

POLICY AND PRACTICE IN ADULT EDUCATION A DISTRICT CASE-STUDY*

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The importance of adult education for national development was implied in the Arusha Declaration (1967). The Second Five Year Plan (1969-1974) first spelt out the content and strategies for implementing adult education in the country. In President Nyerere's speech of December 1969, the official policy on adult education was proclaimed, to be further reflected in subsequent policies such as "Mwongozo" (1972) and the recent Musoma Resolutions (1974). But so far little is known about the actual programmes themselves and how they operate in a given region, district or village.

The purpose of this study was to evaluate the extent to which adult education policy has been implemented in Tanzania, since the Adult Education Year (1970), with focus on one district.

In this study adult education is defined as *all educational activities planned for adults outside the formal school system*. Policy of adult education means *official statements determining the plan of action in the domain of adult education in Tanzania*. The term practice was used to denote the notion of *implementation* of the plan of action rather than its impact on the living habits of the target population.

In that context, the official statements on adult education that were examined were the following:

1. The Second Five Year Plan (1969-1974).
2. President Nyerere's Adult Education Year Speech (1969).
3. The fifteenth and sixteenth TANU Biennial Conferences Resolutions (1971 and 1973 respectively).
4. The Prime Minister's Directive on Workers Education in Tanzania (1973).

Emerging from the analysis of the policy itself were five variables that needed empirical investigation:

1. The adult education programmes offered.
2. The agencies and personnel.
3. The adult learners and adult literacy.
4. The materials and costs.
5. The problems and constraints.

*These are only preliminary thoughts on the research project that the author conducted in the district in December 1974. Data is still being more systematically processed and analysed. Do not quote without the permission of the author.

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To guide the empirical investigations the following were used as key questions:

1. Are the adult education programmes related to the objectives of adult education in Tanzania?
2. What agencies and personnel are involved in the dissemination of adult education in the district? To what extent are their activities co-ordinated to harmonise with the national philosophy of adult education?
3. Who are the adult learners and how far has the district moved in the direction of eradicating illiteracy? What problems are faced and what are their possible solutions?
4. What facilities are provided for adult education; what are the costs of adult education?
5. What are the general problems of adult education in the district and what are their implications?

The methods of collecting data were mainly documentation, structured and unstructured interviews, and participant and non-participant observation. An interview schedule and an observation check-list were used for the structured interviews and the non-participant observation respectively.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESEARCH AREA¹

The district has long been one of the labour exporting areas of Tanzania, characterised by low levels of education. It covers an area of approximately 19,943 kilometres or about 4,537,500 metres.

The population is small, about 147,628 people, of whom 69,882 are men and 77,746 women. The population density is only nine per kilometre. About three-fourths of the people have been moved into the new planned villages of which there are now 28. It is hoped that, after the farming season the campaign for moving people into the villages will be accomplished in accordance with the country's policy which requires that all people live in planned villages by 1976. Still, the district remains sparsely populated, so much so that about two-thirds of it is covered only by forest, i.e. about 1,343,388, hectares.

The population itself is somewhat mixed, the major ethnic groups being Nyamwezi and Sukuma in the East and Sumbwa in the West.

Another small tribe is the Tusi who are cattle herders and agriculturalists. A few Rongo people live in the border areas. The language that is generally used in the district is Kinyamwezi, the form of which varies according to clans and localities.

The township which has already assumed the status of a division, is not located in the centre of the district: the district extends as far as 90 miles from the town to the west, about 30 miles to the east, and approximately 18 miles to the south-east. Thus, it is situated right in the middle of the Nyamwezi part of the district and, before the abolition of the chiefdoms the town was surrounded on all sides by a Nyamwezi chiefdom. One important consequence of the geographical location of the town has been the demarcation of the

district into two almost separate socio-economic zones—the Nyamwezi east and the Sumbwa west. Generally speaking, the Nyamwezi area is relatively more developed than the rest of the district. It is a more open area with scattered bushes while the Sumbwa area is mainly forest and infested with tsetse flies.

The district as a whole has a great deal of potential for development but the existing resources are not exploited and utilised to the maximum. For example, the average rainfall is 622 millimetres, which is not bad at all; however there is only one rainy season lasting from about October until April, while from May to October the district receives practically no rain to support plant growth.

