

KIBAHA EDUCATION CENTRE
A Sustainable Sustainable Development
Cooperation Project?

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Cover photo: Kibaha Education Centre 2008

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Foreword

The Centre for African Studies (CAS) at the School of Global Studies at the University of Gothenburg has in recent years added international development cooperation to its sphere of teaching as well as research. A masters programme (“breddmagister”) on African Studies with special emphasis on international development cooperation was launched in 2005/2006 and 2006/2007. As part of the Bologna Process the programme has been integrated in the joint two-year masters programme of Global Studies from September 2007.

As part of some of the courses field trips have been made to Tanzania. Two of the visits included a study tour to the Kibaha Education Centre, and we were impressed with the vitality and strength of its activities. At a time when development cooperation is so much questioned we could see here an almost 50 year old project which had been transferred from being an aid project to a locally owned project almost forty years ago which is still going strong. We found this most interesting and encouraging and came to the conclusion that this project should be looked into more closely to understand what had made it sustain and prosper all these years. Two master students were interested in doing the necessary research, leading to two master theses on sustainability in development cooperation. The result of this research is of such general interest that we have requested the two students to make a more accessible report based on their research. We hope that an audience in Tanzania as well as in the Nordic countries by reading this small book will become familiar with the project, and an example of cooperation between the countries involved which is of greatest interest.

As usual on occasions like this, the authors take individual responsibility for the text. The texts cover the development up to mid-2009.

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Statement of Prof. Samuel Wangwe

Chairperson of the Board of Directors of Kibaha Education Centre



As a student in Kibaha Secondary School (KSS) in 1967 and 1968 I had an opportunity to be taught by teachers from several nationalities. I was taught economics by a teacher from Sweden, geography by a teacher from Denmark, statistics by a teacher from Finland and pure mathematics by a teacher from Sweden. This is a reflection of the kind of partnership among the Nordic countries that characterized this project.

Some 39 years after I left Kibaha I returned in another capacity. In 2005 I moved to my new residence in Kibaha Mailimoja, which in 1967-68 was small rural settlement with a few small shops where students used to go for shopping of immediate requirements. In 2007 I was appointed Chairperson of the Board of Directors of Kibaha Education Centre, a responsibility I am holding to date. In that sense I am back to Kibaha, full circle!!!

Looking back, I do not hesitate to admit that the kind of education that Kibaha Secondary School was offering blended superbly guidance, practical education and independence in thinking. I remember one practical training in geography entailed taking a long 5 days trip from Kibaha to Dodoma, Arusha, Lushoto and back to Kibaha. During this trip the Form VI geography class practically visited geographic sites and conducted discussions on the features. This approach to teaching practically and facilitating independent thinking proved to most of us to be extremely useful in the subsequent stages of our own development.

The project demonstrates admirable features. First, it was an integrated project designed to face the challenges which Tanzania had identified as its prime challenges at that time: ignorance, disease and poverty. The project was therefore aligned to national priorities. Second, the project demonstrated partnership between Tanzania and four partners together, a partnership which demonstrates equality and respect between the Nordic countries on the one hand and Tanzania on the other. On the occasion of handing over of the project, President Nyerere described it as a project which recognized human equality and human dignity. Third, the project has proved to be sustainable as demonstrated by the reality that Kibaha Education Centre is still functioning as an integrated project 40 years after it was handed over to the Tanzania Government.

Since 1970 when the project was handed over to the Tanzanian Government Kibaha Education Centre has continued to function as an integrated entity offering formal education (now from nursery school to A-level), technical education and functional education offering various skills that are needed in the development of communities in Tanzania, functional education and health services and training of clinical officers.

Statement of Anders Forsse former Director General of Sida

I was seconded from the Swedish diplomatic service to the development cooperation administration (NIB/SIDA) in 1963. I remained there until 1985, all the time as part of the leadership team and ended up as Director General (1979-1985). My contact with the Nordic Tanganyika Project was indirect, as a result of my position at SIDA. Living in Tanzania for four years I did however visit the Kibaha Education Centre a few times.



It is with much interest that I have read the present historical and analytical study of this rather unique venture. It points to several of its problems: the relative shortage of experience on the part of both donors and recipient; the initially rather cumbersome mode of organization and administration on the Nordic side; the somewhat artificial combination of Nordic aid interventions in different fields of endeavour (education, health, agriculture); the rather too high and expensive technical standards of some of the institutions; etc.

Problems of this kind were more frequent in the early days of development cooperation than nowadays, but they are by no means eliminated. In the light of afterthought, several of them could have been avoided from the start, but not all. Collaboration between people or collectivities of different backgrounds and cultures will always cause friction and unpleasant surprises as well as positive results, and mutual adaptation requires time, patience, and tolerance.

The Kibaha Education Centre now seems to have evolved into a rather striking success, in spite of the many initial and subsequent difficulties. My impression from this study is that this would not have materialized without the manifest support of President Julius Nyerere, who was much engaged in the education of his people, and also attached great importance to good continued contacts with the Nordic Countries. Another factor, just as essential for the survival of the Centre, must have been the fortunate appointments of the Tanzanian staff, in particular the Executive Director Colonel F.S. Swai. Without a dedicated, skilful and perseverant local leadership, no amount of other inputs would have proved effective, efficient, or even meaningful.

This is not to diminish the role and contribution of the Nordic staff, who had to grapple with and overcome numerous difficulties, and whose work constituted for several years the back-bone and the manifestation of their home countries' determination to assist Tanzania in its striving towards a better future.



Kibaha Education Centre

Background

This publication is presented close to the 50th anniversary of the founding of Kibaha Education Centre, and 40 years after it was fully taken over by Tanzania, and reviews both its history and the present. We came in contact with Kibaha Education Centre when studying in a master programme in Global Studies at the University of Gothenburg during an in-depth course in Development Cooperation in Africa. When searching for an interesting subject to do research on and write a thesis about, we came across the Centre as an example of a development project that was considered successful. When writing our masters theses on the subject the opportunity to write this publication arose and we jumped at the chance to spread our knowledge of and interest for Kibaha Education Centre to an audience outside the academic world.

The two master theses, which this publication is based on, focused on sustainability in Development Cooperation projects. The research included a field trip to Kibaha Education Centre during the fall of 2008, interviews with administrative staff, former Nordic teachers and former students, and studies of reports and recordings from the 1960s. For more information on theories behind the studies and the methodology used we wish to refer to our two master theses available at the University of Gothenburg.

This publication would not have been possible without the initial introduction to the subject by Lennart Wohlgemuth, the never tiring commitment of Staffan Lundqvist, the helpfulness of the Nordic Teachers Association, and the contribution by Sida. But most of all we would like to thank the staff at Kibaha Education Centre and the Kibaha Education Centre Alumni Association for taking such good care of us during our visit, especially the Managing Director Col. Ferdinand Swai for giving us so much of his time.

Annika Billing

Catarina Carlsson

Introduction

Tanzania is situated in eastern Africa, just south of the Equator along the shores of the Indian Ocean. Tanzania is one of the very poorest countries in the world¹, with the majority of its 42 million inhabitants living in rural areas. In spite of the vast and varied resources the country contains, there are great challenges for development.

Kibaha Education Centre is located about 48 kilometres west of Dar es Salaam along the road to Morogoro. The objective for the Centre has been the same since it was established in the 1960s:

*To provide to the public the best quality services that aim at enhancing quality of life and social well being by eliminating poverty, ignorance and diseases.*²

Kibaha Education Centre covers an area of 1478 hectares and provides education through responsibility its secondary schools and primary school, and health services and education through its hospital. Further it promotes entrepreneurship and vocational training through its poultry and dairy farms and Folk Development College. It has a staff of about 900 and many of them live in houses at the compound provided by the Centre.

The story of Kibaha Education Centre started almost 50 years ago when the newly independent Tanzania was eager to develop into a modern state where its people could live full and rich lives, and four Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden) were just as eager to lend a helping hand to a struggling young African nation. Together these five countries created The Nordic Tanganyika Project which was handed over to Tanzania's sole care in 1970.

The project plan was to build three institutions: a Farm Institute to provide courses in practical training for local small scale farmers and their families; a Health Centre to provide four types of services: curative medicine, environmental hygiene, maternal and child welfare, and health education; and a Secondary School to provide secondary education up to the level of higher school certificate.

1. With a GNI of 440 USD per capita in 2008 Tanzania is ranked a low-income economy by the World Bank.

2. www.kec.or.tz.

A Short Review of the History of Tanzania¹

1.

Colonial heritage

When Tanzania became independent in 1961, it inherited social and economic structures shaped by 70 years of colonialism.² As for most colonies, this meant that the economy was structured to fill the needs of the colonial ruler with little internal logic or sustainability. Agricultural production and infrastructure was organized to facilitate export of raw materials from Tanzania to the colonial ruler and the world market.

Before independence, very few Tanzanians had higher levels of education which could enable them to participate and work towards industrial and agricultural development, and hold senior positions in the government administration. Out of the 4378 employed by the government in 1961 only 547 persons were Africans. Out of the 299 administrative officers only seven were Tanzanian. Just 1 percent of African primary school children entered secondary school at independence, while 50 percent of the European and Asian primary school children did so. There were 403 registered doctors in 1960, but only 12 were Africans.

The level of industrialization and foreign investment was low, as investors preferred the more developed Kenya with its larger domestic markets and a more differentiated infrastructure. Tanzania became a periphery within the periphery.

The political party which led the struggle for independence, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), managed to mobilize a large number of active members in the rural areas. The leader and one of the founders of TANU was the former teacher Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999). Nyerere became very influential, first in the political struggle for independence, and then in the struggle for creating a self-reliant Tanzania. He was to become the first president of Tanzania in 1964 and maintained his presidency until 1985.

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1. The content of chapter one is drawn extensively from the two books in the bibliography by Jonas Ewald.
 2. Mainland Tanzania was a German protectorate from 1885. After World War I it became a British mandate.

Towards Modernization 1961-67

After independence, Tanzania developed national unity through political consciousness and a common language, Kiswahili. The great political challenge for the new Government after independence was to build a nation and transform the colonial state apparatuses to meet the aspirations of the masses that had supported the anti-colonial struggle. Economic development was regarded as a necessity for the nation building project, but since the trust in market forces was limited after the long years of colonial rule, the task of accomplishing this development was left to be handled by the state and the social actors.

In 1964 Tanganyika (as mainland Tanzania had been called until this point) formed a union with the island of Zanzibar and the United Republic of Tanzania was born.³

Modernization theories were used when formulating development strategies. These theories included the introduction of “modern methods” of farming through expansion of farmer education, co-operatives, community development and resettlement of dispersed peasants in villages. Basically, it was a continuation of the strategy from the colonial time, but with larger investment in social services. The industrial sector was seen as subordinated to the agricultural sector. It was believed industrial development would take off through foreign investments, with exports being the engine of economic growth.

The development strategy failed both to break the structural weaknesses in the Tanzanian economy and to attract foreign capital. It was realized that Tanzania could not competitively produce any goods other than a few traditional primary products, neither for the domestic market nor for the world market. When the terms of trade on the world market deteriorated in the middle of the 1960s Tanzania faced increasing economic difficulties, but more importantly the strategy failed to transfer the political and economic power to the people.

In order to break with the inherited political and economic dependency structures and to transform the society towards a nation-state characterized by equality and social justice, the thought of a socialistic development model grew stronger.

3. In this text Tanzania will be used throughout.

The Era of the Arusha Declaration 1967-73

Since the early sixties, Nyerere had developed a socialistic analysis of the Tanzanian conditions and in 1967 the "Tanzanian model" was articulated in the Arusha Declaration. The foundations of the declaration were "socialism" and "self-reliance". Self-reliance had two main aspects; the renouncing of foreign aid and investment as the principal means for the national economic development, and the call for individual commitment to hard work. It was an attempt to shift away from the belief that the motor for development was access to capital, as Tanzania was seen as too poor to generate enough income through taxation. Foreign aid and investments would not only be insufficient, they would also generate even more dependency. Instead, the only way for Tanzania to develop was to rely on domestic resources.

