Pedagogy and History: *Ujamaa* and Learner-Centered Pedagogy in Tanzania

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Social issues of today are rooted in history, and the study of contemporary issues would thus benefit from tracing their history. In Tanzania, Nyerere's *ujamaa* philosophy and the accompanying education for self-reliance (ESR) policy offer a criterion relevant today in pedagogical analysis. Tanzania is currently implementing learner-centered pedagogy (LCP). This article considers the logic of *ujamaa*, which ostensibly appears to be compatible with LCP principles, and explores through empirical evidence the consistencies and inconsistencies between *ujamaa*/ESR, LCP, and the pedagogical approaches valued by present-day teachers. The teachers espoused the idea of self-reliance promoted through *ujamaa*, implying that pedagogies similar to LCP will produce self-reliant graduates. Instead of forcibly transmitting a universal form of ideal pedagogy, the cultural and historical connection between *ujamaa* and LCP could suggest appropriate forms of teaching and learning in the Tanzanian context.

Introduction

> 1961 Kambarage became a hero
> Without bloodshed, he made December shine [. . .]
> You resigned when we still needed you
> You didn't want to be in power for long.

To a strong rap beat, Roma Mkatoliki (2014), a popular hip-hop singer in Tanzania, begins his song "Tanzania" with the above lyrics. The song embraces Tanzania's first postindependence president, Julius Kambarage Nyerere, by comparing him with other politicians who served after Nyerere. In Tanzania, hip-hop and rap music, locally nicknamed *Bongo Flava*, are often used to convey political messages to promote certain ideas and to criticize the government. Many sing of the legacy of Nyerere and his political idea, *ujamaa*, brought into being soon after Tanzania's independence (Lemelle 2006). Translated as "familyhood," *ujamaa* promoted an African socialist ideology comprising the

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cooperation of villagers, equality, and self-reliance during the postcolonial era (Stoger-Eising 2000). Through *ujamaa*, Nyerere advocated reviving the traditional African way of living through a bottom-up approach, encouraging citizens to participate in nation building. Fouéré (2014, 17–18) claims that "Nyerere and Ujamaa are employed as a language and repertoire of ideas, values, images, and metaphors to define, mediate, and construct conceptions of morality today and the meaning of Tanzanian-ness."

Employing *ujamaa* and its accompanying education policy called education for self-reliance (ESR) as a tool to historically and empirically examine the implementation of learner-centered pedagogy (LCP), this article aims to explore a possible common ground between *ujamaa*/ESR, LCP, and pedagogical approaches that present-day teachers perceive as of value in Tanzania. Rooted in *ujamaa*, ESR espoused a transformative pedagogy; ideas of democratic pupil-teacher relationships, curriculum relevance to local conditions, practical learning, and peer collaboration constituted the core of ESR (Mbilinyi 2004). These aspects of ESR closely mirror LCP, as currently disseminated throughout Tanzania and other low-income countries. LCP involves eclectic educational ideas, recommending individualized learning, learner independence, equalized learner-teacher relationships, and learning through activities and social interactions (Rousseau [1762] 2007; Dewey 1916; Moore 2012). Labeled as a traveling policy (Schweisfurth 2013), LCP has spread across countries in the global South with international donor organizations as the mediator. Empirical research nonetheless has largely indicated challenges and ambiguities questioning the efficacy of LCP (Schweisfurth 2011; Tabulawa 2013). While the contemporary Tanzanian education system has embraced some LCP features, the country has also shown little evidence of implementation of LCP (Barrett 2007; Vavrus 2009). Existing barriers repeatedly pointed out by these studies include material and human resource scarcity, a lack of qualified teachers, and education systems incompatible with LCP tenets.

Another argument as to why LCP is not suitable in the researched countries underlines "tradition." In Botswana, Tabulawa's (1997) historical investigation of the country's educational development suggests that authoritarianism in the local culture and the legacy of British colonial education interact to shape teachers' and students' views of knowledge based on a rationalist epistemology better aligned with teacher-directed pedagogy. Its epistemological dissonance with LCP makes it impossible for Botswana's local policy actors to accept LCP as appropriate, the author argues. In contrast, Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008), tracing postindependence history in Namibia and South Africa, observe pedagogical emphases similar to LCP already existing before its arrival in these countries. This helped LCP policies to be adopted without much national resistance in the life science curriculum in Namibia and postapartheid education in South Africa, although classroom reality is said to be divorced from the policy ideal.

In Tanzania, despite the seemingly compatible pedagogical claims between *ujamaa* and LCP, to our knowledge there are few studies that investigate the country's *ujamaa* philosophy vis-a-vis LCP. In particular, ethnographic studies by Barrett (2007) and Vavrus (2009) show how sociocultural expectation hampers LCP implementation, both authors illustrating inadequate teacher training, material shortage, and fact-based examination as the obstacles. A case study of an LCP-based teacher training program led by Vavrus and Bartlett (2013) unveils various obstacles to LCP implementation including the memorization-based assessment system and the constrained working and living conditions that teachers faced. Even though these studies demonstrate the significance of contextual issues and sociocultural particularities playing out under the pedagogical implementation, a historical lens to examine LCP implementation has not gained much scholarly attention. Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) assert, however, that social issues of today are rooted in history; to study contemporary issues requires tracing their history. The seemingly similar pedagogical concepts between LCP and *ujamaa* might therefore offer new insights as to how and why history and local culture may or may not shape the appropriation of LCP in Tanzania.