Nevertheless even under such circumstances ways could be found of cultivating and harvesting twice a year instead of only once as is now the practice.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the district's economy, and about 60,000 hectares are cultivated every year. The main crops include cotton, tobacco, paddy, sunflower, legumes, maize, and groundnuts. Although there has been some steady increase in the output of these crops, the district still suffers from the use of poor methods of cultivation, mainly shifting cultivation, and the use of backward farming implements.

Regarding animal husbandry, the statistics show that there are about 382,398 cattle, 31,042 goats, and about 21,188 sheep. If it were decided to distribute the cattle to all the people, everyone resident in the district would get two cows. However, the cows belong to the herders who are only about 12% of the population, which means that out of 100 inhabitants only 12 have cows.

The Wanyamwezi and Wasumbwa were historically great traders, but their position changed with the development of the colonial economy. The whole district has about 567 serious traders out of whom only about 23 people (or 5%) are indigenous people engaging in worthwhile business. Thus, 95% of the district's traders are of "foreign" origin. In some areas a barter system of trade can still be observed.

The district continues to be confronted with numerous problems, mainly bequeathed to her by colonial history whereby the district was exploited particularly for cheap labour and through taxation. Some of these problems are enumerated below.

First, traditional methods of cultivation are still prevalent leading to the situation whereby most of the food crops are produced on a smallholder peasantry basis for consumption or for limited sale, especially within the district.

Second, means of communication are generally poor and unreliable. Throughout the district there is only one all-weather road, which runs largely through bush and forest without adequate feeder roads.

Third, the educational level is very low in the district as a whole. For

example, in 1968, seven years after independence and one year after the promulgation of "Education for Self-Reliance", only "30% of the children in Standard One age group were able to attend school compared to the national average of 45%. Enrolment rate was the lowest in the country". (Second Five Year Plan, 1969). A major reason for this low enrolment is the reluctance of the parents to send their children to school. One explanation for this attitude is the tradition of labour migration particularly from Usumbwa area, and the early demands made on the children to take part in the daily chores in the homestead or to help in solving the family's economic problems by being hired out for labour.

Fourth is the apparent problem of "government-phobia" developed through contacts with the administrators of the colonial government. Fear of officialdom, it appears, contributed to the beginning of migrations by some people away from the roads and into the bush where they would live undisturbed by the tax collectors and the labour agents.

Fifth, there is the problem of superstition in the district, so much so that if someone gets a big harvest, for example, his neighbours would wish either to destroy the harvest or the successful peasant because it is believed that his harvest has resulted from the use of some supernatural means either to destroy the crops of the neighbours or to transfer some of their harvest to his field. Such superstitions make the people refrain from working hard to improve their lives.

Sixth, and finally, are some traditions and customs which are retrogressive at best and harmful at worst. For example there are traditions and customs which forbid women to eat goats' meat, fish and chicken. There are beliefs which discourage pregnant mothers from eating certain foods which they really need, such as the belief that if they eat eggs they will give birth to bald-headed children. Other traditions and customs discourage in-laws from using the same toilet, etc.

The role of adult education in changing the quality of life of the people in such a situation has been officially proclaimed in Tanzania. The objectives of adult education have been formulated, and the operational structures have been set up. But how far does the theory relate to the actual practice?

INTERPRETATION OF THE POLICY

Adult education policy, like any other policy, cannot be implemented well unless it is well understood. One of the problems of adult education is that it is so wide in its aims and objectives and its methods that it can almost be equated with life itself and it may be as varied. Because of its broad nature and its apparent capacity to include almost everything other than formal education of children and adolescents, there is often a lot of semantic confusion surrounding the term "adult education". Many people tend to give it different interpretations. This renders adult education "...nebulous and with no secure roots. It is about something important, but nobody is very clear what that elusive something is".²

In the district, different categories of respondents showed that they had different interpretations of adult education, its aims and objectives and its organisation. Generally speaking:

1. The professional adult educators, five of whom were interviewed, understood adult education to include literacy, functional literacy and continuing education.
2. The Party, including affiliated bodies, Government and Parastatal leaders, 29 of whom were interviewed, tended to understand adult education only in terms of functional literacy.
3. The adult learners, including those who had been awarded certificates, ten of them altogether, considered adult education to be merely literacy.