With the nationalization of all major means of production in 1967 and 1968, the state sector expanded a great deal. The state commanded the economy and the party gained a leading role, resulting in the same elite controlling both the state-apparatus and the party. Challenges from the political opposition and civil society were cut down to a minimum and the state-led economy, without competition from any other actors, was controlled by the state elite.

TANU believed that in order for Tanzania to be transformed from a poor country of subsistence farmers to a modern developed country with agriculture on a larger scale, the population had to live in villages where they could be reached by public services. Through socialist forms of cooperation, agricultural methods could then be modernized and made more productive. The project of resettling 11 million peasants to ujamaa villages was formalized in 1967 and by 1973 living in an ujamaa village had become compulsory in rural areas.

With the hardships of the 1980s and the pressure from the international community to privatize, the ujamaa village project was abandoned.

A Lost Decade 1977-1990

Signs of economic imbalance started to show in the early 1970s and by the end of the decade Tanzania was in a state of crisis. Exports declined, import needs escalated and the level of foreign aid increased to finance investments and the trade gap. Tanzania went from having been self-sufficient in food production, to becoming a major importer of food.

The structural change that started in the late sixties was reversed in the eighties and nineties and the period between 1978 and 1997 was characterised by a negative per capita growth. The 1980s are generally described as a “lost decade” for Africa in general and Tanzania in particular. During this time a de-industrialisation process took place making Tanzania, together with Burundi, the most agriculture dependent country in East Africa.

After a row of failed reforms Tanzania reluctantly agreed to undergo a structural adjustment program with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 1986. This included measures such as a massive devaluation, liberalization of the economy (including agricultural production), privatization of the para-statal industries and estates, civil service reform and a reduction of the Government expenditures and deficit.

In 1977 the two parties TANU (of the mainland) and ASP (of Zanzibar) merged to form Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), which until 1992 was the only political party mandated to steer the political life of the country.

Democratization and Growth 1990-2008

In 1991 a presidential commission set the path to the first multiparty elections, held in 1995. In the 1995 election, as well as the following 2000 and 2005 elections, the candidate of the CCM won by a large majority.

After decades of instability a reasonable macroeconomic stability was being achieved. An improvement also started to take place in the education sector after 1999, and gross enrolment in 2005 was 106 percent⁴. Despite the gains, however, poverty remained widespread and deep, with more than 50 percent of the population living in poverty and approximately 22 percent of the children of Tanzania being underweight in 2004.

A number of policies to promote economic growth and reduce poverty were launched around the year 2000. The main guiding policy document was *The Vision 2025*, adopted in 1999, which outlined Tanzania’s long-term development aims. *The National Poverty Eradication Strategy* (NPES) and later the second version of a Poverty Reduction Strategy, the so-called Mkukuta, were developed as a guiding frame-work for the implementation of the Vision 2025.

4. *Gross enrolment ratio* is the number of students enrolled in a level of education, whether or not they belong in the relevant age group for that level, as a percentage of the population in the relevant age group for that level.

As a result of the Paris Declaration⁵, Tanzania started pursuing a new recipient-led assistance strategy that was piloting a new type of development cooperation partnership for all of Africa. Within a relatively brief period, a large number of Tanzania's many donors agreed to put Tanzania in the driver's seat and to follow Tanzania's poverty reduction strategy and to use budget support as the preferred aid modality. The new modality even brought in donors who have never delivered aid in this form before.

The Development of the Tanzanian Education System

Before 1967, education beyond primary level was generally elitist and considered a privilege. During the British colonial rule, English was used as teaching language throughout the Tanzanian education. In 1963, Kiswahili was made the teaching language at primary school level. English was still taught as a compulsory subject in primary school and has remained the teaching language at secondary and tertiary levels.

The idea behind the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) policy of 1967 was to adapt the education to the Tanzanian rural way of life, but also to foster self-confident citizens who would be able to understand government policies and be capable of implementing these in ways appropriate to their specific circumstances.

The ESR policy integrated practical activity and productive work into the education, including the growing of various crops, which were mostly consumed by the schools and the raising of chicken and livestock. At secondary school level a diversification program was created with the objective of providing skills in technology, commerce, agriculture and domestic science in addition to a core of general academic subjects.

At an early stage, a heavy emphasis on primary and adult education was enforced. Education at higher levels was restricted and determined by national manpower plans, with a maximum of 4 percent of primary school graduates entering secondary education. To ensure equal access, most secondary schools became boarding schools enabling students from all corners of the country to enrol.

Another important step in adapting the education system was the development of Tanzania's own national examinations, established in 1971.

5. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness is the result of an international meeting in Paris in 2005 organized by the OECD. It contains 56 partnership commitments aimed at improving the effectiveness of aid. It is focused on five mutually reinforcing principles: ownership, alignment, harmonization, managing for results, and mutual accountability.

Earlier, British compiled examinations had been used and when completed they were sent to Britain to be marked.

Tanzania achieved dramatic increases in primary school enrolment during the first two decades of independence. Gross enrolment rose from less than 50 percent in 1961 to about 95 percent in 1976. Towards the beginning of the 1980s this positive trend was thwarted by Tanzania's economic problems. Expensive teaching materials, overcrowded classrooms, together with teacher salaries not being paid out at times had a negative effect on the quality of education. Ten years later enrolment rates were below 80 percent and falling fast. The reduced public financing provoked an expansion of various fees, affecting the number of children attending school.

A positive change came when the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) of 2001 was implemented and by 2003 enrolments were up to 91 percent. Although these numbers point in the right direction the quality of the education is still far from good. Enrolment ratios say little about completion rates and in the late 1990s only half of the enrolled children completed primary school. The completion rates for girls are lower than for boys.

Despite the PEDP, at the end of the decade teachers' salaries remained extremely low and were often not paid for two to three months at a time. Many schools continued to lack adequate materials and the classrooms often remained severely overcrowded. At the same time, at higher levels of primary school some classrooms became half-empty, as one third of primary school children dropped out of school before completion.

The Tanzanian Education System Today

Formal education in Tanzania is provided in primary and secondary schools, teacher training colleges, universities, and in professional and vocational institutions with direct links with the formal education system. There are a number of non-formal education services as well including nursery schools, the National Service (NS), literacy and post-literacy programmes and others.

Basic education is compulsory in Tanzania. The formal system consists of two years of pre-primary education and seven years of primary education. At the end of year seven there is a Primary School Leaving Examination serving as a basis for selection for further education and training. The 4 percent limit has been removed but there is still a major shortfall of

secondary schools. A program for establishing new secondary schools both private and government is presently under way.

Secondary education is a six year programme with the national examination O-level after the first four years. At the end of form six there is another examination for the selection of candidates for university and other forms of high-level training and placement, called A-level. Tertiary education is the highest level of education and it can include programmes and courses offered by non-higher and higher education institutions of three or more years.

2.

Nordic Foreign Aid

Foreign Aid in Perspective

At the core of the development theories from the end of the Second World War to the end of the 1960s was the assumption that development was more or less synonymous with economic growth. Economic growth was believed to be achieved by increased investments. Lack of progress in developing countries was linked to low levels of investments due to small domestic capital resources and an increase in capital resources though foreign aid was thought of as a solution to this problem.

As the perceived problem for the developing countries was lack of capital and foreign currency for the investments needed in industry and infrastructure, the primary objective of foreign aid was to provide this. In addition to providing capital, the donors were to provide education and personnel to cover the lack of human capital. Financial as well as technical assistance therefore became the strategy for the donors.

In the 1960s development planning was considered essential to achieve the most efficient distribution of investments. More and more complex input/output models were used to calculate how much in terms of resources was required to achieve a certain economic growth. With a resource based model came the acknowledgement of the mutual impact between agriculture and modern industry, and rural development was given a more prominent part in aid. The focus was not so much on developing production and exports, but rather the domestic industrial production and refinement of raw materials, which would make sure that the revenues stayed in the country. This “infant industry” argument also laid the foundation for strategies to prevent imported goods competing with the internally produced goods. With the dependency school this kind of protectionism was even more enforced. The function of the state became strongly emphasized and its role was to build infrastructure and industry as well as build a national identity in the recently independent states.

During the 1960s foreign aid became a vital political issue. A contributing reason was the UN declaring the 1960s to be “the development decade”. The UN body UNESCO held conferences in Addis Ababa in 1960 and in Tananarive in 1961 during which plans for a fast expansion of education in Africa were drawn up. The school system was believed to be an impor-

tant institution for communicating the values of a society. This ideological function was perceived to be important for the newly independent states of Africa that were trying to build a sense of nationality among their people.

Immediately after independence, the former colonizing nations were the biggest aid donors to their former colonies but soon there were several UN bodies and European countries without colonial ties building their own aid programmes. The UN played a major role when it came to the normative development discussion and was a strong role model for countries, like the Nordic countries, developing their own national organizations for bilateral aid.

Technical assistance was the aid strategy of the UN from the very start and influenced bilateral donors in the early 1960s. Technical assistance rested on two assumptions: 1) the dispersion paradigm which held that the capital, attitudes and knowledge from the developed countries would disperse to the developing countries, and 2) aid was “help to self-help”. Immediately after independence the new states had a shortage of people with suitable education for qualified positions both in administration and in the private sector leading to an increase in “staff aid”. Staff from donor countries were sent to recipient countries while local staff were being trained and educated.

The definition used in Sweden from 1959 onwards of technical assistance was: “...a form of international cooperation, with the purpose of transferring knowledge from one country or area to another”. The motivation, or purpose, of technical assistance was the assumption that it was an essential pre-requisite for economic and social progress in the recipient country as it would help it use its resources more efficiently. Further, technical assistance rests on agreements between governments based on the wishes of the recipient country without political, religious or economic influences. The idea was that the assistance would be embedded in the recipient country’s own development plan, enabling the recipient country to coordinate its technical assistance projects and thereby fundamentally affecting the outcomes.

The underlying assumption was that technical assistance is the way to make developing countries move towards democratic, social and economic development. This may take time but with sufficient aid it should be possible.

During the 1960s, with increased interest in rural development, aid programmes were increasingly structured as “integrated rural development programmes”. This type of programme included elements of several sectors, such as health, education and agriculture.

Nordic Development Cooperation

The Nordic Council was established in 1952 as a forum for discussion between Nordic decision makers regarding political and economic issues in relation to the countries' positions in the UN. Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Sweden were members from the start with Finland joining in 1956.

The Nordic countries agreed that their economic, political and social development could be a model for the rest of the world, especially for the newly independent countries in Africa. By acting together they would stand better equipped on the international arena in this new field. Together they initiated some development projects during the 1950s, the biggest one being a teaching hospital in Korea.

A joint Nordic collaboration in development cooperation was formalized at the 9th session of the Nordic Council in 1961 when it was agreed that a more formal joint effort would be more efficient than if the Nordic countries all focused solely on their own development cooperation programmes. It was decided that the task of coordinating the Nordic foreign aid would be led by the Nordic Committee of Ministers for Coordination of Aid to Developing Countries. From the very beginning it was quite clear that the Nordic countries would also have to have national development agencies. The Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) was established in 1965.

A Nordic Project in Tanganyika

During the spring of 1961, the Nordic Council of Ministers for Coordination of Aid to Developing Countries decided to initiate the preparations for an aid intervention in the field of education in an African country. A special task force was formed to collect experiences and advice from the various UN offices around Europe and to obtain an overview of the education needs of the African countries. The council chose to approach Tanzania for five reasons:

- The population was of approximately the same size as the Nordic countries.
- The official language was English.
- The administrative apparatus was perceived to be quite developed.
- The political situation after independence was assessed to be stable.
- None of the Nordic countries had any previous relations with Tanzania.

