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Primary education in Tanzania

A review of the research

Roy Carr-Hill

SIDA September 1984

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PRIMARY EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

A REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH

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Acknowledgements

This study would not have been possible without the full cooperation of several officials of the Ministry of National Education, the Regional Education Officer in Morogoro and the District Educational Officers of Dar es Salaam and Morogoro. Equally important was the assistance given by members of the Department of Education and especially their Head, Professor Abel Isbumi, who arranged access for me to the MA Dissertations in the Department. I am also indebted to Gunilla Rosengart of the Education Division of SIDA for extensive commentary on an earlier draft of the report and to Kenneth King, Joel Samoff and Lennart Wohlgemuth as well as the Ministry of National Education who gave very useful comments on the penultimate draft. Finally I should like to acknowledge the extremely efficient typing of Sally Cuthbert and Jenny Hardy and the rapidity with which Quacks produced the final copy.

R.A. Carr-Hill

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PREFACE

Tanzanian-Swedish cooperation within the field of education dates back to the time of Tanzania's Independence. Adult education and vocational training were the main fields of cooperation in the earlier years. Primary education was included in the programme from the early seventies.

The development of primary education in Tanzania has been remarkable and impressing. In the Arusha Declaration of 1967, President Nyerere launched the concept of Education for Self Reliance, thereby underlining the crucial role of basic education for the development of a free and socialist Tanzania. On the basis of this concept, the Tanzanian Government has made great efforts in offering basic education to all children as well as to adults. Today a vast majority of the children go to primary school. 85 percent of the adult population can read and write.

Sweden is contributing to the development of primary education by providing paper for text-books and by making available funds and equipment for teacher training. Since 1980, support is also given to facilitate primary education for handicapped children. During the last few years, Sweden's annual allocation to primary education has amounted to around 17 million Swedish Crowns.

The development of primary education has attracted the interest of quite a number of researchers, in Tanzania and elsewhere. In order to make this knowledge available to a larger audience, SIDA has asked Dr Roy Carr-Hill to make a review of this research.

This review gives a thorough and multi-faceted picture of the development of Tanzanian primary education. It will thus provide a valuable background for the continuous Tanzanian-Swedish dialogue on development cooperation within the field of education. Hopefully, it might serve as a link between the research and the Ministry's decisions for actual implementation. We also believe that it could be of use for everyone interested in Tanzanian education.

We were pleased to receive from the Tanzanian Ministry of National Education the comment that "the review is most timely, important and fruitful".

Stockholm, September 1984

Lennart Wohlgemuth

Lennart Wohlgemuth
Head, Education Division

ABBREVIATIONS

CEC	Community Education College
CNE	College of National Education
DEO	District Education Officer
DLS	Distance Learning Scheme
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
MNE	Ministry of National Education
PSL	Primary School Leaver
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examination
TTC	Teacher Training College
REO	Regional Education Officer
TSh	Tanzanian Shillings
UPE	Universal Primary Education

EXCHANGE RATE NOVEMBER 1983

12.5 TSh = 1 U.S. Dollar

8.0 SKr = 1 U.S. Dollar

SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION

The development of the primary education sector since Independence in 1961 has been quantitatively spectacular and qualitatively very interesting. Simply in quantitative terms, there has been an enormous increase in enrolment from 486,470 children at Independence in 1961 to 902,619 in 1971 to 3,512,799 children in 1982. The educational pyramid for these three years is given in Figure 1. At the same time, there have been massive qualitative shifts: the changeover at Independence from the colonial system of education with separate systems for Europeans, Indians and Africans to a unified curricula regardless of race; the Arusha Declaration in 1967 promoting the doctrine of Education for Self Reliance (henceforth ESR); and the Musoma Resolution in 1974 calling for Universal Primary Education by 1978 (henceforth UPE).

Both the expansion and the changes should have had radical, indeed revolutionary, implications for the content and purpose of schooling. Not unsurprisingly, the debate as to whether the goals have been, or indeed in some cases, can be achieved, has dominated the writings on primary education in Tanzania. The purpose of this study is not to add yet another polemic to the large number that already exist but to describe the consequence of the expansion and of the policy changes in some detail. This kind of background information is essential for any discussions about the future directions of educational policy in Tanzania.

The study therefore aims to provide an overview of the research and literature published since the Musoma Resolution, conducted by scholars both within and outside Tanzania, concentrating especially on thos studies which have assembled concrete data on the implementation and practical consequences of these changes. The study draws also on Government statistics and on information received at discussions with a number of officials in the education sector. Note that the study is restricted to Mainland Tanzania and excludes developments in Zanzibar and the other islands.

This review has been arranged in three sections corresponding - very roughly - to the categories of "inputs", "process" and "outputs". This is not meant to imply that the author espouses a systems analysis

approach: specifically, it is not being assumed that if the "inputs" (of personnel and resources) are good, and the "process" (the content and method of schooling) is good, then the "outputs" (the primary school leavers - henceforth PSLs) will automatically be good. The division has only been adopted as a convenient device for classifying and reviewing the literature. Moreover, within each section, there is a "cross-cutting" concern with the appropriateness or quality of the inputs, the process and the outputs, and also with the equitable distribution of these inputs, processes and outputs among the various geographical and social groups of Tanzanian society.

There are four preliminaries to "set the scene" for this review: first, a brief overview of the social and economic background against which the Tanzanian authorities are trying to carry through these massive qualitative shifts in policy; second, an extremely short description of the structure and curricula of primary education on Tanzania (taken from MOE, 1980); third, an analysis of the quantitative growth of primary education on a national level over the last few years; and last the cost constraints on educational expansion recently and in the future.

1.1 Basic Social and Economic Facts about Tanzania

Tanzania has a total land area of about 945,000 sq. km., bordered by Kenya to the North, by Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia to the South, by Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi to the West and by the Indian Ocean to the East. Like most other societies, Tanzania is heterogenous, composed of diverse sub-populations with a wide variety of different cultures. In one sense, however, the population is homogenous, as over 85% depend upon agriculture (see Table 1) only commercialised when the price is right. Unsurprisingly, only a small minority of the population live in designated urban areas (13.7% of the adults 25 or over).

In economic terms, Tanzania is one of the very poorest countries in the world. With a population of just over 20 million and a GNP, in 1983 current prices, of 46341 million Tanzanian shillings (US $3,861 million), the GNP/capita in 1983 was around 2431 Tanzanian shillings (US $187.28).

Table 1. Economically Active Population by Occupation in Mainland Tanzania, 1978, Percent.

Main Occupation Group	Males	Females	M. & F.
1. Agriculture	79.8	95.3	87.8
2. Craft/Machine Operator	5.9	0.18	3.0
3. Sales/Clerical	3.5	0.92	2.2
4. Professional/Technicians/Teachers	3.5	1.1	2.3
5. Managers/Administrators	0.5	0.02	0.23
6. Non Agricultural Labourers	2.7	0.49	1.6
7. Other Workers	4.0	1.9	2.9
N (thousands)	3,715	3,972	7,687

Source: The figures have been computed from the 1978 Population Census Volume VII, p. 239 for males, p. 260 for female, and p. 218 for the total. Those categorized therein as students, other unoccupied, and not elsewhere stated have been excluded from the calculations.

In the late 1970s, there was a severe decline in the economy due to the international oil crisis, the war with Uganda and a series of droughts. The directly productive sectors like agriculture, livestock, industry and mining have not been able to operate efficiently: in agriculture alone, the decline between 1980 and 1983 has been 14.2%. Any growth that had started in urban areas rapidly tailed off, leaving large numbers of unemployed young hopefuls to drift around the urban areas (portrayed graphically by Ishumi, 1984).

The "need" for educational services can be assessed in terms of either the size of the school-age population or the number of adult illiterates or, indeed, both. Of the total population of 17,551,925 registered in the Census year (1978), 5,262,007 (or 30.0%) were between the ages of 5 and 15, and 3,638,526 (or 20.7%) were then between the official school attendance ages of 7 and 13.

In terms of the level of literacy, it should be remembered that, at Independence in 1961, the vast majority of the Tanzanian adult population was illiterate. Six years later, when the First Census was taken in 1967, 69% of the Tanzanian adult population was found to be illiterate. Enormous efforts were made following Nyerere's designation of 1970 as Adult Education Year in Tanzania. As a result of the various mass campaigns for literacy, the situation has been reversed. According to the national literacy tests, by 1983, 85% of the adult population could read and write. Nevertheless, despite these enormous advances, there are clearly still many adults in "need" of basic educational services.