In the last two cases, therefore, the concept of adult education was only partially understood, one group thinking of it as literacy with some function in it and the other group, in fact the target group, perceiving it as literacy without function. Such conceptions of the notion of adult education appeared to determine the way the policy itself was understood. Many of the Party, Government and Parastatal leaders who interpreted adult education to mean mainly functional literacy tended to believe that adult education was the duty of only the Ministry of National Education. They did not seem to be very much aware of the fact that they and the institutions they were leading were or should be indispensable instruments of change which adult education was all about. Indeed the broader dimension of adult education such as that emphasised by Jack London (1970), and indeed by the President Julius K. Nyerere, was not vividly portrayed and the importance of co-ordination of adult education activities by the various adult education agencies did not seem to be stressed.

On the other hand, because the adult learners thought adult education was only literacy education, they tended to believe that as such it would not really benefit them, especially those who were more aged. Thus, in reply to a question, "Why do you attend adult education classes", the general answer was, "Because we have been told to". Although it is true that literacy is an important element of adult education, when attention is paid to it alone, its significance from the point of view of the adults becomes difficult to justify.

THE PROGRAMMES OFFERED

The adult education programmes offered in the district include the following: political education, agriculture, health education, literacy, domestic science, Kiswahili, arithmetic, English, economics and crafts. Table 2 shows the number of participants per programme. There are normally three categories of adult education classes, namely: literacy classes, continuing education classes (*kujiendeleza*) and practical projects or demonstration classes. As can be seen from Table 2 literacy classes have the largest enrolment, together with Kiswahili and arithmetic. It is interesting that these subjects have the same

Table 1. Indicators of Policy and Practice in Adult Education in Tanzania

Policy Document	General Aims	Specific Objectives	Programmes Specified/ Implied	Specific Instructions/ Recommendations
Second Five Year Plan	Rural Development		Simple training in agricultural techniques, craftsmanship, health education, housecraft. Simple economics and accounting, political education.	Primary Schools to become adult education centres.
President Nyerere's Adult Education Speech 1970	To shake out of resignation to the kind of life Tanzanians have lived for centuries. To learn how to improve our lives. To understand our national policies of Socialism and Self-Reliance.	To reject bad houses, bad <i>Jembes</i> and preventable diseases and restore confidence that we can attain better health. To learn how to increase productivity on the farms, in factories and offices. To learn about better food, balanced diet and how to obtain it by our own efforts. To learn modern methods by hygiene, making working together to improve conditions in villages and streets.	Simple economics and accounting. Simple agricultural training. Workers' education. Health education. Domestic science. Crafts.	All institutions to participate in war against ignorance. Organisational Structure of adult education to be improved.

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		To learn national plans for economic advance.	Cooperative and Political Education.	Leaders to be fully involved in adult education activities.
15th and 16th TANU Biennial Conference (1971 and 1973)	To eradicate illiteracy by 1975. To integrate education with work.		Literacy education Workers' education.	
Prime Ministers' Directive (1973)	To raise the workers' intellectual and professional capacities so as to raise the national income and to liberate the workers.		Literacy education. Political education. Professional Training in relevant fields. Academic Subjects.	All workplaces to give workers' education to <i>all</i> (from the illiterate to those with University degrees and diplomas). To appoint in all workplaces workers' education officers with full responsibilities over workers' education. To set aside special budget (10% of the total budget for workers' education. To conduct workers' education in normal work-hours for a period of not less than 1 hour daily

enrolment. This may be because Kiswahili and arithmetic are totally integrated into literacy classes. The other subjects listed are not necessarily taught as independent subjects. Indeed, subjects like political education, agriculture, health, domestic science, as well as Kiswahili, arithmetic and even economics are in most cases taught as integrated subjects in the literacy campaign. This may explain why total enrolment exceeds the total population figure. The syllabus is derived from the primers that are being used for functional literacy. English, Kiswahili and domestic science are offered to those who already know how to read and write but would like to gain more knowledge.

Table 2. Number of Participants per Programme

Programme	No. Registered	Attendance	Attendance as % of Registration
			%
Political Education	24,570	13,225	53.8
Literary	56,078	27,257	48.6
Agriculture	28,876	14,670	50.8
Health	11,888	7,146	60.7
Domestic Science	810	588	72.5
Kiswahili, Arithmetic	56,078	27,257	48.6
English	114	76	33.3
Economics	16,387	12,573	76.7
Crafts	41	16	39.0
Total	194,842	102,808	52.7

Source: March Report, 1974.

