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Community education for self-reliant development.

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COMMUNITY EDUCATION
FOR SELF-RELIANT DEVELOPMENT

A Dissertation Presented

By

JANE KATHRYN VELLA

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

February 1979

EDUCATION

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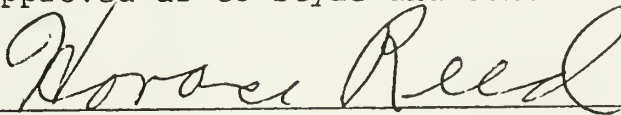
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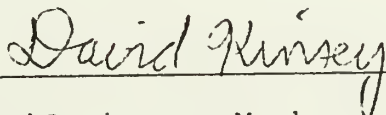
By

JANE KATHRYN VELLA

Approved as to style and content by:



Horace Reed, Chairperson of Committee



David Kinsey, Member



Ann Seidman, Member



Mario Fantini, Dean
School of Education

This work is fondly
dedicated to my friends
and teachers in the
ujamaa villages of
Musoma, Tanzania.

P R E F A C E

This study is written by an educator for other educators and for all those who wish to reflect upon the process of community education for self-reliant development. I am not an economist or a political scientist. I am a concerned educator who has learned a great deal by working with Tanzanians, especially in the ujamaa villages of Musoma. I regard this work as a very personal commentary on that experience, an essential part of my praxis: the reflection on action that can lead to new and better informed action.

All of the theories I have read on community education and on the complex process of development shed light upon my experience of more than twenty years of teaching in Tanzania. The choice from among contradictory theories is a personal responsibility in the light of one's comprehension of the objectives of self-reliant development. The goals and programs of Julius Nyerere and Paulo Freire have especially informed my reflection on the processes of community education.

During the writing of this dissertation I have earned my bread by doing community education and training facilitators. In this work I have made use of the guidelines derived from this analysis of the

Musoma program. They are effective. The errors and the struggle of the staff of the program of community education for development in Musoma have been fruitful for me. I trust that a critical reading of this study will be fruitful for community educators in Tanzania and elsewhere.

This is not third-party research; I was a staff member of the program being analysed. Indeed, I was the designer of the program. Such participative research can add to the warmth and immediacy of the study and also create distortions in the perception of data. The reader will have to judge the value of such critical self-analysis.

The first chapter sets out the problem, my assumptions and general hypotheses and a definition of the operative terms used in the study. Chapter two offers a review of the literature on the two issues: community education, especially as it applies to Tanzania, and self-reliant development. In chapter three the reader will find a comprehensive case study of the Musoma program, with detailed background information on the region and an analysis of programming, planning, personnel and evaluation problems. The guidelines for community education for self-reliant development are explicated at length in chapter four. If you are interested in a program design for community education, you will find a

suggestion in chapter five and a similar example of a program for training facilitators in chapter six. Chapter seven brings this inductive approach to its logical conclusion and indicates the need for further research on the problem. The appendices offer data on the Musoma program and on methodologies to be used in future work: needs analysis to understand the agenda of a community, structural analysis to comprehend the politico-economic-social reality of the community.

Considering my experience in Musoma, and in Tanzania in general, I share President Julius Nyerere's perspective as a " long term optimist ": He said

Despite the fact that the world is still very much dominated by big power politics I believe that much of the present ferment is the birth pangs of a new kind of world - one in which all human beings have a remarkable chance for a decent life in dignity and freedom. I am a long term optimist. I believe that mankind does struggle upwards, in however a halting manner and however many setbacks we experience as we do progress...¹

This study is an analysis of a setback which has become a source of both practical and theoretical development in community education processes. I offer it with renewed humility and growing hopefulness.

ABSTRACT

Community Education for Self-Reliant Development

February 1979

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Education programs for communities in Third World situations involved in development efforts are designed according to theories of both community education and socio-economic development. This study explores the design, implementation and evaluation of such programs through (a) a review of the literature dealing with selected theories of adult and community education and socio-economic development; and (b) through the analysis of a case study in community education for development in one of the northern regions of Tanzania. Then a program in community education for a village, and a training program for adult educators, are described in terms of implementing guidelines derived from factors considered significant.

The history of both theory and practice in the field of socio-economic development since the end of World War II has led to a new realization that development is not only economic, but also self-reliant, growth.

Statesmen, scholars and field workers are aware that development is an intensely complex process affected by economics, politics, sociology, law, culture, philosophy, theology and pedagogy. A development program that does not give priority to self-reliance can readily become part of the international and internal process of underdevelopment which involves the raising of the standard of some people at the expense of others.

Community education, defined as any organized educational activity that takes place within a community to meet the particular needs of the local people, can be a prime factor in the struggle for self-reliant development. However, the frequent failure of such programs to persist in the search for development and to bring about practical results is a major problem. Why do so many programs fail? How must an educational program be structured to serve self-reliant development in a community? What guidelines might be useful to community educators in Third World situations?

Based upon six questions that arose during field experience and that recurred during the analysis of the case study, these six guidelines are suggested for

use in designing and implementing a community education program:

The person is central to the program.

Problem-posing approaches are most effective in achieving self-reliance in a community.

Participation must include all of the elements of the community and be used in all of the parts of the program.

The program must be part of a whole, that is, integrated into local, regional or national development plans.

The staff must be adequately prepared, with sufficient understanding of the socio-politico-economic situation of the community.

The program of community education for self-reliant development is explicitly political, necessarily involved in the analysis of power in the community.

Both the content and the process of community education are considered in these suggestions. If the aim of such education is liberation, empowering people to be subjects and not objects of history, a process congruent with that aim is demanded. Content must not only be relevant, but must be derived from the life and experience of the people. This implies

the educational approach of praxis, action -
reflection - action cycles determined by the
themes and priorities of the community.

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C H A P T E R I

THE PROBLEM

"Kupotea njia ndiko kujua njia."

By losing the way one learns the way.

Swahili proverb

Programs of nonformal adult education or community education aimed at development in Third World nations like Tanzania have proliferated in the past two decades. Many such programs do not ever achieve their stated goals in spite of significant investments of funds, time and personnel. The aim of this study is to search for the causes of failure in such community education programs, and then to offer a more appropriate design according to the guidelines that emerge from this analysis. In the Tanzanian program which I shall use as a case study, the educators may be said to have "lost their way". This analysis and the conclusions derived from it may enable us to discover our way into a more effective future.

Tanzania, listed by the United Nations as one of the twenty-five poorest countries in the world, is engaged in a continuing struggle for development. The per capita income in 1978 averaged \$140 per year. John Simmons of the World Bank has noted that it would take a Tanzanian peasant farmer fifty years to earn what an average Ameri-

can worker earns in one year.² Ninety-three and one half percent of the fifteen million people of Tanzania live in the rural areas. By 1978 ninety percent of those had moved into ujamaa villages. The peasant farmers, men and women, in those villages face the formidable task of building durable homes, constructing latrines, providing a supply of clean water, raising sufficient food for their families, cultivating those cash crops that might provide an income, building linkage roads to main arteries, and building health centers and schools or community education centers. While engaged in this immense task of physical development, the villagers must establish among themselves the cooperative organization of local government. They must at the same time modernize their agricultural practices and begin to create those small village industries that will provide basic consumer goods: hoes, tools, clothing, shoes and furniture.

Such an agenda calls for community response. This is not only the design of Socialism and Rural Development proposed by Nyerere in 1967, it is the only viable way. No single family, however extended, can deal with all of these development issues. Tanzania has discovered that no outside group will do these tasks for them, nor do they desire such services. Self-reliant development is a community responsibility in rural Tanzania. The community has to learn that they have such response ability: the

ability within themselves to respond to their own development needs and problems.

The Musoma program

In 1974 a church sponsored program entitled Community Education for Development was funded by the West German Ecumenical Fund, Misereor, for two and one half years to do education programs in the ujamaa villages of Mara Region in northern Tanzania, in the diocese of Musoma. The purpose of this program (cf. Appendix A) was to strengthen leadership in the villages, provide skills for the group work that is so essential in community living, and teach ways of analysing community problems and planning together for action. The program, staffed originally by two American missionary sisters, one of whom was the author, was designed to be the extension arm of the diocesan Family Center. This center offered village families a three week residential course in religion and development. The program was also to offer extension services to the graduates of the diocesan catechetical center, which offered a two year residential course for parish teachers and their families. Both the families from the Makoko Family Center and the parish teachers and their families needed follow-up education in the ujamaa villages where they lived and worked.

In the villagization movement of 1972-1974 virtually all of the people in Mara Region moved or were moved into

ujamaa villages. Many of the peasant farmers and fishermen had been coerced to join the new villages. By 1974 they were not entirely committed to cooperative living and working. On the contrary, many were reluctant to take part in any of the collaborative efforts and yearned most explicitly for their old, familiar homesteads. The situation was ripe for community education for development. The staff were competent adult educators, fluent in Swahili and committed to service. Village structures, gradually transformed since the Arusha Declaration of 1967, were designed for self-reliant development projects. Funds for the educational program and for support of local development projects, were ample. Christian families, often in positions of political leadership in their villages, offered invitations to the staff for the seminars on leadership, communications and project planning.

Nevertheless, after two and one half years of such village education programs in over forty different ujamaa villages, the results were unsatisfactory both to the villagers and to the staff. Villagers hoped for consistent service from the program team: a sequence of workshops and seminars, support of their development projects. They needed to see these projects succeed, quickly and completely. However, people did not support those projects that were initiated, funds were wasted, materials stolen, bureaucratic bottlenecks proved impassible. Few projects were completed. There was no diocesan effort to extend the program

or to integrate it into existing programs. There was little follow-up in particular villages. Most significant of all, there was not a trained group of Tanzanian community educators who might carry on the program of education and development when the expatriate staff left. To sum up, the use of well-tried processes of community education and adult learning, in a situation ripe for social change and structured towards self-reliant development, did not achieve its stated objective of strengthening village leadership, building community and catalyzing development projects in the ujamaa villages of the diocese/region. Why? Why do so many such community education programs die

"not with a bang
but with a whimper." (T.S. Eliot)

This is the problem addressed by this study.

This work is based not only on a particular research situation but also on my cumulative research and reflection on many years of living and teaching in Tanzania. Therefore I shall begin by a statement of my own unique perspective, including those assumptions and hypotheses on which the study is founded. Then I shall define those terms which will be used throughout and finally I shall describe the methodology.

Perspective

The perspective from which I write emerges from long experience in Tanzania in education and development

work. I went to Africa in 1955 as a Maryknoll Sister, and taught in all levels of the Tanganyikan school system, from primary school to university. In 1974 I created the problematic program of community education in Musoma and in 1977 I left the Maryknoll society. This decision was the result of a long and gradual shift in perspective: I can no longer justify for myself a missionary presence in the light of development and liberation priorities. The apparent failure of the Musoma program invited serious reflection. This personal experience surfaced provocative questions:

What is development?

How is it related to liberation?

How is it related to the international economic order?

What is the role of the church in this struggle?

What kind of community education is appropriate and effective for self-reliant development?

These questions are linked for me to the central question of this study: What guidelines for community education can we derive from analysing community education programs that fail, in order to prevent the same problems from occurring in future programs?

Assumptions

The following are my assumptions, what I consider in this study to be given:

- History, both general and personal, has shown that people can change their attitudes and behavior and will do so when it is manifestly in their self-interest to change.

- People can change social, political and economic structures and will do so when it is manifestly in their self-interest to change. Since it may not be in the self-interest of the oppressor to change oppressive structures, the initiative and energy for such change must come from the oppressed.

- One of the forces for change is education.

- These changes take time both to conceive and to implement. However, there is ample evidence in history of the move from quantitative to qualitative change.

- Such change in the level of living of people through increased production is development. This is never a merely economic reality: it is a complex political, economic, sociological, historical, cultural, ecological process taking place on personal, community, national and international levels at the same time. Social relations are deeply affected by changes in the processes of production.

- True authority and power are neither metaphysical realities invested in a chosen few nor commodities that can be purchased in the free market with sufficient funds or academic credits. Authority, the power to create one's

own history, to determine one's own story, is within every person. This authority is often stifled by social structures of domination, but we are created to be subjects, not objects of history. We are created to be free.

- Socialist development, built upon the awareness of the destructiveness of social structures of domination, and the insidious potential of class formation, is a rational choice for an underdeveloped nation because it calls for a restructuring of institutions to prevent such exploitation and to provide for the raising of the standard of living of all of the people.

Definitions

The terms used in this study can have widely different meanings. Here is how I shall understand them throughout.

Self-reliant development recognizes the economic base of the development process, that is, increased production to provide improved levels of living for all. It gives equal weight to the cultural core of self-respect. The Tanganyika African National Union Guidelines (1971) put it this way:

Development means liberation. Any action that gives people more control of their own affairs is an action for development even if it does not offer them better health or more bread. Any action that reduces

their say in determining their own lives
is not development and retards them.³

This is a comprehensive and radical view of development which is not always shared by the World Bank or AID planners who appear to place emphasis on increased production and a greater flow of investible surpluses. Self-reliant development accepts these needs and adds another: self-respect.

Self-reliance is considered in this study as it is in Tanzania: kujitegemea: stand on your own two feet. It does not imply an aversion for cooperation or collaboration but an effort to "grow out of one's own roots." and to develop in ways that do not create new dependencies., either international or internal. It does imply careful attention to stratification in the society so that dependency structures do not emerge. Self-reliance means that people learn to discover within themselves the potential to deal with their own problems and to raise their own level of living gradually, making choices themselves about production priorities and where monies should be spent first. In Tanzania the dialectic between such self-reliance and cooperation is manifested by the continual use of two Swahili sayings:

Usiwe kupe; jitegemee! Don't be a leech; stand
on your own two feet!

Tusaidiane! Let's work together.

Community education in this study signifies the nonformal education programs that take place in a community to meet the purposes and needs of all of the people in the community. The term includes the formal education that takes place in the community, as well. Tanzania has a growing system of community education centers, formerly the village primary school, now used for diverse educational programs. Community education is comprehensive: from the schooling of the young to programs of political education and all that goes into the continuing process of life-long education. The particular design and processes used in community education in any local situation call for self-reliant initiatives on the part of both educators and community.

Underdevelopment is the process by which some people have been and are being exploited and used to the advantage of others, in a dominating socio-politico-economic relationship. The continuity of such underdevelopment is the result of an international economic order that ratifies and rewards such exploitative action in the name of maximization of profit.

Praxis is the process of reflecting upon action in order to act in a new and informed manner. It means

a developmental education process that begins with the lives and action of a community, reflects and analyses this content and moves towards different modes of acting and living. Praxis implies a continuing process: action-reflection-action.

Purpose of the study

It is my conviction that there exist identifiable, significant factors in community education. In this study, through a review of the literature on both community education and self-reliant development and an analysis of a case study in community education in Tanzania I intend to seek evidence concerning these six questions:

Does it make a qualitative difference if a program is person-centered, that is, sensitive to individual needs?

Is participation by all of the members of a community significant to the outcome of a program? Is participation necessary at all levels: planning, implementation and evaluation? What kind of participation is feasible with very large groups?

Does a problem-posing approach serve to develop self-reliance since it invites analysis of problems by the community in a unique inductive manner?

Is it important for a community education program

to be linked to parallel programs on a regional or national level?

How much preparation is necessary on the part of community educators before they begin to work? That is, what information about the socio-politico-economic environment is essential for planning?

Isn't community education political action?

C H A P T E R I I
R E V I E W O F T H E L I T E R A T U R E

In order to analyse the Musoma program and through it the problems of community education in developing nations, it is essential to review current theory and practice in community education, and to study the evolution of the concept of development from a variety of perspectives. This chapter is divided into three sections, one dealing with the literature on community education, especially as it pertains to Tanzania, one dealing with the literature on self-reliant development and finally one stating my propositions or explanations of the problem.

Community education

In this section I shall trace the thought of those writers who appear to be most influential on community education in Tanzania. The first part will be devoted to a survey of the writings of Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania. He is known to the people of his country as Mwalimu, teacher. How does Nyerere understand community education? How has his thought developed over the years? What does he expect community education to accomplish in Tanzania, and how?

As founder and leader of the Tanganyikan African National Union (TANU) Nyerere brought Tanganyika to independence from Great Britain on 9 December 1961. Two weeks

later he resigned his position as Prime Minister to go to the villages of the nation himself, to do such community education as would build the Party and make the people aware of the meaning of independence. He taught: Uhuru ni kazi. Independence means work. In his brief address explaining this decision Nyerere said that such unprecedented change in the new government meant

a determination to build a really democratic society in which the people can take the fullest part in the development of their country.⁴

In 1962 Nyerere published the crucial policy paper which formed the foundation of his educational campaign in the villages: Ujamaa the Basis of African Socialism. He proposed

We in Africa have no more need of being converted to socialism than we have of being taught democracy. Both are rooted in our past - in the traditional society which produced us.

Ujamaa then, or familyhood, describes our socialism. It is opposed to capitalism which seeks to build a happy society on the basis of exploitation of man by man. It is equally opposed to doctrinaire socialism which seeks to build its happy society on the philosophy of inevitable conflict between man and man.⁵

Nyerere's education campaign was aimed at telling the people of Tanzania about themselves, affirming their potential for self-reliant development, bringing their history to bear upon the situation of underdevelopment in which they found themselves. He did this in such a way that the complex concepts were within the comprehen-

sion of the peasant farmers and fishermen of rural Tanzania. He used simple language, apt metaphor and analogies, folk tales and proverbs. He spoke in Swahili, stressing the need for unity among the one hundred and twenty different peoples of the new nation. His elders in his own village of Zanaki in Mara Region scolded him when he addressed them in Swahili, saying: Speak in your own language, son. Nyerere is reported to have answered: This is my language, mzee* and it is yours, too.

In his first inaugural address Nyerere made it clear that education in the villages was one way towards gradually establishing a true socialist society.

I would like to see every single one of us a teacher and an instrument of ujamaa. I would like to see that whenever two or three of us meet, even if it is in a bar or on a bus or at school or at the market, in the shamba** or at the office, in a shop or outside in the open, that place becomes a classroom for discussing and learning about ujamaa.

If it is true that we want to build ujamaa in this country let us all join in and help with the building; don't let us sit back and leave it to the experts. Ujamaa is a way of life and there are no experts better qualified than yourselves to expound that way of life. We are all of us ujamaa experts.⁶

At this time Nyerere established the Ministry of National Culture and Youth, acknowledging the cultural underdevelopment that colonialism had achieved.

Of all of the crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe that we had no indigenous culture

* mzee old man
 ** shamba field

of our own, or that what we did have was worthless, something of which we should be ashamed instead of a source of pride.

I want this new ministry to seek out what is best in the traditions and customs of our tribes and make them a part of our national culture. ⁷

Here is the basis of community education for self-reliant development: a faith that the people are the ones who know; the people are the ones who make their culture, the people can recreate those structures that oppress.

Radio in Tanzania has been used regularly as an instrument of community education. Tanzania has no television through the explicit choice of the National Executive Committee of TANU. Radio speeches by the president and the prolific efforts of Radio Tanzania at political education have enabled the message of nation building to reach the most rural areas of Tanzania. As early as 1963 Nyerere could say

The thing which is perhaps more important than any other is the fact that we, as a nation, are now development conscious. ⁸

In 1964 Nyerere again emphasized the importance of the education of rural villagers.

The future in every respect depends on our farmers more than on any other single group of citizens. They are the people responsible for using our one great national asset - our land. They constitute more than ninety percent of our people. Unless the farmers have the knowledge and attitudes which encourage progress to a better life, than all the fine buildings of the towns, the good roads and everything else is worthless. ⁹

Herein we see the fine distinction between development as growth and self-reliant development. Nyerere addressed a misconception that was then popular about adult education,

Even now we in this country think of education as something which we do in school and adult education as learning to read and write. Neither of these definitions are sufficient: both contain only part of the truth. For in fact, education goes on throughout life.¹⁰

At the opening of the new National Assembly in 1965, Nyerere stressed the educational role of the members of Parliament and their obligation to learn to listen to the people. By this time, three recurrent themes appear in Nyerere's teachings on community education:

There is a need to develop explicit respect for the people and for their African culture.

There is a need to learn to listen to the people.

There is a need to recognize that education is a life-long process for all of the people.

These themes were developed and implemented in the structural and institutional changes that Tanzania initiated in the late sixties.

Nyerere made an important statement in the small village of Mbweni on Mafia Island in 1966, showing the peasant farmers there how the colonial attitude of fear of leaders and self-denigration prevented the building of a democratic society. Using metaphors and analogies meaningful to the villagers he explained the changes effected by TANU to prevent the exploitation of one group

of people by another. There is already a keenly-felt need to make villagers aware of the destructive power of stratification.

Socialism means that no person uses his wealth to exploit others. We are going to teach all of the people to be their own masters. 11

Not only in the villages was community education a theme. Nyerere spoke bluntly to university students.

When people are dying because existing knowledge is not applied, when the very basic public and social services are not available to all members of the society, then that society is mis-using its resources when it pursues learning for its own sake. 12

He went on to challenge university students to acknowledge their identity with "their fellows in the villages". In all of this rhetoric Nyerere describes what can occur when there exists a socialist attitude of mind. At the same time logical structural changes such as national service requirements provided the experience for those university students through which such an attitude of mind might develop. Throughout the sixties gradual institutional changes aimed at self-reliant development in the rural areas were the background for Nyerere's policy statements. In 1967, aware that education alone was not enough to bring about self-reliant development, TANU and the Tanzanian government took control of the commanding heights of the economy. The Arusha Declaration of

5th February 1967 is the keystone of Tanzanian socialist policy. One month after this critical statement of national purpose, Nyerere published Education for Self-Reliance which considered the purpose and institutions of Tanzanian education. Nyerere underscored those themes that has emerged in his earlier analysis.

We have said that we want to create a socialist society which is based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity, sharing of resources which are produced by our own efforts, work by everyone and exploitation by none. ¹³

TANU took a definitive position on the role of formal education in rural Tanzania, declaring that its prime purpose was the improvement of village life. The policy paper on education and the changes it effected dealt largely with the formal school system and its relation to the agricultural production of Tanzania. In April 1967 Nyerere came back to another primary theme: the relationship between the subjective attitude of mind of the people and the objective structural changes that were demanded.

In 1962 I said that socialism is an attitude of mind. I still believe this to be true. It does not mean that institutions and organizations are irrelevant. It means that without the correct attitudes institutions can be subverted from their true purpose. First and foremost, there must be among the leadership a desire and determination to serve alongside of and in complete identification with, the masses. The people must be, and must know themselves to be, sovereign. Socialism cannot be imposed upon people; they can be guided, they can be led. But ultimately, they must be involved. ¹⁴

Such consciousness on the part of the people demands an effective and continuous program of community education for self-reliant development. Nyerere admitted:

We need people, especially in the rural areas, who accept the underlying doctrines of the Arusha Declaration, and who are both willing and able to work with and to lead their fellow citizens in the promotion of socialist growth.¹⁵

The problem at this point was twofold: there were not enough of these people trained for such leadership roles and there were virtually no coordinated programs of community education in the rural areas. Without training in adult learning approaches and in class analysis local leaders using dominating methods succeeded merely in corroborating the peasants' fear and distrust of government leadership.

In September 1967 the call went out to peasants to form ujamaa villages, to initiate that structural and institutional change that might provide the environment for self-reliant development. The policy paper, Socialism and Rural Development analysed the traditional African social structure, marking the basic assumptions of African life as innately cooperative. Nyerere stressed that there must be diversity in the implementation of this plan for villagization, in terms of respect for local culture and specific needs. However, there was no concurrent village education program nor was there adequate training for local leaders.

The demands of ujamaa living pose the question: how can people be persuaded without coercion to create such a new social organization? Nyerere suggested practical steps through which villagers might experience ujamaa communal activity and gradually move from private plots to completely communal farms. This plan calls for comprehensive participation in decision making, with the agreement of all of the participating villagers.

What is here being proposed is that we in Tanzania must move from being a nation of individual peasant producers who are gradually adopting the incentives and ethics of the capitalist system. Instead we should gradually become a nation of ujamaa villages where the people cooperate together directly in small groups and where these small groups cooperate for joint enterprises.

It can be done. It is not a question of forcing people to change their habits. It is a question of providing leadership. It is a question of education.¹⁶

There is both a quantitative and a qualitative problem here. Tanzania needed a vast program of community education and also had to decide what kind of education is appropriate to invite people to reflect upon the change in social structures that they experience when they move into ujamaa villages. At this time there was little practical educational direction for the nonformal systems that would have to emerge to serve the fourteen million villagers. There was a great deal of energy being put into the radical changes in process and content called for in the formal education system by Education for Self-Reliance. What was,

and is still needed was a theoretical and practical revolution in nonformal education to parallel what has occurred in the formal system.

In his political rhetoric up to 1968 Nyerere consistently states objectives and leaves the task of deciding upon tactics to those responsible. However, on January 1st 1968 he explicitly asks: How can this task be done?

The problem is not the principle of working together for the common good. The problem is that of getting people to adopt practices which retain the values of the past at the same time as they allow for development and growth. 17

The problem is one of process as well as of content.

The suggestion is that people must learn to live together by living together. Is this begging the question? Nyerere does not deal with the need to teach people in an organized, if nonformal way, to dialogue, to reach consensus in a village meeting, to organize a cooperative, to be aware of the dangers of stratification and the development of entrepreneurial classes with local power, to analyse village problems and to plan together for action. The novel experience of ujamaa life for men and women who have lived on family homesteads under a local autocrat (the grandfather), calls for a system of reflection upon this new experience. This system was not in place in Tanzania as the ujamaa villages were being built. Community educators in Tanzania in 1968 had very few educational or training opportunities open to them, only Kivukoni College in Dar

es Salaam and the newly formed regional Rural Training Centers. Although Nyerere is adamant in his demand for quality educators, he assiduously has avoided organizing a vanguard in the Party. TANU has been a mass party from its conception; the potential of political stratification, of the development of a class of political elites has appeared a greater danger than the lack of an army of educators.

Decentralization of the various ministries in 1972 was an attempt to bring university graduates into more direct contact with the villagers. Nyerere continued to exhort these privileged few.

Graduates in Africa can by the use of their skills help people to transform their lives from abject poverty, that is from fear of hunger and endless drudgery to decency and simple comfort.

Educated people can only succeed in effecting changes in the society if they work from a position within that society.¹⁸

Here is another theme that constantly recurs through Nyerere's writings:

Educators must live with the people and be a part of the community that is changing.

Nyerere emphasised in Freedom and Development (1973)

Unless the purpose and socialist ideology of an ujamaa village is understood by the members from the beginning - at least to some extent - the village will not survive the early difficulties.¹⁹

What kind of community education programs were organized at that time to prepare people for their new lives?

There was a national literacy campaign, supported by UNESCO in the Lake regions, and a number of radio campaigns initiated and implemented by staff of the Institute of Adult Education, with collaboration from all of the other ministries. These were subject specific: health, elections, nutrition. The formation of education committees in ujamaa villages was a part of the structural change that took place after 1972; however, there was no continuing community education program on a national level.