The Government of Tanzania accepted and presented a list of requests to the Nordic Council including a school for vocational training, a community development team, qualified teachers, a library, and scholarships to Europe.

The Nordic Council and Tanzania decided that a delegation, chaired by the Swedish County Governor Valter Åman, was to be sent to Tanzania in February of 1962 to further discuss the possibilities for cooperation. Of great assistance was Barbro Johansson, a Tanzania resident born in Sweden, who was a member of the Tanzanian parliament at the time. Johansson accompanied the delegation on their tour of the country. The results of the delegation's findings were put before the Nordic Council of Ministers during the spring of the same year.

During the first meeting between the two partners it was decided that the intervention would consist of a farmers training centre, a health centre and a secondary boarding school for boys, built within the same area joining them into one single education centre. The Nordic countries suggested a boarding school for both boys and girls, but the Tanzanians opposed the idea believing it would create problems and opted for a school only for boys. Plans were drawn up by the Nordic Council and sent to Tanzania in August 1962.

A second delegation was sent to Tanzania in August 1962 to decide on a location for the project and what activities more in detail should be included. Several locations for the project were suggested. A strong candidate, favoured by President Julius Nyerere, was Musoma in the East Lake Region, but it was finally decided that it was to be placed in Kibaha in the Kisarawe district in the Coastal region 48 km west of Dar es Salaam along the Morogoro road – the major highway to Zambia. The area was sparsely populated by small scale farmers. It was plagued with diseases like sleeping sickness and malaria, and the literacy rate was very low. There were several reasons why Kibaha was chosen:

- The coastal region needed an agricultural centre. The soil in the area seemed appropriate for farming and the proximity to the capital meant good opportunities to market the products of the farming activities.
- There was no health centre in the Kisarawe district and the University of Dar es Salaam wanted to improve the possibilities to provide internships for its medical students in the rural areas.
- According to the development plan of Tanzania, secondary schools were needed in the district.



View of the Nordic Tanganyika Project, late 1960s.

- A power line was drawn close to the site making access to electricity fairly easy.
- Kibaha was close to Dar es Salaam but far enough away for the project to be independent from the city.

Agreements Regarding the Nordic Tanganyika Project

On 15 of December 1962 the first agreement of three was signed which established the division of responsibilities between the two partners. The agreement stated that it was the mutual desire of the Governments of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden and the Government of Tanzania to build a Nordic-Tanganyika centre in Kibaha. The objective of this undertaking was “to co-operate within the field of education and training in the spirit of technical assistance offered by the United Nations”. The activities of the Centre were to be mutually decided upon by the two parties until such a time they could be gradually taken in charge by the Government of Tanzania. The terms of this transfer were to be decided upon at the expiration of the first agreement.

The centre was to consist of three institutions:

- The Farm Institute – to provide courses in practical training and related activities for farmers and their families.
- The Health Centre – to provide curative medicine, environmental hygiene, maternal and child welfare, and health education, and also to serve as a field station for the Medical Training Centre in Dar es Salaam.
- The Secondary School – to provide secondary education up to the level of higher school certificate.

According to the agreement the Nordic countries were to cover the costs for the buildings, facilities and equipment needed to run the Centre. They were also to cover the running costs of the operation and administration of the Centre, beyond the revenues obtained via school fees and sales of other services and products at the Centre and other contributions and donations. Tanzania was to provide the land (to be rented over 33 years), water and electricity, an access road to the administrative centre, and assistance in recruiting local staff for the Centre.

The first agreement was valid for five years starting the 1 January 1963, unless prolonged or terminated for reasons agreed upon between the Governments of the Nordic countries and the Government of Tanzania. The agreement was signed by Paul Bomani, Minister of Natural Resources and Cooperative Development, as the representative of the Government of Tanzania and Kjeld Philip, Danish Minister of Finance, as the representative of the Governments of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.

Two more agreements were signed between the Nordic Countries and Tanzania. The second agreement was valid from 1 of January 1968 to the 31 of December 1969 and clarified the terms of how the Centre would gradually be handed over to the Government of Tanzania. From the 1 of January 1970 Tanzania was to take over the financial and administrative responsibility for the project. On the 10 of January 1970 the Nordic Tanganyika Project was formally handed over to President Julius Nyerere by King Frederik of Denmark, and renamed Kibaha Education Centre.

The third agreement covered the years 1970 to 1972 and contained a phasing out plan for the Nordic Staff. During this period the Nordic staff was to have a Tanzanian counterpart during six months.

An agreement was also signed between the four Nordic countries in which details for administration and economic contributions were defined. It was agreed that the costs of the project would be divided amongst the four countries in accordance with the contributions paid by the Nordic countries to the United Nations; Denmark was to pay 20 percent, Finland 15 percent, Norway 15 percent and Sweden 50 percent.



The Management of the Nordic Tanganyika Project

There were in total nine different boards involved in the administration and management of the Nordic Tanganyika Project. Seven of them were located in Tanzania while the Secretariat and the Nordic Board were located in the Nordic countries.¹

The Nordic Board, whose members were appointed by the Nordic countries, had, according to article 12 of the agreement: “the full power to carry out the functions, duties and responsibilities of the Nordic governments according to this Agreement”. Further duties of this board were to submit annual reports and financial statements and to appoint a director of the Centre to be responsible to the board. The third part of the agreement stated that the director had “the full power to control and manage all the activities, affairs and duties of the Centre”.

The Nordic Board consisted of the General Director of each of the aid agencies of the Nordic countries, one Member of Parliament from each of the Nordic countries and this member’s alternate member. The chairmanship of the board rotated between the countries. The Nordic Board was subordinated to the Nordic Council until the 1 July 1968 when the administrative responsibility was transferred to the Swedish aid agency SIDA, as a way to simplify the administration.

The Secretariat in Stockholm Sweden was originally put together specifically for the Nordic Tanganyika Project. In 1968 the Nordic Board was reorganised and the Secretariat was dissolved and its duties were transferred to the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA).

The Director of the Nordic Tanganyika Project was employed by the Nordic governments and approved by Tanzania. He had full power to man-

1. See organization chart in the back.

age all activities, affairs and funds of the Centre on behalf of the Nordic Board. From the 1 January 1968 the title changed to Project Coordinator.

The Consultative Board acted as an advisory body, considered and commented on the draft budget, decided on the use of funds acquired at the centre, and established the general rules for employment of local staff. The Consultative Board consisted of the principals of the three institutions at the centre, representatives from the health, agriculture, and education ministries of Tanzania, a representative from the district council and a representative from the regional United Nations Technical Assistance Board. The Chairman of the Consultative Board was the director. It was mainly through this Board Tanzania influenced the management of the project.

The Management Committee consisted of the Director and the Heads of the institutions, and considered all matters pertaining to the Project as a whole.

Advisory Boards were established for the three educational institutions. Members of these boards were the Project Coordinator, the Head of institution concerned, and interested central or local Government representatives.

In accordance with the Trustees Incorporation Ordinance, Ch. 3754 of the laws of Tanzania, the Centre had a board of trustees who had the responsibility for the property of the Centre. This board consisted of the Director and one trustee appointed by the Government of Tanzania.

MANAGERS RECRUITED AT THE START OF THE PROJECT

Project Manager	Bertil Melin	from 10 Jan 1964
Kibaha Farmers Training Centre	Tapani Katara	from 1 Oct 1963
Kibaha Secondary School	Michael Saxlund	from 1 Jan 1964
Kibaha Training Health Centre	Inger Christensen	from 1 Aug 1964
Office Manager	Kaj Verner Slot	from 15 Jan 1964
Forestry Expert	Gunnar Lysholm	from 10 Oct 1963

3.

Nordic Tanganyika Project

A benchmark study of the conditions in the Coast Region by the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies from 1965 to 1968 concluded by confirming:

...the importance of development agents like the Kibaha Centre in that the facts reveal the marginal nature of life in these areas and thus the great benefits which could accrue by applying new methods to improve the way of life of the peasant farmers who form the basis of Tanzania's economy.



View of the road leading from Kibaha Secondary School to the Kibaha Training Health Centre, late 1960s.

The hub of the Nordic Tanganyika Project was the Project Centre, consisting of the common administrative and technical services, but also stores, a post office, a cafeteria, telephones and other services. These were not included in the original agreements but were added on a suggestion from the very first Nordic delegation in April 1962. Other joint services were the library and the workshop.

A unique feature of the project was the grouping together of a number of different activities served by a common administration and technical facilities even if not conceived of as an integrated operation. Though there had not been any attempts to formulate an integrated approach to combine the skills of the three separate institutions, they still informally utilized the expertise and help of each other. There had been some integration between the three institutions and the cooperation and benefits of the integration increased with time.

One of the A-houses
for the staff at Kibaha
Education centre, 2008



Housing for the staff was built at the Centre in two separate areas. There were five types of houses mixed together in both areas. The A-houses were the most spacious and their construction soon had to be discontinued because of the high cost. A, B, C, and D houses were all one family detached houses of varying size and design. E houses were semi-detached with three rooms, often let out by room.

The rural development activities of the centre included courses and demonstrations for farmers, training and sale of draught animals, nutrition and sanitation programmes, satellite health dispensaries, a mobile library service, and courses in sewing and cooking. The Nordic Tanganyika Project had a broad approach in its development activities as it was believed to give more lasting and advantageous benefits than a focus on only a few activities.

Kibaha Training Health Centre

According to the first agreement between the Nordic countries and Tanzania the health centre in Kibaha was to provide the following services:

- Curative medicine
- Environmental hygiene
- Maternal and child welfare
- Health education

The health centre was also to function as a field station for the medical students of the University of Dar es Salaam.

The first curative out-patients were treated in a provisional tin hut in 1965. The permanent premises of the health centre were not completed until the end of 1967 and patients and staff had to make several moves between locations until then. By 1970 Kibaha Training Health Centre had grown to be the biggest health centre in Tanzania and the combination of training activities, extramural services, and curative and preventive medicine offered made it unique in East Africa.

The in-patients ward was completed in 1967 and was designed to accommodate 11 mothers and their infants, 25 patients in the general ward, and 20 patients in the maternity ward. The maximum number of patients admitted on a single day was 79 including 17 infants. It soon became difficult to find empty beds as the number of long-lying patients increased. 834 infants were delivered in the maternity ward in 1969, of whom 15 were stillborn, 32 were premature and 8 died. Traditional deliveries quite soon became less common in the area around the centre, and even very conservative groups started to come to the centre. By 1972 the number of deliveries had increased to 1 073.

The curative section of the Health Centre soon became well visited. In 1969 the clinic had 98 000 out-patients, 80 percent of them came from within a 14 kilometre radius. The diseases treated were often the result of ignorance and poverty: malnutrition, hookworms, simple infections. Practically all the patients at the Health Centre had either active or latent malaria. All types of treatments were free and paid for by the Tanzanian Government.

The total number of attendances at the Health Centre amounted to 236 000 in the year 1971, about half (103 000) for the out-patient department.

The Health Centre gave priority to young patients, as this was believed to increase the development effect. Beds were provided to relatives accompanying the patients and the relatives also received a routine examination and health education.