1.2 The Structure of Education in Tanzania

The Ministry of National Education (henceforth MNE) is responsible for the implementation of educational policy as regards general education. Vocational training is under the auspices of the Ministry of Labour and Manpower Planning. Whilst secondary, higher and teacher education is administered directly from the Ministry, primary and adult education is decentralised to the regions. In each of the 20 regions, a Regional Education Officer (REO) and his staff are responsible for organising education in their region. At the next level, District Education Officers and around 1800 Ward Education Coordinators ensure that primary and adult education is provided in some 6200 villages.

Very briefly, the structure of the educational system in Tanzania is as follows:

1. 7 years of primary schooling (Standards I-VII) with the government recommending school admission at age 7 or 8. There is more or less automatic promotion between grades (see section 3.4). Nearly all are government schools and there are no fees, although parents 'should' pay for school uniforms and for exercise books, and make a TSh20 contribution to the school fund.

2. 6 years of secondary schooling divided into two cycles of 4 years (Forms I-IV) culminating in an 'O' level type exam, and 2 further years (Forms V and VI) leading to an 'A' level type exam. There are a roughly equal number of government and private secondary schools.

3. Vocational Training is offered in various forms, often as in-service training at various enterprises. The five Vocational Training Centres, administered by the Ministry of Labour and Manpower Planning, offer four-year courses for primary school leavers (PSLs) in a variety of fields.

4. Higher education - in principle after completion of 1 year National Service and 2 years work experience after graduating from secondary school. Various kinds and types.

5. A widespread Adult literacy and Post-literacy scheme organised as appropriate on the local level.

Within that structure, the major objectives of primary education are (MNE 1980):

> "a - To give pupils a permanent ability in literacy. Emphasis is on the three "Rs", i.e. Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.
>
> b - To help the pupils develop and enquiring mind and ability to think and solve problems independently.
>
> c - To impart the socialist values, attitudes and knowledge which will enable pupils to play a dynamic and constructive part in the development of their society.
>
> d - To provide pupils with an education which is complete in itself, inculcating a sense of commitment to the total community and to help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to Tanzania."

For pupils in Standards I and II, the school day is 4 hours long, divided into six 40 minute periods, and gradually increases to a 5¼ hour school day, divided into eight 40-minute periods for pupils in Standards V to VII. Because of the shortage of teachers and classrooms, some schools teach a "half-day" system for pupils in Standards III and IV, and there are other local modifications, especially on the extent to which self-reliance activities are emphasized in the curriculum.

The main subjects taught in Standards I to IV are Kiswahili and Mathematics, accounting for about half the allocated teaching periods in those years. English and Science (concentrating on agriculture) are introduced from Standard III, with four teaching periods each.

and the other subjects taught are art, geography, handicraft, history, home economics/health education, physical education, political education and religion.

1.3 Expansion of Primary Education since 1976

The massive expansion of primary education illustrated in Figure 1 has been most evident in the latter half of the 1970s. In the Second Four Year Plan of 1969, the fulfillment of Universal Primary Education (henceforth UPE) was set for 1989, based presumably on projections as to the relatively slow growth rate of around 6.4% per year between 1961 and 1971 in enrollments. For a variety of reasons, some of which are documented in Omari et al. (1983), the TANU National Executive, at a meeting in Musoma in November 1974, passed a resolution to the effect that

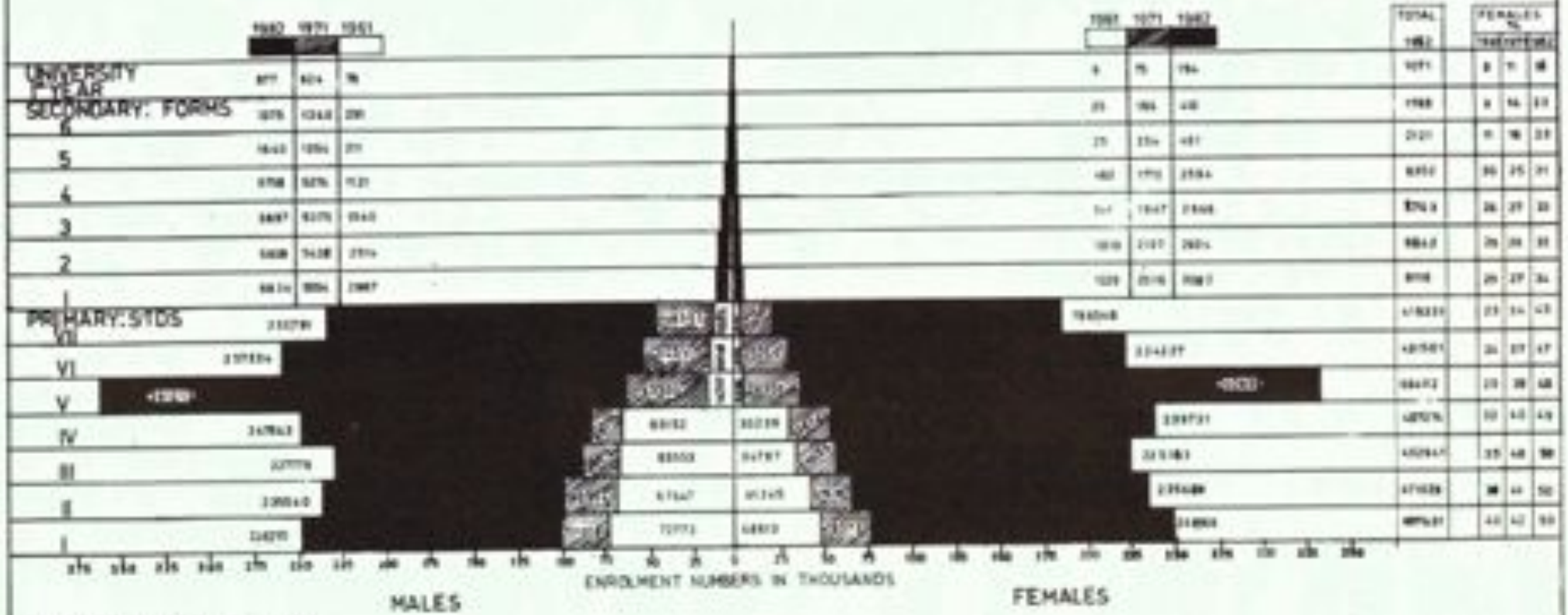
> "within three years . . . by November 1977, arrangements must be completed which will enable every child of school age to obtain a place in a primary school." (Nyerere, 1981)

As a prelude to the implementation of this resolution, the Ministry of National Education through the Regional Education Officers mobilised all primary school teachers to conduct a mini-census, or registration, of all children between the ages of 5 and 14 in all localities. This very important and sensible effort to forecast the quantitative implications of carrying out the Musoma Resolution was, however, spoilt by misunderstandings at various levels: for example, there was a confusion over whether 'school age' meant the age at which a child could first enroll or the typical ages at which children should be in school for a seven year cycle of primary education. Moreover, the raw age data is not completely reliable, as child registration was not (and is not yet) strictly enforced (all taken from Omari et al, 1983, p.41).

Whether or not the base population figures were accurate, the actual expansion in this period was enormous (as is obvious from Figure 1). The numbers enrolled jumped from 1,228,886 in 1974 to 2,194,213 in 1977 to 3,361,728 in 1980 and to 3,512,799 in 1982. Table 2(A) shows the expansion from 1976 in terms not only of the number of pupils enrolled but also the numbers of teachers and number of schools.

TANZANIA EDUCATIONAL PYRAMID

COMPARATIVE ENROLMENT DATA FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS
BY LEVEL, GRADE AND SEX
1961, 1971 & 1982



MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION
SECTORAL PLANNING DEPARTMENT

Table 2) Growth in Primary Eduation 1976-1983

(A) Numbers of Pupils, Teachers and Schools

	Standard I-VII Enrolment	Numbers of Teachers	Numbers of Schools
1976	1874357	38199	-
1977	2194213	-	-
1978	2912984	63740	-
1979	3197395	79129	9837
1980	3361198	81266	9930
1981	3538183	81659	9980
1982	3512799	83782	10035
1983	3552092	85476	10162

(B) Numbers of New Enrolments, Addition to Teacher Stock and New Schools

	Standard I Enrolment	Increases in Teachers	New Schools
1976	506497	-	-
1977	543247	25541	-
1978	878321	-	727
1979	540558	15389	127
1980	486865	2137	67
1981	499521	393	51
1982	499221	2123	57
1983	542557	1694	32

Source: Statistics Section, Sectoral Planning Unit, MOE.