The second Five Year Plan (1969-1974) included as a priority educational opportunities for all the people. However, nothing specific was mentioned about nonformal education. Declaring 1970 Adult Education Year, Nyerere admitted:

Although there has been a lot of talk about education for adults, and quite a lot of people have been working in this field, we have never yet really organized ourselves for a major attack on our ignorance. 20

The correspondence courses offered at the Institute of Adult Education beginning in 1971 met the needs of middle level citizens who could already read and write, who had some schooling. Villagers whose energies were spent in farming and who for the most part had not had the opportunity to go to school as children, had few educational options in the newly formed villages. However, political meetings and village council meetings were remarkably effective educational events. The radio also offered a constant

series of political education programs which in appropriate genre explained and analysed Tanzanian socialism. In spite of this, Nyerere lamented the fact that after ten years of independence only 8% of the people of Tanzania were living in ujamaa villages. While underlining the TANU Guidelines which called for new attitudes and practices in order to facilitate participation in decision making, he admitted

We are still not organized for leadership, but only for persuading the people to accept that which their political leaders and experts think is good for them.²¹

In the seventies Nyerere has become much more specific in his analysis of adult and community education. He described the two distinct stages of adult learning that he saw necessary in Tanzania:

Stage One: inspiring both a desire for change and an understanding that change is possible

Stage Two: helping people to work out what kind of change they want and how to create it.

Such analysis suggests these further themes in Nyerere's evolving position on adult and community education:

Community education is political action.

The involvement of the learners is essential in the process.

The experience and knowledge of adults is considerable and must be the basis of any new learning.

This detailed survey of the writings of Nyerere on the subject of community education indicates how he has developed over the years from general rhetoric to specific analysis of programs of adult and community education. The themes discovered in his work will be relevant to suggestions for village programs or training programs. Perhaps nothing has shaped adult and community education in Tanzania as much as the teaching of Nyerere through theory and practice. It is significant to note that his themes that have emerged echo the prevalent concepts of leading community educators such as Knowles (1975), Batten (1965, 1969) and Freire (1970, 1973, 1978).

Paulo Freire offers both theory on community education and practical suggestions for implementation. He does corroborate Nyerere's themes and develops some of them in detail. His concept of the person as the subject and not the object of history, is one basic to ujamaa as described by Nyerere. Freire says in philosophical language what Nyerere explains to villagers in Swahili metaphors and proverbs.

Freire sees the person as having the obligation and responsibility to engage in relationships with others and with the world and thus to integrate themselves with reality. Then they can use their critical capacity to change that reality. Freire's own major themes appear to be:

the essentially political nature of education

the historically based reality of colonialist oppression and the consequent internalization of colonialist values and concepts by the oppressed

the urgency of dialogue and the difficulty of learning true dialogue

the urgency of restoring culturally appropriate forms to education

the need to be with and not for adults and to recognize the three levels of consciousness in us all: the magical, the naive and the critical consciousness.

As can be seen, these themes relate directly to those discovered in Nyerere's work.

A fundamental trust in the people is the basis of The Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1970). The distinction between the banking system of education which exhorts, explains, demonstrates and teaches so as to put into the empty heads of the learners what is owned by the teacher; and dialogue or problem-posing education which enables both teacher and student to grow and learn in a liberating process, is deeply relevant to the problems of community education in the ujamaa villages of Tanzania. Freire's educational analysis is radical:

problem posing dialogue awakens awareness; within dialogue and problem posing educator-educatee and educatee-educator go forward together to develop a critical attitude. 22

This echoes Nyerere's warning to the International Conference on Adult Education and Development in Dar es Salaam June 1976 that education must be political if it is not to be oppressive, where he means political to be aware-of-power.

Freire's educational philosophy was developed as he ²⁸ struggled with practical problems in Brazil and Chile. Moving from this philosophy of adult education to practical modes of implementation is a very complex process. Our experience in Musoma proved how complex it is. From Guinea Bissau Freire wrote (1978) of various approaches to the problem of implementing a liberating education. He stressed the need for people to reflect upon the reality they are experiencing, to know what is happening and why it is happening.

The fundamental point is that people not only see the world as the base from which they carry on their own lives, but that they also see daily life as the object of an ever more rigorous knowledge. This knowledge should clarify and illuminate their practical and emotional existence that takes reality as its base. ²³

Nyerere hoped for such reflection when he spoke of all villagers being experts and teachers, reflecting upon the meaning of their ujamaa experience wherever they gather. However, this kind of reflection was not structured or programmed in Tanzania until very recently. Such reflection was the heart of the conscientization program called Community Education for Development which will be the case study analysed in chapter three. This dialectic between the action of the people and their reflection on that action in the light of the collective wisdom available to them is praxis. Freire sees this as the only viable and non-oppressive way for adults to learn.

By way of practical guidelines Freire suggests that new sites for programs of literacy education be selected with extreme care. He offers two interesting criteria for such selection:

The population has already done some political-development action together

The population has an established degree of political participation.

Freire offers practical points for literacy teachers who come to work in a selected area.

When we take the neighborhood as our own concern trying to see them and to hear what the people are saying, then we communicate with them. We become more than cool, distant specialists who analyse the inhabitants of an area. We become militants in search of the reality of the area with the people who live there.

In these visits the smallest details should be noticed: the conditions of the streets, the health of the people, whether or not there are places where people gather and talk with each other, the way children play in the streets. These and an infinite number of facts will be revealed to us when we no longer simply walk through the streets but rather, become curious about them. 24

Freire's educational philosophy and methods are antagonistic to the usual methods and philosophy of established educational systems. This approach to adult learning is meant to develop a critical consciousness. Few formal systems can have this as their objective. In Tanzania, although the national policy mandates structures and curriculum to develop just such a critical consciousness, the implementation is not always effective.

Gulleth and Olambo (1973) report on their use of the

Freire method in Pembeni, a section of Dar es Salaam.

30

Their conclusions are significant to this study:

While the method helps to awaken consciousness of the participants to reject backwardness it does not help in the very process of destroying those forces that are behind backwardness. The question is, after the illiterate has gained awareness of his capacity to shape his environment, what next? 25

This underscores the distinction between socialism being an attitude of mind and the need for those structural changes that will permit that attitude of mind to develop and to be effective. Freire admitted that his early writing gave undue potential to consciousness raising. As he put it at a seminar in Ann Arbor, Michigan in 1978: The real world is not in our consciousness. This relates to the dilemma faced by Tanzanians in the newly created ujamaa villages. What education and what restructuring of the political system is possible to enable them to win for themselves the rewards of development while preventing stratification and exploitation of the many by a powerful few.

Nyerere has declared again and again that the express purpose of ujamaa is to prevent stratification. If one group gains control of the forces of production, (in rural Tanzania that is the farms and estates and small industries), and another group emerges as laborers hired by the dominant entrepreneurs, such structural stratification can destroy the possibility of self-reliant development. The dependency relationship that would ensue has been shown to be similar

to that which existed in colonial times, and which exists in international capitalism. Nyerere explains:

Capitalism automatically brings with it the development of two classes of people: a small group whose ownership of the means of production brings them wealth, power and privilege; and a very large group whose work provides that wealth and privilege. The one benefits by exploiting the other, and a failure in the attempt to exploit leads to a breakdown of the whole system with a consequent end to all production.

Development through capitalism is thus basically incompatible with the aspiration to human dignity and self-respect for all, with equal freedom for all inhabitants of the society.²⁶

Mbilinyi (1974) shows that without explicit development of the awareness of stratification and its danger, groups of wealthy and powerful can and do emerge in Tanzania. Neither consciousness raising without structural change nor structural change without reflection can be effective. Praxis is most appropriate here: personal and community development through a constant process of action - reflection and action.

Simkins (1977) argues that the hopes and objectives of liberating education can only be achieved in those situations where decisions for structural politico-social-economic change are established policy. Freire (1970) asks the question:

If the implementation of a liberating education requires political power and the oppressed have none, how then is it possible to carry out the pedagogy of the oppressed prior to the revolution? This is a question of the greatest importance, One aspect of the reply is found in the distinction between systematic education, which can only

be changed by political power and educational projects, which should be carried out with the oppressed in the process of organizing them. 27

Lucille Mair of Jamaica (1976) takes the same position as Simkins, and so does Carnoy (1974), Bowles (1971, 1976) and Wren (1977). I agree with this position and base my analysis on it.

Gillette (1977) gives evidence of the difficulties met in establishing processes of education congruent with the socialist principles of Tanzania. He shows how the Rural Training Centers for peasant farmer leaders built by the World Bank in 1968 utilize methods of education appropriate to the formal school system. His study indicates that there was no concerted mobilization (by 1977) of the nonformal sector of education:

Nonformal education seems to be a collection of programs (rather than a cohesive system). Its goals are stated sectorally (rather than globally.) It has adopted opposing approaches (rather than a single strategy) concerning plant and it is subject to short term fragmented planning (rather than long term global planning.)²⁸

Sheffield and Diejomoah (1972) conclude their description of case studies in nonformal education in Africa by admitting that education alone cannot change the underdeveloped situations, cannot generate employment or achieve rural development. However, they make no suggestions for radical social change, nor do they even analyse the causes of the underdevelopment they deplore.

Faure (1972) reports on the dissatisfaction of member states of UNESCO with current adult education patterns and the overwhelming agreement that these patterns must be made more real, more functional, more effective. They insist that for a democratizing of education there must be a change in the social structures. However, this stance is left at a very general and abstract level of commitment, so that UN programs might take place without endangering the status quo.

For almost a century Tanzania had been schooled to associate education with certificates and wage employment. The extent to which nonformal community education is a new paradigm in any developing country cannot be overlooked. We have already noted Nyerere's concern about the misconception of adult education. Kuhn (1962) shows in a brilliant argument how difficult and demanding such a paradigm shift is for an individual much less for a nation. The crisis of underdevelopment is partly caused by individualistic education patterns linked to the hope for personal advancement. This almost always meant an escape from the rural situation to urban amenities. This crisis led to a sudden change in the theoretical paradigm of the nation through The Arusha Declaration and Education for Self-Reliance, and a

gradual change in the practical patterns of formal education. By 1976, as we have seen, Nyerere himself was addressing those specific details within the adult education structures to show how such a paradigm shift might be brought to practical action. Kuhn suggests that a crisis is necessary in order to invite a critical look at the existing paradigm and to evoke the courage and creativity to make a new one.

Knowles (1970) offers the concept of andragogy to challenge those who consider learning in adults to be the same process as that in children. He outlines the responsibility of the teacher to organize the learning experience and underlines the dialectic between the learner's self-directed inquiry and the teacher's organization of content and process. The awareness of and use of Knowles' theory and practice towards participative adult learning in Tanzanian villages is necessary if ujamaa experience is to grow and develop through community education. Exhortations and speeches of political leaders do not constitute effective adult education. Villagers know this and often manifest their disdain for what they call: maneno mengi - many words.

Green (1976) argues that consciousness and organization are as critical as technical skills in the struggle for development. He says:

adult education comes not to bring peace but struggle for liberation, equity and justice and to provide means to arm the workers and peasants for that struggle.²⁹

Kassam shows how the in-service diploma course in education at the University of Dar es Salaam is preparing adult educators from various ministries to deal with the new paradigm of education for development. He points out that these mature students, coming from action posts in rural areas, find most useful the courses on the psychology of adult learning and political education. Kassam notes the need to include a course in the methodology of training adult educators since this training task is the function of many of these in-service students. The training program described in chapter six might apply.

Recently the Design for Action of the International Conference on Adult Education and Development (1976) summed up the decision of delegates from eighty nations in terms congruent with the thought of Nyerere, Freire, Green, etc. Community education, they declared, is a major instrument for development and

balanced development calls for major national and international structural changes that are not only technical or economic or educational concerns but are rooted in political decisions. For if the equality of human life determines the goals, it is the political process and the exercise of political options that will define the means and set the pace for development.³⁰

What is clear is the dialectical relationship between the

means (community education) and the end (balanced development). Effective use of the means requires clear and comprehensive awareness of all of the implications of the end and commitment to it, evidenced by basic structural changes. The central question, however, remains: who initiates that structural change?

Chou and Caillods (1975) report that they found one of the main obstacles to the development of ujamaa villages in Tanzania was the lack of managerial and leadership skills. They agree that village education in leadership training is needed. Vanek and Bayard (1975) propose education towards self-management, linking schools of village leadership with cooperatives, citing the Mondragon Movement in Spain and the Yugoslav and Chinese experience of associating learning with work. The fact that many ujamaa villages are registered cooperatives and that, since 1971, adult education in work programs is mandatory, indicates the potential for such self-management training in Tanzania.

Moulton (1977) discusses the Animation Rurale program in Senegal and shows how the program took on organization and administration roles necessary to install and maintain the innovative rural communes of

four of that nation's seven regions. She cites the reluctance of rural commune officials in training to accept the imposition from above of new government regulations and attributes this sort of critical political consciousness to the decade of animation rurale education which was a consciousness raising program. Moulton offers six hypotheses about the pre-conditions she feels must exist if a comprehensive grass roots rural education program is to succeed:

- (i) The program must be an integral part of the national development plan and policy.
- (ii) Local education programs must have autonomy.
- (iii) Education takes time and financial resources which must therefore be available.
- (iv) The political risk in grass roots plans must not overwhelm the incumbent government.
- (v) An infrastructure of communication and transport must be present.
- (vi) Village workers must be given both the material and moral incentives to remain in the village.

Coombs (1974) shows the need to adjust the role of teachers in village education. The potential of learning groups must be evoked by teachers who are skilled in the psychology of adult learning.

Carl Rogers (1961, 1969) offers classic support for person-centered educational processes. His research corroborates that of Freire and Nyerere. Maslow (1968) demonstrates the potential of the person-centered approach as contrasted to the project or work-centered one. His research offers scientific proof of the effectiveness of personal concern in community building. Kinvatter (1977) has described in detail a learner-centered program of training in Thailand that attempted to incorporate the principles and practice suggested by Nyerere, Freire and Knowles. The effort to develop the "khit pen" or self-reliant person offers appropriate educational technology for community educators. Lyra Srinivasan (1977) offers a summary text on nonformal adult learning that centers on three educational needs:

- (i) The need to strengthen the problem-solving capacity of learners.
- (ii) The need to equip learners with coping skills to deal more effectively with their environment.
- (iii) The need to develop the individual's inner potential and to strengthen the positive awareness of self as a basis for practical action.

Smith (1976) makes the point that the basic pedagogical difference between problem-posing education

and the traditional forms is that the problems posed in the former have no known answers. It is the task of the people, of the community, to create the appropriate responses after getting the necessary input. This is entirely congruent with ujamaa and self-reliance. Each village has to deal with its own problems in its own way. It also explains something of the difficulty of re-education. For years, the experts have known and have offered the answers to peasants' problems (even though these answers were not always effective.) This educational form of problem-posing is a new paradigm, indeed.

Hoxeng (1973) uses an AID sponsored project in Ecuador as an example of an attempt to institutionalize another new pattern: the function of local leaders as development/education/change agents. Hoxeng agrees with Nyerere's theme: the educator must live and be with the people and shows that it is easier and more practical to train local peasant farmers in problem-posing, participative forms of teaching than to re-educate a development "expert" to these forms. Hoxeng points out four major problems he has observed in the traditional use of

community development workers:

(i) Community educators are so over-extended that they do not have time to live in the village.

(ii) Communications is a difficulty: can urban educators understand rural participants' language?

(iii) Discrimination is felt because the educator often unconsciously carries a sense of superiority.

(iv) Fickleness is a problem since programs are there one day and gone the next.

The Musoma case study corroborates all of these difficulties. The deprofessionalized development view of the Ecuador project is parallel to the overall self-reliance programs of Tanzania. Everett Rogers (1972) proposes some guidelines for innovators, recognizing that any innovation, technical, educational or social, must be able to show its relative advantage to the existing system, be compatible with the life experience of the people involved, be simple enough for all to comprehend, be trial-able for a period of time and finally be observable in its effectiveness. These five concepts can be very useful in evaluating a rural development program.

Compton and McClusky (1977) speak directly to the focus of community education: to serve individuals who

are in need, to build institutions which foster service and to develop communities which generate energy. The pattern they offer is closely related to the research done by Rogers. They suggest that a program must be simple, practical, economic and duplicable.

Luttrell (1971) outlines a detailed plan for the organization of a trained corps of rural cadres, no fewer than 150,000 for mainland Tanzania, who would be the leading edge of the development revolution in the rural areas. I shall look again at his plan in chapter five and six which deal with village and training programs. Luttrell emphasizes the political priority of the training program. He maintains that it must be a part of a whole network of development. In his proposal every single family of Tanzania is involved.

Etling (1974) in his study of the characteristics of facilitators in the Ecuador project, mentions political choice or political consciousness of class differences as major characteristics. The responses of Ecuadorian villagers to his survey mentioned frequently that the life style of the leader should not conflict with that of the community. In Tanzania more distinct lines have to be drawn to avoid nascent stratification. Mbilinyi (1974) indicates the real potential for capitalist class

development in the ujamaa villages. Samoff (1976) shows how a distinctly competitive entrepreneurial attitude grew in the Kilimanjaro section of Tanzania to direct educational reforms to a selected few rather than to the masses. A community education program, explicitly political, will have to deal with such issues of power and partisanship.

Kinunda (1975) describes the village primary school as it has evolved into the community education center in Tanzania. However, the example he speaks of, Kwamsisi, is a village gifted with a large World Bank grant to establish a water system after mobilization of the community through programs at the center. Therefore, this example is in no way either typical or model! The mere conversion of a primary school building into a community education center does not imply qualitative change in the adult education programs.

Mehta (1974) describes the cadre in India who is entitled a social education worker. He is required to settle down in a village, live there with the people and serve them. The idea is that to the extent he serves the people, he will be educating them. She quotes Gandhi (1942) as decrying existing systems of formal education which were based upon a foreign culture almost to the

exclusion of Indian culture, which ignored the culture of the heart and the hand and confined themselves simply to the head. Mehta discusses the use of the bhajan manlies or informal singing groups in community education in India. Russell (1977) shows how a Ghanaian program of community education worked through local cultural groups. This, as we have already seen, is a fond hope of Nyerere's: to integrate community education with the cultural patterns of the local area.

Oliver (1977) emphasizes the need for community education to be congruent with the culture of a people and their value system. He offers five case studies of communities which have responded to their own needs for congruent education. All of these cases demonstrate an educational approach which grows out of their own roots. Gandhi (1942) planned that adult education centers in India would take the form of producer and consumer coops. Adult education would include training in the working of gram pachayat or village industries. This same approach is described in China by Hinton (1966) who tells the story of the difficult struggle in Long Bow village to establish not only a community education system for all of the people, but an entirely new politico-economic structure of which the educational system was one significant part. Attention to the potential destructiveness of dominant classes was explicit. Fan Shen

carries important lessons for building new structure in Third World countries. Bowles (1971) surveys the structural transformation of Cuban education in its efforts to serve the national objectives of increased economic productivity, sovereignty, equality and the creation of a new socialist man. He also notes the danger of stratification through advantageous educational opportunities for certain groups. Fagen (1964) demonstrates how the entire system of adult education in Cuba is designed to integrate with national revolutionary politics. He points out that Cubans

are constantly reminded that the titanic struggle between good and evil now being played out on the world stage can be found in microcosm in the factories and fields where they work.³¹

Such an integration can be highly motivating. It is the moral incentive that keeps people working in the villages when the urge is to rush to the cities. Richard Jolly, (cf. Seers, 1964) notes the various aspects of adult education that evolved in the first years of the Cuban revolution: the literacy program, the schools for revolutionary instruction which prepared the vanguard party, the committees for the defence of the revolution which mobilized the entire population for political education and service. All of these were designed to evoke maximum

participation of the people, inviting them to change attitudes and behavior because it was in their own personal, family and national interest to do so.

This review of selected literature reveals how common the critical problems of community education are. The implementation of Tanzania's direction for adult learning is difficult. Program design and training must become more appropriate to the principles and practice of ujamaa if community education for self-reliant development is to become a reality.

Lack of clarity about the meaning of development and underdevelopment is a central source of confusion for planners and community educators. The key issues that emerge from the literature are the need for socio-economic-political structural changes as a necessary pre-condition for self-reliant development, and the need for sensitive selection and training of committed community educators from among the people.

The following survey of literature on the issue of development and underdevelopment shows how these problems are related: the class struggle, the intrusion of inappropriate methods and material, exploitative roles and the urban/rural dichotomy.

Self-reliant development

A chronological survey of the literature on development reveals the evolution of the concept from 1945 until the present. After World War II, during the Marshall Plan era, development was largely conceived as reconstruction or a catching-up to the technology, production and consumption standards of the west. Rostow (1960) established a classical pattern for the stages of development. His famous five stages indicate how a developing nation rises to the economic level of the United States:

1. traditional society
2. preconditions for development
3. take-off
4. maturity
5. mass consumption

As absurd as it sounds, this was and still is, a highly respected paradigm. Other literature of the period is equally didactic. Development is understood as growth towards mass consumerism. Guidelines based on neo-classical and Keynesian economic theories set out sure ways for the primitive machine to get ready for take-off.

In 1961 the World Bank Mission published a lengthy report on the prospects of economic development in

Tanganyika. Their analysis of the problem laid the cause to the attitudes and customs of local people: Sukuma cotton growers who refused to use fertilizer and Chagga coffee farmers who did not accept new methods. Such explanations as the following were commonplace:

One major reason why the extension services have made such limited progress is undoubtedly (sic) the extreme conservatism of the farmers. Peasant farmers all over the world are notoriously suspicious of change. ³²

The Keynesian theory of economic development, supported and taught by such development economists as Myint (1964), Higgins (1959), Leibenstein (1957), Meier and Baldwin (1957), held that the insufficiency of demand in primitive markets regulated the production. To bring about greater supply and greater demand was development. At this time the literature does not reveal concern with how such growth could most appropriately take place in the varied cultures of the many underdeveloped nations. There was, however, ample discussion on why such growth was not taking place: population pressure, demographic patterns, topographical and geographical poverty, lack of natural resources, and the uncreative and unimaginative attitudes and institutions of the local people. None of the studies at this time, including Nobel prize winner Gunnar Myrdal,

(1957) accepts underdevelopment as a relationship, an effect caused by the global socio-economic structure. Most of the literature takes a distinctly western, ethnocentric view of development as the attainment of a technology-based standard of living on a scale comparable to that of the most advanced western nations.

However, their analysis and their plans and patterns for development did not succeed as expected. In the forty years since these analyses were offered, the rate of underdevelopment has increased, the gap widened enormously between the haves and the have-nots. In 1968 the World Bank commissioned Lester Pearson to form a commission to

meet together, study the consequences of twenty years of development assistance, assess the results and propose policies that will work better in the future. 33

Significantly, there was no one from the Third World on this commission. The report admitted that "the widening gap between the developed and developing countries has become the central issue of our time," but did not basically depart from the Keynesian framework in the analysis and recommendations offered.

Szentes (1971) reviews the whole field of development economics and deals in turn with the various causes of

underdevelopment proposed by the United Nations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The vicious circle theory, often proposed, suggests that the people are poor because they are poor, because there are no savings or surpluses for investment. Szentes argues that this is begging the question. He represents the school which holds that the causes of underdevelopment lie in the process of externally dependent development. The suggestion that natural resources are underutilized flies in the face of evidence that shows how the natural resources of Latin America and Africa have been very well utilized by western investors. This is what Szentes shows to be exploitation, a cause of underdevelopment.

In April 1963, Business Week magazine issues a special report on multinational corporations. It offered data on some 3,300 companies that were involved overseas at that time. It reported that it was common for a company to take from 20% - 50% of its earnings from its foreign operations. Many of these operations are in the least developed nations, where access to natural resources and lower wage patterns assure a business of the large profit margin that makes international involvement viable.

Andre Gundar Frank (1967) made a study of American investment patterns in Chile and Brazil. He called the process the development of underdevelopment. His is an analysis rooted in history, because, as Szentes puts it:

It is impossible to bring about a deliberate and purposeful change in the present without knowing how this present state came about.

Frank's historical perspective is able to unearth the causes of underdevelopment. He shows that the relationship between most countries is patterned by the capitalist world market system. Some nations historically have been central and others peripheral. Those that are peripheral feed the central nations by supplying the raw materials for the production of capital and consumer goods. This imbalance was addressed as early as 1955 at the Bandung Conference, called by Sukharno of Indonesia, attended by twenty-two developing nations, including mainland China. At this conference these nations decried the trade patterns that were destroying them, exploiting their natural resources and their labor potential. Industrial nations set the prices of the materials they purchases and then set the prices also of the consumer manufactured goods they exported to these developing nations. Seidman (1974) used a diagrammatic model to represent the exploitative nature of these trade structures.³⁴ A simple form of such a model can

be useful in explaining to communities suffering the poverty described, the sources of the situation in terms of history and basic economics. Seidman also presents a comparison of capitalist and socialist economic plans in An Economics Textbook for Africa. This might be a useful text in a training program for adult educators.

Baran (1957) charges the utter moral bankruptcy of a decaying social order, and believes that the unreformed nature of contemporary imperialism and its inherent animosity towards all genuine initiative at economic development on the part of underdeveloped countries inhibit rather than assist development. Gradually a whole school of development analysts has emerged from all parts of the world, who recognize the process of exploitation that appears to be the basic cause of socio-economic underdevelopment.

Amin (1974) presents a strong argument supporting Frank's paradigm of underdevelopment. He rejects the terms Third World, and even that of underdevelopment, and considers instead the capitalist formations that inevitably appear on the periphery. This structure of exploitation he shows to be world wide, suffered by all of the nations of the world. He explains that, regardless of ideology, all nations must trade in the capitalist

world market.

There are not two world markets, one capitalist and the other socialist, but only one, the capitalist world market in which Eastern Europe marginally participates.³⁵

Wignaraja (1976) admits that the basic framework of the development process requires re-thinking. Goulet (1974) suggests that the development debate reflects a universal value crisis and agrees with Mende (1973) that the intrusion of foreign aid has been harmful to many nations who have suffered the loss of their own selves to increase their GNP. Senator Frank Church resigned publicly in 1971 from the Senate Foreign Aid Committee because of what he saw foreign aid doing in the name of development. Jalee (1972) offers a comprehensive study of imperialism in the seventies, showing how the system can suck the life blood from newly-created nations. He agrees with the Pearson Commission that it is the central issue of our time and goes further to show that it is also the most important political factor in the struggle for world supremacy. Jalee quotes Rostow who declared in 1956:

The location, natural resources and populations of the underdeveloped areas are such that, should they become effectively attached to the Communist block, the United States would become the second power in the world.³⁶

Self-reliant development is obviously a political option. Community education programs that aim at effecting such development must include this political awareness. In 1974, the Group of Seventy-seven at the United Nations, passed a statement calling for a New International Economic Order. The purpose of this plan was to correct inequities and to redress existing injustices. to narrow the widening gap by re-structuring the economic system. They maintained

it is not possible to achieve an even and balanced development of the international community under the existing international economic order. The gap between developed and developing countries continues to widen in a system that was established at a time when most developing countries did not exist as individual states and which by all its elements perpetuates inequality.³⁷

In the long list of demands one stands out as crucial to the peasant farmer of a developing nation:

The establishment of a just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials, primary products, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported, and prices of raw materials, primary commodities, manufactured and capital goods imported by developing countries with the aim of improving their terms of trade which have continued to deteriorate.³⁸

Price indexing, which would establish an agreed range between primary goods and manufactured products, might provide " a just and equitable relationship."

