

The concept of self-reliance has as its starting point the idea of nation-building, where people see themselves as oppressed and prevented from making decisions on matters which affect their lives. The suffering which the people experience as a group encourages group thinking and collectivism. The collectivism is further strengthened by the fact that their colonizers also think of these people as a group and not as individuals. For example, it is common to talk of Blacks in South Africa or in the USA and treat these as homogenous groups, thus glossing over their differences. Another feature of these African movements is that they are struggles for power and cultural identity, for example the Black Power Movement in the USA and the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. Again, what is common amongst these movements is that they are collectivist.

Of course there are differences amongst these movements. For example, Kaunda's humanism is socio-political while Nyerere's socialism is socio-economic. Kaunda's philosophy of humanism emphasises that all human beings need to be free to rule themselves, while Nyerere emphasizes self-reliance in the economy. These can also exist side by side. However, the unifying thread amongst these movements is that they represent a

common African reaction against western colonization. Thus movements such as Pan-Africanism, African nationalism and other African movements all constitute an African struggle against colonial domination.

The idea of self-reliance was introduced into Africa by African scholars who were themselves educated in the USA and the United Kingdom. Some of those were Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Leopold Senghor of Senegal and Julius Nyerere of Tanzania (Klinghoffer 1969: 49). As time went on these African movements culminated in a common ideology which was called African socialism, in which Nyerere and other African leaders based their concept of self-reliance. Thus both the concepts of African socialism and self-reliance in Africa arose from the struggle for self-identity by the African peoples.

Before concluding this chapter let me say something concerning my rationale for selecting Tanzania and Swaziland as the focus for this research report. Tanzania has been selected because it is in that country that a vigorous policy of ESR was first pursued. I therefore think that Tanzania provides a better study of the concept of ESR than any other post-colonial country. Swaziland was selected because the author of this research report resides in that country and is acquainted with the education system there. Whilst Swaziland and Tanzania are different countries in many respects, they also have interesting similarities. The

research report attempts to compare in particular the education policies of these two countries as we study the concept of ESR. In particular both countries make reference to the development of the individual. This is conveyed in the statements; "...encouraging an inquiring mind in an individual", (Nyerere 1968:53) and "...Swaziland aims at universal primary education for all children" ("Reform Through Dialogue" 1985:61). The discussion of Tanzania in Chapter 3 and that of Swaziland in Chapter 4 will hopefully reveal that in ESR and in other similar educational reforms, Nyerere and the other African leaders were trying to adopt what they thought was acceptable from both collectivism and individualism but probably were confused along the way. I want to suggest that they might have been confused by their wariness towards the excessive coercion of collectivism and the selfish egoism of individualism. While on that point I want to argue that I do not think that the adoption of some acceptable collectivist and individualist values is necessarily a commitment to either individualism or Marxism-Leninism. Nor does such an act entail an irreconcilable conflict between the concept of individual and community, as hinted above.

In this chapter I have tried to introduce the main theme of the research report, namely the theme of individual versus community, I outlined the main issues I wish to address with reference to ESR and examined the concept of self-reliance. I pointed out that the main issues of ESR are: (i) the conflict between the

concepts of individual and community which appears to be reflected in ESR and in of African socialism; (ii) the apparent confusion in Nyerere's concept of ESR with regard to his eventual overlooking of the individual personal needs and (iii) the basis of ESR in African socialism including the claim by adherents of African socialism that pre-colonial African society were democratic.

The following Chapters 2-5 are based on the above background as follows. Chapter 2 explores the emergence of African socialism and Chapter 3, the concept and practice of ESR in Tanzania; Chapter 4 the viability of ESR in Swaziland and Chapter 5 a general observation "towards a viable notion of ESR".

CHAPTER 2

THE EMERGENCE OF AFRICAN SOCIALISM

Chapter 1 pointed out that Education for Self-Reliance for Nyerere, is based on the concept of African socialism. This chapter looks at the basic tenets of African socialism and also discusses the themes which emanate from these tenets: the themes of democracy, individual and community as outlined in Chapter 1.

The discussion of these tenets will show that the concept of African socialism, as a basic assumption of ESR results in the undermining of the individual.

According to Nyerere (1968), the concept of African socialism has as its basic tenets, (a) absence of exploitation of man by another, (b) public ownership of the major means of production and (c) equality in the distribution of wealth (Nyerere 1968: 53). These tenets presuppose the idea that pre-colonial Africa was democratic and classless and that African socialism is the ideal policy for all African development strategies.

Now let us consider the first tenet of African socialism, that of the absence of exploitation. Senghor condemns private accumulation of wealth and the principle of free trade defended

by liberalism and capitalism. The African socialist maintains that these actions result in the exploitation of the weak by those who hold power (Nyerere 1968: 48). These African leaders maintain that in pre-colonial Africa there was no exploitation since everybody worked. In a passage which emphasises the prior good of the community Nyerere (1968) says:

> Apart from the antisocial effects of the private accumulation of wealth, the very desire to accumulate it must be a vote of no confidence in the social system. For when a society is so organized that it cares for its individuals, then provided he is willing to work no individual in that society should worry about what will happen to him or his widow if he does hoard wealth today. Society itself will take care. (Nyerere 1968: 12)

In other words African societies in pre-colonial times were ideal societies, unlike liberal capitalist societies where only the few are rich and hold power because of the sweat and produce of the poor masses. This goes together with the claim by adherents of African socialism that pre-colonial Africa was democratic and classless. Accompanying this claim is the suggestion that African socialism is an ideal solution to all African problems. On the other hand there is a counter claim that pre-colonial African societies were not democratic but were despotically governed. Whilst conceding that there might have been democratic tendencies in pre-colonial Africa, those who agree with the counter claim maintain that despotism and aristocracy indeed existed even though African people have now forgotten it. What

makes them forget is that colonialism had a more cruel impact. (Babu 1981: 54; Oyugi et al 1988). This criticism comes from Marxism-Leninism on one side and liberalism and capitalism on the other and this links with the idea of the conflict between individual and community mentioned earlier in Chapter 1.

Marxist critics claim, interestingly, that Tanzania should have used Marxist-Leninist principles in order for ESR to have been successful (Leatt et al 1986). Liberal critics on the other hand support the idea that African socialism is based on purely African traditions and should be maintained in that manner (Babu 1981; Oyugi et al 1988; Leatt et al 1986). In other words liberal critics apparently support the claim by adherents of African socialism, that the concept of African socialism is opposed to both Marxism-Leninism and individualism. I will return to this issue of the two conflicting views in Chapter 3.

