INTERCULTURAL MUSIC STUDIES

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Arts in Education: What Do Tanzanians Need to Know?

Kedmon E. Mapana

Die Kunst in der Erziehung: Was müssen die Menschen in Tansania darüber wissen?

In den 1990er Jahren verbannte Joseph Mungai, Tansanias Minister für Erziehung, alle Formen von Kunst sowie Sport aus den Lehrplänen der Schulen. Er hielt sie für Zeitverschwendung und forderte stattdessen, alle Aufmerksamkeit auf Mathematik und die Wissenschaften zu legen.

Zwar hat die Regierung 2005 dies wieder rückgängig gemacht, doch war die gut zehnjährige Lücke noch deutlich spürbar: Nicht nur fehlten den Jugendlichen, die in dieser Zeit zur Schule gegangen waren, die entsprechenden Kenntnisse – in der ganzen Gesellschaft hatte sich die Überzeugung breit gemacht, dass Kunst und Sport in der Tat wertlos und mithin vernachlässigbar seien.

Um diese Wahrnehmung substantiell und dauerhaft zu verändern, müssen sich die Tansanier der Debatten bewusst sein, die in Europa und in Nordamerika über das jeweilige Verhältnis im Dreieck Natur-, Geisteswissenschaften und Kunst geführt werden. Schon Howard Gardner hatte erklärt, dass „kein Terrain für Wissenschaftler als verboten gelten dürfe". Jürgen Habermass hatte nicht nur festgestellt, dass alles Wissen auf den drei fundamentalen menschlichen Interessen technische Kontrolle, Kommunikation und Emanzipation beruht, und dass diese Interessen jeweils in ein soziales Umfeld aus Arbeit, Sprache und Macht eingebunden sind – er hatte auch erkannt, das jedes spezifische Wissen eine spezifische Kenntnis darum beinhaltet, was wichtig ist.

In diesem Sinne leisten kulturelle Erfahrungen und ihre Ausdrucksformen, verbunden mit der dazu gehörigen Notwendigkeit des Studiums kultureller und geschichtlicher Zusammenhänge, einen unverzichtbaren Beitrag. Die Anthropologin Ellen Dissanayake hat recht, wenn sie (in *Homo aestheticus*, 1992) darlegt, warum der Mensch biologisch als Künstler konditioniert ist: weil er den Drang verspürt, sich selbst, seine Umwelt, all die Dinge, an denen er beteiligt ist, von Beruf zu Feierlichkeiten, individuell zu gestalten, einzigartig zu machen. Sie, Howard Gardner und viele andere haben auf den Wert hingewiesen, der dem Einzelnen wie der Gemeinschaft zuwächst, wenn die verschiedenen Arten der Intelligenz und der individuellen Fähigkeiten genutzt werden.

Noch sind in Tansania die Kenntnis darüber und das Bewusstsein für diese Zusammenhänge mangelhaft ausgeprägt. Ein Blick in andere Länder mit ihren verschiedenen Ansätzen und Angeboten interdisziplinärer Ausbildung könnte dabei hilfreich sein. Dafür müssten in Tansania Lehrpläne für eine umfassende Kunsterziehung entworfen werden. Ein erster Schritt könnte sein, die in allen Ethnien des Landes verbreitete Tradition des *Ngoma* – eine komplexe Aufführungspraxis aus Musik, Gesang und Tanz mit hohem sozialem Faktor –, die schon jetzt die Wurzel jeder lokalen bzw. nationalen Kunst bildet, verpflichtend in den Lehrplan aller Schulen aufzunehmen – als Feier von Identität, Freude und Erziehung, aber auch als Hilfsinstrument für weitere akademische Leistungen.

On April 7th 2011, two visitors from St. Johns University of Tanzania, Rick Eigenbrood (the Dean of the School of Education, Seattle Pacific University), Arthur Ellis (Director of the Centre for Global Education, Seattle Pacific University), and I visited King's School located at 19303 Fremont Avenue North, Seattle, WA 98133. Eric Rasmussen, the Superintendent gave us a wonderful and useful tour. I was very impressed when he took us to the music room where there was a choir singing. The choir caught my attention and inspired me to ask Rasmussen whether the arts are integrated into the course of study. He said yes, and explained further how deeply the King's school values the arts and is committed to arts experiences as an integral part of its educational program.

This conversation reminded me of my experience working on a program evaluation for Elk Plain School of Choice. It is one of seventeen public elementary schools in the Bethel School District, located in Spanaway, WA. Elk Plain School of Choice gives the arts—dance, music, theatre, and visual arts—a prominent role in the curriculum. Although the high quality of academic achievement cannot be credited to the arts program alone, Elk Plain School of Choice has had consistently higher scores on the Washington Assessment of Student Learning (WASL) test(s) and Mastery of Student Progress (MSP) test(s) than other schools in the Bethel School District. Many teachers, parents and students of Elk Plain School are convinced that the arts are a major factor contributing to the students' academic achievement. This is typically the case. One cannot attribute cause and effect, but certainly the correlation is there. Personally, I do think the arts contribute to achievement, but one must also take into account the fact that students engaged in the arts are themselves a unique subset of the general population with regard to socio-economic circumstance, etc.

The arts programs in these two schools are not just something teachers and students do outside of school or after class. They are part of school's course of study. This is different from Tanzania. The arts are not given priority as subjects by themselves. They are considered to be extra-curricular activities. As an example, in the 1990s, the arts (music, drama, and visual arts) and athletics were eliminated from Tanzanian schools. The Minister of Education, Joseph Mungai at that time, was concerned that arts and athletics were a waste of time. He demanded that science subjects and mathematics should be given priority.

Unbelievably, in 2005, the Tanzanian government announced the idea to bring back the arts and athletics into schools. For me, this was a good idea but the people had suffered for many years without the arts in their education, and arts' subjects have continued to be perceived as being of no value. As a Tanzanian, I argue that the arts have value in schools, and students who participate in music, drama, visual arts, and athletics, appear to me to do better in school. That has been my observation.

Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to

(1) trace some elements of the continuing debate about the relative importance of science versus arts and humanities in education and the effects of the ascent of science on education that Mungai's position reveals;

(2) document perspectives related to the value of the arts in education;

(3) review empirical evidence of the value of arts in education, including research involving theatre, dance and other performing arts;

(4) identify the ways arts in education appear in educational settings in the USA;

(5) survey policy issues connecting funding with arts in education in the US;

(6) describe how arts partnerships function in arts education in the USA;

(7) discover what makes the arts to be perceived as marginal to the primary purposes of schooling in the USA; and

(8) examine the situation involving arts in education in Tanzania.

The paper has been undertaken to serve both as a reminder to supporters of arts in education, and to create awareness among a wider group of Tanzanians.