Diamond (1978) shows how the traditional paradigm for international economics simply does not allow for the events of the real world, and therefore will not consider alternatives.

The whole real universe of countries with bottlenecked economies is erased and is replaced by the fictitious universe of the traditional paradigm (Keynesian).³⁹

Nyerere in 1977 spoke out against the injustices of the present international economic order and deplored the fact that

There is an automatic transfer of wealth from the poor countries, where it is needed to provide the necessities of life, to the rich countries where it is spent on creating and meeting new wants.⁴⁰

Ten years earlier, in The Arusha Declaration, Tanzania had declared:

We have been oppressed a great deal, we have been exploited a great deal, we have been disregarded a great deal. It is our weakness that has led to our being oppressed, exploited and disregarded. Now we want a revolution - a revolution which brings an end to our weakness so that we are never again exploited, oppressed or humiliated. 41

Ollowa of Zambia (1977) offers a compelling study to show that western development strategies, rooted in Keynesian-Rostovian principles, are not a practical plan for African development. He agrees with Goulet that the value system of developing societies are crucial factors

in building development strategies that might be effective. Ollowa calls "anti-development that growth through which minority social groups are enabled to manipulate socio-politico-economic institutions in order to defend and promote their own interests".⁴² This stratification is appropriate and necessary in the Keynesian strategy, but inappropriate when trying to get essential development to all of the people.

Green (1976) called for developing strategies that could identify key forces which might in turn lead to a rapid increase in production. Earlier, Green and Seidman (1968) argued for African unity to facilitate continual planning of continental economic growth that might lead to economic independence and gradually higher living standards for all of the people.

Seers (1969) shows the need to prepare professional classes conscious of the realities of the development struggle, both within the nation and in the international order., with such an understanding of the historical origins of these economic realities that they might see what needs to be done and voluntarily accept the sacrifices implied. Such an understanding of the causes of underdevelopment, as we shall see in chapter three, is not only for professional classes, but for all of the people engaged in production for development.

Myrdal (1971), Grant (1972) and Galbraith (1964) all speak of the fact that development does imply a change in power, a political shift. Axinn (1977) sums it up when he says

Strategies for change involve change in power. Programs designed to improve the relative position of the rural poor must do this in relation to some other group. 43

Axinn goes on to show that strategies in most of the rural world call for increased local communication, sharing of problems and organized group action. This corroborates the findings of Rattan (1977) who drew a correlation between the success of Green Revolution technology in areas where there is a reasonable degree of equity, and the failure of the same technology in places where there was manifest inequality. This bears out the position of Frank (1967) who describes the inherent contradictions of capitalist production:

- i. the expropriation of the man for the appropriation of the few
- ii. the metropole/satellite relationship which can become the urban/rural dichotomy within a nation

and declares that these are indeed the causes of underdevelopment. Rattan's research shows that inequity is also a condition for the proliferation of underdevelopment.

ul Haq (1972)^b concludes that

the only alternative is a genuinely socialist system based on a different ideology and a different pattern of society. It means a major change in the political balance of power within these societies and drastic economic and social reform.⁴⁴

All of these arguments show the evolution from the traditional Keynesian paradigm of a search for equilibrium to the pattern that explores the historical roots of a system in which the center or metropole grows at the expense of the satellite or periphery. This is a relational system. Relations can be changed. Self-reliance appears to be the first step in amending an oppressive relationship. Nyerere in 1976 said that political independence was a sham without economic independence, and in all of his theory self-reliance is central. In Freedom and Development (1972) he insists

Development is the development of people. No person can develop another; each must develop himself.⁴⁵

In 1977 and 1978 Nyerere's tone is noticeably sharper:

We demand change. As far as we are concerned the only question at issue is whether the change comes by dialogue or confrontation.⁴⁶

This is the tone of self-reliance. Without excluding the need for foreign aid, such a stance addresses the historical fact of exploitation and explores a new model, where nations and peoples meet as peers. It has been the policy of Tanzania since independence to cultivate this spirit.

These Arusha Declaration is first of all a reaffirmation of the fact that we are Tanzanians and wish to remain Tanzanian as we develop. Certainly we shall wish to change many things in our present society. But we have stated that these changes will be effected through the processes of growth in certain directions. This growth must come out of our own roots, and not through the grafting on to those roots of something which is alien to our society. This is very important for it means that we cannot adopt any political holy book and try to implement its rulings, with or without revision.

It means that our social change will be determined by our own needs as we see them, and in the direction that we feel to be appropriate for us at any particular time. We shall draw sustenance from universal human ideas, and from the practical experience of other peoples; but we start with a full acceptance of our own African-ness and a belief that in our own past there is very much that is useful for our future.⁴⁷

This review of selected literature on the issue of development and underdevelopment has tried to show the evolution of the theory since 1945. We see that even the most conservative economists recognize that the traditional paradigm does not work to bring about development for all of the people in a nation. The facts of history indicate that the development process is a sensitive relationship involving attention to human and cultural values. Cliffe and Saul (1973) ask a singularly important question about development projects in Tanzania which were being introduced by foreign interests:

What is the quality of the dependency that will emerge in the long run? 48

This is the operative question in both internal and international development projects. As we have seen, economists and social theorists initially said that underdevelopment was caused by wrong attitudes, outdated customs and the lack of capital. More and more analysts today recognize that underdevelopment is caused rather by socio-economic institutions on a global scale which demand economic dependence of nations or peoples on the periphery. Subscribing to the latter theory, I suggest that the failure of community education programs that aim at self-reliant development can be ascribed to these six causes.

1. A consistent failure on the part of project planners, community educators and communities themselves to be aware of the political implications of such programs. When community education invites the exploration of power structures in the community, of ownership patterns and marketing situations, it is often done as an exercise in economics or management and is not recognized for what it is, political action.

Community education for development has often dealt with local problems as though people and their customs were the cause, without reference to global and

national structures which victimize rural folk. The issue of class consciousness, of the stratification which is unequal development to the point of creating domination structures within a community, is rarely examined. The fact that a community in poverty is part of a whole picture of global dependence and exploitation, is not considered.

2. Community education planners, educators and the community themselves do not often consider their local project as part of a whole. Local problems and problematic situations become the focus of energy. The struggle to deal with these problems is entered without reference to parallel struggles on many other levels in the district or region or nation. Opportunistic planning and programming takes place to exploit the energy of educators and community members without taking time to examine long term goals which might fit into wider programs.

3. Directly related to this is the fact that development projects, once funded, begin with enthusiasm and energy without a sufficiently long period of site research and program development. A hurried trip by proposal writers to the site may occur and some research is invariably demanded by funding sources. However, time for the educators and field workers themselves to do essential research and program development is rare.

4. Once the program is funded for a specific purpose, that purpose becomes central. Program planners, educators and community members are not usually skilled enough in group processes to make the person in the community central, to first build the community so that they can deal with their own problems.
5. Linked to this is the educational process which is invariably problem-solving. The questions are not often raised: whose problems? how have these been defined? who has defined them? where is the energy and funding and organization for the solution of these problems coming from? AID programs which solve water problems or housing problems for a community, or even with them, are a part of the problem which this study addresses: the recurring failure to achieve self-reliant development.
6. Finally, the process of education used in a problem-solving methodology is almost always that preceded by the formal school system: lectures, slide shows, demonstrations, exhortations. Participation is often reduced to the question and answer period. Even in the educational processes, the community find themselves objects of history and not subjects.

The review of selected literature on both community education and development did not offer any analysis that so combined the two concepts as to enable community educators intent on self-reliant development objectives to plan strategies congruent with their purposes. These six explanations of why community education programs frequently fail will now be tested in the examination of a case study of a typical program, the Community Education for Development project in Musoma, Tanzania. Then, in chapter four, I will consider the six related guidelines for action that emerge from these explanations.

C H A P T E R I I I

A CASE STUDY: COMMUNITY EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

In this chapter we shall look in detail at the problem outlined in chapter one - the relative failure of the Community Education for Development program in Musoma, Tanzania. This effort was in many respects typical of development programs the world over. The case study offers evidence which seems to support the hypotheses offered at the end of chapter two. There will be eight sections in this case study: general area study; the particular background of the project; preparation for the project; the role of the advisory body; the program as it developed; African participation; training perspectives and the focus of evaluation.

General area study.

Mara region extends for 21,750 sq. km in the northwestern corner of Tanzania, bordering the eastern shore of Lake Victoria. It covers 2.5% of the total area of the country and has a population of 650,000, which is 4.7% of the national total. There are 29.6 persons per sq. km. These 650,000 people are from twelve different ethnic groups, both Bantu like the Wazanaki and the Wangereme and Nilotic like the Wajoluo.

In 1970 there were one hundred and seventy-four ujamaa villages with 84,700 people living in them, an average of 487 per village. By 1975 this had grown to 303 villages with 626,687 people in them, an average of 2,068 per village. The following table indicates the rate of growth in the period 1970 - 1975:

Table 1	UJAMAA VILLAGES			MARA REGION		
	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Number of Villages	174	376	376	271	111	303
Number of People	84,700	127,370	127,371	108,868	233,632	626,687
Average per Village	487	339	339	402	2,105	2,068

Prime Minister's Office Dar es Salaam June 1975

In Mara region there are 75,000 farm holdings. The average size farm is 1.35 hectares (3.37 acres) with 6.41 persons per holding. No holdings over ten acres were reported in 1974. Only 7% of the farms had mixed crops. 16,000 hectares were planted with cotton in 1974. The normal cotton yield in Mara region is 350-550 kg. per hectare. The price in 1972 was 60¢ (100¢ = 1 T sh. = \$0.15) per kilo. This means that a family of six

in Mara region earned T. Shs. 405 for their annual cotton crop in 1972. That is \$51 in dollar value.

There is no large scale agriculture or forest reserve reported in Mara region. Rough grazing accounts for 88.8% of the land; 9.4% is cultivated while 1.8% is either urban, rocky or swampland. Of the land under cultivation none at all was reported to be irrigated. This was the only region in the country reporting no irrigation schemes in 1972.

Mara region has 8.2% of the total cattle in Tanzania or 770,000 head. There are more cows than people in the region! Overstocking of the local Zebu cattle is a major problem. Cattle are a sign of wealth among virtually all of the peoples in the region. Grade cattle and exotic imports are few. A livestock development project has a holding ground for cattle breeding in Nyamagaju in North Mara and Mweri in South Mara. Local cows produce 300 kg. of milk per year; the few grade cows produce 1000 - 1500 kg. and exotic breeds produce up to 3000 kg. per year.

Under the Danida Dairy project, financed by Denmark, two dairy plants have been built in Mara Region, one in Musoma, South Mara and one in Utegi, North Mara. The Musoma plant produces ultra-heat treated or long lasting milk' that does not require refrigeration. The Utegi plant produces dry skimmed milk powder and ghee. In 1974 thirteen cooling stations were operating of the one hundred

scheduled to be built. In the early morning one can see lines of women walking to the cooling stations along the road with brightly colored plastic buckets filled with warm milk on their heads. They received 45¢ per liter in 1974. It is significant in the light of our concern for self-reliant development that Tanzania in 1972 imported Shs. 73,500,000 of milk products. Sixty percent of these imports were consumed by the 7% of the population living in urban or suburban areas. It is clear that the market for milk products exists within Tanzania.

Transport systems are a major problem. Mara region has in 1972 a total of 924 km. of roads, only 470 km. of which were "maintained to Comworks standard". There were 4 km. of tarmac road in the region! This obviously inhibits the construction of cooling stations and the transport of milk products, as well as other development that depends upon the infrastructure.

A local chicken feed factory was designed and begun by the District Development Council in 1972 in Musoma town. However in 1974 Mara region was reported to have produced only 0.2% of the egg production of the entire country.

The fishing potential of Lake Victoria was assessed by a UNDP project in 1972 which indicated that there is a large untapped deep water fish stock there. Forty percent of Tanzania's fish product now comes from Lake Victoria.

The Second Five year Plan (1969-1974) proposed a fisheries project including a landing quay, a wholesale fish market, an ice making plant and storage facilities. This project was not in place by 1977.

In 1972 Mara region earned only 3.2% of the gross national domestic product of Tanzania. The GDP per capita in 1974 was T. shs. 492 in Mara while the national rural average was T. Shs. 553. Industrial establishments in the region can be seen on Table 2.

Table 2		Industrial establishments in Mara region				
Products	Size of industry in terms of number employed					
	10 - 19	20 - 49	50 - 99	100 - 499	500+	
Gold				X		
Milk, ghee		X				
Cotton oil			X	X		
Cotton				X		
Job printing	X					

Devplan Bureau of Statistics Dar es Salaam 1971
Directory of Industries

Mara region had two hundred and fifteen primary schools in 1972, four secondary schools and one teacher training college. The nearest agricultural research and training institute was located at Ukiriguru Station,

in Mwanza region some one hundred and fifty miles to the south. A Rural Training Center is located at Bweri in South Mara and a Home Economics Training Center is at Buhare, also in South Mara.

One eighth percent of the population of 650,000 had a water supply; 30% had access to rural health centers and only 46% of the children in the 7 - 8 age group were enrolled in Standard One in 1972. Table 13 will put these diverse facts into perspective, showing Mara region in relation to the rest of Tanzania. It indicates that the region is a very poor sector in a very poor nation.

In 1972 the decision was made to decentralize the government, to move all of the ministries except the Ministry of National Education into the regions and to restructure the political system so that decisions might flow from the villages to the ministries and not only the other way around. The Village and Ujamaa Village Act of 1975 further delineated this structure to afford actual power to the local communities. (cf. Table 14).

A village can be registered, given legal entity and power as a cooperative, if there are 250 families who agree to this. These 250 families are formed into twenty-five ten family units with an elected representative leader for each.

In Mara region there were 271 villages when Community Education for Development began. Each village had an

assembly to which all residents belong. The village council of twenty-five members is elected annually by this assembly. It is the village council itself which is registered as a body corporate. Frequently the ten-cell leaders are village councilors. The chairperson and secretary of the village council are also chairperson and secretary of the Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), the party which replaced TANU on February 5th 1977. Each village council establishes five permanent committees in order to implement development plans and programs:

Finance and planning

Production and marketing

Education, culture and social welfare

Works and transport

Security and defence

These committees are each staffed by five members of the village council. These men and women are explicitly the elected leadership of the village, chosen annually by their neighbors.

Each village council has an elected representative to the district council, which has the same five committees, and in turn, district representatives are on the regional council. One advantage of the 1972 decentralization law is that funds are now available at the regional level. A village makes plans at the local level and these move on

through the district and regional level. District and regional committees are there to offer support and expertise in analysing local plans and allotting resources.

Each hundred ten cell units in a village form a ward for administrative purposes, and a set of wards forms a division. Following Tables 13 and 14 there are two maps showing Mara region in relation to the rest of mainland Tanzania, and also a detailed map of the region, indicating the relationship of Musoma town to the rural areas and the proximity to the Kenyan border.

This profile of the region offers the reader a picture of the situation in which the community education program was working. The diocese of Musoma is roughly divided to parallel regional divisions. In lieu of districts there are "deaneries" which have representatives on the Bishop's council. All of the deans are clerics, either priests or sisters. There are fourteen parishes in the diocese.

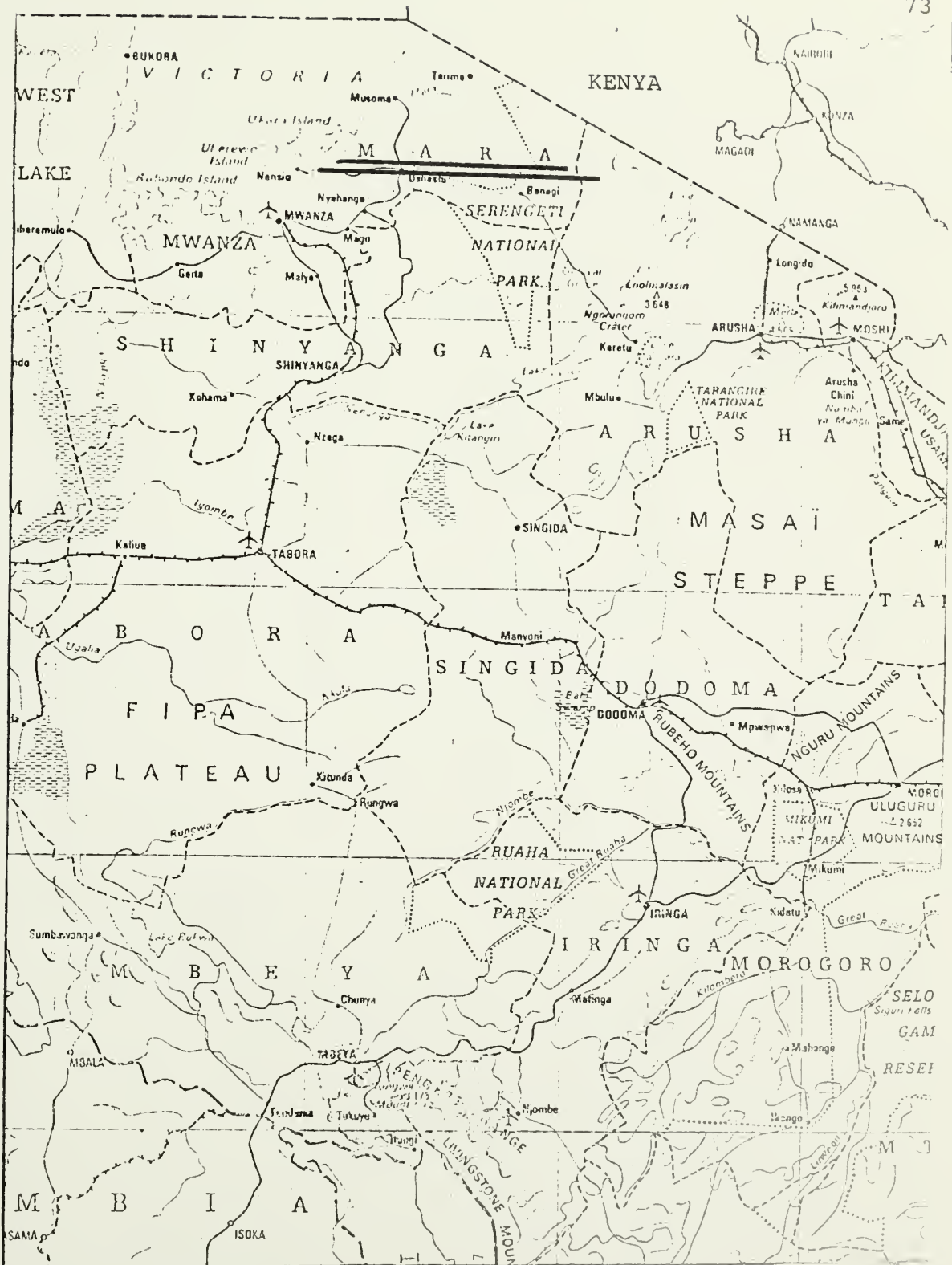
TABLE 3 COMPARATIVE DATA BY REGIONS 1974

Region	Roads 1972 km.	Land Area km.	Land Irrigated	Population (000's)	Hospital Beds	Population - per bed
Arusha	2,467	82,100	19,394	713.7	955	740
Coast	2,168	33,800	660	914.5	1,469	623
Dodoma	1,942	41,300	1,857	790.5	645	1,225
Iringa	2,225	56,850	1,233	800.2	969	825
Kigoma	764	37,050	330	504	467	1,079
Kilimanjaro	1,556	13,200	44,460	761.1	1,040	732
Lindi	779	with Mtwara		449.1	566	882
Mara	924	21,750	-	632.3	465	1,360
Mbeya	2,911	83,150	7,499	1,140.8	1,114	1,024
Morogoro	2,183	73,100	6,259	750	1,052	714
Mtwara	2,236	82,750	238	721.5	785	919
Mwanza	1,669	19,650	3,109	1,209.4	1,291	937
Ruvuma	1,449	61,250	14,661	448.1	1,005	446
Shinyanga	1,583	50,750	14,204	1,016.0	554	1,868
Singida	1,422	49,350	287	988.3	593	823
Tabora	3,435	122,000	1,213	620.1	903	687
Tanga	2,227	26,800	4,535	805.6	1,386	581
West Lake	1,782	28,750	6,631	730.9	1,306	559

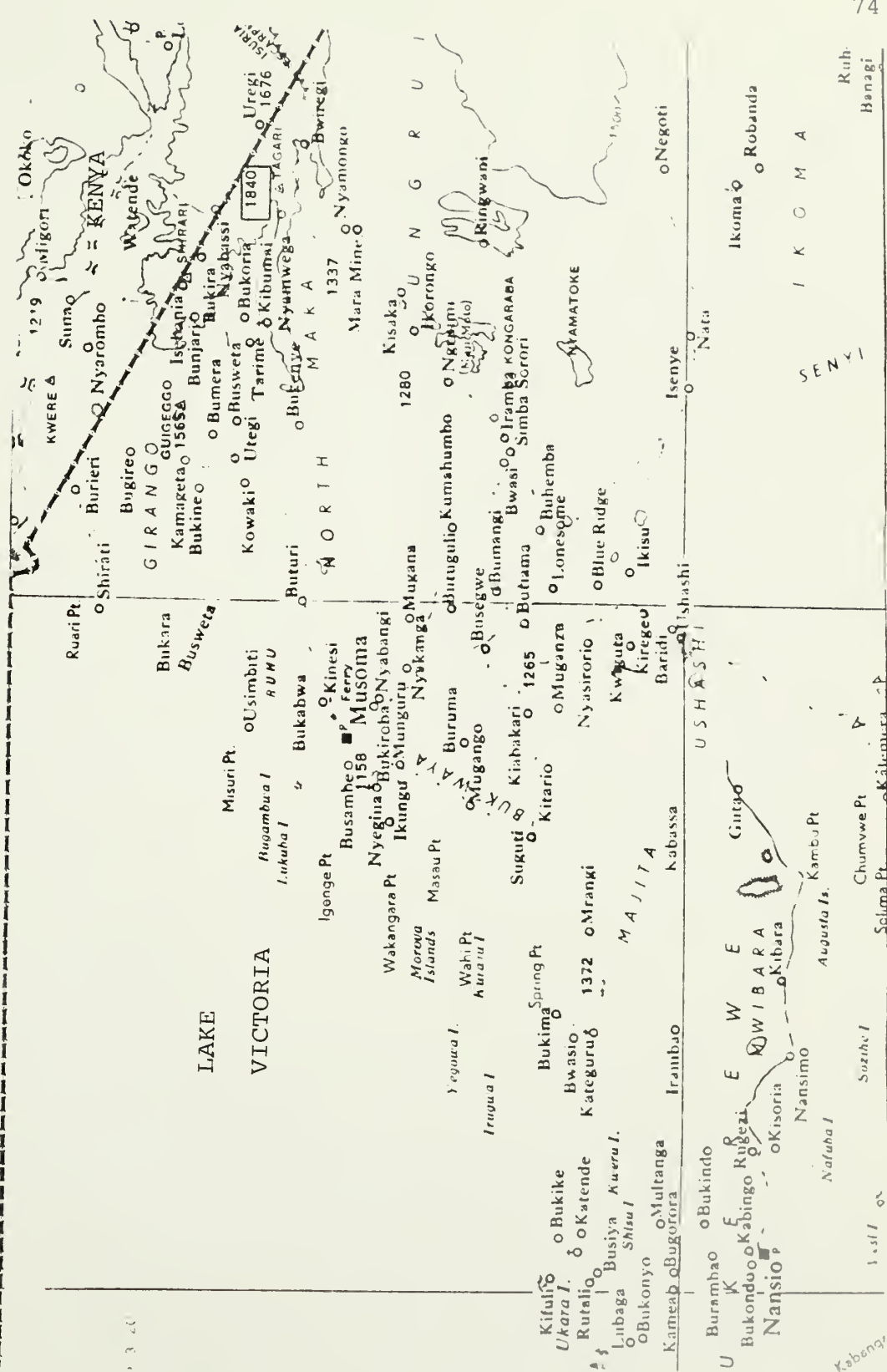
United Nations Survey 1974

TABLE	PLAN FORMULATION	POLICY GUIDELINES
	Prime Minister's office	Regional Development Director
	CCM Regional Executive Committee	Regional Staff
	Regional Development Director	Regional Development Committee
	Regional Development Committee	Regional CCM Executive Committee
	Regional Planning Officer	Regional Development Director
	Regional Functional Manager	
	Regional Development Director	
	CCM District Executive Committee	District Staff
	Regional Development Director	District Development Planning Committee
	District Development Council	CCM District Executive Committee
	District Development and Planning Committee	Field Staff
	District Development Director	CCM District Executive Committee
	District Planning Officer	Field Staff
	District Functional Manager	Ward Development Committee
	Ward Development Committee	
	Ujamaa Village Development Committee	Ujamaa Village Development Committee

FROM Adolph Mascarenhas After Villagization What? 1976



MAP #1: Mara Region in relation other regions of Tanzania.



MAP #2: Mara Region, Tanzania

Particular background

Community Education for Development was a church-sponsored village education program with exogenous staffing and funding sources. It was established by agreement with the Bishop of the Catholic diocese of Musoma in July 1974 by two American sisters who were to serve as the program staff of community educators. Purpose. The staff were to be an extension team to reach the families in the ujamaa villages of the diocese/region who had completed the course at the Makoko Family Center in Musoma and the Catechetical Training School at Komuge in North Mara.

The Makoko Family Center course was designed to develop Christian leaders. It was a three week course in theology, health, child care, homemaking, agriculture, animal husbandry and political education. Three weeks is a short time for such a large curriculum, so some families did come back for Stage II and Stage III of the course. However, the majority returned to their village farms with some new concepts and a stimulating new experience (for many it was the first time they had left their village as a family) but no structural follow-up or support to enable them to effect change in either their own lives or in their villages.

The Center had been urged by the funding agencies involved to develop an extension branch to do follow-up in the ujamaa villages.

Funding. The two sisters, with the invitation of the Director of the Center, and of the Catechetical Center, and the permission of the Bishop of the diocese, sent a funding proposal to Misereor, an ecumenical aid group of West Germany. The proposal was built on the situation of recent villagization in Tanzania and the need for community education that would deal with problems of leadership training, communications, community building, needs analysis and planning.

Misereor responded swiftly and offered a budget of \$5000 for Stage One, two and one half years. This included salary for the community educators (at volunteer rates), salary for two Tanzanian counterparts, funds for education programs and materials and a small revolving fund for village projects. The Bishop was the Project Holder, and officially accepted the grant. Later other agencies responded to the growing program needs: Canadian Universities Services Overseas, Oxfam, Paix et Developpement of Canada, and Maryknoll.

Personnel. The original two sisters were the basic program staff. After the first year a third Sister was added to

the staff as an apprentice. She and a colleague later began a similar program in Shinyanga region at the invitation of the African Bishop. At about the same time, a young Tanzanian, Auni Makame, asked if he could work with us. Makame was founder and chairman of a unique ujamaa village of fishermen on an island in Lake Victoria, and the designer and director of a unique chicken feed project in Musoma town. He had seen the village seminars and as he put it: " I like what I saw. I have much to learn from you. And you have much to learn from me." He was willing to resign as chairman and turn over his role in the factory in order to become a part of the team.

