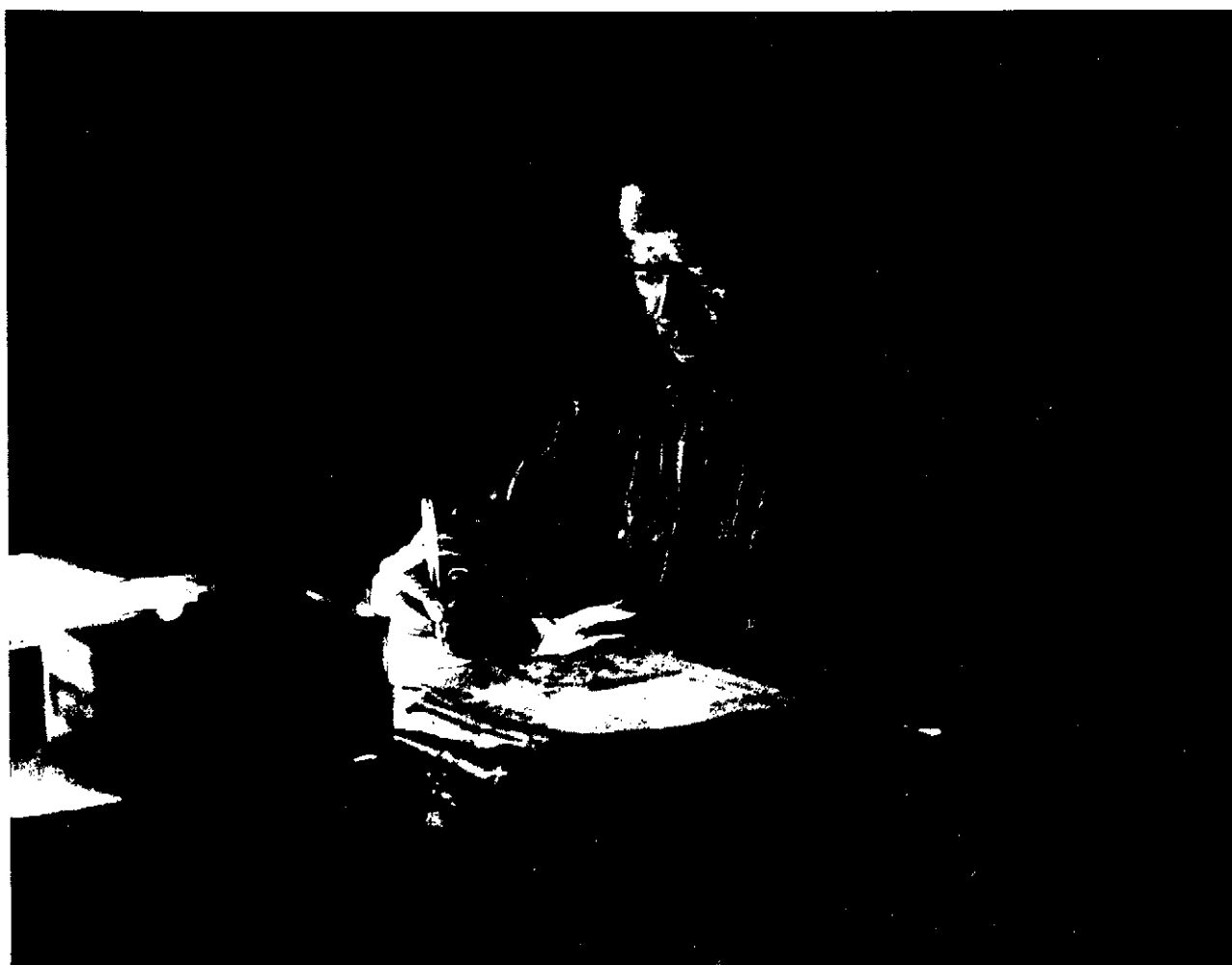


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Peasants and Educators A study of the literacy environment in rural Tanzania



by

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PEASANTS AND EDUCATORS

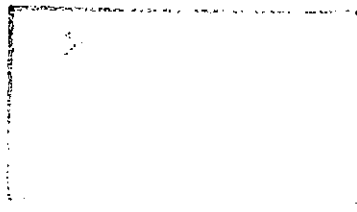
A study of the literacy environment in rural Tanzania.

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Dar es Salaam/The Hague
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Report commissioned by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Dar es Salaam and the Swedish Agency for International Development, Stockholm.



FOREWORD

This study of the literacy environment in Tanzania was commissioned by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) in Tanzania and by the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA).

The Government of Tanzania has since Independence given a high priority to the provision of basic education including adult education. With strong central leadership and a massive mobilization of resources at local level, a series of literacy campaigns were initiated with the end result that literacy increased dramatically throughout Tanzania.

In the early seventies, during the period of mass literacy campaigns, Sweden provided assistance for the production of reading materials for the adult learners and paid honoraria to the instructors. Since the mid 1980s, the SIDA support has been used for post-literacy activities, mainly rural libraries, rural newspapers and post-literacy classes.

Various reports in the late 1980s indicated that participation in adult education was declining. This study, eventually given the title "Peasants and Educators", was commissioned in order to follow up the earlier reports and to map out the current provision of and needs for post-literacy facilities in Tanzania, in particular in rural areas. The consultants were also given the task of making recommendations to the MEC and SIDA as to how best Swedish support could be used to strengthen the post-literacy environment in Tanzania.

The findings of the research team confirmed earlier reports. Interest in and participation in post-literacy activities was very limited in the sample of communities visited by the team.

The report was a major input into discussions between SIDA and the MEC on the future of the SIDA support to post-literacy in Tanzania. It was decided in 1992 that the support should be suspended but that SIDA would finance a pilot project in community-based adult education in Tanzania i.e. adult education based on consumer demand rather than on a centralised course structure. This pilot project is currently being carried out in Tanzania.


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Many persons and institutions contributed directly or indirectly to this study. There are too many to mention them all. We are especially grateful to all the heads of households who gave their time to be interviewed and to the party and government leaders in the villages who facilitated our work.

List of abbreviations used.

CODE	Canadian Organization for Development through Education
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (ruling party in Tanzania)
CESO	Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries
DAE	Department of Adult Education, Ministry of Education and Culture.
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
ELIMU	Ministry of Education and Culture.
FAO	United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization
FDC	Folk Development Colleges
HESAWA	Health, Sanitation and Water Programme
MEC	Ministry of Education and Culture.
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation.
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
UNICEF	United Nations Children Emergency Fund

Peasants and educators: a study of post literacy in rural Tanzania.

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1. INTRODUCTION.

1.1. Background.

Since the country's independence, Tanzania has given high priority to education, not only to formal education for the youth, but also to adult education. Education was considered as a condition for economic development of the country. Campaigns were launched to make the masses literate. Since the beginning of the seventies, post-literacy provisions and activities gradually came off the ground: rural libraries were set up and provided with books, rural newspapers appeared, radio and film programmes were organized and since 1976 also post literacy classes, all addressing themselves to the newly literates.

During the years 1975-1978 a post literacy curriculum was designed to provide newly literates with possibilities to have access to different forms of continued formal education. Stages V, VI and VII were introduced each with eleven books.

Each stage was to be covered in two years. An evaluation of the programme revealed that the curriculum was too theoretical and difficult for the newly literates.

A new work-oriented Post Literacy Programme was introduced in 1987. This programme has three main fields of study: Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Home Economics and Health, and Crafts. The New Post literacy Programme is divided into three levels of learning ie lower, intermediate and higher. SIDA accepted to support the lower level by providing books, paper for printing textbooks, support to the writing of text books, rural press, rural libraries, and transport facilities and payment of fees to teachers. The programme received a total of SEK 19 million over the last three years of the bilateral cooperation.

Over the last years some problems have risen in the implementation of the programme. Several studies of parts of the programme have been made and the MEC and SIDA, the main donor, explored ways to overcome these problems

At the joint Annual Education Sector Review in March 1991, the decision was taken to carry out a study on post literacy in Tanzania. The general objective of the study was two-fold:

- to map out the current provision of and needs for post-literacy facilities in Tanzania, in particular in the rural regions, and
- on the bases of the findings, make recommendations to the MEC and SIDA as to how Swedish support can be used to strengthen the post-literacy environment in Tanzania.

According to its Terms of Reference (see appendix 1), the findings of the study were to be a major input into the next annual review, which was scheduled for February 1992, and would be the basis for a new general education sector support agreement starting 1 July 1992.

Between March 1991 and October 1991, the terms of reference for this study were drafted and the tendering for the research took place.

In November 1991, the research team was composed and the preparations for the research started. In view of the role the report had to play in the consultations in February 1992, the time limit for the presentation of a draft report was set on January 31st.

1.2. Objectives.

The more specific objectives of the study were phrased in terms of activities to be undertaken:

- "1. Summarise and describe the findings of previous reports on post-literacy supporting programmes, namely the rural newspapers, rural libraries, radio and film education, and workers' education, and prepare a statistical overview of post literacy provision and participation.

2. *Describe and analyze the conditions under which the post-literacy supporting programmes are functioning at local (grass-roots) level by in-depth studies of selected districts/communities and assess local demand, if any, for other types of post literacy.*
3. *Analyze the correspondence between objectives and achievements of the programmes, appraising their strengths and weaknesses in the light of the Ministry's objectives for the programmes. The analysis shall be done with due attention to the general socio economic and cultural contexts. Organizational aspects shall also be considered.*
4. *Make recommendations for change, if any, necessary for improvement of the activities, including goals and implementation strategies and make recommendations for new activities if these are considered to be necessary. In making these recommendations, the existence of the more formal FDC and post-literacy centre programmes should be taken into account."*

Post literacy programmes, or post literacy provisions are: rural newspapers, rural libraries, radio and film education. As the study was to concentrate on rural areas, workers' education was left out.

The MEC's objectives are those mentioned in the Five Years Plan for Literacy and Post Literacy Programmes 1991/92 to 1995/1996:

"The objectives of the post-literacy programme are as follows:

- (a) *The post literacy programme should be work-oriented and thus must enable adult learners to acquire knowledge and skills which they need for performing their daily work and for solving their daily problems so that they become self-reliant. The programme is expected to enable learners to improve their knowledge of Kiswahili, reading, writing and arithmetic skills so that they eventually become self-reliant in searching for further knowledge/education.*
- (b) *To give learners an opportunity to express themselves thus contributing to the total transformation of the society through more active participation in economic, social, cultural and ideological life.*
- (c) *To liberate women from the yoke of economic, political, social and cultural exploitation which is influenced by unequal ownership of means of production and distribution.*
- (d) *To cultivate, among post-literacy learners, a permanent reading culture by improving and consolidating institutional structures which promote learning habits.*
- (e) *To enable literacy graduates widen their theoretical and practical knowledge on agriculture, crafts and appropriate technology."*

A brief version appears in a request for Swedish support:

- *to eradicate illiteracy among the remaining adults by the year 2000;*
- *to retain literacy skills among the new literates;*
- *to provide knowledge and skills to the new literates;*
- *to enable them to participate fully in social and economic development activities;*
- *to emphasise the equity issues in the post-literacy and new post-literacy curriculum and raise the status of women in the community.*

The in-depth studies were to be case studies of communities in which the literacy environment was to be described and analyzed.

The research was to look at all phenomena related to literacy, not only to provisions made available by DAE, but also at (availability and use of) other materials.

Some further explanation of the concepts of post-literacy and literacy environment may be necessary.

Both concepts are part of the professional language of adult educators. After providing successful programmes to make people literate, it became clear that more should be done to

maintain the literacy of newly literates and school-leavers and to show them the value of literacy. In principle, post literacy programmes do not differ from other adult education or continued education programmes. Whenever there is a difference, it is of an administrative nature. In fact, the Ministry of Education's post-literacy provisions do not fundamentally differ from others provided by other ministries or NGO's. For the case of this study, the only appropriate definition is that post literacy is the programme that the MEC has set up under that name for newly literates.

In their effort to describe the literacy environment, the researchers tried to detach themselves from the programmes provided and to find out more about the meaning that rural people attach to literacy. A literacy environment is then the total of opportunities people have in their social and economic situation, due to the fact that they are literate or non literate. The researchers therefore tried to describe the role that being literate or illiterate played in the daily lives of rural people. Their point of departure was definitely not to be found in the programmes, facilities and support provided for, but in the use people make of their literacy skills.

Constraints.

The research team met some constraints that after some time became almost predictable but could not be taken into account. For different reasons, beyond control of the researchers and sometimes even beyond their comprehension, things went much slower than hoped for. This was especially the case during the work in Dar es Salaam. When the teamleader left in January, the draft report was not yet ready.

The time was short, communications were difficult, informants were sometimes not available, rooms were inaccessible, mistakes were made and persons could not be found. At the end of January it appeared that some more time would be needed to complete the report and SIDA accepted a postponement of the deadline. Finally, the draft report was edited in The Hague during the last week of February and the first week of March.

The study is, hopefully, a what Chambers might call "relatively short and relatively clean" investigation, as compared to "long and clean" and "short and dirty" exercises.

From a purely academic point of view, this study could be considered as a pilot study in the preparation of a much longer research encompassing the whole country and geared towards theoretically more fundamental issues which would not serve the practical purposes the study was undertaken for.

1.3. Organization and proceedings of the research.

A study of documentation of the MEC's policy, statistics and plans was made as well as a review of previous studies. At the central level interviews were held with persons responsible for educational activities, first of all in the MEC, but also in other government institutions and NGO's.

Four case studies in rural areas were made in the regions Arusha, Dodoma, Mtwara and Mwanza. Each case study was based on interviews with providers of post-literacy services, providers of other services, like health and agriculture, observations and an interview survey in villages among heads of households.

On the basis of this information, an effort was made to draw general conclusions.

The research team consisted of:

Dr. Adri Kater from the Centre for the Study of Education in Developing Countries in the Netherlands, as team leader for 10 weeks in total of which 5 in Tanzania.

Dr. Victor Mlekwa, the team coordinator, from the Faculty of Education of the University of Dar es Salaam, for 16 weeks in total.

Mrs. N. P. Kadege from the Ministry of Finance, as principal researcher for 13 weeks, especially responsible for the analysis of statistics..

Dr. Miriam Keregero from the Sokoine University of Agriculture in Morogoro as principal

researcher for 13 weeks, especially responsible for the gender aspect of the study.
 Dr. P.A.K. Mushi from the Faculty of Education of the University of Dar es Salaam as principal researcher for 13 weeks, especially responsible for the review of documents.
 All Tanzanian team members were moreover responsible for the fieldwork and for writing the reports of the case studies.
 Mrs Mary Eyakuze was research coordinator at the MEC and as such responsible for the logistic support.

For the case studies, this team was supported by eight assistant researchers and thirty two field assistants.

The teamleader discussed the terms of reference in Stockholm in September 1991. In October, the team coordinator discussed the research outline with other researchers at CESO in the Netherlands.

In the middle of November, the team convened for the first time and discussed during one week the methodology of the study, the division of tasks, the selection of districts, wards and villages and appointment of field assistants.

In December, the fieldwork for the case studies took place.

January and February were spent on interviews in Dar es Salaam, data processing, data analysis and report writing in Dar es Salaam and in The Hague.

For data processing, the team depended on Professor Sumra from the Faculty of Education of the University of Dar es Salaam and the Computer Centre of that University.

From an organisational point of view, the study has a complicated set up: a teamleader was not present during the field work and only during part of the preparations. He was not involved in establishing the study's budget, nor in the other financial matters. The team coordinator was not in control over what happened at the university and depended entirely on the goodwill of others. The survey was well organized, but data processing and reporting were done by different persons at unpredictable intervals. The communication between them and the teamleader passed through the team coordinator.

The principal researchers went for two weeks to Mbagala Spiritual Centre where they would find a better environment to write the reports.

Chapter 2 reports on the methods used in this study. The following chapter contains a review of the post literacy in Tanzania. It is followed by one devoted to the gender issue. The four case studies are reported in chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8. In chapter 9, an effort is made to describe the literacy environment.

Chapter 10 contains the analysis of the findings and the last chapter (11) the summary of the conclusions and the recommendations.

2.

RELATIVELY SHORT AND RELATIVELY CLEAN: THE METHODOLOGY.

When the study was decided upon, the following methods were chosen, taking into account the purpose of the study and the time and means that were thought to be available.

The study would consist of:

- a. a review of literature on post-literacy provision and participation in Tanzania,
- b. a review of the MEC's official statistics on post literacy provision and participation;
- c. interviews of MEC staff at central, regional and local levels, SIDA staff and such other persons as staff of NGO's engaged in literacy/post literacy activities in Tanzania.
- d. a survey of post literacy provision, needs and experiences in a sample of rural communities in Tanzania.

From a point of methodology, little can be said about the review of literature: the results are given in chapter two and the reports included are listed in the bibliography. Some of these reports have been controversial, and it is not to be excluded that also the present one will be so. Tanzania is too heterogeneous from different points of view to do justice to its wealth of experiences in a study that necessarily has to restrict itself to either a very restricted number of issues or a very limited geographical area, or, in most cases, both.

A choice was made for the case study approach: in four cases in different parts of the country an effort was made to analyze the literacy environment, hoping that in this way the major part of rural Tanzania would be represented. "Literacy environment" can be described as the total opportunities that exist in a locality from which people make use thanks to the fact that they are literate. The point of departure was therefore not to be found in specific services provided, but in the daily life of rural people.

In consultation with the Department of Adult Education of the Ministry of Education and Culture, a choice has been made for case studies in four different regions with different literacy rates, two with relatively high : Arusha and Mtwara, and two with relatively low literacy Dodoma and Mwanza. These regions, however, were not necessarily the ones with the highest or the lowest literacy rates in the country.

Within each region, two districts were selected by the research team. It was decided to make this choice according to developmental criteria. The infant mortality rate seemed to be a good indicator and it was assumed that information regarding infant mortality could easily be obtained. During the preparatory week in November, the team did, however, not succeed in finding this information and it was decided to leave the selection of districts to each principal researcher after arrival in the area and using developmental criteria: if possible infant mortality. That the team could not find this information does not mean that it does not exist. The team got, however, the impression that authorities are very reluctant to provide information unless authorized from the highest level.

Within each district two wards were selected and within each ward two villages. This selection was made by random sampling from a written list of wards and villages. Two villages selected this way were out of reach and others had to be selected.

This random sampling was necessary in order to avoid biases. As we had expected, some officers at the regional level had understood the study in such a way that they had already selected those villages where some literacy activities were going on and the researchers got the impression that special arrangements had been made in order to make things look better than they are. The regional officers' selection had to be rejected and a new one was made in the way just mentioned.

The question to what extent these 32 villages are representative for an important part of rural Tanzania remains to be answered and the answer given will probably depend mainly on subjective choices. Whether or not this question is answered affirmatively, the researchers are convinced that a number of conclusions can be drawn and lessons learned.

The case studies consisted of interviews with educational and other government officers at the district, ward and village level, observation and structured interviews of heads of households. A total of 1600 heads of households were interviewed, an effort was made to quantify the data obtained.

The researchers.

Four principal researchers were appointed by the Ministry of Education, but not directly from its ranks. Two of them were from the faculty of Education of the University of Dar es Salaam, one from the Soikone University of Agriculture in Morogoro and one from the Ministry of Finance.

Each of these principal researchers was responsible for the data gathering in one region. They all participated in data gathering and interviews at the central level.

For the work in the regions each principal researcher was assisted by two assistant researchers, and each assistant researcher by two field assistants. The assistant researchers came from different institutions, most of them directly or indirectly under the Ministry of Education. There is, however, no doubt about their impartiality.

The field assistants were selected by the principal researchers. It was assured that they did not have their regular work in the village where they had their interviews. They were government officers from community development department, education, agriculture and health departments.

The rural survey.

Training of the assistant researchers took place on 26 and 27 November 1991. Field assistants were trained on one day just before they started their interviews.

The regional teams either visited the different villages as a team or split up and spread over the villages.

Theoretically both approaches have their advantages, but in practice logistic matters were decisive: availability of transport, distance between the villages and their accessibility.

The Ministry of Education made the vehicles available, one vehicle for each region. In some cases some time was lost because the vehicles only became available after repeated interference from the research coordinator of the MEC. Also, most of the vehicles were in bad condition and some of them not equipped for transport of persons.

In some regions the weather conditions were bad: Roads sometimes hardly existed and heavy rainfall turned them into mud pools. Travel as well as work was physically exhausting. These weather conditions had been foreseen, but the need to have the study done in time for the consultations between SIDA and the MEC did not allow postponement. The risk to be restricted to the villages along hard surface road (the "tarmac bias") was, however, avoided.

A questionnaire had been developed and tested in Kibaha, near Dar es Salaam, during the training of the assistant researchers in November¹. After testing, some changes were made. It proved, however, that testing in a relatively developed, though rural, place near Dar es Salaam is no sufficient guarantee. Some questions were not always understood in the right way.

It was also assumed during the preparation of the field work that every interviewee would have a sufficient understanding of Swahili. This was not the case and sometimes interpreters had to be used.

The questionnaires consisted of three main subjects: general information, questions in relation to social/economic status (relative wealth) and questions related to literacy and post literacy activities.

The interviewees were heads of households or their spouses. It was intended to exclude persons over 50, but unfortunately this message did not come through to all field assistants. The total number of the household heads was 1600.

The choice of heads of households as respondents implied that recent school leavers were

excluded, but it also meant that most of the interviewees had potentially belonged to the target group of the MEC's post literacy activities: the newly literates.

No literacy test was done, it was assumed that everybody who had educational level III or more was literate and that those who did not reach that level were not. The percentage of literacy among the interviewees is, however, not representative for the total rural population of Tanzania, though it may be so for the respective age group of the different sexes.

Both sexes were also equally present among the researchers and assistants. In the villages equal numbers of women and men were interviewed.

It was not always possible to interview in conditions of privacy. Curious neighbours and family members were always around and in some cases the husband refused to leave the spot when his wife was interviewed. He then also intervened in the discussion.

The attitude of the villagers towards the researchers differed from one village to another. In some case there was suspicion or unwillingness to spend time on the interview: "this has happened before and what is its use for us?" Sometimes money was asked for. But also great hospitality was shown and food was offered to the researchers.

The number of interviews with different service providers remained below expectations: as it was Christmas time, many government officers were on leave. Still, the researchers were able to obtain sufficient information from those present and from village leaders.

The information on post-literacy activities was provided by officers from the Ministry of Education and Culture, in the villages especially by teachers of post literacy classes.

After the field work, the questionnaires were coded and processed. Unfortunately the time had been too short to do the coding before printing of the questionnaires and the interviews. This contributed to the fact that too many errors were made to allow for a reliable data compilation by computer. There was no time for checking. The principal researchers compiled by hand some of the survey data.

3. THE EXPERTS' VIEW: AN ANALYSIS OF PUBLICATIONS.

3.1. Background

The Tanzanian leadership has since independence in 1961 conceived literacy as a means of eradicating poverty, ignorance and miserable living conditions. It was unwise, the leadership noted, to concentrate all efforts on educating children leaving out adults in a state of illiteracy, for this would mean delaying the country's development for generations. It was acknowledged that educating children was a long term investment; their education had no immediate impact on development. The leadership underlined the need to empower the adult population through literacy with a view to realizing the perceived objective.

A directive issued by the Party in the early 1970s, required all institutions in the country to ensure that resources were mobilised to eradicate illiteracy. With a clear programme of action and massive financial assistance from SIDA and UNDP, the government managed to reduce illiteracy from 67% in 1967 to 10% in the late 1980s.

Since the mid 1980s, the government has requested Swedish support which included equipment and tools, technical assistance and funds for post-literacy initiatives in the country. Functional literacy alone was considered inadequate in providing continuous skills, knowledge and positive attitudes required to enable the people to function effectively in their socio-economic pursuits. Post-literacy and its supporting programmes were therefore deemed necessary; first, to enable neo-literates to acquire skills, knowledge and attitudes relevant to their socio-economic concerns; second, to enable them to practise their literacy skills so as to guard against relapse into illiteracy and third to advance their literacy skills (Muller, 1986 p. 129).

It was envisaged that such a programme would eventually provide a link between basic literacy and higher stages of informal schooling thereby enabling neo-literates to function effectively in their society.

3.2. Programmes and Objectives

The Ministry of Education mounted a number of programmes to support the neo-literates. A post-literacy curriculum was developed consisting of 3 stages namely, V, VI and VII (later re-named levels i.e. lower, intermediate and higher) to avoid comparison with primary school levels. The curriculum was designed to include theoretical and practical aspects. The theoretical aspect for example, included subjects such as English, Kiswahili, Economics, Mathematics and political education, the subjects which were to be offered in post-literacy classes. The practical component involved work-oriented programmes such as agriculture, home-craft and crafts, the programmes which were to be offered in special adult education centres (Vituo Maalumu) and Folk Development Colleges (FDCs). The inclusion of a practical bias in the post-literacy curriculum was considered to be a necessary step geared to integrating literacy and production. The theoretical and practical subjects were accompanied by supporting programmes which included rural news papers, rural libraries, radio education programmes and film education. The programmes were launched in a bid to provide the literate population with practical information on agriculture, health and homecraft, the ultimate aim being to create a permanent literacy environment in the rural areas (URT, 1977 p. 25). To realize this eight rural newspapers were established in the country; the target being to produce 450,000 copies every month (Sakara, 1991). In line with this development, 3170 rural libraries were established at ward level, each carrying an average of 400 books, produced by Elimu free of charge. A radio education unit was set up in Mwanza and in Dar es Salaam to develop and produce educational programmes to consolidate literacy and to convey to rural population skills and knowledge relevant to their socio-economic development. The radio education unit within the Mwanza Literacy Centre was supposed to produce three different weekly programmes (Anderson and Westergren, 1984) and broadcasted Centrally by Radio Tanzania (RTD). One of the programmes was specifically geared to improving the literacy teachers' skills. The other two

programmes were intended to educate and to motivate literate population to take active role in post-literacy programmes. According to Sakara (op.cit), 7000 radio sets were distributed throughout the country. The programme was accompanied by film educational programmes prepared by Tanzania Film Company (TFC), in Collaboration with the Ministry of Education.

3.3. Participation in programmes

3.3.1. Post-Literacy Classes

In order to implement the post-literacy curriculum, active participation of the literate population was deemed imperative. It should be noted that out of 13,759,014 illiterates who sat for the national literacy tests between 1975 and 1986, only 4,861,912 or 35 % of the illiterates emerged as neo-literates (Appendix 2). The Ministry of Education was able to enrol only 36 % of the neo-literates in post-literacy programmes (Appendix 3). Although the enrolment figure appears to be impressive particularly when viewed in relation to the Tanzania's socio-economic context and that there is no other third world country that has ever undertaken such initiative before, actual participation in programmes is far below the official statistics. There is a common belief among researchers and evaluators that very few classes have been operating since the beginning of 1980s and that there is an obvious miss-match between statistics. This observation is contained in SIDA's Appraisal Report (1984), Evaluation Report of CIDA and CODE support, 1990/91 as well as Carr-Hill (et al) study (1991). The reasons for the decline in participation are discussed in Carr-Hill (et al) study and Evaluation Report of CIDA and CODE 1990/91. Basing their arguments on Case studies conducted in three villages and a suburb of Dar es Salaam for example, Carr-Hill (et al) attributed the decline to the 'progression' towards universal education, low morale on the part of post-literacy teachers and their inability to handle post-literacy classes as well as miss-match between participants preferences and the actual programmes.

Although it was envisaged that only those teachers with 12 years of education and who have undertaken a teaching course would teach in post-literacy classes, this does not seem to be the case. Indeed, in many centres, qualified teachers are lacking. In Bugene in Mwanza for example, Muttanyata (1987) found out that most of the post-literacy teachers did not have the required qualifications; they had only eight or less years of formal education and had not undergone any teacher training course except for occasional seminars.

Post-literacy programmes were mounted at a time when the country was undergoing a severe economic hardship; quite a substantial number of participants were compelled to drop out of classes to look for ways of meeting their basic necessities. Adult education coordinators found themselves in a very hard position in convincing people about the usefulness of the post-literacy programmes. In some centres, the coordinators proposed that by-laws and other sanctions be instituted to encourage attendance, all of which did not bear much fruit. The argument was highly debated for it seemed to contravene the conventional principles of adult learning.

According to the evaluation report up CIDA and CODE, (op.cit), part of the decline could also be attributable to the shortage of reading materials. Lack of enthusiasm for and involvement in literacy supervision by some Party and government leaders is sometimes cited as a contributing factor to the decline.