The aim of this article is to explore possible links between *ujamaa* as Tanzania's political and educational philosophy, LCP, and perceptions of present-day teachers regarding their valued pedagogy. By situating recent international and national efforts for LCP implementation and local views of pedagogy within Tanzania's historical context, the article considers the potential for a Tanzanian version of quality pedagogy that might align well with the principles of LCP. This can contribute to current knowledge as to how we might advance our understanding of quality pedagogy by examining connections between the historical facets of a country and global educational policy pronouncements. We address the following research questions:

1. How compatible is *ujamaa* philosophy and its accompanying ESR framework with the concept of LCP?
2. Do recent educational policy initiatives around LCP incorporate elements of *ujamaa*, and in what ways?
3. What do Tanzanian primary teachers' narratives indicate about the value of *ujamaa* and LCP in their perceptions of quality pedagogy?

We first consider and define what LCP is to establish the theoretical grounding of this article. We then explicate our methodological and analytical framings using the comparative case study (CCS) approach. Through this method, we aim to demonstrate an interconnectedness between history, recent policy endeavors, and local views of quality pedagogy. Our conclusion suggests incorporating historical perspectives when formulating and appropriating educational policies in the global South.

Learner-Centered Pedagogy: Theoretical and Historical Background

Here we provide a historical overview of LCP and related pedagogies, which indicates its eclectic nature. LCP evolved through the supposition that knowledge is constructed socially and culturally. The ancient Greek philosopher Socrates, said to be its originator, considered that knowledge acquisition happens when learners retrieve knowledge from within themselves. Because Socrates paid particular attention to the nature and characteristics of individual students, Plato described Socrates's educational methods as being tailored to the students' interests and beliefs (McPherran 2013). Later, during the Enlightenment era, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) applied constructivist philosophy to educational settings. The rise of empirical science stimulated Rousseau to endorse discovery learning, and in his *Emile* ([1762] 2007) Rousseau made a theoretical proposal that teachers and parents should allow children more freedom when learning (Schweisfurth 2013). Coining the term "progressive education," John Dewey (1859–1952) subsequently put the idea of learner-centeredness into practice; he ran his own school where he encouraged collaborative learning and democratic student-teacher relationships (Dewey 1916, 1938). Dewey's progressive education was then scientifically verified by Jean Piaget (1896–1980) who found that children actively make sense of meanings rather than merely receiving them from others depending on age-determined stages (Moore 2012). Building on Piaget's work but with an emphasis on sociocultural factors, Lev Vygotsky (1896–1934) stressed sociocultural environment in this process, suggesting the need for a dialog between teacher and students, as well as between the students themselves.

LCP entails several essential characteristics that derive from the concept of constructivism. First, it assumes knowledge construction to be unique for each individual and to be gained only through experience. Socrates acknowledged individual differences in how learners construct knowledge (McPherran 2013); Rousseau ([1762] 2007) repeatedly underscored the need to individualize learning. This idea of knowledge construction leads to the second LCP feature of the learner's independence and ownership. Learners build knowledge within their own contexts in relation to their previous knowledge and experience. Teachers act as facilitators and not instructors, and learners sometimes participate in curriculum development (Ginnis 2002).

Third, following Dewey's (1916) progressive education, LCP assumes equal power shared between the teachers and the learners, who are encouraged to challenge and question the teachers' knowledge. Through such democratic education, LCP aims to prepare children to become democratic citizens, able to create a democratic society. Fourth, LCP features "learning by doing," wherein learners are expected to take on active roles. Adhering to the empiricist view, Rousseau ([1762] 2007) expounded the supremacy of experience in the learning processes.

The fifth, and final, characteristic of LCP involves social interactions. For Vygotsky, sociocultural experiences and interactions with others play an integral role in any process of learning (Moore 2012). Through group work and peer collaborations as promoted by Dewey (1938), learners construct knowledge by interacting and communicating with others. In summary, LCP values the active and interactive involvement of the learners and underscores learner autonomy and equal relationships with the teachers.

Research Design and Method: Comparative Case Study Approach

This study adopted a CCS approach (Bartlett and Vavrus 2017) to explore potential resonances between LCP based on constructivism and *ujamaa* based on Nyerere's political philosophy in Tanzania's educational context. Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) used the CCS framework to investigate whether and how historical development, social and political structures, and national and international policies might shape the policy enactment in particular contexts. CCS emerged as a critique of established case study research, defining it as an enquiry that is "bounded," with a focus on contemporary phenomena (see Yin 2014). Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) challenged this notion, conceptualizing a case as a fluid entity determined by social actors, with historical information providing essential context. Compared to other approaches for policy analysis such as policy sociology (Ball and Junemann 2012) and a composite model of policy borrowing (Phillips and Ochs 2003), CCS places a particular emphasis on historical facets and their interactions with contemporary policy implementation and observed phenomena.