The program staff were receptive, seeing him as the much needed Tanzanian staff and projects coordinator. After a village seminar, villagers often planned projects for development but they needed liaison with ministry technicians and bureaucrats. Makame was a well-reputed TANU leader.

However, he was a Moslem. The advisory board only agreed to his being hired if we did not use project funds. Makame thus became the very first Tanzanian CUSO volunteer, supported as projects coordinator by Canadian funds. In spite of our having funds available, it was not

possible to hire Tanzanian personnel. Those who were qualified were otherwise employed. Those village leaders whom we hoped to train were volunteers who were needed at the village level as volunteers.

Planning. In the original planning session there were the Director of the Makoko Family Center, the Director of the Komuge Catechetical Center (a Tanzanian priest), the program staff who were two American sisters, the Bishop and one of his councilors who was keenly interested in community education. All but one of the planning group were Americans.

Each of the participants had their own unique agenda for the program. There were signs of ambiguity about purpose and about the population with whom the extension team would work. The team would go to parishes to meet the families at the request of the parish priest; to villages at the invitation of either a Makoko or a Komuge family. But what was to be the content they taught?

The program staff was not explicit about the problem-posing approach they intended to use with the villagers, nor were they fully aware of the political aspects of such education. To deal with some of the ambiguity, and to provide an advisory board, the ad hoc committee, with the exception of the Bishop, agreed to form a Program Committee, to meet regularly to advise the program staff.

Before beginning any village seminars, the program staff both took the three week Makoko Family course, and spent time at the Komuge catechetical center, exploring that learning experience. Appendix A illustrates the brochure sent out to the diocese in Swahili and English announcing the program.

Preparation for the program

The program staff did no needs analysis of any of the populations they hoped to address. Although a brief survey of expectations opened every seminar, and the staff spent at least a week in a village before doing a seminar with the leaders there, the data thus gathered was not hard data on which to build with the villagers. The adapted form of the Needs Analysis Methodology (Coffing-Hutchinson 1975) which is Appendix B was not available to the staff at that time.

The operative question in the Coffing-Hutchinson needs analysis methodology is: Who needs what as defined by whom? In the Musoma program, at the outset, the needs phrase would have had to read:

Tanzanian village leaders (Christians) need what educational services as defined by missionaries (Americans).

The absurdity of that position is clear now.

What research was done by the program staff or the Program Committee before beginning the work? Virtually none. The instrument for structural analysis of a region (Appendix C) was not utilized, largely because of the urgency to get to work, to begin teaching. There was no time allotted for what we have called Research and Program Development.

Site selection for initial seminars was arbitrary, based upon invitations. No criterial were set for village groups, or parish societies. Such questions as: What is the political cohesiveness of this group? What have they already done together? What future potential collaboration exists? What is the history of the group, or village? Who are the leaders? What socio-economic problems exist among them? were not asked so that the program staff entered each situation naively. Without such analysis the response to invitations soon became opportunistic. This, of course, led to an erratic pattern of village and parish seminars without any sequence or plan. At one point an effort was made to limit efforts to one or two areas in order to set up some pilot groups for evaluation; this did not work because of the insistent demands from a variety of places in the diocese.

Except for the Regional Education Officer for

Adult Education, none of the government officers had been informed about the program. When word of the activity reached government headquarters in Musoma, officials were naturally curious: Who were these people? What were they doing in the ujamaa villages?

Professional preparation through in-service workshops in adult education methods with the Grail team in Kenya was more than adequate. Those who joined the staff later also shared that training.

Without skills in class analysis or structural analysis, however, the staff did not sufficiently comprehend the risk of stratification that existed in the region. Although it was clear to them that ujamaa was an effort to prevent exploitation, what was not clear were the complex factors and forces at work in a community education program to create those privileged groups.

The role of the advisory body

Membership in the Program Committee was entirely from the administrative group of the diocese. There were no lay folk or representatives of the population being served: the Makoko families or the Komuge catechists.

The chief problems faced by the Program Committee had to do with the hiring of Tanzanian staff, and the

restriction of seminar participants to Makoko and Komuge families and other Catholics in the villages. The ambiguities from the original meetings still remained. The differences in perspective of the members had never been explicitly resolved. The three clerics had a unique perception of the program: to train Christian leaders. They each felt a serious responsibility for the welfare of the Christians in their care and they were not men to avoid that responsibility. The Program Committee had never, as a group, explored their understanding of self-reliant development. In time, a fourth priest, an anthropologist, was added arbitrarily to the Committee as the needed expert.

Sisters' roles in the diocese had long been seen as service roles, with emphasis on nursing, homemaking, sewing, and teaching religion. Having an equal voice in a diocesan extension program, which was growing by demand of the villagers, was a new role for women.

Difficulties faced in communications within the Program Committee were not unlike those faced by villagers in dealing with the government bureaucracy, or in their own village councils. What awareness, what strategizing, what daily tactics might have led to consensus and collaboration in that situation? This was the inevitable power struggle within the program; here was political

action. The place of roles and sex and ownership in political action was made clear. One thing was obvious: what the program staff was skillful at teaching villagers to do: communicate, analyse, plan, take action; they were not as skillful in doing for themselves.

Program development

Initial seminars led by the program staff of two were with parish leaders and teachers, invited by the parish priest. The content areas of the program developed as staff discovered what was most significant to the groups. Very shortly, however, these ideas came from the groups:

1. Skills made available to one person from a village are not operative. Such skills training must, in order to be effective, be made available to the entire village leadership.
2. The learning that was going on in these seminars, about group processes and communications were not meant only for Christians in the ujamaa villages but for all of the people living there.

However meaningful these responses from the Christian participants were, the fact was that the staff had been contracted to work with a small and particular group in

the villages. Program Committee meetings became increasingly difficult as the program staff represented these requests, and the priests represented diocesan priorities.

The program itself became increasingly popular. Village Christian leaders invited the staff and then invited other villagers to attend the seminars. Women's groups sent invitations for workshops; parish councils instructed their pastors to ask for us. The approach was in some way attractive to village leaders.

Invariably, the staff would go to the host village to live with a family for a week before the seminar, to share their experience and to gain something of their perspective. The task that week was data gathering: to talk with village officials, leaders, teachers, elders, to explain the purpose of the seminar as staff saw it and as it had worked in other villages, to invite participation. This time also established the role of the program staff as learners with the villagers, as allies concerned about the problems of development, as different from the stereotypical role of missionary sister.

The seminar took place in the late afternoons, usually for a week. This gave villagers time to complete their work in the fields, and their work for their

families. Appendix D describes the content and process of the village seminars. The essential program consisted of:

- Agenda setting with the villagers
- Introductions and warm-up
- Exercises in affirmation and self-awareness
- Building communications skills
- Group action analysis
- Problems analysis: researching themes
- The use of codes to analyse these problems
- Planning skills

Often villagers would reach the planning stage, make careful plans for working together on a village project: to build a primary school (community education center), to build a health center, to dig a well or build a dam for a clean water supply. Then as Makame worked with them they would meet bureaucratic bottlenecks that prevented them from getting materials or the needed technical assistance. This was always a keen disappointment. It seemed to indicate the need for villagers to comprehend the structure of local, district, regional, national and even international power. Otherwise villagers are confirmed in either a magical or naive consciousness: the one says: It is

God's will, the other says: That's the way it is. One cannot fight city hall!

This kind of community education is what Freire calls:

helping people to help themselves, not through assistencialism, but by placing them in consciously critical confrontation with their own problems, to make them agents of their own recuperation. 49

This is always an extremely delicate situation. No group is free of the elements of oppression that are discussed in the seminars. Case studies and role plays in the seminars surfaced very real problems.

One seminar group was interrupted by the village chairman who arbitrarily decided that the seminar had to be cancelled for the next day in order to have a special village assembly meeting to prepare a report for TANU. Fortunately, he had been a participant in the seminar, so he was prepared for the group which immediately took up verbal arms against him:

"Say, who do you think we are?"

"You cannot take that dominating role with us."

"Let us consider the options before we decide."

"Since when do we have to be early with a report?"

Finally, the chairman, with wise good humor, admitted his error and the whole village leadership group settled the matter together.

In some ways the program development took place

long after the seminar was completed in the village. On one occasion a staff member returned unexpectedly to a village where a seminar had taken place some weeks before. The Makoko family host met her and took her around, proudly showing the work being done to complete the new school building, and the common cotton fields. He shared that the villagers felt the good spirit of cooperation they knew was somehow due to the seminar.

There were still serious problems of physical development, but the community had apparently reached a sense of themselves which gave them energy to work together for self-reliant development.

African participation

Only one Tanzanian was involved in the program until Auni Makame came along. Although this Tanzanian priest was deeply supportive of the staff and of the educational philosophy and practice, he did not have a position of power in the diocese.

When Makame offered to work with the program, the church had numerous objections, which have already been described. "He is not one of ours," said one man. Such sectarian attitudes in Tanzania would indicate the lack of political awareness among program directors.

There were in the diocese of Musoma a group of Tanzanian sisters and a number of Tanzanian farmer-catechists, or religion teachers. It had been expected that from their ranks would come the village educators who might be supported by the program through training in adult education methods, and salary. Since the program was not established as an integral part of the diocesan plan, the sisters were not free to collaborate. They needed assurance of continuity and financial stability. Village catechists could not be part of a paid program since only recently (1976) the decision had been made that they should be a volunteer force.

This, of course, is a question facing both the church and village government: how much service can a volunteer peasant give when so much of his/her time is spent working with his own small farm holding. Volunteer catechists continued to work with us in local programs; however, parish priests were naturally unwilling for them to be trained for work on a diocesan scale on salary since they would be lost to the local community which had trained them. The fact that this program was a venture on the periphery of the diocesan plan, not an integral part of the whole, was significant.

African participation, then, was negligible. Makame's role as projects coordinator, and later as teaching staff

when one of the sisters was on emergency leave, was tenuous. The diocese was suspicious of his involvement in the program. A leading authority in the church referred to him as an opportunist, and was vindicated when there were difficulties at the end of the program about financial reports, and Mr. Makame was suspected.

How much our Tanzanian colleague learned of opportunism from the program staff is hard to say. Everett Rogers (1972) speaks of homophily - a likeness to the community, and heterophily - a difference from the community, as significant factors in the structuring of community education programs. The program staff could not have been more heterophilic, and this is often the case in development projects. Makame was in many ways the homophilic link to the villagers. However he was soon riding around town on a large motorcycle, driving to Nairobi for up-dating seminars in adult education methodology, and going to Dar es Salaam for conferences. Is this not a familiar pattern in development projects funded and directed by foreigners? Isn't the personal and social intrusiveness of a western life style a factor in community education in developing nations? Perhaps the operative question is not: how much African participation is necessary? but rather, how much foreign participation is healthy?

Training perspectives

The community education program needed Tanzanian staff if it were to continue in the diocese and be service to the villages. Many villagers were asking for seminars. In July 1976 there were twenty-three outstanding invitations. Word had spread that this kind of adult education was useful and effective. It was clear that the time was ripe to move into the training of village teachers, Tanzanian village leaders, who might use these approaches to adult education to serve their neighbors.

In the original proposal it was hoped that the latter part of Stage One and all of Stage Two might be devoted to training adult educators for village work. The first training session therefore took place in Musoma for some thirty-four village and church leaders. The church administration had found it hard to comprehend why the staff would select leaders who were not involved directly with the church for this training. This was further evidence of the political factors at play in participative community education.

Chapter six suggests a pattern of a training program that might be used to prepare village leaders in participative/experiential adult education methods. The village leaders in the training program in Musoma

showed their skill in grasping the principles of a problem-posing approach and in creating relevant educational designs for use in their own communities. One young farmer-catechist went back to his village and organized a series of community education for development seminars in Mwiringo. The report of the training workshop became a handbook for the teachers, parish leaders and village leaders who had taken part.

Focus of evaluation

The evaluations used in the program focussed largely on the processes used, on the educational design. As has already been seen, it is necessary also to focus the evaluation on the impact of a program in the community, and the congruence of the program with regional or national plans.

A careful log of seminars, of participants and their role and function in the villages, and of the sequence of programs is necessary. The program staff did not keep such a log, except in reference to the educational designs used in each seminar, nor was there adequate planning for offering a sequence of seminars to a community. While it is understood that the human situation can outwit any planning device, further efforts at recording and charting the village seminars would have been very useful

in finally evaluating the value of the program in the diocese. Without such recording how could we know where we were going or what was being achieved? Was this program being co-opted by the church or local bureaucracy? What was the pattern of change effected in any village or set of villages? The staff had no hard data.

There was a need also to somehow measure the comparative advancement of groups within a community to test for elements of stratification. Were some people gaining control over others through aggrandizement of land or wealth? How were the seminars affecting that situation?

Without sufficient knowledge of the structural patterns of colonial Tanzania, without adequate preparation, the staff made decisions and took action that might indeed have aggravated the class struggle. In the village of Etaru, for example, a shoe-making project aimed at creating an entrepreneurial group. These young men would, with skills and capital, set up a profit-making venture in the village. The small industry failed, for other reasons. In 1975, the Village Act prevented such ventures in order to safeguard the equity on which Tanzanian ujamaa is built. The staff might have been

working against the very objective of the program: to catalyze self-reliant development for all of the people.

Evaluation of such a program is a complex and sensitive skill. There was in Musoma no villagers' voice raised in the evaluation committee (the Program Committee); there was simply not enough participation in this delicate task.

Reflection on these eight aspects of the Musoma program offers evidence, I believe, to corroborate the explanations offered above for the failure of such community education programs. In the next chapter we shall look at some guidelines for future action.

CHAPTER IV

GUIDELINES

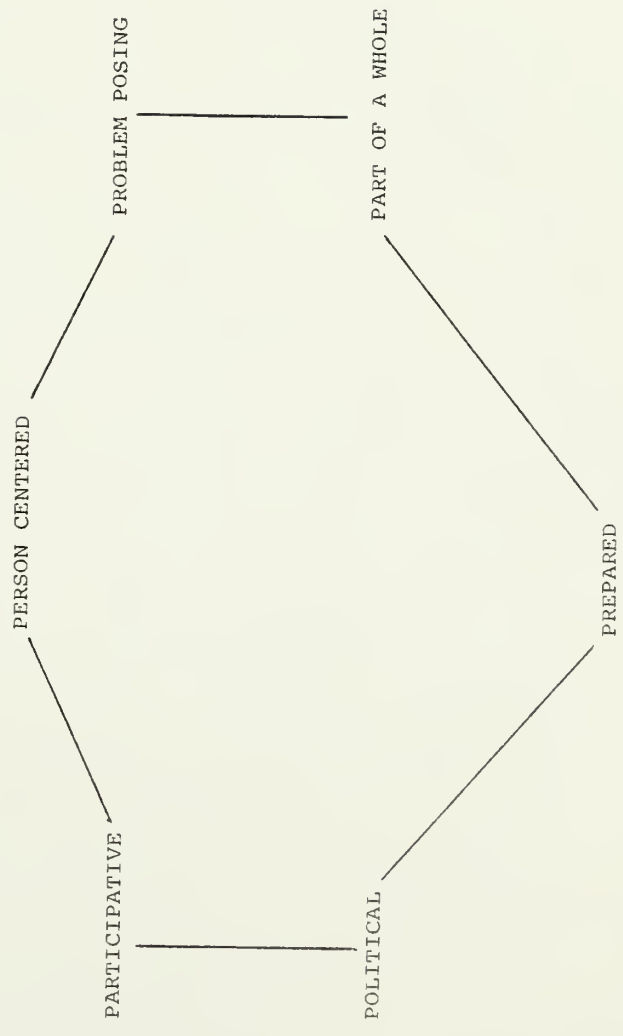
In describing the problem addressed by this study in chapter one, I raised six questions about community education. At the end of the review of the literature I offered six parallel explanations as to the causes of the failure of community education programs. Now I propose six guidelines, linked to those explanations and those questions, for the consideration of community educators and planners.

If the problem of poverty, ignorance and disease ravaging millions of the world's citizens is to be addressed by community education, such education must be effective for all of the community. Figure 5 shows the six guidelines and their inter-relatedness. In this chapter I shall explain how these factors apply to the content and process, the planning, implementation and evaluation of community education programs.

Person-centered

Development has a purpose: that purpose is the liberation of man. It is true that in the Third World we talk a great deal about economic development - about expanding goods and services and the capacity to produce them. But the goods and services are needed to serve men. Always we come back to man, to liberated man, as the purpose... 50

FIGURE 5 GUIDELINES FOR COMMUNITY EDUCATION PROGRAMS



Definition. A person centered approach means that the development of the person and of the community is the purpose of the community education program. It implies respect for the diversity that exists in any society. Such respect must be comprehensive, or it is not respect at all. This approach counters the efficiency-based, goal-oriented, competitive methods of modern society where the profit maximization objective is reflected in all of the systems of the society.

The challenge of a positive culture lies in its utilization of diverse humans to perform necessary social functions without stressful socialization or coercion to effect compliance. When culture is so created to systematically discriminate for and against certain human types, along a relatively narrow set of human competencies, it tends to trap itself into invidious stratification and segregation.⁵¹

Example. An anecdote from the Musoma program illustrates how Tanzanian culture is rooted in this person-centered approach. The program staff arrived one afternoon at a small ujamaa village where families from the Makoko Center were waiting to host them for the preliminary week. After a warm welcome, staff and villagers sat together to discuss plans for the seminar, while preparations were under way for the welcoming meal. Just as the women put the large bowls of ugali and chicken stew on the table, and one of them brought around to each guest

the traditional bowl of water for all to dip their hands, the village idiot, mumbling to himself, stood at the door. Without a word the men made room for him on the rough wooden bench and the woman of the house politely offered him the bowl of water into which he too dipped his hands, before dipping into the common bowl.

The animated conversation went on; there was not a single note of embarrassment or distress among the host families. The community educators of the program staff were privileged to share that afternoon an unforgettable meal which explained what President Nyerere meant when he challenged Tanzanians to "grow out of their own roots."

The corporate organization is characterized by an overriding concern for the specialized instrumental value of a person in doing a job competently and efficiently. In corporate life humans are, in fact, rewarded for their ability to exploit others. The basis of social integration shifts from personal bonding to impersonal compliance to contractual rules supported by economic and political sanctions, such as loss of one's livelihood and freedom. 52

Community education programs that aim at self-reliant development must struggle to create processes to overcome that prevailing corporate attitude and to confirm attitudes of respect for the person in all of his/her uniqueness. This is a moral imperative as well as a pragmatic one if self-reliant development is the objective.

Implementation. Consistent implementation of this guideline can be achieved in three ways: through personal style, content selection and process.

Personal style. Personal style is not merely inherited or natural. It can be cultivated and learned. Facilitators of an adult education program who care about and respect each of the adults present can manifest that concern and respect in their manner of relating to each person, their body language, their skill in remembering each person's name, their attention to the personal needs of each one present. Such skills are learned by conscious intention and practice.

A group is energized by manifest respect, even as a person is. Only an energized group can succeed in working out a development project. A moment to show such respect is when a participant arrives late: when the facilitator takes time from the program plan to greet the late-comer and welcome them while briefly explaining where the group is in the discussion, such a practical example of respect affects the whole group. It indicates that the prime purpose is community development and personal development, that the approach is person-centered.

Content. In both training workshops for village facilitators and in leadership programs in the villages, the inclusion of discussion of Berne's (1961) Parent/Adult/Child

paradigm has been very effective. (cf. chapter 6, page)
Such a conceptualization of common human transactions,
and the process of exploring these through role plays
and critical incidents, can afford the group the opportunity
to operationalize respect as a principle of action.

Communications skills relate directly to this guideline. If one cannot listen to the other, how can one maintain a person-centered approach. Listening is another skill that can be learned and practiced. The teacher/student role that has been predated by much of our formal school experience, with the teacher talking and the student passively listening, does not allow for the communications processes necessary for person-centered education. As programmers attempt to design educational structures that preclude alienation, they will have to be concerned about the quality of communications. In chapters five and six there are examples of educational designs to teach communications skills.

Affirmation is an essential part of the content in a community-building seminar. Since the corporate, project-centered society can tear down the sense of self, community education must take time to build that self-awareness through conscious and explicit affirmation tasks. Reflection on those limiting situations which cause one to lose self-respect and planning in terms of overcoming

these, is essential content in community education.

Process. It is not enough to state the intention: "This seminar will be person-centered." The processes can be congruent with that purpose:

- welcoming participants and addressing them by name
- recalling and relating directly to what each one says
- affirming participants through acknowledgment of their ideas, contributions,
- non-verbal appreciation
- small group work so that everyone has time and occasion to be heard
- learning and using local cultural symbols: greetings, gestures, proverbs, stories
- the use of buzz groups (small groups of two or three with an immediate, short task) to prepare participants before inviting brainstorming or other general contributions
- giving ample time to task groups to make their reports and share what they have accomplished
- pacing an exercise to meet the pace of the group
- creating agenda and editing process with the participants so that they do not feel manipulated or oppressed by the process
- creating and using formative evaluation processes with the participants to welcome negative or positive responses

The attitude of the facilitators and the processes used are in a dialectical relationship: one forming and informing the other. This guideline that makes the person the center of the program insists that attitudes, content and process

work together to build up the sense of self of each of the participants and of the community. This can make self-reliant development a reality there and then.

Problem-posing

To be human is to engage in relationships with others and with the world. It is to experience the world as an objective reality, independent of oneself, capable of being known.

Human relationships with the world are plural in nature. Whether facing widely different challenges of the environment or the same challenge, men are not limited to a single action pattern. They organize themselves, choose the best response, test themselves, act and change in the very act of responding.⁵³

An essential guideline, deeply related to a person-centered approach, is the use of problem-posing methods of community education. This means that the educator takes a new role: that of posing the problems of the community to the community who in their own time will take action towards problem solving. The distinction should be clear: experts might be able to solve problems for a community. This, however, does not effect self-reliant development which is the development of the people by themselves.

Problem-posing education has been described at length by Paulo Freire. It is essentially a tactic of adult psychology that aims at drawing the person to act from his or her

adult ego state, acknowledging problematic reality, engaging in the ongoing struggle with the real problems of nature and human relationships. The community does the problem solving. The educational process invites them to do this through a problem-posing approach.

Another distinction that is at work here is that which exists between the dialectical and the idealist world view. Idealists will insist that there is a proper and right solution to any human problem, that a rational analysis and adequate study can determine the final word on how to do almost anything. This implies a static view of man whose development is thus provided by outside forces: teachers, governments, churches. It means that power and authority are exogenous. Dogmaticism is a natural result of such an idealist view, so new handbooks and holy books provide formulae and routes to utopia.

The dialectical approach accepts reality as it is so as to change it: quantitative change moves to qualitative change in its own good time. Apparent contradictions and polarizations can be sustained since they create energy for action. Through the dialectical tension of opposites, a new and unprecedented position may emerge. Such an approach implies the ability to sustain ambiguities, to

face problems without the complete answers at hand, or even sufficient theory at hand for analysis.

The first element in problem-posing education is a comprehension of the problem: What is the evident contradiction in this situation? What is wrong here? The beginning of health is the recognition of the disease; people have to acknowledge a disease with their present situation before they can motivate themselves to action. Nyerere puts it thus:

The first step in self-reliant development is the rejection of bad food, bad housing, bad ways of farming...⁵⁴

When the problem has been adequately posed to the community, it is their task to deal with it. At this point, a community might ask for input or advice. However, the problem is already theirs, the search for an appropriate solution is also theirs. This is self-reliance; this is personal and community development. At this point people can recognize themselves as subjects of their own history, through their struggle with a problematic aspect of nature or society. The dialectic continues in an energizing manner. The community is problem-solving because the educational approach was problem-posing.

Man can only liberate himself or develop himself. He cannot be liberated or developed by another. For man makes himself. It is his ability to act deliberately for a self-determined purpose which distinguishes him from other

animals. The expansion of his own consciousness and therefore of his power over himself, his environment and his society must therefore be ultimately what we mean by development.⁵⁵

The development of a new consciousness is not in itself development; it is a way, through praxis, towards self-reliant dealing with community problems.

Implementation. In chapter six we shall discuss at length the use of codes to reflect back to a community those generative themes that focus their major problems. This use of codes is an excellent method of problem-posing. An example will best illustrate the use of such an approach. In one village in Musoma an appalling polarization between the men and the women was discovered. Men in the village seminars had no time for the women; they did not want to hear the opinion of women or reports of women's groups.

"Let us get on with the seminar", said one village man at one point, "She is just wasting our time. After all, she is only a woman." These same men were very capable of speaking warmly about ujamaa and equality. Apparently, they were not aware of their macho attitude towards their wives and daughters. In a problem solving approach, the facilitator might have offered a lengthy lecture on the evils of sexism in a socialist society and suggest a catalog of ways through which the men

might show more respect to their womenfolk.

A problem-posing method was selected in lieu of that exhortation. The facilitators planned a code to represent the problem. One of them entered the room where the seminar was being held and asked, with apparent consternation, to meet all of the women in the center of the room. The men sat curiously around them. The facilitator explained, in a frenzied voice, that a child of the village had fallen into a large pit and that it was impossible to get him out. He was a tiny lad of four years and was very frightened. What can be done?

The first response was: "Let us call the men."

"No," replied the facilitator, "All of the men have gone to the town to watch a football team. There are no men in the village at this time."

"Let us go and call them from the town."

"No, there is not enough time. The child is very frightened. We have to do something immediately."

The village women entered the sociodrama with great gusto, making various suggestions, almost all of them indicating their dependency on the men. The village men sat by and chuckled in delight at the drama.

"We can find a ladder at the carpenter's shop."

"We can search for a long rope. The fishermen have one."

"We can go to the next village and call their men."

Then a small voice was heard, tentatively suggesting:

"We could use our kangas for a rope."

"Yes, we could tie all of our kangas together and make a rope long enough to pull him out of the pit."

With great glee the twenty village women whipped off their kangas, those large cotton cloths each wore over their dresses. They began with feverish haste to tie them together, forming a long rope which was thrown out the door. A great cheer arose, from men and women alike, as we pulled in the lost child!

In reflecting upon the exercise the facilitator asked:

"What did you see happen here today?"

"We discovered a way for ourselves - without the men!"

"We used our own resources and made it work!"

"We collaborated on the problem."

When the facilitator asked: "Whose idea was it to use the kangas?" someone replied, "It was Maria's, but she had only one kanga."

The next day an old man of the village, a participant in the seminar, came to the facilitator: "Last night," he said, "I could not sleep at all, thinking of those women and their kangas."

Another simple approach to problem-posing is for the

leader of a group to simply turn questions and issues back to the group as they arise. While the leader has certain expertise, s/he must realize that a hierarchical, vertical, teacher/student, expert/peasant relationship creates new dependencies and works against self-reliance. If the "expert" does the problem solving, the community cannot but be confirmed in the myth that the experts know and they do not know. While such action may deal efficiently with a single problem it will not equip the people with power and skills to deal with problems themselves. Such action does not foster self-reliant attitudes. The use of problem-posing approaches in adult education compels the facilitators to learn how to be part of the group, to turn issues back to the people, to share knowledge in response to the community's search for their own solutions.