Health Education

Health education was considered a fundamental function of the centre as most of the health related problems in the area were caused by poverty and ignorance. The education initially focused on nutrition, sanitation and clean water. Family planning was added as a topic in 1969. In addition to the person to person talks with the local population, staff from the health centre also gave lectures and seminars for the students of Kibaha Secondary



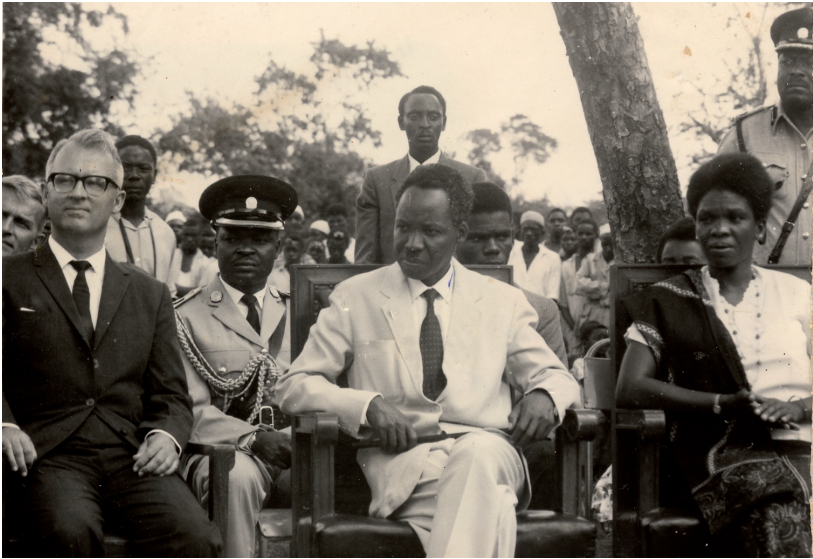
Courses in nutrition education held at Kibaha Education Centre, late 1960s.

School and for the staff of the Centre. Every afternoon all admitted mothers and fathers participated in cooking demonstrations. Admitted mothers were taught how to make simple clothing by Nordic volunteers. The patients were encouraged to go home and spread the knowledge they had acquired while at the Health Centre.

The Health Centre also had three satellite dispensaries staffed by one rural medical aide, one nurse/midwife, a cleaner, and a nursing assistant, all trained at the Kibaha Training Health Centre. The satellite dispensaries were located at Kongoe, Soga and Kibamba and their activities included curative medicine, ante- and postnatal health, school clinics, home visiting, health education and participation in the environmental sanitation campaign. Staff from the Health Centre visited the satellites with a child health team once a week.

The satellite dispensaries organized environmental campaigns in cooperation with the Community Development Section¹, primarily as motivation to introduce latrines and a clean water supply to the ujamaa villages, but it also included nutrition education and immunization programmes.

1. The Community Development Section coordinated all the community development activities of Kibaha Education Centre.



The Kibaha Farmers Training Centre was inaugurated with a big ceremony on 20 June 1964. Amongst the prominent guests were President Julius Nyerere, who also laid the foundation stone for the secondary school, and Mrs. Nyerere who planted a tree by the hostel for students. Also in the picture is Bertil Melin, Executive Director of the Nordic Tanganyika Project 1965 to 1968.

Every four months meetings were held at the Kibaha Training Health Centre where staff and 70 village leaders discussed health problems and the progress of the environmental campaign. A recurring topic at these meetings was the slow rate at which the attitudes of the villagers changed. The basic principle of the campaign was never to try to force new ideas upon people but to offer technical assistance and material.

Kibaha Training Health Centre gave priority to sanitation efforts in ujamaa villages in 1969. All in all 65 wells with pumps were completed during the years 1967 to 1969, supplying between 15 000 and 30 000 people with clean water.

The latrine campaign was slow to take off, and little happened until it was decided that a latrine should be offered to each household in the catchment area where there had previously been none. In 1969 households were offered a concrete slab for the latrines if they had a pit ready by a certain date a few weeks later. In the end 1 353 latrines were approved and used during the years 1967 and 1969, half of those were completed in 1969.

Kibaha Farmers Training Centre

The purpose of the Kibaha Farmers Training Centre was to teach farmers in the Coastal Region, agricultural instructors and administrative staff, more effective agricultural methods and husbandry. The first courses started in June 1964 and the centre had a capacity of 64 trainees at a time. The recruitment of participants was done by the regional and district agricultural officers.

The aim of the courses was assisting established farmers to improve their technical skill and understanding of subsistence and cash crop farming. Most of the participants were illiterate which is why audio visual aids were often used. The length of the courses varied from two to six weeks, as it was difficult for the participants to be away from their homes and farms for longer periods.

Some of the courses offered were husbandry of specific crops, soil and water conservation, and marketing. Some time was set aside on every course for information on fundamental health care, nutrition and sanitation.

The course fee of 1 shilling per day was mostly symbolic as the total cost of one trainee for one day was 27 shilling. Apart from the course itself the trainee was given transport to and from the Centre, accommodation at the hostel and meals in the dining halls.

Courses were held both at the centre and in two ujamaa villages. At the beginning of 1970 a two year course was launched for primary school leavers. The first group of students was recruited from urban areas and was after graduation employed by Kibaha Education Centre.

Up to and including 1969, 3 932 people had participated in the 177 courses offered at the Farmers Training Centre.

Animal Demonstration Farm

The purpose of the demonstration farm was to collect experience and to show how animal husbandry could be adopted by local farmers.

Dairy cattle were held in simple buildings and in sheds for milking. The buildings were constructed so that they could easily and inexpensively be copied by local farmers. Pasture land had been cleared of shrubs harbouring the tsetse fly close to the demonstration farm and an improved kind of grass was planted.

When the Farmers Training Centre started in 1964 it was believed to be impossible for cattle to survive in the tsetse-infected Coast Region. The experimental activities at the demonstration farm had shown that they could,



Kibaha Education Centre played an important role in introducing draught animals, late 1960s.

and without too costly precautions. Experiments on feed for the cattle were also carried out.

The demonstration of draught animals at the centre was not done much until a Danish advisor arrived in 1968. New oxen and donkeys were bought and trained and the Farmers Training Centre started to play an important role in introducing draught animals. As the usage of oxen and donkeys was not very common in Tanzania at this time, farmers attended a course in care and handling of draught animals and tools before they were allowed to purchase trained animals.

The demonstration farm was also a production unit that contributed to the income of the project. A total of 90 000 kgs of milk was produced in 1969 much of it used by the schools at Kibaha but the surplus was sold to the local area and Dar es Salaam.

Demonstration Fields

Several types of rotation crops were demonstrated in small plots for hand cultivation and larger plots for cultivation using draught animals and machinery. The fields served both as demonstration fields and as production units. Some fields were set aside for research work and special attention was paid to water and soil conservation.

Vegetables such as tomatoes, lettuce, carrots, eggplants, and radishes were cultivated. The orchard was divided into five fields; three for bananas, one for citrus and one for pineapple. The crop fields contained cassawa, cotton, maize, sesame, and groundnuts.

In 1969 10 hectares were cultivated with bananas, 8 with fruit and vegetables and 21 with crops.

Forest Nursery

A forest nursery on full-bench terraces was established to produce plants. Farmers showed interest in the nursery and took home plants but they mostly planted them for decoration rather than reforestation, as was intended. Efforts to increase reforestation for production of firewood, building material and windbreaks were made but with little success.

Poultry Station

Poultry keeping was already well known in the Coast Region but it was on a very small scale with very little output due to inferior breeds and diseases. At the time, eggs were imported from Kenya and even Israel. The consumption of eggs was increasing in the country and adding a poultry station to the project seemed like a good idea.

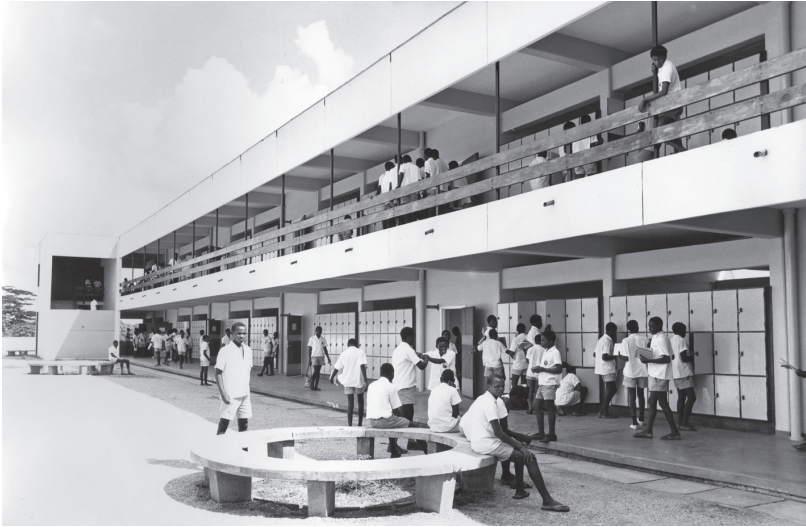
The poultry station was a commercial station consisting of an incubator and hatching unit, crowsers' and brooders' houses, and a layers' section. A broiler section was included in the original plans but omitted early in 1968. The initial stock was reared and egg production started towards the end of 1967. By the second half of 1968 the station turned a profit.

Poultry was sold all over Tanzania but most of it to the Coast Region. Transport of eggs and poultry, including freight charges to the receiver's airport or nearest railway station was mostly taken care of by the government. Eventually poultry had to be sold to farmers in the Coast Region since East African Airways discontinued transport by air because of the smell.

Some 7 000 day-old cocks were given free of cost in 1969 to various institutions such as nursery and primary schools, hospitals, and orphanages.



Chicks from the Poultry Station were sold all over Tanzania, late 1960s.



Kibaha Secondary School admitted boys from the whole of Tanzania, late 1960s.

Kibaha Secondary School

The high level of ambition of the students, the top modern facilities and the well educated Nordic teachers soon made the school very popular amongst the aspiring secondary students in Tanzania. Excellent results on the final primary school exam were required to be accepted to Kibaha Secondary School.

The construction of Kibaha Secondary School started in July 1964 and was completed in April 1966. The main building contained an administrative section, a faculty lounge, a conference room, a student clinic and storage rooms. The main building had two wings. The first wing had 12 classrooms for 36 students, and the second had laboratories, and special classrooms for biology, physics, chemistry, and geography.

The first 146 students were admitted in 1965, before the construction of the school was completed. At the beginning of 1970 the number of students admitted had increased to 600. When the school was launched, none of its 35 teachers were Tanzanian. According to the agreements between the Nordic countries and Tanzania, the Nordic countries would provide the school with teachers but Tanzanian teachers would gradually be introduced at a rate of 4 teachers a year. The plan was that by 1975 all the teachers would be Tanzanian. All the Nordic teachers being sent to Africa attended a preparation course arranged by SIDA for a couple of weeks in



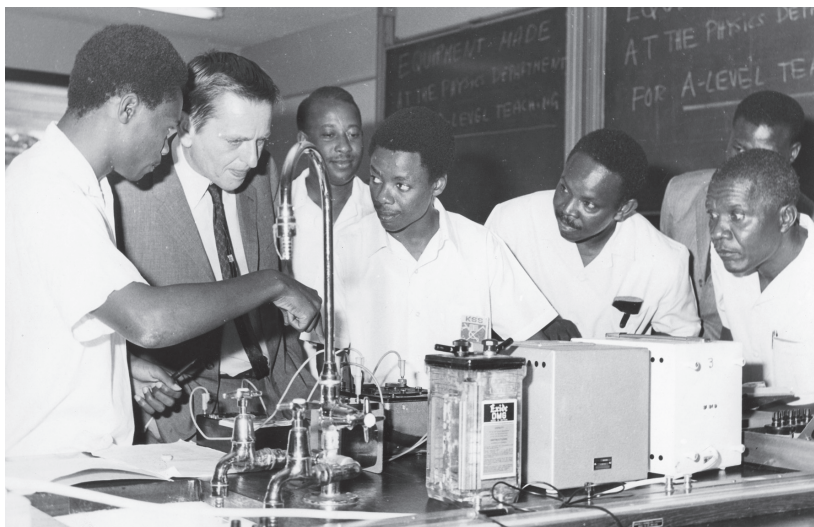
The school had excellent facilities for teaching science in well-equipped laboratories, late 1960s.