For now I can only say that African socialism is inevitably a mixture of both western and eastern ideologies. The world we live in is inevitably a mixture of cultures and therefore it is highly improbable that African socialism or any ideology can remain pure. To insist as Nyerere and his supporters do, that African socialism is unique in the sense that it does not have Marxist-Leninist or capitalist influence is misleading.

The second basic tenet of African socialism, public ownership of

the major means of production, is linked with the first - absence of exploitation. Advocates of African socialism want the major means of production - land and cattle - to be owned by peasants and workers so that exploitation is minimised, and wealth and power of possession is equally distributed. Nyerere believed that if the major means of production - land and cattle - were collectively owned, people would work cooperatively and contribute according to their ability for the good of the whole society (Nyerere 1968: 10).

The third basic tenet of African socialism is access to equality of opportunity and respect for human dignity. African socialists deny the existence of classes in pre-colonial African societies. The "true African socialist", according to Nyerere, regards all people as brothers or members of the ever extending family. "I believe in human brotherhood and the Unity of Africa. 'Ujamaa' then or 'Familyhood' describes our socialism" (Nyerere 1968: 12). Nyerere recognises that African socialism was fuelled by the struggle to break colonialism and this is why he says that brotherhood must embrace the whole of mankind (p. 12).

The above basic tenets of African socialism are informed by the claim that pre-colonial Africa was democratic. But, as I have said, we need to determine which concept of democracy is used by African socialists, for example, the liberal or the eastern corporate sense? The discussion turns now to the concept of

democracy.

Let me start by characterising what is generally taken as the conventional sense of democracy. My main reference is Colin Wringe (1984).

It is difficult to define the word democracy since it has been a subject addressed by many different writers. However, some working definition will be attempted. It can be simply said that democracy means rule for the people and the people (Lincoln in Oyugi et al 1988: 15). Also there are liberal western democracies or "corporate" eastern democracies (Wringe 1984: 8). Such an approach to the definition of a concept makes it easy for a person to avoid using absolute terms such as "good" or "bad" and all one has to do is point which one of these one prefers. This is even more essential since today there are a great variety and diversity of governments which pass as democracies. Seemingly the word democracy has become so sacred that nobody dare say his/her government is undemocratic.

Coming to the two conceptions of democracy, the western liberal conception and the eastern corporate conception, Wringe (1984) says that the difference between these can be determined by the extent to which, say, principles like freedom of individual speech is allowed to each citizen. Corporate democracy is a kin to the Rousseauist view of democracy, where the interest of the

community expressed as the "will" of the people is considered as more important than the interest of an individual citizen. Also, the individual citizen may not oppose the interest of the community thus expressed. On the other hand, the Lockean view maintains that the individual is an independent, rational and moral being whose rights and freedom must be respected, including the right to sometimes oppose the state or the community represented by the state (Wringe 1984: 9).

As we examine the concept of democracy in African socialism it will be argued that, first, African socialists were trying to reconcile the idea of eastern corporate democracies and western democracies but some somehow confused themselves in the process. Secondly I will argue that a reconciliation of eastern and western conceptions of democracy is possible, while assuming that there is a point where the African socialists confused themselves. Thirdly, I will argue that the concept of democracy in African socialism gives priority to the development of the community rather than the development of the individual. Lastly I will argue that African socialists and Nyerere in particular were mainly concerned with conferring an African identity on their development programmes including ESR. Hence their denial of the influence of either Marxism or capitalism in African socialism.

However, my assertion that ESR should uphold the good of both the

community and the individual differs from that of African socialists, in that the emphasis is not on conferring and maintaining an African origin or identity on ESR. Nor is it making African socialism or Marxism or any ideology an issue. For example Nyerere is commended in his efforts at encouraging free involvement and participation of the people in the Ujamaa village schemes and not coercing them into these schemes as some Marxists might have done. He emphasised the educational value of mass participation through practical experimentation and encouraged decision making of the participants. But as we have said Nyerere's sense of democracy is undermined by his emphasis regarding community or national interests as superior to those of the individual.

Also, as we shall see in Chapter 3, the pursuit of ESR was not successful because of the traditionalism inherent in African socialism. By traditionalism I mean the tendency to hold on to the principles of African past. For example, while the new policy of development suggested that families be resettled in new homes called Ujamaa village schemes, for the purpose of self-reliance development, some families were reluctant to leave their ancestral lands to which they attached some great ritual importance.

The above remarks on the two conceptions of democracy leads us to examine the concept of democracy in African socialism. Since any

discussion of a concept involves its objectives, I will start by discussing the objectives of African socialism in ESR using Nyerere (1968) and Kosukhin (1980).

Some of the objectives of ESR which Nyerere (1968) points out are that education should foster social goals of working together for the common good and the well-being of the whole society; people should be able to think and to make decisions through the democratic institutions of society. In particular Nyerere points out that ESR should develop three qualities in a person: (i) an inquiring mind, (ii) an ability to learn from what others do and (iii) a basic confidence in his/her own position as a free and equal member of society, who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains (Nyerere 1968: 53). Here Nyerere seems to be concerned with democracy in the conventional modern sense as he refers to the good of both the individual and the community. But as we have noted earlier Nyerere and other adherents of African socialism are not consistent in this respect and that makes it difficult for a person to easily decide which conception of democracy is being used. Kosukhin (1980: 8) refers to "special kinds of socialism of a national type which appeared in newly independent nations and which had "regional, religious or national" inclinations, "African", "Muslim" or "Arab". Amongst these, Kosukhin (1980) correctly points out that the interpretation of democracy is marked by conflict at different eras of development. He cites

the fact that early adherents of African socialism, for example Leopold Senghor, openly rejected Marxism-Leninism. He quotes the fact that Senghor's doctrine of "Negritude" or Africanness was based on proving that the theory of classes and the class struggle cannot be applied in Africa. However, in his last work, while he still rejects Marxism-Leninism, he concedes that African socialism should borrow socialism from the East and democracy from the West and assimilate these in an African way. If Kosukhin's observation is correct it means that African socialism embraces both capitalist and socialist principles and that the interpretation of democracy should be sought within this context. In this regard O'Silveria concludes that African socialism does contain both capitalist and socialist principles, private investment from capitalism; and from socialism, belief in economic planning; democratic centralism by means of a single party machinery and the benefits of rapid economic and industrial growth through mass participation and mobilization. According to Kosukhin the insistence by African leaders that African socialism reflects the traditional African past is nothing more than an idolization of "the past golden age where everybody was equal and there were no divisions between the rulers and the ruled or rich and poor" (Kosukhin 1980: 86).