This is not a position easily taken by the adult educator. Invariably the community themselves will demand that the teacher-expert role be taken by the leader. Freire suggests that there is a dialectical relationship between the roles of teacher and student; a change in one affects the other. He believes that the student alone can name the moment of the death of "the professor". Long efforts at divesting oneself of the robes of authority can be fruitful; however, such changes take time.

Content. The content of a program of community education can move to problem posing when participants have a hand in building the agenda, and when the program design includes time to examine the problems facing the community, as perceived by the people themselves. Even when problems are obvious it is crucial to a problem posing approach to have the community articulate them. Exercises to evoke the problematic issues of a group should come early in the program, and the use of the needs analysis methodology as part of program preparation can be useful.

When problems have been made clear to the community the next step is for the leader to offer some approach to dealing with them, through a system of planning or a method of analysis, or a matrix for fashioning alternatives. This is not imposing a ready-made solution. It offers a community those instruments by which they can deal, in a self-reliant manner, with the issue.

Implementation. A community in one ujamaa village was faced with the painful problem of having two major factions in the village, each very sure and very strong. When they were shown the instrument for force field analysis, the village council used it to explore their

problem. They agreed that their objective was unity and were able to discover for themselves all of those forces in the village, attitudinal and structural, which militated against that unity. They also defined those forces that moved them towards a more united front.

FIGURE VI

FORCE FIELD ANALYSIS

What moves us forward . . .	----- What stands in our way . . .	Our Goal UNITY
+	-	

It was then up to the community to decide what to do about the impeding forces, how to strengthen the positive ones, and what input or content they needed to do that. In this case the group of leaders invited the program team to work with them on communications skills since they realized that a lack of communications between factions was destructive.

Efforts at evaluation of community projects can be designed by the community to pose those problems

that inevitably arise within the project. Often methods of evaluation impose value judgements and suggest solutions, which is a problem solving approach. Ways of formative evaluation can be designed by the project participants with some simple instructions on measurement. One community used this simple matrix, once a month:

Where did you expect to be at this time in the project? Refer to time line in plan A.

Where are you now?

If a difference exists what is the reason for it?

What has been most helpful to you in taking your part in this project so far?

What has been most difficult?

Sharing responses to such questions can be at once energizing and problem solving. This matrix measures affective as well as task-oriented realities. Community discussion on personal responses to such an evaluation instrument is itself a problem-posing approach.

Villagers in Musoma found most useful the simple planning and evaluation instruments they learned. As they put it: This is what we need for our ujamaa work. In using these instruments successfully, village leaders come to realize their own potential for self-reliant development, their own skills in analysis and evaluation.

This is part of the de-mystification of those areas of development that have long been left to "experts."

Problem-posing approaches obviously do not preclude the solving of problems. On the contrary, they allow a self-reliant attitude that is fully conscious of the inherent problematic nature of the world and of society. Such approaches do preclude a dogmatic, idealist absolute perspective which feed the naive or magical consciousness of people until they believe a final answer exists somewhere. This kind of thinking allows for the distribution of holy books and the resultant stagnation of the critical and creative power of the community.

Problem-posing is not merely a theory of education. It involves the use of unique structures and designs in an educational process aimed at involving people and evoking their latent skills and power. Some of these educational designs are discussed in chapters five and six.

Next, we shall look at the guideline that links directly to problem-posing education, that is, participation.

Participation

If development is to benefit the people then the people have to participate in the discussion of the development plans. 56

In Tanzania and in most developing nations the theory of participation is respected. However, methods of evoking participation have not been developed or taught to community educators. If the village educator is not able to listen to the people and to evoke their true feelings and thoughts about the problems they face, there is little possibility of community education for self-reliant development.

The truth is that despite our official policies and despite all our democratic institutions, some leaders still do not listen to the people. They find it much easier to tell people what to do. Meetings are too often monologues, without much, if any time given to discussion. Even then the speech is usually an exhortation to work hard rather than an explanation of how to do things better. 57

The two guidelines previously discussed, person-centered and problem-posing education, are closely linked to the concept of comprehensive participation. People can usually deal with their own problems if they can comprehend them and the causes of them, if they are energized and empowered to work together creatively by consistent and mutual respect. Comprehensive participation attempts to assure such respect

to all of the members of the community.

Participation involves time - listening to each person who needs to speak. Participation involves respect - a willingness to listen to the old and the young, the men and the women, the wise and the foolish. Participation involves an awareness of the class distinctions that often exist in a situation, so that representation of all groups can be assured. This guideline suggests that such participation is a necessary condition for effective community education.

Comprehensive participation means not only attention to all groups, but attention on every level of the programming: planning, implementation and evaluation. The case study gives evidence of the destructiveness of sectarian approaches in the planning stages as well as in the implementation stage. Within a seminar or learning event, comprehensive participation means that the facilitator is aware of inviting opinions and sharing from all members of the seminar, without discrimination.

Content. A community education program that claims to be democratic and participative but that structures the decision making so that it is the privilege of a few betrays its own promise. Structures and processes of education must be designed to allow for participation.

Explicit attention in communications skill building sessions to manifestations of participation

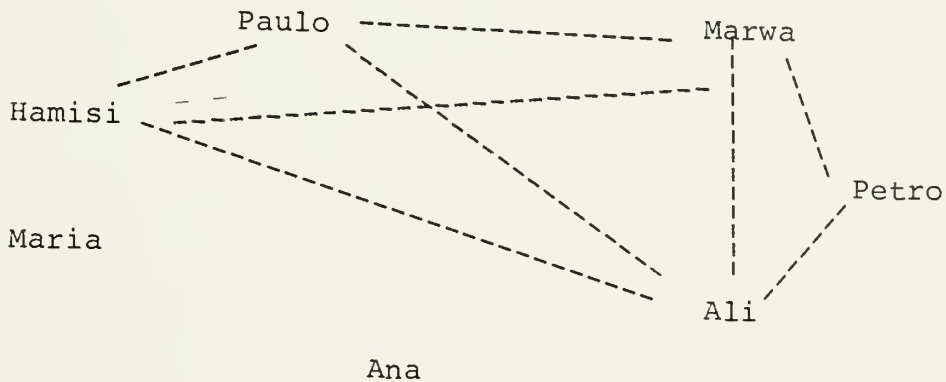
or the lack of it can be built into community programs. Attention to body language, the use of role plays and codes that pose the problem of uneven representation and the danger of stratification, the use of small groups to assure time for each one to speak will enable facilitators to implement this guideline.

Implementation. Historically based attitudes and structures will often interfere with efforts at participation. Such attitudes and the effect of such precedents may often be unconsciously at work in a community. In one village in Musoma where the oppression of the women was very obvious, the following situational role play was utilized to present the problem dramatically to the entire community.

Seminar participants were asked to form a fishbowl, where a small group works out a given task in the center and the outer circle become observers of the process within. The inner group, composed of five articulate male leaders of the village and two women leaders, were given this task:

Since it is the Year of Women, TANU wants a report from this village about the situation of the women here. Are they participating in village decision-making? Are they members of the village council? Is their voice heard in village assembly meetings?

The inner group had fifteen minutes to discuss the question and to prepare a report to give to TANU. During the discussion the facilitator kept a histogram of the proceedings, marking who spoke to whom and how often. This was the final histogram:



The report read by the self-appointed secretary, Paulo, indicated very definitively that the women in the village were certainly taking part in local government, were vocal and self-reliant. The report said that their voices were being heard in village assemblies.

The participant observers had seen that the two women members of the inner group had not spoken or been listened to even once. Each attempt on their part to speak had been cut off by the men. Participant observers, both men and women, were amused by the incongruity of the report and the action. The five men in the inner circle were amazed; they had no idea of what they had

been doing to the women. The histogram showed the actual dimensions of the discussion. The men found it hard to believe.

Discussion in the group as a whole enabled all to see that such a stance is often taken unconsciously, when we are loudest in proclaiming our belief in democratic participation. The villagers explored together the reasons for such behavior that lay in historical precedents and personal history.

The use of small group discussion affords a greater chance at participation: buzz groups to discuss immediate issues, task groups to do a particular job together, study groups to analyse a problem. Even in such situations, careful attention must be paid to the quality of participation. An example from a village seminar demonstrates this need.

During the small group discussion on a controversial issue, the facilitator noticed that a peasant woman in the group of seven was slowly but surely edging her chair away from the others. The facilitator interrupted the discussion to ask the entire group what they saw happening. Suddenly they noticed the woman's behavior. The woman herself was surprised to discover where she was in relation to the others! The group immediately asked: Why? The woman explained, in the local dialect, that she did not feel comfortable in Swahili. All of the

others in the group spoke the local dialect fluently. They spent time reflecting on why they had begun in Swahili without checking each person's option. Then they continued the discussion in the local dialect. The woman's body language had spoken to them all, including herself. It was the task of the facilitator not to interpret, but to point out what was happening in order to allow for more comprehensive participation.

Short seminars and very large gatherings challenge community educators to create processes that are somehow more participative than passive. It is not always possible to have optimal participation, but attention to the guideline might help planners and field workers in their choice of exercises and designs.

Such participation arises from the need to teach all of the people ways of self-reliant development. Comprehensive participation implies a democratic base that will be sensitive to stratification and emerging power groups. This leads us to the next guideline: community education as political action.

Political

Cultural action is always a systematic and deliberate form of action which operates upon the social structure, either with the objective of preserving that structure or of transforming it. As a form of deliberate and systematic action, all cultural action has its theory which determines its ends

and thereby defines its methods. Cultural action either serves the domination or the liberation of men. 58

Community education for self-reliant development appears to be political action. Whether one is involved with farmers about agricultural methods or marketing problems, or with women over their need for a day care center, or families over problems of housing, the program is political. It must be partisan; it must choose sides.

This guideline suggests that the choice can be explicit and fully conscious and must be so if the program is to have coherence. This implies that the people involved in a community education program have an explicit ideological base, saying "This is where we stand, and why."

Evidence from the Musoma case study and also from the literature review indicates that ambiguity in one's political position creates problems in strategizing and evaluating, and allows for stratification to occur. In Tanzania the political position in theory is clear: partisanship is for the masses. However, the usual gap between theory and practice are apparent there; practice is not always equal to the rhetoric! Nyerere told Freire in 1977: "We are so far from what we say!"

Content. A clear statement of political position is not what is necessary to a community education program. What is demanded is action that is consistently congruent with that political stance. In Tanzania, that would mean educational processes congruent with ujamaa. For example, it was not congruent with the political stance appropriate in Tanzania to plan the program initially without representation from the people who might be affected by the program: families, women, village leaders. Evidence from that case supports the hypothesis that a lack of political sensitivity can destroy the effectiveness of the program.

Time might be given by programmers and field workers to considering such questions as:

What is congruent with the political position of this program?

Are we clear about our political position?

If it is in contradiction to the established political position of the country, are we aware of the implications?

What kind of structure, organization, priorities, time lines, processes are congruent with a liberating education?

How can we know when we are not congruent with our political purposes? What sort of a test of congruence can we devise and use?

A pattern of reflective time to re-establish political goals and values and to test action against these is necessary to the staff of a community education program. The design for praxis that is used in village seminars

applies here since there is a human need to look at our activity, to reflect upon it in the light of present knowledge and new input, and to make those changes that are called for by our goals.

FIGURE 7

PRAXIS

DO ----- LOOK ----- REFLECT -----CHANGE----- DO

The greatest danger lies in the naive belief that community education programs have nothing to do with politics. Such education aims at a shift of power to the people, if the goal is self-reliant development. This can imply a threat to those with power in the status quo. The Musoma program gave evidence of this. A staff aware of the political implications might move more tentatively, leading the people themselves to an awareness of power structures which they will deal with in their own, appropriate and viable ways. This is the ugly and harsh reality of the human situation: domination, exploitation and oppression do exist. However, they are not, as Freire puts it, man's vocation. Our vocation is to freedom, which is necessarily achieved by political action. What this guideline is suggesting

is that community educators recognize the ugliness, and that they do not underestimate the potential of their programs.

Implementation. A personal anecdote from the Musoma program will illustrate the implications of a political stance. This occurred during the training program for village leaders in 1976. Thirty four men and women had joined a six day session for training in adult education methods. On the third day small groups were presenting codes they had devised together, using them to teach their peers who served as the villagers. There was a great deal of teasing and mocking of the teachers by their peers. In my distress at the apparent lack of seriousness I spoke out: "Look here, if you do not want to learn, please go outside and let us who are serious about this work in peace. We have made a great investment in this training workshop, and we want to get something out of it."

Immediately the tone in the room changed. I was aware that I had spoken as the "professor." Although they tried to carry on with the program, it was soon interrupted by Raymond who stood up to say: " I must say this. Ever since Jane spoke my heart has not been in this. I am going to go back home to North Mara. It is not my intention to exploit anyone. I was invited

to this seminar and am glad about that. But I am not indebted to anyone for this investment of my time and my energy."

Raymond sat down and the gauntlet was picked up by trainee after trainee:

Raymond is right. No one has a right to speak to us that way.

Jane, you forget that all of us may be peasant farmers and live in simple homes, but whatever we have we have worked for and it is ours. We do not need assistance in terms of an investment from anyone.

Jane, you should know that one never speaks of money to a guest. That is entirely inappropriate in Tanzania.

Their quiet but definite statements of purpose and clarification went on and on. I had the good grace to sit quietly. When they had finished I responded: "My friends, I thank you. As you know I have been in a teaching role for over twenty years in Tanzania. That position rarely gave me the opportunity to listen to a group as I have done today. You have told me many things that I might have learned long ago. I am a slow learner. I apologize for my high-handed statement."

A deep silence filled the room, broken after some time by Olala's suggestion: "Let's get back to work." During the rest of the lesson the group was deeply engaged. Then Raymond stood up again: "Pardon me, I just want to tell everyone that I will not be going home".

The students had named the moment of the death of "the professor" in me. The trainees owned the program at last. My awareness of the political factor in adult education was confirmed.

As we have seen in the review of literature on development and community education, current theories indicate that true self-reliance can only be shaped in a revolutionary society, where the shift of power to the people is explicit policy.

Only if the people and their leaders are committed to a bold yet realistic vision of what they want their community to be and their nation to become and are prepared to accept the basic social and economic changes required to realize that vision will rural education for the masses be realized.

In Cuba and presently in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau, such a determination created a framework for very bold adult and community education programs. Without such a political decision there is no chance that the literacy campaign of 1961 in Cuba or the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution or the Schools for Revolutionary Instruction would have succeeded as they did. Similarly, the energy of the grupos dinamizadores in Mozambique stems from an explicit political commitment that is continually renewed.

To sum up, this guideline insists that a program of community education be explicitly political, with both planners and staff aware of how partisan they are, and

why, since all of the evidence points to community education being political action.

Part of a whole

By developing the people of Tanzania we are developing Tanzania. For Tanzania is the people and the people means everyone. No one person has the right to say: I am the people. No Tanzanian has the right to say: I know what is good for Tanzania and the others must do it.

All Tanzanians have to make the decisions for Tanzania; all have to work together and all of us have to accept the discipline we impose upon ourselves. It must be joint discipline - applying to all of us equally. But in accepting this discipline we must remain free men, implementing our own decisions. The group involved in any particular decision and any particular discipline, will vary. Some decisions are national and the discipline is that of law which we all must obey. Some decisions affect only those who live in a particular town or district and the decision is that of by-laws. Some decisions arise out of our own free decision to participate in a particular group - to work in a factory, to live in an ujamaa village; a discipline then applies to us because of our membership in that group. But all of us are Tanzanians. Together we are the people. Our development is our affair and it is the development of ourselves as a people that we must dedicate ourselves to. 59

Evidence from the Musoma case study and from the literature supports the guideline that suggests that a community education program that is not linked to a wider whole, will be dysfunctional. In the past, in Tanzania, the churches had programs in the villages that were not linked to other programs because there was nothing to link them to. Nyerere comments on this

service offered by the churches in his paper, The Church and Society. He shows how in these times socio-economic community development programs are the responsibility of the nation and how he hopes that church personnel will join in this long struggle for development.

To be part of a whole implies that linkages are established at the very beginning of a program, with local, regional and national offices of agricultural extension or health care or whatever the program deals with. Such linkages might prevent the kind of erratic sequence of services evidenced by the Musoma case study. Obviously being part of the whole has ringing political implications which cannot be avoided.

In a post revolutionary society structures would preclude a community education program operating without linkages, however informal, to the national centers. In pre-revolutionary societies, the national direction may well be antagonistic towards comprehensive participation and problem-posing, political, person-centered education. This guideline can make program planners and educators explicitly aware of this incongruity, and enable them to consider alternative linkages if it is possible to continue the program.

This raises a very difficult moral and philosophical question. I do not venture to offer answers, however.

in terms of tactics and strategies, it is evidenced by the case study that linkages might offer strength to a program that might otherwise fail.

For a program to be peripheral and esoteric in a developing nation, it usually involves a waste of energy, personnel, time and money. There is also the danger of serving and even creating an elite group within the community, which is a form of stratification of the society. This was evidenced in the Musoma program when the seminars were offered in the villages only for Christians. As we have seen, the Christian villagers themselves did not allow that to happen, recognizing that the program was useful for all of the wajamaa.

Nyerere is emphatic about this in the paper quoted above: The people means everyone. The program's being part of a whole and the guidelines suggesting person-centered, participative, political are also linked. In a later address Nyerere bluntly says that the liberation struggle was not for the sake of a few Tanzanians who might take the place of those European colonial masters who had just left! The struggle against stratification is perpetual. In the next and final section we shall consider what kind of preparation appears to be necessary for community education for self-reliant development.

Prepared

This guideline ties in directly to the preceding one: what indeed is the whole of which the program is a part? It has been proven, through the case study, to be imperative to comprehend the socio-cultural-political-economic environment of the community where a program is to take place.

Preparedness is the guideline that invites planners and educators not only to set objectives and to establish strategies, but to discover for themselves the power structures in a society. Who owns and who labors for those who own? Who makes decision for the community? Who has hidden wealth and therefore more subtle forms of power? What are the elements of stratification in the society? Who controls the media? What mergers consolidate power?

Such questions as are posed by the structural analysis model shown in Appendix C will serve to unearth such facts as will enable planners to make realistic decisions about who to work with, where to work and when. This corroborates the political factor in community education, and the fact that it is indeed part of a whole.

Evidence from the Musoma case study supports the need to be prepared. A naive consciousness can be one

that has not done its homework!

Being prepared means knowing the names and roles of the political and government leaders in the community, in the district, in the region. Musoma, for example, was a regional headquarters. It was possible for us to have met all of the regional leaders. The regional education officer for adult education was enthusiastic about the program potential. This guideline suggests that such public relations work is essential. It is necessary to make contact with people in service roles, to build relationships with them for future contact.

Preparedness means reading the background material on the community: its history, social factors, ethnology, geography, ecology. Such preparation does not take place only prior to the beginning of a project; it must continue throughout. Therefore, an effective program for self-reliant development will insist upon staff development time, which means the opportunity for reflection, for seminars on local politics, history, pedagogy, and continual work on language skills. An awareness of international politico-economic development issues is also necessary if one is to be less than naive about the source of economic problems facing a community.

Preparedness means doing the necessary needs analysis

with the community that is affected by the program. The simplified Coffing-Hutchinson Needs Analysis Methodology included in Appendix B is a useful instrument in preparing community education agenda.

Such thorough preparedness seems an impossible task. If, however, it is neglected, the program can find itself grounded for lack of a simple bit of data or a friend in the right place. It is worth the investment of time and energy to make the necessary preparation for a significant program.

Conclusions

These six guidelines for community education for self-reliant development will not assure the success of a program. These are the action-plan flowing from the six explanations I offered to the problem of the frequent failure of community education projects.

These now have to be tried, reflected upon and changed in an on-going praxis. In the next two chapters I shall demonstrate the use of these guidelines in planning and designing a village leadership training program, and a training program for village educators.

C H A P T E R V
A PROGRAM IN COMMUNITY EDUCATION

In this chapter I shall outline the steps that appear necessary to put into place a program of community education, using the guidelines that have already been described. Then we shall consider three major aspects of such a program: personnel, content and situation. Finally I shall propose a sample program, similar to those used successfully in the Musoma program.

Program steps

The following steps are divided to deal with the conceptualizing of the a program of community education, the planning, implementation and evaluation.

Conceptualizing the program.

- 1.1 Selection of a site where some efforts at community building have already taken place, where there is a manifest political awareness among the people in the community.
- 1.2 Using the structural analysis matrices make a thorough study of the area, learning the socio-politico-economic-cultural reality as far as possible.

- 1.3 Using an adapted form of the Hutchinson' Coffing Needs Analysis Methodology (Appendix B) discover the major needs of one particular population in the area.
- 1.4 Meet the leadership in the area. Make yourself and the program known to them. Discuss the needs component with them.
- 1.5 Explore your own role in such a situation with the leaders: identify your skills and expectations for the program. Discover how they see your role; what they expect of you.
- 1-6 Invite a local person to work with you.
- 1.7 Study the national, regional and local development plans and their history to see how the community education program fits in.

These initial steps will take a great deal of time. In funding a program, one must consider allotting money for program development and field research. Needs analysis methodology indicates the identification of a decision maker for the program. This may be the community educators themselves or the local coordinator of community education. In Musoma, that might have been the District Education Officer for Adult

Education. The more specific the population defined, the more useful the data can be. This methodology (as described in Appendix B) uses the needs phrase:

Who needs what as defined by whom?

If one were planning to work with village women the phrase might read:

Village women in Kiwasi District need what educational programs as defined by a representative group of women from that district.

The role exploration described in 1.5 would also include exploration of the role of the local member of the education team. What is his/her role in relation to the program designer and other team members? How do villagers and local leadership see this member? Also, it is advisable to research the history of community education programs and projects in the area.

Planning.

- 2.1 Review the plans of organizations already at work in the area. Discuss these plans with the leadership of these organizations and with local leaders. See these programs in action.
- 2.2 Discuss the results of the needs analysis survey

with program leaders of other organizations and with representatives of village groups.

- 2.3 Decide whether a special program is called for: e.g. health education, child care, management. If so, describe objectives, resource needs, populations, time line, evaluation components with leadership of parallel programs and representatives of the village groups. When this is a cross cultural situation, it appears more effective to have the local colleague take the initiative.
- 2.4 Discuss with the same groups the funding situation. Where will funds for the programs come from? What clearance is necessary to request them? Who will be Project Coordinator, Project Holder and who is the ultimate decision maker. Is it possible to work through an existing government organization? What will this imply?
- 2.5 In the name of comprehensive participation, consider what parts of the village group are not represented at the planning meetings: women? youths? old folk?
- 2.6 Establish in the plan the roles and functions of personnel and advisory committees.
- 2.7 Establish in the plan a form of formative evaluation with general participation.

2.8 Write the plan for the funding sources, clarifying objectives, time line, personnel and financial resource needs, evaluative components.

Evidence from experience shows that planning is often a rushed job done to meet proposal deadlines. In many development programs it has been a case of money looking for a need! Many third world nations are attempting to put an end to such fiscal imperialism by having funding proposals edited at local or regional level. The revolutionary and liberating praxis of a community education program for self-reliant development begins with comprehensive participation in the planning stage. If a community education program is not owned by the community, who is it owned by? In the light of the discussion of underdevelopment, a planning and funding arrangement without local participation can be antithetical to the objective of self-reliance.

Implementation of the project.

3.1 Seminars and workshops offered to those who request them should be designed to meet the specific needs of the group. Therefore, discussion of purpose must precede the sessions, and the seminar should begin with group goal setting.

- 3.2 Training components must always be included; local community educators should do some of the facilitating and lead sessions from the start.
- 3.2.1 Therefore, a training session in learner-centered education processes should precede any community education sessions in order to familiarize local colleagues with innovative learning/teaching methods.
- 3.2.2 Distribution of facilitating roles as well as planning of specific seminars should be the work of the whole education team, in order to avoid a hierarchical power relationship.
- 3.2.3 Supportive evaluation of facilitating style and performance is necessary; affirmation of new teachers is an essential formative process of staff development.
- 3.3 Scheduling workshops and seminars should be the task of the whole education team. Schedules must not be so tight as to preclude the necessary R,R and R: rest, relaxation and reflection.
- 3.4 A log of workshops and seminars must be carefully kept and a copy sent to the umbrella organization. The log format can be established by the team to respond to this question: What information is essential for continued formative evaluation of

the program?

It appears that one of the most important aspects of a community education program is the training of local leaders to do such education themselves.

Evaluation.

- 4.1 A period of evaluation must be included in the original plan for the program, described definitively on the time line.
- 4.2 This evaluation should be done by a consortium: the education team, advisors, representatives of the communities. The educators must research or create appropriate evaluation instrument.
- 4.3 The possibility of program termination as a result of evaluation decisions must be kept open, with avenues established for re-direction of funds and personnel.
- 4.4 Where program re-design is called for by the evaluation, all of the elements in the formative evaluation should be included: logbooks, program reports, etc.

One of the advantages of being part of a whole is that a program discovered to be redundant or ineffective can be terminated and staff relocated. Evaluation processes must be designed to prevent the continuation of wasteful, inefficient and unnecessary programs.

Personnel, content and situation.

Who should be involved in a community education program? Evidence from the case study indicates that entirely exogenous, sectarian personnel can lead to serious problems. Luttrell (1971) suggests for Tanzania a simple and comprehensive plan for training endogenous personnel, rural cadre, in adult education methods for rural transformation of their own local situations. He envisioned a national division of rural training and mobilization which would recruit trainers and students for short term training programs (six months) to prepare a total of 150,000 cadre for all of mainland Tanzania. This would supply one teacher or community educator for every twenty households. Although Luttrell's plan was never implemented, it does contain important considerations for general strategizing about personnel. In 1978 Tanzania does have a program to train village managers who will have something of the responsibility described by Luttrell, but on a much wider base. They will deal with 200 families rather than twenty!

Luttrell suggests that the cadre be elected by villagers as teams, and offers these elements of eligibility:

Candidates should not hold so much property that they must exploit the labor of those outside their household in order to make the whole of that property productive.

They should be functionally literate in Kiswahili.

They should have distinguished themselves by their cooperative work attitude and by a practical interest in ujamaa development.⁶⁰

Evidence from the case study indicates that such attention to economic status was not considered in selecting trainees so that positions of stratification could develop. It is a vital consideration in an underdeveloped nation where

The purpose of education is to equip workers and peasants to build their own society and to carry on the struggle against domination by any other classes. ⁶¹

Exogenous staff is not ruled out of community education. However, the precautions indicated in the previous section about structures of domination must be emphasized. Foreigners in training positions must be sensitive to the potential for dependency relationships, and self-impose norms of behavior.

Content. Villagers needs vary, of course, but most villages in Third World situations need practical assistance in developing both technical and managerial skills. Luttrell offers these areas of content as

useful in the training of the rural cadre:

political education

general education: literacy, numeracy

agricultural extension

cooperative education

mobilization for self-help capital construction

political mobilization.

Underlying all of this content is the basic need to develop communications skills and ways of working effectively in groups, to avoid the domination of one group by another. This was clearly evidenced by the case study: village leaders responded energetically to this area of training.