The idea of integrating other subjects into the literacy campaign must be investigated further for its worthwhileness. In the district for example, it appears that most of the focus is on literacy *per se*, i.e. ability to read and to write. Yet, even in the domain of literacy not all the required skills are imparted for the following reasons, among others.³

1. There is no proper balance between knowledge gained in reading and ability gained in writing. Insufficient stress is put on sentence construction, and the adult learners find themselves memorising the sentences in the primers.
2. In connection with 1, it is noticeable that more emphasis is put on reading than on comprehension. The questions which appear at the end of the lesson are elementary, and tend to be answered by the adult learners more adequately through oral discussions than through individual writing. Technically the adult may know how to write, but since he is incapable of the required synthesis of the structure of the sentence, he fails to answer the questions, and likewise he fails to put them into writing.

3. Adult learners in the same class often have different abilities owing to various reasons such as different rates of attendance. It is therefore especially difficult for the inexperienced and untrained adult education teachers to handle them all together in the same instructional setting.
4. The mathematical element in some primers, such as the Political Education Primer, is too thin to benefit the learners. In those centres where only such primers are used, literacy is therefore limited to reading and some writing; it is no longer learning the three R's.

The andragogy of functional literacy requires that there be practical or demonstration projects whereby the adult learners will be able to translate what they have learnt into practice, so that adult learning does not become a detached and theoretical construction of reality but creates the reality itself. As far as the district is concerned, there are three such demonstration projects (a) agriculture, (b) crafts, and (c) domestic science. But these projects are not in operation in every ward and even where they have been introduced, not every adult learner is participating in them. They appear to be designed only for those adults with special interests in them. For the rest, learning continues to be theoretical.

The projects themselves started early enough in the district, but were initially meant for the illiterates alone, and the facilities, i.e. materials and equipment, were not adequate, particularly for domestic science. Some of the materials were stolen, so that the projects cost more to maintain than was being realised from them. It was not until 1974 that the district received relatively sufficient funds for the projects. 24,000 shillings was given to the district for the three projects, and it will be the duty of the District Adult Education Committee to decide how to allocate these funds to the different projects in the various centres. Before 1974 only about 12,000 shillings was given, and the amount was not sufficient, causing problems of how to allocate it to the respective projects.

Finally, with respect to adult education programmes in the district, note must be taken of a very important programme which the Prime Minister announced in July 1973 when he directed that workers' education be offered throughout the country to all workers of all levels of education. In the district the Directive had not yet been implemented as of January 1975. Some subjects such as economics, accountancy and book-keeping used to be taught before the Directive, but even these had stopped, mainly owing to lack of teachers and irregular attendance by students. The main reason given by the authorities for the delay of Workers' Education programmes in the district has been that, owing to the full involvement by the Party, Government and Parastatal Officials in the resettlement of the people in the new planned villages, it was difficult to get teachers to teach in the Workers' Education Classes.

Towards the end of his "Adult Education Year Speech", President Nyerere emphasised the fact that various bodies like TANU, the Ministries of Agriculture, Rural Development, and Institute of Adult Education must align their activities, which the Ministry of National Education would then co-ordinate. He also said that in 1970 more would be done to improve the organisational structure of adult education.

As far as the organisational structure is concerned the adult education committees have been operating since 1970 and were operating relatively well from the district level down to the class level. However, these committees were interrupted in the course of shifting people to the new planned villages which began in mid-1973. By December 1974 attempts were being made to re-establish the adult education committees so that they could begin operating in January 1975.

The whole district has a total of 1,791 adult education teachers, the majority of whom are volunteer adult education teachers who are paid honoraria, followed by the primary school teachers. Table 3 shows the sources of these adult education teachers.

Table 3. Square of Adult Education Teachers in the District*

Source	No. of Teachers
Primary School Teachers	163
TANU	6
Government Civil Servants	174
Religious institutions	14
Voluntary teachers	1,376
Others	59
Total	1,791

*As per September, 1974.

The volunteer adult education teachers were supposed to be paid honoraria amounting to 30 shillings per month. This was considered to be a kind of incentive that would show the teachers that the Government did appreciate their work. But in the district, despite several attempts by the Government officials to clarify that the 30 shillings were really not a salary for the teachers, it has come to be believed by the volunteer adult education teachers that it is their *right* to get this amount of money. Unfortunately the amount has now been reduced to 15 shillings in the district and this at a time when the cost of living is shooting up. Yet even this small amount is not paid regularly. For example, the 1974 honoraria were paid only in April, May, June and July while they were supposed to be paid every month. Such

UTAFITI irregularities tend to discourage the volunteer adult education teachers from regular and enthusiastic teaching.

