

The Development of Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania

Helena Colliander

Institute of Education and Behavioral Science, Linköping University, Sweden

Abstract

The Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) have played a part in the adult education system in Tanzania since 1970s. The colleges were established by former Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere and with inspiration from the Swedish folk high schools. The FDCs have survived several milestones and changes, including a withdrawal of fund from SIDA and shifts from one ministry to another. The aim of this paper is to give a thematic overview of the research conducted on FDCs. One main theme is the relations between various national and international stakeholders. This type of studies, primarily, focuses on how ideas are transferred and developed at a system level. Another theme is the achievements and challenges of running the FDC activities, particularly in relation to (non-)available resources. What seem to be less researched, however, were the actual practices of the FDCs. Since they are influenced both by ideas and actors at the system level and conditioned by the local school community and the resources available, such a focus would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the FDC.

Introduction

This paper gives an overview of the research made on the Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) in Tanzania¹. Out of the few existing studies which deal with the FDCs, some use the schools as a case among others to study a certain phenomenon, whereas others focus, directly, on the schools themselves. Both types of studies are included in this overview. The paper covers several sections; firstly, a background that describes the establishments of the FDCs, the interaction with Swedish actors and major national decisions concerning the FDCs is given. Secondly, the present status of the FDCs is portrayed. Then, the overall themes found in the studies of the FDCs are brought about. Finally, some conclusions are made and tentative ideas for further research presented.

The establishments of FDCs

In Tanzania, the FDCs offer education for adults. The colleges were established in 1975 on request from the Tanzania's former President Julius Nyerere in collaboration with the Tanzania's Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC²) and the Swedish International

¹ There are some other studies that seem to be relevant, but which we have not got access to. These are: Bwatwa, et al. (eds.), (1989). *Adult Education. The Tanzania Experience*. Nairobi University Press; Mutanyatta, (2007). Folk Development Colleges (FDCs): Unique grassroots level institutions that promote adult basic education, vocational skills, and poverty reduction in rural Tanzania. *Journal of Adult Education Tanzania*, 15.

² The title of this Ministry of Education differs somewhat during the years. From now on it will be shortened to *International Conference to Celebrate 50 Years of Adult Education in Tanzania*

Development Agency (SIDA) (Rogers, 2017). The FDCs were founded when the non-formal education was highly valued in the country and it was regarded as a vital supplement to formal education (Cars, 2006). In 1961, when Tanzania became independent, only 33 % of the population were literate. Adult education was then deployed as a tool for economic and social growth. The development of literacy and post-literacy programmes were needed to mobilize people and raise their awareness of the socialistic nation-building project that was launched by Nyerere. In this vision, the concept of *ujamaa*, which implied that the villagers should own their land and resources collectively, be self-governed and, in the end, be able to rely on themselves was crucial (Yule, 2001). Thus, the initial aims of establishing FDCs were related to both, the goal of developing people's ability to participate and collaborate in the society (politically, financially, socially, and culturally), and improving skills and knowledge such sectors as agriculture, handcrafts and domestic science and local cultural heritage particular in rural areas, (Sundén, 1984; Ishumi, 1992). The FDCs were to recruit students from villagers, who, after graduation, they had to return to their villages and apply what they had learned for local development (see UNESCO Institute for Education, n.d.). Moreover, the policy of *Education for self-reliance* (introduced 1967) is also regarded as crucial for the establishment of the FDC and other types of vocational training centres. It stated that skill training program were to be included in the curricula of education in all levels (Nguliamali & Temu, 2012).

The Swedish Folk High Schools (FHS) (which are in Sweden are regarded as independent colleges for adults, using a participatory approach and important for democratization process became a model for the establishment of FDCs in Tanzania (Folkbildningsrådet, 2018, Cars, 2006).). Like the FHS, no formal grades were originally given at the FDCs (Mushi, 2009). There was a difference, however, on how the FHS in Sweden defined their mission and approaches and the way the FDC came to be organised and run. Whereas the FHS had more focus on personal development, the concerns of the FDCs was on economic development at national and local levels (Cars, 2009). Besides, the FDCs, as part of the government system, got one common curriculum and they were all structured in the same way. This contrasted from the FHS in Sweden, which had more autonomy and were run by different organisations, often as part of a popular movement (Rogers, 2000). In the establishment of the FDC, the Swedish government funded the construction of 1 buildings, materials, teacher training and

consultation whereas the Tanzanian government was responsible for the running costs (Mushi, 2009).