We turn now to a discussion of the conflict between individual and community in ESR. We said above that this conflict can be traced back to the conflict between Marxism and capitalism. I

want to show that Nyerere seemingly endorsed such principles as individuality in liberalism but condemned the excessive coercion in collectivism on one hand and the selfish competitiveness of capitalism on the other. Also what I said above that African socialists claim that their philosophy of African socialism is influenced by neither Marxism nor capitalism, is rejected by writers - such as Klinghoffer (1969), Leatt et al (1988) and Morrison (1976). These writers maintain that African socialism is influenced by both Marxism-Leninism and capitalism. For example Leatt et al (1986) observe that: one of the features of Marxism-Leninism which makes it appeal to African socialism is its concept of community or collectivism. African socialists condemn capitalist individualism because of its cruel competitiveness (Leatt et al 1986: 160; Klinghoffer 1969). For example in his essay "Education for Self-Reliance", Nyerere (1968) says:

> This means that the education of Tanzania must emphasize cooperative endeavour not individual advancement (Nyerere 1968, p. 12).

Here Nyerere explicitly condemns individualism. As already indicated Nyerere condemns such aspects of individualism as the selfish accumulation of wealth, cruelty, competitiveness and exploitation, in contrast to what he regards as the ideal socialist principles of the traditional African past. On the other hand Nyerere and his advocates reject the excessive

collectivism in Marxism-Leninism because of the suppression of the individual and its sanctioning of violence.

There is a difference between individualism and individuality. The idea of individuality recognizes the uniqueness of each person and the importance of respecting the dignity of the individual. It is not the same as individualism in the sense of selfish egoism (White 1980:63). Perhaps Nyerere defends individuality, but is still mistaken in subordinating the individual to the community. With regard to coercion and co-operation, another example of conflict between individual and community can be found in Young's (1982) observation.

Young (1982), in a passage which describes self-reliance or self-management experiments in Tanzania, Mali and Guinea says that the objective of self-reliance is two-fold; the emancipation of the worker and the efficient organization of work for the benefit of the community. He says:

> Nyerere aims at a truly socialist society where no one lived on the work and produce of others, where the major means of production and exchange are owned by the peasants. (Young 1982:19)

As Young continues he seems to stress the element of the profits over the emancipation of the individual.

> In Algeria in 1968, Boumedienne declared "We are for self-management, but a viable self-management that yields profits ... that result in an efficient

> organization of work and an increase in production. To liberate the worker is revolutionary, ... but to produce is of necessity". (Young 1982: 19)

According to Young the objective of self-reliance is to strengthen human resources and the concern for the emancipation of the worker must not be emphasised at the expense of efficiency and organization. According to Young's observation it is possible to emphasize either the emancipation of the worker or the efficient organization of work. However, he also observes that where people work under democratic conditions, where they are allowed freedom of speech and decision making, such freedom is likely to increase both their morale and efficiency which would also result in profit. Young says such an experiment was actually carried out successfully in Algeria. The objective was to increase worker participation and morale. The conditions of labourers or workers were changed from that of salaried workers to that of active partners. They were regarded as active partners in production (Young 1982:21).

Here cooperation rather than coercion was elicited and the labourers' conditions were improved at the same time as efficiency in production increased. If Young's observation is adopted the two-fold objective of self-reliance: the emancipation or freedom of the worker and the efficient organization of work, would correspond to respectively both individual and community development envisaged in this research report.

Thus the discussion of the basic tenets of African socialism and the exploration of the concepts of democracy, community and individual emphasize that adherents of African socialism were committed to some kind of socialism which wanted to marry the idea of eastern corporate democracies with the liberal idea of individuality. The role of education under the above context was to maintain and promote development in the African socialist way. We shall return to this argument in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONCEPT AND PRACTICE OF ESR IN TANZANIA

We learned in Chapter 2 that the concepts of both African socialism and self-reliance are a culmination of the struggle for self-identity by the African peoples. As such both concepts inform the education system which was known in Tanzania as Education for self-reliance (ESR). In this chapter I focus on Tanzania's ESR in the light of what was said about African socialism and self-reliance in the preceding chapters especially regarding the confliot between individual and community. The purpose is to show that Tanzania's education policy is not viable in the sense of putting emphasis on the development of both the individual and community which is being envisaged in this research report. In the following discussion I will first outline the background of Nyerere's reasons for embarking on ESR and thereafter discuss its concept and practice.

Even after six yerrs of political independence Tanzania still suffered from such poor socio-economic conditions that her leaders felt that some drastic steps had to be taken to save her from collapsing economically. The Arusha Declaration of 1967, from which also comes the policy of ESR, was one of the steps taken to improve the economy. The Arusha Declaration was aimed at establishing an alternative economic strategy of development

to the colonial development which had been followed hitherto in Tanzania. With regard to education Nyerere issued the policy paper which he entitled "Education for Self-Reliance". This paper outlined a new direction for Tanzania's education and included a critique of colonial education.

Nyerere observed that colonial education was not serving the interest of the Tanzanian people, the socialist interest of African socialism. He said that education for all societies is for the preservation and transformation of society's culture - skills, knowledge and values - to future generations of that society. He criticised colonial education for having inculcated wrong attitudes, for example instilling love of the personal accumulation of wealth, regarding manual skills as inferior to cognitive knowledge and the domination of the weak by the strong. He suggested that the education system of Tanzania should be designed so that it served the interests of the whole people of Tanzania instead of being designed to cater for the interests of the new ruling elite (Morrison 1976: 255-258).