A Short Review of The Debate between Science and the Arts and Humanities

In his review of a book-length conversation between French scientist Jean-Pierre Changeux and French philosopher Paul Ricœur, Gardner (2000) points out that,

> Our age is marked by the triumph of science. Greek philosophers may have been the first to raise questions about the nature of matter, living entities, knowledge, will, truth, beauty, and goodness. In recent centuries, however, philosophy has steadily been yielding ground, enthusiastically or reluctantly, to empirical science. Why speculate endlessly about the physical or biological world when you can carry out laboratory experiments, make precise measurements, test predictions, and revise proposed explanatory theories in light of findings? If there are material or psychic costs to this unflinchingly empirical approach, most of us have no desire to confront them … [However], when it comes to questions of human mind, consciousness and experience, philosophers retain one powerful weapon. Put bluntly, a good many of us still prefer to believe that there is something special about human beings, some properties that do not lend themselves to explanations in the same way that one can 'explain' the structure of the universe or the anatomy of the cell … Many, if not, most of us still believe that as persons we retain a privileged relationship to religious beliefs, works of art, loves and hates, dreams and fantasies, and moral sentiments—in short, for want of a less clichéd term, the realm of the spirit. In that sense, when philosophers and scientists put on the gloves, we hope that the philosophers will strike at least a few powerful blows on behalf of the human part of human nature. (from http://pzweb.harvard.edu/pis/HG_Changeux.htm)

The English philosopher/scientist Herbert Spencer's extremely influential essay, *What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?* (1859) made a case for science. The schools, knowingly or not, have tended to agree. Unfortunately, the arts have not had such a powerful champion as Spencer was for science. On the other hand, the contemporary German philosopher, Jürgen Habermas, decries the rise of science as explainer. His point is that other means are also vital to our growth and happiness.

Gardner notes that in support of the ascendancy of science,

> Changeux wraps himself in the mantle of a steadily progressing neuroscience. At an early point in the discussion, he lays out five significant [scientific] advances: 1) the demonstration that the central nervous system is capable not merely of reaction but also of anticipatory and intentional behaviour; 2) the correlation between injuries to specific sites in the brain and the corresponding loss of specific cognitive or behavioural functions; 3) the emergence of imaging techniques, which allow us to observe what is actually occurring in regions of the brain *in vivo*; 4) the advent of electrophysiological techniques, which allow one to isolate with precision the activities of particular nerve cells; 5) the discovery of psychotropic drugs—chemical agents that can change our moods—along with increased understanding of how these drugs operate (Changeux 2000:1). These areas of cognitive research demonstrate that science is closing in on areas previously thought to be beyond science's ability to decipher. (ibid)

Changeux, in the scientist-philosopher conversation, is convinced that science is getting closer all the time to connecting matters of the brain to matters of the mind. Not Ricœur, the

philosopher. Ricœur continually stresses the importance of separate subject/discipline discourses, the limits of each science and of science in general, the privileged status of human agency, of intention, and of meaning. He, too, believes in a mind-brain connection but of an entirely different sort. For Ricœur, the important connections are found in the holistic aspect of experience that is lost when the experience is dissected.

The two strongest arguments Ricœur presents are the *artificiality* of scientific research and the importance of human *intentions and meanings*. "The scientist is condemned to draw inferences from situations that are inherently contrived and unrepresentative of experience." (ibid) As Ricoeur puts it: "Critical reflection ought to be brought to bear upon the discrepancy between the artificial conditions of laboratory research and the physical and social environments in which human beings ordinarily find themselves." (ibid)

"Ricoeur's second argument has to do with *intentions and meanings*. Once one enters the world of human experience, one is wrapped up in a discourse of beliefs, desires and meanings. This tapestry of integrated notions has undoubted significance to a person embedded in a historical and cultural context, but it remains beyond the access of the distanced, tool-dependent external observer of cells firing in various regions of the nervous system." (Changeux 2000:96)

Gardner states that,

> At the end, we confront two gaps that these thinkers are unable to bridge. There is the *disciplinary gap*: the gap between the practicing scientist, who believes that the tools of his trade will allow him to progress, if not completely illuminate, the deepest questions of human existence; and the practicing philosopher, who remains convinced of the parochiality of science and who prefers to employ his own tools: the close study and analysis of experience, the careful interpretation of sacred and secular texts, and the capacity for reflection and for reflection upon reflection. Complementarily, there is the *discourse gap*: one discourse that describes human behaviour and thought from an external [scientific] vantage point, and a second discourse that describes human activity from within, as the realised experience of the mind, the spirit, the soul. Changeux believes in continuity—one can proceed from one to the other; Ricoeur believes in a fundamental discontinuity—one will never be able to span this gap, for it reflects inherently alien universes. (ibid)

In the summation of his review, Gardner (2000) places himself in the conversation, stating that,

> As a social scientist with ties to both cognitive science and neuroscience, I have a professional faith that major philosophical questions have been, and will continue to be, illuminated by scientific work. No terrain should be declared "off-limits" to scientists. And I am impressed by the scientific advances described by Changeux. At the same time, I have equally strong links to the world of humanistic scholarship and practice. Much of my work has focused on the nature of artistic expression and experience, and I have little doubt that the core of the arts lies remote from current scientific understanding and even scientific promissory notes. I also believe in the indispensability of cultural and historical studies and do not see them ever replaced by a natural or social scientific stance. Indeed, I am suspicious of reductionist efforts, whether in the hands of a physical materialist or an evolutionary psychologist. (ibid)

Gardner, however, points out that, "I wish, therefore, that the debate had treated two loosely related dimensions which, I believe, constitute a fairer test of the perennial struggle between science and philosophy."(ibid) These dimensions—"forms of explanation" and "insight into individual entities"—should both be viewed as continua, with science on one end, and philosophy on the other. Gardner's balanced position seems to disagree with that of

Joseph Mungai, former Tanzanian Minister of Education and Culture, who believed science needed to be given priority and the arts and humanities were a waste of time. This raises the question: How does an educator or curriculum developer decide what knowledge is essential to human beings? This question is similar to the question that was raised by British philosopher, Herbert Spencer in 1859: What knowledge is of most worth?

Many simply carry on the subject area studies traditionally found in education programs; others attempt to analyse what knowledge the students will need to function in the society. It is here that business interests are often observed, as specific components in the training of a necessary workforce are identified. Others try to analyse knowledge freshly, and the implications that knowledge has for educational curriculum and instruction. Jürgen Habermas, the German social theorist of the Frankfurt School, is one who took a fresh look at knowledge and its educational implications. In *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1971/1968), he makes an elaborate, systematic, and theoretically synthesising attempt to support his claim that knowledge is based on three fundamental human interests: technical control, communication, and emancipation—and that these three interests relate to social media of work, language and power, respectively. Each specific interest generates a type of knowledge that represents a specific means or way of knowing, and an appropriate methodology. (Ewert 1991:347)

Technical or Theoretical Interests

> People‘s technical interests are reflected in the need to control and to manipulate their external environment to satisfy their needs for shelter, food, and so on … These interests, expressed through the medium of work, focus on the material production necessary for our existence … The rationality integrating technical interests, work, and empirical-analytic science is instrumental rationality … [which] refers to: manipulation and control of the environment; prediction about observable physical or social events; reality, based on empirical knowledge and governed by technical rules; and the criteria of effective control of reality, which determine the appropriateness of action … [or] “scientific explanation”. (ibid:348)

Practical, or Communicative Interests

> People’s practical [or communicative] interests are reflected in their use of language to further mutual understanding of individual interests and needs and to coordinate social action to satisfy mutual interests and needs. Practical knowledge consists of the norms that form the common tradition underlying society … The central core of practical knowledge is the understanding of the subjective meaning of language and action in acting individuals … Interpretive and hermeneutic sciences are the appropriate scientific methodology for practical knowledge. These sciences approach knowledge by focusing on the development of intersubjective meaning based on consensual norms and expectations. (ibid:351)

Emancipatory Interests

> The key element [in emancipatory interests] is people’s capacity to achieve freedom from self-imposed constraints, reified social forces and institutions, and conditions of distorted communication. (ibid:354)
>
> The critique of ideology [*distorted knowledge*] is required to recognise historical forms of domination, repression, and ideological constraints on thought and action within society. The critique of knowledge is required to overcome the limitations to self-knowledge based on the internalisation of social constraints. To be emancipated requires both enlightenment and action. (ibid:355)
>
> Whereas empirical and interpretive social sciences describe the world as it is, critical theory tries to understand why the social world is the way it is and, through the process of critique, strives to know how it should be. Underlying the process of critique is the concept that existing

> social structures and beliefs are socially constructed and therefore can be transformed through social action. (ibid:356)

The implications of Habermas' theory of knowledge and human interests for curriculum and instruction is that Habermas rejects the "universal application [of empirical-analytic sciences or instrumental rationality] as the only valid form of knowledge." (ibid:350) In fact, Habermas' perspective supplies balance in this era in which technical or theoretical interest, instrumental rationality and the empirical-analytic methodology have permeated curriculum and instructional development processes in education with their emphasis on control, predictability, replicability, conformity and standardisation (Grundy 1987; Steibel 1991; Ewert 1991) without questioning whether or not these characteristics represent educational aims society wants schools to pursue or are merely facilitators for external control of education (Eisner 2002a).