In 1976 Nyerere, as we have seen, distinguished between the two stages in adult learning for self-reliant development. Stage One has to do with inspiring people to desire change and to understand that change can take place. This parallels what Freire terms conscientizacao: learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and how to take action against the oppressive elements of reality.⁶² Stage Two involves helping people to work out what kind of change they want and ways of creating it. In the example given below of a village community education program, we are dealing chiefly with Stage

One education: with conscientizacao, which of course, in Tanzania, has been going on through the radio and political education efforts on all levels. The content of the program is therefore derived from the themes and problems of the villagers, as they perceive them.

Evidence from the Musoma case study indicates that villagers are very much in touch with their own themes. A chief need described in almost every village was to learn to listen to one another, kusikilizana. Ujamaa living apparently manifested the need to develop communications skills. Logbook entries for villages in Musoma show these other content items to be high priorities:

to understand the women's perspective
(this was said by men)

to understand the causes of poverty

to learn how to achieve a better standard of living (maendeleo - development)

to learn how to work together on development projects

good leadership: to learn skills of leadership

The scientific needs analysis, shown in Appendix A, might offer even more specific agenda for village seminars. However, those mentioned by villagers in Musoma provide a sound and significant curriculum for what Nyerere defines as Stage One education.

If the purpose of development is the greater freedom of the people it cannot result from force. Force and deceitful promises can only achieve short term material goals. They cannot bring strength to a nation or to a community, and they cannot provide a basis for the freedom of the people or security for any individual group of peasants.

There is only one way in which you can cause people to understand development. This is by education and leadership. Through these means, and no other, people can be helped to understand their own needs and the things which they can do to satisfy those needs.⁶³

Situation. Evidence from the case study indicates the advantages of choosing villages where some significant work has already been done, where there is already some political cohesiveness and class consciousness. Often village seminars will be invitational, however, such invitations can be sought from villages that meet the above criteria, according to some plan that allows for a sequence of seminars. A single seminar in a village, manifesting the "hit and run" syndrome, was proven by the case study to have been ineffectual.

A single ward in the Tanzanian situation (100 families) might be established as a pilot project. A series of seminars, held in relation to the community education center's program, can become both a testing ground for the process and a way of drawing other villages to the program.

approach, with respect for the experience and knowledge of all who are involved. The passive position of peasants under the exhortations and lectures of either political leaders or technocrats is incongruous with the Tanzanian ideal.

The alternate pattern, education for liberation, is summarized by Freire (1970)

Authentic liberation - the process of humanization - is not another deposit to be made in men. Liberation is praxis - the action and reflection of men upon their world in order to transform it.

Those truly committed to liberation must reject the banking concept in its entirety, adopting instead a concept of men as conscious beings, and consciousness as consciousness intent upon the world. They must abandon the educational goal of deposit making and replace it with the posing of problems of men in their relations with the world.⁶⁴

In this new pattern both the design and the process must be person-centered, not merely project-centered. Through comprehensive participation and a problem-posing approach a new pattern of adult education can become integrated into the national program of education for liberation.

Many of all of the men and women of Tanzania who have been through the formal school system know only the process of banking education. This is the only precedent familiar to most extension workers.

Example of a village program.

This example will be described in four parts: the framework of a possible program; use of needs analysis; content areas and process; and finally evaluation methods.

Framework. This describes a church-sponsored program with two adult educators who have been selected by a diocese where development education is a priority and political consciousness is high. The educators, with the aid and approval of Tanzanian diocesan staff, have completed the structural analysis of the region during the period allotted to program development and field research. They are abreast of the data regarding the politico-socio-economic reality of the area.

Structural analysis has clarified for the educators the positions of power in the region and in the systems in which they will work. They meet all of the government officials from the regional development director through the various district development directors and adult education officers. They introduce themselves as skilled adult educators, associated with the church, ready to plan a community education program relevant to the needs of the villagers in the region. They indicate their intention to have such a program integrated into

the regional and national development plans. With the help of a district officer, they select a ward and a specific population with whom to do needs analysis. The results of this will be shared with regional and district development directors. At this point it is essential to invite the collaboration of a local teacher or leader .

The needs analysis methodology can, for example, be used with village women with children. The needs phrase might read:

Village women with children in Kiwasi ward need what educational services as defined by a representative group of those women themselves. Or the needs phrase might be used with leaders of the ten cell units:

Leaders of the ten-cell units in Kiwasi ward need what educational services as defined by all of those leaders themselves.

This data will be a major component in the decision making about the program. The significant point here is that the data is from the villagers themselves.

Planning. We can say that in this diocese there is a Development Committee of the diocesan council which would support such a program and join in the planning. An

optimal arrangement might be a planning session with the members of the development committee of the diocesan council, the Bishop, the regional or district development director, the regional or district adult education officer, the head of the ward development committee, the adult educators including the local team member.

During such a meeting the primary task might be to explore the roles of all present: who is the decision maker? What do the villagers see the adult educators doing? What does the education team see itself doing? The group skills and communications skills of the educators might be brought into play, structuring such role exploration so as to permit the building of community among this group and to enable comprehensive participation. A problem posing approach can be used enabling the planning committee to make its own decisions and begin immediately to feel ownership of the evolving program. A person-centered style might affirm members and free people to participate. The very structure of the meeting, the people invited and the process used, can manifest the intention of being part of the whole national development plan. Such a meeting must be well-organized, structured in advance, and it must take time.

The following is a possible agreement that might come from such a meeting:

Community Education for Development, an adult education program sponsored by the diocese of ___ will work with the village leaders of the three villages of ___, ___ and ___ in ___ ward for six months, from 1 January to 30 June 19___. The two adult educators will work with two Tanzanian education officers for rural development, and report to the district development director, with copies to the Bishop, the regional development director and the regional and district education officers for adult education.

The objective of the program is twofold:

1. to strengthen leadership skills in the three villages, noting carefully the results of the needs analysis done in the villages from 1 - 15 December.
2. to train the Tanzanian adult education officers in participative, problem-posing, experiential adult learning processes.

The advisory board of the program will meet on the last Friday of every month, to hear program reports and to suggest amendments in content or process. This advisory board will consist of representatives from

the regional and district development directors, the head of the diocesan development committee, leaders from each of the village development committees (3) and the program staff. The program will not work outside of these three villages except by special request, which must be approved by the advisory board.

The project holder will be the Bishop of _____ diocese. Funds, requested from _____, will cover program staff salaries, funds for village educational programs and materials, travel expenses within the district, staff motorcycles. Financial reports will be due at each advisory board meeting.

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Such a planning arrangement might effect an integration of a church sponsored community education program with the national program on the local level, in a pilot scheme whose usefulness could be proven in a definite period of time.

This plan is a way to implement Nyerere's suggestion:

The Church must work with the people. It is not the task of religious leaders to tell people what they should do. What is necessary is sharing on the basis of equality and common humanity. Only by sharing work, hardships, knowledge, persecution and progress can the Church contribute to our growth. For if the Church is not part of our poverty, and part of our struggle against poverty and injustice, it is not part of us.

Wherever possible, Church members should be working with organizations owned and controlled by the people. 65

Content. The program staff will have spent some time in the village when doing the needs analysis. Directly before the leadership seminar, they will spend one week in the particular village, meeting the leaders, working with the villagers in the fields, attending classes at the community education center, meeting the women and visiting families. In general, they will discover the character of the village and listen for the themes or issues that predominate.

The seminar can open with a planning session, at the village assembly, if possible. Here all of the adult members of the village are present. Selection of leaders for the training seminar can be done by the assembly: leaders of the ten cell units, or a new election on different criteria. Holmstead (1976) suggests that the ten cell leaders are often elected because of their ownership of additional property, or their education, and this is the potential for an elite class. The assembly, of course, must make that decision when they comprehend the purpose of the leadership training seminar.

The district development director might open the planning session and explain the purpose of the seminar. He/she can explain the responsibility of the assembly to choose participants who will in turn serve them with commitment. The criteria mentioned by Luttrell (cf.p.138)

might be suggested. It is imperative that sensitivity to the problem of elite formation or stratification be made explicit. Evidence from the Musoma case study, and from the literature review, indicate that this is a weak link in programs for community education.

Results of the needs analysis can be shared in the assembly at this time. The villagers have been the definers of their own needs so this report is merely a summary of the data they themselves provided. The staff can, at this time, show how the results of the needs analysis and the themes noted throughout the village are related to the content of the seminar.

Timing of the seminar can be decided at the assembly. One of the major signs of respect for a village peasant community is to acknowledge that their time is not clock time. Work in the fields is necessary for survival and time options for seminar sessions must be selected around the time for agricultural efforts. A week of meetings, from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. daily has been found useful when the seminar takes place in the village.

After the time and dates and venue are set and the participants selected by their peers, the staff meet to organize the seminar content and process. A general pattern for the initial meeting might be:

Introductions
Warm-up - participant sharing
Agenda setting
Parent/Adult/Child

These four introductory exercises are possible on the first day, if there are three hours available.

1. Introductions. In a village seminar where people know each other well, where the staff have lived for a week so do not come as strangers, the introductions are not to share first level data, but serve two distinct purposes:

- i. to enable the participants to share something deeper about themselves
- ii. to deal with the question of inclusion: to make people feel that they belong to this group.

Here are a number of appropriate designs for introductions of this kind in a village seminar. (cf. Appendix D for other examples).

- A. In groups of three, introduce yourselves by telling your name if the others do not already know you, and something about your family. Share one important thing that has happened to your family since you came to this ujamaa village. After each person in the group of three has had time to speak, we shall move into the large group where each will introduce one other person in their group, telling what you heard him or her say about life in the village.

- B. In groups of four tell about yourself: your name and where you came from before you settled in this village. Tell about one journey you have taken and what you discovered on it. After each has spoken, in the large group each will introduce one other person from their small group and share what you heard him or her say about the journey.
- C. From a set of items in the brown bag on the table, in groups of four, choose one that symbolizes something important to you: a key, a sweet potato, seeds, a matchbox... Tell your neighbors in the small group about yourself and your family and why you choose the item you did.

These designs are person-centered, participative and in some ways political. It would be the aim of the program to invite the Tanzanian adult educators to create equally appropriate and culturally acceptable introduction designs, to widen the repertoire of the community education program.

2. Warm-up. The introductions have been a sort of warm-up, inviting people to speak in small groups before doing so in the large group; giving them occasion to feel included. The following designs provide further warm-up, and ways to prepare for the brainstorming of program expectations.

- A. In pairs, with the person next to you, share what you want to achieve in this seminar before we finish Friday evening. What do you want to learn? What do you want to happen? Be prepared to share these ideas with the large group after five minutes.
- B. Choose someone in the group whom you do not know well. Sit together and share what you feel to be the major problems of life in the village, and how you would like to deal with them as a community. After ten minutes we shall compare our ideas.
- C. Choose someone whom you do not know well. Tell one another (in pairs) who you are and what special gifts you bring to the village. What are your skills? What do you like to do and do well?

3. Agenda setting. Comprehensive participation and a person-centered, problem-posing approach in an ujamaa political framework call for building the agenda of community education with the group. The needs analysis gives the general direction of the program; the staff is prepared to take that direction. However, it is necessary to make that general direction specific. The

following designs for agenda setting can do that.

- A. Brainstorm (that is, say everything that comes to mind without editing it) your hopes and expectations for this seminar. What do you wish to accomplish together before the end? After the brainstorming, the facilitator says: This is the program the staff has worked out in relation to the needs analysis and an exploration of community themes. Let us compare what we have here, and your expectations from the brainstorming.

- B. Here is the agenda the program staff has set for this first day, in relation to our previous listening to the needs of the community. It shows times and process. Let's edit it together...

Agenda setting is a difficult exercise since most adult learning groups are accustomed to teachers coming to them with their agenda already established. Villagers find it disconcerting sometimes to be asked for their own agenda. The program staff must be well-organized and also ready to change, if that proves necessary.

4. Parent/Adult/Child. This design proved very useful in the village seminars in Musoma. It related to the needs analysis demand for good leadership and more

effective communications. It also touches one of the universal problems: the male/female, dominant/dominated polarization.

Lecturette. "One of the hardest things for leaders to understand is why people act the way they do. What makes one neighbor cooperative and the other unwilling to share and help? Why is my son helpful on one day and stubborn on the next? One teacher has shown that all of us share what he calls "ego states". These ego states reflect our personal history. When I act as my parent acted when he or she scolded me or criticized me, I am in my Critical Parent ego state. When I act as my parents acted when they were concerned about me and nurtured me, I am in my Nurturing Parent ego state."

(Wall charts of stick figures indicating these relationships are useful to demonstrate these concepts.)

"When I act as I always acted in the face of parental scolding or criticism, I act out of my Adapted Child ego state. When I act as I did when having fun and feeling free as a child I act out of my Natural Child ego state.

When I act in a considered, rational way, forming my actions to meet the situation, I act out of my Adult ego state. The encounter of persons is called a trans-

action. It often happens that a person acting from the Critical Parent ego state calls up the Adapted Child ego state of the next person. In the same way one acting from the Adult ego state can call forth the Adult ego state in another.

Let us see what happens in life situations. I was at the post office this morning and discovered that I had forgotten my post office key. I was angry with myself and with the world. I went to the window and demanded, "You must give me my letters from box five. I have forgotten my key!" The tone of my voice was such as to indicate that I was playing the Critical Parent. The postal clerk complained (acting as the Adapted Child), "You people give us such trouble. I cannot give you your letters unless you have papers proving it is your box. After all, I am only a postal clerk!"

On another occasion my friend was very sad. She came to tell me her troubles. I was very impatient, and said: "Don't tell me your troubles. I have trouble enough of my own!" I was clearly coming out of my Critical Parent. When a third friend came in and spoke warmly and in an encouraging manner to the sad woman, she was acting from her Nurturing Parent ego state. The troubled friend spoke freely to her,

whereas she had merely wept and trembled with me.

A third example will illustrate the Adult ego state. I was working in the field one day and cut my foot with the hoe. I was appalled at the sight of the blood, and made a great fuss. My brother came along, looked at it and said: "It is not deep, let's go home and wash it. Then I will walk with you to the health center where the nurse can put on a dressing." His cool and rational attitude, from his Adult ego state, drew forth my Adult response. I quieted myself, and went along with him."

The examples are of course, arbitrary. It is only necessary, we discovered, to give examples of a few transactions before the community comprehends the paradigm.

Task. In groups of four create two transactions from daily life here in this village. Each group will present these transactions and we will attempt to identify whether the people are coming from Parent/Adult/Child ego states.

(Community people are soon posing their relationship problems with great skill, while their peers are adept in distinguishing the various ego-states.)

Some operative questions to direct the discussion of these concepts and transactions might be:

"What factor in your personal history, besides the behavior of your family, do you think causes you to act out of either the Critical Parent or Adapted Child?"

"In The Arusha Declaration we say

... it was our weakness that caused us to be humiliated, oppressed and disregarded.
Now we want revolution...

What can you understand of this situation in the light of Parent/Adult/Child?"

"What is the result of one's being an exploiter in terms of relationships?"

Such questions have led in many villages to very lively and meaningful discussions of stratification, the colonial history and its repercussions, and the destructiveness of a dominating relationship to both parties.

5. Evaluation. At the end of the first session it is important to discover what villagers are thinking and feeling about both the content and the process. The following are some evaluation instruments that have been found useful in village seminars:

- A. What did you find useful in this afternoon's session. We shall write whatever you say...
Then, what did you find confusing or not useful?

- B. Here is the list of hopes and expectations from the agenda setting we did earlier. Did we deal with any of these today? We shall circle those that the group feels were touched, and we need your comments on how that was done.
- C. What was the best thing that happened this afternoon? Why? Tomorrow what would you want to be done differently?
- D. At what point in the afternoon were you most engaged and involved in the seminar? At what point were you tired or bored?

These various designs are merely examples of the ways program staff can involve participants in formative evaluation. Response to such designs can be through small group discussion with feedback to the large group, or individual responses from the whole group. Since participants are often tired at this time, the design must allow for low energy; it must be brisk and yet slow enough for all to have their say. On Day Two, recognition of the evaluation feedback should be manifest in some way, so as to confirm the seriousness of the evaluation process.

Day Two. Agenda review
 Communications skills
 Leader A,B & C: leadership simulation
 Role play: the New International Economic
 Order

6. Agenda review. On day two it is well to move quickly into meeting the items on hopes and expectations and in the needs analysis. In this example we are dealing with the needs expressed for communications skills and leadership training. The staff reviews the agenda as it stands and asks for comments or amendments. In this example the use of wall charts with writing is considered necessary. However in chapter seven we must deal with the research agenda to provide visuals for illiterate village populations.

7. Communications skills.

Lecturette. A major difficulty that leaders have is that people do not listen to them, or do not understand them when they speak. Problems in the village among families often arise from misunderstandings. The next design will help us to practice listening to one another."

Task. In pairs, tell how you decided to come to this village, when you came and with whom. After each has heard the other's

story, tell what you heard. Are you accurate¹⁶⁰
in recounting what your neighbor said?

In the large group, let us consider: How did you feel when your neighbor was recounting your story? Does this happen in everyday life? What problems does it cause?

Other designs for developing communications skills are described in Appendix D. The experience of explicitly and consciously considering the quality of communication must have ample time after it for structured discussion, so that participants may take occasion to draw their own conclusions about necessary behavioral change.

8. Leadership.

Lecturette. "We have seen many different kinds of leaders. In this design we shall see three very different leadership styles, which we shall call A, B and C. Three groups of participants have already (beforehand) prepared these situational role plays for us to observe. (The participants who have prepared the role plays have tried to demonstrate through real life situations these leadership styles: A. autocratic and demanding; B. careless and non-directive; C. concerned and decisive.)

Task. After seeing the three examples, in groups of four, put these on a scale from effective to non-effective, and say why, as a group, you have made that decision.

9. Role play: The New International Economic Order.

Participants are prepared beforehand to take parts in this role play also. One is a typical peasant farmer selling cotton at the cooperative shop. The other is the cooperative manager who pays him 60¢ a kg. The farmer is instructed to be angry, asking: "Why am I getting only 60¢." The coop manager responds: "I do not set the prices!" and the farmer asks: "Who does?"

This brief role play stops there and the seminar participants are asked to answer the question, first through small group discussion, and then in the large group. At one point the program staff member offers a prepared lecture on the present international economic order and the move towards a New International Economic Order. The Seidman model (cf. p. 51) is used to show the exploitation of raw materials and the linkages between skewed salary scales and the transnational corporation.

10. Day two evaluation. It is important on the second day to discover what items villagers want to be sure to cover by Friday. Now that they are familiar with the participative process, they usually feel more free to state their requests and needs. A simple approach to that is possible through a three column chart:

WHAT WAS HELPFUL	WHAT WASN'T HELPFUL	WHAT STILL MUST BE DONE
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Day Three Agenda review
 Affirmations
 How Adults learn and develop
 A code on a village problem
 Evaluation

11. Agenda review. By now the group is usually familiar with the agenda review and is taking initiative in making the changes necessary.

12. Affirmations.

Lecturette. "The colonial system in which we lived for so many years was successful in making us act often as Adapted Children to a Critical Parent. By many local or tribal customs, some of us are put down by others. Society can force us to lose our identity and come to believe that we have no power. It is our task to continually struggle against such domination."

Task. In pairs each one spend three minutes telling the other what you like about yourself, what your skills are, what you do well and what you think your gift to the village is. There must be no qualifiers on your statements, and if possible, look at the other when you speak about yourself.

After the six minutes we shall come together in the large group to discuss how it was to speak affirmingly about oneself. We shall consider why such an exercise is necessary among the leaders of a community.

13. How adults learn and develop.

Lecturette. "Studies around the world have proven that people learn and develop if they are respected; if they use their experience as a base for new learning; if they can use the new learning immediately and if they discover that new material for themselves. We remember 20% of what we hear, 40% of what we hear and see and 80% of what we discover for ourselves. This chart sums up those facts:

HOW ADULTS LEARN
1. Respect
2. Experience
3. Immediacy
4. 20% of what we hear 40% of what we hear and see 80% of what we discover for ourselves

Task. Leaders are often in the position of teachers. Let us look at this list and discover for ourselves what it means to us. In groups of four, share one event that took place in your life when you knew you were not respected. Describe the event and tell what it did to you: how did you feel? what did you do?

After each has shared that, let's look at our experience and share one event when you felt respected. What did that do to you?

In the large group, let's consider what is the importance of respect? "

14. A code on a village problem.

In this case the program staff has discovered that there is in the village a tension between the role of the man and that of the woman in political decision making. This theme can be reflected back to the village either by a simple stick figure picture or a silent play. The village council is shown meeting in the community education center. All of the members of the meeting are men. Outside the meeting room the women of the village are cooking, washing the children, fetching water, cutting firewood, roofing a house.

Task. We have all heard Mwalimu Nyerere speak of the meaning of ujamaa. Let's look at this picture (or silent play) and consider the following questions:

1. What do you see happening here?
2. Why does it happen?

Discussion of these two questions can take place in groups of four, with feedback of responses to the large group.

3. Does this happen in our situation?
4. What problems does it cause?

Again, discuss these questions in small groups.

5. What can we together do about it?

We shall discuss this question in the large group, and record our suggestions.

15. Evaluation

Lecturette. "Here is a list of all of the work we have done so far in this seminar. The objective is to change attitudes and behavior so that we can build community together. Which of these items has led to change in behavior already this week? Which of them does not seem to be effective in bringing about change?"

Task. In groups of four discuss these designs and tell one another which has been practically useful in helping you change, if that was necessary.

Day Four Agenda Review
 Roles in a group
 Group processes
 Problem analysis

16. Roles in a group.

Lecturette. "These are the roles that people almost always play in a group. You will see that some of them are concerned about getting the task done, and some are concerned about the people in the group. There must be attention to both sides of the chart, or the group will collapse and the job will never be done."

TASK CENTERED ROLES

PERSON CENTERED ROLES

initiator
 clarifier
 summarizer
 recorder

gate-keeper
 affirmer
 joker
 listener

Task. We have a very important issue to discuss: the CCM in Mwanza want a report from this village telling what are the strengths of the village community and what are the problems that beset the community. The report must be completed by 10 a.m. We need seven people to form a committee to write the report. You will do that at this table in the middle of the room and the rest of us will observe you.

Participant observers: Your task is to note who does what and how his/her action affects the others. Each participant observer will concentrate on the behavior of one person at the discussion table.

The most important part of this task is the discussion or processing of it afterwards. Each observer should first share with the person observed what was seen, and then in the large group these questions may serve to focus discussion:

1. What did you see happening in the group?
2. How did it affect the task and the people?
3. What would you have done differently and why?

17. Group processes.

This is a non-verbal design to focus on group skills. Two leading members of the seminar are invited to sit at a table in the center of the room. On the

table is a pot of tea and a single loaf of bread. These two people are privately told that this is their tea and their bread. There are two cups on the table.

Two other members are asked to sit near the table and each is given an empty cup. The other members of the seminar are asked to stand in a circle around the room.

Task. For the next ten minutes, do whatever you feel you want to do, and whatever you feel you can do. But do not speak at all.

The processing of this activity is always very rewarding. Discussion should be aimed by the facilitator at the affective experience of the participants, then move to the applicability of the learning.

18. Problem analysis.

Task. In groups of four consider these questions:

Where was this village in 1969?

Where is it now in 1979?

Where do you hope it will be in 1989?

Record your hopes for 1989. We shall share these and see how the various groups (for this design groups can be homogeneous: youths, women, men) look at the future.

When the results of the group discussion have

been shared, compare them. Invite each group then to put into priority order their list about 1989. These can also be shared. The first item on each list can be the priority item from the group.

The seminar is then asked to choose one or two items that they consider absolute priority items. These can be the issues around which they will plan for community action.

In the discussion it is important to note how each interest group mentioned different issues, and share some ideas on perspective as an element in communications.

19. Evaluation.

Which of the educational designs used today helped you most in your role as village leader? Why?

Again, what do you want to deal with before the end of the seminar tomorrow?

<u>Day Five</u>	Agenda review
	Planning skills
	Where do we go from here?

20. Agenda review.

If items appear on the agenda which cannot be dealt with in the time allotted, it is important to invite the community to decide when such issues will be considered: at the village assembly? in committee?

21. Planning skills.

Lecturette. "Leaders are continually being asked to lead the village in making plans. The following chart may give us some help in planning:

SEVEN STEPS IN PLANNING

1. What exactly are we trying to do?
2. Who exactly will take part in the project? Names...
3. When exactly will we do it? Date, day, time...
4. Where exactly will it take place?
5. Who is coordinating the operation? Name.
6. How long do we expect it to take?
7. What methods will be used to evaluate the task as we go along, and when will such evaluation take place?

These seven steps of planning will help us to deal with the development projects we want to do for ourselves in our village. You will notice that we do not consider the question, How much will it cost? It is possible to plan development projects that use the resources of the village. This is a self-reliant planning process."

Task. In groups of eight, take one of the priority items that you named yesterday and make a com-

plete plan using this chart. One person in each group will be recorder and we shall share the plans. This is a practice exercise, but there is no reason why a useful plan cannot be used by the village development committee. Be attentive to group process and to all that we have learned during the seminar about respect, leadership and listening skills!

22. Summative evaluation.

This evaluation of the whole week can also be done on two levels: 1. for the person, and 2. for the task. First, in terms of personal development:

What was the most helpful part of the seminar for you? How have you changed, and why?

What was the most difficult or confusing part?

The next question deals with the task ahead of the village leaders. In groups of three share your thoughts on these questions:

Where do we go from here in our effort at self-reliant development? How will this seminar serve to get us there? What more do we need?

These new directions can be shared in the large group.

C H A P T E R V I

A TRAINING PROGRAM FOR COMMUNITY EDUCATORS

An education campaign on a national scale will be launched to explain the meaning and practical implications of ujamaa to farmers and leaders at all levels. For the training of village leaders the Ministry of Rural Development and TANU will train a voluntary cadre of ujamaa village organizers, who will live with and at the level of the people. Their training will include development of leadership skills and farm management skills. It will be practical and democratically organized.⁶⁶

There is in virtually every underdeveloped nation a crying need for the training of adult educators and extension workers. This chapter will present the main elements of a training program, implementing the six guidelines described in chapter four. In order to focus the program, we shall premise a situation in present Tanzania.

The chapter will be divided into three sections:

1. Who and where?
2. Why?
- and 3, What and how?

Who and where?

Kassam (1976) describes the candidates who attend the Institute of Adult Education diploma course in adult education at the University of Dar es Salaam. These are men and women, in-service students from the many ministries which have specific tasks in the ujamaa

villages. Luttrell (1971) proposed the establishment of centers of intensive training of village cadres who would each then be prepared to serve on a more or less permanent basis twenty families in their own villages.

The Second Five Year Plan of Tanzania mentions the sources available for extension workers for rural development: the Rural Training Centers which were opened only in 1968, the Agricultural Faculty of the University of Dar es Salaam and the Agricultural Training Institutes. As we have seen there was no Institute in Mara Region.

The men and women who would find such training as described in this chapter useful in enabling them to teach more effectively in the villages are the village managers,; extension workers from agriculture, fisheries, water, health, forestry; rural construction workers; community educators or primary school teachers who often take the responsibility for the literacy program in the village. It was our experience during the Musoma program to discover extension officers in the villages who were competent in their technical skills, but no adequately skilled in the delivery system, in adult education. Therefore, the exhortations or demonstrations they offered were too frequently ineffectual.