CCS investigates the case through three methodological axes: transversal, vertical, and horizontal. The vertical axis analyzes how policy discourses at global and national level shape social norms, tracing the various actors (human and nonhuman) through which national and international policies arrive at the designated locales, while the horizontal axis denotes multisited comparisons of policy implementation. The transversal axis contextualizes how, through the articulation of horizontal and vertical axes, with history, a contemporary phenomenon has been formed. The CCS approach shines a light on how historical elements (transversal) and policy endeavors (vertical) might unfold similarly and distinctively at different localities (horizontal) (fig. 1).

For this research CCS addressed transversal and vertical examinations chiefly through documentary analysis (*a*) by charting Tanzania's educational development postindependence using a historical lens and (*b*) by appraising contemporary international and national LCP policy initiatives. As the study was not a systematic review but a narrative review of literature (Davies 2000), documents were found through database searches using terms such as "Nyerere, *ujamaa*, Education for Self-Reliance, learner-centered pedagogy, and Tanzania." A nonexhaustive list of databases used includes British Education Index,

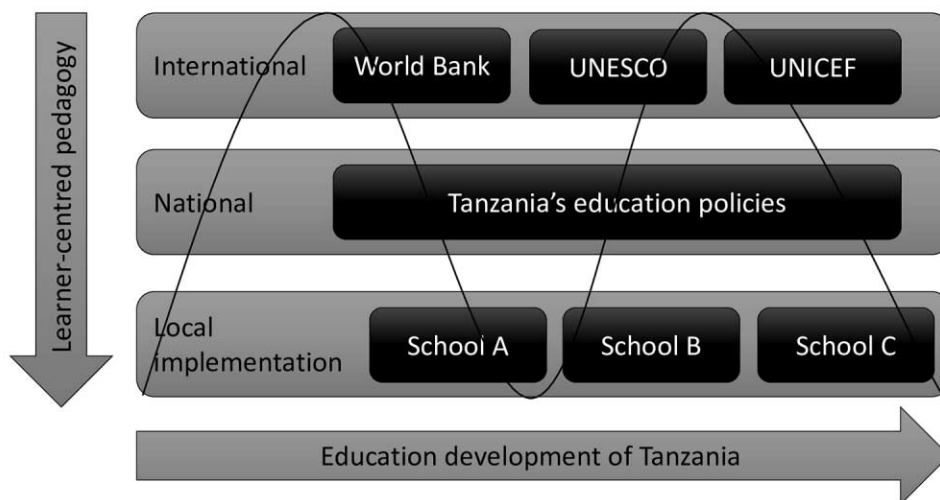

FIG. 1.—Comparative case study framework. Adapted from Bartlett and Vavrus (2014) and adopted from Sakata et al. (2020).

ERIC, ProQuest Central, UNESDOC, and World Bank. The literature was selected on the basis of availability and relevance (Davies 2000), which for the transversal investigation involved Nyerere's policy documents, speeches, and essays. The literature for the vertical analysis contained policy documents published by global agencies and by national governments in the global South and in Tanzania since the 1990s. Documents along each axis were examined separately following Rapley's (2007) advice for document analysis on exploring silences, oversights, and omissions in addition to explicitly stated arguments and ideas, in order to uncover certain messages that the official figures intended to convey. The documents were then compared across the axes for similarities and differences between Nyerere's educational philosophy and LCP tenets.

The findings of the vertical and transversal enquiries were complemented with empirical investigations along the horizontal axis. The horizontal enquiries explored teacher perceptions of pedagogies they valued, and whether and in what ways these were influenced by the tenets of LCP and *ujamaa*. These data were generated through semistructured qualitative interviews conducted by Sakata. Thirty teachers (18 female, 12 male) from nine schools (six in urban and three in rural areas) participated in this study. The schools were selected using a homologous approach (Bartlett and Vavrus 2017) that juxtaposes cases on a similar scale (here schools) and identified along criteria of school location, type, and level of LCP implementation (indicated in the literature as critical factors in LCP implementation). The schools were drawn from two contrasting

districts in terms of academic performance, Dar es Salaam (relatively affluent, four schools) and Kigoma (one of the poorest, five schools) for comparative purposes. The participating schools were selected from a list approved for research by district education officers, a convenience sample based on a mix of Sakata's previous research contacts and snowball sampling, but achieving a balance across school categories in the two districts. Table 1 presents participating schools and pseudonyms used.