3.3.2. Work-oriented Programmes

Participation in work-oriented programmes has also never been impressive. As stated elsewhere in this study, crafts, home-craft and agricultural programmes were launched with a view to enabling neo-literates to practise and develop skills so that they could generate some income and in addition, to meet their consumption needs. Little wonder the number of projects mounted to date has never been large when compared with the actual number of participants. In the mid 1980s for example, official statistics show that 35,000 neo-literates took part in 1500 projects (see for example, SIDA Appraisal Report, 1984).

In 1985, the Joint Elimu/SIDA Mission estimated that by 1990/91, a total number of 55,000 neo-literates would be taking part in 2750 projects (Table 1).

Table 1 Estimated number of projects and participants (1987-1991)

PROJECT	PARTICIPANTS AND CENTRES	YEAR			
		1987/89	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91
Home- Craft Agricul- ture Crafts	Participants	23,000	24,000	25,000	26,000
	Centres	1,150	1,200	1,250	1,300
	Participants	3,000	5,000	7,000	9,000
	Centres	150	250	350	450
	Participants	17,000	18,000	19,000	20,000
	Centres	850	900	950	1,000
TOTAL	Participants	43,000	47,000	51,000	55,000
	Centres	2,150	2,350	2,350	2,750

Source: Joint Elimu/SIDA Mission, 1985.

However, actual statistics on participation could not be obtained from the Ministry of Education. Participation in programmes has been affected by a variety of factors. According to the Joint Elimu/SIDA Post-Literacy Revised Proposal, these factors include: lack of post-literacy facilities, lack of trained teachers and absence of a market for the produced items. The number of participants has also dwindled in some centres since the available facilities do not match participants requirements (Evaluation Report of CIDA/CODE, 1990/91).

3.3.4.

Supporting Programmes

It was argued in the previous sections that rural news papers, rural libraries, film and Radio education programmes were introduced to support post-literacy initiatives in the country. Participation in these programmes varies considerably with regions. On newspapers for example, the readership varies with zones, but the majority of the literate population do not have access to the facility (UNESCO Report, 1985). A study conducted by Mutanyatta (1987) in Bugene for example, revealed that 40% of the villagers had not heard of a rural newspaper. For those who were aware of its existence, hardly half had seen it. Although it was envisaged that 50,000 copies would be produced every month except for the Lake Zone, newspapers are printed in smaller quantities than claimed by the Ministry of Education (Evaluation Report of CIDA and CODE 1990/91). According to this Report, nearly all the zones are printing very few copies to cover the intended target group. Some zones consist of 2-4 regions; they cannot be covered by a single newspaper (UNESCO, 1985).

Now, let us examine the radio-education programme. Initially it was planned that 8000 radio sets would be distributed to the villages, but the Ministry of Education could only distribute 7000 sets (see Sakara, 1991. To date none of these sets is functioning (Sakara, *ibid*), leaving the majority of the rural population with nothing to listen to. It is surprising to note that while the Ministry is aware that the radio receivers are no longer in operation it is still using its scarce resources to educational programmes which do not reach the majority of the population.

With regard to Film education, the Ministry of Education in collaboration with Tanzania Film Company has managed to produce five films altogether (Muller, 1986) which became popular in the rural areas. However, the films are in short supply and the rural population does not get them in the most opportune time. To date, very few film vans are in operation. By mid 1980s for example only seven vans were operating (Sakara, *op.cit*).

On rural libraries, currently, there are 3170 libraries located in primary schools offices and private houses (Sakara *op.cit*). Books are supplied by the Ministry of Education free of charge. Records from visited libraries indicate that school teachers, students, pupils and school leavers

were the main library users and not the neo-literates (see Bamugaya et al 1986). Apart from this, it appears that the female population is denied access to this facility because library hours do not take into account their work patterns (Mbilinyi, et al 1990). Some of the libraries are located very far from the villagers making their accessibility difficult. There is a general feeling among educators that a large proportion of the neo-literates is not aware of the existence of this facility as its publicity has not been given due attention.

3.4. Quality Issues and Service Provision

When the post-literacy programmes were launched, the objective was to ensure that such programmes were relevant to the socio-economic concerns of the people. The programmes that have been designed to date, do not seem to address this issue; they do not seem to disseminate the kind of skills and knowledge the people need to improve their socio-economic conditions (see for example, Andersson et al Report, 1984 and a recent study by Carr-Hill et al 1991).

Clearly, there is a general feeling among participants that if they were involved in needs assessment exercise with curriculum planners (Kirega, 1986), they would take active part in the programmes. Various educators hold the view that if such programmes are to remain a vehicle for the country's development, a top-down approach should be replaced by a 'grass-root' approach (Andersson et al op.cit; Kirega, 1986, and CIDA and CODE's Evaluation Report, op.cit). At the present, the programmes are designed centrally, concentrating on global national interests that hardly address local needs.

It is unfortunate that since the post-literacy programmes were generalized from above, such programmes appeared to favour primary school leavers and dropouts, a category for which the programmes were not intended (See Mutayatta, op.cit). Realizing this fact, the Ministry of Education revised the post-literacy curriculum in the mid 1980s with a view to making it more responsive to local realities.

The revision was completed and a new curriculum was developed the idea being to impart work-oriented skills to the neo-literates. The implementation of the curriculum was very slow to begin; it was described by donors as very ambitious for it intended to provide educational opportunities for all neo-literate paying least attention to the country's economic realities (See Andersson, et. al, 1984). Apart from this, the curriculum did not take into account gender issues.

In 1987, the Ministry of Education and SIDA commissioned a study in a bid to review the new curriculum from the point of view of women. Clearly, women's activities were considered more relevant to the development process and the previous programmes had done little to redress the cultural beliefs which made women inferior.

In their final report, the expert group recommended, inter alia, the following; women should be relieved from their daily duties. This could be achieved by educating both men and women about the ethics which governed women welfare notably food habits, distribution of labour in the family and decision making. It was also recommended that income generating projects and simple machines should be introduced to further lessen the burden of women (A Report on the Relevance and Impact of the New Curriculum on Women, 1987).

In March 1990, the revised version of the new post-literacy curriculum was discussed by experts from SIDA and officials from the Ministry of Education. It was recommended that a team of two experts (from SIDA and Tanzania) be appointed to appraise the new version. In their Appraisal Report, the study team recommended that in order to improve the quality of the post-literacy programmes the process of programme design should be decentralized at local levels. This would make the programmes more responsive to local needs. The study team also underlined the need to reduce the number of post-literacy participants so that services provided could be made more effective and manageable. Since the new post-literacy curriculum demanded

a lot of practical knowledge, the team felt that there was a need to introduce complimentary skills training courses to enable the post-literacy teachers improve their teaching skills. On transport problems, the study team suggested that loan schemes for motorcycles and bicycle be introduced to the ward administrative staff to better alleviate the problem. Apart from this, the team was of the opinion that if the administrative staff involved in adult education are trained, it is possible to improve the quality of services. In this way, it would also be possible to reduce the number of staff so that efficiency and effectiveness in the running of the post-literacy programmes could be maintained (SIDA Appraisal Report, 1990).

What about quality issues in supporting programmes? With regard to the rural newspapers, the objective that newspapers produced should reflect village activities has never been achieved (Sakara, 1991). According to UNESCO Report (1985), the newspapers appear to be informative but unsuitable for the rural population. The news papers are largely pre-occupied with academic issues. Mbilinyi and her Colleagues (1990) suggest that in order to improve this facility, content matter should be determined by the learners themselves. The content matter should perhaps focus on songs, stories and some aspects of theatre art. Efforts should also be made by the Rural Press to exploit the possibility of incorporating in the rural news papers some aspects up creative skills in oral literature. The Ministry of Education has already taken note of this. At a CHEWATA Conference in Mwanza early this year (1992) for example, the quality of rural news papers emerged as one of the major aspects of debate. It was resolved that the form and content of the news papers should be changed according to popular demand. However, the implementation of this decision remains to be seen.

The provision of news papers has not been without problems. Transport is a serious problem and demands attention. The problem is largely attributable to lack of vehicles and spare parts, bad roads and poor management (see for example, Esselte Print Consult, 1987). These problems have limited to a greater extent, efforts to collect news from the villages and news collected from the villages do not reach the press in time. Frequent power interruptions, lack of printing facilities and trained staff have also incapacitated the Rural Press from producing the news in time (Esselte Print, - *ibid*).

Apart from newspapers, various studies have indicated that the quality and quantity of books in the rural libraries do not impact villagers' needs and demand. Mbilinyi et.al (1990) in their study, discovered that library users were not in position to influence book choice; the villagers have been questioning the suitability and availability of books. Through interviews with library users in two districts for example, Bamugaya et.al (1986) found out that the villagers were interested in literature relevant to their socio-economic concerns. The books mostly preferred by the villagers were those which increased their knowledge in agriculture, politics, crafts, home-craft, numeracy and english language.

Apart from quality issues, rural libraries have encountered a number of problems which need be addressed. Quite often, library personnel do not have full control of libraries as some of these are located in primary school buildings which are normally under the control of school authority. According to Muller (1986), most libraries are poorly housed and inaccessible; library facilities, trained and permanent librarians are also lacking.

The Evaluation Report of CIDA and CODE (op.cit) shows that the distribution of books has never reached an acceptable standard; distribution of books has been very difficult to trace at lower levels. Most of the books are hardly found at regional and district levels partly because borrowers are not returning them. In Ruvuma for example, the Report shows that books lying on shelves were not recorded in ledgers and those issued could never be traced either.

With regard to radio education, Muller (1986) reports that most of the literacy teachers do not know how to conduct radio lessons as most of them are untrained. Apart from this production of programmes has always been difficult since the RTD studios are fully engaged. Script writers are not sufficient and dry cells are not available in many villages.

Film education programmes have also encountered similar problems. According to Westergren and Mgulambwa (1990), the programme does not operate as intended due to costs involved and ineffective transport network. Films are in short supply and the rural population does not get them at the right time. Experts who could maintain the available equipment are also lacking (See also, Muller, op.cit). Most astonishing is the fact that film vans in the regions are sometimes used for transport with disregard to the projection equipment fitted in them. To create more space for people the equipment is completely removed (URT, 1977). By mid 1980s for example, out of 22 film vans supplied to the regions, only 7 were functioning (Sakara, 1991). In 1984, SIDA assisted the Ministry of Education with 11 sets of film equipment but all of these sets are now believed to be out of order (Sakara, *ibid*).

4. THE OTHER HALF: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DOCUMENTATION ON GENDER ISSUES.

4.1. Background.

Throughout the developing countries women play a central role in agricultural production. In Tanzania, 98% of the women are involved in both subsistence and cash crop production (Fortmann, 1974). They contribute to more than half of the agricultural labour force. The task they perform include land preparation, planting, weeding, applying fertilizer, bird scaring and harvesting (FAO, 1987).

Much evidence, however, suggests that in the past women were not the target population for new agricultural techniques, innovations and training and that development assistance to women was geared to their domestic role (Rogers, 1980; Lewis, 1984). This situation has arisen due to historical and cultural reasons which have tended to overlook or belittle women's contribution in agricultural development. More recently rural women have gained some visibility within the international development community and processes which may alter the neglect of the past have been triggered.

The growing awareness of women's productive roles and their impact on agricultural development in Tanzania has evolved as part of a global orientation of the development process with equity as a key phenomenon. The women in development agenda has come a long way, from the women's liberation of the 1960's - 1970's to the present day women in development phenomenon. The focus on women and gender issues in development is yet another effort to attain greater impact out of development programmes. Development planners have come to realise that the integration of women in development planning and implementation is essential (USAID, 1986).

The women liberation of the 1960s up to the early 1970's was instrumental in putting the women agenda on local, national and international fora. It also motivated more concise research on women in development. Boserup's (1970) influential research on "Women's Role in Economic Development" provided evidence to show that women in the Developing Countries play significant roles in agricultural and rural development but that their contribution was undervalued or sometimes completely forgotten. Such awareness led to the International Women's Year being declared in 1975, thereafter the UN Decade for Women 1976-1985.

As a result of the UN Decade for Women, a growing body of research started documenting women's unequal access to the benefits of development and the counterproductive effects of ignoring women's contributions and their special needs from the point of view of both agricultural productivity and overall welfare of rural families. According to Kandiyoti (1990) such studies have made the following important contributions:

- They have shown how modernization has had clearly different effects not only on different rural strata but on men and women, often contributing to deteriorating conditions for women.
- They have addressed the methodological and conceptual biases in accounting for women's work.
- They have highlighted the fact that rural development policies will not serve their intended goals, or might produce unintended negative outcomes, if the role and position of women in rural households is not taken explicitly into account.

The growing documentation has emphasized women's unequal access to the benefits of development and has highlighted the productive as well as the reproductive role of women. This has had to calls for national and international action to promote equal access of men and women

to land ownership, to vocational training in agriculture, to cooperative membership, to agricultural extension services and to education and training. Attention has also been focused on women's particular tasks which limit the productivity of their labour such as water fetching, food processing and firewood collection, and thus their opportunities to earn cash.

In the case of Tanzania, the party and government since the Arusha Declaration (1967) to the recent Party Programme (1987-2002) have taken into consideration the plight of women (CCM, 1988:32-34). It has been emphasized by both party and government officials that women issues should be addressed as part of the national, regional, district and village plans of action (Daily News, 8th July, 1988).

4.2. Women's labour contribution to development.

Rural women play multiple roles in African society. Apart from agricultural work, women are also responsible for most of the domestic activities which are usually performed before and after farm work. Thus the first part of this section examines women's involvement in agricultural production. Secondly, it examines women's role in reproduction. Lastly it examines women's access to resources and services.

Women's Role in Production.

The following statement of Mwalimu Nyerere in 1967 signifies the importance of women in agricultural production in Tanzania:

The truth is that in villages women work very hard. At times they work 12-14 hours a day. They even work on Sundays and Public Holidays. Women who live in villages work harder than anybody else in Tanzania. But the men who live in the villages (and some of the women in towns) are on leave for half their lives (Nyerere, 1967).

The above quotation, although over 20 years old is still valid today.

U.N. (1975) estimates of the time that rural women spend on a variety of production activities in Africa, based on studies by anthropologists, sociologists and extension workers, shows that women contribute two-thirds of all hours spent in traditional African agriculture, and three-fifths of hours spent on marketing. In a study carried out in Tanzania it was found that women spent 6.75 hours per day in agricultural production which was about the same as that spent by men (Mbilinyi, 1977). Thus available information about work input by sex indicates that women do at least half of the agricultural work.

However, Boserup (1970) pointed out that there were major regional differences in the role that women play in farming in the Developing Countries and that Africa could be described as the "region of female farming par excellence". She drew on several case studies to show that women often do more than half of the agricultural work, in some cases they were found to do around 70% and in one case nearly 80% of the total. She also showed that women play a major role in local trade in Africa, particularly in West Africa.

The nature of women's role in subsistence farming and in production for market exchange has been well documented (Beneria, 1982; Boserup, 1970) and it has been generally recognized that there is a clear sexual division of labour within households in sub-Saharan Africa. On an average, of all countries in Africa women were found to do most of the work in the areas of hoeing, weeding, harvesting, transporting of crops from fields to home, marketing and storage (Table 2). Both men and women did an equal amount of work in planting caring for domestic animals and turning the soil (U.N., 1975).

Table 2: Division of Agricultural Labour by Sex: All Africa

Agricultural Tasks	% of total labour in hours	
	Women	Men
out fields	5	95
Turns the soil	30	70
Planting	50	50
Hoeing and Weeding	70	30
Harvesting	60	40
Transporting crops home	80	20
Storage of crops	80	20
Marketing of food crops	60	40
Caring for domestic animals	50	50

Source: U.N. Handbook on Women (1975)

Table 3: Percentage Contribution by Women and Men to Food Production Tasks

	Maize		Rice	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Site Clearing	46.5	53.2	50.0	50.0
Seedbed Preparation	61.5	38.5	63.2	36.8
Sowing	63.2	36.8	65.5	34.5
Weeding	63.2	36.8	63.8	36.2
Harvesting	65.1	34.9	63.8	36.3
Transport from field	38.8	51.2	54.4	47.6
Threshing	70.2	29.8	69.0	31.0

Source: Killalea (1990:46).

Table 4: Percentage Contribution by Women and Men to Cash Crop Production

	Cotton	
	Women	Men
Seedbed preparation	27.3	72.7
Sowing	61.1	38.9
Weeding	59.4	40.6
Harvesting	60.0	40.0
Transport from field	60.7	39.3
Threshing	77.8	22.2

Source: Killalea (1990:48)

According to Killalea (1990), in Morogoro Region, Tanzania, women contributed approximately two-thirds of the labour for seed bed preparation, sowing, weeding, harvesting and threshing (Table 3). These findings are in agreement with those of the U.N. (1975). However, in relation to site clearing women did more work than would be expected and less than expected in relation to transport of the crops from the field. It is evidenced, therefore, that in promoting recommended crop husbandry practices for food crops that women need to be targeted as they are the ones who will in the majority of cases be putting these improved practices into practice.

In the case of cash crop (cotton) production, Killalea (1990) found that women contributed more labour than men to all tasks except site clearing (Table 4). The production of cash crop altered the sexual division of labour and significantly increased women's workload, as men commonly withdraw from food production tasks to concentrate on export crops while women not only took up the slack in food production but helped with the new cash crops.

Although it is said (Lewis, 1984) that women in most parts of Africa do not control revenue accruing from the sale of cash crops, still they continue to bear the responsibility of maintaining their households in so far as food, school fees, medical and other expenses are concerned. They are able to do so by selling surplus food crops, brewing local beer, selling their labour or engaging in other income generating activities. Lewis (1984) suggested that the man's cash crops/woman's food crops dichotomy over-simplifies the sexual division of labour because of the exchange of labour between men and women in rural households for different sex-typed tasks. Men may clear the land for women's cash crops, while women may weed men's cash crops. Therefore, she sees the sexual division of control of production corresponding more closely to the cash/subsistence distinction rather than the sexual division of labour.

Thus, the general picture from the literature indicates that women play a highly significant role in production of food and cash crops and income generating activities. It also indicates that rural households are not composed of individuals who share the burden of work and returns of labour on equal basis. Therefore, plans to increase productivity in any area must be based on awareness of the existing division of labour and control, and how the projected changes will alter the workloads and rewards of each sex.

4.3. **Women's Role in Reproduction**

In addition to their productive responsibilities, the rural women in Tanzania play a vital role in the biological and social reproduction of the present and future labour force. Their role as procreator, mother and nurturer of the new generation continues to be valued in Tanzanian society (Swantz, 1985). However, in the rural areas of most African countries there are few women who are just housewives. They maintain the household members through performing the bulk of absolutely necessary tasks such as fetching water and firewood, cooking, clearing, washing and childcare. Thus, most of their time is spent in providing the types of goods and services which are bought for money in industrialized countries - producing and processing food and providing fuel and water (Boserup, 1970).

Although women's reproductive tasks are viewed as non-economic, they are essential to the development and preservation of the human capital of the family and the nation (Overholt et al, 1984). According to Fortmann (1978) in Tanzania, men are free to devote their time and energy full time to agriculture or other income generating activities should they wish, because women maintain the household and nurture the children with, at best, assistance from older children. Several studies carried out on women's activities and time consumption have shown that women's workload often take up to 10-14 hours a day particularly during cultivation season. Table 5 gives two examples of how rural women in Tanzania spend their time on their daily activities. In addition, most household tasks are done by the women alone.

Table 5: Rural Women's Time spent on Their Daily Activities.

Example 1

Activities	Average Hours
Food preparation	3.59
Working on farm	3.32
Fetching water	0.45
Collecting firewood	0.26
Child care	0.14
Washing and cleaning	0.59
Resting between activities	2.20
Other activities	2.40
Total	12.96

Source: Tanzania/DANIDA Water Master Plans (1983).

Example 2:

Activities	Average Hours
waking up at 5.00 a.m. and preparing for the field	0.50
Tying up goats and walking to the field (with child on the back	0.75
Harvesting until 3.00p.m.	8.75
Collecting firewood and carrying it home	1.00
Fetching water, bathing children and self etc.	2.00
Washing dishes, pots etc. used during the previous night	0.50
Preparation and cooking of the meal	1.50
Serving food, eating etc.	1.00
Total	16.00

Go bed at 9.00 p.m.

Source: Kahurananga (1980).

Percentage of Households in which Household tasks are Done by Women

	Households where task is done by women alone	Households where women is done by with women others	Households where women do not do task	Total No %	
Collect					
Firewood	58.5	33.3	8.2	183	100
Fetch water	57.4	33.9	8.7	183	100
Gather wood	61.5	32.3	6.2	195	100
Buy food	58.9	21.1	20.0	180	100
Pounding	71.3	27.1	1.6	129	100
Cooking	71.4	27.8	0.8	126	100
Cleaning	71.5	26.1	2.4	123	100

Source: Fortmann (1978).

Women, who bear the brunt of the work involved in fetching water to the house, expend a substantial part of their caloric consumption in this work, depleting their own health and taking time and energy from more productive work and child care. A daily trek of 2 to 3 hours for water is likely to consume about 600 calories, may be one-third to one-quarter of a woman's average daily calorie intake (URT/UNICEF, 1990).

The government has put emphasis on supporting water projects to reduce this burden for women. In 1970, 10% of the rural population had clean water within 400 meters, by 1980 it had reached 25% and by 1983 piped water was reaching 39% of the population (McCall and Skutch, 1983). This still leaves a high percentage of the population without close access to water, and means that women have to walk to fetch it. Thus carrying water is still a heavy and time consuming task for the majority of Tanzanian rural women.

The issue of collecting water as being sole responsibility of women is grim as the long distances to firewood source have a negative effect on food production and child care. Estimates of fuelwood consumption in Tanzania are about 1 cubic meter per person per annum or about 5 cubic meters per household (McCall, 1987; and FAO, 1984). Since in most Tanzanian societies women and children are traditionally the ones engaged in the collection of firewood, with the disappearance of forests around the village they have to walk long distances, normally 3-5km. two to three times a week (McCall, 1987). Thus the time and energy expended by women in collecting and carrying wood is considerable as well as the effects of depletion and desertification.

According to the Ministry of Community Development, Culture, Youth and Sports (1988), since 1975 afforestation programmes for wood fuel production have been launched in all regions. At the national level the programme has been increasing at an annual average rate of 20%. However, McCall (1987) pointed out that responses to local wood shortages have generally been ineffectual.

Thus, existing documents indicate that apart from playing a highly significant role in the production of food and cash crops and income generating activities, women are also responsible for most of the domestic activities which are usually, performed before and after farm work. Therefore, plans to involve women in development activities such as post-literacy programme must consider the multiple roles which society expects women to perform.

4.2. Women's Access to development resources and services.

Despite women's significant contribution in terms of hours in production and reproduction, they have less access to land, labour supply, education and training, technology and inputs, and information and extension. In this section, the importance of these resources, and the extent to which they are directed to women will be discussed.

Access to Land

According to McCall (1987), the physical or legal possession of land is important in order to have control over the products and to have access to the market economy such as credit. Although in the Tanzanian situation all members of the village, including women, have the right to plot allocation, yet in practice allocation is by "family" and thus given to male "heads of household". In the Agriculture Policy of Tanzania (1983:11) the lease of land is referred to in terms of family or household, not in terms of the individual farmer. Therefore, it is rare that women are allocated their "own" land by the village authorities. McCall (1987) observed that this lack of either legal title by an individual from the village government, or physical control of the land can be the most fundamental cause of the subordination of women.

Legally the only land right that a peasant has is when she/he is using it productively because land belongs to the state. Among women the exception who are allocated land are independent women, divorces, widows or unmarried mothers who are counted as "heads of households" (McCall, 1987:205-206). Fortmann (1987:11-12) aptly summarised that in theory the policies give women access to land but in practice it has been demonstrated that property is still male dominated.

Labour Supply.

It has been observed that in most African countries, the majority of economically active women work in agriculture (Lamming, 1983:6). Unfortunately, many still utilise low level technology which limits the effectiveness of their labour. Most improved agricultural practices such as fertilizer and insecticide applications, spacing and thinning demand increased labour. As Fortmann (1988) noted, this leads to difficulties in the adoption of such practices as the labour has to be supplied by women who are already overworked by both agricultural and domestic activities.

Thus, it is the heavy workload already carried by women which often prevents them from adopting improved technology which requires additional labour inputs (Fortmann, 1978:13-14). Mbilinyi (1977:25) also noted that if the peasant household is forced to put in more labour in order to survive, then the additional labour has to be supplied by women producers.

Access to Education and Training

High illiteracy rates among women in most developing countries have left them vulnerable to marginalisation on programmes which could have helped them as farmers. Furthermore, informal training schemes and extension services which would have narrowed the gap have mainly been directed to men. This is because training opportunities have rarely taken into consideration women's workload so they have not been able to take advantage of them. According to the Ministry of Community Development, Culture, Youth and Sports (1988:29) women have heavy commitments at home and in the society in general, to the extent that majority of them are unable to attend courses.

Although the National Literacy Campaign managed to reduce illiteracy rates from 67% in 1968 to only 9.5% in 1986, making Tanzania a country with the lowest number of illiterates in Africa, it has not brought about the anticipated result of women's full participation in decision-making processes in the rural areas. Programmes for sustaining literacy have benefited few women (Ministry of Community Development, Culture, Youth and Sports, 1988:26-27) probably because the education provided is inadequate since it is just basic literacy. Hence, it is not strong enough to bring about significant changes. Since it is mostly women who are the recipients of basic literacy education, their educational levels and strengths are still inferior to men's. For instance, in 1968, 56% of all men were illiterate but 80% of all women were illiterate as shown in Table 6.

Although in 1986, the level of illiteracy reduced considerably in Tanzania, the gap between men and women is still evident (Table 7). This implies that illiterate women make up a significant proportion of the work force in the agricultural sector. This presents various obstacles to conventional development strategies which rely on minimum level of literacy for communication with farmers. In addition, generally a minimum requirement for admission to farmer training courses is a certain degree of literacy or, in addition, some level of formal schooling (UNESCO, 1975). Thus, women's participation in farmer training will continue to be severely limited unless communication and training methods are drastically revised to reach illiterates.

Low rates of literacy and limited opportunities for schooling at all levels have been an obstacle to the recruitment of women in agriculture and technical bias professions in Tanzania. This state of affairs can be attributed to the following factors:

- (i) The educational set up as inherited from the colonial government progressively offers less opportunities for female students as they move up from one level to another;
- (ii) Cultural bias by parents against educating girls;
- (iii) Distraction of girls from their studies as they are expected more than their brothers to assist in domestic chores at home, hence their relatively poor performance in examination which denies them opportunities to qualify for higher education;

- (iv) Non-existence of career guidance programmes in almost all secondary and high schools reduces the probability of girls considering a career in agriculture or technical bias professions;
- (v) The low number of girls taking science subjects at Forms 1 and VI levels due to their concentration in domestic science which is a 'dead end' so far as future education and employment opportunities are concerned; and
- (vi) Consequently the limited number of women at all levels in the agriculture and technical bias professions, often relegated to low level, provide few and unsatisfactory role models for girls who wish to emulate.

It is significant, therefore, that women have responded so positively to the mass literacy campaigns launched in 1970. From mid-1970s the number of literate women increased as shown in Table 7. Because of the increasing participation of women in literacy campaigns, it was estimated that the rate of illiteracy among women was reduced from 81% to 12% in 1986 as illustrated in Table 8. Although illiteracy rates were reduced, regional variations remained, especially with respect to women's literacy as shown. Also functional literacy did not challenge or condemn the existing unequal division of labour and the gender inequalities in the distribution of assets. Functional literacy programmes continue to reinforce, rather than eradicate, these basic problems.

However, women educators and learners have begun to question the appropriateness of some of the learning packages.

Table 6: Enrolment in Adult Literacy Classes 1969-1986.

Year	Men	%	Enrolment Women
1969	206,214	38	1,335,348
1975	2,287,921	44	2,896,061
1977	2,544,590	44	3,275,022
1981	2,716,791	45	3,382,406
1983	2,744,372	45	3,412,406
1986	2,866,864	45	3,445,424

Source: Ministry of Education Figures, (1989)
Tanzania Statistical Reports on Literacy Campaign.

Table 7: Illiteracy Reduction Percentage in Tanzania.

Year	Total % of Reduction	Men	Women
1969	69	55	81
1975	39	34	44
1977	27	22	30
1981	21	15	27
1983	15	10	21
1986	10	7	12

Source: Ministry of Education (1989) Tanzania Statistical Reports on Literacy Campaign.