Who would the trainers of these extension workers be? They would have to be the vanguard of politically conscious and committed, professionally skilled men and women who have completed the diploma or degree course in adult education at the university, or who are somehow specially trained in training skills. The quality of political commitment and consciousness is as valuable as the training skills. Kassam (1976) mentions the need for a specific training course in adult methodology at the university. Such a course in the training of trainers can use these guidelines and may even find this model useful.

In Tanzania the extension worker has two major responsibilities: to teach political education and to teach technical skills. Politics or ujamaa is not only content but also a process of adult learning. If the process is not congruent with the principles of respect, equality and participation, the anomaly is striking and immediately noticeable to the peasant worker. Therefore, these suggestions about the process of adult education that might be congruent with ujamaa are relevant to the cadre of extension workers and their trainers.

Why?

Such a training program is necessary for a number of reasons. First, technicians take a long time becoming skilled in their particular discipline. They are not necessarily skilled teachers, and especially not skilled teachers of adults. This pedagogical ability is an adjunct skill essential to their success in sharing with villagers the technical skills they have attained.

Then, the precedent of education in Third World nations has almost wholly been in the "banking system" of education. The teacher knows; the students do not know. The teacher must deposit his or her knowledge (a quantitative thing) into the students, as one makes a deposit into a bank. At examination time, or sometime, the student must return what has been handed over.

The political implications of this type of teaching are clear: one person is superior to others, shares this superiority with some who in turn become superior to their peers who do not know. There is inherent in this philosophy of learning a class potential that is insidious to self-reliant development for all the people. Such education is clearly political (all education is inevitably political) but it is antagonistic to the political faith of Tanzania.

As Nyerere has argued, Tanzanian socialism requires a new pattern of education, built upon a person-centered

respectful approach.

An example of this was seen when we observed in 1975 a literacy class in a village of Musoma. Some ten or fifteen elders of the village gathered in the shade of a huge mango tree where the village schoolteacher had set up a blackboard. She had been teaching that day since 7 a.m. without stop, since the ninety children she taught came in two shifts. It was now four o'clock and she was obviously exhausted. Her style and manner with the old people was precisely the same as that she used all day with the seven year olds in the primary grades she taught. The learners were scolded, and exhorted; hands were raised in a competitive effort to read better than the others. The teacher was performing as she had been trained to perform; she was teaching literacy. No one had shown her ways to teach Marwa and Lucia.

Another example of this project-oriented, dominating precedent at work were the political meetings that we attended in Nyegina, a small village in South Mara. The peasants gathered at nine a.m. The political leaders arrived around eleven, two hours late. The meeting finally began with a general scolding about some chore or other that the village had not done.

When an old peasant farmer walked in at 11:30 he was bluntly told that he was lazy, and that such conduct could not be tolerated by the political officials. The speech on the issue of the day went on for about two hours, and the meeting was abruptly ended when the Landrover from Musoma town arrived to carry away the political leaders.

Nyerere has urged reflection on the processes of leadership and adult learning. Leaders must learn ways that are congruent with the political purpose of Tanzania, which is self-reliant development of people, individuals as well as communities. It is people who are being built, by themselves. The ancient precedents and dominating processes must be rejected and a whole new paradigm learned and practiced.

To sum up: why is a training program like this necessary in a Third World situation? The oppressive precedent of educational process is all that most adult educators know; the pattern of banking education is not appropriate in a nation aiming at self-reliant development because the purpose is not technological transfer merely, but the growing self-respect and creativity of people who know both their own limits and their great potential.

What and how?

This section will deal with the content that is appropriate for a training program for adult and community educators in a Third World situation, and the processes that may be used in the training itself.

General principles. Throughout the training program, the trainers are modeling facilitating styles. This should be explicit immediately. The program opens with introductions and a warm-up design to enable the trainees to appreciate their background and to share something of their varied expectations. Each design is written on a large sheet of newsprint. The efficient use of visuals is an important aspect of the modeling being done by the trainers.

The warm-up in nonformal education has a special place. A person-centered approach calls for an initial period when all deal with the need for inclusion. A participative method of warm-up introduces the trainees immediately to a structure that says: ~~This~~ program is not only for you; it is yours. It is not sufficient for trainers to say this. It is imperative to structure the program in a way that confirms participative control. It has been discovered that omission of a period of warm-up impedes the program. People spend time warming

up throughout the initial designs anyway. Therefore it is good sense to design it in.

After the warm-up an excellent training design invites participants to form task groups of three and to discuss these questions:

1. What was the very best educational experience you ever had, either as a teacher or a student?

(When this has been shared by the group:)

2. Why was it so good?

(Write down the factors you share together about your individual experiences. We shall share in the large group the factors mentioned by all.)

This design invariably offers an excellent opportunity for trainees to share their own experience and to arrive together at factors that are essential to adult learning. When the responses are collated, the trainer can point out that the group has set some criteria for their own work. It is possible to compare the research of Knowles (1970) which is shown on page 163, above.

A detailed discussion on the quality of respect can be fruitful here, using the design suggested on page 163, or the following excerpt from a circular sent to field workers by Paulo Freire (1976).

To be a good coordinator for a cultural circle you need, above all, to have faith in man, to believe in his possibility to create, to change things. You need to love. You must be convinced that the fundamental effort of education is the liberation of man and never his domestication. You must be convinced that this liberation takes place to the extent that a man reflects upon himself and his relationship to the world in which and with which he lives. And that it takes place to the extent that, in conscientizing himself, he inserts himself in history as a subject.

A cultural circle is not a school, in the traditional sense. In most schools, the teacher, convinced of his wisdom, which he considers absolute, gives classes to pupils, passive and docile, whose ignorance he also considers absolute.

A cultural circle is a live and creative dialogue in which everyone knows some things and does not know others, in which all seek together to know more.

That is why you, as the coordinator of a cultural circle, must be humble, so that you can grow with the group instead of losing your humility and claiming to direct the group once it is animated.

During the discussion, do all you can to ensure that the entire group participates. Try to learn the names of the participants and avoid referring to them simply as 'you'.

When you ask a question, always direct it to the group... During the discussion, use answers to reformulate questions for the group. Become a part of the group. As much as possible make yourself one of the members. Never talk much about your personal experiences, except when they offer something of interest to the discussion.

Do not move ahead of the group in decoding materials. Your task is not to analyse for the group, but to coordinate their discussion. In any group there are those who talk excessively and those who speak very little. Stimulate both to reach an equilibrium.

It is important, indeed indispensable, that you be convinced that each meeting with your group will leave both you and them enriched. For this you must seek a critical posture... 67

The following brief case study offers an example of this particular technique. After two weeks in a literacy training program in the village of Etaró near Lake Victoria, the young men and women trainees made clear to the educators that their major concern was not literacy, but the fact that they could not find salaried work in Musoma or Mwanza. They were doing this literacy training so that they might get a place in teacher training. The grumbling, complaining and concern we heard day after day was that they had no money and felt imprisoned on their family's farms. This was clearly a generative theme of these young people. It was the conceptual representation of their limit situation which they wanted so much to break. How could we help?

It is to the reality which mediates men and to the perception of that reality held by educators and people that we must go to find the program content of education. The investigation of what I have termed the people's "thematic universe" - the complex of their generative themes - inaugurates the dialogue of education as the practice of freedom. The methodology of that investigation must likewise be dialogical, affording the opportunity both to discover generative themes and to stimulate people's awareness in regard to these themes. Consistent with the liberating purpose of dialogical education, the object of the investigation is not men (as if men were anatomical fragments) but rather the thought language with which men refer to reality, the levels at which they perceive that reality and their view of the world, in which their generative themes are found.⁶⁸

Once this theme of the young people was clear, the educators went off and worked together to codify it. That is, they made a pictorial representation of the theme to reflect it back to the youths. The sketch was a rough drawing of a town scene; people were standing in front of a building where there was a large sign: NO WORK; on the street were goods for sale: bicycles, shirts, shoes and a food stand with prices largely displayed.

The de-coding was effected by a series of discussion questions which lead people into naming the issue, reflecting on causes, and planning for action. The questions used are five:

Naming: What do you see happening here?

Reflecting: Why is it happening?
 Does it happen in your situation?
 What problems does it cause?

Acting: What can we together do about it?

The response to the initial question by this group was animated. The youths saw themselves in the picture, even though it was a rough sketch with mere stick figures. They themselves were surprised to discover how similar the responses to the reflective questions were from all of the discussion groups. Each group mentioned the problems caused by young

people going to urban areas and not finding jobs: crime, prostitution homelessness, imprisonment. Their particular analysis was indicative of their naive consciousness:

It happens because we are ignorant.

It happens because the shopkeepers are bad.

It happens because we have no school here.

Their response to the fifth question gave the occasion to urge the group to consider the potential results of their action plans and invited a more critical analysis, in the light of ujamaa. Input from facilitators and political cadre at this point can be very powerful, since the group is highly motivated by reflection on a generative theme. Although the young people were familiar with the socio-economic platform of TANU as described by The Arusha Declaration and Socialism and Rural Development, they had not yet comprehended the meaning in relation to their own personal and social problems.

In the process of decoding, the participants externalize their thematics and thereby make explicit their real consciousness of the world. As they do this, they begin to see how they themselves acted while actually experiencing the situation they are now analysing, and thus reach a perception of their previous perception. By achieving this awareness, they come to perceive reality differently by broadening the horizon of their perception. 69

In this case the difference between a mere cheer-

ing for the political platform and the implications of adopting the program while understanding the causes of rural underdevelopment in Tanzania is made clear. There was heated discussion among the youths about possible action plans. One immediate change they made in their own behavior: they asked to start the seminar early and all were present.

With the present village structure the young people would have presented their action plan for a small industry cooperative to the village development committee. As it was, they attempted to establish a coop without sufficient village support, and it did not succeed. The project was not part of the whole district development plan.

This case study can be used in a training program to analyse the efforts of the community educators in that situation. It can be used as a critical incident, stopping the narrative after the educators have the theme of the young people.

The community survey and codification of problems and the subsequent decodification through small group discussion using the five questions is a highly political process, using a problem-posing approach and a participative method. It is imperative that community educators be prepared for the political decisions demanded when using such a pedagogy.

General techniques. A practical way to involve the group in setting criteria for visuals used in adult education is to ask them, in their task groups, to examine each visual which has already been used in the training program. They can grade them to a set scale, and decide why some are more effective than others. These criteria are collated and shared by the whole group. This design models a problem-posing approach and gives an example of participative small group work.

Roles. The group can be asked to reflect upon the roles played by the trainers by using the following questions:

What did the trainers do so far that was useful?

What did the trainers do that you would like to change? Why? How would you change it?

What are the roles that a facilitator must play?

This work can be done in task groups of three or four, the responses collated and shared in the large group. As each role is designated, e.g. affirmer, listener; the trainer can invite discussion on ways to develop such a skill. The use of the fishbowl technique that is shown on page 114 can be effective in training. It is possible also to use critical incidents, like the story on page 117, with the invitation to the trainees

to decide what the most effective action might be, and why. All of these inductive approaches model ways of adult learning while stimulating reflection on the content issue: the roles of the facilitator.

Designs. After having used a few educational designs the trainees can spent time analysing them. What are the components of an effective educational design for adults?

Preparation, warm-up, establishing purpose

Setting the task clearly, comprehensively, that is, from beginning to end; setting time frames, repeating the instructions until it is clear that everyone has understood.

Task groups do the task and prepare their report.

Sharing the reports and the experiences of each task group. This means comprehensive participation. No group should do a task and not have time to report, of share reflection upon it.

Processing the whole design with the large group, that is, "What was the significance of that for you? What did it mean to you?"

Setting these elements of a design into a visual model can itself be a learning task for trainees. At

this point a collated list of types of educational designs can be made by the group. What are they already familiar with? This can include discussion, panel discussions, socio-drama, role plays, critical incidents, lecturettes, task groups, buzz groups, case studies, etc. The group will find they have a wealth of techniques when they put them together.

Particular techniques.

The community survey. The themes of a community are those problems or issues that are important to them, on which they will take action to change either personal behavior or social structures. How can a community educator become aware of the themes of a particular community? This is closely related to the problem-posing approach which empowers people to make their own decisions. Themes are manifested in the topics of conversation of a people, their joys and sorrow, their interests, fears, complaints, hopes, and expectations. It is the task of the community educator to live among the people and be one of them, not only in order to avoid an elitist attitude, but also to construct the learning material of the community education program out of the themes of the people. The educator will listen to people in their workplace, in the shops, on the road, in church, in

the village assembly, in their homes. It is important to write down, as soon as one has privacy, what was heard said on the affective level: "I am sick and tired of..."; "I long for the day when..."; "I hate to see ..."; "It frightens me to hear that..."

Generative themes are linked by Friere to those generative words which form the basis of a liberating literacy program.

The first phase of the program is researching the vocabulary of the groups with which one is working. This research is carried out during informal encounters with people of the area. One selects not only the words most weighted with existential meaning (and thus the most emotional content) but also typical sayings, as well as words and expressions linked to the experience of the groups with whom the researcher is participating.⁷⁰

After this community survey, which is a listening survey, the educator collates those recurring themes and then attempts to design codes, that is, pictures, stories, plays, sociodrama and even songs, by which to reflect these themes back to the community. The task of code design is not easy and needs collaboration of artists and creative team members. This approach was epitomized by the words of Mao Tse Tung:

We must teach the masses clearly what we have received from them confusedly. ⁷¹

Structural Analysis. By this analysis we mean a method of gaining insight into the organization or structure of the local society to enable trainees to discern where power is situated, and to obtain a profile of the socio-economic-political reality. In the structural analysis of the Musoma area, both educators and young people could have learned that the shoe industry was an entrepreneurial organization, not yet integrated into the development plan of the region.

Trainees can be introduced to the matrices in Appendix C and then set about the task, in small groups, of doing a structural analysis of a small area where they work or live. The advantage of using these matrices is not only in the data provided, but also in the awareness of the kinds of questions to ask about a place.

After the task groups have completed their initial use of the matrices, the whole group can spend time together in discussion on such questions as

Why do you see structural analysis important in community education?

What struck you about the research you did just now as you used the matrices?

How would the information you now have affect the kind of program that would be designed?

What other questions would you include on a revised structural analysis matrix?

What parts of the matrix would you change?

It is recommended that each group of trainees design a practical structural analysis matrix to be used in a local situation. The original matrices then become a model to be adapted or redesigned in ways appropriate to the local reality.

Needs analysis. Another approach to a community survey is the needs analysis matrix shown in Appendix B. It is a uniquely sensitive instrument, which can evoke political awareness and develop a new consciousness of the potential of stratification as trainees use the operative question: Who needs what as defined by whom? to get data for decision making about community education programs. The simple awareness that many programs are designed by one group of people for another group and not often with them, is helpful. Time spent on learning and using the needs analysis matrix can be a valuable investment in developing skills and attitudes. A consolidation of the three approaches: community survey of generative themes, structural analysis and needs analysis methodology could be a thorough preparation for a community education program.

Program design. A further skills for a community educator is that which would enable him or her to create an effective educational program for a variety of purposes: a one hour political meeting, a morning seminar with village women on pre-natal care, a week-end workshop with village leaders on ujamaa policy and practice, or a month long international conference! Such skill in program design goes hand in hand with program evaluation so that subsequent programs can be improved in the light of the success or failure of the one evaluated.

Reflection on the process actually taking place in the training program will initiate discussion on the elements in a nonformal education program. These questions might serve to open discussion:

What did you notice about the beginning of this training program? What did we do, and why?

What is an effective way to deal with the inevitable fears and inhibitions of a new group at the outset of a program?

What would you change in the sequence of activities in the program?

Discussion of these questions in small groups can focus on the sequence of activities, the variety of designs used, the pattern of a program. Trainees

can, by this inductive method, come to see the basic pattern in programs. This pattern can be used no matter what the content focus of the program: child care, nutrition, agriculture, health. The elements in that pattern are: Introductions, warm-up, agenda setting, communications skill-building, problem-posing activities through the use of codes, problem analysis, planning skill-building, evaluation. Trainees at the end of the training program can prepare their own matrix of educational designs that fit each of these areas. For example, what designs are they familiar with for introductions? If trainees can leave the program with a repertoire of designs, and a sense of confidence in their ability to create a meaningful program for a community, the program has indeed been useful.

A task for this section of the program might be the following:

In pairs, choose a village situation and a particular content area. Plan a seminar or workshop for a particular group of people (whom you will identify) in the village.

In your program plan indicate time, purpose, designs to be used, evaluation methods...

These plans or programs can then be shared and feedback offered to each team of community educators. If resources are available, a written record of the training seminar, including these programs, might be distributed to each of the trainees. In the Musoma training program, such a written report became a useful resource for village educators.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to show how the six guidelines for effective community education might be implemented in a training program for adult educators, in a Third World situation like that of Tanzania. This is not meant to be a model program, but rather suggestions to be adapted to local needs. In chapter seven I shall complete this study by summarizing my own conclusions, and suggesting further research agenda.

C H A P T E R V I I

CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH AGENDA

The purpose of this study was to respond in some small way to the problem of recurring failure of community education programs in Their World countries by discovering, through research of the literature and field experience, if there are significant, identifiable factors in such programs. The six questions posed in chapter one, and the six hypotheses offered in chapter two, became the action plan explicated in chapter four and demonstrated in chapters five and six. These six guidelines will, at the least, raise the awareness of community educators and program planners to the power of these factors.

This new awareness will not, of course, solve the structural problems faced by educators. The process of underdevelopment through an unjust international economic order continues; time constraints and pre-designed program plans make the project and not the person central all too frequently; there is often simply not enough time for structural analysis and other forms of preparation; an innovative program may not fit into the traditional plan that is being used by the nation or region. However, a new consciousness will affect the structure of the community

education plan itself. That is what we are about.

This new consciousness can be most fruitful in the training of adult educators. If teachers, going into adult and community education, are willing to struggle with the implications of these guidelines, they cannot avoid a struggle with the very meaning of education, and development. They may be stimulated to respond to two vital questions: What is "to know?" What is "to grow?"

These six hypotheses and the guidelines that flow from them, raise further questions. First, the inevitable conflict between personal and socio-economic development of a community. How can these be integrated? This is not a question to be answered here, but a dialectical relationship, the profound and ancient paradox of the one and the many, to be lived with and consciously attended. How indeed can a program be at once person-centered and political? This is a struggle inherent in life, not in an educational process. What educators can ^{be} we willing to do is to integrate that life struggle into the content and process of community education.

Another major question has to do with a program being part of a whole. Who determines that whole? How can this be consistent with being political in most situations where the establishment maintains the status quo? How can community educators be sensitive to the

dangers of stratification, of the formation of a dominating elite, when they themselves might be a natural part of that class by virtue of their education or wage advantage? Again, these are not questions to be answered here, but which are consciously raised by the study.

The educational and philosophical theories of Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere have been the basis of this effort. The six guidelines appear to be not only congruent with their major tenets of education as a liberating potential, but also a means of moving that theoretical position into action.

Further research agenda

There is a need to analyse case studies of successful community education for self-reliant development in revolutionary situations such as Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cuba, China, and the like, to discover what factors were able to influence those situations. What evaluation instruments were used and who determined the criteria for success? Such analyses will be a major contribution to the relatively new field of community education processes.

Research is also needed on the process of participation in village communities. The Institute of Adult

Education in Tanzania has done some studies on participative research, raising the political and ethical questions about this. The need exists for research on the various processes of participation, also. What are effective and liberating ways of evoking comprehensive participation in a village?

A study of the present training approaches in the preparation of adult educators in underdeveloped nations is needed. It appears that training for nonformal education is often based on principles and practices that are more appropriate to formal education situations. Is any innovative training in nonformal education taking place? What does it look like? How effective is it when community educators get to the field?

Another research agenda is highly political: it appears necessary to study the difference that must exist between programs of community education for development when the concept of development itself differs. That is to say, comparative studies of programs in education for development when development is thought of in Rostovian terms as a move towards mass consumerism, or mainly economic growth; and when development is thought of as liberation, self-reliance and a gradual raising of the level of living of all of the people with some equity. This comparative study might very well discover further

reasons for the recurring failure of community education programs, and new guidelines for program design and implementation.

Summary

There have been many questions raised by this study and all of them will only be answered in praxis, a continuing action - reflection - action cycle that both tests this theory and develops new ones. There will always be setbacks, but these are themselves the material for analysis. Therefore, community educators can have the right to the position of "perennial optimists". Our vocation, as persons in community, is to freedom. Our efforts at community education for self-reliant development can be one way to respond to that vocation.

NOTES

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APPENDIX A

COMMUNITY EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

EXTENSION PROGRAM

DIOCESE OF MUSOMA

1974

Program Possibilities

In each situation the program will have to be designed by the parish priest to suit the situation as he knows it. The following are some models from which to design a program:

1. With catechists or teachers:

A three day seminar in teaching methodology working from the situation in which the catechists find themselves...

to analyse that situation

to analyse their personal style of teaching

to reflect upon the difference between information and experience

to discover their own themes or problems

to work with pictures, plays and stories to stimulate reflection on problems

to learn how to make codes, that is, pictures, plays, stories that will stimulate people to reflect

to practice using this method

to reflect upon ways of listening to others

to practice through simulation exercises listening to the themes of the community

to plan ways of introducing this approach in their present teaching situation.

With Program I there is an obvious need for follow-up.

The extension team can offer this service: field work

with catechists or teachers, demonstrations, preparation,

evaluation of on-site teaching situations. The group might also call for follow-up seminars or workshops to prepare pictures, plays or stories to use as teaching codes.

II. With parish council

A three day seminar

to invite people to reflect upon their own situation

to invite them to reflect upon their power to affect that situation

to describe and evaluate two contrasting forms of leadership

to consider the main themes or problems or issues in a community

to experience the use of a code: a play or picture or story and discussion questions that can help people to reflect upon their themes.

to discover how questions can be tools for reflection

to try to listen to the community through simulations

to plan how this approach to community leadership can be implemented in parish council or ujamaa village meetings.

The follow-up of such a seminar will be decided by the parish team. It might well be an invitation to the extension team to attend a parish council meeting, as observers: to describe and evaluate with the group what they felt happening at the meeting, with reference to what was learned at the workshop.

Program II might serve as a model for community education seminars with village leaders, Makoko families, teachers, other parish groups.

III Leadership

This can be useful for institutes: the Immaculate Heart Sisters, Komuge, Makoko, seminary, Young Christian students, deanery meetings, area meetings.

A three day seminar which provides

skill practice in dialogue education

methods of helping the group analyse their own situation

methods of leadership which encourage community involvement and self-help

methods of listening and doing a community survey to discover the general themes of a community

how to develop an over-all program using this approach.

In general

These models are what we have to offer at present. We expect to be learning a great deal in the next few months and hope to present a similar booklet with additional models as they develop through actual practice. It is clear that the participation and cooperation of the parish priest or director of a group is essential. For this reason the program committee has directed that we stipulate that

no seminars will be offered without the participation of the parish priest or the director of a group. We have seen that this approach touches the whole reality of the group during the seminar. If the leader does not participate, implementation of what has been learned is impossible or at least, very difficult.

Invitations to the extension team to give a seminar or to come to a parish are to be sent to

Sister R. Drew
Secretary
Program Committee
Pastoral Extension Program
Box 93
Musoma

It has been our experience that three days are necessary to effectively do these kinds of seminars. It might be well for the extension team to arrive a day before to get the feel of the parish team and to meet the people., then to spend at least one morning after the seminar in evaluation with the parish priest and leaders.

July 1974

(This brochure was also available in Swahili)

APPENDIX B

NEEDS ANALYSIS METHODOLOGY ADAPTED FOR VILLAGE PROGRAMS

This methodology for needs analysis
has been adapted from the Coffing -
Hutchinson Needs Analysis Methodology
(Amherst 1975) for use in community
education programs.

1.0 Preparation

- 1.1 The Needs Analyst defines a Decision Maker who will use the data from the needs analysis for decision making .
- 1.2 The NA clarifies with that Decision Maker the purpose projected for the data that will emerge.

2.0 Planning

- 2.1 The NA plans how the methodology will be applied in this particular situation.
- 2.2 The NA constructs a Needs Analysis Resource Allocation Chart (NARAC). This chart provides a planning framework within which the NA will allocate specific amounts of time for the completion of each step.
- 2.3. The NA secures the cooperation of the Decision Maker
- 2.4 The NA plans the beginning and ending dates for steps 3.0 - 9.0.
- 2.5 The NA goes to step 3.0
- 2.6 The NA secures the cooperation of definers and needers. The definers define the needs; the needers measure them and also measure how the designated needs are already being met.

3.0 Determining Who-What-Whom Concerns

- 3.1 Determine from the NARAC how much time will be available for this step. All of this step must be accomplished within this time frame.
- 3.2 Determine the Decision Maker's concerns about who needs what according to whom.
 - 3.2.1 N.A. has the Decision Maker name (WHO)
 - the one person or group (needer) whose needs are most important to him/her.
 - 3.2.2 NA as the Decision Maker name (WHAT)
 - the type of need that most concerns him/her with respect to that needer. What kind of need is most important?
 - 3.2.3 NA has the Decision Maker name (WHOM) for the person or group and the need, who can best define the specifics of the need?
 - 3.2.4 Have the DM combine these three items to form a statement of needs following the pattern: Who needs what according to whom? e.g. Women in three villages need what education programs according to the women themselves.
 - 3.2.4.1 The NA informs the DM that he/she must limit the number of Definers to a maximum of twelve since we are not going to use sampling procedures.

3.3.5 Ask other people who are concerned with the same issues to do 3.2.1 - 3.2.4, that is, to form a needs phrase. Show these responses to the DM and ask if he/she would like to change the needs phrase.

4.0 Defining Needs :

4.1 NA determines from NARAC how much time is available for this step. All of step 4 must be accomplished within this amount of time.

4.2 NA obtains an operationalized (that is, accurate and measurable) definition of the needers' need according to the definers.

4.2.1 The NA asks the DM how he/she would use the data about the needs phrase.

4.2.2 The NA develops a hypothetical situation appropriate to the DM's stated purpose in this way: Imagine a hypothetical situation and in that situation imagine that the needers' needs for the needs being defined are fully met. Observe this situation in your mind. What are all the things you see in the situation that indicate to you that the needers' needs for such and such are fully met?

e.g. Imagine that the women of these three villages have access to all of the educational

programs they need for self-reliant development. As you observe this situation in your imagination, what are all of the things you see that indicate that the womens' needs are being met?

- 4.2.3 The NA goes to step 2.6
 - 4.2.4 The NA asks the Definers to list the things which indicate to them that the need is being fully met.
 - 4.2.5 The NA asks the Definers to put those components in a priority order.
 - 4.2.5.1 If there is only one Definer, the NA asks him/her to put those items on the list in a priority order.
 - 4.2.5.1.1. When more than one Definer is involved the NA analyses the total number of responses into unique statements, and produces a survey instrument with all the items listed.
 - e.g. Education Programs:
 - There is a nutrition program.
 - There is a child care program.
- These are unique statements because each mentions only one item.