Thus far, I have sampled the arguments of a scientist and a philosopher, each of whom believe that their perspective is the one with the best chance of studying/analysing for understanding of human experience. I have discussed Habermas' concern about technical knowledge, with its empirical-analytical methodology—generated by human's technical interest, taking greater precedence in education and his warning that knowledge generated by practical or communicative as well as emancipatory human interests must be maintained. Now, Elliott Eisner's comments link the dialogue about science and philosophy to science and education.

Eisner points out that,

> As we know when, in the fourth quarter of the 19th century, education [in the West] was coming into its own as a field of study; it received its initial guidance from psychology. It was the early psychologists who were interested in making psychology a scientific enterprise, one that emulated the work done in the so-called "hard sciences". Their aim was to develop a physics of psychology; what they called psychophysics and, consistent with their mission, made laboratories rather than studios the venues for their work … It does not require a great leap of imagination or profound insight to recognize that the values and visions that have driven education during the first quarter of the 20th century are reappearing with a vengeance today. We look for "best methods" as if they were independent of context; we do more testing than any nation on earth; we seek curriculum uniformity so parents can compare their schools with other schools, as if test scores were good proxies for the quality of education. We would like nothing more than to get teaching down to a science even though the conception of science being employed has little to do with what science is about. What we are now doing is creating an industrial culture in our schools, one whose values are brittle and whose conception of what's important narrow. We flirt with payment by results, we pay practically no attention to the idea that engagement in school can and should provide intrinsic satisfactions, and we exacerbate the importance of extrinsic rewards by creating policies that encourage children to become point collectors. Achievement has triumphed over inquiry. I think our children deserve more. (2002a)

„This perspective has taken hold in the Western educational system which is continuing to ‚tidy up' an unkempt education system" (Eisner 2003:340) using high-stakes standardised tests as measures of achievement and accountability. Eisner observes, with some horror, the current effort in the US "to create a structured federal system that will make it possible to manage, monitor, and measure educational progress … [requiring] not only the formulation of measurable standards, but also a high degree of standardisation. Homogeneity in aims, content, and evaluation practices will provide a body of data that not only displays the performance of students and, hence, of schools, but makes it possible to compare schools across the nation" (ibid).

This effort, for him, resembles "the factory procedures used during the Industrial Revolution [in the West] … [especially since] the allocation of time and the establishment of priorities in our schools largely follow rather than precede the ways in which we demonstrate our accountability. We demonstrate accountability on the basis of our students' test scores, and what students are tested on is what is emphasised in our schools. The arts and the ability to think imaginatively are not tested." (Eisner 2003:340-341). In fact, "the arts and artistically treated practice do not fare well in such a climate." (Eisner 2003:340).

But why should things be arranged in a way that the arts would fare well in education? What are the reasons the arts are important in education? Who are the scholars who support the arts in education? What is the structure of their arguments? A summary of positions suggesting the need for arts in education follows.

The first is an anthropologist's perspective of human beings' biological programming as artists, *homo aestheticus*. The second presents circumstances posed by the varieties of intelligence, hence capabilities, found in human populations. The third is an artist-educators' perspective that the arts must be studied for their own sake rather than for what they can add to learning in other areas of study, because, for him, the arts create minds. A review of empirical evidence of the effects of the arts in education follows that includes a brief reference to research in theatre, dance and other performing arts.

Support Exists for Arts in Education

Dissanayake (1995) strongly believes that the human record shows that "art is a biologically evolved element in human nature, that is normal, natural, and necessary." This involves evidence of "making oneself special," ranging from care in grooming, to refinement of dress in the aesthetic activity of dressing up to the full range of artistic cultural expression. She identifies three keys to identifying where art comes from and why. Most noticeable is the fact that "individuals and cultures vary concerning what they practice and revere." (Dissanayake 1995: xii) Her second key is "the relationship, the inherent tension, between what is often called the 'natural' (the given) and the 'cultural' (the humanly imposed) that has characterised our human species for at least several hundred thousand years. The third important key is the attraction that humans, more than any other species, seem to find in what is unusual and *extra*-ordinary, that is, outside the ordinary or everyday routine … so that we tend to go of our way not just to experience but even to fabricate it deliberately." (ibid)

She points out that

> one of the most striking features of human societies throughout history and across the globe is a prodigious involvement with the arts." (ibid) When discussed by those observing human behaviour, including ethnologists or bio-behaviuoral anthropologists, this proclivity is regarded as evidence of intelligence, ability to create and utilise symbols, or evidence of cultural development—not something distinctive biologically. The species-centred perspective on art "reveals that the aesthetic is not something added to us—learned or acquired like speaking a second language or riding a horse, but in large measure is the way we *are, Homo aestheticus*. (Dissanayake 1995:xix)

Dissanayake examined twenty-four respected books dealing with human behaviour and evolution, and found only seven addressing the arts in terms of their contribution to human evolution. Only one of them, J. Z. Young "asserted outright that the arts must be essential … [saying that] 'the arts have the most central of all biological functions—of insisting that life

be worthwhile, which, after all, is the final guarantee of its continuance' (1971:360)." (Dissanayake 1995:10) She notes that "the selective value of art, when discussed at all, was most commonly proposed to be enhancement of communication … a means of individual display … to aid sexual selection … identification … or to give prestige." (ibid) But each of these assume that art augments other behaviours; none of these explain why art appeared initially. It is Dissanayake's purpose to show, "using an ethological perspective, that a behaviour of art is universal and essential, and that it is a biologically endowed proclivity of every human being, and not the peripheral epiphenomenon that other explainers of the subject, including most evolutionary biologists, have heretofore assumed." (Dissanayake 1995:11). She continues, "It is axiomatic in modern sociobiological theory that individuals have evolved to pursue what is in their best interests." (ibid) "The arts, in concert with ritual ceremonies, play, laughter, storytelling, synchronised movement, and sharing of self-transcendent, ecstatic emotions, are no less evolutionarily salient and intrinsic to our humanness than individual conflicts of interest" (Dissanayake 1995:12)—upon which the greatest number of studies of human behaviour and evolution focus. Noting the relatively short time since cultural evolution has predominated, "culture, or the human need for culture, can be considered a bio-behavioural adaptation that occurred during our evolution. In order to be receptive to a cultural milieu, we are born with genetically endowed tendencies to bond with others, to imitate and wish to please, to learn a language, to accept the beliefs of our associates, to resist and be suspicious of outsiders and their ways. Compared with other animals, we rely less upon innate resources and are far more dependent on our fellows to learn what we need to know to live, but we have innate proclivities to learn from our fellows, and to learn some things more easily than others." (Dissanayake 1995:15)

Cultural practices are among those things.