As stated earlier in this paper, the FDCs were to recruit adult villagers depending on their needs and requirements. Since the students would go back to their villagers and apply what they had learned, the teachers were to make follow-up visits at the former students' villages to see the progress of the community. Another original feature was that the teaching had to be built on a mix of theory and practice and that the teachers should teach literacy classes (see UNESCO Institute for Education, n.d.). The reason for the latter was that the foundation of the schools was a third step of the build-up of the Tanzanian adult education sector. The schools were preceded by a vast initial literacy campaign and an initiative to give people access to libraries to continue to develop their literacy (Hyldgaard, 2018).

In term of provisions, the FDC offered long courses, lasting from three months up to two years, as well as short courses ranging from two days to ten weeks. Whereas the long courses dealt with agriculture, domestic science and vocational training, there was a great variety of the short courses, with topics connected to, for example, shopkeeping, rural libraries and poultry keeping. The students were mainly to be chosen by the village councils in consultation with the socialist party and the adult education coordinator (Kassam, 1982).

The interaction with Swedish actors

In the 1980s, an NGO called Karibu Sweden which was an umbrella organisation for Swedish FHS to facilitate the relations between the FHS and FDCs was established. In 1990, another NGO, namely Karibu Tanzania (KTO) was launched through the cooperation of Karibu Sweden. The KTO served as a network organisation for the FDC which linked the FDCs together, functioned as their spokesman, participated in developing innovative courses and gave distance education programme for the FDC staff.

Between 1991-1996, staff from the FDCs participated in the TANDEM project, which was cooperation between the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and the Linköping University in Sweden (Cars, 2009). The purpose of the TANDEM was to boost the FHS ideals of for example classroom democracy, a participatory teaching approach and integrated subjects (Rogers, 2000). The main activities of the project were to train ministry officials and the FDC tutors. Besides, it gave some technical assistance in curriculum development, monitored the FDCs performance and supported FDCs with facilities (Cars, 2009).

In the late 1990s that SIDA phased out their engagement with FDCs due to a change of government funding priority and a disagreement between the Swedish and the Tanzanian management in what the FDCs should concentrate on – education or community development (Cars, 2009). There were concerns about how the FDC would sustain without this support (Rogers, 2019) and the withdrawal of SIDA as a donor was problematic for the FDCs. But despite the qualms, the number of the schools increased from 52 to 55 in 2007 (UNESCO, 2018) and only one college had to close (Rogers, 2019). Likewise, there was an increase of enrolment from 25,486 students in 2005/06 academic year, to 40,692 in 2014/15 academic year (UNESCO, 2018). Simultaneously, however, there were cuts of funding that affected the maintenance of the buildings and the FDCs activities. The FDCs had to rely on fundraising and fees from the students for their survival. A single FDC was still getting support from an individual FHS and international aid agencies, and each FDC in a particular local government was permitted to decide about the level of student fees and possible extra charge for material costs. As a consequence, nonetheless, the intake of poorer students in the long courses was reduced (Rogers, 2019). Moreover, the cuts meant that the number of outreach courses would decrease, (Rogers, 2017), Like the short courses, they targeted the local rural populations, people with disabilities, women, and elderly people (Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children, n.d.)

National level changes affecting FDCs

An early change affecting the FDC was that the syllabuses redesigned in 1978. The reason for change was that it was difficult for tutors who had no previous experience in teaching to follow the old model (Moshia, 1983). In 1990s the responsibility of FDCs changed. Firstly they shifted from the MOEC to the Ministry of Local Government (MLG) and then to the Ministry of Community Development Women Affairs and Children (MCD). This implied a shift from a focus on adult education and post-literacy development to community development. It also meant a decentralized organization and that the FDCs came to be financially self-supporting (Cars, 2009).