Sigtuna, Sweden. 11 of the Nordic teachers were sent two years in advance to other secondary schools in Tanzania to further prepare them for their years at Kibaha Secondary School. At the end of 1969 the school employed 20 Nordic and 13 Tanzanian teachers, and in addition to that 30 non-teaching staff.

It was decided early in the planning process that the education at the secondary school was to be focused on science and agriculture. At A-level (forms V and VI) physics, pure and applied maths were taught, at O-level (up to form IV) commercial subjects were taught. There were three parallel classes of 24 students who only studied science and one class for commerce.

Students of forms I and II participated in agricultural instruction on a weekly basis as per the decision of a joint Farmers Training Centre and Kibaha Secondary School committee. 66 percent of the A-level graduates of Kibaha Secondary School in the class of 1969 qualified for university studies, compared to a 54 percent average in the country.

The school also offered its students many kinds of extracurricular activities like agriculture and adult education. The agricultural work consisted of working in the school's cashew plantation and from 1969 maize and rice were grown but this project soon came to an end as wild animals destroyed the crops although there were to be new attempts. The adult edu-



The Swedish Minister of Education Olof Palme visited the Nordic Tanganyika Project in 1969. He is being given a demonstration of the science laboratory.

cation aimed to promote adult literacy and was run mostly by the students themselves with some help from the Community Development Section of the project.

There were 16 different student clubs and organisations at the school towards the end of the 1960s, covering a wide range of fields. The student council functioned as the organizer and each of the clubs was supervised by a teacher. The clubs also had their own plots to farm during the students' spare time. The revenues from the plot were used for club activities.

The students of Kibaha Secondary School were housed in four dormitory blocks. Each of them had one wing for juniors and one for seniors and one common room. The junior wings consisted of 5 dormitories, housing 21 students each. The rooms were divided by cupboards and semi-partition walls into two-bed cubicles. The senior wing consisted of 12 two bed rooms. All in all the dormitories had the capacity to house 540 students.

With the Arusha Declaration, in 1967, the concept of self-reliance was introduced and became well integrated in the education system in Tanzania, which was also reflected at Kibaha Secondary School. One of the consequences was the reduction in the number of non-teaching staff when maintenance tasks like cleaning, washing clothes and cutting grass were transferred to the students.

Tumbi Primary School

From the beginning there was one primary school at the Nordic Tanganyika Project attended by both Tanzanian children and Scandinavian children of the staff of the Nordic Tanganyika Project, up until 1966 when the children were transferred to two different schools. A Nordic Primary School was set up for the Scandinavian children. The teaching language was one of the Nordic languages, which one depended on the nationality of the teacher. In addition the students were also taught their mother tongue. About 20 children attended the school in one of the A-houses.

The Tanzanian children were transferred to Tumbi Primary School. The school house was completed in 1969 and funded by Tanzania, until then lessons had been held in several places, like the basement of the library. In 1970 it enrolled about 300 students, in 2008 enrolment had risen to 960 students.

4. Handing over the Nordic Tanganyika Project to Tanzania

In 1969, nine years after the idea of a joint Nordic project was first conceived, it was time to hand the Centre over to Tanzania. The Nordic Tanganyika Project had grown into a town with 2000 inhabitants over an area of 16 km². The population of the catchment area¹ had grown to between 50 000 and 60 000 and 16 ujamaa villages, that cooperated with the newly established Rural Development Centre, had been founded.

In order to make the integration of the Centre into the Tanzanian administration as smooth as possible an Integration Committee was established by Tanzanian authorities, as stated in the Prolongation Agreement of 1968. Very early on the Committee stated that it wanted the Centre to be maintained as one unit, but how this one unit was to be structured was not formulated until the handover in 1970.

The activities of the Kibaha Secondary School, the Farmers Training Centre and the Kibaha Training Health Centre were to remain the same along with most activities at the Centre apart from minor administrative changes regarding staffing and salaries. One change was upgrading the Community Development Section from being a section to being an institution. Adding a Community Development Centre was not mentioned in the initial agreements, but was suggested by the first Nordic delegation to Tanzania as a possibility for a second stage in the project. This increased focus on development was in line with the general development taking place at that time in Tanzania, with the implementation of the Arusha Declaration and the ujamaa campaign.

The Prolongation Agreement valid from the 1 January 1968 to 31 of December 1969 also stated how the transfer from Nordic staff to Tanzanian staff was to take place. For example the new managing director should start in July 1969 and work alongside the existing managing director until the project was handed over. The obligations of Tanzania were fulfilled except for some problems finding staff on time, especially regarding the Farmers Training Centre.

1. 10 km radius.

Evaluations of the Nordic Tanganyika Project

When the time came for the Nordic countries to hand over the Nordic Tanganyika Project there was much concern about how Tanzania would be able to cover the costs. Questions were raised about what could have been done differently and whether the project could be considered a success.

An independent OECD² task group was requested to evaluate the project. The evaluation was initiated by the Nordic Board with the aim to evaluate the preparation, implementation, current operations and the results of the first years of operation of the project and was conducted in September 1968. A final report by the project coordinator Mr. Kirø was presented in 1970 which complemented the OECD report and concentrated on the last two years of the project.

The evaluation found that a unique feature of the project was the grouping together of a number of different activities served by a common administration and technical facilities even if it was not conceived of as an integrated operation. According to the evaluation, there had not been any plans for an integrated approach for the project where the three separate institutions collaborated. However, even though it was not formally planned the three institutions did cooperate to some degree. The final report, points at the fact that there had been *some* integration between the three and that both the cooperation and benefits of the integration increased towards the end. The collaboration between the institutions was formalised at a later stage after recommendations by the Tanzanian Integration Committee that the Centre would benefit from combining the three institutions into one.

During the Nordic management the three institutions of the project followed the regulations of their corresponding Tanzanian ministry. Integration with the Tanzanian administration services appear to be closest in the case of Kibaha Secondary School. The Ministry of Education had firm legal and de facto control over all secondary schools. However, at the end of 1968 it was agreed that after handover, the Centre would be one single combined operation under the overall responsibility of one government department. This would increase the cooperation between the different sections and give the Centre a sense of unity.

The Kibaha Secondary School was early on considered to be the most successful of the three institutions. The close integration of the school into the Tanzanian educational structure, the high quality of current opera-

2. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development.

tions and the prospective supply of Tanzanian teachers were believed to be reasons for a smooth transfer. The foremost reason for the success of the School was that it was modelled on the already existing pattern for secondary schools, while both the Farmers Training Centre and Kibaha Training Health Centre were “new” types of institutions for Tanzania, which made the transfer of these two institutions more difficult. The evaluation suggested that it might have been better if these two institutions were handed over at a later stage.

Kibaha Secondary School and Farmers Training Centre were well established at the time of the handover while the health centre had started up later than anticipated as it could not move into its permanent premises until the summer of 1967.

A factor that was believed to have contributed to a fragmentation of the project was that the three institutions had different geographical focuses. The Kibaha Training Health Centre had a very local focus, the Farmers Training Centre a regional and the Kibaha Secondary School a nationwide focus. The evaluation still concluded that uniting the three seemed to put the centre in a favourable position, despite lack of formal cooperation, when compared to similar institutions in Tanzania that operated independently.

The OECD evaluation mission came to the conclusion that the project would not be able to work as a model for future projects built by Tanzanian authorities, as was originally intended, primarily because of the very high standard and cost of the project. The mission recognized that aid projects are often constructed with the goal of being “the best” and not necessarily the most economical and it is therefore important to show that this high standard and high cost leads to a proportionately high level of efficiency rather than a luxury too costly for the host country to maintain. An adaptation to standards in line with the Tanzanian budgeting capabilities was inevitable once the project was fully taken over by Tanzania. It was however recognized that such an adaptation might be difficult as it might have to take place abruptly.

There were also issues of fragmentation among the Nordic collaborators. Olof Murelius, the Executive Secretary of the Nordic Board and the Project Secretary at SIDA, noted that dividing the administration of the project between the Nordic countries was problematic. Some of the offices were in Sweden and others in Norway, and so on. This led to a very costly and inefficient administrative apparatus. Therefore the Nordic council agreed to place all administration of this aid project with SIDA in 1968. In addition, little attention was paid to systematic surveys of the project until 1967 when the Nordic Board introduced regular annual auditing procedures.



King Fredrik of Denmark
and President Julius Nyerere
at the handover ceremony on
10 January 1970.

Additional criticism of the project included the administrative difficulties, both between the Nordic countries and between the Nordic countries and the project site, poor planning, and lack of exit strategy. The benefits of handing over the Nordic Tanganyika Project as a gift to Tanzania were debated, and the evaluation did not conclude whether this fact impacted on the project negatively or positively. The critique most often heard at the time of handover was that the project had been too costly and that the Tanzanian government would not be able to keep the high standard without the Nordic funding.

The Ceremony

On 10 January 1970 the Nordic Tanganyika Project was formally handed over to President Julius Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, by King Fredrik of Denmark. During the ceremony the institution was renamed Kibaha Education Centre. At the ceremony President Nyerere gave a speech where he expressed that the partnership between the Nordic countries on the one hand and Tanganyika/Tanzania on the other

had been on equal terms. He said that even though the Nordic countries had provided all the funding for the project, the project had been regarded as Tanzanian as it was built from the perspective of the needs and objectives of Tanzania.

President Nyerere also explained that one of the reasons “for my great interest in this project is that it is a project of rural development”, which was in line with the Arusha Declaration of 1967.

The Tanzanian government regarded the project as an important national development institution despite its problems.

Excerpt from President Julius Nyerere's speech at the handover ceremony:

...it was built by man, and perfection would have been strange, to put it mildly. But I would like make it quite clear that the Tanzanian Government would like more Kibahas and as many as possible. The criticisms do not worry us very much, some of them touch a bit of truth here and there inevitably, and can be used in any new project which we are able to undertake, either alone or in cooperation with others. But the important thing is that Kibaha is here, and that it is working and it is doing a good job and doing it well.

Kibaha Education Centre Today

5.

The Kibaha Education Centre today is strikingly neat and tidy with well kept surroundings. There are few signs of the difficult economic conditions in Tanzania during the 1980s and 1990s, a time when the dormitories were overcrowded, the roads were full of potholes, and the textbooks used were the very books brought by the Nordics in the 1960s.

When the current Managing Director (MD) Col. Ferdinand Swai was appointed in 1994, Kibaha Education Centre was thus very run down and the budget for the centre did not even allow for the most basic of running costs. By the end of the 1990s the state of the Centre had improved considerably. Since the handover, some funding has reached Kibaha Education Centre, for example the re-roofing from Denmark and a new water supply system from Sweden.

Despite economic difficulties Kibaha Education Centre has come a long way since it was handed over to Tanzania. The educational institutions have grown and today the Centre has three secondary schools. Kibaha Secondary School is still a boarding school for boys and a special school admitting students nationwide, Tumbi Secondary School is a day school for local boys and girls, and Kibaha Girls Secondary School is to be a boarding school but remains a day school until dormitories are built.



View of the road leading from Tumbi Hospital to the administrative block 2008.



Kibaha Public Library 2008.

The secondary schools at Kibaha Education Centre fill a great need considering that only a very small percentage of Tanzanian students have access to secondary education. More than 8 000 students to date have completed their secondary education at Kibaha Education Centre and many of them continued studying at university level and hold important positions in the Tanzanian society. The current president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, who graduated from Kibaha Secondary School in 1968, is one of them.

When the location for the Nordic Tanganyika Project was chosen some fifty years ago, it was very scarcely populated bush-land. Today Kibaha is the capital of the Pwani Region (previously called Coast Region) and a bustling town and the home of thousands of people. In 2002 the Kibaha district had 131 242 inhabitants, 57,374 of them living in Kibaha town.