> The theory of evolution by natural *selection* does not itself proclaim or endorse a moral law of survival of the fittest. It *describes* a process by which, during countless generations, traits (influenced by genes) that endow heir possessors with greater survivorship in a particular environment persist, and other traits that contribute less well to survivorship decline; thus, gradually over time a species (the interbreeding group that carries these traits) adapts (changes) to better fit the environment … For the true Darwinist, it is the *inclusive* survival of the *fit* that matters, not the *exclusive* survival of the *fittest,* and the former results from the selection of the successfully competing and co-operating individuals, not the promotions of the most ruthless and self-centred individual (or group) as (socio) biological singularities. (Dissanayake 1995:20)

Dissanayake writes that, "it is time to recognise that art is as normal, natural, and necessary as other things that people do, and to try to approach it ethologically, as a *behaviour"* (p. 33). Three characteristics that ethnologists use to identify a species trait as having evolved are: 1) that it "feels good," (Dissanayake 1995:33) to the people doing it; 2) that "people spend a great deal of time and effort doing it" (ibid); and 3) its "universality" (ibid). An additional aspect is the "the species-centrist regards art not as an entity or quality but instead as a behavioural tendency, a way of doing things. This behavioural tendency is inherited and thus both indelible and universal. That is to say, it is not the exclusive possession of just a select few (Dissanayake 1995:34)." Also, "the notion of art as *a* behaviour does not refer to a specific artistic activity or behaviour like drawing or dancing … but to a *general behavioural complex* that underlies these specifics (Dissanayake 1995:35)." In fact, in order to show that a behaviour of art is universal and indelible, "it is necessary to identify a core behavioural tendency upon which natural selection could act." (Dissanayake 1995:42) This core tendency

for Dissanayake is "making special" (ibid). Dissanayake's forms the "thesis that the evolution and selective value of a behaviour of art arises from a tendency to make special rests on the claim that humans everywhere, in a manner that is unlike that of other animals, differentiate between an order, realm, mood, or state of being that is mundane, ordinary, or 'natural,' and one that is unusual, extra-ordinary, or 'super-natural'" (Dissanayake 1995:49). She is "prepared to claim … that making such a distinction is a characterising universal predisposition of human behaviour and mentality … [and] it is in this predisposition that we are to look for the core of a behaviour of art"(ibid) and continues, "At some point in their evolution, humans began deliberately to set out to *make things special* or extra-ordinary, perhaps for the purpose of influencing the outcome of important events that were perceived as uncertain and troubling, requiring action beyond simple fight or flight, approach or avoidance." (Dissanayake 1995:51)

"Certainly, the arts arose and developed together with ritual ceremonies. It is as if the deep importance of these ceremonies, centred as they are around vital human concerns, demanded that they be made special as a way of acknowledging the seriousness of what they addressed—nothing less than survival." (Dissanayake 1995:67) To Dissanayake, "it seems ethologically sound to look for the peculiarly human characteristics of art in the circumstances that gave rise to ritual ceremonies." (ibid) "A person's being or consciousness … may be transformed through ceremonial rites of passage, so that he or she moves from a prior natural or neutral state through a 'liminal' [threshold] phase outside ordinary social life and then back to social reintegration in the new (and not 'normal') state. These transformative acts themselves understandably carry or embody a large amount of emotional significance." (Dissanayake 1995:69) The human capacity to experience "transformative or self-transcendent emotional state" (Dissanayake 1995:71) in an experience with the arts, whether or not in religious ceremonies, is one of the human predispositions, or "inherent predilections," (ibid) that indicate naturally aesthetic capabilities for Dissanayake. And aesthetic behaviours "arise naturally from the urge to do something (Dissanayake 1995:78) as life's challenges and uncertainties present themselves. Action, including shaping something to make it more comprehensible or elaborating something to contribute to making it special, can be "soothing" (ibid), psychologically beneficial (Dissanayake 1995:91) even as the aesthetic is served. Dissanayake argues "that making special was often inseparable from and intrinsically necessary to the control of the material conditions of subsistence that allowed humans to survive" (Dissanayake 1995:92) and the rites involved, provide—for her—evidence of the critical role of the arts in human evolution.

Although Dissanayake goes on to discuss arts as means of enhancement—and the aesthetic experience that arises "from the same neuro-physiological processes that comprise the rest of our cognitive-perceptual-emotional life" (Dissanayake 1995:140), and—in another publication—discusses taking the arts seriously, her argument with regard to the evolutionary role of the arts in human life presents one scholar's perspective on the importance of the arts in the lives of human beings—hence in educational systems.

This argument appears to be very accurate when thought of in a Tanzanian context where the multi-arts, *ngoma* (music with dance, drama, costumes, stories and/or proverbs) are directly connected to people's way of living. She makes the point desired in this paper regarding the necessity of the arts in human life. Other arguments that follow for including the arts in education include the existence of varieties of intelligence, and the theory that arts create minds.

Varieties of Intelligence

There are a group of educational psychologists whose work has drawn attention to differences in intellectual and perceptual capabilities in the population. These researchers support arts in education based on recognition, acknowledgement and desire to nurture the differences in intellectual and perceptual capabilities in the population. The work of Howard Gardner (1983) and Richard E. Nisbett (2009) is congruent with Jürgen Habermas' (1971/1968) ideas relating differences in existing bodies of human knowledge to differences in human interests—which is supported by evidence of varieties of intelligence. As mentioned above, for Habermas, these differences in knowledge and human interests result in differences in type of knowledge, in ways of thinking and knowing, in methods of research, as well as in forms of representations, experiences, and processes available to students. The students need to have exposure to these differences as part of their education, especially in light of their diversity intellectually.

In 1983, Howard Gardner, who is Professor of Cognition and Education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and Adjunct Professor of Psychology at Harvard University, published *Frames of Mind,* the book in which he introduced his "theory of multiple intelligences" (MI theory). His research with normal and gifted children, on the one hand, and with brain-damaged patients on the other, convinced him that the standard view of a "single, unitary, indecomposable intelligence" could not be correct. Gardner surveyed and synthesised a whole set of literature and disciplines to arrive at MI theory and its more comprehensive perspective of human intellect.

For Gardner, intelligence is a biological and psychological potential to solve problems and/or create products that are valued in one or more cultural contexts. Utilizing this definition, Gardner identified seven relatively autonomous capacities that he named the multiple intelligences: linguistic, logical-mathematical, musical, spatial, bodily-kinaesthetic, interpersonal, and intrapersonal. In more recent publications, Gardner has added an eighth (naturalist) intelligence and continues to speculate about a possible ninth (existential) intelligence. His theory, while compelling, is not well-substantiated empirically.

The two most important scientific implications of the theory are complementary. On the one hand, all human beings possess these eight or nine intelligences—that is what makes us human. On the other hand, no two human beings—not even identical twins—exhibit precisely the same profile of intelligences. That is because even when genetics are controlled for (as is the case with monozygotic twins), individuals have different life experiences and are also motivated to differentiate themselves from one another (Gardner 2008).

In Nisbett's (2009) review of research on intelligence, which makes supportive reference to Gardner's work although he refers to additional scholars and their theories related to intelligences, Nisbett begins his discussion of varieties of intelligence with Gottfredson's definition of intelligence: as "a very general mental capability that, among other things, involves the ability to reason, plan, solve problems, think abstractly comprehend complex ideas, learn quickly and learn from experience. It is not merely book learning, a narrow academic skill, or test-taking smarts. Rather it reflects a broader and deeper capability for comprehending our surroundings—'catching on,' 'making sense' of things, or 'figuring out' what to do (Nisbett 2009:4)." The idea of the g factor (general intelligence) traces back to the work of Spearman in the early 20th century. He came up with the term to account for the imperfect correlations among different measures of IQ.