Table 8: Illiteracy Level by Region (in %)

Region	Illiteracy		Rates
	Male	Female	Total
Arusha	10	14	12
Dar es Salaam	1	2	2
Dodoma	12	15	14
Iringa	5	12	8
Kagera	5	8	6
Kigoma	15	25	20
Kilimanjaro	2	4	3
Lindi	4	8	6
Mbeya	8	12	10
Mara	6	14	10
Morogoro	6	11	8
Mwanza	8	14	11
Mtwara	2	4	3
Coast	8	13	11
Rukwa	10	22	11
Ruvuma	7	10	8
Shinyanga	11	17	14
Singida	8	12	10
Tabora	12	17	15
Tanga	5	10	7
Total	7	12	10

Source: Ministry of Education (1989), Tanzania Statistical Report on Literacy Campaign. packages. A woman expert group from various institutions was supported by SIDA to evaluate the adult education curriculum from the point of view of its relevance to and impact on women (Ministry of Education/SIDA, 1987). The modification of the post-literacy materials as a result of the evaluation considered the views of all concerned including adult educators, women adult learners and village leaders. Women were provided opportunities to comment on problems related to adult education, its curriculum content and recommend appropriate measures to modify the teaching materials. The exercise was carried out in full collaboration with the Directorate of Adult Education, Ministry of Education and Culture.

Majority of the women interviewed in the evaluation recognised the importance of adult education. Two major problems which constrained them from participating fully and in executing their productive and reproductive roles were unequal access to resources and the existing oppressive division of labour. In addition, women expressed their concern about the low level of skills and inadequate knowledge being imparted as well as inappropriate adult education methods being used. For instance, the adult education curriculum did not address the unequal division of labour between sexes. It did not provide women with additional knowledge to improve production of food crops which are traditionally controlled by them. It also ignored the aspect of food preservation which is important in improving household food security.

The women expert group challenged gender stereotyping and the inappropriate adult education approaches used. This has led to the revision of the teaching materials and of the curriculum from the point of view of women. The exercise underscored the significance of involving women in the decision-making process. It has also reflected the on-going struggles in which women have been engaged to change the education system. More of such efforts should be encouraged and supported by various institutions. SIDA deserves commendation for their positive stand and material support which facilitated the evaluation by the women expert group.

The initiative by the women expert group to revise post-literacy materials and help train trainers of adult educators should continue. Similar effort could be extended to other post-literacy activities such as radio and study group programmes, rural newspapers, rural libraries and films.

Rural Newspapers. There are about eight zonal newspapers produced under the auspices of the Directorate of Adult Education, Ministry of Education and Culture. These newspapers are supposed to provide the rural population with relevant material on agriculture and livestock, nutrition and health and economics. They are also supposed to contribute to the improvement of living conditions in the rural areas and promote the national language Kiswahili.

These newspapers include: Elimu ni Bahari (Western Zone); Tujifunze (Southern Zone); Nuru Yetu (Southern Highlands); Jielimishe (Northern Zone); Jiendelege (Eastern Zone); Elimu Haina Mwisho (Central Zone) and Jipatie Maarifa (Zanzibar). As ordinary readers it may not be easy for rural women to influence the content of these newspapers to make them more gender sensitive. So far no study has been conducted on these newspapers with a view to analyzing the messages in the context of gender stereotyping.

However, a study on Ukulima wa Kisasa, a newspaper produced by the Farmers' Education and Information Unit, Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock Development and Cooperatives, and the Saturday edition of the Daily News that has a section on Veterinary and Agriculture has been conducted. The findings showed that the Daily News portrayed women as major producers in only 10% of the topics studied while Ukulima wa Kisasa portrayed them likewise in 31 % of the topics (Keregero and Biswalo, 1991). They observed that these frequencies are quite low and at variance with the reality that agricultural production in the third world has largely been the task of women.

Keregero and Biswalo (1991) further observed that the Daily News and Ukulima wa Kisasa portrayed the following as female-oriented topics or activities: collecting fuelwood; cleaning latrines; health, nutrition and childcare; weeding; harvesting; and reduction of workload. Those perceived as male-oriented were oxenization; new technologies and cleaning the yard. Efforts to reduce workload for women were largely focused on the introduction of new technologies for men so that they can ultimately engage in traditionally female-oriented roles. Thus, the frequency with which topics on technology addressed male-oriented activities was about 130%. Hence, there is polarization of activities in the community. This situation has contributed negatively to women's participation in development programmes including post-literacy.

Rural Libraries. Rural libraries were established as part of the post-literacy programme. Initially, they were part of the global literacy pilot project and later adopted as part of follow-up programmes. From the gender perspective, the library is potentially more flexible and non-discriminatory. This is because there is no rigid time table, curriculum or pre-requisite other than reading skill. Therefore, it can cater for the needs of people with different educational levels and experiences.

However, the rural library service had some problems which were of particular concern to women. Since books were centrally purchased library users could not influence the choice of books. In an evaluation by the Ministry of Education/SIDA (1987), it was found that villagers were dissatisfied with the supply of library books. As a result, most of them lay on shelves unused. In some places library hours were in conflict with women's work pattern, thus denying them access. For example, opening hours might be from 2.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m. which is a particularly inconvenient time due to women's productive and reproductive responsibilities as shown in Table 4. In places where libraries stayed open throughout the day they were used more by women. Others had active discussion groups but these were attended mostly by men because of the inconvenient timing.

Radio Education. In 1974 UNESCO assisted in the establishment of a radio education unit within the Mwanza Literacy Centre. Radio broadcasting was used as a means to support and supplement the functional literacy programmes. The unit has developed three different weekly programmes that are broadcasted centrally by Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam. One of the programmes, "Mwalimu Kwa Walimu", was produced for adult educators and aims at improving their teaching capability. The other two programmes, "Jiendelege" were produced for the adult

learners. One of the programmes is motivational and the other directly supporting the literacy and post-literacy classes.

The radio has merits and demerits, as means of instruction, from women's point of view. The radio probably is one of the most efficient, cost-effective and cheaper ways of reaching the target group. If supplemented by the study group method, the radio can provide women with a venue to enhance their confidence as they participate fully in discussions.

The radio has demerits as well. It is inherently a one way system of communication unless programmes build in a method of communicating with learners to assess their needs and views. The educator totally controls the learning process unless there are ways of getting feedback. From the gender perspective, the unequal division of labour may also hinder women's participation, unless the timetable is planned in such a way that it recognises women's peak labour periods daily as well as seasonally.

So far there has been no study conducted with a view to analyzing the messages contained in the radio education programmes in the context of gender stereotyping. An attempt was made to analyse key development programmes with promising education or education-related contents which are regularly broadcast by Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam. These programmes are shown in Table 9.

According to Table 9, adult education programmes are aired four times a week and are generally broadcast during afternoons and evenings. It is presumed that this is prime time since most people would be at home and are, therefore, likely to listen to their radio sets. While it is true that women are likely to be at home a great proportions of the evenings, it does not necessarily mean that they will always be present and available to listen actively to radio programmes.

Table 9: Selected Programmes in Radio
Tanzania Dar es Salaam

Name of Programme	Day	Time
Misitu ni Uhai	Monday	2.45-3.00 p.m.
Mkulima wa Kisasa 1	Monday	5.45-6.00 p.m.
Chakula na Lishe	Monday	9.45-10.00 p.m.
Mkulima wa Kisasa II	Tuesday	7.15-7.30 p.m.
Elimu ya Watu Wazima	Tuesday	4.15-4.30 p.m.
Jiendeleze	Tuesday	5.02-5.15 p.m.
Chakula Bora	Wednesday	6.15-6.30 p.m.
Afya ya Jamii	Wednesday	6.45-7.00 p.m.
Jiendeleze	Thursday	2.15-2.30 p.m.
Siri ya Afya Bora	Thursday	5.15-5.30 p.m.
Elimu ya Watu Wazima	Friday	3.15-3.30 p.m.
Maendeleo ya Jamii	Friday	10.30-11.00 p.m.
Wanawake na Maendeleo	Sunday	11.00-11.20 p.m.

Source: Adopted from Keregero and Biswalo (1991)

While men are likely to be at home resting during afternoons and evenings, a woman's day in the household is full of activities. As shown in Table 5, a woman's day has a workload of about 10-16 hours. The activities typically performed by women are those that are traditionally perceived as female-oriented. According to Table 5, Example 1, biological and social reproduction responsibilities take almost 75% of a woman's day. Whereas rural men can afford a continuous block of time to rest, and listen more actively to the radio, females rest in between activities for very brief moments. Therefore, whereas female clientele might appear, from Table 5 Example 1, to have about 2 hours of rest daily this time period is only cumulative and does not permit active listening to radio programmes.

As shown in Table 5 Example 2, the activities in which women engage are diverse and variable from season to season. Generally women begin their day at around 5.00 a.m. which is when Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam goes on the air. They engage in various tasks and retire late in the day. Ironically, some programmes, such as "Chakula na Lishe", "Maendeleo ya Jamii" and "Wanawake na Maendeleo" are aired after most women have retired to bed. At this time most of them are too exhausted to benefit from any of these programmes.

While further analysis on the content of the education messages being communicated through radio is still being done, preliminary observations show that these are not sufficiently gender sensitized. In addition, given that women do not control much of the cash income or movable assets, they may not have access to or control over the use of the radios. Some men move around with their family portable radio which denies women access.

Film Education. Film education is another supporting programme which was started during the literacy campaign in the early 1970s. The aim was to create and support a literate environment in the villages.

Film education has the potential to cater for the needs of people with different education levels and experiences. There is no rigid timetable, curriculum or pre-requisite other than interest. It is also a means of entertainment for villagers. There has been no evaluation from the gender role stereotyping perspective of films prepared by the Department of Adult Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, such as "Struggle for Nation Building", "Illiteracy No More" and others.

However, an attempt has been made to analyse the content of film strips which carry education or education-related messages.

Keregero and Biswalo (1991) studied the contents of selected film strips on extension activities from the perspective of gender role stereotyping. Their key observations are summarised in Table 10. In general, the content of the film strips studied revealed the following:

- (i) Responsibilities for matters related to nutrition, health, childcare, family and food production are perceived as being almost exclusively for women.
- (ii) Extension work is perceived as men's responsibility. Only in cases where traditionally female-oriented message is being disseminated is one often likely to see an extension worker portrayed as female.
- (iii) Such responsibilities as heading, organizing, decision-making and innovating tend to be attributed to men.

Since films are popular media of communicating education messages, the need for gender sensitive film education cannot be overemphasized. Given that information is power, the production and use of gender sensitive film education is a useful starting point for the empowerment of women.

Table 10: Gender Stereotyping of Education Messages.

Title of Filmstrip	Observation
Focus on the Family	Mostly women appear. Message is about food, water, market, hospital and gardening, all of which are considered women's domain. Two men appear in only 2 out of 45 shots as "advisors" to the women.
Nutrition	Baby and mother are at the core of the message.
Testing New Ideas: New Maize	Only men participate in planning and instruction. Planning is perceived as male domain.
"Vyakula vya Kuvuta"	Message is focused on women, food and children. No mention of men.
Extension Agent	The extension worker is portrayed as being male rather than female. Message is focused on women.

Source: Adapted from Keregoro and Biswalo (1991).

Access to Technology and Inputs

The introduction of improved technology in developing countries basically had the intention of reducing drudgery in farm operations as well as improving production and productivity. Despite these good intentions, it has been observed that modern technology has done little to improve the welfare of women farmers. In some cases it has tended to worsen women's working conditions instead of improving them. For example, the expansion of areas for cash crop production has tended to increase women's work load of weeding, harvesting and transporting (Lewis, 1984:178-180). Women are still working with rudimentary tools while the new labour-saving technologies and equipment have been benefiting men.

In the case of Tanzania, Fortmann (1978) revealed the same trend of women having less access to technology than men. This state of affairs is unfortunate given that women can be equally as good as men in using the new or improved technology if given the chance. Thus, this is a clear indication that technology should be directed to both men and women, but with special attention to women.

Access to Information and Extension

The effectiveness of the woman farmer is further hampered by the fact that the majority of them do not have access to agricultural and developmental information. Agricultural extension services are often extended to men. FAO (1982) reported that women received only 2 to 10% of extension contact even in areas where they were the major agricultural producers (Lamming, 1983:8).

Since rural development projects are to benefit both men and women the government has made great efforts to spread information to villagers. However, the programmes reach less women than men because women still depend on their husbands for access to agricultural information (Fortmann, 1978:14). Also women are lacking information and opportunities for further training (Rafferty, 1988:129). Even agricultural extension programmes have traditionally concentrated on educating male farmers. This lack of women's access to the marketing process of her crop, interaction with extension agents and the informal exchange of information about prices and other things, make her ignorant of her exploitation (Mbilinyi, 1977:33).

The literature thus clearly recognizes the important contribution which women make to development in developing countries in general and in Tanzania in particular. It also recognizes agricultural development as the foundation stone for other aspects of human and national development. Yet despite this recognition, women have not received equal access to education

and training; agricultural resources and services; they are overburdened by a lack of technology and heavy reproductive responsibilities in the home. Generally, they are excluded from participating in development planning and decision-making at village level, and they may not even receive their share of any income or benefits from the sale of farm produce.

Thus, women's needs have not been considered adequately by the government or development planners and genuine efforts have not been made to assist them. This limits the contribution which women, can make to increased agricultural production, thus limiting the well being of women and their families and the development of the nation as a whole.

5. CASE-STUDY: ARUSHA REGION.

5.1. The region

Arusha region stretches over 84 428 sq.km in north east Tanzania. Thirty percent of the land caters for economic activities which are mainly agriculture and livestock-keeping while 60% is covered by forests and national parks; the remaining 10% is the urban areas. Arusha has a population of almost 1.5 million living in her eight districts. The population density is 16 per sq.km.

The main cash crops grown in Arusha are coffee and wheat. Food crops are maize, beans, sorghum and other cereals. Arusha has a cattle population of 5.1 million; and has constructed 70 dips for them.

The region has 15 hospitals, 12 health centres and 172 dispensaries. The crude birth rate is 47/1000 and the crude death rate is 117/1000. Infant mortality rate seems to be low amongst the farming communities while it is high in the pastoral communities although there was no data to substantiate this as most of the deliveries take place in homes.

The region has organized educational programmes ranging from nursery to adult education, post-literacy level.

Fortyfive percent of the population are supplied with clean water from shallow wells, deep wells and taps. The remaining 55% of the population have no access to clean water. During the dry season, women walk long distances to fetch water. The animals get thinner due to lack of grass and water. The rainy season brings water but then it is muddy, and for the taps, the silt deposits block the pipes.

There are supportive programmes run by various organizations to supplement government efforts in sustaining economic development e.g. Ox-fam, World Vision, Sasakawa Global 2000, Tanganyika Farmers Association, the Roman Catholic Church, the Lutheran Church etc.

5.2. Selection of Districts and villages.

The selection of the two districts was based on developmental criteria with special reference to infant mortality rate. As data were not sufficiently available, other indicators were taken into consideration: literacy rate, agriculture and livestock strength, availability of social amenities like schools, water, electricity, postal services, banks, health services, infrastructure network, development and availability of flour mills. The above was taken to be an indicator for development. (See tables 12, 13, 14 and 15) The district which scored the highest was considered to be the most developed and the district which scored the lowest was deemed the least developed. Then the two districts (the most developed and the least developed) were selected.

Table 12: Arusha Region: Population distribution by sex, districtwise.

District	Men	Women	Total
Arusha (urban)	69,875	64,833	134,708
Arumeru	159,240	162,595	321,835
Babati	107,542	100,843	208,385
Hanang	57,677	55,514	131,191
Mbulu	136,487	131,642	268,129
Monduli	54,562	54,730	109,292
Ngorongoro	33,153	35,622	68,775
Kiteto	66,139	61,221	127,360
Total	684,675	667,000	1,351,675

1978 Density 11 per sq.km.

1988 Density 16 per sq km

Growth rate 3.8%

Table 13: (a) Nursery Schools

District	No of Nurseries	No of Children
Arusha (u)	6	1,374
Arumeru	25	2,564
Babati	3	1,659
Hanang	3	594
Kiteto	4	463
Mbulu	6	2,784
Monduli	5	587
Ngorongoro	6	643
Total	58	10,668

Table: 14 (b) Primary Schools Enrolment Sex

District	No. of Schools	Girls	Boys	Total
Arusha (u)	23	10,276	10,391	20,667
Arumeru	143	28,668	29,394	58,062
Babati	102	16,886	16,485	33,371
Hanang	38	7,042	7,859	14,901
Kiteto	35	5,729	7,329	13,058
Mbulu	111	20,658	20,724	41,382
Monduli	45	5,351	6,613	11,964
Ngorongoro	31	2,753	3,868	6,621
Total	528	97,363	102,663	200,026

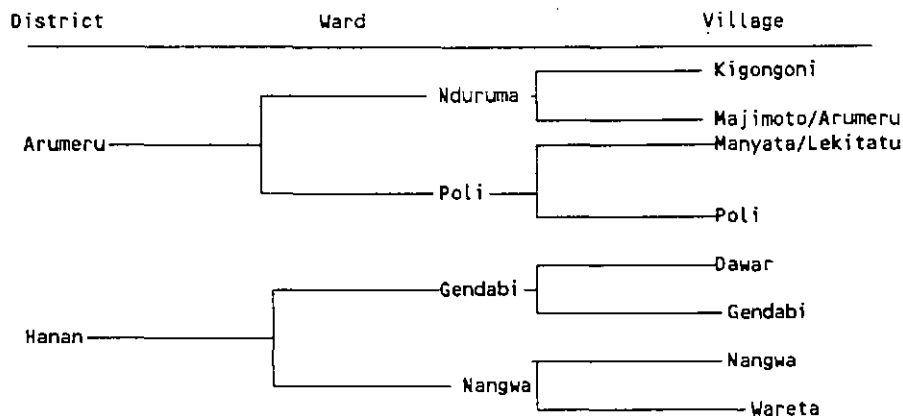
Table 15: (c) Secondary Schools Distribution Districtwise

District	Private	Public	Total
Arusha(u)	5	2	7
Arumeru	10	2	12
Babati	-	1	1
Hanang	1	1	2
Kiteto	-	-	0
Mbulu	4	2	6
Monduli	5	1	6
Ngorongoro	-	-	0
Total	29	9	38

Based on the above criteria, Arumeru district featured to be the most developed while Kiteto and Ngorongoro were earmarked as the least developed followed by Hanang. However due to logistic problems and December being a rainy season Kiteto and Ngorongoro would be impassable, Hanang district was the best alternative.

The wards, villages and the households were selected by a random sampling procedure.

For each village 25 male heads of households and 25 female heads of household were interviewed.



5.3. Socio-Economic Characteristics

Although Arumeru was selected as the most developed district and Hanang from the least developed 'zone', the two districts resemble in several aspects.

With the exception of the urban dwellers who normally do petty business, the rural population in both Arumeru and Hanang engage in agriculture and livestock keeping. Food crop cultivation is maize, sorghum and beans. The two districts are the main cash crop growers in the region. Coffee flourishes well on the slopes of mount Meru in Arumeru District. However, due to scarcity of land each household cultivates approximately 3/4 - 1 acres intercropped with bananas and vegetables. Both manure and irrigation are applied whenever possible. Wheat is cultivated in Hanang District on mechanized farms owned by the National Agricultural Food Corporation (NAFCO). While the hand hoe is the common farm implement used in all households, oxen-drawn ploughs and tractors are also used at a hire rate of shs.2500/= to 3000/= per hectare to cultivate the food crop fields. All the weeding is done by the hand hoe and the subsequent agricultural activities are manually done. The use of simple technology accompanied by total dependence on the unreliable rains condition both the size of the acreage cultivated and the output harvested.

Livestock keeping can be categorized into two; on the northern hilly landscape of Arumeru district dairy farming is predominant; most of the households rear one or two herds of cattle, practice zero grazing and a substantial milk production is available. The majority of the rural population dwelling on the plains of Arumeru and Hanang are cattle keepers; they keep more than ten herds of cattle, goats, sheep, and poultry. They graze outdoors; and during the dry season they are always on the move looking for pastures.

The adult population of the eight villages is given in Table 16

Table 16: Population of the villages

Villages	population		
	men	women	total
Kigongoni	250	170	420
Majimoto	220	280	500
Manyata/Lekitatu	1570	1660	3230
Dawar	360	377	737
Gendabi	1505	1405	2910
Poli	1700	1929	3629
Nangwa	1986	2352	4338
Wareta	329	311	640
	7920	8484	16404

Although all the villages do keep cattle, Dawar and Wareta experience overstocking as they have large herds. Dawar has 3305 heads of cattle, 1844 goats, 525 sheep and 278 donkeys while Wareta has 4392 heads of cattle, 1964 goats, 990 sheep and 200 donkeys.

In Manyata/Lekitatu, Nangwa and Poli villages, most of the houses are permanent, made from bricks and roofed by corrugated iron sheets. Those in Nduruma ward-Kigongoni and Majimoto villages and in Hanang district, Dawar, Gendabi and Wareta villages thatched in poor conditions which demand annual rehabilitation as the thatched muddy roofs keep on leaking during the rainy seasons.

The physical infrastructure is poorly developed throughout the rural areas. During the rainy season, most of the villages are inaccessible due to poor conditions of roads or paths and the absence of reliable bridges especially in Kigongoni and Majimoto villages magnifies the transportation problem.

Health services are available at least at each ward. In Poli ward there are three dispensaries and an MCH clinic, based in Poli village. In Nduruma ward monthly MCH clinics are organized for Majimoto village while the Kigongoni village does not have any social service. For any social services e.g. school, health service, and flour mill, the Kigongoni population depends on their neighbour village which is eight kilometers away.

In Hanang district health services like dispensaries, MCH clinics and first aid kits are found at ward-level, in most cases their accommodation is poor, the supply of medicine inadequate and they lack qualified medical personnel. The villages are far from these ward centres hence one has to walk a long distance to reach the nearest dispensary. Except for those centres which are run by non-governmental organizations e.g. the Roman Catholic Church in Poli Village, the rest are ill equipped as far as medicine and equipment are concerned.

All the villages surveyed with the exception of Kigongoni had access to water either from taps, shallow/deep wells and rivers although the water supply was not adequate. In Dawar, Kigongoni, Majimoto and Wareta villages women had to walk many miles to fetch water either on their backs or heads. During the last week of December all the shallow wells were filled with muddy waters unfit for human consumption. As for the taps they got blocked by the silt deposits so no water could go through the pipes. In Nangwa village a water reservoir is being built so that the captured water can be treated and filtered before it goes through the pipes for distribution. While Poli villagers capture water flows and make reservoirs and use this water for irrigation and their livestock, this practice denies water to the plain - dwellers. As a result there is a bitter feeling amongst the Majimoto and Kigongoni dwellers against the highlanders. In each village, there is at least a school except Kigongoni where the school had to be abandoned due to lack of teachers. The pupils were distributed over two schools in the nearby

villages which are not less than eight kilometers away. In the rest of the villages, the schools buildings are in poor shape, lack desks, have inadequate teaching material and staff, and irregular payment of personal monthly emoluments. Poli village has three primary schools.

5.4. Programmes and projects

With the exception of Kigongoni Village, all the seven villages had agriculture, livestock development, education, health, water programmes and flour mills functioning at varying degrees. The community development programmes were based at the ward level; the community development coordinators had drawn programmes for their respective villages. In Poli ward, Poli and Manyata/Lekitatu villages were involved in vegetable and fish cultivation. In Nangwa ward the women groups were engaged in small agricultural income generating projects.

Participation in programmes offered at village level seems to be very low, especially when the villages are situated far away from the ward centre as the supporting personnel or service providers have no means of transport to enable them reach the remote villages. Villages like Kigongoni and Majimoto in Nuduruma ward, and Wareta in Nangwa ward experience such hardships. However also in better situated villages like Poli the researchers found that only fifteen men and ten women participated in the agricultural extension programme while only twelve women appeared for the dairy farming lessons. Over 75% of the interviewed heads of households thought the programmes of the extension services were not imparting new ideas or skills where coffee, maize or dairy farming were concerned. Some women saw the programmes as men-oriented as the emphasis was on cash crops or animal husbandry. Another discouraging factor mentioned was that agricultural inputs were not available at prices that were considered reasonable by the farmers.

The health educational programmes mainly reach the sick, as they basically address themselves to those who visit the health centres or dispensaries for treatment. It is usual that health instructions are given for the patients who present themselves for consultation before they see the doctor. In all the villages there were health educational posters, charts on prevention of aids spread, diarrhoea, family planning etc. Almost all the women interviewed had attended these programmes.

In all the eight villages non-governmental organizations were active. While in Poli and Nangwa village the religious authorities (Roman Catholic and Lutheran) were active in social and economic development, their teaching in other (pastoral) villages was only about religion. In Poli and Nangwa work-oriented programmes are being organized by the church, these activities included dairy farming, home economics and health services.

5.5. Presence of and participation in post-literacy programmes

5.5.1. Post literacy classes and work oriented programme

In all the eight villages surveyed, only Gendabi village had post-literacy programme functioning. The Post literacy classes levels V-VII had a total of 55 men and 26 women participants. Another, work oriented programme which was not part of the post literacy programme was one on carpentry focusing on the manufacturing of furniture.

In Manyatta/Lekitatu, Nangwa and Poli villages post literacy - work oriented programmes were being taken care of by different institutions or departments. The health, community development and Agriculture and livestock development as government departments were rendering their services to the people either on their farms or on demonstration pioneer farms. Non-governmental agencies e.g. the Roman Catholic and Lutheran Church in Poli and Nangwa Villages were conducting agricultural animal husbandry and Home economics courses for the communities.

Table 17 gives figures of literates and illiterates among the interviewees in the villages surveyed.

Table 17 Illiterate and literate respondents by sex.

Village	Illiterates		Literates	
	men	women	men	women
Dawar	13	18	12	7
Gendabi	2	10	23	15
Kigongoni	6	14	19	11
Majimoto	6	9	19	16
Manyata/ Lekitatu	5	8	21	17
Nangwa	5	9	19	15
Poli	2	1	23	24
Wareta	7	14	18	11
Total	46	83	154	116

Thirty two percent of the sample population was illiterate. Of the 399 heads of households only 270, the literates, could be expected to utilize the post literacy supporting programmes i.e. classes, and library. While film and radio programmes were open to both illiterate and literates.

5.5.2.

Rural Newspapers

The only place where the research team found rural newspapers was in Poli Village. However in the course of the interview, the respondents explained that the newspapers had been distributed to them just before the teams arrival.

In the other seven villages, there were no rural newspapers distributed by the adult education department. Most of the literate households had religious and farmers education journals/magazines distributed by religious agencies and Tanganyika Farmers' Association (TFA).

Table 18 Respondents reading newspapers by sex

village	men	women	total
Dawar	9	4	13
Gendabi	17	10	27
Kigongoni	17	10	28
Majimoto	16	9	25
Manyata/ Likitatu	18	10	28
Nangwa	12	9	21
Poli	21	14	35
Wareta	16	7	23
Total	126	74	200

Fifty percent of the sample population read newspapers. Sixtythree percent of the male interviewees read newspapers, and only 37% of the female do. Poli village has the highest newspapers' readers, (70%) while in Dawar only 26% of the heads of household read newspapers followed by Nangwa 42% and Wareta 46%.

5.5.3. Rural Libraries

There were two libraries, one in Poli village and the other at Nduruma ward. (Poli village is also the ward office).

The research team had visited Poli village one day before to get acquainted to the village's environment. On the following day when the research team asked for the library, to their surprise, the team was shown a well arranged room, with a book shelf of 117 books and several copies of Sauti ya Siti Magazine; 6 benches and two chairs for the library users. This same room was an empty office which the team had been into less than 24 hours before. The attendance ledger appeared to be hurriedly written and showed the following numbers of borrowers:

Table 19

	men	women	total
1989	10	13	23
1990	5	2	7
1991	5	3	8

The librarian explained that the library users dropped from 23 in 1989 to seven in the following year as a result of shifting the library location. Prior to 1989 the library which serves 3 villages, Poli, Manyata/Lekitatu and Ndatu was centrally located in Manyata/Lekitatu. The Poli location has been inconvenient to Ndatu & Manyata users.

Ninety eight percent of those interviewed in Poli and Manyata Lekitatu villages pointed out that the books in the library were not relevant to them; they would prefer books or newspapers which correspond to the economic activities carried out in their localities. Another constraint was the opening hours/time, as the library was to be open in the evenings three times a week during the dry season (library is closed during the rainy season). Given the workload which women have and the distance to be covered to reach the library, all these are obstacles to women participation.