The FDCs were also to be under the Tanzania's Vocational Educational and Training Authority (VETA), whose role was to improve the quality of the vocational education by ensuring that the providers follow the curricula and standards assessment system (Nguliamali & Temu, 2012). According to Rogers (2019), under VETA, the FDC started to give VETA courses as a way of surviving, and some of the FDCs became centres for VETA tests. This was because the colleges were in areas where VETA had no previous geographical coverage.

When the test started to be taken at FDCs, the awareness of such tests and the demand for them increased among the students. More students came to require education from which they could get a vocational training credential more valid than the informal FDC certificate. This demand was also related to the expansion of the secondary school system, which implied that more and more of the FDC students came with a secondary and not just primary education degree and that the students were recruited from different parts of Tanzania. As a result, about half of the schools today offer VETA courses instead of, or in parallel to, the original long FDC courses. This, in turn, has changed the characteristics of the participants. Whereas the FDC courses were open for all regardless of educational background, enrolment in the VETA courses require certain qualifications and the applicants have, based on this, to compete for a limited number of seats. Another consequence is that the responsibility for the FDC has been shifted from the MCD back to the MOE again, to its wing of vocational education (Rogers, 2019).

The FDCs today

Today, there are 55 FDC spread out in the different regions of Tanzania which offer four types of educational provisions even if they rarely offer them all. The long courses, which stretch over two to three years, are either Vocational education and training programs or Folk education courses. The later include livelihood skills, for example, Agriculture, Carpentry, Cookery, and Tailoring and education, income generating activities like business. Besides, there are subjects for developing awareness, such as, gender, civics, and environment (Rogers, 2017). Typically, these courses, enrol primary and secondary schools graduates (Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children, n.d.).

The short courses are often run by agencies other than FDCs, even if they are done in cooperation. The short courses could either be located within the FDC or in the community. Often, they range from one week to three months and concentrate on various subjects (Rogers, 2017). As previously stated, the outreach courses decreased when SIDA withdrew their support. But local community members still use the premises of many FDCs for livelihood activities, even though the staff of the FDCs seldomly goes to the villages as development workers. Consequently, it is more adequate to talk about community development instead of outreach. Moreover, the FDCs run Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) projects. Since the FDC establishment, the aim of these projects had been to get some income for colleges and, at the same time, demonstrate development activities to the local community and let the students get experiences of development work (Rogers, 2017).

In addition to the above discussed four types of activities, which have long been part of FDCs, many have come up with new programmes. Among these *innovatory activities* is the Mama programme for girls who become pregnant and, thus, have not been permitted to pursue their formal education. A side effect of these courses and a general gender strategy is that there are preschools for the children of the participants at the FDCs. Since the project has been successful and the role of KTO as well as the support from the MCD, the government has changed the national guidelines so that young women in these circumstances can fulfil their education. The KTO has also facilitated for the FDCs to establish a program of women's football, which serves as a springboard for addressing gender issues and gender equality (Rogers, 2019).

Themes

From the above review of research on FDCs, atleast two overall themes can be identified. Firstly, most of the studies deal with the relations between various national and international stakeholders. Primarily, they concentrate on how ideas are transferred and developed at a system level. Secondly, a number of studies concentrate on the achievements and challenges of running the FDC activities as presented below: -.

National and international collaboration

Many studies on FDCs focus on different aspects of national and international collaboration. Within this theme, three sub-themes can be recognised: co-existing agendas, aspects of the implementation and cultural imposition.

Co-existing agendas

One side of the interplay is the various and parallel agendas of the different stakeholders: both national and international. An early example of various agendas is seen already in the establishment of the FDC, where the Tanzanian government on the one hand sought inspiration from the Swedish FHS to carry out their political project and where the Swedish actors, simultaneously, took initiatives to spread the folk high school idea (Nordvall, 2018).