He states that, "experts in the field of intelligence agree virtually unanimously that intelligence includes abstract reasoning, problem-solving ability, and capacity to acquire knowledge. A substantial majority of experts also believe that memory and mental speed are part of intelligence, and a bare majority includes in their definition general knowledge and creativity as well." (ibid) He also points out that, "These definitions leave out some aspects of intelligence that people in other cultures would be likely to include. Developmental psychologist Robert Sternberg has studied what laypeople in a large number of cultures think should be counted as intelligence. He finds that a good many people include social characteristics, such as ability to understand and empathize with other people." (ibid)

Intelligence is often measured by IQ tests; IQ scores predict academic grades.

> IQ tests tend to measure what has been called "analytic" intelligence as distinct from "practical" intelligence. Analytic problems typically have been constructed by other people; are clearly defined; have all the information necessary to solve them embedded in their description; have only one right answer; usually can be reached only by one particular strategy; are often not closely related to everyday experience; and are not particularly interesting in their own right. These can be contrasted with "practical" problems, which require recognition that there is something to be solve; are usually not well defined; typically require seeking out information relevant to their solution; have several different possible solutions; are often embedded in everyday experience and require such experience for their solution; and engage—and usually require—intrinsic motivation. (Nisbett 2009:12)

Sternberg writes about

> "creative" intelligence. This is the ability to create, invent or imagine something. He measures creative intelligence by, for example, giving people a title … and asking them to write the story. He also measures creative intelligence by asking people to look at a sequence of picture and having them tell a story about one of them, and by having people develop advertisements for new products … He finds that his practical and creative measures add to the predictability of outcomes such as success in school and work performance. (Nisbett 2009:13)
>
> Howard Gardner argued that IQ tests measure only linguistic, logical-mathematical, and spatial abilities but neglect other "intelligences." These include various personal intelligences resembling the "emotional intelligence" that social psychologist Peter Salovey and his colleagues researched. Emotional intelligence includes being able to accurately perceive emotion, using emotions to facilitate thinking, understanding emotions, and managing emotions in self and others … It predicts peer and supervisor ratings of dimensions like interpersonal sensitivity, sociability, contributing to a positive work environment, stress tolerance, and leadership potential. (Nisbett 2009:14)

"Some intelligence researchers are utterly contemptuous of using the term *intelligence* for these skills. But there are such things as musical and kinaesthetic ideas, and there are such things as musical and kinaesthetic problems to be solved … [Nisbett is] perfectly content to say that the skills that invented [artistic] works are the products of intelligence." (ibid) Critics suggest that Gardner has hijacked the term "intelligence" and made it mean what he wants it to mean, a little like Humpty Dumpty, who famously said that "words mean whatever I say they mean."

> Gardner justified his lengthening of the list of intelligences by pointing out that there are child prodigies for most of them, and there is neurological evidence that different areas of the brain are specialized for each of the intelligences he identified. Whether one calls his additions to the intelligence list mere skills or something else, it is clear that they are somewhat separate from

> the standard analytic ones and that measures of them predict—or in principle could predict—important aspects of skilled human endeavour that the standard tests do not. (Nisbett 2009:15).

In part because he had not thought of himself as an educator, Gardner has not developed a program for the education of multiple intelligences. However, Gardner has written about various misunderstanding of MI theory—for example, confusing intelligence with a learning style, or asserting that all children are strong in at least one intelligence. He believes that any serious application of MI ideas should entail at least two components: 1. An attempt to individualise education as much as possible, and 2. A commitment to convey important ideas and concepts in a number of different formats. This instructional activation of multiple intelligences holds promise of reaching many more students and also demonstrating what it means to understand a topic thoroughly and deeply (Gardner, 2008).

In terms of the influence of these perceptions of differences in intelligences on curriculum development, Ellis speaks of the *Ways of Knowing Model,* "an intriguing approach to thinking about the curriculum" (Ellis 2004:100) that is related to the multiple intelligences theory of Howard Gardner (1983). The idea of involving different ways of knowing in the curriculum is found in the 84th yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education (NSSE) edited by Eisner (1984). It is the notion that

> an alternative way to approach [a] knowledge-centred curriculum is to build a course of study around scientific ways of knowing, spiritual ways of knowing, narrative ways of knowing, mathematical ways of knowing, aesthetic ways of knowing, etc … [in which] each perspective represents a different avenue for seeking truth [and the awareness of diverse points of view] enables a person to think and act from more than one perspective. And the ability to blend the perspectives … is further enriching. (ibid)

Arts Create Minds

In his support of the arts in education, Elliot Eisner (1984, 1994, 1996, and 2003) states his premise that

> humans do not come into the world with minds; they come into the world with brains. Minds are forms of cultural achievement. Brains are biological resources. The task of education, socialisation, and acculturation is to transform brains into minds. Minds come into existence as individuals secure varied forms of experience in the course of their lives and, through those forms of experience, learn to think. In schools, that experience is shaped by many factors; two of the most important are curriculum and teaching practices. Curriculum and teaching are at the heart of the process of creating minds, and it is in this sense that the curriculum and the teaching that mediates it are mind-altering devices (Eisner 1994). What we decide to include in our curricular agenda and how we choose to teach it have a profound effect on *how* students learn to think and *what* they are able to think about. (Eisner 2003:341)

Experiencing the environment is a life-long process "that is shaped by culture, influenced by language, impacted by beliefs, affected by values, and moderated by the distinctive features of that part of ourselves we sometimes describe as our individuality. We humans give simultaneously both a personal and a cultural imprint to what we experience." (Eisner 2003:1) Our contact with the world "is dependent on our biologically evolved sensory system…an extension of our nervous system." (Eisner 2003:1–2) Our awareness of qualities in our environment comes from our senses, from our sensory systems, which not only cause us

to react reflexively to what we encounter, but to learn. "We learn to see, to hear, to discern the qualitative complexities of what we taste and touch. We learn to differentiate and discriminate, to recognise and to recall" (Eisner 2003:2), leading us to search for "stimulation, differentiation, exploration, and eventually for meaning." (ibid) And this requires the "tools of culture: language, the arts, science, values … With the aid of culture, we learn how to create ourselves." (ibid)

Already earlier Eisner had outlined the process by means of which he envisions the arts being learned. "Because concept formation occurs within and among each of the sensory systems, contacts with the environment, the way that environment is known will be largely influenced by the particular sensory system or systems we use in dealing with it." (Eisner 1996:34-35) "Concept formation is itself biologically rooted in the sensory systems that humans possess … the information pickup systems represented by our senses provides the material out of which concepts are made. Thus, concepts are formed not only in visual, but in gustatory, olfactory, tactile, and auditory form." (Eisner 1996:35) He continued, "the kinds of meanings we secure are affected by our purposes, the frames of reference we use, and the degree of differentiation we have achieved … For an idea to be meaningful … the organism must initially be able to imagine or recall the referents for the terms that collectively express the idea … Even when an idea or concept has no empirical referent…the concept or idea is conceivable as an imaginative construction." (Eisner 1996:36) "The fact that we are not restricted to one mode of conceptualization at a time allows us to secure a fuller picture of the conditions with which we must deal and makes it possible to treat them experientially as ideas before we take action." (Eisner 1996:3437) "The process of representation is the manner in which concepts take public form and the contributions that they in turn make to cognition." (Eisner 1996:38)

"The process of representation is always mediated through some form … Language, while a central and primary form of representation, is by no means the only form of representation. Forms that appeal to our sense of sight are also fundamental modes of communication … Sound in the form of music is also a means through which meanings are conveyed … there is no sensory modality that humans have not used to express what imagination has generated. Forms of representation are means through which the contents of consciousness are made public. The process of making the contents of consciousness public is … a way of discovering it, stabilising it, editing it and sharing it. The selection of a form of representation is a choice having profound consequences for our mental life, because choices about which forms of representation will be used are also choices about which aspects of the world will be experienced" (Eisner 1996:8), which, in schooling, will affect the development of mental skills and determine modes of thinking students will develop.