The librarian had never been paid his honorarium since 1989 when he was paid shs.80/= only. He stressed the non-motivation aspect of the whole programme, taking into account that there are no training programmes for librarians and the buildings which accommodate these libraries are not conducive for library services.

In Nduruma there was no librarian though there were several books on two book shelves covered by dust, a good indicator of nonutilization of library services.

Only a few respondents were making use of library facilities: only one woman and ten men were using them in Gendabi.

5.5.5.4. Film Education

There were no film education programmes shown by the ministry of Education and Culture. Government departments which had shown films in Poli, and Nangwa villages were the Health and Forestry departments. Otherwise non-governmental organisations, and religious bodies were the ones which were showing films in the villages. The film shows were basically educational covering agriculture, animal husbandry, health, forestry, religious teachings and entertainment. The religious films were popular almost in all villages although most of them were shown at

ward centers.

Dawar, Kigongoni and Majimoto had fewer respondents who had seen a film/cinema. A major setback was poor infrastructure. These villages were located far from the ward-offices where these films were shown. Normally they were shown in late evenings. In Manyata/Lekitatu some individuals had video cassettes/TV and entertained the villagers. Religious organisations also showed films. Both men and women's participation was below 50%.

Table 20 gives numbers of heads of households who indicated that they watched films.

Table 20: Watching film by sex.

Village	men	women	total
Dawar	10	5	15
Gendabi	17	15	32
Kigongoni	4	4	8
Majimoto	10	9	19
Manyata/ Likitatu	14	12	26
Nangwa	14	9	23
Poli	15	17	32
Wareta	15	14	29
Total	99	85	184

5.5.5. Radio Listening

Out of 399 householdheads, 287 (157 men and 130 women) listened to radio programmes. Most of the householdheads listened to news bulletin, regional news (Majira), sports, drama, religious, death announcements and other entertainment programmes. The adult education programme appeared to be less satisfying.

Where the respondents did not own a radio, they went to their neighbours. Radio was common even among the illiterate populace.

Some of the women interviewed lamented on their tight work-schedule that they were not able to listen to programmes which were more educative e.g. women in Development programme. With the exception of Dawar, in all the seven villages, over 50% of the women interviewed listened to radio.

Table 21 Respondents listening to radio, by sex

Village	men	women	total
Dawar	18	11	29
Gendabi	23	15	38
Kigongoni	19	17	36
Majimoto	21	15	36
Manyata/ Likitatu	21	21	42
Nangwa	17	18	35
Poli	22	19	41
Wareta	16	14	25
Total	157	134	287

5.5.6. Utilization of Reading and Writing Skills

Of the 400 respondents from the eight villages, 129 were illiterate and 270 were literates. The majority of these literates were at level III-IV. The literates comprised 154 men and 116 women. Eleven men practised writing, 118 read books and 126 read newspapers, while 65 women were writing, 70 reading books and 74 reading newspapers.

Dawar village seems to be badly hit by illiteracy. Out of her 50 heads of households for example, only 12 men and 7 women were literate.

5.6. Problems and Constraints

1. The major problem is low economic development. The agricultural yield per hectare is very low. In Poli land is scarce hence land per household is very limited. Nearly all the agricultural activities depend solely on the unreliable pesticides and veterinary services are not available, when they are available the costs are very high, the majority of the farmers cannot afford them. The use of simple technology also dictates the acreage cultivated. Where ploughs and tractors are used, the subsequent activities become more of a burden to the women as they have to do all the activities manually.
2. Inadequate supply of water is another thorny issue in all the villages. Water supply is not enough for human and animal consumption. Most of the wells are dry and women as family caretakers have to walk long distances in addition to performing other agricultural and domestic chores.
3. Insufficient health services. In most of the villages the dispensaries are only buildings, they lack medicine and medical equipment. The most affected groups are women and children. Mothers have to walk many miles with their children to see a doctor.
4. Poor communication infrastructure: most of the villages cannot be reached by motorized transport during the rainy season. The roads are impassable and there are no bridges e.g. in Majimoto, Kigongoni and Wareta villages.
5. Schools are in bad condition. Most of the teachers do not have houses; they do not get their monthly remuneration regularly; they are being overworked because besides the usual teaching work, they are expected to participate in literacy and post literacy programmes. They are also part and parcel of village development committees. All these additional activities are not matched with additional remuneration.
6. Non-availability of flour mills: Maize and sorghum being food crops, flour mills are essential otherwise women have to devote a lot of their limited time on pounding maize. Kigongoni and Majimoto have a bitter experience as there are no flour mills.
7. Another major problem, facing particularly the pastoralist communities in Dawar and Wareta village, is that of overstocking. Although both government and non-government agencies are sensitizing the pastoralists to reduce their number of cattle, there seems to be no seriousness in the whole exercise. Soil erosion and desertification are prevalent, hence arable land suitable for agriculture is limited.
8. Lack of expertise at village level: most of the experts are based at ward level and these are supposed to cater for several villages which are far apart. Without having any reliable means of transport e.g. bicycles or motorcycles it becomes really difficult for them to carry out their duties satisfactorily. As a result, they end up concentrating on one or two villages which are easily accessible.

9. Lack of supervision from the district regional and ministerial level. The remote villages are seldom visited by high authorities.

10. Women carry an unequal part of the workload for a meager reward. Women do all the agricultural work together with the domestic chores but they do not own land, house nor do they have a share in marketing what they have cultivated.

Most of the women interviewed complained of multiple roles they were supposed to play, this hindered women participation in even literacy programmes women have not time even to listen to the radio. If this trend is not checked more literate women will lapse into illiteracy.

5.7. Needs perceived by the Villagers

In all the eight villages there was a demand for agricultural inputs, social services, water and health services, flour mills, infrastructure development, schools and storage facilities.

More than 80% of those interviewed indicated that they were familiar with the modern techniques that were propagated by the extension services but that the necessary inputs were too expensive.

Although there were wells in all the villages, the water supply was inadequate. The villagers preferred to have deep wells constructed so that water could be available throughout the year and thus lessen the women's distances to fetch water.

6. CASE STUDY: DODOMA REGION.

1. The region.

Dodoma was one of the four regions selected for the present post-literacy study. It was chosen because it is one of the regions with a high illiteracy rate (15%) and because it is predominantly rural.

Two districts, Kondoa and Dodoma Rural, were selected as stipulated in the methodology of the study. These districts were selected using the following socio-economic indicators: level of agricultural production, availability of social services such as health facilities and schools and malnutrition rate. Dodoma Rural rated better than Kondoa in most of these socio-economic indicators. Hence, Dodoma rural can be considered more developed than Kondoa.

From each of the two districts, two wards were selected using a random sampling technique. The following wards were selected. Nondwa and Chilonwa in Dodoma Rural District, and Busi and Paranga in Kondoa District. Using the same technique, two villages were selected from each ward. Thus, in Chilonwa, Nzali and Chinangali I; and in Nondwa, Magaga and Chifutuka were selected. Whereas in Busi, Keikei and Ihasi; and in Paranga, Cheku and Isini were selected.

From every village, 50 heads of households (25 males and 25 females) were again randomly selected for interview. Thus, a total of 400 heads of households were interviewed using a pretested questionnaire.

The approximate distances between these villages and the district headquarters are as follows: from Dodoma Rural to Nzali is 65 km. Chinangali I is 72 km; Magaga is 80 km; and Chifutuka is 93 km. Whereas from Kondoa to Cheku is 45 km; Isini is 47 km; Keikei is 57 km and Ihari is 59 km. The distance between Dodoma Rural and Kondoa is about 160 km.

The road from Dodoma Rural to Kondoa was mainly dirt alternating with sections of roughly gravelled road. Generally, the road is bumpy and dangerous especially during the rainy season when it becomes water-logged and slippery. All roads leading to the villages were dirt roads which means that during the rainy season they are impassable. Thus, most of the villages included in the study are inaccessible during the rainy season.

Dodoma region is located on the central plateau of Tanzania, in the western direction of the former capital and main port of the country, Dar es Salaam. The region has a total area of 43,311 square km. which is divided into four administrative districts, namely: Dodoma Urban (2,576 square km.), Dodoma Rural (14,004 square km.), Kondoa (13,210 square km.) and Mpwapwa (11,520 square km.). Thus, Dodoma Rural is the largest district followed by Kondoa. The region is bounded by Arusha Region in the north and north-east, Morogoro Region in the east, Iringa Region in the south and Singida Region in the west.

Dodoma has a dry savanna type of climate which is characterized by a long dry season lasting between late April and early December, and a short single wet season occurring during the remaining months. The region tends to lie in a rain shadow behind the mountainous area of Morogoro on the eastern side. In the long dry season persistent desiccating winds and low humidity contribute to high evapo-transpiration and to soil erosion. In the wet season rain falls in heavy storms resulting in flash floods. Consequently, about 60% of the precipitation run-runs off instead of penetrating through the soil layers.

The average rainfall for Dodoma town is 570 mm., and about 85% of this fall in the four months between December and March. Rainfall is somewhat higher in the more agriculturally productive parts of Mpwapwa and Kondoa Districts.

Dodoma Regions rainfall is relatively low and rather unpredictable in frequency and amount, particularly in the month of January in which most crops are generally sown.

It is this unreliable rainfall which has imposed a pattern of risk aversion in traditional agriculture and which represents a serious constraint on present efforts to improve crop yields

The total population of Dodoma Region is 1,237,819 (5.3% of the Nation). The male population is 598,253 (5.3% of the Nation), female is 639,566 (5.4% of the Nation) and the average household size is 5.0.

The districts selected for the study, Kondoa and Dodoma Rural had total population of 340,544 (male population 167,732 and female population 172,822) and 353,478 (male population 164,181 and female population 189,297) respectively.

The population characteristics of each of the villages selected for the study are shown in Table 22.

Table 22: Village Population

Villages	Male	Female	Total
Magaga	620	694	1,314
Chifutuka	1,530	1,052	2,582
Chinangali	1,881	1,052	1,933
Nzali	1,232	1,388	2,620
Isini	220	441	661
Cheku	443	567	1,010
Ihari	677	831	1,508
Keikei	247	259	506

As shown in Table 22, Nzali leads all the other villages in population size, followed closely by Chifutuka, Chinangali I, Ihari, Magaga then Cheku and least populated is Keikei. With the exception of Chifutuka all the other villages had more women than men.

2. Socio-economic characteristics of the region.

Dodoma is among the least developed regions of Tanzania and is the poorest region in terms of estimated income per capita. The regional economy is almost entirely dependent on arable and stock farming which is the only economic activity in the rural areas.

Agriculture can be characterised by low productivity, resulting from low and erratic rainfall, high evapo-transpiration and low-moisture holding surface soils. These conditions together with widespread overstocking and overgrazing make the region susceptible to extensive soil erosion.

The proportion of land under crop in the region is above the national average and more land could still be brought under cultivation. However, the yield per hectare of most of the crops and per capita income from them, is well below the national average.

With the exception of one all the other villages covered in the study produce sorghum as a staple food. Similarly, except for one village all the others produce bulrush millet. Maize was produced in three villages in Kondoa as food crop. In the case of cash crop, groundnut is produced in all the villages in Dodoma Rural and sunflower was produced in all the villages in Kondoa. This reflects the tradition that sorghum and bulrush millet have been the main staple foods in Dodoma Region. Whereas groundnut, sunflower, castor oil and simsim have been the major cash crops.

Livestock output is more stable and provides relative stability in an unstable agricultural environment, still of a subsistence nature. Dodoma Region ranks fourth in the country in livestock production. According to the 1984 Livestock census, Dodoma Region has 1,000,184 cattle (12% of the Mainland); 167,779 sheep (5.5% of the Mainland); 539,648 goats (8.4% of the Mainland); and 782,182 chickens (5.7% of the Mainland).

Livestock production provides a more stable source of income to the region as a whole and to many

villages. It has been observed that in time of food scarcity villagers relied on their livestock for source of income and food. With the exemption of small-scale businesses such as kiosks selling softdrinks, soap, sugar, salt and other essential household commodities there were no major commercial activities in the villages studied. Also industry was non-existent.

3. Programmes and projects.

The Regional Adult Education Coordinator supplied teaching materials such as exercise books, chalks, pencils, blackboards, textbooks, equipment and other post-literacy support activities in the district.

The coordinator also supplied rural newspaper and provided library materials to the districts for distribution to the villages through the ward coordinators. In addition, the regional office facilitated the training of post-literacy teachers.

Similarly, the regional offices of the various ministries such as Agriculture, Livestock Development and Cooperatives; Health, Community Development, Women Affairs and Children and others had their programmes and projects channelled through the district offices to reach the villages.

At the district level, the District Adult Education Coordinator for Dodoma Rural distributed the Central Zone Newspaper "Elimu Yetu" to ward coordinators as well as materials for rural libraries. The District Adult Education Coordinator also facilitated the formation of study group discussion for radio programmes at the various adult education centers. Kondoa District Adult Education Coordinator had a similar programme except that in addition it supplied bicycles for mobile rural library and liaised with other departments such as Agriculture and Livestock, Health and others for film shows.

However, the programmes from the districts do not seem to reach the wards. For instance at Busi, Kondoa, the rural library had not been used much because the books were very old. Also, the librarian absconded because he had not been paid any honorarium. Rural newspapers were available only once in a while in Busi in Paranga.

At Busi there was a milling machine belonging to an individual which served the community.

In the case of Chilonwa and Nondwa in Dodoma Rural District, post-literacy materials were available but equipment for conducting work-oriented programmes was not. At Chilonwa there was a Roman Catholic Mission which ran a nursery school and sewing classes for women. Also at Chilonwa, there were community development officers medical assistant, and agriculture and livestock development officer.

At the village level there was a primary school in each of the villages except Ihari. However, the primary school building at Magaga was only half complete and the primary school buildings in the other villages needed repair.

Chifutuka and Keikei had village taps. Whereas Magaga and Isini had bore-holes. The rest of the villages did not have any access to water sources close by. Even the bore holes in Magaga and Isini were about to dry up and could barely meet the water demands of villagers and livestock.

The shortage of water in most of the villages has meant that women have to travel a distance of 5-10 km daily or wake up at 2.00 a. m. to fetch water from the nearest bore-holes before others get there. Thus, women in most of the villages expended a substantial part of their caloric consumption in this work, depleting their health.

Among all the villages, only Chifutuka in Dodoma Rural had a dispensary. The rest of the villages had to depend on dispensaries or health centers at the wards or at a neighbouring village. Nzali was the only village with two milling machines and a nursery school run by the Roman Catholic Mission. Also Keikei had a milling machine.

In spite of the fact that livestock and agricultural production are the major sources of income in all the villages only Magaga had an extension officer and Keikei had a livestock dip. The rest of the villages depended on extension and livestock officers from the wards or from neighbouring villages.

As far as the Ministry of Education's post-literacy programmes are concerned, none of the villages had any on-going post-literacy activities at the time of the field work.

4. Roles of literacy in relation to people's participation in socio-economic activities.

The most frequently mentioned benefit of literacy was that many of the participants had been able to utilise the knowledge and skills they had gained from post-literacy classes in their daily lives. Examples cited of such benefits were: participants were able to apply improved agricultural practices such as using fertiliser, proper spacing and weeding; they had learnt how to take better care of their families by providing them balanced diet and using livestock products such as milk and meat; they had learnt how to read weighing scales when selling their crops to cooperative societies; and they had understood the importance of keeping a clean and healthy environment, for example, many households had built latrines.

Secondly, many of the participants had learnt to read, write and count and were able to write letters to their relatives and friends. Thirdly, through literacy participants had broadened their minds. As a result they had been able to ask questions without fearing that they would make mistakes; they had acquired political awareness through reading newspapers and books; and they had gained confidence in their ability to communicate with others.

Thirdly, many participants had come forward to take part in post-literacy activities and had shown interest in continuing further with post-literacy activities.

Lastly, some post-literacy participants had applied the skills they had acquired from post-literacy classes in income generating activities. For instance, women at Cheku engaged in knitting hats for sale. Each hat was sold from shs. 1,800/= - 2,000/=. Women at Chifutuka were engaged in clay pot making. Each pot was sold for shs. 200/-400/=. Also some villagers at Chifutuka were engaged in bee-keeping and were selling a 20 litre-tin of honey at sh. 5000/= or more.

5. Literacy environment.

Although the National Literacy Campaign managed to reduce illiteracy rates from 69% in 1969 to only 9.5% in 1986, making Tanzania a country with the lowest number of illiterates in Africa, it has not brought about the anticipated empowerment of women in decision-making in the rural areas. Because of the increasing participation of women in literacy campaigns it was estimated that the rate of illiteracy among women was reduced from 81% to 12% in 1986. Although the national illiteracy rates were reduced, regional variations remained, especially with respect to women's illiteracy.

At the village level, there were more illiterate women (31%) as compared to men (21%) in the villages studied. Cheku had the highest total of literates at 7.7% (4.7% men and 3% women).

Table 23: Illiterate and Literate Respondents by Gender

	Illiterates				Literates			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
Village	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Chifutuka	13	3.25	18	4.50	12	3.00	7	1.75
Magaga	14	3.50	18	4.50	11	2.75	7	1.75
Chinangali	12	3.00	15	3.75	13	3.25	10	2.50
Nzali	13	3.25	15	3.75	12	3.00	10	2.50
Cheku	6	1.50	13	3.25	19	4.75	12	3.00
Isini	11	2.75	15	3.75	14	3.50	10	2.50
Ihari	8	2.00	16	4.00	17	4.25	9	2.25
Keikei	8	2.00	15	3.75	17	4.25	10	2.50
Total	85	21.25	125	31.25	115	28.75	75	18.75

Whereas Magaga showed the highest total of illiterates at 8 % (3.5 % male and 4.5 % female). Table 23 also shows that generally there were more literate males than females in all the villages. For instance, at Ihari there were almost twice as many male literates as compared to female literates. It was the same for Cheku, Chifutuka and Magaga. This difference which exists between male and female literacy rates at the village level is only a reflection of the trend at the regional and national levels. This means that although in 1986, the level of illiteracy was reduced considerably in Tanzania, the gap between men and women is still evident. Since it is mostly women who are the recipients of basic literacy education, their educational levels and strengths are still inferior to men's. For instance, in 1986, seven percent of all men were illiterate while 12 % of all women were illiterate. This implies that illiterate women make up a significant proportion of the work force in the agricultural sector. This presents a serious obstacle to conventional development strategies which rely on a minimum level of literacy for communication with farmers.

6. Participation in Post-Literacy Activities

In 1986, 55 % of all women were enrolled in literacy classes while 45 % of all men were enrolled. Women's positive response to the mass literacy campaigns launched in 1970 was considered significant. Because of the increasing participation of women in literacy campaigns, it was estimated that the rate of illiteracy among women was reduced from 81 % to 12 % in 1986.

However, due to women's heavy responsibilities in production and reproduction, they had not been able to maintain regular attendance in post-literacy classes. Most of the post-literacy teachers interviewed unanimously agreed that although more women enrolled for post-literacy classes they had failed to maintain regular attendance because of their heavy workload. Hence, women were more likely to relapse to illiteracy than men. For instance, although a total of 18.7 % of all women in the study were literate compared to 28.7 % for the male only 9.5 % (26 % male) were reading newspaper and 13.7 % (26 % male) were reading books. In terms of writing, only 15.7 % of the females compared to 27 % of the males were able to read and even less (12.5 % 25 % male) were maintaining their writing skills.

Table 24: Participation in Post-Literacy Activities by Sex

Villages	Seeing Film				Listening to Radio			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Chifutuka	14	11	4	21	18	7	7	2
Magaga	10	15	9	16	8	17	1	2
Chinagali	15	10	9	16	15	10	10	15
Nzali	16	9	11	14	14	11	9	16
Cheku	0	25	4	21	18	7	12	13
Isini	2	23	1	24	22	3	12	13
Ihari	3	2	5	20	23	2	6	19
Keikei	13	12	8	17	20	5	12	13
Total	73	127	51	149	138	62	66	134

With regard to participation in post-literacy activities, Table 24 shows that overall 18 % of all the males indicated that they had ever seen films, while only 12.7 % of the females indicated to have done so. Whereas in radio listening a high percentage 34.5 % of the males indicated that they listen to the radio while only 16.5 % of the females listen to the radio.

Most of the heads of households who indicated that they listen to the radio, did so from their neighbours. Only a few heads of households interviewed owned radios and most of them were men. This means that because of women's heavy workload it would not be convenient for them to go to a neighbour's house to listen to the radio.

Even if a household owns a radio it may not be possible for the women to listen to any programme due to inconvenient timing. For instance, generally women begin their day around 5.00 a.m. which is when radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam goes on the air. They engage in various tasks and retire late in the day. Ironically, some programmes which are of interest to women, are aired after most women have retired to bed.

7. Availability of Post-Literacy Activities.

Rural Newspaper. Most of the respondents interviewed indicated that they did not have any access to rural newspapers published by the Department of Adult Education, Ministry of Education and Culture. The few respondents who indicated receiving the Central Zone Newspaper, "Elimu Yetu" stated that the newspaper reached them 2-3 months late. Some respondents reported that they could not afford Shs. 5.00 to pay for the newspaper.

In the absence of a regular supply of the Zonal Newspaper, most respondents who could afford it reported reading the government-owned newspapers, "UHURU" and "Mzalendo". However, since these newspapers come all the way from Dar es Salaam and are fairly expensive, it is questionable whether they were regularly available to readers in the rural areas.

Rural Library. Among all the four wards included in the study, only Busi indicated that there was a rural library. However, it had not been in operation for a while because the librarian absconded due to non-payment of honoraria. Also the books in the library were very old and most of them were on adult education. Hence, there were not many readers interested in borrowing the books.

Radio. Nearly all the radio sets distributed during the literacy campaigns in the early 1990's have broken down. As discussed in the previous section, most villagers listen to the radio programmes from their neighbours. Most of the villages included in the study had only one or two radios each.

Post-Literacy Classes. Most of the villages indicated that there had been post-literacy classes in the past five years. However, none had any on-going post-literacy classes during the field work for this study.

Film. Film shows stopped several years ago when the film projector at the Regional Adult Education Coordinator's office was stolen. However, other agencies and government and non-governmental organizations continue to show films once in a while to the villagers.

Table 25 : Existence of Rural Libraries in the Study

Villages	Existence of Library
Magaga	None
Chifutuka	None
Nzali	There was a primary school library but not for post-literacy. The village government has a plan to build a library on a self-help basis.
Chinangali I	None
Ihari	There was a library at the ward Busi, but it has not been operating because the librarian absconded due to non-payment of honoraria.
Keikei	None
Isini	None
Cheku	None

8. Reading and writing habits.

Of all the women in the study 9.5 % read newspapers compared to 26 % of the men. Whereas 26 % of all the men read books only 13.7 % of the women did so. These findings have shown that although slightly more than a quarter of the men in the sample were reading newspapers and books to maintain their literacy, the women lagged far behind in their reading habits.

As from writing skills, 27 % of all the men indicated that they were able to write whereas only 15.7 % of the women indicated that they were able to do so. While a quarter (25 %) of the men showed that they practise their writing skills only 10.5 % of the women did so.

When these findings are considered in the light of the overall literacy rates of men (28.7 %) and women (18.7 %) in the study, it is evident that there was a relapse into illiteracy for both men and women.

However, the relapse into illiteracy was more considerable for women compared to men. A number of women interviewed indicated that they had completed standard VII but that they had forgotten how to read and write.

The findings of this study are consistent with previous research findings which have indicated that women had less access to educational opportunities compared to men. This is because of cultural bias by parents against educating girls and distraction of girls from their studies as they are expected more than their brothers to assist in domestic chores. Hence their relatively poor performance in examination which denies them opportunities to qualify for higher education.

The situation does not differ very much for women participants in adult education programmes whereby they fail to maintain regular attendance due to their heavy work load. Also women who had acquired literacy skills relapsed into illiteracy because they were unable to engage in post-literacy activities to maintain their literacy.

9. Presence of and participation in other activities.

In Chilonwa, there was a sewing group for women which met three times a week. The programme was organized by the Roman Catholic Mission and opened to all women in the parish. The main objective of the group was to provide women with dressmaking skills so that they could use these skills to earn income for the family.

Religious teaching was also part of the programme. Handouts used included: "Kiongozi", "Mwenge", and "Mlezi" which are all religious publications and "Uhuru" which is a party newspaper. These publications were distributed to the villagers.

In Chilonwa and Busi, the Department of Agriculture, Livestock Development and Cooperatives conducted seminars during the cultivation season and during emergencies, that is, when there was an anticipated epidemic of crop pests or livestock disease. The aim was to provide farmers and livestock keepers with knowledge and skills on improved agricultural and livestock keeping practices. Also to check the spread of crop and livestock diseases. For instance, the preparation of small and large plots was demonstrated to farmers so that they could compare the difference. The seminar was opened to all farmers and livestock keepers in the ward. There are posters of "Improved and local cattle", "Army Worm" "Improved Farming Techniques" and "Fertilizer Application - Chemical and Manure." A similar programme was also conducted in Chifutuka.

In Chilonwa, the Department of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children conducted a monthly seminar covering one or more of the following topics: environment, self-reliant activities, and health. it was opened to all villagers in the ward. The lecture method was used.

In Chilonwa and Busi, the Department of Health had a monthly programme to sensitize villagers about the importance of maintaining a healthy environment and observing hygienic practices in food handling and preparation etc. The lecture method was used. Posters used in the lecture included. "AIDS", "Pit latrine", "vaccination for women and Children", "Balanced Diet," "Family Planning" and "Safe Motherhood".

At Magaga and Chifutuka, the Department of Minerals and Water, conducted a twice-weekly seminar about the proper utilization of water. The objective of the seminar was to sensitize the villagers about the importance of maintaining clean lines around the water sources. This seminar was initiated because a water pump installed at Magaga was stolen and since then the villagers get their water from a bore-hole. The lecture method was used to deliver the message.

These were some of the post-literacy related activities which were found at the ward and village levels. According to the providers of these services, the attendance in their programmes was on the whole satisfactory. Compared to P. L. activities provided by MEC, programmes by other departments and organizations were more organized and active in the region.

10. Needs and problems perceived by the villagers.

Perceived needs and problems by the villagers may be categorized into the following major areas: health, water, transport, education food, technology, extension and unequal sexual division of labour. Some of these problem areas will be discussed in the following section.

Health. Five of the villages did not have easy access to health services because there were no dispensaries or health centers in the villages. For instance, at Magaga villagers had to walk or be taken by bicycle, including expectant mothers for 20 km to get such services. Whereas at Cheku villagers had to walk 6 km to the nearest dispensary. At Chinangali I the situation is similar whereby villagers had to walk for 4km to the nearest dispensary. These dispensaries and health centers can only treat minor ailments but for serious cases the patients have to be referred to the district hospitals. This means that in the case of Magaga it would involve a one-way trip of 65 to the Dodoma Rural District Hospital. As for Cheku it would involve a one-way trip of 57 km to Kondoa District Hospital.

The lack of easily accessible health services in these villages had a negative effect on the health of the community. This is because the absence of disease, good health for the family, especially for women and children, depends partly on a well functioning delivery system for health services. It also depends on the control and prevention of diseases, on environmental sanitation, access to safe water, reductions in women's workloads, adequate access to food, and many other aspects of people's lives which are normally outside the health sector itself.

By far the most common health care providers in the families are women. They tend to the sick in their families. They take children to clinics for preventive services, such as immunization, and for outpatient treatment for illnesses which they themselves cannot cure. Administration of medicines, oral rehydration in cases of diarrhoea, coaxing children to take in more food, these are usually women's tasks. The amount of time and energy women spend in caring for the sick can be substantial especially when health services are not easily accessible.

The work pressures on women also lead them to neglecting their own health. Women, especially during pregnancy, need relief from their energy demanding tasks so that they do not suffer from further depletion of their own body reserves. The most effective health care in these circumstances is more opportunities to rest and for other members of the household to take increasing shares of the tasks which are usually "women's" tasks.

Water. Five of the villages have severe water problem both for human and livestock consumption. The villages which have indicated severe water shortage are: Magaga, ChinangaliI, Nzali, Isini and Cheku.