Note: The more detailed breakdown of enrolments presented in subsequent tables may yield a total which does not correspond exactly with that given here. This is partly because final tallies are sometimes not available for several years and partly because repeaters are not always distinguished from new enrolments.

The expansion can be better appreciated by looking at the number of new enrolments in Standard I, the number of new teachers that entered service and the number of new schools which were built each year. Table 2(B) shows the enormous effort that was made in 1978 when 878,321 children were enrolled in Standard I, over 10000 new teachers entered service and 727 new schools were in operation.

In the light of this tremendous success, it may seem churlish to enter into a detailed analysis of the enrollment figures. But planning for the future will have to take into account whether or not UPE has been achieved - that is, whether or not all children of school age went to school and completed the seven-year cycle. The MOE conducted a review of the Primary School sub-sector in 1979 (MOE, 1981) and reported that, whilst the gross enrolment ratio in 1980 was 96.57%, the net enrolment ratio was 70.73% of the child population between the ages of 7 and 13 years.

Thus, whilst there were 3,530,183 children enrolled in 1981, "only" 2,503,277 of these were between the ages of 7 and 13; similarly, in 1982, out of 3,512,799 pupils enrolled, 2,406,147 were between the ages of 7 and 13. The Primary School Sub-Sector Review carried out by the Ministry gives more details and, based on a sample of 163 schools, they show how 30% of pupils in school were aged 14 years or more.

It is clearly important to evaluate the success of the UPE thrust in 1978. The statisticians at the Ministry of Education, in an analysis of data for 1980, show how "Standard I enrolment has been declining year after year since the UPE climax in November 1977" (p.14), from 901,770 in 1978 to 542,418 in 1979, to 488,094 in 1980. They argued that thiw would not be accounted for by a "backlog" theory, according to which UPE was almost attained in November 1977 and the few children then left out were enrolled within the next few years: indeed, as they show, there were nearly 1 million children of official school age not in school in 1980. They conclude, rather pessimistically, that the UPE bulge cohort seems to be phasing out so that by 1985, when the system has "gone back to normal" (cf King, 1984, p.21) the total enrolment will be around 3¼ million, giving a Gross Enrolment Ratio of 87.7%, and that "we cannot hope to simply coast home by the

inertia of the 1977 UPE climax drive. Another push is really needed, lest gravity forces us downhill." (MOE Primary School Sub-Sector Review, 1980 p. 17). This conclusion is supported by Fredrickson's detailed analysis on the basis of 1982 data. His projections show that, because of the decline in new entrants to Standard I enrolments since 1978 and because the UPE 'bulge' will leave the system in 1985 that, even if new entrants to Standard I increase dramatically, the gross enrolment ratio (total enrolment divided by the number of children of school age) is likely to decline at least until 1987. As he says, the main obstacle to universalisation of a seven year cycle of primary education is the fact that, with existing promotion, repetition and dropout rates, only about 75% of entrants to primary school actually reach Standard VII.

We shall be considering repetition and drop-out in section 3.4. The issue here is whether or not children are increasingly going to school. It is, therefore, of more importance to examine the net enrolment ratio (the proportion of the school age population who actually are in school) and the composition of the new intake to Standard I, keeping in mind the wide variation in age at entry and the somewhat narrower variation in number of years to complete Standards I-VII. The indications here are also unclear. On the one hand, it would appear that the net enrolment ratio is dropping: thus a tentative analysis based on the 1978 Census, Vols. II and III, suggests that the net enrolment ratio dropped from 70.73% in 1980 to 68.81% in 1981, and further to 68.35% in 1982. On the other hand, the decline in Standard I enrolments appears to have stopped: thus, after the decline to 486,865 in 1980 (from a peak of 878,121 in 1978) the number has climbed again slowly to 542,557 in 1983.

The real problem, however, in making any estimation of the numbers of children who never go to school or who do not complete school is that data gathered at one point in time only tells us where the children are at that point in time. But, to answer the questions about the universalisation of primary education, we have to know whether the child population (within rather vague limits) ever went or will go to school, remembering that entry to Standard I can be between 5 and 15! and then whether they stayed there. Whilst it is difficult to give a definitive answer to this question without conducting a longitudinal study in which a national sample of children is followed through between the ages of 5 and 15, we can make some

preliminary estimates of the proportion of a given age cohort who ever go to school (and statistics are available on the overall drop-out rate between Standards I and VII).

Thus, the 1978 Census provides us with national totals of the numbers of children at single years of age up to age 10. Hence, we know the numbers of children aged 7, 6 and 5 in 1978 who therefore are eligible to enter school for the first time in 1978, 1979 and 1980 respectively (discounting the few early entries at age 5 or 6). If we ignore death and migration, the children who are aged 7 in 1978 will be aged 8 in 1979, 9 in 1980 and 10 in 1981, and so on. In principle, we can, therefore, construct a pseudo-cohort (ignoring those children who repeat or drop out for one year before returning) as in Table 3. The touble is that data is not easily available on enrolment in the different Standards by single years of age.

Table 3 Numbers of 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 year olds in Standard I in 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983 compared with population of single year of age in 1978, 1979, 1980.

	Composition of Standard I by Age					Size of Cohort aged 7 for this year
	7 y.o.	8 y.o.	9 y.o.	10 y.o.	11 y.o.	
1980	131,115	143,815	105,066	63,256	22,708	-
1981	134,301	146,805	106,758	63,510	28,130	529,495 (1978)
1982	120,960	145,758	113,351	68,967	29,391	587,572 (1979)
1983						621,774 (1980)

Nevertheless we can make some reasonable guesses on the basis of the magnitude and directions of the trends apparent in the table. For example, we might assume that the numbers of 10 and 11 year olds who have enroled for the first time in 1983 and 1984 is not less than the numbers in the table, (viz 98,258). We can then calculate that, of the 621,774 children aged 7 in 1980, at least 489,529 will have gone to school by the age of 11. On the other hand, the figures suggest that there is a decline in the numbers of 7 year olds and 8 year olds who are going to school which is not so promising.

→ 8 (about 80%)

On a more detailed level, one of the Micro Planning studies following the IIEP workshop held at Arusha in 1982 carried out a survey of the children not in school. Based on 70.6% of the schools in the Songea district, they found that there were 5,925 children between the ages of 7 and 12 not in school (compared to an estimated 21000 children). But the data by single years of age (see below) are interesting in that they suggest that only a small fraction of those between 10 and 13 are not in school.

Table 4

Children Not In School - Songea District, 1982

Age	0-1	1-2	2-3	3-4	4-5	5-6	Total 0-6
	5,458	4,107	4,407	3,534	3,901	3,387	24,794
	6-7	7-8	8-9	9-10	10-11	11-12	Total 7-12
	2,389	1,388	1,177	404	207	202	5,925

Source: Micro Planning Study.

There has also been a straightforward micro-census of the numbers of children of school age in the population carried out in all of the 111 districts by the ward coordinators using the teachers as enumerators. The results of this micro-census should be available later this year.

It would appear to be crucial to know why so many children - or parents - prefer to wait to enrol until the ages of 10 or 11. There are, for example, some reports of parents witholding their children from school and giving them a headstart in private nursery schools in the hope of improving their eventual exam performance (see King, 1984, p.22).

We also need to know much more about the children who never go to school. However, apart from the occasional reference to the difficulty of getting the Masai (or the Barbaig or the Wakwari) to regularly enroll their children (and that reference has been more verbal than documentary) and problems with pregnant girls and handicapped children, there has been very little analysis of the missing 30% of school age children.

1.4 Cost Constraints on Educational Expansion

The economy is very precarious. As we have mentioned above, the GNP per capita is no more than some TSh2,340 or 187 US dollars at current prices (or TSh600, 48US dollars at 1966 constant prices) per year. This means that the government resources that could possibly be devoted to education are very limited, in absolute terms. The 1983/84 budget for total government expenditures on education amounts to 2,871 mill Tsh, of which as much as 87% goes to recurrent costs. In 1983/84 recurrent expenditures on education amounted to 20% of total government recurrent expenditures. This share, which has fluctuated between 19.7% and 24.5% since 1970 is above the figures of neighbouring African countries (see Table 5).