Interviews were conducted in Swahili in July 2019. Because Sakata does not speak Swahili or any other local languages used in Tanzania, two research assistants translated between Swahili and English on-site. Some meanings and nuances may well have been lost in the translation process (Hennink et al. 2011), although she sought the research assistants out for clarifications and explanations where necessary during the transcribing and analysis stages. The interviews were recorded using a voice recorder with the teachers' written and oral agreement. The interviews explored the participants' thoughts on pedagogical approaches, asking what the teachers perceived pupils should achieve as a result of schooling and what kinds of classroom pedagogy the teachers think can help the pupils in their learning. Although formal questions were not framed to inquire about the teachers' views on Nyerere and his policies, Sakata delved into these aspects when the teachers' responses indicated some connection with Nyerere. This was to contextualize the horizontal axis of CCS to the transversal and vertical frameworks.

Data for analysis comprised the recorded in situ English translations by the research assistants of Sakata's questions and interviewee responses, which were transcribed verbatim prior to thematic analysis, following a process of data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles and Huberman 1994). Codes were formed inductively; the 45 codes generated led to 14 themes and the overarching themes of "achievements," "challenges," and "pedagogies." From the list of all codes generated, "self-reliance," "learning by doing," and "participatory methods" are of particular relevance to this article. To incorporate the horizontal axis into transversal and vertical analyses, the texts under these codes were compared with Nyerere's political and educational ideas and

TABLE 1
Participating Schools and Teachers

Regions	School Pseudonyms	Interviewed Teachers
Dar	Green	4 female, 2 male
	Kamari	3 female
	Kanene	1 female, 1 male
	Mwamini	3 female
Kigoma	Bunge	3 female
	Kwanza	2 female, 2 male
	Mzuzi	3 male
	Siha	3 male
	Umoja	2 female, 1 male

with the five features of LCP. The following sections present the transversal, vertical and horizontal analysis of LCP implementation in Tanzania.

Transversal Inquiry

Educational Development before Tanzania's Independence

Based on the principles guiding education and on how learning is organized, it appears that part of Tanzanian society traditionally incorporated some features corresponding to LCP, although conceptions of knowledge and child-adult relationships were fixed. While it is recognized that what is now Tanzania was, and is, a heterogeneous society (Wedin 2004), the aim of education generally was to pass on established values and ideologies to the next generation (Cameron and Dodd 1970). Many traditional communities integrated learning into everyday life, where children acquired knowledge of agricultural competencies and ceremonial procedures at their own pace. Knowledge and rituals were not simply memorized but passed down in the form of narratives and storytelling (Furley and Watson 1978; Mushi 2009). In this seemingly "democratic" space for knowledge acquisition, received societal traditions, however, were fixed and could not be questioned. Society held elderly people as the possessors of knowledge in high esteem, and there were hierarchical relationships between the older and younger generations (Cameron and Dodd 1970).

It was alien influences that introduced school-based and textbook-oriented education to Tanzania. From 700 AD Arabs had a significant presence along its East African coast, and together with the Persians they were the first to bring literacy education to Tanzania (Cameron and Dodd 1970). At mosques they taught children reading, writing, and calculation, as well as Islamic religious tenets and practices. As opposed to communal learning, the emphasis was on rote memorization and individual learning (Mushi 2009). The next foreign influx arrived with Western Christianity. Missionaries from Germany, Britain, and France came in the latter half of the nineteeth century and trained African evangelists, albeit a select few (Furley and Watson 1978). In addition to Christian tenets and the Gospels, mission schools also provided literacy education divorced from real African experiences.

This trend continued, and even intensified, under German and British colonial education. The Germans established a secular education system in 1890 in order to train skilled laborers for infrastructure development and literate workers for government administration (Furley and Watson 1978). They also made Swahili the national language to govern the country efficiently (Cameron and Dodd 1970). British colonial rule starting in 1916 downgraded the status of Swahili, making English the "elite" language (Wedin 2005). The British also set up an examination system to screen bright children. This encouraged an ethos of competition and arguably "selfishness" while further

lowering the communal aspects of African education. The once indigenous cooperative learning spirit had all but disappeared over time. Consequently, scholars criticized education in Tanzania at the end of the colonial era as bookish and examination oriented (Cameron and Dodd 1970).

Legacy of Nyerere in the Education Sector

Independence in 1961 brought with it ambitions of formalizing traditional society in Tanzania through state political ideology and schooling. While the colonial system of education had introduced formal schooling, it had served only a select few, with the estimated enrollment ratio in 1960 being 16.5% (Omari et al. 1983; Oketch and Rolleston 2007). Proclaiming that Western education had caused educational and social inequality and harmed the African way of learning, Nyerere formulated the idea of *ujamaa* in post-independent Tanzania and issued his seminal educational policy ESR (Nyerere 1967) to reconstruct traditional learning but within the framework of twentieth century schooling provisions and infrastructure. This could be analogous with forcing the genie back into the bottle.