The different agendas concerning FDCs have been interpreted as a struggle for legitimacy. With the FDC, the Tanzanian government could get financial support and international acceptance for their huge political agenda by stressing the similarities of values of the FDC

and the FHS. Thus, the symbolic value of the FDC, rather than its organisation, may have been their prime concern. Among the Swedish actors, who were influenced by the ideas of the FHS, the stumbling block of the FDC became the non-participatory teaching methods. These methods were not regarded to be in line with the 'true pedagogy' of popular education. Consequently, there was a clash between the Swedish and the Tanzanian actors, since both wanted to legitimise their activities (Nordvall & Åberg, 2011). Besides, the FDC differed from the FHS in the sense that they were established by and subordinated to the government, and that they had a stronger focus on vocational education. These issues implied a disagreement among the stakeholders. Actors like local organisations, representatives of the Swedish folk high schools and aid organisations raised competing voices in the negotiation of what FDCs were and should be (Nordvall, 2018).

The different agendas of the national international stakeholders are also seen in the way aid to the FDCs were phased out. According to Catterson & Lindahl (1999), who study the phasing out of several SIDA programmes in Tanzania, there were different interest of the Tanzanian partners, the consultants, the SIDA staff, and the Swedish institutions. By contrast to the SIDA decision, many of these partners wanted the program to continue. In the case of FDC, there were for example research groups in Tanzania and Sweden that wanted the FDCs project to continue for the sake of being able to complete their research.

Differences on how one views the purpose of FDCs, moreover, differences among policymakers, teachers, and students in Tanzania. A comparative case study of adult education in three countries includes the FDC (Torres & Shugurensky 1994). The authors point out an inconsistency in the curriculum and in the policies that previously were used. Whereas the policymakers presupposed that FDCs focused on adult students, who recently had learned literacy, had family responsibilities and were settled in villages; they spoke about younger learners who had completed their primary education. Such a shift of the characteristics of the learners implied that the curriculum was not adapted to the actual students. In the Tanzanian case in general, there was also a discrepancy in what the policymakers and the teachers claimed and what the students themselves said about their future career. The former saw the programme as a method to stop an unwanted migration to urban areas, but the data from the students suggest that they regarded the education at FDCs as a gateway to get employed in the cities. Besides, in contrast to what the teachers and

policymakers said, only one out of the samples of 116 adult students stated that s/he enrolled in the literacy program for further political engagement³ (Torres & Shugurensky 1994). Finally, one can also see how the FDCs had been influenced by the responsible ministries for them. The FDC simultaneously belong to adult education, community development and vocational training, but it has been difficult for a single ministry to consider all these aspects. A certain concern voiced by the KTO and the FHS is that the FDC, now when being placed under the VET sector in the MOE, will lose its focus on development and adult education in favour of vocational training. Other risks are that they will be less flexible in admitting students with little education, lose their freedom to respond to local demands and approach donors for the sake of the development of the individual college (Rogers, 2019). These risks can be compared to what Unsicker's previous claims – which the tensions between powerful societal groups imply that the villagers' interests have been overlooked (see Unsicker, 1984).

Research on implementation of FDCs activities

In addition to research which focuses on the agendas of different actors, some other studies focus on different aspects of the implementation of FDC. One of these studies, (Rogers 2000), elaborates on the cultural transfer of educational practices and organisations between different types of countries. It highlights some conditions for such a transfer to be successful. First, there should be an accordance of the ideologies, rhetoric, and functions of the educational institutions between the countries in the transfer. But in the case of Sweden and Tanzania there was a mismatch between the countries' ideologies and their educational discourses. Even though both Sweden and Tanzania held a socialist ideology, in Tanzania it was centralised and non-participatory, whereas in Sweden it was pluralistic, liberal, and participatory. Besides, central phenomena like development and participation were interpreted differently. Secondly, it is difficult to transfer one single element of a wider educational system only. Whereas the FHS in Sweden were part of the wider and well-established popular education system, the FDCs were isolated institution with unclear affiliations. Thirdly, a transfer should be bottom-up in nature, where the receiving part identifies something in the donor body they want to learn more about for their own needs. Finally, a transfer is more likely to succeed if the receiving country - including the local communities – gets the ownership and is free to develop it for their own purposes (Rogers 2000). This was not the

³ The tutors and policymakers claimed this in relation to the rule that one needed to be literate to be qualified as a candidate for the positions of the party.

case of FDCs, which were known as the Swedish schools before SIDA funding withdraw (Catterson & Lindahl, 1999).