Let me now turn to the general and specific objectives of Nyerere's ESR. Nyerere (1968) states that the (general) objective of Tanzania's education is to change Tanzania into a socialist state. He says:

> The education provided by Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must encourage the growth of the socialist values we aspire to. It must encourage the development

> of a proud independent citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development. (Nyerere 1968: 74)

With regard to the individual pupil Nyerere says that there are three things which must be encouraged and these are an inquiring mind, an ability to learn from others and a basic confidence in the individual himself/herself (Nyerere 1968: 74). From what Nyerere says we can see that the objective of ESR was the promotion of socialist values. However, the reference to individual development needs some attention because as Chapter 2 indicated we need to differentiate between an individual in the collectivist sense and an individual in the liberal sense. Nyerere's individual is the collectivist sense of limited freedom as described in Chapter 2.

However it should be noted that collectivism in African socialism is nationalist and humanist. In that way it is different from the collectivism of Marxism-Leninism which is seen as coercive, excessive and inhuman. This means that in the unterest of the nation the main objective of ESR was to make the community of Tanzania self-sufficient in food and other social aspects; and that it was going to attain this self-sufficiency through the maximum use of its material and human resources without adopting thorough Marxist-Leninist principles.

I turn now to the specific objectives of Tanzania's ESR, following Morrison's (1976) account. These are to be considered

within the framework of the above general objectives. First Nyerere suggested that primary schooling was to be complete. Accordingly Nyerere suggested a seven year primary course. In this primary course emphasis was to be put on education which upheld the needs of the community and skills which would enable the primary school graduates to earn a living, preferably in their own community. Secondly, secondary schools were to be integrated with community life and made relevant to it, instead of being designed to be a preparation for tertiary and university education. Thirdly, syllabuses were to be altered so that examinations included teacher and pupil continuous assessment in order also to assess the development of pupils' power to reason. The underlying aim of these specific objectives was that primary school education was to be a complete programme. Accordingly, the age of entry to standard one was to be raised from 5 or 6 years to 7 or 8 years so that pupils would be more matured to enter the world of work on completing their primary school education (Morrison 1978: 258-271).

I will fully evaluate the above general and specific objectives of ESR after examining their implementation. For now, let us take a glance at these objectives. What emerges is that they are opposed to both individualism and capitalism. Basic to both kinds of objectives is a clear condemnation of capitalist evils such as exploitation, selfish individualistic attitudes and inequality of opportunity. But to be anti-capitalist does not in

itself fulfil the objective of self-reliance, namely to improve the conditions of life of the community or the individual. The following discussion of the implementation of ESR is also based on Morrison's account (1976).

The declaration of the policy of ESR was accepted with mixed feelings of surprise, enthusiasm and dislike. Some members of the ruling Tanzania party were confused and worried while some of the members were so enthusiastic that they suggested an immediate nationalization of all voluntary agencies and closure of private schools. There were increases in the primary school enrolments and graduates and it was decided that the Standard IV examination was to be phased out in 1973 to allow for the seven year programme. The use of Swahili as the local language was implemented as it was felt that English as medium of instruction at both primary and high school continued to alienate primary and post primary graduates from the problems of the general population. A quota system of entry into secondary school was formed to combat competition, individualism and elitist education. Regional selection committees constituted by the Ministry of Education personnel and school heads were established for selecting secondary school entrants in an equitable way (Morrison 1976: 271-273).

The results of these reforms were both good and bad. Amongst the bad results of ESR there was a widening gap in education between

the rural and urban classes. This meant that children of privileged classes of the town dwellers continued to enjoy special educational advantages not shared by those in rural places (Morrison 1976: 277). The other undesirable effect of ESR was that there was a gap which was created between the expected and reality with regard to education's potential as a social equalizer. Parents of pupils from the poor masses expected their children to climb the social ladder as they received education but education continued to be elitist and hierarchical. On the other hand, the reform introduced by ESR resulted in some tangible improvements in the social system. Great progress was made in the adult literacy campaign. In 1967 a new Ministry of National Education was created and made responsible for adult education, curriculum development and formal education. This gesture resulted in great improvement in adult literacy. The assumption was that literacy was crucial for the inculcation of needed attitudes and skills for developing and stimulating political consciousness supportive of socialism. By June 1973, about three million adults were enrolled in literacy classes (Morrison 1976: 279).

The above results of ESR illustrate the problems which I said are inherent in policies based on African socialism. These are the same problems of the collectivism and individualism in African socialism which I noted in Chapter 1. Before I comment further on these problems let me mention that I concur with Morrison when he

says that Nyerere's suggestions are not a radical departure from the recent practice of many countries in the west and elsewhere of moving away from past social values such as relying on formal examinations b ng practical work (Morrison 1976: 256). The reasons for, and the implementation of ESR, as it shall be shown, were rigidly based on the context of the Arusha Declaration which adherents of African socialism said was a decidedly socialist instrument. The main problem with the Arusha Declaration's development strategy is that it was considered by its implementers as a panacea to all Tanzania's problems. What I want to point out here is that Nyerere and other adherents of African socialism seem to have been deeply committed to their ideology in such a way that they glossed over some problems. One of the problems which results from being over committed to a particular ideology is that you deprive yourself of adopting even what could be useful from other ideologies. For example we distinguished a person's individuality from individualism and highlighted the emphasis on non-capitalism of collectivism. The other problem is that you try to defend whatever is in your ideology on one hand, and, on the other, you condemn whatever is outside your ideology. With regard to ESR I think the problem which Nyerere overlooked was that his concept of the individual was subordinated to that of community in the manner outlined in chapter 2. A background to Nyerere's idea of ESR might illustrate the above point about individual and community in African socialism.

It is important to note that Nyerere's ESR is not his own original idea. It was influenced by socialist countries of Eastern Europe, Asia and Cuba which had adopted work-oriented education similar to Nyerere's ESR (Morrison 1976: 260). As is usually to be expected, some of the problems which these countries faced were found to recur in Nyerere's ESR. It is therefore argued that Nyerere would have utilized the above countries' experiences if he were not dogmatically opposed to the Marxist-Leninist position. What happened in the Soviet Union, for instance, was that the combination of education and work was found to be reinforcing political dissatisfaction and dislike of manual labour. Parents complained and said that the quality of their children's education was becoming poorer and poorer because of the half-work half-study programmes. In China too there has been a great revolution in the schools in the direction of vocationalising them for the benefit of the disadvantaged classes. But these efforts, coupled with the shortage of manpower and increased demands of industrialization, forced these reforms to a standstill because the living conditions of the general population were deteriorating (Morrison, 1976: 266). Thus the discussion of the general and specific objectives of ESR and their implementation show that the concept and practice of ESR is similar to Marxism-Leninism in some respects but his overall strategy is strongly nationalist and blended with some "liberal humanitarianism", to use Morrison's words (Morrison 1976:260).