TABLE 5

Current Educational Expenditure as % of Current Government Expenditures 1970, 1975 and 1979

	1970	1975	1979
Botswana	15	11	13
Lesotho	17	13 (1976)	13
Kenya	23	28	25
Tanzania	20	23	24
Uganda	22	22	17
Zambia	15	13	14
Zimbabwe	16	14	13

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1983, extracted from Table 4.1

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The development budget for education has been increasing from 70,300 mill Tsh (1970) to 368,000 (proposed for 1983/84), constituting around 4-6% of the total government development budget. The foreign component of the development budget was around 65% in 1982/83.

Table 6(a) shows the evolution of the foreign component since 1965/66. As can be seen, the fluctuations have been considerable with the peaks (74-81%) between 1975-1978 when the Musoma Resolution (for UPE) had been declared and was about to be implemented.

The relative contribution to the development budget by Tanzania and various donors for 1980/1 and 1982/3 is given in Table 6(B). It should, however, be borne in mind that the total development expenditures in 1982/83 constituted no more than 11% of the overall budget for education. This implies that the overwhelming part of the total costs for education, 93%, are provided by the Tanzanians themselves. Thus foreign aid, although of significance for the development expenditures, plays a marginal role in the financing of the sector as a whole.

It is also of interest to look into how current expenditure are distributed between the different levels of education. Table 7 gives the proportions of the Ministerial and Regional budgets allocated to the different levels of education. It can be seen that the proportion allocated to primary education increased by nearly a quarter between 1975/6 and 1977/8 (from 45% to 56%) since when it has hardly changed at all.

International comparisons are always difficult: this one, no less so. But, on the basis of UNESCO data presented in Table 8, it appears that Tanzania allocates a slightly smaller share to primary education compared to a number of other East African countries. As in most African countries, more than 40% of current expenditure goes to secondary and tertiary education. A prior, this distibution is curious, given the insistence by Nyerere on the importance of primary education.

Moreover, given the extremely sharp increase of enrolment in primary education in the late seventies, the actual yearly expenditure per primary school pupil has become very low. While, in 1979, the 4,800 students of higher education each absorbed 98,000 TSh a year, and the average unit cost of the primary school pupils was no more than around 250 TSh. In 1983 this figure has risen to 350 TSh, which still, even compared to other African countries, is an incredibly low figure.

TABLE 6

Local and Foreign Financing of Development Budget for Education

(A) Global Evolution of foreign component 1965/66 - 1979/80

Year	Foreign component(%) of development expenditures for education
1965/66	70
1966/67	60
1967/68	56
1968/69	63
1969/70	67
1970/71	54
1971/72	64
1972/73	65
1973/74	70
1974/75	54
1975/76	79
1976/77	80
1977/78	76
1978/79	81
1979/80	71
Total (1965/66-1979/80)	72

Source: Ulf Hermanson "Development Assistance to the Education Sector in Tanzania Since Independence", Dar Es Salaam, Min. of Nat. Ed., Dept. of Planning, March 1981, Appendix 1.

(B) Contributions from different sources 1980/1 and 1982/3

Source	% of development budget 1980/81	1982/83
Tanzania	28.7	35.3
Sweden	37.2	23.2
IDRD	5.0	17.2
Denmark	10.6	13.3
F.R. of Germany	3.6	4.5
UNICEF	1.0	1.8
Norway	6.1	1.0
Other	13.0	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0
Total, mill. TSh	745	295

Source: Ministry of National Education Development budgets, extracted from SIDA/T&E Sector Reviews, 1980 and 1982.

TABLE 7

Evolution of Share of Recurrent Expenditure by MOE
and Various to Different Levels of Education

	1975/6	1976/7	1977/8	1978/9	1979/80	1980/1
Admin.	5.9	6.5	5.6	4.9	5.5	5.7
Primary	45.4	47.3	56.2	57.0	57.2	56.2
Secondary	20.8	20.0	14.8	13.7	11.3	12.9
Higher	15.6	14.6	10.9	13.4	14.1	13.7
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total TSh	680.8	781.3	1,101.4	1,175.4	1,358.6	1,518.6

Source: Fredriksson (1984, p. 124) taken from Annual Budget Estimates and Ministries of Finance and National Education.

TABLE 8

Distribution of public current expenditures
by level of education

	Primary	Secondary	Third
Botswana	52	29	13
Ethiopia (1980)	42	39	19
Kenya (1975)	63	18	13
Tanzania	45	14	27
Zambia	40	28	21
Zimbabwe	57	31	7

Source: UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1983, extracted from Table 4.3

It is, perhaps, also important to draw attention to another possible implication of this low unit cost: that is, the relative investment of parents and the State in the education of their children. The expenditure by parents on fees, school books, etc. are low in Tanzania (one estimate puts it at about 50 TAS), but this is high as a proportion of the average income of a peasant farmer. More seriously, there are indirect costs to the parent in that a child not at school could help out on the farm or at home. This is in contrast to developed countries where Illich's suggestion that one of the main functions of school is child-minding rings true - and is advantageous to the parents for that reason. For, in many developing countries, the school, which is a relatively recent opportunity for many families, has to show to the parents that the education or learning it provides is positively useful (especially as child-minding is not usually a problem). Otherwise, the parent will be tempted to believe that the child's time would be better employed otherwise: for example on the farm in rural areas or helping in the home for girls.

This brief survey of the overall quantitative growth of primary education and of the resource constraints on educational expansion suggests a number of points which need to be considered in more detail. First, have all sections of the population benefitted equally from the expansion? Second, has the massive quantative expansion affected the quality of the education provided. Third, what have been the opportunities for those students who have completed the seven year cycle. These issues are taken up in sections II, III and IV below.

SECTION 2

THE "RAW MATERIAL" FOR EDUCATION

Under this heading, we shall consider three main categories of "input": the students, the teachers and the textbooks available to them. The issues of equity are relevant to all three, whilst the question of appropriateness only arises with teachers and textbooks; moreover, the appropriateness of the teachers and the instructional materials they use is better considered under the general heading of "process". In this section we are therefore only concerned with the knowledge base and research about equity in the distribution of students, teachers and texts between the different groups in Tanzanian society.

2.1 The Students

Three types of inequality will be considered here: between regions, between the sexes and between social strata.* All three are of particular concern in Tanzania: thus, the issue of equity between regions led to the introduction of quotas for admission to Form I of Secondary School to counter-balance the overall thrust towards regional autonomy, which is very marked in respect of primary education; equality between the sexes is clearly seen as sufficiently sensitive that the Annual Education Statistics make a special point of calculating the percentage of girl enrolment; and the issue of unequal access to primary education as between the social groups was studied by Mbilinyi (1973) in nine districts and discussed in both Court and Kinyanjui (1980) and Samoff (1979).

2.1.2 Variation Between Regions

The attainment of universal primary education has been a long term goal since Independence. Thus, at the time of the Arusha declaration, promoting the policy of Education for Self-Reliance (henceforth ESR), Nyerere said "We must think in terms of expanding primary education so that we soon achieve UPE". Indeed, the initial promotion of ESR was made in the context of a rising clamour for the expansion of

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* Clearly, one could consider several other dimensions of inequality, for example those between ethnic or religious groups.

secondary schools. Nyerere was distinctly disappointed that the expansion in primary school, viewed with pride by the government, was being called a problem by some parents who wanted to expand secondary school education instead of primary education and who felt that their interests would suffer in the transition from elite to mass education (taken from Omari et al, 1983). At the same time it was admitted that the government did not have the money so that the Second Five Year Plan for Economic and Social Development 1969-1974 only projected the achievement of UPE for 1989. In order to attain the proposed increases in facilities the government relied heavily upon self-help schemes. One of the consequences was that the rate of expansion differed considerably from region to region (Mwampeta, 1980). Moreover, as Samoff (1979) showed, the advanced areas still managed to excel: he compared enrolment in Kilimanjaro with enrolment in the Mainland (see Table 9).

Table 9

Enrolment in Primary Schools per 1000 population

Year	Kilimanjaro	Mainland Tanzania (total)
1947	53.2	15.1
1956	81.2	41.4
1966	126.4	64.3
1969	120.4	65.2

Source: Samoff (1979).

The only obvious source since 1976 is the map given in Omari et al (1983) based on the 1978 Census, reproduced here as Figure 2.