In Tanzania, it has been shown that malaria, diarrhoeal diseases and respiratory infections are commonly occurring health problems for women and children. these diseases are closely associated with problems of water, hygiene and sanitation. Malarial mosquitoes breed in water pools and in uncleared grounds; diarrheal diseases are associated with contaminated water and food, unhygienic practices and insanitary conditions. It was not surprising, therefore, that during the field work there was a cholera epidemic in most of the districts especially Dodoma Rural.

The issue of collecting water as being the sole responsibility of women is grim as the long distances to water sources have negative effects on food production and child care. For instance, at Magaga women had to walk an average of 10 km daily to look for water, and Chinangali I 3-4 km. Women expend a substantial part of their caloric consumption in performing this task, depleting their own health and energy from more productive work.

A daily walk of 2-3 hours for water is likely to consume one-third to one-quarter of a woman's average daily calorie intake. It is not surprising then that in most of the villages women put great value on accessibility of water sources rather than improving the quality. Since much of the water needed for domestic use does not have to be of drinking quality, this is understandable.

Transport. Six of the villages do not have any reliable means of public transportation. With the exception of Isini and Cheku in Kondoa, which are situated about 5-7 km from the main road leading to Kondoa Town, most of the others are far away and remote from the main road. In most of these villages, bicycle was the major means of transportation, however, only a few people could afford to buy bicycles, mostly men.

This lack of reliable transportation system in most of the villages means an added burden for women. As pointed out in earlier part of this section, women were responsible for providing health care to the family which involved treating long distances to and from dispensaries or health centers. They are also responsible for fetching water which again involved walking long distances to and from the water sources. In addition, women bear the transportation burdens of crops from the fields to the house and to the nearest crop marketing point by carrying them on their heads. Therefore efforts to rehabilitate trunk roads and other major arteries of the rural transportation system needs to be speeded up and balanced with support for local technicians and relief of the transportation burden of rural people, particularly women.

Food. Six of the villages experienced food shortages. For instance, at Nzali food aids were being distributed to villagers during the field work, and at Chifutuka villagers were surviving on meat because food grains were scarce and unaffordable.

While at Isini, villagers had to walk as far as 16 km to look for food, and at Ihari people were forced to move out to other places in search of food.

The food shortage experienced in these villages was the result of droughts during the 1990/91 season. From time to time households in drought-prone areas, such as Dodoma, of Tanzania suffer from emergency shortages of food. Such seasonal food shortages when food stocks are low coincide with times of heavy agricultural work. This is the rainy season when diseases, especially malaria and diarrhoea, are also more prevalent.

In seasons of heavy agricultural work, women bear a disproportionate share of the agricultural workload and have, in addition, the responsibility for food processing and preparation as well as domestic chores as fetching water and fuelwood which put them under a great deal of strain. In performing these tasks, women expend a considerable amount of calories, depleting their health and becoming more susceptible to malarial and diarrhoeal infections. Since in most Tanzanian societies women and children are the last to get their share of the family food, it is unlikely that during time of food scarcity, they receive adequate dietary intake.

Closely related to the issue of food shortage is the absence of post-harvest storage facilities. Although, only cheku had indicated the absence of such facilities, it has been observed that these facilities did not exist in all the villages. The absence of such facilities could be one of the contributing factors to food shortage. The farmer may be forced to sell the food grains soon after harvest for fear of losses from pests and spoilage. Poor storage facilities also reduce the possibilities of farmers to store their food crops for sale at a later time after the harvest when they could receive higher prices for their crops. Also, income pressures on rural households, especially those with small-holdings, lead to their retaining for domestic consumption inadequate food stock to guarantee food security.

Technology. Four of the villages did not have any milling machine. For instance, at Cheku women used grinding stones to process food grains because the milling machine was too far away. However, even if it was close by most villagers could not afford to pay for milling charges.

Thus, the great majority of women's tasks were still performed with back-breaking technologies: the grinding stones, the hoe, the short grass broom, the bucket, the smoke-filled wood burning hearth, and the bare head for transport. Even where intermediate technologies existed, they were often not used for the benefit of women or they were oriented towards income-earning activities without reducing their workload. Hence, bicycles were used to transport beer for sale rather than supplement the household water supply or transport woman.

Since demands on women's time are a major constraint, some of these may be relieved by investment in improved technology. Socially-assigned tasks such as child rearing, daily maintenance of the family through cooking, collection of firewood and water, washing and sanitation, food processing and storage need to be seen as productive work, to be made more efficient.

Gender Division of Labour. All the villages were in agreement that women were overburdened with work. This has been attributed to the traditional gender division of labour which is widely practised in most societies in Tanzania, especially in rural societies. The situation seemed to be worse in Kondoa which is predominantly Moslem and hence many marriages are polygamous.

As shown in Chapter 3 on "Gender," women in Tanzania held a dual role as both producers and reproducers. They performed up to 70 % of the agricultural tasks. Women were the backbone of food crop production, and they were also undertaking more tasks geared to market and cash-crop production.

Apart from heavy workloads in the productive sector, women also performed most of the tasks associated with biological and social reproduction.

These included the biologically-determined tasks of pregnancy, child-bearing and lactation, as well as socially-assigned tasks such as child rearing, daily maintenance of the family through cooking, collection of firewood and water, washing and sanitation, food processing and storage. Finally, women's responsibilities in social reproduction included teaching of the young, care of the old and sick, labour input into traditional forms of social insurance such as weddings, funerals and other festivals.

Although women performed disproportionately more of productive and reproductive functions, they had less access to the resources, that is land, finance, education, extension services and technology. At the household level, men controlled the major portion of proceeds from marketed crops. At the national level, banks and formal credit institutions demanded security beyond the reach of majority of women.

11. Problems and constraints.

At the regional level, the adult education services provided to the districts were inadequate. The P. L. materials were not enough to go round to all the villages. Distribution of newspapers to the villages has been irregular due to transportation problem. Film shows stopped since the projector was stolen. At the district level, the adult education services provided were inadequate to satisfy the needs of all the post-literacy centers in the district. Teaching materials such as books, pencils and textbooks were in short supply.

The major problems in the distribution of rural newspapers was the lack of means of transportation. More often than not, they remained at the district office undelivered or delivered 2-3 months later to the villages.

Even if the newspapers were delivered either one of the following problems were likely to occur: inadequate copies for all the readers in the villages or the villagers could not afford to pay the price of shs. 5/= per newspaper. Thus, in some cases the newspapers were inadequate while in others they did not sell well.

Most of the rural libraries did not have recent publications and in most cases the publications were on adult education only.

At the ward level, all the ward coordinators shared the district coordinators' view that the adult education services provided were inadequate. Specifically, they pointed out that (1) there were inadequate copies of rural newspapers and that they were delivered to the wards 2-3 months late; (2) rural libraries had not received any recent publications and the available ones were about adult education only, one of the librarians absconded due to non-payment of honoraria, and the absence of a proper library room/building to house the materials contributed to the inefficiency and underutilization of rural library services; (3) there had been no film shown by MEC but some NGO's provided such services; (4) no radio set, (5) failure to pay honoraria to teachers regularly is a source of discouragement to them as a result they have lost interest in teaching P. L. classes; (6) lack of interest on the part of participants to attend P. L. classes and (7) some villagers were addicted to alcohol that they were never sober to attend P. L. classes.

According to the P. L. teachers, they faced problems in teaching. Some of the problems cited were: lack of teaching materials, lack of opportunities to attend seminars, non-payment or delayed payment of teachers' honoraria.

All the teachers shared the view that women's attendance in P. L. classes was not as good as men's. They all attributed this to women's heavy workload which has already been discussed in a previous section of this study. However, with regard to whether women would need a different method of teaching, all the teachers responded that since the subjects being taught to men and women were similar and that they had similar abilities there was no need for different methods of teaching.

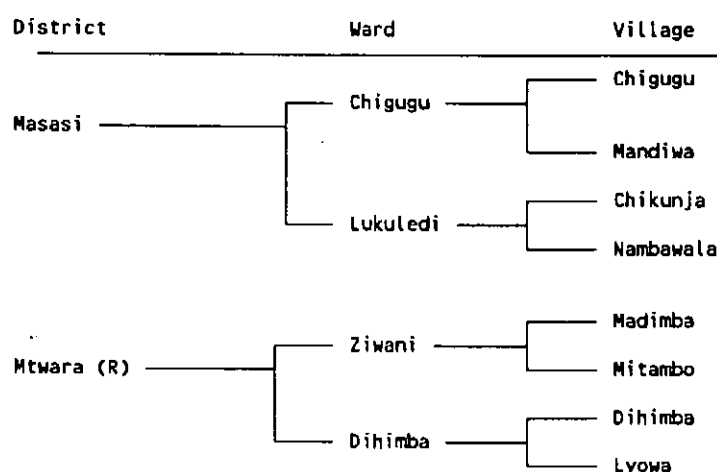
Another problem affecting P. L. programmes is the harsh environmental conditions faced by villagers in their daily lives. For example, during the cultivation season starting from December to July most villagers move to their farms adversely affecting their attendance in P. L. classes. It was evident during the field work that P. L. activities had stopped in all the villages. Women were too busy performing their productive and reproductive tasks such as fetching water, collecting firewood, going to the milling machine, taking children to the health centers etc that their attendance in P. L. classes has been very poor. Also some husbands did not allow their wives to attend P. L. Classes due to cultural and/or religious reasons.

7. CASE-STUDY: MTWARA REGION

7.1. Sampling

The purpose of the study was to survey the current provision and needs for post-literacy facilities in two contrasting districts in Mtwara region. The selection of the districts was based on the criterion of high and low infant mortality rates. Out of four districts in Mtwara, Masasi emerged as a district with low infant mortality rate and Mtwara rural with high infant mortality rate. Apparently, Masasi had high literacy rate and low birth rate compared to Mtwara rural district.

Through random sampling, eight villages were selected for the study from four wards chosen randomly from the two districts. The names of the wards and villages are as follows:



As stated in Chapter FOUR, the research instruments (interviews and checklist) were designed in Dar es Salaam and pilot-tested in Kibaha. A total number of 467 respondents were contacted; 400 household heads and 67 service providers. The former were randomly selected (i.e. 25 men and 25 women from each village) and the latter through purposive sampling. The service providers included district adult education officers, ward adult education coordinators, agricultural extension officers, community development workers, post-literacy teachers and village leaders.

Table 26 shows the number of respondents interviewed.

Table 26. Sampled Population

Village	Household heads		Service Providers		
	Women	Men	Men	Women	Total
Chigugu	25	25	7	1	33
Chikunja	25	25	7	4	36
Dihimba	25	25	6	3	34
Lyowa	25	25	3	1	29
Madimba	25	25	1	2	28
Mandiwa	25	25	5	2	32
Mitambo	25	25	2	1	28
Nambawala	25	25	8	3	36
Total	200	200	39	17	256

Interviews were also held with four ward adult education coordinators and seven district officers who coordinate post-literacy activities.

The interviewees through interview guide were required to provide information relating to participation in post literacy activities and their suitability, reading and writing habits, attitude towards literacy,

availability and accessibility of post-literacy facilities, organization and management aspects and local demand for other post-literacy programmes.

A check-list was employed to generate information about the socio-economic characteristics of the selected villages.

7.2. Characteristics of the Villages

The villages are located in one of the least developed regions in the country and where villagers' attitudes towards work are still negative. Women population is comparatively higher than men in most villages. Overall, literacy rate among women in the sampled villages is 42% and men 58%. Nambawala and Chikunja villagers appeared to be more literate than the rest of the villagers with insignificant difference in literacy between men and women.

Farming is largely traditional and sometimes affected by instability in environmental and geographical conditions. Subsistence crops include: cassava, maize, rice and millet. Outbreak of cassava Mealybug disease has retarded the production of cassava. Cashew nut is the only cash crop in many places but production in all the villages has not been good for many years. Livestock keeping can be found in all the villages, but Chigugu, Chikunja and Mandiwa appeared to have more cattle and sheep than the rest of the villages.

Inadequate nutrition due to insufficient food security appears to be the main bottleneck in ameliorating children's health standards.

Currently, energy is being directed to improve the household food reserves. In Chigugu, Mandiwa, Chikunja and Nambawala for example, agricultural programme under the umbrella of ONJAMA has been mounted. A similar programme, known as KUCHAKUMI, has been introduced in the rest of the villages.

Accessibility to clean water is always difficult in all villages; piped water is non-existent. In Nambawala, Chikunja and Lyowa for example, women have to spend 3-6 hours searching for water. Well established health centres are lacking in all the villages/ essential drugs are also lacking and treatment is mainly curative. However, child survival development programme has been introduced in Madimba, Dihimba, Nambawala, Chikunja and Chigugu by UNICEF.

With regard to education, each village has a primary school except for Mandiwa and Mitambo. However, the number of children attending school has not been impressive; there are frequent dropouts, mostly among girls, who are forced to remain at home to look after their young sisters and brothers. Sometimes they are forced by their parents to marry while they are still young.

Although government services and other social amenities are available at district level, they have not been diffused to the villages. Villagers in Dihimba, Lyowa, Mitambo and Madimba for example, have to travel long distances before they could get such services as transport is always a handicap.

Religions (Christianity and Islam) appear to be well established in most villages the number of moslems being comparatively larger than Christian community except for Lyowa, a recently established village. In both religions, women's participation in educational activities seems to be lower than that of men.

7.3. Characteristics of the respondents

In educational terms, more than half the household heads (58.3%) had attended primary school; the household heads in Nambawala and Mandiwa reported more attendance than in the rest of the villages. Overall, more men had attended primary school than women in all the villages. Only 21 household heads (13 men and 8 women) had attended secondary school. Overall, 52% of the household heads had never attended school or literacy class. Those who had attended literacy class were varied (see table 27).

Table 27 Heads of households: Literacy Levels Attended

Village	Level I - II			Level III - IV			Level V - VI		
	M	W	T	M	W	T	M	W	T
Chigugu	9	7	16	5	6	11	4	6	10
Chikunja	3	5	8	5	1	6	2	6	8
Dihimba	2	-	2	4	-	4	-	-	-
Lyowa	2	-	2	7	-	7	1	-	-
Madimba	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Mandiwa	10	5	15	5	12	17	4	3	7
Mitambo	8	1	9	17	10	27	-	-	-
Nambawala	8	5	13	8	10	18	5	-	5
Total	42	23	65	52	39	91	16	15	31

The majority of the household heads were married and their occupation was mainly farming. About 87% of the household heads were engaged in self cultivation and or communal farming. Women appeared to be more involved in farming than men but had no control over the sales. The rest of the household heads were manual labourers or petty traders. Most of the household heads houses (98%) had thatched roofs. In contrast to a recent study in Mbwera, Buguruni, Kalinzi and Ugwachanya, the construction materials used were in no way a reflection of differences in material well being. Clearly, some of the household heads who used corrugated sheet iron were poorer than those who used grass. Overall, one household head owned a car and lived in a house with a thatched roof.

Labour distribution within the households is uneven; women in most villages were the ones involved in domestic chores including farming. They are the ones who do most of the tilling, planting, weeding and harvesting. They carry water, fetch firewood and assist men in building huts by mud plastering and thatching. They also participate in other community activities.

7.4. Programmes and Projects

Tanzanian post-literacy programme consists of post-literacy classes, work-oriented projects and supporting programmes. The following are the post-literacy programmes and projects currently functioning in the sampled villages.

7.4.1. Post-literacy Classes and Work-oriented Projects

In the last 5 years, post-literacy classes have been organized almost in every sampled village. These, included stage V and VI subjects notably, English, Kiswahili Geography, History, Maths and political education. However, in the subsequent analysis, work-oriented projects(mainly home-craft and agriculture), seemed to be active only in two villages - Nambawala and Chikunja attended by eleven men and four women altogether. Analysis of the findings showed that such projects did not exist in the rest of the villages although some of the post literacy teachers claimed to give work oriented courses. The gender and educational level of the participants in the post-literacy classes were varied (table 28).

Table 28. Participants in Post-literacy classes

Village	Participants					
	Neo-literates			Primary School Leavers		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Chigugu	-	-	-	7	10	17
Chikunja	-	-	-	5	3	8
Dihimba	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lyowa	15	5	20	10	5	15
Madimba	4	1	5	-	-	-
Mandiwa	-	-	-	3	1	4
Mitambo	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nambawala	4	6	10	4	2	6
Total	23	12	35	33	21	50

Table 28 shows that the majority of the participants (59%) in the sampled villages were primary school leavers and or dropouts while only 41 % were neo-literates. By implication, it appears that post-literacy classes seemed to cater more for primary school leavers and dropouts and mainly the male population. Further, the findings showed that in both cases, female participation was lower than that of males although the number of women in the sampled villages was by far greater than that of men.

Women attendance in post-literacy classes was not as good as that of men for a variety of reasons. Women were the only people who were engaged in household chores that included; fetching water and firewood from long distances, taking care of the family and farming.

As for post-literacy teachers, more than 50% were primary school teachers who had never had any training course except for occasional seminars which they considered inadequate. The teachers mentioned several problems which affected the implementation of post-literacy classes and work-oriented projects. These included, shortage of post-literacy facilities, lack of honorarium and heavy teaching load.

7.4.2. Supporting Programmes

Post-literacy classes were accompanied by supporting programmes, which included rural news papers, rural libraries, radio and film education. The study surveyed the provision of these programmes in the sampled villages.

Rural libraries existed in the four wards in which the sampled villages were drawn. The libraries were located at ward level except for Lukuledi, where it was housed in a primary school building. The libraries had considerable number of titles, but again, the buildings in which they were located were not permanent. Apart from this, the libraries had no librarians, reading space, shelves, desks and ledgers. Most of the libraries were not well kept; the books were left to catch dust.

On radio education, the programme is broadcasted three times a week particularly for the post literacy teachers and learners. In the sampled villages, the majority of the household heads indicated that they did not listen to the programme. About 3/4 of the household heads were not aware of the programme or did not own a radio set.

Table 29: Household Sample: Listening Habits

Village	Number Listening to Radio		
	Men	Women	Total
Chigugu	12	11	23
Chikunja	12	8	20
Dihimba	16	9	25
Lyowa	21	11	32
Madimba	5	3	8
Mandiwa	10	17	27
Mitambo	17	11	28
Nambawala	12	8	20
Total	105	78	183

Analysis of findings showed that out of 400 household heads, only 183 or 46 % listened to radio either at their home or neighbours and streets, the majority being men (see table 29). The programmes in which they were interested most included: news, sports, music and death announcements, the programmes which were unrelated to the broadcasted educational programmes. Interviews with district adult education coordinators (Masasi and Mtwara rural) revealed that radio sets which were distributed to the villages 15 years ago were no longer in operation and the radio study groups were not active either. In Dihimba for example, one post-literacy teacher sometimes used his own radio but batteries were difficult to obtain.

With regard to rural newspaper, not even a single copy was found in the sampled villages; except for Lukuledi ward library, where one old copy was found, and in Dihimba, where the ward adult education coordinator had 20 copies of the "Tujifunze" newspaper. As a whole, the majority of the household heads had not heard of the news paper. Although the adult education offices in Masasi and Mtwara Rural had huge stock of "Tujifunze" newspapers, these had not been distributed to the villages, the main problem being transport. Although these offices had vehicles that were supposed to be used for the purpose of adult education activities, the district adult education coordinators had no authority over them. Instead, such authority rested with District Officer (DO) who controlled all the vehicles in the district. The district adult education coordinators felt that it was uneconomical to hire a vehicle to transport only 150 rural newspapers which cost only 750/= shs (at a price of 5 shs. per copy). Instead ward adult education coordinators were required to collect money from the villagers and buy the newspapers from the district adult education offices. This procedure proved difficult as many villagers could not afford to buy them. Clearly, this left the districts with outdated piles of newspapers. With regard to film education, the majority of the household heads had not seen one (table 30)

Table 30: Household Sample: Cinema Watch

Village	Number of Respondents Watching Cinema		
	Men	Women	Total
Chigugu	10	12	22
Chikunja	3	4	7
Dihimba	17	16	33
Lyowa	10	7	17
Madimba	4	3	7
Mandiwa	5	8	13
Mitambo	17	13	30
Nambawala	10	9	19
Total	76	72	148

Out of 400 household heads, only 148 (51 %) men and 49 % women) reported to have seen a film in the village, but most of them could not remember the content, although they mentioned NGOs (i.e. UNICEF and local Church) as organisations that showed the films.

7.4.3. Programmes offered by other organisations

Work-oriented programmes are not only offered by MEC, but also by other government and non-governmental institutions. In the sampled villages, programmes such as agriculture, health, and homecraft were being offered by the Ministry of Agriculture, Health, Community Development, Women Affairs and Children as well as UNICEF. The Ministry of Agriculture for example, ensured that agricultural extension workers were sent to the villages so as to motivate and teach people how to improve agriculture and animal husbandry through scientific means. Such programmes were offered four times a month particularly during farm preparation and were active in nearly all the villages. Also, UNICEF has been strengthening the supervision and implementation of agricultural activities under the umbrella of "ONJAMA" and "KUCHAKUMI" in the selected villages.

The Ministries of Health and Community Development Women Affairs and children have been concentrating on health education and to a lesser extent, domestic science. In Dihimba and Chikunja for example, child care, nutrition, communicable diseases like UKIMWI were aspects that had been emphasized. The local church in Chigugu and Chikunja organized women in small groups so that they could learn some aspects of poultry and sewing. In Chigugu for example, more than 50 women participated in sewing while only six took part in poultry activities in Chikunja. The local church in Chigugu and Chikunja have been distributing some religious literature i.e. Kiongozi Newspaper and Bibles. Publications on agriculture, Aids and Child Care have also been provided by other government institutions and these were found in most of the sampled villages. However, since literacy was not a pre-requisite for participation in those programmes, it was difficult to understand whether all participants were benefitting anything from these programmes. There was a general feeling among the post-literacy teachers that illiteracy among the villagers accounted for low participation in the programmes. Table 31 reveals the situation of participation in programmes not offered by MEC.

Table 31: Participation in Programmes ALSL
Offered by MEC

Village	Population			Agriculture			Animal Husbandry			Poultry			Homecraft			Health Educ.			Pre-School/Ed.		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T			
Chigugu	647	812	1459	8	1	9	-	-	-	40	8	48	-	20	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chikuuja	380	420	800	88	22	110	-	-	-	-	6	6	-	-	-	12	21	33	-	-	-
Dihimba	533	311	844	6	2	8	28	10	38	28	10	38	-	-	-	30	20	50	-	-	-
Lyowa	487	500	987	-	-	350	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Madimba	760	829	1589	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	(unknown)	-	-	-	-	-
Mandiwa	647	812	1459	59	63	122	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mitambo	(unknown)			-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	60	90	150
Nambawala	765	874	1639	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	200	48	54	102	-	-	-

7.5. Reading and Writing Habits

One of the objectives of post-literacy and its supporting programmes was to ensure that reading and writing habits were maintained. The study sought to establish whether the programmes had in any way enhanced such habits in the sampled villages.

When asked whether they read newspapers the responses of the household heads were as table 32 shows.

Table 32: Household Sample: Reading Habits

Village	Number Reading Newspapers		
	Male	Female	Total
Chigugu	12	13	25
Chikunja	10	14	24
Dihimba	9	6	1
Lyowa	17	3	20
Madimba	4	-	4
Mandiwa	11	8	19
Mitambo	10	9	19
Nambawala	7	4	11
Total	80	57	137

Table 32 shows that 137 household heads or 34%, read Newspapers, like Mzalendo, UHURU, Kiongozi, Mwenge, Ukulima wa Kisasa and Mfanyakazi, the number of women being comparatively lower than that of men. The majority of the readers appeared to be between 21-30 and 31-40, age groups. Mitambo reported more reading than the rest of the villages. Nearly all the household heads had never seen or read the "Tujifunze" rural newspaper, although huge piles lay at district adult education offices in Masasi and Mtwara (rural). None of the rural libraries had a rural newspaper except for Lukuledi where an old copy was found.

In Dihimba, the ward adult education Coordinator had 20 copies in his house in which the majority of the household heads were unaware of. Asked why he kept the newspapers in his house, the coordinator argued that they had not been purchased by the villagers. Clearly, given the economic hardship which is mostly felt in Mtwara region as a whole, most of the household heads could not purchase a rural newspaper which cost 5 shs per copy, not to mention other newspapers like MZALENDO or UHURU which cost 60 and 40 shs. respectively. Why buy a newspaper when there is no salt?

Since the newspapers could be sold to anybody who could pay 5 shs. a copy, the few copies available found their way to petty traders who used them to PACK items like buns, fish, salt etc. Some of the household heads reported to read UHURU and MZALENDO newspapers which they obtained from relatives or friends who occasionally happened to go to town.

With regard to books, some of the household heads showed interest in books but could not know where to obtain them. It appeared that although each ward had a rural library, this important facility was neither known to the majority of the household heads nor the staff working at ward level. In Dihimba and Ziwani wards for example, the staff admitted that they were not aware of the existence of a rural library, although their offices were located 5-10 metres away.

Overall, eight household heads (2%) reported using library, four being men and four women. It was interesting to note that while there were some household heads who showed interest in books and could not know where to obtain them, the ward adult education coordinators in Ziwani and Lukuledi complained that they had several titles but there were no borrowers. It appeared that the main problem was lack of publicity; the libraries had no labels or a mechanism by which they could be made known to the villagers.

On writing habits, more than half of the household heads claimed to know how to write. From the total 400 persons interviewed, 215(54%) household heads knew how to write, 131(32%) being men and 84(22%) women. About 67% of the 215 household heads claimed to practise their writing skills, the popular writings being letters, signatures, minutes and filling forms. Men reported more practice than women.

7.6. Literacy and participation in Village Development

As stated elsewhere in the study, post- literacy and its supporting programmes were influenced, *inter alia*, by the need to improve the living conditions of people. The objective was to offer skills, knowledge and attitudes that would enable the villagers to participate in transforming those conditions. In the sampled villages, it appeared that the programmes that have been offered have not had any relevance to the socio-economic concerns of the villagers. There was a general feeling among the regional and district leadership that mismatch between local needs and the actual programmes has contributed to the weakening of the enthusiasm for and involvement in programmes. Although all the teachers felt that the programmes offered were relevant to community needs and interests, this was simply a rhetoric, for the programmes which increased villagers' knowledge and skills in agriculture, crafts and home-craft did not receive much emphasis. Such programmes were attended by only 15 participants. In fact, these aspects were mentioned by the majority of the villagers as areas in which future programmes should address.

Thus, the views as expressed by the leaders and villagers exemplified a clear conflict between what the government said and what was actually done in the sampled villages. Although the government, had strongly justified the importance of programmes to focus on particular needs and interests of the villagers, this was merely a rhetoric, for in practice, the programmes were designed from above paying least attention to local conditions and particular needs of the villages. It appears that, the government was not looking at this issue purely from the educational point of view, but most importantly, it saw literacy as a mechanism by which socialism and self-reliance could be achieved. Clearly, training needs had to be located at a national level, in terms of the country's ideology of social-cultural development with a view to realizing nationally defined needs and interests.

Again, the rural newspapers were specifically designed to convey information that would be relevant to or reflect villagers' activities. However, the context of the newspapers and information contained in the "Tujifunze" newspaper, for example, was in no way related to the realities of the villages. In Mtwara Rural district for example, the "Tujifunze" newspaper had no information about the district and the Zonal Newspaper editor had once raised the matter with the district news reporter. However, it appeared that the system of reporting was some how complicated. The reporter was not free to report whatever he thought to be relevant; instead news were censored by the district leadership before they were sent to the editor in Songea and in most cases were not sent at all. The district news reporter complained that the district education officer had 3 copies of draft news which lay in his office and were long overdue. The following section examines the problems and needs of the villagers as perceived by the villagers themselves as well as their service providers.

7.7. Problems and Needs As perceived by the Villagers and Service Providers

Interview with the villagers and service providers revealed a number of problems and needs which are analyzed below.

Virtually all the villages experience a severe food shortage, attributable to a variety of factors. Farming is largely traditional; fertilizers, pesticides and other agricultural inputs are difficult to obtain. Crop diseases, mainly cassava mealybug has retarded agricultural output in many villages. Drought and floods particularly in Nambawala, Dihimba, Mitambo and Lyowa, have also contributed to the problem. Last but not least, the villages lack adequate food security, what is produced cannot be preserved for future use. The main food was mangoes and boiled cassava leaves. Surely, the villagers would need training in food preservation; traditional food storage technology should be revived. Agricultural inputs are also needed to boost production.