In this chapter I have been trying to show that Tanzania's concept of ESR is not viable because its basis is African socialism which underates individual development. This fact was illustrated by the examination of its general and specific objectives of ESR. These in fact are the same objectives as those of fostering the values of African socialism. In particular I tried to show that the concept of ESR as based on the principles of African socialism is such that its concept of the individual is of limited freedom or autonomy and that its individual freedom or autonomy is subordinated to freedom or autonomy of the community. Such a concept of the individual is not conducive to the respect of a person's individuality and autonomy which I say are an important component of a viable notion of ESR. Ironically Nyerere's reasons for ESR also seem to favour development of a person's individuality but his engrossment in African socialism militates against his efforts towards such an ideal.

Finally the overall evaluation of the concept of ESR that is, its justification, objectives and educational practice in Tanzania, and that the Tanzanian model is not a viable notion of ESR, will become clear when we consider a viable notion of ESR in Chapter 5. But before that let us turn to Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

THE VIABILITY OF THE NOTION OF EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE IN THE CASE OF SWAZILAND

This chapter discusses the aims of education in Swaziland in order to determine how these can be adopted for a viable notion of ESR. It is a similar discussion to that on education in Tanzania in Chapter 3. It attempts a conceptual analysis of the aims of education in Swaziland, their objectives and their implementation. I introduce the discussion by presenting a short general background of Swaziland in order to give a clear perspective to the aims of education in Swaziland.

The political system of Swaziland is based on the Tinkhundla and Libandla constitution (roughly local community councils and appointed members of parliament). Previously, it was based on the British constitution which King Sobhuza II suspended in 1972 because, he reasoned, "it was not suited to traditional Swazi life". After a long period of the King's sole rule (1973-1977) elections were held on the basis of this new constitution, called Tinkhundla and Libandla (Booth 1983: 68).

The main feature of the Tinkhundla and Libandla is that it is a traditional constitution which, in the same manner as Tanzania's African socialism, is premised on the assumption that traditional pre-colonial African societies were classless and democratic.

This trend to traditionalism is also reflected in the education system of Swaziland. It was mentioned in the case of Tanzania that some families resisted being moved into new village settlements, because of this traditionalism. In Swaziland too some families are reluctant to move from their original places for Rural Development Projects including the building of schools, since they believe such movements would disturb their ancestral spirits.

Booth (1983), in a passage which describes the education system of Swaziland after the country obtained independence, says:

> Between 1968 - 1977, the number of schools in Swaziland were doubled. However, by 1980 education had only produced a sufficient number of graduates to form the elite. Attempts by the Swazi middle class to Africanise were frustrated (Booth 1983, pp. 56-81).

According to this quotation Swazis expected their conditions to improve after independence as they were going to take over many jobs which had been hitherto occupied by foreign people. However, they were disappointed as these jobs proved to be for the few who also exercised political power.

Besides this expansion of schooling between 1968 and 1977 the government also initiated a series of education reforms and said that education should be work-oriented, both in primary and high schools. Compulsory primary education for the children was envisaged by 1985 and there were plans to build specialized

institutions to cater for agricultural, technical and vocational education. Most of these objectives were achieved. For example the following institutions were built: Agricultural Colleges: Luyengo and Nhlangano Farmers' Centre, Technical and Vocational Colleges: the Swaziland College of Technology (SCOT) and Gwamile Commercial and Vocational College. (VOCTIM)

In another Swazi document, "Reform Through Dialogue" (1985), King Sobhuza II (1933) is quoted as having stated the aims of Swazi education as:

> (i) making the individual a ureful member of society;
>
> (ii) inculcating the patriotic spirit among the youth;
>
> (iii) rendering of communal services;
>
> (iv) promotion of continence; and inculcating respect for lawful authority. "Reform Through Dialogue" 1985, p. 59)

The same document, "Reform Through Dialogue" (1985), also states that:

> The education system of Swaziland should explore the pupils inclinations and capabilities in order to develop them and ensure that each child will succeed in accordance with his/her talents .... The people of Swaziland believe that education is a fundamental tool in the building of the individual and the country. Usually, there is a conflict of what comes first, the

"country" or the "individual". In order to get a better perspective, it is important to note that the education process is meant to develop the individual person so that the individual in turn is able to contribute effectively to the development of his community, for the benefit of the entire society and the country. "A Reform Through Dialogue" 1985, 61)

As we look into the above aims of education in Swaziland, I want us to focus on the two concerns of education: the individual and the community. I think these concerns are fundamental in education systems of many societies, as we have already seen in the preceding discussion in this research report.

What can be initially noted from the above quotation is that the aims of education in Swaziland, like those of Tanzania, also interestingly mislead us to believe that they emphasise the development of both the individual and the community.

Reference to individual and community resounds in all three sets of aims of education in Swaziland, those stated by King Sobhuza in 1983, those stated in the Imbokodvo Manifesto (1972) and those stated in "Reform Through Dialogue" (1985) by the National Education Review Commission (NERCOM).

However, a closer examination of the references to individual and

community, leads to a revelation of some inherent constraints in the aims of education in Swaziland. As can be expected some constraints are similar to those we found in the aims of education in Tanzania. These constraints pertain to the conflict between individual and community; and how each country envisages to resolve it. In the case of Tanzania's education Nyerere and his advocates sought to resolve the conflict between the concepts of individual and community through African socialism, a step which we found was not without problems.

In the case of Swaziland the envisaged edupation philosophy through which to reconcile the conflict between individual and community is not explicitly stated. However, what can be inferred from her aims of education is that Swaziland seeks to be democratic in her approach. While the aims of education stated by King Sobhuza II (1933) stress the usefulness of the individual to community and loyalty to her king "making the individual a useful member of society". The other two sets of aims make reference to: "education is an inalienable right of every citizen" and that "education must be democratized", that is making educational facilities accessible to possibly all children of school-going age (Universal Primary Education [UPE]). However, the reference to the development of the individual makes one suspicious when it is coupled with such statements as "education is meant to develop the individual for the benefit of the entire society". Such statements make one realize that

ultimately the rationale for education is that it benefits the entire society. I am not saying that this is a wrong aim. What I am saying is that the individual must not be overlooked. The following review will hopefully reveal that the aims of education in Swaziland are also ultimately such that more emphasis is put on the development of the community than on the development of the individual.