The pedagogical proposal made in ESR presents similarities and differences when compared to the five LCP features outlined earlier. With his acceptance of traditional Tanzanian society and its way of learning, Nyerere saw the purpose of education as "to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society" (Nyerere 1967, 382). In need of farmers to serve village communities, he stressed transmission of agricultural knowledge, as opposed to construction of knowledge stressed in LCP. At the same time, to equip children with agricultural knowledge, Nyerere repeatedly pronounced the importance of cooperation to integrate the school and community, asserting that "schools must, in fact, become communities—and communities which practice the precept of self-reliance" (Nyerere 1967, 396). Here Nyerere's notion of "interactions" to collaborate with others—which LCP values in terms of teacher-student and student-student interactions (Moore 2012)—goes beyond the classrooms and schools and extends into the community. ESR invited local farmers to teach children how to cultivate the land. The school farms would eventually be able to generate income with which they could self-sustain the school operations.

Nyerere would also agree with LCP proponents concerning their attention on activities. Echoing Rousseau's ([1762] 2007) espousal for discovery learning and Dewey's (1938) emphasis on the connections between curriculum and society, Nyerere contended that teaching and learning should take place outside of classrooms where "pupils can learn by doing" (Nyerere 1967, 397): "The possibilities of proper grazing practices, and of terracing and soil conservation methods . . . are put into practice; the students will then understand what they are doing and why, and will be able to analyze any failures and consider possibilities for greater improvement." Practical learning, Nyerere

thought, would nurture self-reliant graduates who would contribute to their community after primary schooling.

Similarly, both LCP and ESR stress independent learners' decision making. Ginnis (2002) claims that LCP encourages learners to exercise their autonomy over what and how to learn. Instead of a rigid curriculum imposed by the government, ESR was also meant to grant plenty of flexibility to teachers and pupils in planning their activities (Nyerere 1967). Nyerere acknowledged that it is the children, and not the government, who reside in the community, and thus they should make the curriculum align with how they live in the community.

Furthermore, the decision-making process should be made democratic, Nyerere urged. Student organizations were to be established in schools across the nation, where pupils could make choices concerning school governance: "[An] essential part of the success of our attempt to build a democratic society is the combination of free discussion followed by the full implementation of joint decisions; if the children get used to this at school they will at the same time be learning about the responsibilities of citizens in a free society" (Nyerere 2004, 93). Here the resonance with Dewey's (1916) progressive education is conspicuous. Schools for Dewey and Nyerere are a miniature version of society, where children are educated to become democratic citizens. Table 2 summarizes the comparable elements between LCP and ESR, demonstrating their similarities apart from how these view knowledge.

Despite these arguably learner-centered provisions as advanced by Nyerere, ESR was soon found to be a failure. Cameron (1980, 106) called ESR "a personal pamphlet," while Urch (1989, 218) considered it "more of a slogan than a reality." Even though Nyerere's ideas were progressive and "horizontal," they did not align with the desperate educational situation and the demands of the time. Due to the shortage of human and financial resources, newly independent Tanzania had to depend on the already-established educational means and structures inherited from the British (Vavrus and Bartlett 2013).

TABLE 2
Comparison between LCP and ESR

LCP	ESR Embedded within *Ujamaa* (Nyerere 1967)
Knowledge as constructed uniquely (McPherran 2013)	Knowledge as transmitted from elders
Independent learners with teachers as facilitators (Ginnis 2002)	Flexible curriculum where learners (and teachers) are encouraged to adjust to their daily lives
Democratic student-teacher relationships (Dewey 1916)	School as a place to educate democratic citizens
Learning by doing (Rousseau [1762] 2007)	Learning by doing focusing on agricultural activities
Emphasis on social interaction (Moore 2012)	Stress on cooperation to integrate schools and communities

Note.—ESR = education for self-reliance; LCP = learner-centered pedagogy.

Academic mastery continued to be emphasized over practical skills, and success in memorization-based examinations remained crucial when climbing the education ladder (Buchert 1994; Oketch and Rolleston 2007). As such, dependence on the available curriculum, textbooks and assessment schemes persisted. Although ESR was seen to be Nyerere's idealistic provision and not a realistic program as the transversal axis has reviewed, a few decades later international agencies have brought up similar pedagogical principles as "best practice" in low-income countries including Tanzania, which the vertical axis now examines.

Vertical Inquiry: International and National Endeavors for LCP Implementation

The recent history of international educational development has observed surging attempts to implement LCP in the global South. Education for All (EFA) enacted in 1990 marks the onset of LCP promotion beyond national borders. Multilateral organizations such as UNESCO and World Bank specified the necessity of transforming the teaching-learning process into a learner-centered one by focusing on each student and stressing their interests (World Bank 2000). Led by UNICEF, child-friendly schools (CFS) encourage teachers to use child-centered and interactive teaching methods to foster children's critical thinking and problem-solving skills (UNICEF 2009). Furthermore, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) also promoted similar pedagogical approaches, under which "textbooks become more student-centered" (UNESCO 2015, 204). Succeeding the "unfinished business" of EFA and MDGs, the sustainable development goals continue to urge teachers and educators to use learner-centered and collaborative pedagogies (UNESCO et al. 2015). Development agencies thus commonly believe LCP to be a universally effective teaching method and a promising way to improve pupils' learning outcomes.