Eisner identified "three ways in which artists treat forms of representation so that they affect how meanings are conveyed. One mode of treatment is *mimetic.* By mimetic [Eisner refers] to forms that look or sound like what they are intended to represent" (Eisner 1996:15). He continues, "the arts can depict not only what is seen or heard; they can also depict what is felt. This brings us to a second mode of treatment, the creation of e*xpressive form*." (Eisner 1996:16) And, "a third mode of treatment occurs through the use of *conventional signs*. Conventional signs are socially agreed-upon symbols that refer to ideas, objects, or events and the like." (Eisner 1996:18) Sometimes, all three treatments are used. All the many "capacities for human experience are resources the artist can call upon in the crafting of the image" (Eisner 1996:19), while they provide a means of communication for the artist.

Eisner speaks of ways arts affect our consciousness.

> They refine our senses so that our ability to experience the world is made more complex and subtle; they promote the use of imaginative capacities so that we can envision what we cannot actually see, taste, touch, hear, and smell; they provide models through which we can experience the world in new ways; and they provide the materials and occasions for learning to grapple with problems that depend on arts-related forms of thinking. They also celebrate the consummatory, non-instrumental aspects of human experience and provide the means through which meanings that are ineffable, but feelingful, can be expressed (ibid).

In addition to his support for arts, especially in the form of Discipline Based Arts in Education (Eisner 1996:26–28)—in the study of each of which students meet different challenges and are exposed to different arts-related forms of thinking—Eisner (2002b) had additional ideas about arts in education, "ideas that inspire new visions, values, and especially new practices are always options". One idea deals directly with developing artists across the curriculum, across the student population.

The contours of this new vision were influenced by the ideas of Sir Herbert Read, an English art historian, poet, and pacifist working in the middle of the last century. He argued—and Eisner agreed—that

> the aim of education ought to be conceived of as the preparation of artists. By the term artist neither he nor [Eisner] mean necessarily painters and dancers, poets and playwrights. We mean individuals who have developed the ideas, the sensibilities, the skills, and the imagination to create work that is well proportioned, skilfully executed, and imaginative, regardless of the domain in which an individual works. The highest accolade we can confer upon someone is to say that he or she is an artist whether as a carpenter or a surgeon, a cook or an engineer, a physicist or a teacher. The fine arts have no monopoly on the artistic. (Eisner 2002b).

Eisner argues that the distinctive forms of thinking needed to create artistically crafted work are relevant not only to what students do, they are relevant to virtually all aspects of what we do, from the design of curricula, to the practice of teaching, to the features of the environment in which students and teachers live. In summation, here are the "Ten Lessons the Arts Teach" compiled by Eisner (2002b):

1. The arts teach children to make good judgments about qualitative relationships, unlike much of the curriculum in which correct answers and rules prevail;

2. The arts teach children that problems can have more than one solution and that questions can have more than one answer;

3. The arts celebrate multiple perspectives. One of their large lessons is that there are many ways to see and interpret the world;

4. The arts teach children that in complex forms of problem solving, purposes are seldom fixed, but change with circumstances and opportunity. Learning in the arts requires the ability and willingness to surrender to the unanticipated possibilities of the work as it unfolds;

5. The arts make vivid the fact that words do not, in their literal form or number, exhaust what we can know. The limits of our language do not define the limits of our cognition;

6. The arts teach students that small differences can have large effects. The arts traffic in subtlety;

7. The arts teach students to think through and within a material. All art forms employ some means through which images become real;

8. The arts help children to say what cannot be said. When children are invited to disclose what a work of art helps them feel, they must reach into their poetic capacities to find the words that will do the job;

9. The arts enable us to have experience we can have from no other source and through such experience to discover the range and variety of what we are capable of feeling;

10. The arts' important position in the school curriculum symbolises to the young what adults believe is important.

In response to Eisner's ideas about the relevance of the distinctive forms of thinking involved in creating artistically crafted work, there is a tremendous amount of empirical research supporting the positive effects of arts in education. Some of these are related to specific arts, such as visual arts, theatre, dance and visual arts.

Empirical Evidence

In a general study, Upitis and Smithrim (2005) examined the arts education approach (learn through the arts) in Canadian schools. Six thousand students and their parents, teachers and principals participated in this three-year longitudinal research. Data were gathered

> both at the outset and after three years of involvement in LTTA on student achievement, student attitudes towards arts and schooling, and out-of-school activities. We found no baseline differences in achievement nor in socioeconomic status in the LTTA and control schools. At the end of three years, the grade-6 LTTA students scored significantly higher on tests of computation than students in control schools. (p 109)

In Hallam's (2010) review over a hundred studies that produced empirical evidence of the effects of active involvement with the arts, specifically making music, on children's intellectual, social and personal development, she notes:

> Overall, the evidence suggests that engagement with music plays a major role in developing perceptual processing systems which facilitate the encoding and identification of speech sounds and patterns: the earlier the exposure to active music participation and the greater the length of participation, the greater the impact. Transfer of these skills is automatic and contributes not only to language development but also to literacy. (p 272)

There is research that confirms the positive effects of arts education on academic achievement. As one example, Wandell et al. (2001) conducted a study to "investigate how aesthetic ability and arts education correlate with improvements in children's reading abilities." Forty-nine children aged 7 to 12 were enrolled in their three year longitudinal research. Data were gathered "through parental questionnaires on the extent of children's training in visual arts, music, dance, and drama/theatre." Then, the arts training data were correlated with the children's test scores in reading fluency and phonological awareness over a three-year period. Findings indicated that the amount of musical training the children underwent in the first year of their study was correlated to the amount of improvements in the children's reading fluency (retrieved from www.dana.org/news/publications/detail.aspx?id=10742).

Gullatt (2007) also looked at research linking the arts with student academic gains.

> Though volumes of documentation regarding the value of the arts in education line the shelves of professional libraries and support for the arts as part of a comprehensive educational program is the subject of articles, speeches, and symposia, when push comes to shove, when resources

> are precious, and when test results are published in newspapers, arts are the first to go (Tambucci 2006). (Gullatt 2007:211)

He notes that,

> the deterioration of arts is ironical because research findings show that the performing and visual arts challenge students to use reasoning skills—both concrete and abstract—to draw conclusions and formulate ideas. Arts encourage creativity and imagination from concept to process to completion (Sternberg 2006:211).

Furthermore, Harvard researchers' meta-analysis of studies of arts and academic achievement (Winner & Hetland 2000) reported evidence of

> causal links between the arts and "instrumental outcomes" in only a few areas. One of the strongest findings was that work with theatre improves students' verbal and other language-related skills. It is worth noting that there is a larger body of research on the relationship between theatre and language learning than for the other arts and academic links (p 980).

Correlations between arts and positive academic outcomes may be „indicative of an epiphenomenon (Seidel 2002:980)." Winner and Cooper (2000) suggest that schools that decide to place arts in a central position in the curriculum may also make decisions about other reforms in the way academic subjects are taught and learned (p 3).