The NERCOM (1985) states that the efforts of democratizing education in Swaziland continued to produce ill-prepared pupils or frustrated school leavers. These pupils were frustrated because many of them were ill-prepared in terms of acquiring skills and knowledge appropriate for the world of work in which they found themselves. Many of them could not even finish their schooling. The NERCOM observes that the reason for the failure of such democratization of education was that the emphasis was on access to schooling which ignored amongst other things individuals' abilities and limitations. This meant that the education system over emphasized academic skills and ignored other talents which the pupils might possess. The NERCOM thus felt that emphasis should shift from UPE per se to broad-based and divergent primary education to cater for a variety of needs of pupils (NERCOM 1982: 82)

Ginindza, (1991) makes some comments which are aimed at furthering the recommendations of the NERCOM report. She notes

that the steps of the proposed democratization of education were:

(i) to improve access to educational facilities so that the target of UPE was reached by 1985.

(ii) the curricula of schools were to be revised to be made relevant to the culture of the Swazis.
(Ginindza 1991, 5)

I agree with the findings of the NERCOM that the emphasis merely on access to educational facilities was bound to fail and also agree with the NERCOM'S recommendation that the emphasis must shift from mere UPE to broad-based or pupil-centred education. But I still think that putting more emphasis on the good of the community than on the good of the individual might be one of the causes of the apparent failure of the education system.

A conceptual analysis of the aim of education as access to educational opportunities for all pupils reveals that the emphasis here is on the quantity expressed by the word "all" and not necessarily on the "quality" of the individuals, expressed by the words "the variety of their innate capabilities and limitations" referred to by the NERCOM in "Reform Through Dialogue" 61). Such an education system probably failed to produce quality, since quality was never contemplated. Also the concepts of democracy and statements such as "education is an

inalienable right" are not reliable terms because of the variety of meanings they can adopt, depending on particular circumstances. For example, we have seen that the word democracy in African socialism is used in the collectivist African Nationalist sense and differs from Marxism-Leninism's collectivism. Similarly individual freedom as implied by the statement "inalienable right" can either mean limited individual freedom of eastern corporate democracy or the freedom of the western liberal democracy as described in Chapter 2. We need to determine which of these concepts pertain to Swaziland. A further discussion of the aims of education in Swaziland might help us decide.

In Swaziland the concept of education for self-reliance is not explicitly stated but may be inferred from the various statements on education reforms since 1968.

> Education is an inalienable right for every citizen to receive to the best of his/her abilities. Education is to produce enlightened and participant citizenry (INMM, 1972, 26-28)

The Ministry of Education responded to the above aims mainly by trying to make the curricula relevant. It established the National Curriculum Centre in 1973. More schools were built so that access to education reached over 90% of the primary school going age. The teacher education programme was also improved. Entry qualification were raised, from Junior Certificate to O'

Levels from 1985. A new B.Ed. primary programme was introduced at the University of Swaziland to train a new quality of teachers.

Summarising these reforms Ginindza says that the system was "54% inefficient with a high drop out rate. .... only 16% of primary school graduates managed to complete in the prescribed 7 years ... More than a quarter of the children who graduated from primary school cannot enter secondary school. 88% of these children who enter school do not reach university level. A very large number of the students dropped-out of formal education. These children do not have the essential knowledge and skills to survive and compete in the rapidly modernising society" (Ginindza 1991: 6-7).

Ginindza (1991) points out that the aims of improving the quality of the school curriculum and that of teacher education gave necessity to the improvement of the internal efficiency of the system (p.8). From the above the aims of education for both individual and community in Swaziland, were not successful as far as they did not have good examination results. But as mentioned earlier a deeper conceptional analysis would reveal more facts than the above.

If we focus on the specific steps towards the improvement of education which the Ministry of Education (MOE) undertook, for

example, UPE by 1985; can we say which of the two concerns between individual and community which mostly motivated the MOE to embark on the educational reform? If the aim was to improve the quality of an individual, for instance, does on build more schools and forget about the quality of the teaching material inside the classroom? Alternatively if all children are accommodated, does the quality of education which they receive in those classrpoms automatically improve? We know for certain that the quality of education depends, amongst other things, on teacher-pupil ratio, and on the method and content of the subject matter. This includes the evaluation methods, classroom equipment, school administration, and the total school environment. Perhaps this is why after analysing the report of the poor examination results and the aims of education reforms as outlined above, Ginindza says that the next obvious step for the MOE was to improve the internal efficiency of the (education) system (Ginindza 1981: 4).

The point I want to make is that the concept of the individual in education in Swaziland is such that a person's freedom and his/her needs are undermined in comparison to those of the community. Even though Swaziland did not develop a whole theory of ESR its system suffers the same defects of education as in Tanzania, probably because traditional attitudes are collectivist and opposed to the good of the individual.

From the above discussion we can determine if a viable notion of ESR could be introduced in Swaziland. It is true that the impression given by the poor examination results as described above, is that we need to do a lot of work. I think that the steps taken towards improving the internal efficiency of the education system are appreciable. I also think that we need to evaluate and assess in a more rigorous way our educational aims and reforms ev n before we start implementing them. Most importantly we need to be clear about both the general and the specific goals and their implications if we are to avoid adopting irrelevant goals. We have seen above how the aim of UPE proved it could be contrary to individual development if not carefully analysed.

The question why educational reforms fail will be addressed in Chapter 5.

The preceding discussion of aims of education drew our attention to the fact that we need to analyse carefully the concepts involved in these aims. The aim of universal primary education for all, for example, can be misleading. It can mean that all children attend school by a stipulated year without indicating the internal efficiency or inefficiency of the schools. Although the publishing of such an aim would satisfy the general public and the politicians, if most of those schools attended are so poor inside regarding furniture, books and other teaching

materials to the extent that there is hardly any education received then the aim of UPE would not have been achieved. This could be the case in both Tanzania and Swaziland. However it is encouraging to note as we have done that in both Swaziland and Tanzania some efforts were made towards improvement for example eliminating unequal access educational opportunities. With the continuation of these efforts and their further revision and thorough conceptual analysis a viable notion of ESR could be introduced and realised in both Swaziland and Tanzania.