In his later study, Rogers (2013) analyses the FDCs as a result of interactions of educational ideas between two countries. In particular, he concentrates on the rhetoric of the FDCs and the implementation of the transfer. The post-colonial perspective is said to be helpful to display the power laden relations of the initiating and receiving country and the importance of that the initiating culture/actor reviews their own values and learning. Rogers (2013) points out the dichotomy between, for example, the FDC and the FHS, the liberal and the vocational curriculum, and the donor and receiver, as problematic, since the FDC and the FHS hold many different identities. There is not just one type of teaching and learning practice within a certain curriculum, and there is a need for an equal partnership between the actors in a transfer.

Another study (Mushi, 1991) looks at the implementation of FDC within the national frame. It points out that the implementation was well-grounded in the current socio-economic conditions and political ideas of education. The government wanted more people to develop functional literacy, be enlightened and inspired to voluntarily participate in development work. However, it was obstructed by a shortage of qualified teachers and the fact that the courses did not fully consider the needs of the students. Also, there was a lack both of funding and of a joint, adequate, evaluation system.

Cultural imposition

Since the FDC were founded in cooperation between one country in the South and one in the North there are some studies which deal with the transfer of ideas development of the FDC from a critical perspective emphasizing that the Swedish actors in the cooperation were imposing their values on the Tanzanian actors. Two of these studies (Nordvall and Dahlstedt, 2009; Dahlstedt & Nordvall, 2011) focus on how actors within the field of popular education in Sweden describes FDCs. They use data from the Journal *Karibu Kontakt* from 1982-1992 and a post-colonial lens to display how national self-images and images of 'the Others' were shaped when the Swedish model of popular education was spread to other countries. The authors found that despite the Swedish actors' desire to act in an anti-colonial way, a colonial legacy is visible in the ideas of democracy and modernization, and in what was regarded to be Swedish respectively Tanzanian attributes in the descriptions of FDC. The Swedish aspiration was to liberate people who, previously were colonized and who faced several difficulties. The key to this liberation was what the Swedish popular education itself had learned and

experienced. Moreover, there was the underlying idea of ‘we, the Swedes’ who, based on the ‘Swedish’ understandings and principles, were to define this liberation.

A similar type of criticism towards a disregard for the Tanzanian experiences is directed towards the TANDEM project. Riwa (1999)⁴ brings up shortages in the curriculum of the training that the Linköping University provided for teachers in the FDC. Consideration was not taken to what Tanzanian studies already had shown, and the Swedish teacher trainers were not interested in the attitudes and the experiences on gender that the students already had. Also, gender awareness, for example, in terms of understanding how gender structures can hinder access and participation was not something which was developed in the training.

In her dissertation, Cars (2006) makes a meta-evaluative case study of educational projects in Official Development Cooperation (ODC). One of the cases is the TANDEM project. Cars analyses the perspectives of various stakeholders when it comes to evaluation practices and she shows that not only were there different ideas of how the FDCs should be run, but also different opinions of the evaluation itself. Whereas the ODC agency, SIDA in this case, was satisfied with the evaluation as summative report of the FDC project, the Tanzanian stakeholders criticized it. Among other things, they meant that the sample of the FDC in the evaluation were not representing the varieties of the schools, and since the evaluation failed to provide formative feedback, the utility of it on the local level was low.