Water is imperative for human life. None of the villages visited had piped water. Women have to walk long distances sometimes 4-15 kilometres for water. In Lyowa, Nambawala, Madimba Chigugu and Mitambo, women spend 4-6 hours on carrying water as water from bore holes is sometimes unreliable. In Madimba there is a water pump but is not functioning. Certainly, this is a serious problem for lack of water does not only affect human life, but also limits the participation of women in other socio-economic activities. If piped water and water pumps were made available to the villages, they would reduce the heavy burden experienced by women.

As for health centres, five out of the eight villages have first aid facilities except for Dihimba, Madimba and Chikunja which have village dispensary. However, these dispensaries lack essential drugs. Villagers from Lyowa for example, have to walk seven miles to get medical services at Dihimba. Most villages are remote, located several miles from the district hospitals. The villages obviously need health centres and adequate drugs.

With regard to education, Mandiwa and Mitambo have no primary schools. The rest of the villages have primary schools, but lack adequate teachers, desks, instructional materials and the buildings are in bad condition. They lack doors, windows etc. Dropout is a serious problem in nearly all the schools.

As for adult education, the main problem is that timetable for classes does not match villagers' work patterns, in such a way that during the agricultural season there are virtually no classes. Literacy teachers had a number of complaints which included: irregular payment honoraria, shortage of instructional materials, absence of rural newspaper, and lack of coordination between different departments involved in adult education activities.

Transport is necessary particularly when villages are remote. In the sampled villages, transport emerged as the major problem except for Mandiwa, Chikunja and Chigugu. During the rainy season, roads to the rest of the villages are impassable, making transport of cash crops to Mtwara difficult. The only reliable transport is by bicycle or motorcycles mainly used by government employees. Villagers in most villages have to walk several miles before they can get basic requirements available at district headquarters. The villagers need transport facilities in order to improve their living conditions and social services in general.

In the light of the findings and analysis advanced in the study, it can be concluded that literacy environment in the sampled villages is extremely very low. Nearly half of the villagers who became literate in the mid and late 1970s have relapsed into illiteracy. Reading culture has yet to develop in the sampled villages. The rural libraries had no librarians and most of the villages were unaware of their existence. The majority of the villagers had not seen the "Tujifunze" newspaper, the problem attributable to ineffective distribution system. Nearly all the villagers did not own a radio set. For those who owned one, they were not aware of educational programmes broadcasted by RTD. With regard to film education, most of the villagers had not seen one. For those who happened to see it, they saw it 2-3 years ago, and the majority of these could not recall the content. As a whole, the programmes conducted do not address local conditions and this has contributed, inter alia to the decline in attendance in most villages. The majority of post-literacy teachers are untrained more than half being primary school leavers. The teachers complained about too much teaching load, irregular payment of honorarium, shortage of instructional materials and lack of coordination between government and non-government institutions in the running of post-literacy programmes in the sampled villages.

8. CASE-STUDY: MWANZA REGION

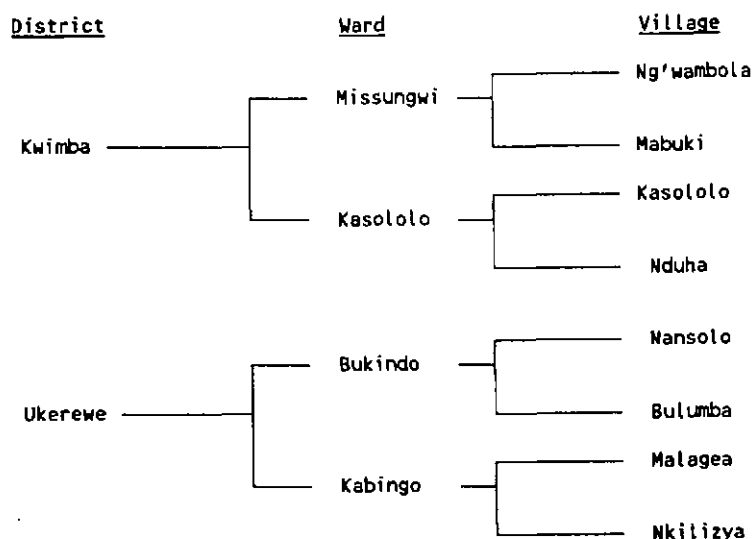
8.1 Selection of research area and respondents

Mwanza Region was selected for the study primarily on educational criteria. First, it was one of the Lake regions which participated in the world experimental functional literacy programme initiated by UNESCO in collaboration with UNDP in the late 1960s. Second, the region accommodated the headquarters of the National Literacy Centre which, at least up to the mid 1970s, played an important role in providing the required technical assistance in training, designing instructional materials, field organization and evaluation for the adult functional literacy campaign in the country. Third, the region had a good number of rural training facilities which, if well utilized, could enrich post-literacy training activities. There were, for example, two vocational training centres, three agricultural and wildlife institutes, one community development training college, two folk development centres and homecraft schools, one nursing school, one MCH training centre and one medical assistant school. And yet according to the national literacy test results of 1986, Mwanza Region was not among those which performed best in minimizing illiteracy.

Utilizing a developmental criterion of high and low infant mortality rate, two districts of Kwimba and Ukerewe were selected. According to Community Department records from Bugando Hospital, Kwimba had the highest rate (75/1000), Ukerewe (49/1000), Magu (41/1000) and Mwanza Urban (41/1000).

The last two districts, with the lowest infant mortality rate, were not selected because Magu was only until recently part of Kwimba District while the latter was an urban district, thus falling outside the terms of reference of the study. Inclusion of Ukerewe District in the study provided an opportunity for analyzing post-literacy activities not only in the socio-economic context of an island but also in a district which had been challenged by government to eradicate illiteracy as far back as 1971.

In each district two wards were selected through random sampling. The same sampling technique was applied in selecting two villages in every ward. The wards and villages were as follows:



Fifty heads of households (25 men and 25 women) were randomly selected from each village and interviewed using a prepared household survey questionnaire which had been pilot tested in Kibaha. A total number of 41 service providers namely, health and agricultural extension officers, village leaders post-literacy teachers and religious leaders were selected through purposive sampling and interviewed through an interview guide. The number of respondents interviewed in each village are shown in Table 34.

Table 33: Composition of the sample

	Household heads		Service Providers		Total
	Men	Women	Men	Women	
Village					
Bulamba	25	25	5	2	57
Kasololo	25	25	3	1	54
Mabuki	25	25	4	2	56
Malegea	25	25	5	1	56
Nansole	25	25	6	1	57
Nduha	25	25	4	1	55
Ngw'ambola	25	25	3	-	53
Nkilizya	25	25	2	1	53
Total	200	200	32	9	441

The respective regional (1) and district adult education officers (4) as well as ward adult education coordinators (4) were also interviewed focussing particularly on the presence of and participation in post-literacy activities and problems and constraints adversely affecting the post-literacy provisions.

8.2 Socio-economic context of the study

Characteristics of the Region

With an area of approximately 35, 192 sq.km. Mwanza Region lies in the centre of the Lake zone comprising of Kagera, Mwanza and Mara regions. About 20,100 sq.km. is dry arable land while over 15,000 sq.km. is covered by fresh water (Regional Commissioner's office records).

The 1988 population census showed that the region had a total population of 1,878,271 of whom 934,360 and 943,911 were men and women respectively. Children under five years of age were estimated at 376,000. Average size of household for the region was 6.4. Ukerewe District had the highest (6.8) followed by Kwimba District (6.7).

Some light and small-scale industries were increasingly being established in the region. Nevertheless, the region continued to have an underdeveloped economic base characterized by small-holder peasant farming. Annual food crops included rice, maize, beans, groundnut, sorghum, sweet potatoes, cassava and various types of vegetables. While production of these traditional food crops had remained steady over the years, production of cash crops, notably cotton, had declined from about 192,830 tones in 1970/71 to 112,743 tones in 1988/89 (records from the Regional Commissioner's Office). On the other hand, fish production had gone up from 40500 tones in 1978 to 107,900 tones in 1988 while the whole area continued to be famous for cattle, goats and other livestock keeping.

Health services appeared to be relatively adequate compared to national averages. For example, there was one dispensary for every 7,900 people and one rural health centre for every 75,200, which was close to the national average of 1:7,500 and 1:75,000 respectively (Regional Commissioner's office records). Nevertheless, and inspite of the relatively sufficient aggregate amount of food available in the region, child deaths were rampant: about 30 infants were dying every day due to the poor condition of the mother, dietary inadequacy and diseases.

Primary schools were relatively well distributed in the region. There were all together 809 schools with a teacher/pupil ratio of 35. Kwimba District had the largest number of schools (211) while Ukerewe had the smallest number (81) for the rural districts. Primary education as a whole was adversely affected by shortages of teaching materials, low enrolment rates and high drop out rates. In 1989, for example, the region had a net enrolment rate of only 62 percent which was well below the national average of 71 percent.

And, out of all the children who enrolled in primary Standard 1 in 1984 and who completed Standard VII in 1990, the drop out rate was more than 40 percent for four districts of Mwanza (urban), Geita,

Sengerema and Magu. For Kwimba District it was slightly low (31.8%) and surprisingly even lower for Ukerewe District (6.5%) (Regional Commissioners' Office records).

Characteristics of the Villages

The size of the villages differed considerably, ranging from a population of 5015 (Bulamba) to only 17000 (Nansole) where almost in all cases women outnumbered men. In some villages demographic data were not well kept particularly regarding age groups and labour power. As a whole villages in Ukerewe District were more densely populated compared to the same in Kwimba District.

The villages' main economic activities were growing food crops (rice, maize, sorghum, sweet potatoes and cassava) production of cash crops (cotton) keeping livestock (cows, goats and sheep) as well as fishing particularly in Ukerewe District. Two villages (Ng'wambola and Kasololo) had milling machines as well as relatively permanent storage facilities. Other activities found in the village included carpentry, pottery and some petty business such as selling tea, local brew, fish, vegetables and various items in small privately owned shops.

Government institutions included primary school (10) (Mabuki and Bulamba had two each), dispensaries (3), milling machines (2), state farm (1) storage facilities (2). Villages in Kwimba District did not have tap water, they had only wells constructed under the "Health Through Improved Sanitation and Better and More Water Programme (HESAWA), initiated by the governments of Tanzania and Sweden in the Lake Zone in 1985. Apart from lack of safe water, none of the villages had electricity: firewood remained the main source of energy in virtually all households. With increased deforestation, particularly in Kwimba District, women were spending more and more time on looking for firewood.

Provision of health services, and others, was constrained by poor transport, lack of equipment, inadequate facilities and low levels of mass mobilization. Three villages (Nduha, Nansole and Kasololo) were reported to have no dispensary at all. Under such circumstances, dangerous diseases like malaria, diarrhoea, acute respiratory infections, measles and anaemia continued to cause many child and maternal deaths.

Virtually in all households, land use was strictly controlled by men: land was usually allocated on a household basis and subsequently to the head of the household who was in most cases a man. Crops sold in state institutions were also registered in the name of the head of household, the man. Thus, almost in all cases, respondents showed that selling crops was strictly a function of men, even though the women were shouldering a disproportionate share of the agricultural workload.

Characteristics of the Household Heads

Most of the heads of households were above eighteen years old but not more than fifty five years. They were thus within the active group in the community. The majority of them were married with children.

More than 75 percent of the household heads were small holder peasants engaged in a number of activities including agriculture, livestock keeping, fishing (particularly in Ukerewe District) and petty business. Coupled with the fact that they were not salaried workers, it was difficult to determine their real incomes. Nevertheless, and in spite of the fact that nearly all of them were living in houses with grass thatched roofs, their wealth was not evenly distributed: some of them especially in Kwimba District, had hundreds of heads of cattle and more than ten acres of land.

Although all the respondents reported that they were participating in all farm work activities such as cultivation, planting and sawing, applying fertilizers and pesticides, bird and animal scaring as well as harvesting, it was mainly the women who were doing most of the agricultural work in addition to performing all sorts of domestic chores.

Educationwise, only four of the heads of households (three men and one woman) had been to secondary school, while less than 50 percent had attended primary school. Malegea and Mabuki had the highest (19 men and 17 women) and the least (15 men and 5 women) attendance in primary school respectively. About 23 percent of the heads of households had never attended primary school or literacy classes. Table 34 shows the literacy levels of the heads of households.

Table 34: Literacy Levels of Household Heads

Village	Level I-II			Level III-IV			Level V-VII		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Bulamba	5	10	15	2	2	4	3	0	3
Kasololo	8	5	13	2	3	5	-	-	-
Mabuki	5	1	6	8	1	9	1	0	1
Malegea	8	4	12	9	10	19	1	2	3
Nansole	8	4	12	5	5	10	2	1	3
Nduha	10	1	11	7	4	11	2	0	2
Ng'wambola	3	1	5	10	7	17	0	3	3
Nkilizya	3	5	8	12	8	20	1	0	1
Total	50	32	82	55	40	95	10	6	16

It appears from Table 34 that most of the heads of households who had attended literacy classes were at level III - IV followed by level I-II. Very few of them, and none from Kasololo, had reached level V-VII. And at all levels of literacy women were fewer than men.

8.3 Programmes and Projects

Post-literacy Classes and Work-oriented Projects

Post-literacy classes were started throughout the country in 1976 to assist the neo-literates retain their literacy skills, to provide academic upgrading for the youths and general population, as well as to the villages studied, it was found out that at least in the previous five years most of the post literacy classes and virtually all the work-oriented projects were no longer in existence. Table 35 shows the participants in the few post-literacy classes which were currently in operation.

Table 35 Number of Participants in Post-Literacy Classes

Village	Number of Participants		
	M	F	T
Bulamba	14	12	26
Kasololo	-	-	-
Mabuki	-	-	-
Malegea	-	-	-
Nansole	13	8	21
Nduha	-	-	-
Ng'wambola	-	-	-
Nkilizya	10	15	25
Total	37	35	72

All the participants were reported to be neo-literates (level V-VII) and none of them, contrary to what has been noted elsewhere in the study, was a primary school leaver. One possible explanation for the latter could be that the post-literacy classes were not qualitatively attractive to the primary school leavers who would appear to be more interested in re-entering the regular system of education. The post-literacy curriculum in use in the villages studied was predominantly the old one with a bias towards theoretical subjects. The latter included English, Maths, Kiswahili and Political Education. Teachers, however, reported that students would like to learn agriculture, home economics, geography, history and crafts.

This was probably because the participants in the post-literacy classes would like to pursue more relevant, practical and work-oriented projects, aimed at solving their problems which were not only increasing but also becoming more complex in the country's economic crisis which was intensifying.

Three of the teachers had completed secondary education, ordinary level. The other two were only primary school leavers. But all of them had not received any pre-service or in-service training in adult education work. Nor had any one of them, let alone their students, been involved in any significant way in deciding on the content, the process and the delivery modes. Above all, no feasibility study had been done before introducing the programmes, although service providers mentioned several criteria for establishing them including local demand, availability of teaching resources and transport.

8.4 Literacy Environment

In order to assist the neo-literates, retain their newly acquired literacy skills and continue acquiring knowledge and information on development activities, both national and international, supporting programmes were initiated throughout the country as early as 1976. These included rural libraries, rural newspapers, radio education and film education programmes, which altogether would develop a literacy environment particularly in the rural areas.

All adult education coordinators and service providers considered rural library to be a vital support programme catering for educational and recreational needs of not only the neo-literates but also all the members of the rural community. But interviews with teachers and heads of households indicated that nearly all the rural libraries, which were established in the wards and villages in the mid 1970s, were no longer functioning. The problem of manpower to manage the rural libraries was serious: no librarian could be contacted by the research team, throughout the entire research period. Virtually all rural librarians had dropped out especially due to irregular payment of honoraria and lack of the requisite expertise in library work. Other equally serious problems were insufficient and undiversified book titles and content as well as poor buildings and furniture.

Rural newspapers were not impressive either. Although all the adult education coordinators and teachers were aware of the presence of a rural newspaper known as "Elimu Haina Mwisho" (Education Has No End) and in fact many copies of the newspaper were piled up in the district adult education offices particularly in Kwimba, no single copy was reported to exist. When the heads of households were shown a copy and asked whether or not they had seen such a newspaper most of them said they had not. Adult education coordinators pointed out lack of transport as the main problem adversely affecting the distribution of the rural newspaper and other reading materials in the villages. While this problem cannot be ignored, it should not be exaggerated as there were certainly other options. For example, there were always vehicles from other departments in the districts going to the villages which could assist in distributing such important reading materials.

The findings on radio listening were slightly more positive. As Table 36 shows, 114 (28.5%) of the household heads owned radio sets and 285 (71.2%) were listening to the radio.

Table 36 Radio Listening by Sex

Village	Has radio			Listens to radio		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
Mabuki	11	10	21	21	19	40
Kasoloto	8	6	14	18	11	29
Mabuki	6	1	7	21	4	25
Malegea	13	11	24	24	22	46
Nansole	7	5	12	20	16	36
Nduha	9	4	13	19	15	34
Ng'wambola	7	3	10	20	17	37
Nkilizya	8	5	13	24	14	38
Total	69	45	114	167	118	285

It should be noted, however, that female heads of households were listening to the radio less than their male counterparts, and, more significantly, the findings indicated that all of them were not listening to the radio education programme which was being broadcasted three times a week for literacy teachers and adult learners. Most of them were more interested in listening to news, sports, death announcements and music programmes. Interviews with the post-literacy teachers further showed that both the radio sets which had been distributed in the mid 1970s and the radio listening groups which were very active during the mass education campaigns, particularly the Mtu ni Afya (Man is Health) campaign, had disappeared.

Regarding film education, it was discovered that the majority of the household heads had seen a film shown in the wards or villages. Table 37 presents the findings on cinema watch by sex.

Table 37 Cinema Watch by Sex

	M	F	T
Mabuki	18	18	36
Ng'wambola	24	20	44
Kasoloto	15	18	33
Nduha	32	4	36
Nansole	23	22	45
Bulamba	17	18	35
Malegea	18	18	36
Nkilizya	18	20	38
Total	165	138	303

It is noticeable from Table 37 that more than three quarters (75.7%) of the heads of households had seen a film. In this case too female heads of households who had seen a film in the villages were fewer compared to the male heads of households. This was probably due to the fact that films were being shown in the evenings, when women were too busy preparing meals and performing other domestic chores. When they were asked to say who had shown the films, of which most were on agriculture, health, religious and cultural activities, none of the heads of households mentioned the Ministry of Education and Culture.

8.5 Programmes and Projects Offered by Other Government Departments

Interviews with service providers, others than those of the Ministry of Education and Culture, showed that the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock, Health and Community Development, Women Affairs and Children were offering programmes and projects which appeared to be popular among the peasants. Table 38 shows these programmes and projects and the participants.

Table 38: Programmes and Projects Offered by Other Government Departments (a)

Village	Population			Agriculture			Animal husbandry			Health Education		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Bulamba	-	-	5015							-	10	10
Kasololo	1158	1376	2534	40	8	8	6	3	9	-	-	-
Mabuki	895	947	1842	50	12	62	-	-	-	20	31	51
Malegea	-	-	2006	31	7	38	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nansole	550	620	1170	32	3	35	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nduha	1408	1608	3016	40	-	40	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ng'wambola	812	1007	1819	60	22	88	47	1	48	500	700	1200
Nkilizya	1965	2256	4221	-	-	-	20	15	35	-	-	-

(a)

These are estimates of contact groups. Otherwise agriculture and health extension services were being provided to all households.

Although Table 38 shows that there were more male than female participants in agriculture and animal husbandry programmes, the latter were not gender biased. Agricultural extension services were provided throughout the year and to all farmers. A few progressive farmers were selected to demonstrate to the rest of the members of the community how to make use of modern methods of agriculture and animal husbandry and their results. Reading materials, including a newspaper known as "Ukulima wa Kisasa" (modern agriculture), leaflets and pamphlets were also provided at the cost of ten shillings to provide further information on modern methods of agriculture and animal husbandry. However, ability to read and write was not a necessary prerequisite for participation in the programmes and projects.

The Ministry of Health was offering health education in areas such as family planning, preventive health care, and environmental sanitation. Meeting places included schools, dispensaries and individual homes and the programmes were running throughout the year. Female participants outnumbered their male counterparts probably because the programmes were aimed at improving health conditions in the homes which was the main prerogative of women.

As noted elsewhere, most villages in Mwanza Region, had no access to clean and safe water. In collaboration with Sweden, the Tanzanian Government launched a health through sanitation and water programme in 1985 throughout Mwanza Region, which was being implemented through intensive community participation at all stages of the project cycle namely decision-making, planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

This was a good example, of integrated development cooperation not only between governments (Sweden and Tanzania) but also between different Ministries (Community Development, Women Affairs and Children, Regional Administration and Local Government, Health and Ministry of Water, Energy and Minerals).

Utilizing a decentralized approach, and with a particular focus on women and children, the project sought to develop technical know-how at village level through training and use of an appropriate technology as well as operation and maintenance with cost efficiency.

8.6 Reading and Writing Habits

One of the main objectives of post-literacy was to assist the neo-literates make use of their reading and writing skills, thereby avoiding relapse into illiteracy. The study first sought to find out how many household heads had been reading newspapers and/or books in the villages and the results are shown in Table 39.

Table 39: Reading Habits of Household Heads by Sex

Village	Reading Newspaper			Reading Books		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
Bulamba	13	10	23	16	9	25
Mabuki	12	4	16	14	6	20
Malegea	19	10	29	23	16	39
Nansole	16	6	22	15	9	24
Nkilizya	15	12	27	15	17	32
Ng'wambola	10	12	22	12	11	23
Nduha	16	3	19	20	5	25
Kasoloto	16	7	23	10	9	19
Total	117	64	181	125	82	207

It is noticeable from Table 39 that at least half of heads of households, the number being comparatively less for women, had read newspapers and books. When they were asked which newspaper they had read, they mentioned papers such as Uhuru, Mzalendo, Kiongozi and Ukulima wa Kisasa. As has been shown elsewhere, no single head of household mentioned the rural newspaper - Elimu Haina Mwisho - issued by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Nor did the books include those written under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and Culture such as the various post-literacy primers whose copies were not even reported to exist in the houses of the heads of households. Even more spectacular were the findings on the sources of books which the heads of households had read; there was only one from Malegea, Nduha and Mabuki. Nansole had the largest number which was only seven. No female head of household who had obtained them from a library. Thus, the majority of the heads of households were obtaining newspapers and books from town, relatives, neighbours and on the street.

Responding to a question on library use, again only a small minority (22:5.5%) of the heads of households indicated that they had used the library before, as can be gathered from Table 40, which further confirms the earlier observations that the rural libraries were not functioning as expected.

Table 40: Library Use by Sex

Village	M	F	T
Bulamba	3	-	3
Kasololo	1	1	2
Mabuki	3	-	3
Malegea	2	1	3
Nansole	3	0	3
Nduha	1	-	1
Ng'wambola	5	3	8
Nkilizya	1	1	2
Total	19	6	25

With respect to writing habits, the heads of households were asked to say whether or not they had written anything at all, or filled in a form, or if they had a signature. Table 41 presents the findings.

Table 41: Household Heads' Writing Habits by Sex

Village	Writing		Filling in a		Having Signature	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Bulamba	20	12	18	2	15	5
Kasololo	15	11	10	7	15	9
Mabuki	17	1	15	1	17	1
Malegea	21	16	15	14	9	15
Nduha	13	8	6	4	10	6
Ng'wambola	18	7	7	1	15	1
Nansole	20	12	13	9	19	10
Nkilizya	18	13	8	4	14	7
Total	144	80	92	42	114	58

It can be seen from Table 41 that about half of the heads of households had not written anything, or filled in any form or signed any document. In this regard there were no significant differences among the villages. For every literacy practice, however, female heads of households were worse off than the male heads of households.

8.7 Literacy and Participation in Socio-Economic Activities

Post-literacy is not likely to contribute to development, and subsequently cannot be valued by the clients, unless it is relevant and considered to be of practical use in the daily life activities of the people and in the development activities of the village: the question of how literacy training is connected with the process of capital accumulation and state legitimation is an important one.

Virtually all adult education coordinators and most service providers under the Ministry of Education and Culture were of the view that what adults were learning in the post-literacy classes was directly related to what they were doing every day: they were not only learning how to read and write but they were also acquiring knowledge and various skills pertaining to agriculture, animal husbandry, health and sanitation, food and nutrition, child care, crafts and political education.

But as has already been shown, there had not been any work-oriented projects for a long time in the villages; the more theory-oriented post-literacy classes had been designed from above; participation in

the programmes was minimal; and no relevant reading materials to enrich the knowledge of the villagers were easily available in the villages. And yet even if rural newspapers were reaching the villagers regularly as scheduled, they would not suffice in providing adequate and relevant development information partly because they did not address the needs and interests of the immediate local community.

Perhaps it was not surprising then that service providers others than those of the Ministry of Education and Culture pointed out that literacy was important but not a necessary condition for participation in their own programmes and projects. Illiteracy was not considered to be a hindrance to participation and nor was insufficient education a reason for changing the programmes content where changes had been introduced.

Similarly the heads of households did not appear to regard post literacy as a priority. Given the manner in which it was introduced and implemented in the villages, and inspite of the exhortations of the party and government leaders at all levels, any literacy training tended to be regarded by the peasants as regular schooling for children which they were too old to pursue and they would not secure any employment in offices however well they would have performed in the literacy or post-literacy classes. The rhetoric about work-oriented programmes and projects notwithstanding, the main emphasis remained on reading and writing.

And yet, after observing the reading and writing practices of heads of households who had gone through the literacy classes, it became apparent that the literacy skills themselves had not been mastered as expected, making it even more difficult for them to see the concrete benefits of literacy.

Problems and needs perceived by villagers and service providers.

The villages did not differ significantly in their level of development. As a whole, village leaders, service providers and heads of households mentioned the following problems which were adversely affecting the development of the villages as well as the provision of post-literacy activities: poor transport, lack of safe water, dispensary, dips, classrooms, desks and food storage facilities for most of the villages. In Malegea inadequate development consciousness was reported as well as lack of cooperation among the state organs. In Ngw'ambola, a village leader was concerned with the problem of government officials not living in their respective villages. Land disputes were regarded by both village leaders and heads of households in Bulamba, Nansole, Malegea and Nkilizya as critical problems: during the villagization programme of the mid 1970s, land was redistributed in the district and was currently one of the main sources of conflict.

Specifically referring to problems and constraints on post-literacy activities, service providers pointed out the following which were shared by teachers: poor transport, inadequate funds allocated to post-literacy activities, insufficient teaching and learning materials, lack of teachers with the requisite skills, poor learning environment and irregular payment of honoraria. Other problems were poor distribution of newspapers in the villages, poor buildings and furniture for rural libraries, lack of maintenance of post-literacy materials and equipment and agricultural activities coinciding with post-literacy activities. And as the economic crisis was intensifying, there was an increasing reprioritization of activities: both teachers and adult learners were spending more time either looking for food or performing some small scale but nevertheless essential economic activities to subsidize their incomes.

In view of these problems the service providers made the following suggestions to improve on the post-literacy programmes and projects in the villages, pay honoraria to the teachers regularly, educate both the peasants and the leaders on the importance of adult education as a whole and do not organize post-literacy classes during farming seasons.

9. THE LITERACY ENVIRONMENT: DUST ON THE BOOKSHELVES.

9.1. The environment.

A literacy environment can be defined as the total of opportunities people have in their social and economic situation, due to the fact that they are literate or non literate. Or, in other words, the role that being literate plays in the life of the members of a community.

A literacy environment is not an independent entity, it is part of the whole socio-cultural environment of the community. Its existence depends on the opportunities that the social and cultural environment offers a literacy environment to develop.

As could be expected, the literacy environment is not developed in communities that mainly live on subsistence farming or itinerant livestock breeding. Subsistence farming does not lead to important surpluses that are used to purchase reading materials.

The literacy environment consists therefore of the provisions that are made available and of the opportunities people have to make use of these provisions.

The provisions can be made by government agencies, NGO's, or commercial organisations or individuals.

9.2. The MEC's provisions and their use.

The case studies confirmed what had been found or suspected by several previous studies: The post literacy provisions in the areas visited are less than planned or hoped for. Other ministries and organisations have similar activities in the rural areas and face the same problems. A UNESCO document, stressing the need for coordination between these different educational and extension activities is under study. Coordination of activities between different organizations is difficult to realize on a voluntary basis. Moreover, those who are the most active are probably those who receive a significant support from foreign donors, which will make coordination even more difficult as these foreign donors tend to pursue their own aims and to work along their own views.