In a study of effects of arts education on cognitive development, the Dana foundation (2004) "brought together cognitive neuroscientists from seven universities across the United States [at University of Oregon] to grapple with the question of why arts training has been associated with higher academic performances (Gazzaniga 2008:v)." To answer the question, five hypotheses were tested: 1) there are specific brain networks for different art forms; 2) there is a general factor of interest or openness to the arts; 3) children with high interest in the arts, and with training in those arts, develop high motivation; 4) motivation sustains attention; and 5) highly sustained motivation, while engaging in conflict-related tasks, improves cognition (Gazzaniga 2008:1)." Findings related to the five hypotheses were found to be statistically significant. A recommendation was made to parents, students, educators, neuroscientists, and policymakers that the arts have impact on cognitive development.

In a nutshell, the research above confirms that there are correlations between students' involvement in the arts and students' interest and their academic achievement. However, the issue of causation was not evident in the research reviewed for this paper. Further research is needed regarding the effects of arts in education, but this evidence indicates the importance of arts in education. Do Tanzanians know about this research? Maybe not.

Because I took my education in the USA, it is worth examining some additional issues that involve the arts and educational institutions in the USA. I would like to get a closer look at how the arts appear in US schools, where most of the empirical research has been done. And perhaps this additional information will be useful in Tanzania where, I believe, issues of teaching and learning of the arts in schools are still being uncovered.

Ways the Arts Appear in Educational Institutions in the USA

• Emphasis on the Arts

"Arts based" teaching and learning can be found where students have intense, sequential instruction in the arts allowing them to use what they have learned as a "window" on other subjects (Davis 2008:14). "Arts included" curricula treat the arts as equal to other subjects,

and "arts expanded" models include experiences in the arts in a variety of settings outside the school. There are a limited number of "pre-professional" opportunities for students in rigorous high school programs where students prepare for careers in the arts and other subjects are less emphasised.

• Integrated Arts

Integrated arts thinks of the arts curriculum as being integrated into other subject area curricula. Other terms include interdisciplinary or related arts. The arts can enrich students understanding of historical periods or cultures. Cross-art studies allow students to become aware of differences and similarities among the arts themselves. Major themes or ideas can be explored in the study of the arts and across other disciplines, supported by the arts. Problem-solving is important across curricula, and can be approached using the arts (Eisner 2002a:39–42).

• Arts-infused Learning

School curricula utilise the arts to bring life and meaning to the study of other subjects. As mentioned above, related "arts-included" learning refers to the use of works of art, guests, and field trips involving arts in the community to enrich instruction in whatever is going on in schools (Davis 2008:17). There is concern that the arts as unique disciplines could be short-changed by only using them to as in support of other subject areas (Davis 2008:16).

• Extra-Curricular Programs in the Arts

Extra-curricular programs in the arts at every level are found where the arts are not considered part of the school curriculum, but parents often provide financial support, specialist teachers may or may not be available, and instruction happens outside the normal school day.

• Aesthetic education

Aesthetic education thinks of the arts as areas for creating and appreciating meaning that enriches students' thought and their lives. This philosophical perspective can be found in instructional resources that focus on perception, involving close attention to aspects of the arts, and interpretation that highlights ways in which different perspectives on the arts—or works of art—that enrich imagination and expand meaning in the world (Davis 2008:20). This is related to the arts as culture—focusing on the role of making art and the function and production of cultural expression (Davis 2008:21).

These programs provide a variety of options for utilising arts in education. In Tanzania it might not be appropriate to choose one model, but to integrate features of all the models. This is due to the fact that the multi-arts *ngoma* are not really taught in schools but are part and parcel of people's way of living. So it would be valuable to have arts programs—fully taught, with teachers using the arts in other academic areas, as well as giving the students opportunities to go into the community and experience the arts as part of their lives—and to have community culture bearers available as teachers in the arts in education program. This would be an example of Vygotsky's emphasis on socio-cultural context in the learning process where he believes that in order for learning to take place the students' cultural background is imperative (1978). Hargreaves (1996) agrees, saying that issues of teaching and learning should therefore be approached with respect for the culture and society in which they exist—recognising the need for cultural relevance.

Introducing the possibility of multi-arts *ngoma* being taught in the schools might raise policy issues connected with funding of arts in education programs, and the possibility of culture bearers as teachers might raise issues of how arts education partnerships function.

Looking at these issues in schools in the USA connected with arts in education may provide useful information.

Policy Issues Connecting Funding with Arts in Education in the USA

After examining a history of funding arts in education in the USA, Myers and Brooks (2002) take a look at the economic arguments for government arts funding. They identify five basic perspectives influencing policy, all reflecting aspects of the idea that the arts' value to society is too great to leave arts support to the private market alone. These five are:

(1) The arts educational function is society-wide. The more art, the more cultured the people will be. The government has an impact on the amount and kind of art produced;

(2) Production of the arts benefits present generations and their preservation benefits future generations;

(3) Arts can be a national treasure and the pride they generate benefits people beyond those involved directly in arts production;

(4) Growth in business and population can be stimulated by the arts; and

(5) Equality of opportunity in the arts as well as in other aspects of a culture can be supported by the government subsidies (p. 915).

Arguments against government support of the arts include the cost to society of failures in the arts and the fact that costs for offensive or ineffective arts are less often paid by producers and consumers who are protected from the failure. Government support can also protect the arts from making decisions that could increase their success with the people. Where government subsidies are involved there is waste and inefficiencies which a market failure might correct. Subsidies may benefit segments of the population that are already wealthy.

Addressing these issues, subsidies can focus on consumers of the arts rather than producers, those in most "need" of experience with the arts. Educational programs are particularly appropriate for these subsidies as they can be focused on specific socio-economic groups or segments of the population most likely to benefit from the arts programs. Deductions from taxes and other benefits form the basis of public-private partnerships that are strong in the USA. This makes many arts organisations tax-deductible but has several less beneficial aspects, including the fact that wealthy private citizens are supporting arts groups and are being rewarded by the government for it—and as funds are going to these arts groups, funding may be limited for other worthy public arts groups. The government support can displace or crowd out private support. Local government funding has also been found to be more significant in its effects than federal or state funding.

Some public funding has focused more on artists than on arts educators or students. This has allowed artists' residencies in public schools. These are usually grants rather than funds budgeted for long-term support of arts curricula. That means that there is less continuity in these programs, and that arts supported by grants do not become part of the permanent school program losing a change for long-term change in arts programs.

Questions of support for the arts in connection with the academic impact of arts on achievement stem from the lack of clear empirical evidence from the research of the effects of the arts in education. Also, discipline-based arts educators have wanted the arts taught for their own reasons, not for their effects on achievement in other disciplines.

There is a lack of clear evidence about the success of projects featuring artists in the schools. Part of the lack of clarity is connected with limitations in the artists' preparation for

the curricular and instructional aspects of their projects—and their lack of experience with groups of students. Many of the partnerships with professional artists and arts administrators have led to wrangling about the nature of the curriculum, and the degree to which artists are prepared for work as teachers.

Arts partnerships have flourished between arts organisations and the schools and have also been related to funding issues, but basic questions, such as those about the continuity or sequential learning supported by them, remain. The partnerships will probably continue, even expand, but questions about the capacities and limitations of them continue. Collaboration between community music and schools offers rich opportunities for both. It will be helpful, according to Myers and Brooks (2002), when arts education no longer needs justification on the basis of outcomes in non-art areas: social, personal, academic and economic.