The idea of the FDCs as examples of cultural imposition, was not shared by everyone. Ishumi (1992), who highlights the support SIDA gave to Tanzania between 1970s and the 1990s including the FDCs program, argues that the Swedish donor instead of holding an imperialistic approach and neglecting the receiving country’s part in the discussion and decision-making, initially was too indulgent in the follow up of the support. Thus, the firmer accounting processes and the reviews and reports which were, gradually, introduced by the SIDA, are viewed as conditions for the Schools’ contribution to development in Tanzania.

Challenges faced and achievements made in the running of FDCs activities

A second theme reflected in the studies of FDCs are the challenges faced and some achievements made in the running of FDCs especially, the challenges are prominent. An early dilemma of the FDC was to consider the training needs of the villagers in courses that were set and financed by the state. It implied that the villages sent trainees to the FDC with no idea on a village development. Moreover, the FDCs faced problems to succeed in their vision that

⁴ OBS! every second page is missing in this online version of the text we got access to. Thus, there may be more aspects to refer to.

people should be trained for the sake of the community rather than for the social mobility of the individual participant. When the FDC did not live up to the community's demands of development, they submitted to the pressure of being means for the individuals' career (Mushi 2009).

Among more recently and generally stated challenges are the lack of funds for the maintenance of the school facilities, a shortage of adequate teaching material and technical equipment, a lack of teachers and inferior quality of the in-service training. However, those conditions vary from region to region (Busia, 2007; Mulenga, 2005; Musakanya, 2008; Mwansa, 2005 cited in Kalole, 2013). Kalole (2013) illustrates this in a study of what the FDC faced in the Southern Highland Zone of Tanzania. The conditions mentioned have affected the quality of teaching and learning and, among other things, they have led to drop out and a negative reputation of the schools. The FDC themselves, as well as the government's lack of financial support, are viewed as the root to these challenges and the solutions suggested are, for example, to let the schools be sufficiently funded by the government, to pay teacher salaries on time, build the staff-capacity and include the stakeholders in planning.

Other studies bring up achievements and challenges in a certain areas like democracy. Holmquist & Hyldgaard Nankler (2007) analyse the role the schools play for democracy and they find that the FDCs provided opportunities for the students to practice democracy in school. Among other things, there was a democratic structure with students being represented in the College council and having their own committees influencing the school activities. But there were differences between the schools in how much space the students had to exercise democracy and it was not clear if the students developed their capacity to exercise democracy for changing the society. The staff's dedication in this matter and the education they themselves got in this field played a crucial part.

Another challenging area for the FDCs has been the information and communication technology (ICT). Ng'unda (2015) investigated community members' view on ICT regarding self-employment and reliance and how ICT is applied to support lifelong learning in the FDC in northern Tanzania. A central feature is also to analyse the possibilities and difficulties of adopting these technologies in the schools. The findings show that the members of the community have a positive outlook on what ICT can do for lifelong learning and work, but that ICT is sparsely used at the FDC. The reasons are a lack of electricity and internet connection and that the teachers have little awareness of how to use these tools.

The vocational training offerings in FDCs are a third area in which the FDCs have made both, achievements and meet challenges. The FDC learning activities in the 1990s reflected real working-life experiences and the opportunity to take formal Trade Tests implied meant, according to the principals in the study, that the local need of skills was met through the FDCs' training. But despite these achievements, the FDCs struggled to survive without donors and dealt with a shortage of subjects related to self-employment skills, like bookkeeping, marketing, and estimating etc. The schools also faced difficulties in attracting female students to courses regarded as male-oriented (Kent & Mushi, 1996). Another study gives a positive outlook on the FDCs' role in local development since the schools trained village people in various service occupations. But at the same time, it mentions that this contribution ceased in the 1980s when the FDCs faced several problems (Nguliamali & Temu, 2012). Such problems were low student enrolment, a shortage of educated teachers, little influence from the villagers on the courses and administration of the schools, and a lack of responsibility from the Ministry of National Education (MNE), which then oversaw the FDC (Mosha, 1983).