- 4.2.5.1.2 The NA asks each Definer to place a check mark on the survey instrument next to each item that s/he feels is a part of Who's need for What.
- 4.2.5.1.3 The NA asks the Definers to go back over the items they have checked, and circle the ten most important items. When definers are not literate, the survey will be used orally.
- 4.2.6 The NA then tabulates the results and records the top ten items in priority by utilizing the following procedure:
- a) Score one point for every item checked
 - b) Score ten points for every item circled.
- Put the items into reank order based on the weight obtained from adding the scores given as a result of a) and b) above.
- Example:
- WWW phrase: Women villagers in three villages need what education programs according to the women themselves.
- Survey instrument: (two women definers)

 0 x x Nutrition programs

2. x x Child care programs
3. x Program for pregnant women
4. 0 0 x x Program on family planning
5. Program on budgeting.

Tabulation of results:

Item # 4	22 points
#_1	12 points
# 2	2 points
# 5	0 points

5.0 Definition reporting

- 5.1 The NA determines from the NARAC the time available for this step. All of step 5.0 must be accomplished within this amount of time.
- 5.2 The NA compiles the results (items in priority order) of the Defining Process for the particular WHO-WHAT-WHOM- phrase.
- 5.3. The NA writes a statement of procedures used and difficulties met in the Defining Process and gives this to the DM.
- 5.4. The NA asks the DM to decide which needs component should be measured to determine the degree to which those needs components are met or unmet.

6.0 Measuring

- 6.1 Determine from the NARAC how much time is available for this step. All of step 6.0 must be accomplished within this time.
- 6.2 The NA determines which needs component the DM wants to have data about, remembering that needs analysis is to provide data for decision making.
- 6.3 The NA designs a practical measuring plan to measure what services are already in place in regard to the component being measured/
e.g. In a particular village what education programs on family planning already exist?
- 6.4. The NA designs a measuring device which
 includes the name of the DM
 needs phrase
 name of component
 name of definers
 category of needs being observed
 time of observation
 name or description of needers
 actual observations made for each needer
- 6.5 The NA shows the measurement plan to the DM and indicates all threats to validity, asking if the data provided will really be useful

6.6 The NA carries out the actual observations and measurement.

7.0 Measurement reporting

- 7.1 Determine from the NARAC how much time is available for this step. All of step 7 must be accomplished within this time.
- 7.2 The NA reports the results of measuring to the DM.
- 7.3 A written report is offered to the DM noting the date of the report, the needs phrase, needs component being measured, the observational technique used, the dates of the observation.

This scientific and simple form of needs analysis makes it clear who the definers of needs are, and offers decision makers specific data on needs of specific people. The DM may be the community educators themselves, who are also the needs analysts. This does not obstruct the scientific discovery of community needs.

The purpose of needs analysis is to provide data for decision making. If, for example, this instrument had been used in the case analysed in chapter three, the planners would have had hard data in order to decide on useful programs to offer. This data would have

defined the needs of the villagers according to representative groups of villagers themselves.

The following is a glossary of terms used in the needs analysis methodology:

DECISION MAKER	(DM)	individuals or groups for whose use data is desired.
DEFINER		person or group who can best define the specifics of the identified need of the needers.
NEED		a concept of some desired set of conditions; a concept of what should be.
NEEDER		person or group whose needs are important to the Decision Maker
NEEDS ANALYST	(NA)	the person who is carrying out the needs analysis.

APPENDIX C

I. MATRIX FOR A SOCIO-ECONOMIC STUDY OF
A COMMUNITY

This matrix examines

1. the economic region
2. the economic activities
3. international relations
4. dominant socio-economic groups
5. the working classes
6. development programs already in place

This format is an adaptation from the grid designed by the Economics Department of INODEP, Paris (1973), mimeo.

INODEP: L'Institut Oecumenique au Service du
Developpement des Peuples

I. A survey of the economic region.

In order to study the administrative unity, the ethno-historic aspects of the region and the urban economic pole of the region, consider

- A the ecological occupations.
- B transportation patterns
- C ethnic background of the population
- D the level of economic development
- E the urban/rural dichotomy
- F population density
- G patterns of mobility among the population

A Ecological occupations

What percent of the working people are involved in

- simple, subsistence agriculture
- agriculture with some cash crops
- large scale agriculture
- mining
- fishing
- industrial work
- tourism
- other

B. Transportation patterns

What percent of the region is
isolated and difficult to reach
equipped with some communications links
with moderately good communications
roads, bus routes, etc.
very good communications links
metropolitan services

C. Ethnic background of the population:

What percent of the population are
people holding the ancient traditions
people who are changing their traditions
modernized folk
newly arrived people

D. The level of economic development

Can you describe this region as a whole
by sectors
backward
economic slowness
new forms peripheral
a regional center with new forms
national center

E. Density of Population

What percent of this region can be described as

- underpopulated
- slight density
- medium density
- densely populated
- overpopulated

Draw a population map of the region
marking density areas.

F. The urban/rural dichotomy.

What percent of the region can be described as

- isolated area
- villages
- slightly organized
- mid-urban situation
- urbanized

On the same regional map, indicate the comparative
rural/urban features.

G. Patterns of mobility among the population

Can you describe the region as a whole

by sector

stable, without noticeable migration

slight noticeable migration

definite migration patterns

a source of migration since the area is
being de-populated

a place where few immigrants come

a place where many immigrants come

2. List in the order of importance the three products
or services of the national economy.

Take each of these products or services and describe where
it fits in these phases of the economy.

- A. production
- B. distribution
- C. exchange
- D. consumption

The three products or services:

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

A. Production:

Where does each of these fit:

In the primary sector?

agricultural

cattle raising

fishing

hunting

In the secondary sector?

transport

mines

petrol

industries of transformation

basic

light

In the tertiary sector?

services

other

B. Distribution

For each of the three selected products or
services note :

Do agents make decisions about distribution on
the level of

external economy

national plan

national budget

Distribution (cont'd)

family production
enterprises/industries
cooperatives

Are the distribution circuits

interior
exterior

C. Exchange

For each of these three selected products or services
note how exchange is effected:

barter
local rural markets
national markets
international markets

D. Consumption

How are these services or products consumed?

national
export
intermediate consumption (industry)
investments
non-productive consumption
by distinct socio-economic groups
(luxury items)

3. International Economic Relations

Name the principal import products of the country

Give a profile of the international economic relations in terms of

- A. the type of economic dependence
 - B. the type of foreign influence
 - C. the type of unequal foreign exchange
 - D. the kind of international aid
-
- A. Economic dependence, its it through
 - foreign investments
 - exterior markets
 - migratory labor patterns
 - technology imports
 - foreign financial systems in use
 - B. Type of foreign influence
 - 1. Political?
 - in a zone of influence
 - through treaties, trade agreements
 - through blocks or organizations
 - 2. Cultural?
 - imposed civilization
 - language
 - religion
 - 3. Model of development?

C. Unequal foreign exchange

Is this caused by

mono-exportation

lack of industrialization

international monopoly

minimal productivity

Is this manifested by

deterioration of terms of exchange

debt

D. International Aid

Is aid largely

military

technological

financial

Are aid programs largely

linked

bilateral

multilateral

4. Dominant socio-economic groups in the country

Designate in popular language the various social groups which have either direct or indirect power in the country on the economic environment by using the categories suggested

- A. Economic Structure
- B. Political Structure
- C. Cultural structure
- D. International structure

A. Economic Structure

1 Are there evident groups, such as

oligarchy with traditional inheritance

agrarian land-owners

small rural proprietors

industrial and financial factory and
land owners

commercial owners

small urban land and shop owners

bureaucratic bourgeoisie

2 What is the land ownership structure?

inherited

marketed

B. Political Structure

What is the position of the dominant class?

absolute hegemony

relative and contested hegemony

shaky, losing ground

firm, gaining strength

C. Cultural structure

How would you describe the cultural patterns?

linked to indigenous culture

linked to modernizing, indigenous pattern

linked to an exogenous model, which is attached to an indigenous pattern

totally imitative of an exogenous or foreign cultural pattern

D. International Structure

Is the country largely

autonomous

an enclave of agricultural or industrial exports

dependent

inter-dependent

5. The Working Classes

This instrument will enable you to draw a profile

of the different social classes in the economic

environment by using these categories:

A. socio-professional structure

B. per capita income

C. majority group or affiliation

D. organization

E. participation in decision making

A. Socio-professional structures

Which of the following are represented by
the population

middle peasants

poor peasants without land

wage earners on the land

urban wage earners

small artisans or merchants

salaried agricultural workers

salaried industrial workers

salaried workers in commerce

urban class: students, professionals

bureaucrats

B. Per capita income groups

Estimate percentages in the following groups:

very low income

basic and stationary

basic but changing

average

middle

high income

C. Majority group or affiliation

Profile each of the previous groups with regard to their majority group

ethnic cultural

regional

corporation

cooperative

political

ideological

religious

D. Organizations

In regard to the distinct groups, how are they organized?

not at all

by basic types: pre cooperative

social committees

corporation type

labor unions

consciousness raising groups

culture circles

clubs

political parties

study groups

revolutionary type

E. Participation in decision making

How do groups usually participate?

marginal

village level

district level

regional

national

international

6. Development programs

Choose four development programs which have a significant impact on the environment. Characterize these programs in terms of

A. extension

B. degree of popular participation

C. type of development approach

D. capacity for self-reliance

E. model of economic development

F. capacity for consciousness raising

A. What is the extension of the chosen program?

local and isolated

local but linked to other programs

regional project

national project

B. What is the degree of participation of the people?

none whatsoever

some participation at the level of
implementation

some participation in terms of benefits

active participation

at the planning level

at the decision making level

at implementation levels

in terms of benefits

at the support level

C. Type of development approach. Is the program

leadership training

technological intervention

educational intervention

cultural intervention

political intervention

D. Capacity for self-reliance. Does the program offer

permanent support

support with preparation for self-financing

support as a beginning of self-financing

self-financing

E. The model of socio-economic development

simple economic survival

modernization

economic growth

structural change

F. What is the capacity for consciousness raising?

assistance

witness

explicit consciousness raising

consciousness raising with the
beginning of organization

consciousness raising with the elaboration
of a precise and careful plan of strategy
and tactics.

II MATRIX STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF A COUNTRY

This matrix has been adapted from a paper used in a seminar for field workers in Third World countries, prepared by F. Houtart. 1976.

MATRIX II

Basic statistic about the country:

Country: _____

Date: _____

	Agricultural	Industrial	Natural Resources
1. Proportion of Production	_____ %	_____ %	_____ %
2 . Internal Use	_____ %	_____ %	_____ %
Exports	_____ %	_____ %	_____ %

3. Does agricultural production meet national needs Yes _____
No _____

If no describe agricultural imports:

% of GNP used for purchase: _____ %

types of foodstuffs _____

countries of origin _____

4. Agricultural production: Agro-industrial companies _____ %
 Small farms _____ %
 State holdings _____ %
 Communal holdings _____ %
 100 %

5. Agro-industrial companies % national capital _____ %
 % foreign capital _____ %

6. Total foreign debt _____
 % owed to foreign countries _____ %
 World Bank _____ %
 IMF _____ %
 others _____ %
 100 %

7. National investment capital _____ %
 Transnational investment capital _____ %

20. How are these groups related to the various elements of the superstructure?
21. Show how the theory of national security plays a part in publicly defined policy.
22. National capital invested in the media _____ %
 Transnational capital invested in the media $\frac{\text{_____ \%}}{100\%}$
 State investment in media _____ %
 Private investment in media 5 %
23. Education Public _____ % _____ %
 Private _____ % _____ %
 Primary Secondary University
24. Have the universities been intervened by police _____
 by army _____
25. In the last ten years how often has marshal law been invoked? _____
 What were the causes of invocation of marshal law?

8. Factions of national owners: indicate proportional strength

1 = low 9 = very high circle indicator number

finance	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
manufacture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
natural resources	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
agriculture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

9. % import substitution steel _____% motorcars _____%
petro-chemicals _____% luxuries _____%

10. Capital between national and foreign banks: national _____%
Which foreign banks? Name them: foreign _____%

11. What industrial operations are directly in the hands of the military?

APPENDIX D

SUMMARY REPORT OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION
FOR DEVELOPMENT

Musoma, Tanzania, 1975

This report was first published in the
African Ecclesiastical Review of February
1976.

COMMUNITY EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

An adult education/conscientiza-
tion program in Tanzania 1975

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I. What is it all about?

In 1974, in Tanzania, a nation-wide villagization program took place. That means that virtually all of the twelve million people living in rural Tanzania are in newly formed ujamaa villages. Community Education for Development is an adult education program aimed at consolidating the energies of a particular village so that the majore development projects can be more quickly and more carefully accomplished.

II. How did it come about?

Two Sisters, Jane Vella M.M. and R. Drew, S.F.C.C. (Maryknoll Associate) inspired by the thought and experience of Paulo Freire, encouraged by a course at INODEP (L'Institut Oecumenique au Service du Developpement des Peuples) in Paris, strengthened by their common need to direct their skill as educators towards a real life situation, offered their services to the diocese of Musoma. Bishop John Rudin, M.M., Father John Conway, Father David Jones, Director of the Makoko Family Center and Father Joseph Masatu, Director of the Komuge Catechetical Center, accepted the offer and in July 1974 we began the program, described as an extension service to meet the families who had completed the Makoko Course and the catechists in their village for on-going leadership training.

requested by the Bishop at the end of 1976.

III, How does it work?

Makoko families have been coming to the Center for six years from two dioceses: Musoma and Shinyana. As an extension team to follow up these families, we can be invited by any pastor of any parish in the two dioceses. When we began, we both followed the three week basic course at Makoko, so that we might know by experience what the couples had learned. We sent out small brochures advertising the various village seminars we felt prepared to offer. As invitations came to us, we set up schedules that would be geographically viable. At this time, we had no transport and were depending on local buses! We did a number of seminars for catechists and parish councils in the parish centers. After reflection with the Program Committee, we redirected our efforts to villages or communities within the parish. Two points had consistently been made by people making the seminars:

1. Action following the seminar depended largely on the number of people from a particular village who made the seminar. One or two villagers with a new consciousness and a new skill did not feel able to move their friends and neighbors to a needed change.
2. The seminar material and the experience of learning together should be made available to all the village

leaders , not only the Christians.

With these points in mind, we arranged with parish priests to offer seminars, not in the parish center, but in a village for the leaders of that particular village. The local catechist, who had studied at the Komuge Catechetical Center, and the Makoko Families, are the nucleus of the group. It is they who invite us, through the parish priest. We could not go into a village without the invitation of the villagers themselves.

IV. What do we do exactly?

When we have an invitation to a village or a parish, through the parish priest, we begin by making arrangements to go to the village and live there, usually with one of the Makoko families, for a week. We visit the local ten-cell leaders, the Christian community leaders, the farm teachers, the school teacher. We cultivate with our hosts in the mornings, or pick cotton in season, and visit in the afternoon and evenings. While visiting, we try to keep our eyes and ears open for major themes and problem areas, and we try informally to get the feel of the village. We explain to the leaders what the seminar is about, and how it has worked in other villages. We stress that we are not bringing financial aid, but that we are aiming at their initiating a development project.

This is a particularly difficult aspect of the work

The program is funded by Misereor of Western Germany Development and Peace of Canada, Missio of Austria. The Sisters wrote up the funding proposals which were sent to the agencies by Cishop Rudin. Oxfam is also very interested in funding such a program and CUSO, (Canadian Universities Services Overseas) is also interested in helping the program. The concept of a team of adult educators, working with village leaders in their village situation, towards not only a new consciousness, but also a definite village development project, is very appealing to funding groups in 1975. The diocese is providing a house for us to live in, but allowances, seminar costs, transfpport and transport costs are all provided by the funding.

At the first meeting with the Bishop and Fathers Jones, Masatu and Conway, we proposed setting up a Program Committee who would be responsible for the program in the diosces. It consists of the two sisters, Fathers Masatu, Conway and Jones. We meet monthly to discuss the program, the strategical and tactical directions. These meetings have become a valuable source of reflection, mutual inspiration and encouragement.

The program is funded for two and one half years, with the possibility of a Stage Two extension being

because we are at this time talking about an experience that is entirely new to the village: a seminar in development tactics. What is that? Also it is physically very hard to live in the village for a week at a time. However, both of us feel that this is an essential phase and we would like to continue it as long as we can.

Planning also takes place during this week - and this is important. We often work with a catechist who has made the seminar in another village. He and representative leaders of the village plan the activities of the seminar with us. Planning the time and number of days and the dates (be careful of the monthly market day! or the district TANU meeting! or the seasonal cotton selling!)and planning who will be invited from the village takes time and effort. This general planning and this week of visiting takes place usually some few weeks before the seminar. It is necessary to spend one more day in the village, a week before the seminar, with the leaders and organizers, to finalize time and dates, names of participants, etc.

In our funding proposal we asked for \$150 a month for seminar costs. However, we have discovered that village seminars cost much less than this. We bring some

food gifts, fruit for the children, to our hosts. The program in most villages has taken place from 4 - 7 p.m., after the community comes from the fields. Therefore, we do not have common meals. When the village leaders invite us to have an all day program, we provide the mid-day meal through the seminar fund.

So, after our week in the village, in preparation, we come home with a wide range of images and ideas from that particular community. The women must walk three miles to get water from the lake; there is animosity between certain groups; the young people are restless and uninvolved in agricultural activities; the cotton has not been paid for by the cooperative. Such issues as these may have emerged. We know the people who will take part in the seminar. We try to keep a diary of people and issues for each village. Some planning of the seminar has already been done with the local leaders and catechists. At this point, it is up to the program staff to choose those designs that seem most appropriate to the local situation we have just lived in.

General pattern of designs

In the village seminars a general pattern has merged that seems effective:

1. Designs for introductions: getting participants to feel that they know more about one another.
2. Designs to stimulate self-awareness, such as Parent/Adult/Child.
3. Designs to focus on communications skills.
4. Designs to focus on group skills.
5. Designs to surface generative themes and major problem areas.
6. Designs to teach planning skills.
7. Designs to consolidate all the skills learned in the seminar towards a practical village project.

We plan a five day seminar, knowing that the group will determine not only how much will be dealt with, but even when certain items might best be introduced, and how. We have been learning, over the past year, how to listen to the group and to the situation, so that the seminar is becoming more and more contextualized. Each village, and each village situation, is unique. Therefore, each seminar is unique. Some move more swiftly from ideas to concerted action; others move more slowly and might result in the decision to have another seminar! Our aim is to move with the group of village leaders. We know where we want to move; how, when and where the villagers want to move is important for us to learn.

These planning sessions enable us to discover how we and the seminar must change from village to village, from occasion to occasion.

V. What about implementation?

Suppose a group of village leaders has participated in a seminar of one week's time, has surfaced the prime need of the village which is a water supply, and has learned planning skills. Now what?

CUSO has provided us with funds to enable the program to have the services of a young Tanzanian, a committed TANU leader, a high school graduate, Auni Makame. He is the projects coordinator of the program. On the last day of the seminar, Makame takes over and we bow out. Makame works with the village leaders to set up a village plan around the issue in terms of: what, who, when, where, who is director. how long will it take, how can we evaluate progress? He will not only work with them in setting up the plan, but also go with them to government offices to meet the technicians whose services are needed. With the village leaders he will estimate and prepare simple proposals for access to revolving funds from Community Development TrustFund and the like. We have received from Development and Peace in Canada a pick-up truck which Makame uses to

serve the villages, to haul cement or roofing materials and the like. CUSO has provided us with two HONDA 90 motorcycles which we use to get to seminars and service projects.

Makame has been employed by CUSO for a two year period as a CUSO volunteer. (ordinarily these are Canadians!) His association with us has been approved by the diocese through the Program Committee. He has been with us since May 1975. As he said: " I have much to learn from you; and you have much to learn from me." We are, all of us, apprentices in this exciting new adult education venture.

VI. What about follow up in the future?

Almost all seminars end with the group asking for another seminar soon. We have been back to some villages twice and even three times, and expect this to become a regular pattern. Many of these concepts and experiences are entirely new to villagers and it is naive to expect them to internalize what is necessary and important in one week.

Bishop Castor Sekwa of Shinyanga has invited the Regional Governing Board of the Maryknoll Sisters to send another team doing the same program into his diocese. The extent of the need for such a program is

very great indeed. Most villagers say: This seminar should be in every village in the region. How can this be done?

Training of seminar leaders.

We have already designed a series of workshops for teachers, catechists, adult educators, priests and sisters, in which teams from various parishes could learn how to conduct these village development seminars. These workshops are funded by Missio of Austria, and will be two or three week sessions. They will be live-in programs with practice teaching sessions built in.

Co-teaching with local leaders.

We are now giving seminars and planning seminars with local leaders in a particular village, that is, catechists, Makoko family men and women, village chairmen. These people have already made a development seminar. This inservice training is invaluable to the local leaders and to us.

An outstanding aspect of our own training is our collaboration and close friendship with the Grail team of adult educators who are working in development education with the Kenya Catholic Secretariat. We attend

their seminars and workshops in Kenya and share what we learn with our friends in the villages of Musoma.

Apprenticeship

We are very pleased to have Maryknoll Sisters, African Sisters, teachers, interested people come with us on our safaris and to our seminars, to see the program first hand and also to advise us. Sr. Anita Magovern, M.M. who has been working with us for a few months, plans to begin the work in the diocese of Shinyanga.

When the program does expand, we hope to reserve a few days a month for reflection together on strategy and tactics, to share what we have learned, to encourage one another and pray together.

VII. What does the government think?

Paulo Freire, as man and as teacher, is well-beloved in Tanzania. President Nyerere dropped in on one of our village seminars and was manifestly delighted to see this kind of an educational program in the village. The Regional Education Officer for Adult Education invited us to do a pilot project in the Freire approach to literacy and is keen on having

a development seminar such as we do in the villages done with the extension officers of the various government ministries in Musoma.

Makame, the projects coordinator, is a well-known and esteemed member of TANU. He calls on various development officers for help in working out the implementation of village projects after the seminars. The Small Industries Development Organization, a branch of the Ministry of Rural Development, wants to work closely with us. They feel we are able, because of our going into the village as sisters, to do the basic educational work that they find very difficult to organize. The District Development Director, Mr. Babu, spoke at length with Makame to encourage collaboration.

We take care to inform all the development personnel and the TANU leaders in the village, of all of our activities, and to get permission or an invitation for the seminar from the village chairman. Participants in the seminar are invariably local political and church leaders, of every denomination and background. In one village, Etaru, where we tried the pilot project in literacy, the village chairman not only attended the literacy methods seminar, but began to

teach a literacy class himself. He requested that we give the seminar to the ten-cell leaders of the village. We did that and they requested that they have four such seminars a year!

All in all, the present government people in Musoma are curious and interested in the program until they experience a village seminar, and then they become enthusiastic. Our presence in ujamaa villages is by invitation of the villagers, and this is another indication of approval.

VIII. What does the church think about the program?

By church we can only speak for the diocese of Musoma. The Bishop has invited us into the diocese, has given us a house and sent in the funding proposals. The three men on the program committee have been a support and a healthy challenge. It appears that some priests wonder just how much religious content the program offers. The difficulty is that this is not a difficulty to us, it is all religious, all Word, all kingdom to us.

"Development is a new name for peace", says Pope Paul. The villagers are pleased and grateful for this service from the church. So we quietly continue in hope and faith in tomorrow.

IX. Various designs used in the program.

1. Designs for Introductions.

A. Purpose. In using these designs we try to each participant speak about themselves at a feeling level. The information that we discover and the feelings that we share in the use of these designs are content for the rest of the seminar.

B. Methods.

Colors: A number of colored papers are spread on a table, two of a kind. Each participant is asked to choose a color that appeals to him or her, a color that reminds them of something special. We offer examples. Then we ask each participant to find another person with the same color and explain to them the following:

your name, your village or where you came from before you settled here, why you chose this color...

After people have done this in pairs, each one is asked to introduce his or her partner to the large group.

2. Designs to focus on communications skills.

A. Purpose. One of the major difficulties in a village community is communications. These designs indicate the need for deeper listening and ways to do that.

B. Methods.

1. Non-verbal cooperation. In a set of four paper bags we have divided out materials to make a miniature cooking place in a Tanzanian village: four cooking pots made out of grenadi-la skins cut in half, stones to support the "pots", sticks for firewood and beans to put into the cooking pots. We divide participants into groups of four: some groups are players, some participant observers. The players each receive a paper bag, and the instructions are:

In these paper bags are materials to make a certain object that is very familiar, which you find in your village.

In each paper bag there are some materials. No paper bag has just enough materials to make a complete object.

In this exercise you are able to give and to receive, but not to ask or to take from another. We ask you not to speak during the exercise. That is, you can give to anyone, and receive from anyone, but you may not ask or take from anyone, and you may not talk.

Our objective is to have each member of the four person team complete the object - each person will have the same object completed before him or her at the end.

What surprises us is the uniqueness of the response to this design. In every village the response is different. We have been struck by the apparent authenticity of the response. One man said, afterwards: "But how could I give freely to that fellow. He is not of my tribe!"

This exercise is sometimes over in a few minutes, and sometimes is never completed. We are coming to believe that it reflects somehow the unity or disunity of the group.

The most important phase of this design is the discussion period. We invite the observers to share: What did you see happen? And we invite the players to tell us all how they felt during the "game". This inevitably leads to a warm discussion of the advantages of ujamaa.

2. Passing the message. This is a simple design that compels the group to examine its skill in communications.

A simple message ~~apropos~~ of the group and their environment, is written on a large sheet of newsprint. Five members of the group, men and

women, are given these instructions:

Matteo here will be told a message. He will call Caterina, who will be told the message by Matteo. Caterina will call Joakim who will be told by Caterina, and Joakim will call Ali, and tell him the message. Finally, Ali will call Paulo and tell him. We shall ask Paulo to share the message he has heard with all of us. In fact, we shall write that message down! Please tell the message only once to the other person.

All five are invited out of the room, and the first message is shown to the entire group. As the message is passed, invariably it is distorted. This shocks and astounds the group. By the time the final message is told and written, the participants are aware of the need for listening skills.

Discussion questions for the design can be:

What did you see happening?

Why did it happen?

Does it happen in our own lives?

What troubles does it cause?

What can we do about it?

After lengthy discussion, the group comes up with suggestions on how to avoid distorting what is heard. These suggestions are written and posted. Then we invite five other people to do the same task, this time implementing the suggestions of the group. Invariably the result is very different; people are keen to listen carefully, to check out what they have heard.

4. Designs to focus on group skills.

A. Purpose. This is a non-verbal design to focus on the dynamics of a group.

B. Method. Two leading members of the seminar are asked to sit at a table in the center of the room where there is a thermos of sweet tea and a single loaf of bread. They are privately told that this is their tea and their bread. There are two cups on the table.

Two other members are asked to sit near the table, but off to the side. They are given two empty cups.

The other members of the seminar are asked to stand in a circle around the room. The instructions are given:

For the next ten minutes, do whatever you feel you want to do, and whatever you feel you can do. Do not speak at all during this time.

Again, each village reacts differently to this design. In one well-knit, political village, the bread and tea were immediately shared, the men at the table went about the room, pouring tea and breaking bread. Everyone got a little bit.

In other communities, there was a sharp skirmish among the "wealthy" and the "hungry". Reflection on this design proved rich and lengthy. People wanted to share how they were feeling. In response to the five discussion questions (cf. page 273) many villagers expressed the need to do ujamaa and not merely talk about it.