Deasy (2002) noticed that "many advocates of arts education have embraced the viewpoint that the economy drives curricular decisions." (p 905). So, when schools' arts programs were cut in the 1970s, cultural institutions began to institute educational components, some of them becoming a primary source of students' arts experiences (ibid). Deasy cites a central finding from research by Seidel (2001) and colleagues at Harvard's Project Zero that "the strongest and most enduring partnerships are those where the essential feature is an authentic engagement in arts learning and practice by students, teachers, and artists. It is through the persistent and reflective refinement of the practices of the partnership—the design and implementation of the instructional program—that the partners find common ground for their work and the insights that stimulate their personal growth and development." (p 906) This and several other studies "suggest that students in these programs develop rich and complex comprehension and skills in the art forms as well as habits of mind applicable to other academic learning." (ibid)

More research is needed into the nature of the teaching and learning that occurs in these programs. Recently, comparable processes in all the arts have been identified and agreed upon in efforts to contribute to development of arts standards for use in educational accountability. Those common processes in the arts are: responding, performing, and creating. Also, it is agreed that arts education requires "historical, cultural and aesthetic understanding and judgments as well as technically competent performance." (ibid)

Looking at strong partnerships and descriptions of the impacts of arts learning can help to make clearer the importance of arts in education. It would also be desirable to identify and study the effective strategies of authoritative arts organisations and granting foundations who have participated in strong partnerships with the schools.

Given all of the information obtained and shared in this paper regarding arts in education—why are the arts still considered to be marginal in importance when budgetary crises arise as additional issues? That has not happened in Tanzania, but it is a fact of life in the USA. So, it is important to learn how some in the USA would answer that question.

Robinson (2000) identifies two answers, reasons that are based on his analysis across industrialised countries. Learning in the arts is not generally recognised as a cognitive activity that results in knowledge and development of intellectual skills. And it is not perceived as related to the skill development needed for the workplace. The latter reason appears to be a primary test of curriculum decisions in the industrialised countries Robinson studied. Along with many researchers, he notes that the economy tends to drive curricular decisions. It is clear that evidence from research supporting arts in education is not having an effect.

This completes the survey of the literature on arts in education. What implications does this have for Tanzania?

Implications for Tanzania

"In his inaugural speech in 1962, the late Julius K. Nyerere, the first president of Tanzania (then Tanganyika) spoke eloquently of the need to reclaim African culture from the clutches of the former colonial powers: 'Of all the crimes of colonialism there is none worse than the attempt to make us believe we had no indigenous culture of our own; or that what we did have was worthless'." (Nyerere 1967:186). The newly created Ministry of Culture, he explained, would promote the traditional arts as a reminder of the vitality of this pre-colonial era and thus rekindle "our pride in our own culture" (Nyerere 1967:187). With these words, Nyerere trod the usual path of Third World nationalisms in his nostalgic construction of a glorious pre-colonial past. Moreover, in his formation of a socialist Tanzanian society, Nyerere asserted that socialism heralded a return to this past since African society was "traditionally" communal and harmonious (Nyerere 1968:12). With these statements, Nyerere "smoothly swept the diverse cultures of 120 ethnic groups under the carpet of harmonious village life" (Edmondson 2001:155).

After six years as Tanzanian President, Nyerere was even more adamant about the importance of the traditional arts: "Culture is the essence and spirit of any nation. A country which lacks its own culture is no more than a collection of people without the spirit which makes them a nation" (Nyerere 1966:186). Unfortunately he used the term "nation" in a way the colonialists did, rather than to reflect the perspective of resident indigenous Africans on the socio-cultural and political unit that was represented by (then) Tanganyika. Yet, Nyerere argued for Tanzanian multi-art *ngoma*, this time recognising specific ethnic identities and their songs and dances, and African music. He remarked:

> When we were at school we were taught to sing the songs of the Europeans. How many were taught the songs of the Wanyamwezi or Wahehe? Many of us have learned to dance the rumba, or chachacha, to rock'n'roll and to twist and even to dance the waltz and the fox-trot. But how many of us can dance or have even heard of the *Gombesugu*, the *Mangala*, the *Konge*, *Nyang'umumi*, *Kiduo* or *Lele Mama*? Many of us can play the guitar, the piano, or other European instruments. How many Africans in Tanganyika, particularly among the educated, can play the African drum? (ibid)

Nyerere's position has deep ramifications for the multi-art *ngoma* in the education of children of Tanzania's various culture groups. Until today there is not any existing curriculum that focuses on Tanzanian *ngoma*. So the colonial spirits still exist in Tanzania, and Nyerere's ideas of teaching *ngoma* such as those from the Wanyamwezi, Wahehe, Wagogo (the list can go on) are still not in place. Should we continue waiting in silence for a non-existing curriculum that offers intense teaching and learning of *ngoma* in schools? Do we Tanzanians really know the importance of *ngoma* in schools, and the community at large? In fact, given this opportunity to envision *ngoma* as a multi-art performance complex, it might be well to think about what multi-art performance complexes might be involved in an arts in education program in Tanzania in addition to *ngoma*. A necessary first step in an arts-in-education program could be an outline of contents for a curriculum that would be authentic to the multi-arts performance complexes of the 120 ethnic groups in Tanzania.

Conclusion

In culminating this paper, it makes sense to go back to the question with which the paper began: "Arts in Education: What Do Tanzanians Need to Know?" They need to be aware of the substance of the debate between science and the arts and humanities in the West. Especially, however, they need to be aware not only of Gardner's recognition of the importance of scientific work, and that "no terrain should be declared 'off-limits' to scientists" but also that artistic expression and experience, along with their indispensable need for cultural and historical studies are just as critical. They need to be aware of the work of such scholars as Habermas who not only claim that knowledge is based on three fundamental human interests: technical control, communication and emancipation—and that these interests involve work, language and power, respectively—but also, most importantly, that each specific type of knowledge represents a specific way of knowing that is important. Habermas rejects the universal application of science and its methodology as the only valid form of knowledge, so his perspective joins Gardner's in supplying the balance necessary for the arts in education to receive appropriate attention.

They need to know the reasons the arts are important in education, and who the scholars are who support the arts and the structure of their arguments. They need to be aware of such anthropologists as Dissanayake who believes that human beings are biologically programmed to be artists, *homo aestheticus;* that human beings and their desire to "make special" themselves, their surroundings, the articles they own and use, and the events they celebrate are evident throughout human history. They need to be aware of the work of Gardner (1983) and others who have identified the varieties of intelligence and capabilities that are found in the human population and the value returned from investment in developing people's diverse capabilities.

The Tanzanians need to have an idea of available empirical evidence of the positive effects of the arts in education, as well as awareness of what remains to be learned.

It may also be worthwhile for Tanzanians to know something about the ways the arts appear in educational institutions in the USA, whether they are discipline-based, integrated across the curriculum or extra-curricular. It would be useful to know how government funding of the arts has been attempted, and what are the positive and negative features of this kind of support. It might be important to understand ways in which arts organisations in the communities could form partnerships with arts programs in the schools to offer programs and enrichment for students' experiences with the arts. They might want to know why the arts are considered to be marginal in importance in the USA when budgetary crises arise.

What they need to know is an initial and necessary step towards arts in education in Tanzania's schools. It is my theory that acknowledging the multi-arts performance complexes *ngoma*, that lie at the root of local, national, and sub-continental expressive arts and their appearance in a Tanzanian multi-arts curriculum will provide that first step, not only for the celebrations of identity, enjoyment, education but also as a tool for other academic achievements.

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