The shared intentions of these policy endeavors have had a notable influence on educational reforms in Tanzania. Along with adhering to LCP recommendation, the country has also maintained some of Nyerere's educational philosophy, particularly in relation to self-reliance. Its recent espousal of LCP dates back to the Basic Education Master Plan (MoEC 2001, 23) which refers to EFA and CFS for the adoption of "learner-centered methods" to mitigate educational inequalities. At the same time, the Plan indicates a resonance with Nyerere's claim to integrate schools and communities (Nyerere 1967): "Communities have contributed to education through self-help by building and/or repairing classrooms, latrines, and teacher houses" (MoEC 2001, 68). More recently, the Curriculum for Teacher Education Programs, formulated jointly by UNESCO and the Tanzania Institute of Education, aims to educate qualified teachers in participatory and interactive pedagogical skills in line with LCP (MoEVT 2013). It is developed based on the Education Training Policy enacted in 1995, whose "guiding philosophy is education for

self-reliance" underpinned by "participation, involvement of theory and practice [and] initiative/discovery" (MoEVT 2013, 3). The basic education curriculum for standard (year) 3 and 4 (MoEST 2016) similarly makes an explicit link between self-reliance and LCP-related concepts, stating that "this curriculum emphasizes participatory methods of teaching and learning. . . . This view of teaching and learning is mainly based on the philosophy of education for self-reliance (MoEST 2016, 28). These national policies show that over the past few decades Tanzania has committed to international schemes and a pro-LCP approach in its education policies while also deploying the notion of self-reliance in their founding philosophy.

In spite of the ever-growing popularity of LCP policies in Tanzania, existing studies have predominately revealed uncertainties and inconsistencies of its implementation, although they have not necessarily incorporated the self-reliance aspect of policy emphasis in their analysis. Barrett (2007) observed and interviewed teachers at two schools in the Shinyanga and Pwani regions to compare teachers' beliefs about "good teaching" with their actual classroom practices. Although the teachers valued participation, personalization, and praising, they did not apply these principles in their lessons. Vavrus (2009) observed a similar phenomenon at a teacher training college in Tanzania. The student teachers demonstrated their understanding of LCP concepts but did not practically apply their knowledge to the classroom context. According to Schweisfurth (2011) who conducted a research synthesis using 72 studies on LCP implementation, a prevailing failure of LCP implementation has been observed across low-income contexts.

Why then have global policies enduringly promoted it as the "universal panacea" of teaching and learning in the global South? Tabulawa (2003) asserts that behind these reforms lie objectives not educational but ideological and political. Education, or more specifically pedagogical practices, pave the way to constructing citizens and nations aligned with the perspectives of the governing body, in this case donor organizations that play an overpowering role in shaping national educational policies. Tabulawa (2003) contends that in order for low-income countries to economically advance in the same way as high-income countries, political pluralism is a necessary condition. Aid agencies' interests lie in the permeation of democratic capitalist ideology. The promotion of LCP is therefore an ideological project by international donors, which Carney (2008) calls a ritual of "cultural imperialism" (40). This manifests the postcolonial struggles extant in the global South through the implementation efforts of LCP under the global policy architecture. The LCP framework transmitted via multilateral organs has caught up Tanzania in this cultural remodeling, while the country has at the same time maintained policy pronouncements of self-reliance vis-a-vis LCP. The horizontal investigation now seeks to examine the relevance of self-reliance and LCP in schooling contexts in Tanzania.

Horizontal Exploration: Tanzanian Version of Learner-Centeredness

The interviews along the horizontal axis of CCS examined Tanzania's ideological compatibility with LCP. Teachers reflected on the role of education in contemporary society and on the value of different pedagogical approaches. Some teachers regarded education as a means to equipping students with the skills that would enable them to live in an economically independent manner. A female teacher from Green commented, "[our students] should be able to employ themselves, not just wait [for] someone to employ them." Another female teacher from Kamari expressed a similar view while referring to the deprived background of her students: "The majority of the students coming here are not from wealthy families, so they should be able to employ themselves."

Several other teachers considered education's value particularly in terms of self-reliance. One male teacher from Kwanza viewed self-reliant education as "good education" that prepares students to overcome personal and social problems. A female teacher from Umoja echoed him, explaining that "the education system should help students be self-reliant." She defined a self-reliant person as someone who is independent from their parents and is able to live on their own. Another teacher from Umoja, who also considered self-reliance as an important element of education, spoke of it in terms of Nyerere's legacy: "Nyerere was the one who initiated self-reliance through the *ujamaa* policy. When *ujamaa* was working, schools had their own farms. They were teaching students how to cultivate the soil through farming. He [Nyerere] was even giving funds to the students." The quote implies his respect for Nyerere, and the teacher lamented that Nyerere's spirit was not present in current educational practices in Tanzania.