It is evident that improved educational policies are difficult to achieve but it is encouraging to know that some progress is being made. However it must be stressed that those engaged in the pursuit of educational research with regard to improving aims of education should also be aware of the shift in the value attached to education which goes with the progression of years. Of the aims of education in Swaziland Booth (1983) says:

> As was true in all parts of colonial Africa the surest means to upward mobility was recognised very clearly early in Swaziland. Mission schools first primary then secondary were the earliest to be established and places in them were coveted....he (the King) opened the first Swazi National High School in 1931....dedicated the University College of Swaziland in 1973. ....By the late 1950s 82 percent of those completing secondary education were employed in the cities (Booth 1983:57)

But Booth also records that after independence in 1968 the aims of education in Swaziland put heavy emphasis on mass education. "It is the right of every child to have access to education, asserted the Third National Development Plan. Its goal was to achieve universary primary education by 1985" (Booth 1983:56-57). This aim according to the analysis in this research report emphasises individual development. But when Booth describes its implementation, the rapid construction of schools and the increase in the intake of schools and colleges she says that the aim was to meet national manpower needs (Booth 1983:57). Here it emerges that the other aim of education was community development. According to Booth the efforts of pursuing these aims of education succeeded in producing only an elite class who were equipped with inadequate management skills and knowledge. What I want us to note here is the shift of emphasis in education which revolves around individual and community. The implications of these aims of education, I think, is that the education policy makers were probably not aware of the shift in emphasis nor was it carefully analysed and recognised accordingly, hence the apparent failure of the aim. It is for that reason that I posit the two-fold objective or aims of education: individual and community development to be simultaneously engaged.

CHAPTER 5

TOWARDS A VIABLE NOTION OF EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE (ESR)

In this last chapter a general assessment of the aims of education is made with a view to arriving at a viable notion of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR). I start by reviewing the main points of the arguments in the preceding chapters. Thereafter I return to the central argument: a viable notion of ESR should pursue a policy which puts greater emphasis on the individual than Nyerere does, and this should be done without undermining the "good" of the community.

Chapter 1 introduce the main issues; first that the concept and practice of ESR in post-colonial African countries put emphasis on the development of the community which I have claimed resulted in the undermining of individual development; second that the concepts of ESR and self-reliance are based on African socialism, as explored in Chapter 2. There it emerged that African socialism is a type of nationalist socialism which its adherents claimed is a "democratic" institution, in the same manner as in pre-colonial African societies. As such, its adherents further suggest, African socialism is an ideal form of government which must be returned to. However, the exploration of the concept of African socialism in Chapter 2 revealed that its main problem is ignoring the issue of conflict between individual and community;

a tendency which is apparently prevailing in newly independent African societies. Chapter 3 explored the concept and practice of ESR in Tanzania, and Chapter 4 the education system in Swaziland. What emerged was that whilst the rhetoric in both countries is about education for individual development and access of every child to equal educational opportunities, in practice these aims are not pursued nor achieved. A cause of failure, it was argued, probably lies in the failure by leaders of these countries to carefully examine the concepts before they are implemented.

It was also found that these educational reforms could be wrongly embarked on with enthusiasm motivated by wariness towards individualism and capitalism on one hand and Marxism-Leninism on the other. Whilst on this point of enthusiasm, Nyerere's ESR seems to have been further confused by his efforts at reconciling collectivist values with individualist values. Nyerere's collectivist values are exemplified in Chapter 3 when he says that Tanzania's education should be designed so that it meets the needs of the wider population instead of being designed for the needs of only a few individuals. However, as already noted in the preceding discussion, such aims of education could not be achieved because of the defects we said are inherent in African socialism. I have been focussing on the defects regarding the concepts of individual and community.

My claim is that a reconciliation between individualist and collectivist values does not necessarily endorse capitalism and socialism. In this chapter I will show that a commitment to education as individual development does not necessarily endorse individualism and capitalism and can be compatible with collectivist values. I will show this by exploring White's argument in his The Aims of Education Restated. (1980)

Let me start with my proposition that a viable notion of ESR should embrace both individual and community development. For White the pursuit of individual needs and those of the community are expressed as 'the good of the pupil" and "the good of society" (White, 1982: 23-60; 61-63). The terms "good of the pupil" and "good of society" in this research report can be respectively equated to individual and community needs as explained in the preceeding chapters. But what is interesting here is that for White the good of the pupil includes the good of others - respect for persons, personal moral autonomy, and the idea of a cooperative rather than a competitive individual. Sometimes White uses the term "pupil's well-being". "A pupil's well-being is connected with such virtues as status, a good job, happiness, individuality, self-realisation and personal autonomy" (White 1982:27).

The way of presenting individual and community in White's treatment may be initially seen as avoiding the conflict between

the two. However, this impression is soon dispelled when White explicitly discloses that pupil-centred aims of education conflict with economic aims and that this conflict is there whether it is in an individualistic capitalist society or socialist totalitarian society. For example, White notes that the pupil-centred aim conflicts with the economic aim in that the economic aim requires specialized knowledge and skills for the greater mass of the population and basic knowledge for a selected few because a broad view of education for the masses may be counter productive to the economy. Another example of conflict is in the dispositions the two aims encourage. The pupil-centred aim promotes reflective thinking, the economic, ready obedience to authority (White 1982:62).

Also a fact related to the above is that an analysis of the above conflict can easily reveal the different position or background principles between individual and community. For example ready obedience to authority may indicate totalitarianism which is characteristic of doctrinaire socialism; and the promotion of reflective thinking may indicate a commitment to individualism and capitalism. But most interestingly the analysis can help us see how to reconcile what can be considered as defensible principles of both individualism with collectivism.

White, for example, first differentiates between certain values within individualism and then evaluates them. For example he

condemns minimalist morality and extreme autonomy in individualism. He regards these as indefensible. Secondly he examines the aim of education as citizenship. He notes that this term can be used as a disguise "for blind obedience to a ruling elite or a chauvinistic attachment to one's country as a nation". Such citizenship as an aim of education must be rejected, suggests White. (White 1980:107). Thirdly, White rejects the Platonic idea of education; the idea that only a few people, the elite class, should receive a rounded synoptic kind of education and that the greater mass of the population should receive a specialized type of education which would fit them to their various stations of life.

