

## **The Pedagogical State: Reflections on the Postcolony**

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Historians are just commencing serious study of the postcolonial state in Africa, and in doing so are engaging with analytical concepts and paradigms long employed by political scientists and anthropologists. Drawing upon over ten years of research on postcolonial Tanzania, as well as extensive comparative readings of other postcolonies in Africa, I propose that what is missing in our understanding of developmentalist states is an appreciation of the extent to which such states measured progress and success in terms of their capacity to instruct their citizens in ways of living regarded as progressive and developmentalist. I argue that the developmentalist state, as it emerged in the 1960s, was devoted, to greater or lesser extents, to fulfilling ambitious pedagogical projects. State elites sought the institutional means to orchestrate a series of teaching moments--in the classrooms, in the fields, in the football stadia, and on the parade ground--that would instill lessons in citizenship duties, virtue, and discipline. The learning so sought after by pedagogical states was to be intellectual, emotive, corporeal, and dramaturgical.

I argue that the resources devoted to such pedagogical projects were by no means inconsiderable, and that state elites regarded such projects as utterly essential to the pursuit of national development. Drawing on examples from Ethiopia, Guinea, and Mozambique, but especially Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s, I examine how state elites sought to construct a series of pedagogical apparatuses, and the real or intended consequences of such state interventions in ordinary lives. In Tanzania, I discuss such exercises as nationalist festivals, school drama competitions, and collective and "voluntary" labor assignments. I describe a network of Young Pioneer units and youth labor camps, and Youth League policing of ordinary habits of consumption, leisure, and labor.

My intent in this paper is to help scholars revisit and re-conceptualize the postcolonial state during the nationalist era of the 1960s and 1970s, as one often opposed to aspects of both colonial and precolonial cultural forms and practices that did not, in their view, conform to the dominant development ethos, and the measures taken to instruct and inform citizens in the sort of society that independence made possible.