9.2.1. Rural newspapers.

There are rural newspapers for eight zones, one in Zanzibar and seven on the main land. Each zone has an editor, deputy editor, assistant editor and production manager. The role of the editor and his/her deputy is mainly editorial while that of the assistant editor is administrative. (i.e. managing funds and distributing newspapers). The printing of the rural newspapers is done by the production manager.

Apart from this administrative structure, there are advisory and production committees whose task it is to ensure that newspapers are produced in the most opportune time. From the zonal headquarters, the rural newspapers are delivered to the regions and from the regions to the districts and wards.

In four zones the printing is done by the rural presses that, apart from printing newspapers, also print other educational materials.

At the central level, a rural press unit was established to provide for feasible literature in the rural areas with a view to educating, informing and entertaining rural population. The ultimate aim was to create a permanent literacy environment in the rural areas.

From the case studies it has become clear that the rural newspapers hardly reach villagers in the rural areas. Other papers are found more frequently, but in most cases are also lacking.

Lack of transport facilities is given as the main reason. But lack of motivation on the side of those who are responsible for the distribution and those who are responsible for the transport facilities is also mentioned.

The DAE mentions multiple problems that the rural newspaper programme faces: The number of copies printed is too small, there are delays in production and distribution, as there are not enough printing facilities and transport. There are also not sufficient trained reporters who could present information in the most effective manner.

A decision to commercialise the rural presses by creating a corporation sole for them is in preparation.

Apart from the availability of transport, also its costs are a serious problem:

In some districts it costs 1200 Tzshs. for petrol to transport 100 copies of rural newspapers which are sold for Tzshs. 500. (at a price of 5 Tshs per copy).

The MEC counts on foreign support to solve the distribution problems. If the transport problem would be solved, others might appear on the horizon, like a realistic and at the same time affordable price. Also relevance and interest of contents for the target groups are topics of critical discussion. Other government agencies and NGO's face the same transport problems. From a point of view of cost effectiveness it should not be encouraged that each government service has its own rural newspaper.

The ministry plans the decentralization of the rural newspaper, and to make them more competitive by providing local news and by training newspaper producers. The appropriateness of rural newspapers in the rural areas will be discussed separately.

At the moment this report was being written, a UNESCO/NORAD mission visited Tanzania in order to investigate the rural press situation in view of possible NORAD support.

9.2.2. Rural libraries.

Rural libraries were first established in the Lake zone during the literacy Pilot Study. Since 1971 they got established throughout the country. So far, 3170 rural libraries have been created and 627 librarians have been trained. These rural libraries are situated at regional, district and ward levels and sometimes in villages.

The Adult Education coordinators supervise the rural library services at their respective levels.

The aims of setting up rural libraries were:

1. To check the relapse into illiteracy of the new literates.
2. To strengthen the knowledge and skills already acquired from the functional literacy programme.
3. To create a learning environment and maintain peoples intellectual powers so as to enable them participate in socio-economic development.

Most of the rural librarians are primary school leavers, who are also functional literacy teachers. These librarians are trained through short/refresher courses. The Ministry of Education and Culture in collaboration with Tanzania Library Services is responsible for the training programme. The officer in-charge of the Rural Library Section of the DAE is an employee of the Tanzania Library Service, hence he acts as an adviser to the DAE.

Each library at ward-level was provided with about 500 titles and two copies per title. They receive also zonal newspapers. Most of these rural libraries do not have librarians to run them. SIDA has supported the library programme since 1971 with the provision of books and training of librarians.

The problems that the DAE at the moment faces in realising the rural library programme are the following:

Most of the libraries are housed in poor buildings: primary schools, private houses, primary courts etc. Since there are no permanent houses, and other facilities e.g. chairs, benches, tables, shelves for library services to be carried out effectively, it has been a problem to make people see the use

of the library. Presently the local authorities have been advised to erect permanent housing for rural libraries.

The librarians are poorly equipped with material and equipment to work with and have not received any training. There are no written manuals or guides on what librarians are supposed to do and how to do it.

There seem to be inadequate financial resources. Most of the librarians though they are entitled to a honorarium of Tzshs.300/= per month no longer receive it. As a consequence most of them are too demoralized to render their services.

The ward libraries are often situated far from villages. The survey found that the utilization of rural libraries is minimal. Sometimes villagers do not even know that there is a library in the village. The books have simply been stored somewhere and no publicity has been given to their presence. Librarians are either absent or not motivated.

Books had been borrowed and never brought back. No new books had been received for a long time. Record keeping was nil or doubtful and librarians, if any, had not received a honorarium for a long time.

The DAE seeks support to improve the library structure with trained librarians at region and district levels who supervise the ward libraries. The communities are asked to provide buildings for the libraries. Librarians will be better trained and supervised. Supervisors would be provided with transport.

9.2.3. Radio.

A radio education unit was established in Dar es Salaam in 1972 and in Mwanza 1974. The unit in Mwanza was basically aimed at providing for training opportunities to post-literacy teachers to improve their teaching skills and to support post-literacy activities in the fields of agriculture, home-craft, craft and health. The unit in Dar es Salaam deals with policy issues in adult education and plays a mobilization role i.e. motivating people to take an active role in adult education activities.

There are three producers in Dar es Salaam, their main functions include collecting news on adult education activities from the villages and to broadcast them. Secondly they prepare educational programmes.

The unit has not undertaken any study to evaluate its achievements. The unit faces a number of problems which include inadequate financial resources and transport facilities. These problems make the collection of news from the villages and broadcasting difficult. At times, the producers are compelled to use public transport in which they have to pay fare from their own pocket in order to keep the programme running. Apart from this, the recording equipment is almost out of order; out of 10 tape-recorders for example, only one is in good condition. There are no funds to rehabilitate the defective ones. The radio sets which were distributed in the mid 1970s are no longer in operation. In some instances, some of the primary school heads volunteer to use their sets but again, these cannot be relied much as batteries are too expensive. It is also difficult to get enough time at the Radio Tanzania Studio (RTD) to broadcast their programmes apart from the huge costs they are supposed to incur.

The survey found that only very few radio's were found to operate in the villages. Those that had been distributed in the framework of the post literacy programme were do no longer functioning. Batteries are considered to be too expensive.

Those who listened to radio, whether at home or elsewhere, preferred to listen to music, news and death announcements. Educational programmes were seldom listened to.

The educational programmes are not specific for a certain region and as a consequence sometimes irrelevant for at least part of the audience.

The DAE seeks support to improve this situation by the rehabilitation of studios, the purchase of radios, training of group leaders, purchase of materials, improved communication, transportation and the training of technicians. It also wants to make the broadcasts more relevant by creating region specific programmes.

9.2.4. Film shows.

The film education programme started in 1974. It has the following objectives:

1. To provide film education to the community
2. To create a learning environment and sustain both literacy and post-literacy programmes.

Several film vans were distributed to the regions; but these were misused and some broke down. In 1981 portable generators and projectors were distributed to 11 regions. Practically only electricity supplied areas are shown the films and it is usually in the regional/urban areas.

The Audio-visual Institute provides short courses (about two weeks) to the Audio-visual coordinators at regional and district levels. Apart from their other duties, these Audio-visual coordinators operate and or supervise the films. The films are supplied by Tanzania Film Company Library at a rate of Tzshs. 1000 per institution per year. the Audio-visual Institute in collaboration with the Adult Education Department has shot some Adult Education films to be used for literacy and post-literacy programmes.

Types of films shown are basically either educational or entertainment.

The Regional/District Audio-visual coordinators usually choose films relevant in the locality; e.g. where the community engages in cotton farming, then film of the relevant subject would be shown; likewise pastoral communities fishing localities etc.

Most of the participants in film-shows are men and children; as most of the film shows take place in the evenings and at this time the women are busy either preparing evening meals and doing other house work before they retire to bed.

Most of the regions show women and children participation is 30%.

Problems mentioned:

1. Lack of equipments - the area to be covered is enormous but the equipment are few. Only few (minority) enjoy this services.
2. Lack of transport.
Even where the equipment is available in the region it is difficult to get reliable means of transport to and bring a projector and portable generator to the districts or villages to show the film.
3. Inadequate training.
The only training offered in film education was in 1978 and later in 1986 there was a short seminar held; till now there has never been any training programme. Many changes have taken place, and the once trained personnel are no longer there!
4. Communication.
To have the regions/district get the films from the Audio-visual Institute/or Tanzania Film Company takes time due to poor postal services; then there is a time limit for one to stay with a film. This snag frustrates some users as a result they don't bother to press for orders, ultimately the people are denied the service.

The outcome of the survey shows that no films from the DAE have been shown in the villages under survey over the last two years. The film vans seem to have broken down. Here too, the DAE

wants new transport, new equipment and more training of operators.

Like it is the case with the rural newspapers, other government organizations and NGO's have film units that show films in the rural areas. The costs involved are high and the benefits uncertain, to say the least of it.

The DAE seeks support for the purchase of film vans (one per zone plus one for headquarters and one for Mwanza), training for operators (one for each region) and training of visual aids officers.

9.2.5. Post literacy classes.

Post literacy classes started in 1975 in an effort to link the literacy programme to the formal education system. In 1978 it was decided to leave this approach and to continue special programmes to grade VII. Topics were: political education, home economics, Agricultural Production, Crafts, Health, English, Mathematics, Geography, Political Economics and History. Also the programme was considered to be too academic and in 1987 it was decided to concentrate on a work oriented curriculum. There are three main streams: Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Home economics and Health and Handicrafts. The old programme was, however, not discontinued.

Only a very few post literacy classes were noted during the survey, some of them outside the survey area. They followed the old post literacy curriculum and had a low number of students. Teachers are disappointed: they had been promised further opportunities and received a honorarium. The opportunities did not materialise and the honorarium has ceased to be paid.

Classes with the new post literacy programme were not reported.

This new post literacy programme covers the same broad areas as the FDC's. Work orientation means that the training is focusing on skills that can be applied in productive activities. These are, however, not always the activities in which the students are engaged. They learn crafts in the hope that they will ever be able to apply that knowledge.

9.3. Other providers.

Several other government organisations and NGO have programmes similar to the post literacy programmes in the rural areas. To mention a few:

9.3.1. Chewata.

Chewata stands for: Chama Cha Elimu ya Watu Wazima Tanzania (National Adult Education Association of Tanzania). It is a forum for exchange of information, experiences, knowledge, literature and publications in all fields of adult education. Its main objective is to serve the adult community in all its socio-economic, cultural, political and educational aspects.

The organization gets its financial resources from its members, central government in the form of subvention, publications and by hiring its go-down.

The organization in co-operation with the DAE, prepares post literacy materials which are distributed to the rural libraries. A vocational training centre has also been established to offer among others secretarial courses to students who cannot be admitted in similar related institutions where entry qualifications are extremely high. Clients are mainly literacy graduates, primary and secondary school leavers as well as the self-employed.

9.3.2. Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock Development and Cooperatives.

This Ministry's Farmers' Education and Information Unit is responsible for: education for farmers, production of educational materials for extension personnel, mass education and education for extension personnel.

The education for farmers is conducted mainly through the mass media and residential farmers' training. In the mass media programme, educational materials such as posters, slides and pamphlets are produced and distributed.. a twice weekly radio programme is broadcasted in collaboration with Radio Tanzania Dar es Salaam (RTD) and other relevant agencies and a farmers' magazine and other reading materials are also published and distributed.

The residential farmers programmes have a duration between one week and three months. This training is conducted at Farmers' Training Centres and designated Folk Development Colleges. An evaluation of the impact of the programme was conducted 4-5 years ago in Mtwara and another one in Ruvuma in 1991.

It was found that the radio programmes and farmers' magazines had some impact but they did reach only one third of the farmers.

The major limitations encountered were:

- a. The capacity to produce large quantities of reading materials is limited.
- b. Using a national radio station may not be relevant to all regions. Farmers' Magazines are sent to each district monthly, however, due to lack of transport they do not reach the villages in most cases.
- c. Field staff have limited opportunities to go to the field due to transport problem and financial constraint.
- d. The following strategies for improvement have been developed:
- e. Production of leaflets and pamphlets for farmers instead of a magazine.
- g. Utilization of zonal and regional radio stations in order to make the programme more relevant.
- h. Strengthening capabilities of the regional officers by providing regular training.
- i. Training of Regional subject matter specialists in crop and livestock production to cater for regional needs.
- j. Team building and communication skills for extension workers.
- k. Cooperation with other Agencies/Organizations
 - with Tanzania Food and Nutrition Centre in preparing the radio programme on nutrition.
 - with the Department of Adult Education, M.E.C. in Writers' workshop to write books for adult learners, to evaluate curriculum and pre-testing of reading materials.
 - with the Ministry of Information specifically RTD to produce radio programme.
 - with the Institute of Curriculum Development in producing relevant training materials.
 - with the Institute for Continuing Education, Sokoine University of Agriculture to provide resource persons.

9.3.3. Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC)

9.3.3.1. The Caritas Department.

The Caritas Department of the Roman Catholic Church was established in 1971 to cater for development and social welfare activities (carried out by the Roman Catholic Church) throughout the country. It deals with: women development, various development projects, refugees, provision of aid to people during catastrophes/emergencies.

Training is provided, mostly related to the other activities, at the national, regional and diocese and sub-parish level.

A programme, known as DELTA (Development education leadership training action programme), aims at assisting people in the villages to be self-reliant. Public meetings and short courses are held a number of themes are discussed, like construction of wells and roads, better health practices, modern methods of agriculture, securing machines and milling machines.

Pamphlets and handouts are provided to the participants such as "Training for Transformation," "Social change and Development", "CODE catalogue" and "Raising Water with Different Pumps". Instructions are provided by relatively well trained people, whose levels of education range from University graduates to Form IV leavers. At the grassroots level (diocese parish and sub-parish) they function as facilitators.

The general response of the masses is considered to be very good, as many people like to have their own projects. An evaluation committee meets every three months to discuss projects which need further assistance. In every region/diocese there is a CARITAS representative and one in-charge of women issues.

Main Source of finance: a grant from Australia. Assistance given to the peasants within the country is also in the form of a grant.

9.3.3.2. Health Department.

The department is divided into two main sections, namely MCH (Maternal and Child Health) and Aids. MCH was established in 1976 to provide:

- general health education to women in the households
- family planning as offered in the clinics run by the government
- family life education to those intending to marry or to those who are already married.
- general health education to women groups.

9.3.4. HESAWA.

Another educational programme for the rural areas is the Health, Sanitation and Water Programme under the Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children. Its approach is participatory and community based. It concentrates on groups of individuals who express the need to learn and to undertake activities. In order to obtain support from this programme, these activities should be in the field of health, sanitation and water. The outside support is temporary: once the facilities (e.g. pumps) have been installed and information about their use and maintenance given the project supervises for a couple of years. In the mean time, the local organization (HESAWA Committee) is set up to take care of this maintenance and the finance involved. After a couple of years of guidance, the local group takes over complete responsibility. The programme started in 1985 and an evaluation which will study the impact of this programme will soon take place..

9.3.5. FDC

The Folk Development Colleges' (FDC) programme originated in 1975. It took over the activities of the Farmers Training Centres of the Ministry of Agriculture and the Rural Training Centres of the Community Development Department. It was a programme of the MEC until 1990, when it was transferred to the Ministry of Local Government, Community Development, Cooperatives and Marketing.

The FDC's are training institutions, focusing on the rural population. They provide long courses

(nine to twenty four months) and short courses. The subjects are mainly work oriented in the field of Agriculture, Handicrafts and Home Economics.

The FDC's are community oriented: the communities are to be involved in the selection of participants who in their turn are assumed to apply what they have learned in their community.

At this moment there are 52 FDC's. The Ministry aims at having one in each district.

Responsibility for the long courses is with the FDC training staff. The short courses are organized by other ministries and organizations.

The courses are free of charge.

The FDC's receive an important support from SIDA: equipment, vehicles, installations, materials and training.

Recently an evaluation of the FDC programme took place. At the moment of the post literacy study, the report of this evaluation was not yet final.

9.3.6. The Tanzanian Council of Churches.

In this council, the protestant churches coordinate their work. The individual churches are responsible for the activities. They are too numerous to be discussed in this report. Training of staff, however, and printing of material is done centrally by an office of the Tanzanian Council of Churches.

10. RESEARCHERS AS ARMCHAIR CRITICS: ANALYSIS AND COMMENTS.

10.1. Literacy and expectations about productivity.

It is only in retrospect, making use of insights that were at least not commonly shared by all concerned when the programmes were initiated, that an effort can be made to explain why things are as they are, why the post literacy provisions function so badly today or are even completely absent.

First it seems that expectations about the programme have been too high. They were based on optimistic assumptions regarding the role of adult education in general and more specifically about the function of literacy in a society that is based on subsistence farming..

All parties concerned, all over the world, but in the case of Tanzania especially the government, the party, UNESCO, SIDA and other donors believed in education. Education was seen, not only as a condition, but as the motor for economic development.

The relation between economic development and education has repeatedly been studied. Quantitative macro studies by the World Bank showed a clear correlation between educational level and productivity and research on a smaller scale showed that among rice farmers using modern production techniques higher levels of education went hand in hand with higher yields per acre. For traditional rice farmers this was, however less evident.

No general causal relation seems to exist in the sense that more education leads to higher productivity. It may exist for certain methods of production, but not for subsistence farming. And for most rural Tanzanians, subsistence farming is the main source of living.

It is more likely that changes in economic productivity and education go hand in hand. Also in the more developed regions of Tanzania, the educational level is higher, but what was the cause and what the effect, if at all it is possible to talk about cause and what was the effect?

It might be worth while to study in detail what happens when a population of subsistence farmers take up cash crops, what the role is of the different inputs from outside their community and especially what the role is of education and training. For the moment it seems that a literacy environment can only grow in a social and cultural environment that is responsive to literacy.

10.2. Ambitious objectives.

These high expectations resulted in an ambitious programme which tried to cover the whole country and to create a literacy environment in every village. The programme was over ambitious in the sense that it expected teachers who themselves had a limited education to teach adults, that it expected adults to be motivated and to have time and energy to participate in the activities.

The aims of the post literacy programme reflect these ambitions. They read:

- (a) *The post literacy programme should be work-oriented and thus must enable adult learners to acquire knowledge and skills which they need for performing their daily work and for solving their daily problems so that they become self-reliant. The programme is expected to enable learners improve their knowledge of Kiswahili, reading, writing and arithmetic skills so that they eventually become self-reliant in searching for further knowledge/education.*
- (b) *To give learners an opportunity to express themselves thus contributing to the total transformation of the society through more active participation in economic, social, cultural and ideological life.*
- (c) *To liberate women from the yoke of economic, political, social and cultural exploitation which is influenced by unequal ownership of means of production and distribution.*
- (d) *To cultivate, among post-literacy learners, a permanent reading culture by improving and consolidating institutional structures which promote learning habits.*
- (e) *To enable literacy graduates widen their theoretical and practical knowledge on agriculture, crafts and appropriate technology."*

These objectives are phrased in very general terms and include some implicit assumptions. Moreover, they are a mixture of real objectives, means to attain them, characteristics and expectations.

The real objectives are then: "to enable adult learners to acquire knowledge and skills which they need for performing their daily work and for solving their daily problems." But these objectives are subordinated to another: "in order that they may become self-reliant". In the next sentence, this self reliance is conditioned: "in searching for further knowledge and education".

The second and third objectives are even more diffuse and almost empty. What is "more active participation in economic, social, cultural and ideological life"? What is a contribution to the total transformation of society? etc. etc. In the third objective, the liberation of women, a link is made with the influence of unequal ownership of means of production and distribution. This should warn us, but is not intended to do so in that paragraph, that the liberation of women cannot be achieved through education alone. The fourth and fifth objectives are more down to earth but worded in too general terms.

10.3. Management and finance.

Finally, a fundamental assumption was that a central leadership could guide the masses of the population on their way to development. A centralized and planned economy was opted for. Education in general and adult education especially were given an important part of the national budget and, moreover, profited from support by several international donors. A bureaucratic structure has been built up which has to implement by itself the huge task of eradicating illiteracy and maintaining literacy. SIDA supported the Tanzanian leadership's efforts to build a nation based on a Tanzanian form of socialism in which the whole population would share the benefits of development. Education was considered as an aim in itself, as a fundamental human right, but in the first place as an instrument for development. A central bureaucracy was created to guide and stimulate this development.

The realizations of the post literacy programme are not what they were expected to be. Lack of funds is the main reason mentioned by the DAE. The ministry's budget does not allow anything above recurrent expenses like salaries, electricity, telephone bills, stationary, petrol and to a certain extent maintenance of the vehicles. This is not an exceptional situation in Tanzania. In other departments it was also mentioned that whenever some activities take place they are funded from outside.

A question has to be asked, however, if a central government agency is indeed capable of conducting directly activities in rural areas like the post literacy programme. The distance between the DAE in Dar es Salaam and the villagers is longer than is often realized: conceptualisation and planning in Dar are ahead of realisations. This is not a geographical issue only. The distance between the academic thinking in the DAE and related institutions and the daily lives of villagers is a distance between cultures. In fact, the distance between two cultures geographically far from each other like Sweden and Tanzania is much shorter on the academic level (though there too is some distance) than between the world of planning, conceptual, thinking and bureaucratic structures and procedures on one side and the daily preoccupations of subsistence farmers on the other. This does not mean that those at the centre do not know: they know what peasant life, is from publications or even from their own experience. But it is difficult to integrate such knowledge into professional life.

It should be, and at the moment actually is realized, that such bureaucracies tend to become an end in themselves. Responsibilities are well described but also restricted and even if a service stops to function it does not stop to exist.

Partly under pressure of foreign donors, the government has realized that its centrally planned economy needed changes, that more should be left to the market and that the government's role should be decreased.

The case studies showed that sometimes NGO's are more active in the villages than government services. NGO's do not undertake literacy programmes, but do have some activities which are similar

to the post literacy programmes. A general feeling exists that NGO agents are more motivated in their work than government officers. A simple reason given for this fact is that NGO agents can loose their job when they do not function according to expectations and that the NGO's are less bureaucratic. NGO agents are said to be less preoccupied by the internal functioning of the system in which they operate and are more task oriented. A government officer may feel frustrated by the fact that he receives many copies of a rural newspaper but cannot distribute them because he has no transport, but his position is safe. The NGO's can also be selective, they are in no obligation to serve the whole country and can concentrate their efforts. They are also not compartmentalized like government departments with specific fields of intervention.

The MEC's development budget is very small and, especially for adult education, depends for more than 90% on foreign support. At the moment the MEC's covers salaries, per diems, maintenance of cars, fuel, stationary, telephone bills and the existing buildings.

Against this background, the plans of the DAE look very much like a list of wishes at the intention of good willing donors. There is no fundamental rethinking of the policy against the background of the facts about realizations and funds available.

The dependence on and presence of foreign donors creates peculiar situations as far as administration and management are concerned. The donors differ in their objectives, policy and administrative procedures. Support is given project wise or programme wise. It is never an overall support and as a consequence some gaps can exist when the foreign donor does not fill them. Moreover, donor assistance implies donor's control over the spending and the donor's possible interference in policy matters.

The foreign support to post literacy is mainly given by SIDA. Without SIDA's support the Tanzanian literacy programme would never have achieved what it has.

An important part of the SIDA contribution is in equipment and materials. Probably it was, in an early stage of this support, expected that the goals would have been reached in a foreseeable future, or that the Tanzanian economy would develop in such a way that the government would, at a certain moment, be able to replace the equipment when depreciated and to provide materials from its own budget. This has been too optimistic: the moment is not yet in sight that this will be so.

104. Staff.

The term *provisions* suggests that things provided for are the most important, the role of the providers should not be underestimated. These providers are in the first place the post literacy teachers. They were the ones who first had to give literacy training and later the post literacy programme. It was an extra task, above their daily teaching activities as school teachers. They received some training in adult education methods, but in practice their teaching was not different from the classroom teaching for children. They were paid a honorarium and were promised further training and career opportunities. In general, they materialize that they were performing an important task in the framework of the development of the Tanzanian society.

At the moment they are disappointed and no longer motivated. The training opportunities mostly did not realize and their extra pay is coming irregularly and late. But more important is even that they, in the first place as school teachers, which is their main task, suffer from the economic crises. Since 1978 their salaries in term of purchasing power has decreased more than 50%, which means to such an extent that they cannot live on their salary. Therefore, measures to motivate post literacy teachers can only be taken in the framework of the total improvement of the teachers' situation. Such an improvement

is now under study. The result may be that a more efficient use will be made of the school teachers who are now sometimes underemployed as far as their teaching duties are concerned.

If adult education, literacy and post literacy activities will remain a secondary job for already fully occupied teachers, the expectations about the quality of their teaching and its results should not be high, and it is most likely that the efforts that go into adult education will be wasted. This is another reason to concentrate the financial and human resources available on a restricted number of viable activities.

10. Appropriateness and community participation.

The first objective is two fold and reflects the new post literacy programme in the work orientation and the old post literacy programme in the search for further education.

The study did not find much evidence on the implementation of the work oriented post literacy programme. The research team was informed, however, about the FDC's post literacy programmes where one of the problems seemed to be that many of those who were trained did not practise what they learned after coming back to their villages. Providing successful trainees with tools is sometimes thought to be the solution. But, though the idea of a work oriented programme seems attractive, a careful study should be made of the opportunities that exist for those who followed the training to practise it. Apparently it has been assumed that such opportunities would exist in the villages. Questions to be answered are not only if the trained craftsmen will have the capital and equipment needed to establish themselves as such, but also for what purposes use might be made of their crafts in the villages and whether the villager can afford it. Why is it that in some villages the craft has not been developed while it did in others? Is it only a lack of training? Before deciding on organizing a training course for carpenters, for instance, a study should be made of the role of this craft in villages where carpenters work: what they do, for whom, what equipment and materials they use, how they are paid, how they acquire their skills etc.

Advocates of "appropriate technology" often base their ideas about the "appropriateness" of their technology on assumptions regarding the people it is intended for. While doing so, they disregard some of the fundamental facts of these people's lives. A solution is proposed in "bottom up" or "participatory" approaches in which people organize themselves in order to formulate their learning needs, learn and undertake activities. But this approach is an "approach", used by others, who want these people to formulate their needs and to learn. The approach itself has been developed at the "top", and the question remains if a bottom up "approach" is not a *contradictio in terminis*.

The post literacy programmes are not specifically community oriented. Other programmes, like FDC and HESAWA are. The FDC try to involve communities in the selection of participants to their two years training courses. HESAWA works with groups in community that express an interest to learn certain things and to undertake certain activities. The recent evaluation of the FDC seems to show that, although community involvement in the selection has been realized by 75 %, these communities make little use of ex-trainees who come back to their villages. The HESAWA programme is still young, some positive sounds are heard about its realisations. But HESAWA is clearly a programme in which apart from educational activities also material inputs are provided for. Little is, however, known about the way in which it initiates the learning groups: how are villagers convinced to form such a group and participate in it? In several programmes in the past pressure was sometimes used or promises were made.

It is not for curiosity's sake that these questions are asked. Fundamental in a participatory programme is the willingness to participate and the real profit villagers can derive from participation. If the profit is clear to them they will make their own judgement about the costs involved (in money, time, energy

etc) and act accordingly. As soon as an educational or other development programme can show that there is such a real profit, the villagers will participate.

Unfortunately, a purely educational programme alone can seldom show this: it can try to convince people but only seldom make them experience the improvements that they can make by themselves.

The HESAWA approach should therefore be followed attentively: if it really succeeds in encouraging people to undertake activities and if these activities prove to be sustainable and independent on external financing within a short period it might be worth while to consider its extension to areas other than health, sanitation and water.

11. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

11.1. Summary of Conclusions.

11.1.1. The Tanzanian literacy programme has gained a certain prestige worldwide because of the successes of its campaigns. The literacy rate rose spectacularly between 1967 and 1985. After these achievements efforts were made to prevent newly literates from falling back to illiteracy and to provide opportunities for further education parallel to the formal education system. A post literacy programme was developed which eventually would permit newly literates to reenter the regular system of education. The early literacy programmes were characterised by a high motivation and aspirations among all concerned. Unfortunately it was difficult to keep the momentum as in the middle of the seventies the world economic situation changed which resulted in a severe crisis of the Tanzanian economy. At least partly under donor pressure, Tanzania is moving away from a centralised planning economy. This may be a good thing for that part of the economy that is already market oriented. It is not predictable what this movement will mean for a rural population living as subsistence farmers. Anyhow, it is not likely that the government will have the means to finance important mass campaigns in the coming years, like those that were organized in the sixties and seventies.