The low enrolment is another aspect highlighted in studies including the long term FDC courses. Apart from pointing out the inferior facilities for practical training and a lack of qualified teachers as the major challenges, the author claims that the courses did not meet the community needs. Other explanations to the low enrolment are that the teaching was more theoretical than practical, and the students were not sufficiently prepared for future work (Atutwele Kamwela, 2013).

Another critical remark is raised by Mokoki (2013) who has studied how community members view the effectiveness of FDC in relation to self-reliance and self-employment among its alumni. Mokoki finds that most of the included sample, made from two communities in areas with FDC in the Dodoma region, expressed negative views regarding this kind of effectiveness. According to the study most of the FDC alumni could not use the skills gained from FDC to be self-reliant or self-employed. Still, the study also indicates that some of the alumni experienced that the FDC had contributed to an improved self-reliance. As reasons for the negative views among the majority, Mokoki points out poor infrastructure, inadequate financial support, shortage of tutors and teaching and learning resources. Finally, the need for further research on FDC' relevance for its alumni is addressed in the study.

Conclusions

This review has shown that most of the available studies on FDCs focus on the relations between different national and international stakeholders. Predominantly, they concentrate on the negotiation, transfer, and development of ideas at a system level. Another common theme is about challenges and achievements experienced. This second group of studies concentrates on the activities of the schools, especially regarding (non-)available resources. Between these two themes, there is a connection – what is happening at the system level get consequences at the school level. What seems to be less dealt with in the research of the FDC is how various teaching and learning practices of FDCs can be described and understood. Since the teaching and learning practices are core activities of an educational system, it would be valuable to gain more knowledge about them, too. For example, regarding the concern that the vocational training will be too technical and lose the perspectives of individual and community development – what pedagogical approaches are present in the VETA courses respectively the FDC courses? Or, regarding the innovative courses – what types of learner identities are constructed in their teaching and learning practice?

Considering the long cooperation between the FDC and the Swedish FHS, and their shared position of being adult education institutions with a relatively autonomous position in relation to the formal educational system in their countries, it would also be fruitful to study things they may have in common. For example: How are new courses developed locally? When developing new courses, how do FDC and the FHS navigate and position themselves in relation to the surrounding educational landscape? In which way do the FHS and FDC manage to produce legitimacy in relation to both potential participants and funding institutions? To conclude, studies of the FDC practices would contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of the FDC. After all, the practices are influenced by ideas and actors at the system level, and they are conditioned by the local school community and the resources available.

References

- Cars, M. (2006) *Project Evaluation in Development Cooperation: A Meta-Evaluative Case Study in Tanzania*. Universitetservice US-AB.
- Catterson, J. & Lindahl, C. (1999). *The Sustainability Enigma. Aid Dependency and Phasing out of Projects. The case of Swedish aid in Tanzania*. Almqvist & Wiksell International
- Dahlstedt, M. & Nordvall, H. (2011). Paradoxes of Solidarity: Democracy and Colonial
International Conference to Celebrate 50 Years of Adult Education in Tanzania