Regarding the participation of the other agencies in adult education work, there is still a lot to be desired. A survey was made to find out the aims and objectives, the programmes, the methods and organisation of the major institutions in the district such as TANU and its affiliated bodies like U.W.T., NUTA, T.Y.L. and TAPA; the Government Departments such as Health, Agriculture, Home Affairs, etc.; and Parastatal Organisations including the Tanganyika Library Service Branch and the District Development Corporation to find out how much they were involved in adult education work co-ordinated by the Ministry of National Education. The results were that mainly TANU, Health, Agriculture and Prisons (Home Affairs) were participating actively in teaching and organising adult education classes in their places of work. TANU was doing well in mobilising the people to attend adult education classes. The other institutions seemed to be mainly pre-occupied with their own prescribed duties, as if adult education were the function of the Ministry of National Education alone.

THE ADULT LEARNERS AND ADULT LITERACY

The basic characteristics of the adult learners, i.e. sex, age, educational background and occupation, were studied in one adult education centre and the following results, based on one adult education class for a period of one month (October 1974), were noted:

1. The class whose particulars were studied, had more women than men. There were 16 women and only 10 men.
2. The oldest student was 60 years of age and the youngest one 23 years. Thus, the range was 37, and the average age was 36.8.
3. Out of the 16 women, 12 did not know Kiswahili and out of the 10 men, six did not know Kiswahili. Thus, it appears that the majority of the adult students did not know Kiswahili—at least as far as speaking is concerned.
4. All the adult learners in the class were peasants and illiterate. None of them had ever gone to school.

Regarding attendance, the average attendance was 6.7 out of 13 days when the class met and everybody was supposed to attend. It means therefore that the rate of attendance in that adult education class was only about half that expected. The class may not be a typical example of the rest of the situation, but it can be taken to present rough indicators of what is going on in the district.

With respect to the extent to which the district has moved in the direction of eradication of illiteracy, something more should be done. A report on the general development of the district for the year 1973/74 released by the Area Commissioner's office (September, 1974) paints a gloomy picture of the possibility of eradication of illiteracy by 1975:

The development of adult education is not fast enough so that we can eradicate illiteracy by 1975. The total number of those who could not read and write was 137,454. By 1972/73 about 50,413 people were registered in different classes. Out of those registered 1,857 were awarded certificates. At the end of 1973/74, 53,123 people were attending lessons in adult education classes, out of whom 4,992 were awarded certificates. 39,938 people have not yet been registered. Given such a situation, I am sure that the aim of eradicating illiteracy by 1975 will not be reached. . .

According to the Ministry of National Education statistics (Johanson, 1974) the whole of the respective region has realised only about 40% of eradication of illiteracy while the district has achieved only about 33%. The district therefore still has approximately 67% of illiteracy to be conquered. If the district moves at the same pace, it will need eight years more to combat illiteracy, i.e. up to 1982. However, the tempo may be increased owing to the fact that the people are now living in the new planned villages whereby it is easier to mobilise and organise them in adult education classes. But even then, one can only hope that perhaps the district will at least be able to enrol all the illiterate adults in adult education classes by 1975 rather than totally eradicate illiteracy. In the district's situation, however, even the 33% literacy rate achieved within four years of campaign is an achievement. And if the district does manage to enroll all illiterates by 1975, that also should be seen as a big step forward.

THE MATERIALS AND COSTS

In order for the adult education programmes to operate effectively, the necessary facilities, such as study materials, exercise books, chalk, etc., have to be available. The country's policy is that all these materials be provided free of charge to students. The district, however, suffers from lack of the study materials, particularly teachers' guides, exercise books, pencils, and rubbers. For example, the author visited one adult education class in one division and in that class all 19 students had no exercise books or pencils. There was therefore no writing practice for the students. Furthermore, only the teacher had a copy of the Cotton Primer I that was being used for the lesson. This made it necessary for the teacher to write sentences such as "panda pamba mapema" on the blackboard and let the students read the sentence after her in the manner of a singing group. But when the author twisted the sentence to read, "mapema pamba panda" they could not identify the words, while some kept on reading "panda pamba mapema". Almost everybody interviewed mentioned the lack of materials as one of the main problems holding back the progress of adult education in the district.

It has to be noted that primers alone are not enough. In addition to the functional literacy primers, there has to be an elaborate system of functional literacy materials, such as the following:

1. Posters relevant to the text in the primer which are used in the class before the learners can begin to read a lesson in the book.