It is, however, possible to compare the percentage net enrolment ratios presented in Figure 2 with the growth in enrolments since that time (see Table 10). It can be seen that there is a slight tendency for those districts where net enrolment was relatively low, to have had a slightly faster increase in overall enrolment. It is, of course, unlikely that those regions whose enrolment is already near 100% could increase as much as those regions where there are many more children not in school, but the tendency is interesting and encouraging. In particular, the rate of growth of primary enrolments in Kilimanjaro was one of the lowest in the country, a contrary tendency to that observed earlier by Samoff, 1979.

Figure 2

Proportion of children aged 7-13 in school, Tanzania Mainland, 1978. The size of the circles reflects the relative populations of children in the different districts (Tanzania, Ministry of National Education 1978, 1979).

Source: Reproduced from Omari et al (1983), p.47.

Once again, it is instructive to compare Tanzania with other East African countries. Maas and Criel (1981) present Gini coefficients - a measure of inequality - for the distribution of primary school enrolments between regions within each of 16 countries in East Africa, and the value that they calculate for Tanzania, 0.086, is near the bottom of the range (0.043 - 0.489). They also calculate Representation Indices - a measure of the degree to which an area is over- or under-represented in terms of participation in education - for the major

Table 10

Enrolment and Net Enrolment Ratios in public primary schools in the different regions in 1978 compared with the increase in overall enrolments to all primary schools up to 1981.

Region	Enrolment in 1978	Expressed as N.E.R.	Rank	Enrolment in 1981	Percentage increase 1978-1981	Rank
Dodoma	175 819	80	(7=)	202 669	51.3	(11)
Arusha	137 733	63	(20)	178 471	29.6	(2)
Kilimanjaro	211 355	82	(4=)	236 644	11.9	(15)
Tanga	184 948	74	(12.5)	226 104	22.3	(7)
Morogoro	155 759	74	(12.5)	178 751	14.8	(12)
Coast	97 707	87	(1)	106 997	9.5	(18)
Dar es Salaam	105 089	65	(17)	128 373	22.2	(8)
Lindi	87 008	78	(10)	93 601	7.6	(19)
Mtwara	136 967	73	(14)	142 917	4.3	(20)
Ruvuma	112 908	80	(7=)	124 996	10.7	(16)
Iringa	188 692	84	(2)	228 625	21.2	(9)
Mbeya	214 387	82	(4=)	249 244	16.3	(10)
Singida	103 802	64	(18½=)	114 144	10.0	(17)
Tabora	106 537	67	(15½=)	136 814	28.4	(3½=)
Rukwa	79 115	80	(7=)	101 548	28.4	(3½=)
Kigoma	113 512	79	(9)	129 957	14.5	(14)
Shinyanga	200 456	64	(18½=)	267 375	33.4	(1)
Kagera	159 336	67	(15½=)	195 016	22.4	(6)
Mwanza	252 868	76	(11)	313 025	23.8	(5)
Mara	159 247	82	(4=)	182 912	14.9	(13)
Total Mainland	2 993 575	75		3 538 183	18.2	

Note: The columns headed "Rank" refer to the relative positions of the values in the immediately preceding column.

Source: MOE, Educational Statistics and Population Census, 1978.

urban areas in each of the 16 countries and those for Kinondoni, Ilala and Temeke are at or below 1 in contrast to the urban areas in the northernmost countries of the East African Regions. Relative to other countries in the area, therefore, Tanzania is more equal.

2.1.2 Between Sexes

The lower rate of educational participation by girls has been a matter of concern for some time (see, e.g. Mbilinyi, 1969, 1970). She compared the households of Standard IV schoolgirls with girls of the same age group without formal schooling and found "that a much greater proportion of the schoolgirls had fathers with some formal education, with access to off-farm sources of income, with previous off-farm work experience, and with higher household standards of living. Moreover, these fathers tended to have less tradition-bound expectations for the future adult role of their daughters and were less likely to value education primarily for its instrumental value (education as a means to a job) and more likely to value education for its social value (education as a source of greater knowledge and understanding)." (Mbilinyi, 1973, p.6).

In a subsequent paper, Mbilinyi (1973) analyses the data from the Mwanza and Tanga districts on the proportion of children who have attained at least one year (Standard I) of formal education from among households with four or more children of schoolgoing age (eight years or more). The analyses in the two areas separately show that a significant fraction of the statistical variance between the households in this proportion is accounted for by an expressed attitude of boy preference (as reflected in their reactions to a story about choosing between who to send to school). In a careful analysis, she also shows that community location of the household is of fundamental importance, even after controlling for various indices of socio-economic stratification.

Recent trends are given in Table 11, which gives the proportion of girls in total enrolment in Standards I to VII since 1976. It can be seen that there has been a slow but steady increase in the proportion of girls at all levels. Note, in particular, that for these cohorts starting in 1973, . . . , 1978, with only one minor exception, the proportion of girls remains the same throughout the cycle, at least

TABLE 11

PUBLIC PRIMARY SCHOOLS - ENROLMENT BY CLASS AND SEX

(TANZANIA MAINLAND)

YEAR	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982
	TOTAL (BOYS AND GIRLS)									
All Classes	1106	1228	1533	1874	2194	2913	3197	3361	3531	3512
- I	226	248	433	507	543	678	540	486	498	499
- II	199	217	245	427	477	547	852	526	474	473
- III	175	189	212	240	406	482	535	797	517	454
- IV	153	169	188	203	228	403	471	507	752	488
- V	133	152	166	179	193	230	388	456	491	695
- VI	117	133	151	162	174	194	219	378	442	483
- VII	103	120	138	156	173	179	192	210	356	420
	GIRLS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLMENT (%)									
All Classes	40	42	42	43	44	46	46	47	48	48
- I	42	44	45	47	47	47	49	49	50	50
- II	43	42	43	45	46	47	48	49	50	50
- III	41	42	42	43	45	46	47	48	49	50
- IV	40	41	42	42	43	45	46	47	48	49
- V	38	39	40	41	42	43	45	46	47	48
- VI	38	38	38	40	40	42	42	44	46	47
- VII	36	37	37	37	36	39	41	41	43	45

Source: Ministry of National Education

until Standard VI. If there is any differential dropout (see section 3.4), its overall impact is small. Moreover, the disparity between the sexes is now relatively small compared to other countries in Africa who report high gross enrolment ratios (see Table 12 below). The situation in this respect is therefore also encouraging.

Table 12

Disparities in percentage points between male and female gross enrolment ratios in primary school among African countries with gross enrolment ratios between 91 and 120% (Nearest year to 1980 for which data available).

Gross Enrolment Ratio	Low Disparity ≤ 20	High Disparity > 20
'High' Enrolment Ratio (91-120%)	Zaire 20 Zambia 11 Kenya 10 *Botswana -19 Madagascar 11 Swaziland 0.2 Mauritius 2 U. Rep. Tanzania 12 U. Rep. Cameroon 16 Libyan A.J. 6	Algeria 27 Mozambique 29 Guinea-Bissau 70 Tunisia 30 *Lesotho -39 Togo 50

* Countries with disparities in favour of girls.

Source: UNESCO/UNICEF: Development of Education in Africa, a Statistical Review, 1987.

2.1.3 Between Social Strata

In an analysis of class formation and reproduction in the coffee growing areas of Kilimanjaro, Samoff (1979) argues that "differential access to education has been manipulated in Tanzania to ensure the reproduction of a local ruling class" (p. 68). For, whilst the behaviour of national leaders is constrained by the world capitalist system, there choices are not non-existent (Arrighi and Saul, 1968), so that "the significance of the educational system is consequently very clear" (p. 69).

Clearly, whether or not it is legitimate to draw inferences about the role of the educational system in class formation and reproduction in the whole of Tanzania from a study of specific areas of Kilimanjaro, the issue of differential access to education is important. Equally clearly, we would not be surprised to find that in general, inequalities between the regions and between the sexes will be associated with inequalities between social strata. On a more detailed level, Mbilinyi (1973) showed the linkages between the educational structure and class formation between the generations. She analysed the variations in enrolment of children to Standard I in primary school as between households and concluded:

(1) that father's formal education and occupation have an effect over and above the economic stratification level of the household;

(2) that, whilst the majority of parents claimed that school fees were the greatest obstacle to enrolment, the opportunity costs involved in releasing children from the household farm labour force was often far more important;

(3) that parental religious affiliation has a particular relationship with the decision to educate regardless of formal educational attainment and socio-economic differences.