Tumbi Hospital

What initially was Kibaha Training Health Centre eventually became the regional hospital. At handover the health centre had 33 beds for in-patients, in 2008 Tumbi Hospital had 253 beds for in-patients and it also sees about 350 to 400 out-patients every day. One of its primary functions is to care for the many victims of the Morogoro road leading from Dar es Salam to Morogoro. The hospital is divided into a public and a private part. The private rooms hold four to five beds, for which patients have to pay 4000 shilling a day. Single VIP rooms are also available.



Tumbi Hospital 2008.

For the public part of the hospital the patients give a contribution rather than a fee. Pregnant women, however, have free care. The hospital has 253 beds for in patients and when required two patients share one bed. It has 8 medical officers, 16 clinical officers, 10 assistant officers, in total a staff of 268. The hospital does not have an ear-nose-and-throat specialist or a general surgeon, patients requiring such care are sent to Dar es Salaam. Tumbi Hospital is also a teaching hospital and provides training to 120 clinical officers a year.



Inside Tumbi Hospital 2008.

Kibaha Folk Development College

The concept of Folk Development Colleges was included in the government educational plan for 1975–80. The goal was to establish 83 Folk Development Colleges before the end of the decade, one for each of Tanzania's

districts.¹ It was primarily carried out by the reconstruction of existing, but largely non-operational, rural training centres. In Kibaha the Farmers Training Centre was transformed into a Folk Development College.

Kibaha Folk Development College primarily provides education to adults in the area. It offers longer courses of one year and includes motor vehicle mechanics, electrical installation and other vocational training. One of the most popular courses is agriculture and animal husbandry as favourable state loans for agricultural entrepreneurs are available upon completion. In addition, Swahili, English, finance and social studies are compulsory for all students. The College also offers shorter, two month courses and holds seminars. It has the capacity for 200 students of whom 140 live at the Centre and has a staff, teaching and non-teaching, of 50.

Education for adults in the region is provided through an outreach project which consists of practical one-week courses held at the College. The courses cover a wide range of areas including poultry, agriculture, cooking and driving. After completing the course the graduates are followed up to see if there is any progress. The aim of these courses is for the graduates to gain practical skills that will help them earn an income.

The College has since 1987 collaborated with a Folk Development College, Fellingsbro Folkhögskola, in Sweden, which entails regular visits, exchange of experiences and financial support for projects, like computerising the College and beekeeping.

Kibaha Secondary School



Kibaha Secondary School is one of the few sections of the Kibaha Education Centre that has not changed very much since handover. The number of students has increased to 810 who are taught by 53 teachers. The school has 12 classrooms used by O-level students, and an additional two lecture rooms, two geography rooms and one lab for A-level students. The school is supported by 32 non-teaching staff.

1. Sweden supported the Folk Development College program from its start in 1975. At the end of the decade with 54 colleges in place, the program was terminated due to implementation problems. However, Sweden continued its support until 1996.



Kibaha Secondary
School, 2008.

As a boarding school Kibaha Secondary School admits students from all over Tanzania, as opposed to day schools that only accept local applicants. Kibaha Secondary School is also a special school meaning that to be accepted top results in the primary education exam are needed. The high requirement for acceptance is one of the reasons why the students of Kibaha Secondary School continue to perform so well year after year.

For a short period in the mid-1990s, due to lack of secondary schools in the area, it was decided politically that Kibaha Secondary School had to accept local day students as well. The academic results at the school declined after this decision. To be able to provide adequate education both for the boarding school students, who had been admitted because of very high grades, and the local students, the Centre decided to build a new secondary school; Tumbi Secondary School.

Tumbi Secondary School



The building containing the classrooms at Tumbi Secondary School, 2008.



Headmistress Luhaga in one of the classrooms at Tumbi Secondary School, 2008.

This school was to function as a day school for both boys and girls making Kibaha Secondary School a pure boarding school once again. The construction of Tumbi Secondary School started in 1997 and was finished by 1999. In 2008, 650 students attended the school, 317 of them girls and 354 boys. The school has three labs and 16 classrooms, the last of them were completed in January 2009. Tumbi offers secondary school education up to O-level but an application to receive A-level authorization was in the pipeline in the autumn of 2008.

The headmistress at Tumbi, Prosscouier K. Luhaga, sees different challenges for a day school than for a boarding school. At a boarding school the staff has complete overview of

the lives of its students and can make sure that they are well fed and have plenty of opportunities to do their homework. At a day school like Tumbi Secondary School the children have to go home at the end of the school day and as many come from poor families proper diets and time for homework are not guaranteed. As a way of motivating the students to come to school the school offers tea and bread every day.



Kibaha Girls Secondary School in November 2008.

Kibaha Girls Secondary School

In 1996, the Board of Directors at Kibaha Education Centre raised the issue of possibly adding a boarding school for girls. The idea was realised and the first class of girls started in 2008. Many of the new students transferred from Tumbi Secondary School, reducing the number of girls at the latter. In 2008 Kibaha Girls Secondary School functioned as a day school but the plan was to expand and build dormitories and turn it into a boarding school like the existing boarding school for boys. When fully operational the school will have two classes of 35 girls every year up to A-level.

Of great concern, and a reason for the plan to turn the girls school into a boarding school, are the difficulties for girls to manage their studies in a day school. Girls have many household chores at home to tend to when the school day is finished, leaving little time for homework.

Another problem with girls' education in Tanzania is early age pregnancy which forces the girls to terminate their education. By law, pregnant girls are required to discontinue their primary and secondary education. As a result, many girls risk their health and have illegal abortions, as there is no legal alternative, in order to stay in school. Boys responsible for under age pregnancies can be prosecuted and imprisoned, but it rarely happens. The girls rarely give up the names of the responsible boy, thus the boys continue their education and the girls do not. Col. Swai believes that at

a boarding school the girls would be protected, giving them the same pre-requisites as the boys to finish their secondary education. He is convinced that the girls would perform just as well as the boys.

Production

The commercial poultry farming at Kibaha Education Centre keeps 40 000 parent stock and produce 53 000 day-old chicks a week. The farm also includes a chicken feed production plant and a plant for producing egg trays. The poultry farm sells 2 120 00 day old chicks to small farmers every year. It has provided employment opportunities to youths at poultry farms and though selling boiled eggs on the streets around Kibaha.

A dairy farm was established at the Centre in 1970. The target of keeping 500 cows was never reached but the farm offered theoretical and practical training to 70 stakeholders a year, including small scale farmers and students at Sokoine University of Agriculture, Tengeru Livestock Training Institute and the Ministry of Agricultural Training Institute. The milk produced is primarily used within the Centre but the surplus is sold.

Management and Administration

Colonel Ferdinand Swai was appointed Managing Director of Kibaha Education Centre in 1994. He took over the Centre at a point when a long period of economic stagnation in Tanzania had left the Centre in a state of deterioration. This had led to a situation where there were not enough funds to pay for the basic utilities making it almost impossible to continue even the core activities. Maintenance had been ignored for a long time and the infrastructure was in very bad shape. To obtain further funding re-

EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS OF KIBAHA EDUCATION CENTRE

Mr. B. Melin	1965-1968 (Nordic Tanganyika Project)
Mr. J. S. Traagstad	1967-1968 (Nordic Tanganyika Project)
Mr. J. E. F. Mhina	1970-1972
Mr. F. T. Mushendwa	1973-1975
Mr. S. Chiwanga	1975-1976
Mr. E. B. M. Nyiti	1977-1987
Mr. M. A. Lupatu	1989-1993
Col. F. S. Swai	1994-

quired much lobbying. Col. Swai argued before the Tanzanian authorities that Kibaha Education Centre played an important role in the development of the country, and at one point he threatened to close the Centre down. Eventually, the Centre managed to obtain the extra funding needed from the Tanzanian Government to keep it running.

According to the Education Service Manager, Charles Mlata, the secondary schools at Kibaha Education Centre have a higher standard than most other secondary schools in Tanzania, which he believes is related to the fact that they are part of Kibaha Education Centre rather than autonomous institutions. There is no shortage of classrooms or teaching materials, even though some of the books are outdated. Very few students drop out of school and there are enough teachers, which are common problems at other schools.

Col. Swai has worked towards changing the norms at the Centre and strongly stresses timeliness, correctness, organization, as well as keeping the grounds neat and tidy. Teamwork is encouraged in order to create a pleasant workplace without major conflicts. Strikes among both teachers and students are not uncommon in Tanzania, but it has never been a problem at Kibaha Education Centre.



Managing Director
Colonel Ferdinand Swai
in his office 2008.

Col. Swai describes the Centre as a community:

...where some are working with health, others education, and others the poultry. But they live as one community as one family and that to me is very satisfying.

The Centre has seen many positive changes under the current Managing Director; changes in the teaching, environment, and infrastructure as well as on the production side. According to Mr Mlata, the Managing Director is truly a key person for the Centre, as the position comes with the power to bring about changes. The current MD has worked very hard to mobilize funding for the continued existence of the Centre but also to make possible the expansions it is currently undergoing.

The activities and organization of Kibaha Education Centre has changed several times throughout the years. The activities of the centre are run by five departments: one managing the poultry production, one the dairy farm, one for the finance and administration, one for the education



The inner courtyard of the administration block, 2008.

services, and finally one for the health services.² These are managed by the Managing Director who has the overall responsibility for the budget and the organization of the Centre. The MD, in turn, reports to a board of directors.

The Chairperson of the Board of Directors is appointed by the President of Tanzania. The members of the board are appointed by the minister responsible for the following ministries: Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children, and Ministry of Education. The board also has one member representing the Kibaha Education Centre workers' council, the Kibaha District Commissioner. The Managing Director for Kibaha Education Centre is the Secretary of the Board. The board has the responsibility to make sure that the Centre is run according to Government policies in providing its services to the people.

The parent ministry of the schools is the Ministry of Education but most of the day-to-day administration is the responsibility of the Managing Director. Being parts of the Centre gives the schools an advantage compared to other schools, as the Ministry of Education has about 1500 schools to provide for. Instead the Kibaha Secondary School is financed via the overall budget of the Kibaha Education Centre which receives its funding from the Prime Minister's Office – Regional Administration and Local Governance (PMO-RALG)³. One great advantage is that the Centre em-

2. See organization chart in the back.

3. The department for Regional Administration and Local Governance has been transferred between ministries several times. Presently it is in the Prime Minister's

employs their own teachers, instead of using the regular system where teachers are centrally employed and then designated a school to work in.

The Kibaha Education Centre Education Services Department manages all the activities at all the educational institutions and Kibaha Public Library. Each section prepares a budget that is brought to the head of the department, who merges the different budgets into one for the entire Education Services Department. The proposition then goes to the management committee which compiles an overall budget for the centre, and sends it on to the Board of Directors for approval. The final budget proposition is sent to the Prime Minister's Office – Regional Administration and Local Governance which presents it to the Tanzanian parliament.

If the centre is not granted the full amount it applied for, the Managing Director decides which departments are given priority. The current MD prioritizes education and health in these situations. The funding for Kibaha Education Centre comes from the government as well as from activities within the centre, such as the hostel at the Kibaha Folk Development College. In addition there are school fees of 20 000 shillings per day school student per year and 70 000 shillings per boarding school student per year.

Col. Swai strongly believes that Kibaha is contributing to the development of Tanzania as a whole. He mentions three aspects of its contribution: health, education and economy.

Firstly, when the Nordic Tanganyika Project was handed over to Tanzania, the Health Centre had 33 beds for in-patients, today it has 253 beds for in-patients and sees about 350 to 450 out-patients every day. The hospital also trains 40 medical students every year.