- Legacies in Swedish Popular Education, *Adult Education Quarterly*, (61), 3, 244-261.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0741713610380445>
- Folkbildningsrådet. (2018). Retrieved from <http://www.folkbildningsradet.se/om-folkhogskolan/>
- Hyldgaard Nankler, C. (2018). *Folkbildning och solidaritet – om uppkomsten av folkhögskolans global engagemang*. Books on Demand
- Holmquist Karin,. and Nankler Clara Hyldgaard,. (2007). *'Agents for change in a changing society: What is the role of Folk Development Colleges in promoting democracy in Tanzania?'*, unpublished dissertation, University of Gothenburg, School of Global Studies, Centre for Africa Studies.
- Ishumi, A., G., M. (1992). External aid: a lever for social progress in developing countries? A case study of SIDA-supported educational projects in Tanzania, 1970-1990s. *Educational Development* 12(4), 265-276
- Kalole, J. G. (2013). *An analysis of challenges facing Folk Development Colleges in the Southern Highlands Zone, Tanzania*. Mzumbe University.
- Kamwela, J., A. (2013). *Factors influencing the low enrolment of students in Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania*, unpublished ma dissert OUT <http://repository.out.ac.tz/687/>
- Kassam, Y. (1982). Formal, non-formal and informal modes of learning: A glimpse of the Tanzanian experience. *International Review of Education* 28(2), 263–267.
- Kent, D., W. & Mushi, P., S., D. (1996). The education and training of artisans for the informal sector in Tanzania. *Education Research Paper* 18.
- Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children. (n.d.). *Folk Development Colleges Provision*, Retrieved from http://www.mcdgc.go.tz/index.php/colleges/fdc/folk_development_colleges_provision/
- Mokoki, R. (2013). *Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania: prospects and challenges*. Master thesis in Education. University of Dodoma.
- Mosha, H. J. (1983). United Republic of Tanzania: Folk Development Colleges, *Prospects: Quarterly Review of Education* 13(1), 95-103.
- Mushi, P. A. K. (1991) Origins and development of adult education innovations in Tanzania. *International Review of Education* 37(3), 351–363.
- Mushi, P. A. K. (2009). - *History and development of education in Tanzania*. Dar es Salaam University Press.
- Nguliamali, M., B. & Temu, E. B., (2012). *Vocational Education and Skills Training in Mainland*

- Tanzania for National Development: A Review of the Literature from a Historical Perspective.
Huria: Journal of the Open University of Tanzania, 10(1), 112-140.
- Ng'unda, A. (2015). Prospects, Strategies and Challenges of Adapting Modern Information and Communication Technologies (MICTs) in Folk Development Colleges (FDCs): A Case of Northern Zone Tanzania, accessed at <http://repository.out.ac.tz/1229/>
- Nordvall H. (2018) The global spread of the Nordic folk high school idea, in Milana I., Webb M., Holford J., Waller R. and Jarvis P. (Eds.) *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*. Palgrave Macmillan
- Nordvall, H. & Dahlstedt, M. (2009). Folkbildning i (av)kolonialiseringens skugga: Demokrati, nationella mytologier och solidaritetens paradoxer. *Utbildning & Demokrati*. 18(3), 29-47
- Nordvall, H. & Åberg, (2011). Folkhögskolan som myt - Om global spridning och användning av nordiska folkbildningsidéer. *Pedagogisk forskning i Sverige*. 16:1 p. 1-17
- Rogers, A. (2000). Cultural Transfer in Adult Education: the case of the Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania, *International Review of Education*, 46, 67-92
- Rogers, A. (2013). Rhetoric and implementation: The folk high school tradition and the folk development colleges of Tanzania, in Nordvall H., Laginder M. and Crowther J. (eds.) *Popular Education, Power and Democracy*, NIACE, 214-237
- Rogers, A. (2019). The homelessness of adult education: some lessons from the Folk Development Colleges of Tanzania. *Studies in the Education of adults*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/02660830.2018.1548721>
- Riwa, C. C. M. (1999). Gender Issues in the TANDEM project with the Folk Development Colleges (FDC) in Tanzania 1991 to 1996: An Evaluation. *Uongozi-Journal of Management Development* 11(2), 228-224.
- Sundén R. (1984). Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania. In: J. Norbeck, F. Albinson, T. Holgersson & R. Sundén (eds). *Swedish Folk Development Education and Developing Countries: SIDA Research Report 18*.
- Torres, C. A. & Schugurensky, D. (1994). The Politics of Adult Education in Comparative Perspective: Models, Rationalities and Adult Education Policy Implementation in Canada, Mexico and Tanzania. *Comparative Education*, 30(2), 131-152.
- Unsicker, J. (1984). *Adult education, socialism, and international aid in Tanzania: the political economy of the Folk Development Colleges*, unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University.
- Yule A. (2001). From literacy to lifelong learning in Tanzania, in D Aspin, J. Chapman, M. Hatton and Sawano (eds.) *International Handbook of Lifelong Learning*. Kluwer, 663-680.