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2. Drill cards with syllables, words (even short sentences) and some numbers used in the primer as teaching or visual aids to supplement the blackboard.
3. A Teacher's Guide to lead the teachers from one lesson to another and from one stage of the lesson to another throughout the lesson. This is important in view of the fact that the teachers do not have adequate training in the various functional fields such as agriculture.
4. Leaflets for handing out to the participants during the practical demonstrations.
5. Rural Newspapers giving regular information on the agricultural activities to be undertaken in each area. (A newspaper, called *Malenga* was launched in the district in 1974 but its contents tend to be too academic to really suit the rural peasantry and its distribution is limited).
6. Teachers' Monthly Newsletter to provide regular instructions for the teachers showing how to follow the integrated programme lesson by lesson and demonstration by demonstration, and drawing on the teachers' own experiences in the field.
7. Supplementary Courses given in the form of pictures, stories on civics, co-operatives, rural housing, budgeting, health, etc., to be offered in the class during the teaching sessions. These courses are important to the extent that they provide important additional knowledge that cannot be included in the functional primer.

Teaching aids of this kind are unfortunately lacking in the adult education centres and classes and the adult teachers are not trained to make at least some, if not all, of the required teaching aids.

Table 4. Amount of Money Spent on Adult Education Work by Various Agencies, 1973/74

	Shs.
Homecraft Centre	40,000
Health Education Division	12,640
T.Y.L.	700
Kilimo	12,000
Ujamaa/Ushirika	10,000
Prison	3,000
Education	217,277
Total	295,617

The decision of the Party and the Government to make adult education a priority in the country has to be accompanied by the decision to allocate sufficient funds for adult education activities. Since adult education is not an "institutional exclusive" but a shared responsibility by many agencies both statutory and non-statutory, an attempt was made to find out how much money those institutions that were dealing with adult education were actually

allocating to adult education activities, in order to compare the total amount with the spent on formal education (primary education). Table 4 shows the results. The total amount of money spent on formal education, primary education, was 312,776 shillings (1973/74). As Table 4 shows, the total amount spent by various agencies was 295,617 shillings. Thus, formal education received 17, 159 shillings more than adult education. However, note must be taken of the fact that there are normally many hidden costs particularly in adult education which this study did not take into account, and also other agencies might have been left out of the analysis while in fact they also deal with adult education and do spend some money on it. Moreover, it may not be so easy to make any solid conclusions from the comparison made. Granted all these considerations, it is still interesting to note that the difference between money spent on adult education and formal education is only that small. This shows the kind of priority that Tanzania has for adult education.

THE PROBLEMS AND CONSTRAINTS—SUMMARY

The problems that have held back the progress of adult education in the district could be summarised as follows:

1. *Isolated homes prior to mid-1973*

Because people were living far away from one another it was difficult to enrol all the people concerned, to organise adult education classes and to supervise them, and to make available all the required study and writing materials. "Operation Vijijini" policy, therefore, marks a fundamental departure from the old way of living which was individualistic, conservative and unco-ordinated. Adult education has found good conditions for its implementation as well as its indispensable task of socialisation and mobilisation of human resources for development.

2. *Adults not convinced of the importance of adult education*

As shown elsewhere in this paper, the district has low levels of education. Indeed the whole district does not have a secondary school, a technical school or a College of National Education. There are only 54 primary schools out of which 32 are up to Standard VII. In terms of selection for higher education, only 90 pupils out of 1,376 standard VII candidates (or 6%) obtained places in Form I in 1974. Generally speaking, education in the district does not seem to capture the attention of many people, particularly the older ones. Even less attention is paid to adult education—in fact the whole idea of being taught in a class or anywhere else by a teacher appears to intrigue the minds of many adults. For as far as they are concerned, that kind of activity is only suitable for children. Because of such an attitude, the adult learners equate adult education with literacy, and as far as they are concerned, literacy is not really for them.

3. *Lack of full participation by the other agencies*

At the beginning of the campaign (1970), some Government and Party leaders also misunderstood adult education to mean only literacy for those who did not know how to read and write—after all by that time it was the traditional approach to literacy that was being used. This made enrolment slow down. This kind of thinking still appears to prevail although the Party and Government leaders now interpret adult education to mean functional literacy. Because of such interpretations, the tendency is for the other institutions to withdraw from adult education work leaving the main task to the primary school teachers who feel that they are being overworked, although they have done a relatively good piece of work.