The existence of inequalities in access to education, as between the social strata, therefore formed one strand in the impetus for the Musoma Resolution calling for UPE. It is therefore of considerable interest to see whether there remain inequalities in access to education as between social strata in the years since the Musoma Resolution.

In the first place we can compare the enrolments in the regions with the proportion of non-manual workers in a region. These proportions are given in Table 13. It can be seen that the regions with the highest enrolment rate are also the regions with the lowest proportion of agricultural workers. However, this comparison is very superficial: we cannot conclude either that all the children of non-manual workers go to school or - obviously given overall enrolment figures - that children of other workers do not go to school.

Table 13 Male Population aged 5 and Over Proportion at Census (1978)

	Enrolment Ratio	With No Formal Education	Occupation Stated as Agriculture	Including Proportion Unoccupied
Arusha	63	67.6	45.0	68.7
Dar-Es-Salaam	65	40.0	9.2	27.4
Dodoma	80	70.7	45.6	67.3
Iringa	84	61.8	39.3	62.9
Kagera (West Lake)	67	50.7	47.9	68.8
Kigoma	79	67.9	45.1	66.5
Kilimanjaro	82	42.8	34.8	54.8
Lindi	78	59.5	52.0	72.5
Mara	82	54.5	38.4	61.2
Mbeya	82	61.7	45.3	65.8
Morogoro	74	49.8	44.1	64.5
Mtwara	73	57.1	57.5	71.4
Mwanza	76	58.3	45.1	68.2
Pwani (Coast)	87	68.8	48.5	67.5
Rukwa	80	57.9	47.8	70.3
Ruvuma	80	46.7	46.7	65.9
Shinyanga	64	63.9	48.3	74.0
Singida	64	64.9	48.3	72.7
Tabora	67	65.8	53.8	72.4
Tanga	74	49.2	46.6	62.1
Mainland	71	60.2	43.4	70.1

Source: Population Census, 1978.

One indirect piece of research illustrates the fallacy of making comparisons at such an aggregated level as the region. Malakela (1983) analysed the family background of a large sample of pupils in Form IV of Secondary School (for details see section 4.2) and showed that, despite the quota system for allocating a certain number of government secondary school places to each region - and therefore in a sense controlling for socio-economic differences between the regions - there were twelve times as many children of higher status parents in Form IV than one might expect from their representation in the population. The implication, that children in families of higher status occupation have more educational opportunities, is also supported by small scale studies of dropout in primary schools (see section 3.4 below).

Overall, however, we can conclude that the policies adopted by the MOE have resulted in greater equality in access to primary school as between the regions, between the sexes and between urban and rural areas. It is, however, likely that the children who do not go to school are from relatively underprivileged social strata, and this should be a matter of concern.

2.2 The Teachers and the Texts

Both the instructional materials and the teaching personnel are being considered together because only one criterion of equity applies to both of them: that of equitable distribution between areas - whether regions, districts or wards - and, within areas, between schools. Note that we are not, here, concerned with the qualitative appropriateness of these different "inputs" to the educational process - that is considered in Section 3 below. First, however, we document the growth of the number of teachers as it has evolved since 1974, and the extent to which it has kept pace with enrolments. Second, we look at the variations in teaching load between districts.

2.2.1 Number and Qualifications of Teachers

Parallel to the growth in primary enrolment, there has been a rapid growth in the number of primary teachers. Because of the successive changes in policy, teachers may have obtained their qualifications in a variety of ways. Among regularly trained teachers, the

essential distinction, however, is threefold: a small proportion (Grade IIB, IIC or IID) have taken a two year teacher-training course after completing six years of secondary school (or are university graduates); a somewhat larger proportion (Grade IIIA) have taken two year teacher-training courses after completing four years of secondary school; and about half of the total stock of regularly trained teachers (Grade IIIC) have taken a three year teacher-training course after completing Standard VII (the end of the primary cycle).

In order, however, to expand as rapidly as was required for the implementation of the Musoma Resolution, the Ministry devised a Distance Learning Scheme to train 45,000 teachers in 3 years. As with any crash project, there were some difficulties and mistakes were made; but, as Table 14 shows, a large number of teachers were trained between 1976 and 1980. Meanwhile, there has been a steady growth in the stock of Grade II and Grade IIIA teachers.

Table 14 Stock of Teachers by Qualification and Overall Pupil Teacher Ratio, 1976-1982

	Grade II	Grade III IIIA	Grade III IIIC	Distance Learning	Total	Pupil Enrolments	Pupil-Teacher Ratio
1976	-	-	-	-	38,189	1,953,348	50
1978	-	-	-	-	63,740	2,993,371	46
1979	5,040	13,879	NK	NK	79,129	3,211,568	42
1980	6,446	16,358	29,594	22,922	81,266	3,367,644	41
1981	9,775	13,253	36,441	14,342	81,659	3,538,183	43
1982	4,174	20,504	59,052		83,782	3,512,799	40
1983	5,318	22,044	58,114		85,476	3,552,092	40

Source: M.N.E. Educational Statistics.

Given that the number of primary school enrolments has temporarily stabilised, the Ministry has decided to stop the IIIC type training and is concentrating on the upgrading of existing teachers. This is in response to disquiet about the quality of the Distance Trained Teacher. We shall be discussing this in some detail in Section 3.3: here we are concerned only with the characteristics and distribution of the overall stock of teachers.

Thus the Ministry's survey of primary schools, reported in the Primary School Sub-Sector Review, shows how primary school teachers were basically young with a mean of 23 years but with a mean teaching experience of 5 years. The majority (74%) of the teachers in their sample held the Grade C Teachers' Certificate, and a similar proportion were graduates of primary education. Note, however, that they draw attention to the bias in the sample towards urban schools: thus 26% of the teachers in their sample were male, compared to a national figure of 63%. (MOE, 1981, p.7-8).

2.2.2 Geographical Variations in Teaching Load

The distribution of teachers between the regions according to their qualifications is available in National Statistics. The data for 1980 are given in Table 15. It can be seen that, whilst the national proportion of academically qualified teachers (Form VI plus two years training or university graduate) is 7.9%, in four of the districts (Kigoma, Mara, Pwani and Rukwa) the proportion is under 5% and in three of the districts (Dar Es Salaam, Kagera and Kilimanjaro) the proportion is over 10%. At the same time, whilst the national proportion of student teachers of the Distance Learning Scheme is 28.2%, in two of the districts (Dar es Salaam and Kilimanjaro) the proportion is below 20%, whilst in two of the districts (Dodoma and Shinyanga) the proportion is above 35%.

Whether or not the academic level of the teacher affects the educational process is, of course, an important question and is considered in Section 3.3 below. Nevertheless, these variations in the proportion of qualified teachers which imply a different salary do confirm a general impression that the resource input to education in Dar es Salaam and Kilimanjaro is considerably higher than in other regions (see also the next Section).

However, these variations do not take into account other factors which reflect the quantity of teaching resources received by the pupil. Some idea of the variations which are masked by these regional figures can be gleaned from the Micro Planning exercises. The data below (in Table 16) show how similar pupil teacher ratios co-exist with very different numbers of periods taught (compare Sumbawanga and Hai) and similar number of periods being taught co-exist with very different pupil teacher ratios (compare Songea and Mpwapwa).

Table 15 No. of Teachers in Public Primary Schools by Qualification, and Region, 1980.

Region	Grade		Teaching Practice	Distance Learning	Total	Pupil Teacher Ratio
	II	III				
Arusha	215	2,353	185	1,478	4,230	40
Dar es Salaam	466	1,784	103	141	2,495	47
Dodoma	268	2,579	266	1,766	4,879	39
Irunga	342	2,714	118	1,349	4,524	48
Kagera	544	2,652	383	1,653	5,232	35
Kigoma	153	2,387	157	1,361	4,058	31
Kilimanjairo	817	2,894	262	950	4,923	47
Lindi	152	1,634	142	1,031	2,959	32
Mara	216	2,778	154	1,800	5,609	32
Mbeya	382	3,273	154	1,800	5,609	43
Morogoro	360	3,263	219	1,056	4,898	36
Mtwara	279	1,234	107	1,238	3,848	37
Mwanya	482	3,574	277	1,083	5,416	53
Pwani	112	1,754	121	448	2,435	43
Rukwa	107	1,605	79	489	2,280	42
Ruvuma	276	1,961	210	1,094	3,541	35
Shinyanga	242	2,138	177	1,559	4,116	60
Singida	261	1,750	194	1,027	3,232	34
Tabora	290	1,971	182	755	3,198	40
Tanga	462	2,704	238	1,363	4,767	43
TOTAL	6,427	48,002	3,856	22,868	81,153	45

Source: UNESCO / World Bank Report on Education in Tanzania.