To train students with self-reliance skills, teachers focused on pedagogical approaches that seemed to resonate with ESR. Concerning Sakata's query about what kind of teaching and learning may help students obtain desired outcomes, many interviewees mentioned two forms of teaching and learning most frequently, namely, learning by doing (*kujifunza kwa vitendo*) and participatory methods (*ufundishaji shirikishi*).

The teachers perceived that learning by doing, understood as practical methods and using real-life examples, would help students live independently. A female teacher from Bunge reported that "practice is the best teaching because through that the students gain knowledge better." A couple of teachers explained learning by doing with examples, such that "in a counting lesson, if two times two is equal to four, you have to show students with real things, real objects" (Bunge) and "in agricultural science, you have to take them outside to show that this is how maize grow. You have to show them the plant, the seeds, . . . so then they see growing stages [of maize]" (Green). In line with these examples, the activities mentioned that can lead students to

self-employment opportunities included gardening, catering, tailoring, and manual work, according to two teachers from Green and Mzuzi, respectively. The teachers' emphasis on learning through activities implies an aim resembling Nyerere's. He envisaged equipping primary pupils with agricultural skills so that they would become socially useful soon after their primary education (Nyerere 1967). This ethos also led him to claim that the curriculum should be made relevant to local conditions; a male teacher from Kwanza made a similar point: "Practical education is most important for our students to live in society. . . . The curriculum should be designed to include entrepreneurship so then the students are able to employ themselves. If entrepreneurship is taught, then it will make the students be self-reliant." A curriculum that aligns how people live with what their children learn at school will involve a level of engagement between school and community, Nyerere had insisted. Whereas his suggestion was to bring farmers into school, one female teacher from Mwamini envisaged learning by doing in terms of going outside of the school: "they [students] go outside. They visit certain places, for example, national parks. . . . Also, visiting industry or farms will help them learn the process of making certain products."

Teachers also espoused participatory methods that can be compatible with learning by doing. A female teacher from Kamari defined participatory methods as: "where you interact with pupils in a manner using not only theories but also practices. . . . It makes an abstract world more realistic." Participatory methods are also characterized by particular classroom processes; one male teacher from Green explained them as "sharing procedures of teaching and learning. Together they share ideas from the start to the end." Activities ranging from group discussions and questions and answers (Q&A) to presentations would happen in a participatory lesson, according to several teachers. Referring to discussions and debates, a female teacher from Green stated that these would help students have more confidence compared to merely listening to her lecture because they practiced speaking and communicating with others. Another teacher from Kamari echoed her and added how the relational dynamics between teachers and students might differ from teacher-led teaching: "A teacher comes and speaks, speaks, and speaks, and at the end of an hour, she leaves. This is not good. Students should be given the time to say something because they might know something that the teacher doesn't. [So] they are given group assignments to discuss among themselves and to give presentations." Likewise, one teacher from Siha described the teacher's role as a catalyst who gives the students a topic and allows them to start their learning, noting that it was the students who should "decide which direction their learning is going to take."

The forms of pedagogy the teachers stated they valued appear consistent with other studies conducted in Tanzania. Student teachers who had taken sessions on constructivist pedagogy in Vavrus's (2009) research recognized the importance of LCP principles; and teacher interviewees in Barrett's (2007)

study considered "participation (*ushirikishaji*)" as "good teaching." Barrett points out, however, that the term "participation" has become a buzzword in Tanzania, implying its fashionable use without careful consideration of the underlying meaning. Both studies, however, observed discrepancies between the teachers' teaching ideal and classroom reality, with little appropriation of LCP-related activities by the teachers. The current study did not involve classroom observation because it focused on teachers' inner values around teaching and learning. Based on these earlier studies, it might be surmised that teachers in the present research may not have exercised what they thought was good in real classroom contexts.

At the same time, teachers in this study spoke of their struggles in their effort to practice participatory methods and learning by doing, particularly with large class sizes and the shortage of teaching aids. Sixteen of the 30 participants revealed a class size exceeding 100 pupils. The teacher from Green had the largest number of approximately 400 pupils. He attempted to take his pupils to a local market to teach about small businesses using "real-world examples," but because it was impossible to do so at once with all of the pupils, the teacher took an alternative means: "Here we have market every Saturday. I ask them [pupils] to go there and observe what's going on. When they come back on Monday, they share what they see."

A severe lack of teaching materials also posed challenges, for which a female teacher from Bunge gave an illustrative example: "When I teach toothbrushing, every student has to do it in the class. But here, the school doesn't have any toothbrush or toothpaste, so I have to ask the students to bring from home. But very few bring. Even in this situation, I carry out the lesson because not all of them bring the objects [anyway]." Another female teacher from Mzuzi felt sorry for his pupils because: "Mostly we teach through books in ICT (information, communication, and technologies) classes. Students don't see a computer. They don't touch it. They don't practice it. They sit and we teach, and students learn through books, which to me is not good."