Secondly, more than 8 000 students have graduated from the secondary schools and many of them continued studying at the university and hold important positions in society. The current president of The United Republic of Tanzania, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, graduated from Kibaha Secondary School in 1968.

Thirdly, the products from the poultry at Kibaha are sold just outside the Centre, mostly by children, but are also sent to other parts of the country. The dairy industry at the Centre provides the school with milk and the surplus is sold at the markets nearby.

Col. Swai's opinion on Kibaha is clear:

One cannot say we are a white elephant.

Staff

Kibaha Education Centre has a staff of about 900. Most of the teaching staff applied directly to the Centre for a job⁴ and were interviewed as a part of the application process. The schools at Kibaha Education Centre have a sufficient number of teachers which is not very common in Tanzania and they follow the teacher to student ratio recommended by the Ministry of Education, 35 to 40 students per teacher. When appointing a Managing Director, the Tanzanian government recommends candidates to the Board of Directors of Kibaha Education Centre who has the right to appoint who they believe is the most suited for the position.

The Centre has a special program for staff that have not graduated from secondary school called Second Opportunity for General Education Advancement (SOGEA). The staff are taught at the Centre to obtain secondary school level knowledge, with the hope that by doing so they can also improve their careers and have the option of studying at tertiary level. In 2008, 115 people were taking part in the program; some taking O-level and others A-level.

The Centre still provides housing for its staff, but many of them also build their own houses in the surrounding area. Their children go to school there and some of them eventually start working at Kibaha. Even after retirement, many remain in Kibaha.

Associations

For the commemoration of the 30th anniversary of Kibaha Education Centre in 2001, Col. Swai tried to locate as many former students and others who had been in contact with the Centre as possible, to invite them to the event. During this celebration, some of the former students decided to form an alumni association. Through the alumni they believed they could help the Kibaha Education Centre in many ways, by spreading information about the centre and raising money for it. As many of the students from the early years had grown up to hold high positions in a wide range of areas in the Tanzanian community, they could also function as informal advisors.

The alumni association members have been invited to speak to the present students at the Kibaha Education Centre for inspiration. They have also tried to locate funding, which has proved to be difficult.

4. Kibaha Education Centre being exempt from the regular system of centrally appointed teaching positions. The Centre also has a system which allows the state set salaries to be topped up and thereby raising the teachers' salaries.



The former physics teacher Staffan Lundqvist in the middle with a former student on each side, Mr Mchomvu to the left and Dr Nanyaro to the right.

The alumni contacted the Swedish embassy in Dar es Salaam asking for assistance with contacting the Nordic teachers. In 2006, the former physics teacher from Sweden, Staffan Lundqvist, received a call from the Swedish embassy explaining that the secondary students of the Nordic Tanganyika Project were trying to find their former teachers. The alumni had received some funding from the embassy for this purpose and the money was used to send two of the former teachers to Kibaha Education Centre for a visit.

Two of the former teachers at Kibaha Secondary School visited Kibaha for ten days during the autumn of 2006, meeting students and looking around their former workplace. The alumni presented a list of issues they believed needed to be attended to at the Centre, like the run-down laboratories and a kitchen that had not been renovated since it was built. The electrical appliances in the kitchen had stopped working long before and charcoal was used to cook causing a very unhealthy work environment. The alumni also brought to the Nordic teachers' attention the need for expanding computer capacity, for the administration as well as for the students. Col. Swai also presented his idea of creating a full documentation of the history of Kibaha Education Centre.

Upon returning to Sweden, Mr Lundqvist contacted all the former teachers with hopes of starting an association of their own, to work as a counterpart to the alumni association in Tanzania. The response from his former colleagues was less enthusiastic than he anticipated and it was not until a second reunion the following year that the Kibaha Nordic Teachers

Association was established. A delegation from Kibaha consisting of three representatives from the alumni, plus Col. Swai and his wife were invited to participate in the second reunion where the association was formally established. The representatives from Kibaha invited the Kibaha Nordic Teachers Association to have their first official annual meeting at Kibaha Education Centre the following year.

Mr Lundqvist has played a leading role in keeping the memory of Kibaha Education Centre alive. He is collecting the Nordic teachers' photographs, and articles and documents written about the Centre for an archive as he believes it is an important part of Swedish and Nordic international development cooperation. For him, the feelings for Kibaha have never faded. He lived there with his family for four years, his fourth child was born there and he has taken every opportunity to return and visit Kibaha.

Most of the people Mr Lundqvist once knew at Kibaha Education Centre have moved away, or even passed away but his commitment remains, or as he puts it himself:

The people disappear but the institutions remain.

Nordic Teachers

HARRY HJALTRELIN, an agriculturalist from Denmark, was a teacher at Kibaha Secondary School between 1970 and 1975. As there was no teaching plan for agriculture at the school his first job was to develop one.

Mr Hjaltelin created a program teaching his pupils about fertilisers and soil, how to have a monoculture instead of mixing crops as was common in Tanzania at that time, and growing tomatoes, lettuce and much more. Mr Hjaltelin built some chicken coops and imported day old-chicks from Israel. At two months the chickens were slaughtered, packed and sold in Kibaha and in Dar es Salaam. Practically all the work was done by the students and most of it before and after school hours. Mr Hjaltelin believed that the students gained more than learning about agriculture and self-reliance with the chicken business. Because not all chickens were sold, they were served as school meals about once a week which was considered a luxury.

Mr Hjaltelin organized the agricultural business and made self-reliance into something that he believed "made sense". He was allocated a piece of land at the premises of the project for cultivation. The boys planted seeds, saw them grow, harvested and sold the output. By following the whole process from start to finish they learned how to successfully make a living from agriculture.

A part of developing a teaching plan was creating exams. As there were no guidelines Mr Hjaltelin was given free hands to structure the entire agricultural education as he saw fit.

The Norwegian PER HAAKSTAD taught commerce, accounting, book keeping, arithmetic, and geography from 1968 to 1972.

According to Mr Haakstad the emphasis on self-reliance became very apparent towards the end of his stay. The students were sent out into the fields to grow vegetables, fruit and nuts, and they made bricks for the chicken coops. The school was strongly influenced by the socialistic ideals predominant at the time.

Mr Haakstad also functioned as an advisor for a UNESCO project, with the task of setting up a study program for the secondary students of Tanzania. His book on business administration dealt with topics such as agricultural cooperatives, a more relevant issue than topics such as bonds and shares of the previous materials.

STAFFAN LUNDQVIST, from Sweden, was a physics teacher at Kibaha Secondary School from 1968 to 1972. When he arrived the education in Tanzania followed the English model for education and the examinations were sent to Cambridge, Great Britain, to be corrected. During his last two years, Tanzania had developed its own certificate and grading system and the examinations were sent to Dar es Salaam University for correction. According to Mr Lundqvist, who himself participated in this exercise twice; the biggest difference between the English and the Tanzanian examinations was that the latter included a practical part. Since Kibaha Secondary School was already focused on practical education this suited the students very well.

In the beginning Mr Lundqvist found it hard to adapt to using English as a teaching language and he was impressed by his students' superior knowledge. The students were given many opportunities to improve their English skills outside the classrooms, in debating clubs and by writing articles for the Kibaha student newspaper.

Mr Lundqvist did not feel that his job as a teacher changed that much after the

handover to Tanzania. Even though there were three different headmasters from 1970 to 1972, the basic structure of how the centre functioned stayed the same. The school continued to receive funding from the Nordic countries until 1972 and there was no shortage of teaching materials. During the last six months the teachers were assigned Tanzanian counterparts who were gradually introduced by working side by side with the Nordic teachers.

KERSTIN SONDELIUS RUBARTH from Sweden spent the years between 1968 and 1970 at the project. As the wife of a teacher she was expected to settle into her house, model C, and let the household be taken care of by a local houseboy. Even though a certified science teacher she was not allowed to teach at the boys' school due to her being a woman. Ms Sondelius Rubarth was eventually granted a few hours a week to teach at the Nordic Primary School. She started teaching the children of the Nordic staff in Swedish but soon her few hours a week had been extended to a full time job and she was finally given the opportunity to teach the subjects she had been trained to teach.

Students

ASIFA PETRO NANYARO was a student at Kibaha Education Centre during the years 1970 and 1971. He associates his student years with an exceptional education, the good cultural mix of the students, and the good reputation the school had in sports. At Kibaha Secondary School the students learned about the oneness of the country and the philosophy based on admitting students from all over Tanzania. The school's very good sports facilities and dedicated coaches helped the students compete and excel on a national level. To Dr Nanyaro it is very unfortunate that the school has not maintained this element of the education, and he hopes for a change that will bring back the good reputation and results the school once had.

BERNARD MCHOMVU, student from 1967 to 1968, appreciated the small classes and the generally good learning environment with plenty of text books and a well equipped lab. To him the common rooms in each dormitory, where the students could listen to music and socialize, played an important part in his time at the boarding school and allowed both relaxation and 'exercising the brain'.

Both Dr Nanyaro and Mchomvu consider themselves lucky to have been accepted to Kibaha Secondary School. Both of them applied to Kibaha as first choice as the school had very good facilities. Kibaha Secondary School represented an opportunity to get an excellent education in a modern environment and inspiring atmosphere. There were only two students sharing rooms in the dormitory and there was always plenty of food.

They did not have any problems with having English as the teaching language, the only difficulty was the teachers' different foreign accents.

The students used to perform well and the school was very competitive, recalls JOHN KONDORO, who studied at Kibaha Secondary School from 1969 to 1974. He believes that the mix of students from the different regions of Tanzania was very good for him. The school was very special in terms of what was taught and how it was taught, how the discipline was enforced and the way the students interacted with the teachers.

The opportunities for today's students of Kibaha Secondary School as opposed to his generation are very different according to Mr Kondoro. When he graduated there were very few secondary schools in Tanzania and today there are more.

Sustainability in Development Cooperation Projects

7.

Since the very early years of development cooperation some fifty years ago, one of the most central challenges has been finding ways to make projects sustainable, so that the benefits last over time. The very nature of development cooperation is that it is temporary, and that at the end the supported project will be integrated into the existing structures of the recipient country. However, many projects have failed to survive after the donor withdraws funding. Recent studies of development assistance programs conclude that despite tremendous efforts and good intentions, the results have been generally disappointing.¹

Kibaha Education Centre is an exception in many ways. What once started as the Nordic Tanganyika Project has continued to develop and expand after the handover to Tanzania, despite harsh economic conditions and changes in organization and structure. How could this particular project survive when many other projects have not?

The Nordic Tanganyika Project was planned and implemented in the early days of development cooperation and there was very little experience to draw from. In addition, the Nordic countries had not collaborated in this field before, which meant that all structures and institutions within the countries were built as the planning of the project proceeded. The partner in this project, Tanzania, was a new nation without any experience in governance or development cooperation.

Sustainability

The term sustainability describes whether a project or program continues after donor support is terminated. Sustainability can also refer to the results obtained by the project and to the longevity of its effects.

The manner in which the project is handed over is very important for the sustainability of a development project. Good exit management includes keeping an open dialogue and communication about the decision to exit, but also involving all stakeholders in the planning, and setting a realistic and flexible timeframe. It is also important to note that there is no one model that fits all cases at all times.