4. *Lack of Materials*

Writing materials such as exercise books, pencils, rubbers, etc., teachers' guides and teaching aids are in short supply. The problem is a twofold one. First owing to the magnitude of the task, materials are not supplied in sufficient quantities from the Ministry of National Education to the district and, second, communication within the district, necessary for transporting and distributing the materials to the respective centres is poor. In addition, financial resources are also inadequate, leading to a situation whereby only limited adult education seminars can be organised in the district, particularly for training the adult education cadres. In 1973, for example, the vote for transport of the adult education co-ordinators amounted to 15,000 shillings which helped for only two months.

5. *Seasonal Activities*

In two divisions the residents are beekeepers and honey collectors, and so for many months the men are not to be found. In two other divisions, on the other hand, many are cattle herders and thus they are not really stationed in one place—they keep on shifting.

6. *Delay in Payment of Honoraria*

Honoraria were introduced as a token of gratitude for the work done by the volunteer adult education teachers, who are mainly Class 7 leavers. But very often the payment of these honoraria is delayed or not paid at all for several months in a year. Moreover, the amount has been reduced from 30 shillings to only 15 shillings. This has disheartened many volunteer adult education teachers (who are the majority in the district) and thus what was introduced as an incentive produces negative results, while to abolish it would be to do considerable damage to the whole adult education movement.

The findings of this study are important for understanding the whole question of policy and practice in adult education. However the aim of studies of this kind is not to criticise but to explain the objective reality in an attempt to find solutions to the problems. The author does not claim to have fully explored that reality, partly owing to the complexity of the task he set for himself and partly owing to the limited resources which he had at his disposal. The results of the study therefore can only be tentative and by all means should not be disheartening, for the purpose of the project was not to discourage but to encourage continued dedication to the revolutionary task of educating the whole population so that new horizons of perceiving the reality and increased capacities to change that reality both qualitatively and quantitatively, can be open to all.

One important implication of the results of the study is that there is a need to improve the "*information delivery system*" in the country in general and in the district in particular, whereby policies will be delivered from the sources to reach the target population without losing their substance in the course of that percolation. To that effect it is necessary to have a wider distribution of radios, rural newspapers and to improve their services as well as to encourage the people to develop a keener interest in reading.

The second major implication of the findings of the study is that there are normally direct or indirect connections between policies, so much so that a change in one may necessitate a change in another one. After all, policies may appear different whereas in the final analysis they are one and the same thing. It is necessary therefore to analyse policies in the context of the total system in order to find effective strategies of implementation at the minimum cost. For example, through proper planning people should be able to engage fully in "Life or Death" agriculture without failing to attend adult classes.

The third implication is that implementation of policies may be limited by the peculiar nature of the environment in which those policies are to be carried out. The administrators charged with the duty of translating the policies into practice may work diligently with all the commitment required, but at the same time they may be struggling against odds, both historical and physical, posed by the environment in which they are operating. Thus, it is necessary for the policy implementers to take into account all the major historical, economic, political and sociological factors that may act as either facilitators of change or as constraints on it.

The fourth implication is that policy implementation has to be seen as a process whereby all those affected by the policies are engaged in the planning of the operational strategies as well as in the administration of strategies. The question of who should plan for whom and where the plans should be formulated and articulated is an important one. The question of getting feed-back both vertically and horizontally so that the results of implementation can be

UTAFITI systematically recorded and adjusted accordingly is also another fundamental issue. In that context, it is necessary to go beyond the level of forming adult education committees from the top down to the grassroots level, to the level of ensuring *full participation* particularly at the grassroots level, and a machinery for evaluating all those efforts must not only be established but it has to be used.

Finally, note should be taken of the fact that the findings of this study are essentially unique and may not necessarily reflect what may be going on throughout the country. For in some parts of the country there is evidence to show that considerable success has been achieved in adult education. Moreover, even as far as this particular district is concerned, one can still argue that some success has been scored, particularly taking into consideration the difficult environmental conditions in which the policy implementers have been operating.

FOOTNOTES

1. Most of the data were provided by the District Planning Officer, to whom the author is grateful.
2. For a detailed elaboration on the difficulties involved in defining adult education see E. T. Coles, *Adult Education in Developing Countries* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1969), pp. 4-14.
3. This information was obtained from primary school teachers who are also experienced adult education teachers.

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