Although these teachers' accounts on material shortages indicate similarity with earlier research (Barrett 2007; Vavrus 2009), this study has brought an additional contribution to existing knowledge. By placing the horizontal data within the transversal and vertical contexts, it highlights links between *ujamaa*, LCP, and teachers' thoughts about ideal teaching, as well as practical constraints. The teacher narratives seem to align well with the educational ideas put forward by Nyerere. Considering the level of compatibility between ESR and LCP explored through the transversal and vertical analysis, it can be argued that some elements of LCP also have resonance with the teachers' ideal of pedagogy, specifically regarding the three points presented in table 1 on learning by doing, classroom interactions, and democratic teacher-student relations. Instead of forcibly transmitting a universal form of ideal pedagogy, the cultural and historical connection between *ujamaa* and LCP could suggest appropriate forms of teaching and learning in the Tanzanian context.

We should note, however, that an ideological consonance will not automatically translate into LCP appropriation in the classroom. The severe lack of material and human resources (Vavrus and Bartlett 2013; Sakata et al. 2020), as well as less than ideal working and living conditions that Tanzanian teachers undergo (Tao 2016), may well lead them to enact different forms of teaching and learning than their stated valued pedagogy. Additionally, caution needs to be taken when interpreting the horizontal data. Sakata remained an outside researcher who visited each school for 1–3 days. While she had somewhat established relationships with those who took part in a previous study, she met most teachers in this study for the first time. Considering the nature of the interview method where participants might tend to express what they think is right rather than what they truly think (Robson and MaCartan 2016), methodological triangulation and/or efforts to build more natural relationships with participants can corroborate the evidence base in future research.

Conclusion: Possibilities of a Pedagogical Nexus between *Ujamaa* and LCP

This research has attempted to demonstrate possible connections between *ujamaa* and LCP. Existing studies on LCP implementation in the global South repeatedly point out "tradition" and "cultural differences" in order to explain how and why policies are made locally. Little research conducted in Tanzania has explicitly used a historical lens to unpack the aspects of tradition that may explain current pedagogical changes at the local level. Employing CCS (Bartlett and Vavrus 2017), this study has interwoven a triple axial analysis to explore the nexus between tradition/history, policy transmission, and current teachers' thoughts on pedagogy in two regions of Tanzania.

LCP has its ideological basis in Western philosophies and educational theories, which, as the vertical analysis has highlighted, multilateral organizations promote as a "best practice" irrespective of contexts. The spread of LCP reflects the norms of a Western subculture, which can perpetuate the construction of the "inferior other" (Said 1978) through the discursive practices of imposing LCP as universally appropriate. As a result, Tabulawa (1997, 2013) advocates the development of an indigenous pedagogy that fits the cultural framework of the country concerned. We endorse Tabulawa's view, and this study has explored a pedagogy that might resonate with the cultural framework and traditions of Tanzania. Our findings nonetheless may challenge the basis of his claim. Tabulawa (1997) maintains the absolute impossibility of a pedagogical paradigm shift from teacher-centered to learner-centered pedagogy. In Botswana where his study took place, hierarchical social structure dependent on age has traditionally given adults authority as knowledge possessor. This has legitimated the deficit view of children as empty vessels where adults impart knowledge. Here reality is viewed as "out there" and unquestionable, to be

transmitted to the students. This rationalist view of knowledge would present incompatibility with constructivist epistemology, on which LCP has its basis. A pedagogical shift necessarily accompanies a shift in epistemology, which according to Tabulawa would rarely happen.

The transversal tracing in this article indicates that Tanzania similarly holds a rationalist view of knowledge. The purpose of education in Tanzania's indigenous era involved passing on customs and values from the knowledge possessor to the recipient (Cameron and Dodd 1970). Its process demanded that every member of society acquire predetermined knowledge, which Nyerere (1967) endorsed. Vavrus and Bartlett (2012) illustrate a similar epistemological stance that present-day teachers seem to hold, creating local resistance to pedagogical reform. At the same time, the juxtaposition of the three axes in this research indicate teachers' espousal of somewhat learner-centered ideas in line with ESR. They suggest a possibility that teaching through learning by doing and participatory methods could produce self-reliant graduates who can sustain themselves to become economically independent.

Through integration of the three axes in the Tanzanian context this research appears to challenge Tabulawa's contention that an epistemological dissonance between different pedagogical approaches makes a pedagogical shift unattainable. This research suggests that even if people view knowledge to be transmitted from teachers to students, and even if the former hold more authority in classroom practices, a pedagogical change based on the cultural framework of local people might indicate some possibilities. Considering the similarities between *ujamaa* and LCP, the teachers' accounts we have discussed imply that what they consider to be quality pedagogy could harmonize with some of LCP tenets. LCP has been criticized for its ignorance of local contexts and its transmission in a top-down manner. However, rather than promoting this pedagogy as universally effective, appreciating local values and developing an alternative pedagogy in line with it might assuage postcolonial struggles under the umbrella of LCP in the global South.

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