My comments will be directed to moral autonomy and citizenship as aims of education because I think these better illustrate my point. I want to use moral autonomy as roughly equated with individual development; and education for citizenship equated with community development. I am aware that the concepts of morality and citizenship both entail community or social values. As such the objection to my arrangement would be probably that I do not have concepts representative of individualism. My reply to the objection would be that I am only following White's approach of situating the conflict not in between the opposite camps of individual and community but within each of them. I begin with moral autonomy. White, in describing the aims of moral education, says that these include making children

sensitive to the rights and interests of other people, disposed to keep their promises and not to injure other people. White says that these aims are to be related to economic aims. White reviews and rejects some of the suggested ways of relating economic aims to moral aims is to adopt a minimalist moralist view or a trimmed down view of morality which a pupil would pursue with his or her private ambitions "...pupils should be given a minimum framework of rules and then encouraged to live for their own private ends". White rejects this view and says: "This morality is appropriate to a capitalist society" (White 1980:62-70). The second way of relating moral and economic aims is in universal morality, that is treating all men including oneself equally. White rejects this view because he says it is unrealisable. The third way suggested is concrete morality, that is, localizing one's moral life with small-scale community. Again White rejects this view and says that the danger with concrete morality is collective egoism or a tendency to exclude those outside the small community. White concludes that the most important question behind these modes of morality is how to relate them to personal moral autonomy (White 1980: 70).

White maintains that moral autonomy is a necessity for an individual because we live in a world of moral conflicts, and that in particular situations moral rules may prescribe different courses of action. The autonomous agent tries to resolve his/her conflicts within an integrating system of beliefs both at

personal and at moral level. I will come back to this issue of moral aims in my final assessment of ESR. Before that let us turn to citizenship as an aim of education.

With regard to citizenship as an aim of education, we said that White rejects certain notions of this aim. But this does not culminate in a complete rejection of citizenship as an aim of education. The key word in "education for the state" is the term "state" which White says may have different meanings. White observes that State with capital "S" may refer to a supra-personal entity which does not exist but which may be used by those who hold power to trick people into believing that such an entity exists; White also says that there is also "state" as a small-scale community. The third conception of state is "state" as a form of community. It consists of individuals and families or those groups who sometimes work cooperatively and fraternally for shared ends (White 1980: 111) White suggests that the aim of education for citizenship could be pursued with the third view of state in mind. In this community moral autonomy is realized as the pupil sees himself or herself fraternally cooperating for certain shared ends (110). For this kind of state White recommends a synoptic kind of education for all the people in contrast to Plato's specialized education for the ordinary people and basic rounded education for a select few who will comprise the ruling class.

Let me now compare White's aims of education with those of Tanzania's ESR and those of Swaziland. I want to show that there are some similarities as well as differences amongst these. But more specifically I want to show that White's proposal is better than the educational policies in these two countries. In White's argument, like in Nyerere's ESR and to some extent in Swaziland's educational policy, the following are condemned; selfish egoism and exploitation, elitism and inequality in access to educational opportunities. For example, we saw above that White condemns the minimalist moral attitudes because of their promotion of selfish egoism which is characteristic of capitalist societies. We have rejected such individualistic attitudes as the selfish accumulation of wealth. When we discussed education in Swaziland in Chapter 4, we saw that Swaziland also emphasises the provision of equitable educational opportunities to every child with an aim of improving the lot of the individual. These similarities can be extended to citizenship as an aim of education. In Swaziland one of the aims of education is that it should produce an enlightened citizenry to participate effectively in the country's affairs.

However, White's proposed aims of education also show notable differences from those of Tanzania's ESR and those of Swaziland, especially in the way he analyses concepts. In particular I want us to observe his treatment of the conflict between individual and community. I have said that in the cases of Tanzania and

Swaziland the conflict between individual and community seems to be avoided and that this avoidance is undesirable since it results in the undermining of individual development. In contrast White does not avoid the conflict. He carefully addresses it, "not with the aim of eradicating it, but to contain it". White starts off by acknowledging the fact that the conflict exists not just between individual and community but also within each of these apparently opposing camps. The effect of White's analysis is that the conflict between them is not exaggerated. In other words, White's approach avoids the danger which I referred to above in the approach of Nyerere and other adherents of African socialism of trying to reject whatever is outside their ideology by issuing statements which seemingly deny that the conflict exists. I think this is not only to exaggerate matters but is also misleading.

When White discusses the well-being of the pupil he observes that there is a conflict of aims even amongst those who uphold intrinsic aims of education as important. For example, he observes that while there is a general consensus on education for a good job, happiness, individuality and personal autonomy, however, there is a conflict in deciding where to draw the line between intrinsic and basic goods for example. Some people would need such virtues as courage or physical fitness rather than others for a certain way of life (White 1982:58). He goes on to compare pupil-centred aims of education with economic aims and

finds that these conflict in various ways. For example, the objective of pupil-centred aims is to expand the pupil's horizons in order to make the pupil be master of his/her destiny but an economy oriented education would try to limit the pupil's scope so that he/she just fits his/her occupational role (White 1980:81). White also observes that the pupil-centred aim requires that the pupil be an autonomous planner of his/her life and that this is not necessary to the economic aim of education. He concludes that economic aims should be made subordinate to the demands of personal well being (White 1980:87). From this he takes the comparison to the moral aims of education and tries to consider the relationship of moral aims to pupil-centred aims and to economic aims. He goes through the various suggestions which are subsequently rejected - a compromise solution, minimalist morality, universal morality and concrete morality - and finally settles on moral autonomy as a way of trying to contain the conflict, for reasons already stated above (White 1980: 93).

What is further noteworthy in White's approach is that his proposals on aims of education are not confined to particular societies but apply to a wide range of these - capitalist, authoritarian totalitarian, non-totalitarian and democratic. For example he says that citizenship as an aim of education should not be a disguise for blind obedience to a ruling elite in totalitarian or non-totalitarian states, nor should it be chauvinistic attachment to one's country (White 1980:107). The

last mentioned advice might be appropriate for discouraging some African leaders' attachment to the concept of African socialism. For the above mentioned reasons I think a concept of education akin to White's aims of education would provide a basis for a viable, revised notion of Education for Self Reliance, which reconciles the good of the individual with the good of the community.

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