TABLE 16

Differences in Teaching Loads and Previous Experience in Selected Districts, 1981

District	No. of Teachers	Average Pupil: Teacher Ratio	Years of Experience	Average No. of Periods Taught per week
Bungoma	1,085	34 : 1	6.1	29.1
Busbenanga	999	36 : 1	5.0	28.0
Nai	1,017	36.0 : 1	-	35.7
Kwanza	934	40 : 1	5.4	28.0
Kilosa	1,200	42 : 1	5.0	28.5

Source: Micro Planning Studies, 1982 and 1983

Moreover, it is easy to gloss over quite wide disparities if we only compare regions or districts. For example, the Ministry's Primary School Sub-Sector Review, showed how the pupil-teacher ratio has been higher in the new schools (those built since 1974) than in the old schools. Whilst the gap between new and old schools is closing, there remain considerable differences between the regions (see MOE, 1981, Annex 2, p.35). Similarly, it is important to note that not only did the UPE program increase class size overall (see above), the impact was more severe on the UPE stream. Thus, Omari et al (1983) show how the class size in 1979 in Standard II (the UPE grade) was 52 compared with 45 in Standard I (the next year's intake) and a maximum of 42 in other grades.

Overall, the Ministry has managed to ensure that the supply of teachers has kept pace with the rapid growth in enrolments. At the same time, it is clear that there is still substantial variation in the distribution of the different grades of teachers both between and within regions.

2.3 Physical Facilities

This section is concerned with the distribution of resources other than teachers. First, and most basic, we consider the distribution of the schools themselves. Thus, whilst there has been a tremendous

effort to increase the availability of primary schools to the whole population so that there were 9,947 primary schools in 1981 in Tanzania compared to 4133 in 1971, and the villageisation programme has brought large numbers of people together (see Arrighi & Saul 1968) there is still the question of whether or not children can get to school in a country as large as Tanzania. Second, assuming they do get to school, there is still the question of whether or not the minimal resources for successful teaching are available to them.

2.3.1 Accessibility of Schools

Clearly, the most important practical obstacle to sending children to school is lack of access. Tanzania is a big country (945,000 sq. km.). There are now 9,947 primary schools in Tanzania, about one in each village. In conjunction with the villageisation programme, this obviously has meant that schools are more accessible to the population. Yet, not everyone is within easy reach. Table 17 drawn from some of the Micro-Planning studies, suggests that, in the majority of rural districts, about one-quarter of the children have to walk between 2 and 4 km. to school, and around 5% are walking more than 4 km. It is unfortunate that the Micro Planning exercises did not compare their information on Children Not-In-School with their data on the Distances From School, but it seems very likely that one of the reasons children do not go to school is simply because it is too far to walk.

It is sometimes argued that the schools with small enrolment are not viable, especially when they result in children who are enrolled in different grades having to be taught together. The experience in rural areas of Europe when there is sometimes one teacher for all the grades in primary schools suggests that this is not, in fact, a serious problem. Much more important, the above figures show that some children are already walking a long way to and from school each day: if two small schools were to be combined in one of these areas, then clearly many children would be effectively denied access to school.

2.3.2 Equipment and Facilities

There is only limited evidence on the physical facilities of the schools that do exist. The Ministry's Primary School Sub-Sector Review carried out a survey in a stratified sample of 170 schools,

Table 17

Distances Pupils Walk to School
in Selected Districts of Tanzania, 1980

	Distance Walked to School				Total Enrolment
	Less than 2 km.	2-4 km.	4-6 km.	More than 6 km.	
Songea	26,934	8,364	1,709	62	37,069
	72.7%	22.6%	4.6%	0.1%	
Ulanga	17,524	3,586	1,262	86	22,458
	78.0%	16.0%	5.6%	0.4%	
Sombowanga	32,798	1,593	1,169	592	36,311
	90.3%	4.4%	3.2%	1.6%	
Karagwe	11,278	12,957	9,259	3,051	36,680
	31.0%	36.0%	25.0%	8.0%	
Mai	31,549	9,589	2,329	455	44,296
	71.2%	21.6%	5.3%	1.0%	
Mpwapwa	32,081	11,052	1,504	247	44,884
	71.5%	24.6%	3.4%	0.6%	
Kilosa	32,904	5,779	1,147	570	40,400
	81.3%	14.5%	2.8%	1.4%	

Source: Micro Planning Studies, 1982 and 1983

including new schools (built after 1974) over the whole country. However, the original sampling plan proved unworkable and the researchers were forced to "reject remote and distant schools" (p.7). They found that whilst the majority of schools (65%) had between 315 and 630 pupils, which is equivalent to two classes per Standard, 25% of the schools had less than 315 pupils (that is, equivalent to less than 45 pupils - or one class - per Standard).

They further estimated a shortfall of 33% in the number of classrooms. Whilst the majority (77%) of classroom buildings were built of permanent materials, it was observed that many of the classrooms were not complete. Again, whilst there are usually one or two staff homes attached to each primary school, only 21% of the teaching staff live in staff houses, and that includes sharing quarters. There was an average of 100 pupils per toilet hole compared to a recommended health standard of one toilet hole per 25-50 pupils. Finally, the average number of pupils per desk was around 4 with overcrowding in the lower grades and especially in the UPE cohort. Their field observations - and our casual impressions confirmed this - suggest that it is the lower grades which study under difficult conditions, such as having classrooms without desks, or shifting from one improvised classroom to another. Under such circumstances, it is difficult to see how such pupils can work efficiently or acquire good handwriting skills.

The Micro-Planning exercises gave assessments of the REO's rating of the school premises. For example, in Ulanga, of the 79 schools, the local REO rated the teaching premises as Very Bad in 4 cases, Bad in 35 cases, Regular in 38 cases and Good in only 2 cases (p. 27); in both Karagwe and Mpwapwa, the REOs rated about 25% of the classrooms as Very Bad.

In Tanzania, like many other developing countries, there have been attempts to use the radio extensively as an instructional medium. Makenge (1980) reports in a survey in March/April 1978 in three districts - Kinondini (in DSM Region), Dodoma and Njombe (in Iringa Region). He showed that whilst 37% of primary schools had radio sets in good condition, only 14% of them were making use of the educational broadcasts. The schools that were not using the broadcasts even

though they had radios in good working order pointed to various problems: not much use to have one or two radio sets when there are many streams to teach because that could mean there were two kinds of teaching in the school; because there were very few instructional booklets; and sometimes simply because the timetable for the educational broadcasts arrived late or was inappropriate.

2.3.3 Instructional Materials

There is an overall shortage of exercise books and of textbooks in most subjects. The most detailed evidence comes from the Primary School Sub-Sector Review using data collected in 1980. They showed how "a pupil used a total of 148 exercise books from grade one to seven . . . (ranging) . . . from seven in grade one to thirty six in grade seven" (p.22). On average "each pupil used on the average two exercise books per subject per year", whilst the Ministry recommends three. The supply of textbooks was inadequate in all subjects and all grades. In Swahili, textbooks ranged from five pupils per textbook in grades four to seven to approximately two pupils per textbook in the lower grades. In English, whilst there is one textbook per two pupils in the lower grades, there is only one textbook per four pupils in the higher grades. In Mathematics, the situation is better in that there is on average one textbook for every two pupils throughout. But in Science, there are hardly any text books at all.

Obviously, figures in this area will change in specific subjects and particular grades rapidly from year to year, but the overall picture is apparently still that three pupils are sharing one textbook.

Overall, therefore, there are considerable shortfalls in physical facilities and these are unequitably distributed. Thus, in the majority of rural areas, a substantial proportion of children still have to walk long distances to schools; the equipment and facilities available in the UPE schools were of a considerably lower quality than in the older established schools; and whilst there is a generalised shortage of textbooks some schools clearly do better than others. Summarising, we can conclude that, at the level of analysis of this section, there are no gross disparities between the regions or between the sexes in the rates of participation or in the distribution of educational resources. There is however the suspicion that the shortfalls that do exist will affect unequally the underprivileged strata.