1. Simmens (2003) and Bach et al. (2008).

FACTORS THAT MAY CONTRIBUTE TO A LOW DEGREE OF SUSTAINABILITY:

- The level of technical ambition is too high, which can make projects turn into islands of development, as the gap between what the donor can afford and what the recipient can afford is too great.
- A focus on technical skills overshadows finance and management issues until the very end of a project.
- As one donor withdraws the recipient tends to turn to other aid agencies rather than implementing a financially sustainable strategy for the project.
- A lack of attention to cost-effectiveness where neither the donor nor the recipient knows what is affordable and what is reasonable to spend to reach an objective.
- The micro-macro delinkage. What is implemented on the project, micro, level does not reflect the policies on the national, macro, level.
- A drastically reduced project budget after donor withdrawal.
- Low ownership. The target group, the project staff, the donor does not feel that the project is “theirs” but that it “belongs to the donor” and/or it is not internalized into the local context.
- Low management and leadership skills. During the life of the project it is often managed by expatriate advisors and when they leave the capability to administer the programme leaves with them.
- Lack of an open dialogue between donor and recipient about the purpose and role of the project.
- Lack of ways for the project to be internalized into the recipient countries administration and structures. The project is too “foreign” to be adapted to existing patterns.

Catterson and Lindahl (1999)

After decades of trying to understand the problems of development it is now widely accepted that the core problem is not lack of sufficient monetary resources, or “missing money” but “missing institutions”. No matter how well-intentioned the assistance provided is, or how much resources are transferred, development will occur only if political and economic institutions generate incentives that facilitate individuals’ achievement of development goals. Institutions help or hinder the efforts of individuals to be optimally productive in the activities they undertake with others.²

2. Ostrom et al. (2002).

Given the challenges facing any society, its development success is dependent on its ability to change when conditions do and solutions to collective problems must remain adaptive. This is especially true in developing countries, where the institutional environment is usually less robust.

Investing in education and health can yield very high rates of return as it brings lasting improvements in the lives of the poor and a country's development. However, for successful aid cooperation in these areas it is important to learn how to design projects that suit the needs of the people the project is intended to help. A school or a hospital is useless if the quality is poor and if it is unattended by people. A problem with externally financed investment can be that it is beyond the recipient's economic capacity to meet recurrent costs. Also, if the recipient does not perceive the aid financed activity to be in line with its own interest and needs, the activity will collapse the day the financing is withdrawn.³

There is a general recognition that local participation, or ownership, helps to align the incentives of the donor and recipient making better use of local knowledge and customs. For a recipient to have ownership of a development project requires that the agreements between the parties provide full rights for the recipient to have control. The recipient must also be able to participate actively in planning and implementation. Real ownership requires that government, local communities and target groups support the project and participate in decision-making processes.⁴

The Nordic Tanganyika Project from a Sustainability Perspective

Almost 50 years after its establishment, Kibaha Education Centre is a well functioning institution and at first glance it certainly appears to be an example of a sustainable development cooperation project. The physical buildings erected for the project are still standing, although the lack of maintenance is visible. More importantly, the function of the project has not only remained, but expanded in a way no one would have expected at the time of its conception.

A development cooperation project can be seen as sustainable when what was put in by donors is to the greatest extent possible used by the recipient in ways that are suitable for the local conditions, and when the project is incorporated, not only into its political and economic structures, but also in its vision for what kind of a country it wants to develop into.

3. Cassen (1994).

4. Ostrom et al. (2002).

Kibaha Education Centre is still a place where people are educated, have their health restored, and a place of agricultural business. Many of the benefits of the Nordic Tanganyika Project have had long term effects after the withdrawal of donor funding. Several students of Kibaha Secondary School now have highly successful careers, the former health centre now plays a vital role in the region as a hospital. Another effect is that an urban centre has sprung up around the premises of the project.

Kibaha Education Centre contributes to the development of Tanzania both on a local level and a national level by providing education, health and employment. The original make up of the project has both grown and adapted to the changing needs of Tanzania.

The Nordic project would not have lasted unless Tanzania had been able to adapt it to its changing needs. The first major change came as early as during the time when the Nordic Tanganyika Project was integrated into the Tanzanian system, with the decision to consolidate the separate institutions of the project and turn them into one single institution with one joint administration.

Another adaptation was turning the non-functioning Farmers Training Centre into something that was believed to be more fruitful, a Folk Development College. More recent changes include the introduction of two new secondary schools, and a number of primary schools. The Centre recognised the need for more schools, in particular a secondary school for the children in the area. Tumbi Secondary School is a response to this urgent need. Education for girls is fundamental for development and it is widely believed that women are key actors in development. Recognizing this, the Board of the Kibaha Education Centre decided to add a boarding school for girls at the secondary level, some forty years after the idea was initially dismissed.

The Nordic Tanganyika Project has had beneficial long term effects also in the sense that several students of its secondary school have grown up to hold very important positions through which they can contribute to the nation's development, the current president being one example.

Factors Contributing to the Sustainability of the Nordic Tanganyika Project

The Nordic countries brought more than funding to the Nordic Tanganyika Project; they also brought skilled people with a genuine interest in the project. The Nordic staff came to Kibaha with a will to spend a few years

of their lives helping Tanzania by offering their skills, but also to challenge themselves and to grow. The fact that the Nordic staff lived at the site of the project with their families reinforced the sense of community. For them the Nordic Tanganyika Project was more than a workplace, it was a place to live, work, socialize, and learn.

The lack of previous experience in implementing projects like the Nordic Tanganyika Project meant that many of the obstacles that followed were unforeseen and there were no ready-made solutions. The problems and challenges were met on the ground as the project moved along. The project might not even have been launched at all had the participating stakeholders known what it would entail. Many of the factors that are considered to hamper sustainability of a development cooperation project were present in the Nordic Tanganyika Project. The coordination between executing agencies was not effective, the Centre was dealt with outside the regular education administrative system and the gap between what the donor could afford and what the recipient could afford was immense. However, in the case of the Nordic Tanganyika Project these problems did not prohibit it from developing into Kibaha Education Centre but were dealt with as they surfaced. In connection with the handover, Tanzanian staff and authorities took part in the problem solving process, contributing to transferring the ownership of the project. The high degree of political engagement personified in the strong commitment of President Nyerere himself added to the successful transfer.

The Nordic Tanganyika Project provided a strong basis for what was to become Kibaha Education Centre, not only by providing material things such as buildings and infrastructure, but also by providing an institution for development. The functions of the project have remained the same to a great extent: health, education and agricultural business. We do not believe that it would have been possible for Tanzania to build a Centre like this at the time, but it has managed to adapt it to its own needs and its own structures.

Another contributing factor to the sustainability of the Nordic Tanganyika Project is the context in which it was implemented. The global political, economic and ideological context has affected the project from the very start, and continued to do so after the handover. The project was a product of the positive outlook on development of the 1960s and the focus on the necessity of technical assistance in order for development to take off.

At a later stage of the project it was also greatly affected by the ideology of TANU and President Nyerere, not only as the Education for Self-Re-

liance policy incorporated self-reliance activities into the education that was already quite focused on agricultural and rural development, but the sense of national pride and confidence growing in the country also filtered through to the centre.

The severe deterioration of the Centre in the 1980s and 1990s was directly linked to the state of the Tanzanian economy. However, the economic problems of the education sector, with shortages of teachers and materials, had somewhat less severe effects on Kibaha Education Centre compared to other schools in Tanzania. This is partly due to the organizational structure and the Centre being administrated by the Prime Minister's Office – Regional Administration and Local Governance as opposed to the Ministry of Education. Even though the Centre is more protected from external economic shocks than other schools, as the revenues from the production units and school fees add some additional funds above the funding by the government, it is very much affected by the macroeconomic state of the country.

Another contributing factor to sustainability in a project is leadership. The Kibaha Education Centre has strongly benefitted by the leadership provided by Col. Swai and his closest collaborators. Their determination to save the Centre from deteriorating secured the funding needed both for continuous maintenance and to begin the process of restoration. The style of management together with efforts to enhance the community spirit of Kibaha Education Centre by instilling a sense of pride, has affected the staff and the centre as a whole. This mindset filters through to the students and visitors of the Centre. Col. Swai's management style also entails demanding excellence from his co-workers and students. Even though a believer in strict discipline, he is approachable and involved in many aspects of the Centre's activities.

The sense of community and cooperation is a prominent feature of the Centre. The long period of economic stagnation in Tanzania threatened to break down both physical aspects of the Kibaha Education Centre and the more intangible ideology. It took a strong leader with much determination to pull it together and make the Centre thrive again.

Being funded by the Prime Minister's Office, as opposed to the Ministry of Education, has positive effects for the budgeting and the staffing of Kibaha Education Centre. As one institution, the Centre can hire its own teachers and offer higher salaries, relieving major staffing problems otherwise common in Tanzanian schools, and the teachers who apply do so because they find the Centre an attractive workplace.

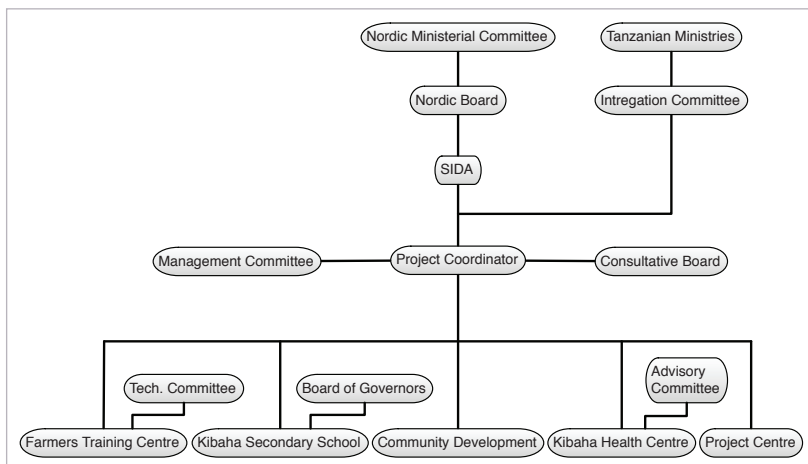
Kibaha Education Centre cannot be compared to other schools, or health centres, since it is run from a holistic point of view with the different departments sharing costs and knowledge. Therefore the schools cannot be compared to other schools in Tanzania, as they benefit financially from being a part of a larger entity.

Conclusions

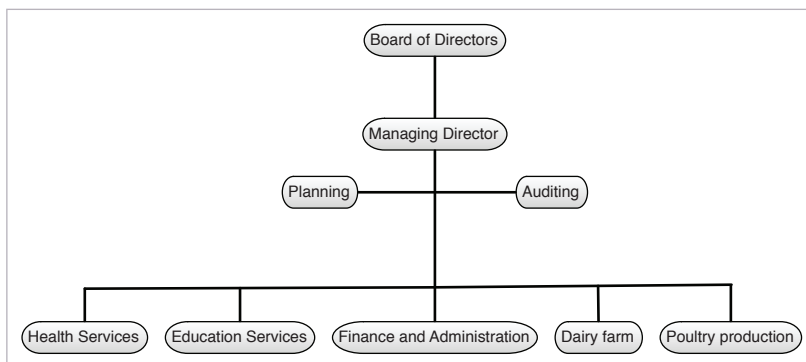
As a development cooperation project the Nordic Tanganyika Project must be considered sustainable. What became Kibaha Education Centre still functions very much as an institution in the way originally intended, and has evolved and transformed to meet the needs of Tanzania today. It is a good example of what can be achieved when the recipient country's own needs are taken into account and when both donor and recipient country are engaged and committed to contributing to a common goal.

Tanzania is a country with a very small state budget, and from a wider development perspective, one can question whether, in such a financially restrained environment, Kibaha Education Centre does not take away resources from other schools and health initiatives. It is also important to note that about 40 percent of the Tanzanian national budget is externally funded, which means that Kibaha Education Centre is indirectly still externally funded to a great extent.

The Nordic countries provided a solid foundation which Tanzania has managed to maintain and successively transform to meet changing needs. In its most elementary way, sustainability refers to the recipient being able to make use of what was originally provided by a donor for a long period of time, and in that sense Kibaha Education Centre is a good example of a sustainable development cooperation project.



Organization chart for the Nordic Tanganyika Project 1968/69



Organization chart for Kibaha Education Centre 2009

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