11.1.2. From the preceding chapters it has become clear that the utilisation of post literacy provisions is low, that their presence in the villages is minimal and hardly known by the villagers and that their interest to make use of them is limited. What are the reasons?

Most *villagers* do not know about their existence, cannot afford to buy them, have no time to participate, do not see the relevance or simply are no longer motivated to attend educational activities.

Teachers are disappointed: they had been promised further opportunities and received a honorarium. The opportunities did not realize and the honorarium is not regularly paid.

At the *district and regional level* of the administration, it seems that adult education in general and post literacy in particular are said to have a high priority but in practice this is not visible.

Another type of research may be necessary to verify this statement but would be difficult to implement: an inquiry into the functioning of the MEC's services at all levels, not only a study of rules and procedures, but of what actually happens: how much time do officers spend, on what type of work, where? What are vehicles actually used for? How are the funds spend?

11.1.3. The research team tends to believe that the years of high expectations regarding adult education for the rural masses are passed.

The results of the campaigns of the sixties and seventies have been promising in terms of acquisition of literacy skills, but the effect in terms of economic development have not been spectacular. The main basic assumption behind the literacy programmes: that education leads to economic development can be questioned. The correlation between educational level and production may be a causal one for certain stages of development and or certain levels of education, but have certainly not be proven to be so for a rural population that largely lives from subsistence farming.

It is far more likely to assume that in the total process of social and economic change that takes place, education has its place, but it would be exaggerated to assume that education is the initiator or even the main factor.

It is more likely that interest in and opportunities for education tend to rise when the economy develops.

Apart from seeing education as a means to economic development, it has also been considered as a fundamental human right and as an important instrument in nation building. Especially the last function of literacy seems to have been important in Tanzania.

- 11.1.4. The MEC's post literacy programme is not the only one that provides services for villagers in the rural areas. Other departments also do. The needs for coordination is evident as the costs of transport and other equipment are high.
Most of the activities have a top-down character: headquarters in Dar es Salaam decide what villagers should learn and do in order to improve their lives. Some programmes try a more participatory approach in which local initiatives are promoted.
NGO's have less centralized approaches and work in a more flexible way than government agencies can do.
A de-bureaucratization seems to impose itself for any programme that aims at improving rural life.
- 11.1.5. The participation of women in post literacy activities is less than that of men. Their work load does not permit it and they are not so interested in the topics.
The problems of inequality between the sexes are not restricted to the target groups of the literacy programmes and special awareness raising programmes for the entire Tanzanian society aiming at bridging the gap between official legislation and daily practice should be needed.
- 11.1.6. If the post literacy is to be continued along the lines developed during its previous phases, a revitalisation seems to be necessary. Such a revitalisation would need:
- material inputs: means of transport, other equipment and materials;
 - motivation of the teachers and librarians by paying honorarium and making available materials to them;
 - giving high priority to post literacy programmes;
 - a reorientation of the structures of the MEC at the regional and lower levels in order to realize this policy
 - a monitoring system that allows the central services of the DAE to follow, not only on paper, the implementation of the programme in the regions.
 - a decentralisation of the curriculum in order to make it more relevant to the customers.

It is, however, not sure that such measures would indeed lead to the expected results in terms of the objectives of the MEC as quoted before and is definitely not to be recommended.

- 11.1.7. The time for the study was too short. It is typical for the situation in Tanzania that all parties concerned with the planning and organisation of this study could have known this, but that nobody first of all the team leader, was prepared to accept the consequences. As a result, no "second rounds" to find information that was found to be lacking were possible, so on some subjects the information is incomplete. The researchers did, however, decide to write the report, because they are convinced that their conclusions and recommendations would not be different if the information would be more complete.

11.2 Recommendations.

If post-literacy and its supporting programmes are to remain a vehicle for socio-economic development, programme planning would obviously require a new orientation. Villagers' influence on the choice of their own needs and projects is of prime importance; programmes which are generalized from above have a slender chance of survival. Efficiency in the running of programmes is another key aspect linked to this. It would be unrealistic for example, for Tanzania with her limited capital resources to

scatter her limited resources to all the villages in the country; the overall enthusiasm for and participation in literacy programmes has dwindled over years.

A revitalisation of the post literacy activities should be planned with care. The fundamental assumptions should be made explicit and agreed upon and a realistic programme, taking into account the limited resources should be set up.

The aims of the programme should be redefined. What is to be realized should be concrete and measurable. Ends and means should not be confused. It should be argued why the means proposed are the best one to achieve the aims and why others are left out.

At the same time, the DAE should take into account that many other organisations and ministries undertake similar activities. Proposals on this matter would go far beyond the present study's terms of reference, but it should be stressed that decisions on the post literacy programme should not be taken in isolation from what others do. Especially the cooperation or division of tasks with the FDCs should be looked into. Hopefully, an integration or at least coordination of services at the district level, based on real community participation will be achieved.

Increasingly, cost sharing is mentioned as a solution for the difficulties in financing education. The recommendations given in this report also go in this direction, considering cost sharing by communities or by families. It must, however, be realised that this implies that people who basically live on subsistence farming will not have the means to participate in programmes based on this principle and that it is likely that among those who earn their living in a more money oriented part of the economy the poor and the women will also find it difficult to do so.

We do not advocate that these groups should be left apart. On the contrary, but the efforts necessary to change their economy are beyond the tasks and means of a Ministry of Education and Culture.

The role of the central administration should be restricted to training, study, advise and monitoring. The first responsibility should be given to the communities themselves. Community participation should not be restricted to a participation in activities that have been planned for and designed on a higher level, but should involve all stages, from the formulation of training needs through the design and planning to the implementation of the activities. This is by no means easy to realize. Therefore a gradual building up of the programme along these lines is advocated.

It is also necessary to realize that the programme cannot reach all rural Tanzanians at the same time and neither offer them all the things that are relevant. There will be no place for mass campaigns. Choices must be made. Quality should be aimed at, not quantity. This can be done by reducing the number of activities to such a number that they can be adequately equipped and staffed. Scarce resources should be used for training and equipment. The activities should concentrate on those communities where a definite interest in and possibilities to participate in the activities exist and where indeed the programme can offer something that is in the direct interest of the villagers.

11.3. Specific recommendations.

11.3.1. Provisions.

11.3.1. The classes.

No efforts should be made to create new classes or to revitalise classes that ceased to function until these classes can be adequately supplied and motivated and unless really qualified teachers are available who have sufficiently been trained in adult education methods are available. Classes that do function should, however, receive new support and the best teachers available. A survey by independent

researchers should find out which classes do function, how many women and men participate and what motivates them to do so. Also the communities interest in the classes should be found out. The most viable of these classes should then be selected for further material support and training of their teachers. They should be given the best qualified teachers available. Gradually these classes may develop, depending of the interest of the community to participate and to share in the cost, into centres that more or less resemble the FDC's.

Work oriented programmes for adults should be left to NGO's and FDC's and other ministries. The AED should then provide services to these other organizations by training their staff and helping them to design effective programmes.

11.3.2. Libraries.

Libraries should only be developed when communities take an interest. Not functioning libraries should be closed, books should then be given to the school and it should be left to the headmaster to decide how to make use of them. Where libraries do function and where the community does take an interest, the librarians should be further trained, more books should be provided as well as newspapers and especially the equipment should be improved. Opening hours should be a function of the time available by the customers to come to the library. Coordination with the FDC's is a must.

11.3.3. Newspapers and film.

These services should not be provided independently by the MEC. Coordination with others at the district level is a necessity.

11.3.4. Radio programmes.

Radio programmes should be awareness raising, sensitizing and motivating rather than instructional. All programmes have educational aspects and therefore all programmes should be gender sensitive. "Participatory" programmes in which people are encouraged to tell about their own situation and problems should be made part of it.

11.3.5. Work orientation.

Further extension of work oriented literacy classes should not be advocated as it is by no means clear that these courses really fulfil a need and that they are related to work that the students actually do. The experiences of the FDC's should be studied and taken into account.

Another question is the one of appropriateness: is the craft appropriate for the environment in which it will be used? The appropriateness of a tool is not only decided by the question if it served its purposes, but if it fitted in the environment. It has repeatedly been noticed that newspapers were not used for reading, but, for instance, to wrap merchandise. In such the case the society may be more in need of paper for wrapping than of reading materials.

If a course is contemplated to train, for instance, carpenters, the first question that first has to be answered is if the work of the carpenter fits into his environment, technically as well as economically. Is there a lack of carpenters? Or of better trained carpenters? Will there be a market for their products? The new post literacy programmes are too young to judge about this matter and the village survey did not meet any new post literacy activities.

Decisions to train certain crafts are taken too easily on assumptions that need to be verified.

11.3.6. Administration

Monitoring.

With SIDA support an adult education monitoring system is being set up. Part of the work such a monitoring unit would perform is already done by the Inspectorate. It may be dangerous to give monitoring as a new task to the existing structures of adult education. On the other hand, monitoring is in some respects more than what the Inspectorate does at this moment. Also the confidentiality of the Inspectorate's reports does not agree with a monitoring system that should not be seen as a tool for the leaders, but as an instrument for the whole system that is involved in an activity. Still, it is not reasonable to recommend new structures and new staff for this purpose. Therefore it is recommended to look into possibilities for the inspectorate to accommodate the monitoring system.

11.3.7. Research.

The present study did not go further than the analysis of the existing situation. Though the factors that led to it were sometimes discussed, no real study was made of the process of implementing a post literacy programme. More is to be learned about the ways in which government structures educational programmes. Such a study should not be a post facto research. It should study the process while it is in course. Though such a study should be done by independent researchers who are not linked to the implementing system, a link with the monitoring system mentioned before should be made.

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Appendix 2

NEW LITERATES BY GENDER
1975-1986

YEAR	REGISTERED ILLITERATES	NUMBER OF CANDIDATES EXAMINED			NUMBER OF ILLITERATES WHO EMERGED FROM ILLITERACY		
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1975	5,860,437	1738406	2066062	3804468	722947	681038	1403985
1977	6,001,266	1036759	1279395	2316154	453951	352470	806421
1981	6,099,197	1230832	1876674	3107506	429929	398996	828925
1983	6,156,777	811017	1660510	2471527	309091	370414	679505
1986	6,312,288	774496	1284863	2059359	465737	677339	1143076
Total		5591510	8167504	13759014	2381655	2480257	4861912

Source: Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) Jun 1990 & 1991.

EPR Mbakile - National Literacy Campaign

Mpango wa Kuimarisha Elimu ya Watu Wazima Wizara ya Elimu na Uitamaduni.

Appendix 3

POST-LITERACY ENROLMENT IN PL CLASSES AND WORK-ORIENTED PROGRAMMES BY LEVELS AND GENDER

1975 - 1986.

LEVEL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
V	685,764	784,580	1,470,344
VI	117,368	86,369	203,737
VII	33,815	18,774	52,589
WORK-ORIENTED PROGRAMME			41,600
TOTAL			1,768,270

Source: Mpango wa Kuimarisha Elimu ya Watu Wazima
Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni.

Appendix 4

Questionnaire for heads of households.

The questions in this list are questions to be answered by the field assistant. In some cases he/she can use the same words, in others the questions may have to be reformulated, in still others observation will lead to the answer.

The respondents should be heads of households (women or men) or their spouses.

The questions often regard the whole household.

1. Basic data.

- 1.1. Region
- 1.2. District
- 1.3. Ward
- 1.4. Village
- 1.5. Respondent's sex
- 1.6. Respondent's age
- 1.7. Marital status
married/not married
- 1.8. Number of female children in household:
Age
 - 1.8.1. 0-5
 - 1.8.2. 6-10
 - 1.8.3. 11-15
 - 1.8.4. > 15
- 1.9. Number of male children in household:
Age
 - 1.9.1. 0-5
 - 1.9.2. 6-10
 - 1.9.3. 11-15
 - 1.9.4. > 15

2. Social/economic status

- 2.1.1. Does the household cultivate land?
Yes/No
- 2.1.2. What is the size of this land in acres/ha?
0-3 acres
4/6 acres
7-10 acres
> 10 acres
- 2.1.3. Who is the owner of the land?
respondent
family member
other
- 2.1.4. What are the conditions for using the land?
rent
share cropping
cooperative
- 2.1.5. Do members of the household work on a communal farm?
- 2.2. Does the respondent own livestock?
Which kind and what number:
cattle nr.

- goats nr.
pigs nr.
poultry nr.
- 2.2.1. Does the respondent take care of other people's livestock?
Yes/No
- 2.3. Do members of the household work on a communal farm?
YES/NO
- 2.3.2. Does the respondent herself/himself work on a common farm?
YES/NO
- 2.4. Which are the crops grown for household consumption?
- 2.4.1. Which are the cash-crops grown by respondent?
- 2.5. What kind of farm work does the respondent perform? (this question does not take into account the other members of the household)
- land preparation
 - sowing
 - application of fertilisers, pesticides etc.
 - weeding and bird scaring
 - harvesting
 - storage
 - marketing
- 2.6. What is the household's main source of living?
- farming own farm
 - keeping livestock
 - communal farming
 - skilled wage labour
 - unskilled wage labour
 - crafts
 - trade
 - employee:
 - government (specify)
 - NGO, Church etc. specify)
 - privat enterprise
- 2.6.1. In case the respondent has an employee, what is the level of his/her salary:
- < TS 3.500/month
 - TS 3.500 / 7.000/month
 - TS 7.001/10.500/month
 - TS 10.501/15.000/month
 - > TS15.000/month
- 2.7. What are the household's other sources of living:
- farming own farm
 - keeping livestock
 - communal farming
 - skilled wage labour
 - unskilled wage labour
 - crafts
 - trade
 - employee:
 - government (specify)
 - NGO, Church etc. specify)
 - privat enterprise
- 2.8. Indicators for social/economic status.
- 2.8.1. roof of the house:

thatched
corrugated iron

- 2.8.2. fuel used in kitchen:
firewood
charcoal
kerosene
- 2.8.3. private pipe water supply
- 2.8.4. bicycle
- 2.8.5. motorbicycle
- 2.8.6. car
- 2.8.7. electricity
- 2.8.8. radio
- 2.8.9. sewing machine

3. Do members of the household belong to the following types of organisation:
church
youth organisation
women's organisation
cooperative
workers organisation
parents' organisation

4. Educational background of the respondent

- 4.1. Formal Education
- 4.1.1. level I-II
level III-IV
level V/VIII
level VIII
- 4.1.2. FORM I-II.
FORM III-IV
FORM V-VI
- 4.1.3. Level I-II
Level III-IV
- 4.1.4. Post literacy
V-VII
- 4.2. Vocational education:
- 4.2.1. FDC
- 4.2.2. work-oriented projects
- 4.2.3. continuing classes
- 4.2.4. homecraft
- 4.2.5. others

5. Literacy.

- 5.1. Newspapers
- 5.1.1. Does the respondent ever read a newspaper?
YES/NO

- 5.1.2. If so: which papers (names)?
- 5.1.3. Where does she/he get it?
- 5.1.4. How often does she/he read a newspaper?
 - 5.1.4. - Every days
 - 5.1.4. - Every week
 - 5.1.4. - Every month
 - 5.1.4. - Irragularly
- 5.1.5. When was the last time the respondent read a newspaper?
- 5.1.6. Are there at this moment any newspapers in the house? Date?
YES/NO
- 5.1.7. When did the respondent start reading newspapers? (Open question)
- 5.1.8. Why does the respondent read newspapers? (open qestion)
- 5.1.9. Does the respondent like the newspaper?
- 5.1.10. How could the newspaper be improved? (open question)
- 5.2. Books
 - 5.2.1. Does the respondent ever read a book?
YES/NO
 - 5.2.2. If so: give some titles.
 - 5.2.3. Where does she/he get it?
 - 5.2.4. How often does she/he read a book?
 - 5.2.5. When was the last time she/he read a book?
 - 5.2.6. Is there at this moment any book in the house? Titles?
 - 5.2.7. Which title did she/he like most?
 - 5.2.8. When did the respondent start reading books? (Open question)
- 5.3. Library
 - 5.3.1. Has the respondent ever visited a library?
 - 5.3.1. Where is that library?
 - 5.3.2. When was the last time she/he went there?
 - 5.3.3. Does he/she borrow book or read books or papers in the readig room?
 - 5.3.4. On which subject would the respondent like to read more?
- 5.4. Other printed materials.
The interviewers should now show some of the printed materials made available in the village by the MOE, other government services or NGO's and ask:
 - 5.4.1. if the interviewee has seen it before,
 - 5.4.2. - when she/he saw it,
 - 5.4.3. - where he/she saw it

The interviewer should then try to find out the interviewees opinion about each of these materials, by asking questions and by discussing the answers.

 - 5.4.4. Did she/he understand it?
 - 5.4.5. Did she/he appreciate the contents of the materials?
 - 5.4.6. Did she/he follow up the advise or instruction given in these materials? If not, why not?
 - 5.4.7. Does the respondent need certain information that is not available?

- 5.5. Writing.
- 5.5.1. Does the respondent ever send a letter?
YES/NO
- 5.5.2. Does she/he write this letter by her/himself?
YES/NO
- 5.5.3. If yes, when was the last time she/he wrote a letter? (note how many months ago)
- 5.5.4. Does the respondent ever fill in a form?
- 5.5.5. Does the respondent have a signature?
- 5.6. Post literacy activities.
Does, or did, over the past five years, the respondent participate in any learning activity? This should include all kinds of activities organised by government and NGO agencies.
- 5.6.1. Which
- 5.6.2. When
- 5.6.3. How long
- 5.6.4. Where
- 5.6.5. What is the respondent's opinion about the usefulness of each of these activities?
- 5.6.6. What did she/he learn from it?
- 5.6.7. Does she/he use or apply what was learned?
- 5.6.8. If the respondent attended more than one activity, which was the most and which was the least useful?
- 5.7. Film shows.
- 5.7.1. Did the respondent attend to film shows in the village or ward?
YES/NO
- 5.7.2. How often?
- 5.7.3. When was the last time?
- 5.7.4. What were the films about? (This question to be answered by the respondent, not by the interviewer from his possible knowledge about it).
- 5.7.5. Did the respondents like the shows? Why?
- 5.7.6. Did the respondent learn something from it? What?
- 5.7.7. Which of these films would you like to see again?
- 5.8. Radio.
- 5.8.1. Is there a functioning radio receiver in the respondent's house?
YES/NO
- 5.8.2. If not, does she/he listen elsewhere to radio programmes? Where?
- 5.8.3. Which programme does she/he like best?
- 5.8.4. Does she/he regularly listen to the same programme? Which?
- 5.8.5. Answer for each programme, to be specified by the principal researchers, the following questions:
- 5.8.5.1. does the respondent regularly listen to it
- 5.8.5.1.1.- regularly
- 5.8.5.1.2.- frequently
- 5.8.5.1.3.- never
- 5.8.5.2. Is the timing of the programme appropriate?

5.8.5.3. Does the respondent find it useful?
YES/NO

Thank you very much

Name interviewer:

Date interview:

Hour of interview:

25 September 1991

Education Division
Christine McNab

TERMS OF REFERENCE

STUDY OF POST-LITERACY IN TANZANIA

1 Background

The Government of Tanzania has since Independence in 1961 given a high priority to the development of education and in particular to basic education including adult education. With strong central leadership and a massive mobilization of resources at local level, a series of literacy campaigns were initiated with the end result that literacy increased dramatically throughout Tanzania. In the national education statistics the increase is given as being from 33 percent in 1967 to about 90 percent in 1987.

In the early seventies, during the period of mass literacy campaigns, Sweden provided assistance for the production of reading materials for the adult learners and paid honoraria to the instructors.

Since the mid 1980s, the Government of Tanzania has requested Swedish support for post-literacy activities rather than for literacy, because the number of adult learners enrolled for literacy classes has naturally decreased whilst the need for supportive post-literacy activities has grown. Post-literacy activities in Tanzania, organized by the Adult Education Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC), include:

- rural newspapers
- rural libraries
- post-literacy classes
- adult education broadcasts (radio)
- adult education by film shows
- workers' education

The current situation in Tanzania regarding adult education is, however, somewhat unclear. The official percentage of literate adults is 90 (1987) but functional literacy may now be declining as the overall provision of, and participation in, basic education has deteriorated in the late 1980s due to the severe economic crisis. The gross enrolment rate at primary level has dropped from around 80 percent in 1985 to about 65 percent in 1989 and therefore about 1.5 million children are not attending school. Of those who begin school, not all complete the seven year course. This means that each year many illiterate, semi-literate and basically literate youths join the ranks of those needing a supportive literacy environment. Those who have never entered school can join literacy classes, but for those with the rudiments of literacy it is essential that there should be newspapers and books to read, and opportunities to further develop their skills.

Swedish support, channeled through SIDA, has been concentrated to the first three post-literacy activities listed above. During the last two agreement periods, support has been given to the planning and revision of the post-literacy programme of skills-oriented courses in agriculture, crafts and home economics. Paper has been supplied for the printing of the course books and the rural newspapers and for books for the rural libraries. The Adult Education Press which is responsible for printing these materials has also been given direct support.

A rather separate part of adult education provision in Tanzania is the countrywide network of 57 Folk Development Colleges (FDCs). The FDCs, now administered by the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children (MCDWC) provide a combined training in practical rural skills and general education. The training courses vary in length from a few weeks to two years, the former being most popular with older adults, the latter with primary school leavers. As an evaluation of the FDC programme is currently being carried out by the Faculty of Education of the University of Dar es Salaam, it will not be included further in these terms of reference except for inclusion in the final analysis of post-literacy provision in Tanzania.

2 The Objective of the Study

2.1 General Objective

The study has a two-fold objective:

- (a) to map out the current provision of and needs for post-literacy facilities in Tanzania, in particular in rural areas, and
- (b) on the basis of the findings, make recommendations to the MEC and SIDA as to how best Swedish support can be used to strengthen the post-literacy environment in Tanzania.

The decisions to carry out the study of post-literacy in Tanzania was taken at the joint Annual Education Sector Review in Tanzania, March 1991. The findings of the study will be a major input into the next annual review, scheduled for February 1992, which will be the basis for a new general education sector support agreement starting 1 July 1992.

2.2 Specific Objectives

The research team shall:

- i. Summarise the findings of previous reports on post-literacy supporting programmes, namely the rural newspapers, rural libraries, radio and film education, and workers' education, and prepare a statistical overview of post-literacy provision and participation.
- ii. Describe and analyse the conditions under which the post-literacy supporting programmes are functioning at local (grassroots) level by in-depth studies of selected districts/communities, and assess local demand, if any, for other types of post-literacy activities.
- iii. Analyse the correspondence between objectives and achievements of the programmes, appraising their strengths and weaknesses in the light of the the Ministry's objectives for the programmes. The analysis shall be done with due attention to the general socioeconomic and cultural contexts. Organizational factors shall also be considered.
- iv. Make recommendations for changes, if any, necessary for improvement of the activities, including goals and implementation strategies, and make recommendations concerning new post-literacy activities if these are considered necessary. In making these recommendations, the existence of the

more formal FDC and post-literacy centre programmes should be taken into consideration.

The recommendations should be stated in such a way that they may form a solid base for the choices which will have to be made regarding the future support to the implementation of post-literacy supporting programmes in Tanzania.

3 Tasks

3.1 Methods and Approaches

The methods will be:

- a. review of literature on post-literacy provision and participation in Tanzania,
- b. review of the MEC's official statistics on post-literacy provision and participation in Tanzania,
- c. interviews of MEC staff at central, regional and local levels, SIDA staff and such other persons as staff of NGOs engaged in literacy/post literacy activities in Tanzania,
- d. a survey of post-literacy provision, needs and experiences in a sample of rural communities in Tanzania.

A further specification of the different post literacy provisions is to be worked out. This will be done during the first week of preparations and negotiations of the contract in Stockholm in September.

A choice of regional and local staff of the MEC to be interviewed (c. above) will be made during the preparation of the study in Dar es Salaam. Criteria for this choice will be their role in post literacy activities, the time available to the research team and the possibilities to combine interviews with survey activities.

The survey (d. above) will be a questionnaire survey using structured interview schedules handled by the research assistants under the supervision of the Tanzanian researchers. The questionnaire will be pilot tested prior to the survey.

The survey will be used to collect information not only on the use made of post literacy provisions, their effect and impact, but also take into

account other reading material that is available to the communities and the use, effect and impact of these materials.

In addition to being gender specific, the data collected will give age and income specific information. The survey will include:

- reading material available to the villagers,
- access to these materials,
- reading habits,
- judgements about interest and usefulness of the materials,
- participation in post-literacy and FDC classes,
- participation in study groups,
- participation in work-oriented projects,
- organizational and management aspects of the provisions.

The choice of the communities to be included in the sample shall be made by the research team in consultation with the Ministry of Education and Culture, on the basis of selection criteria such as different post literacy services provided for, time the villages have had such services, distance to different types of training and educational institutions, previous literacy research and representativeness for larger parts of the country.

3.2 The consultancy team will make on the basis of their findings recommendations on:

- how best to strengthen and support the post-literacy environment in Tanzania, and
- how the Swedish support can best be utilized to achieve the objectives of strengthening post-literacy provision in Tanzania in such a way as to meet the expressed needs of adult literates, in particular the rural population.

4. Mode of Work

- i. the research team will work in close collaboration with the Ministry of Education and with other organizations in Tanzania involved in post-literacy activities,
- ii. the data collected will **not** to be confined to those activities supported by SIDA but should include all possible avenues of support to the post-literacy environment,

iii. The data will be collected in such a way that a gender, age and income disaggregated analysis can be made.

5 Reporting

The consultancy team will prepare a draft report which will be submitted to the Ministry of Education and Culture and to SIDA, both in Dar es Salaam and Stockholm, not later than 31 January 1992. The final report will be delivered to the Ministry of Education and Culture in 5 copies, and to SIDA Stockholm in 5 copies, by 28 February, 1992. Any delay foreseen in submitting either the draft or final report should be discussed with MEC and SIDA at the earliest possible opportunity.

6 The Consultancy Team

The consultancy team will be headed by an internationally recruited education specialist specialising in the field of literacy. The University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Adult Education, will be the institutional base for the team leader in Tanzania.

The specific tasks of all members of the team are outlined in the tasks and time schedule attached to these terms of reference. More detailed terms of reference for each team member will be drawn up by the team leader.

This team leader will:

- have overall responsibility for the design and implementation of the study and the analysis of the findings,
- specify the tasks of all team members,
- together with team members and the project officer of the Ministry of Education Adult Education Department, supervise the data collection and fieldwork,
- be responsible for submitting draft and final reports according to the time schedule agreed with the Ministry of Education and SIDA.

It is expected that the team leader will have an institutional base which will allow for assistance with the data analysis and report preparation.

Three Tanzanian researchers will be recruited to the study. Two of the researchers will be

education specialists, one of whom will function as the Research Coordinator and one of whom will have special responsibility for the gender aspects of the study. The third researcher will have responsibility for the statistical and financial analysis, and analysis of the survey data and will therefore require advanced skills in data processing. All three should have experience in supervising research assistants.

The team leader will work together with the Tanzania researchers who will:

- contribute to the design of the fieldwork,
- carry out the fieldwork with the team leader and together with locally recruited research assistants,
- contribute to the draft and final reports,
- and carry out such other tasks as are included in the terms of reference provided by the team leader.

(Details of these tasks have been prepared by the team leader and are attached as an appendix to these Terms of Reference.)

The researchers, including the team leader, will have post-graduate qualifications in education and/or relevant social science degree, or equivalent qualifications, and experience in both quantitative and qualitative education research. At least one of the researchers shall be a woman.

The Tanzanian research coordinator shall apart from the qualifications mentioned above have proper management and organizational skills and good contacts with government organizations and NGOs.

7 Timing

The study will be prepared during September 1991, the document-based post literacy review will begin in October 1991, - and the other parts of the data collection including the in-depth community studies will be carried out November 1991 - January 1992. The draft and final reports will be submitted as stated above under "Reporting".

A time and activity schedule is attached as an annex to these terms of reference.

The time allowed for the members of the team will be:

Team leader

Maximum 10 weeks, of which 5 in Tanzania and one in Stockholm. Two weeks of CESOs consultancy time may be utilised in addition to the team leaders ten weeks.

Three Researchers

Maximum 16 weeks for the Researcher Coordinator including two weeks at the home institution of the team leader for preparation of the final report, and 13 weeks each for the other two researchers.

Research Assistants for fieldwork

Number of weeks and assistants will be dependent on research design.

8 Financing

The study is to be financed out of the Tanzanian country frame, general education, post-literacy programme.

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