Section 3

THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS

The purpose of this section is to review the quality of the educational process in Tanzanian Primary schools. Clearly, this cannot be done in a vacuum - we have to know what is meant to happen. There are two obvious sources: 1. the policies promulgated via ESR and expanded in various speeches, espeically the debates in and around the Musoma Resolution; and 2. the general aims and major objectives for primary education as stated by the MNE, together with their expression in terms of the curricula, the supporting instructional materials and the quality of the teachers provided. They obviously overlap a lot and there is no point here in indulging in an extensive textual analysis to draw out the similarities and differences of various interpretations which could be put on one or other document (see, for example, Komba, 1979).

The focus here is on our knowledge about what actually happens in schools relative to these intentions. Given, therefore, the variety of interpretations that are available of the specific objectives for primary education, it is important to structure the discussion in as technically neutral a way as possible, and to allow the divergences to emerge via the discussion of the nature and appropriateness of what is taught, how it is taught and how it is assessed. There are, of course, clear relationships between these three aspects: in some "developed" countries, the form and content of the assessment is an independent factor determining what is taught and how it is taught (see, e.g. Illich, 1971); in others the type of assessment is determined either by the nature of the subjects covered in the curricula or the pedagogy employed; and there ought, always, to be a close relationship between what is taught and how it is taught. This division of the material is, however, convenient.

The subsequent discussion is arranged accordingly: first, we briefly describe the overall direction of the programme at primary level; the second section reviews the concrete research which has been done about the courses and curricula; the third section discusses our impressions of teaching and of the appropriateness of the teacher training in the light of the policies and our very few observations;

and the final section discusses the research on the reactions of pupils within the primary cycle and especially studies of the extent and causes of truancy and dropout.

3.1 Overall Direction of Primary Education

The most obvious distinguishing feature of the programme of primary education in Tanzania is the fact that it has been a highly charged political subject since Independence. Whilst, of course, popular education is frequently an important issue in the political arena in newly independent countries, in Tanzania education continues to excite political debate more than 20 years later. This is partly due to President Nyerere's ongoing personal interest in the promotion of mass primary education. But it is also because of the important part played by the Tanganyika African Parents Association (TAPA) in the struggle for Independence (see Mancongi, 1981). Omari et al (1983) argue that TAPA still plays a central role in the politics of education after Independence. They cite the continued growth of TAPA so that, at the time UPE was declared, TAPA had 2,000 primary schools with some 150,000 pupils and continues to play a role today (ibid, p.31)

Correspondingly, the implementation of Tanzania's particular approach to primary education does not involve only the Ministry of National Education but is relative to the economic and social development of the country, and national policies which are being implemented in other sectors. Nevertheless, here we concentrate on policies in the education sector

3.1.1 A Brief History

Prior to the Arusha declaration, the emphasis was on secondary and higher education because "Education was considered by the Tanzanian planners not as a social investment but as an infra-structural investment" (Bennet, 1972, p.15) As Malima (1979) wryly comments, "The 1960s economists should . . . (explain) . . . what productive activities can take place when people are illiterate" (p.46)! It was in this context that the advanced areas again managed to flourish (Samoff, 1979, cited earlier). However, the period between 1961 and 1969 did include the abolition of school fees, the abolition of

private primary schools (especially denominational schools) and the abolition of the segregated educational system.

The major step in determining the overall direction of the primary school programme was, of course, the Arusha Declaration itself, which promulgated the theme of Education for Self Reliance (henceforth ESR). Baume (1981) summarises as follows:

> "In Education for Self Reliance, Nyerere identified four characteristics of (the pre-existing educational system) which ran counter to socialist objectives. It was elitist, preparing only a small percentage of the population with a "purely academic" education; it separated students physically and intellectually from the rest of society; it assumed that only formal, academic learning was to be esteemed; and it constituted a significant drain on the country's financial and human resources, while contributing nothing . . . The fundamental remedy proposed was the reconceptualisation of the school from an isolated institution serving a few academically talented individuals to a self-reliant community center focussed on majority needs." (p.2).

The policy of Education for Self-Reliance consequentially envisaged a cycle of primary education appropriate for the mass of the population and not a tiny elite; the integration of school activities both academically and practically with production work in the surrounding community; respect to be accorded to practical skills as well as book-learning; and a curriculum which would help every child become a productive member of society. In short, "primary education is not preparation for secondary education but a preparation for life" (Nyerere, 1981).

We shall be coeidering the impact of ESR on the content of the programme in detail in section 3.2 below. Here, we simply reiterate that pari passu with the restriction of access to secondary school came the injunction that primary schools should be self-contained institutions providing an educational package which was complete in itself (see Section 4 for a discussion of what actually happens to school leavers). A very significant practical step in this direction was to raise the age of entry to primary school to seven years so that on completion of the seven year primary course, school leavers would be mature enough to enter directly the world of work!

Clearly, such aims should have had radical implications for the type of education that is offered in the schools. There were, of course, those who argued from the very beginning that, however appealing the philosophy of self-reliance might be, there were severe practical limitations on the possibility of its implementation. For example, Foster (1969) argued that the actual distribution of job opportunities in the African context, where educational qualifications are used as the predominant vehicle for the allocation of valued formal sector jobs, meant that there would always be pressure from parents to emphasise the formal academic side of education to the exclusion of agricultural or other vocational training. Or, as the Ministry put it in their comments on a draft of this report "To make primary education really terminal and geared to rural development, first the attitudes of parents in the rural society have to change positively and necessary preparation by the society have to be made in order to make primary school graduates actively engaged in rural activities."

In any case, educators "become preoccupied with implementing the new policy which emphasised relevance and students' participation in both mental and menial activities as well as in school management and administration" (taken from Omari et al, 1983, p.32). Indeed, the whole educational bureaucracy was so engrossed with the implications of implementing this policy that, quantitatively, the rate of expansion of primary education slowed down considerably. This was partly because of the additional needs brought about by a projected population growth estimated at 2.7% per annum from 1967 to 1975 (Govt. of Tanzania, 1969 : 149). Thus, the Second Five Year Plan aimed to give every Tanzanian child a basic primary education only by 1989. It is, however, worth noting that the actual enrolments consistently exceeded the planned expansions so that by 1973-4 there were 247,627 enrolments in Standard I compared with a planned 203,088 (Govt. of Tanzania, 1969).

Even to maintain this level of expansion, the government intended to rely heavily on local self-help schemes (Govt. of Tanzania, 1969 : 149) which, for a time, allowed some districts to move ahead faster than others (see section 2.1.1 above). Qualitatively, there remained a temptation for parents to provide extra stimulation or tuition (see section 4.2 below).

The next major step in influencing the kind of ecuation provided at the primary level was the Musoma Resolution.* The background to this is described in Omari et al, 1983, pp. 38-9. The four main thrusts of the resolution were:

. universalisation of primary education
. no direct entry to university studies
. schooling that combined mental and menial labour, and
. a shift away from "ambush" examinations.

We have already discussed the move towards UPE and the introduction of a two year period of community service between secondary and tertiary education is not at issue directly here. It is worth noting the reiteration of the importance of combining both manual and mental work in the schools and the criticism of "ambush" or "hurdle" examinations.

The issues of process and quality were, however, submerged for a time under the great leap forward described in the previous section, but this does not mean they were thought to be irrelevant. Indeed, introducing the third Five Year Plan, the Prime Minister said that the increased spending for UPE would only be justified if it were to lead to "increased production, productivity, and self-actualisation in the context of self-reliance and participatory democracy". Further, the plan stipulated that "Primary education will be . . . (restructured) . . . in such a way that its final years will have a big technical content" (Govt. of Tanzania, 1976, p.9). The problem is that, already in 1967, educators had been enjoined to make coursework relevant to a goal of self-reliance but no-one seemed yet to have defined what the goal of self-reliance meant in the context of a predominantly rural country like Tanzania or what would count as relevant.

More recently, there are signs that the Ministry is becoming more concerned with the quality of the education provided in primary schools. Thus, they conducted the Primary School Sub-Sector Review, sponsored the studies by the Institute of Education into pupil attainment in mathematical and reading skills, and are presently

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* In fact, a resolution of a TANU National Executive meeting passed on 4th November, 1974, at Musoma.

conducting an extensive evaluation of the Distance Teacher Training Programme; and, on a practical level, there is the large programme for up-grading IIIC type teachers.

3.1.2 Policy Shifts and Curricula Change

In the light of these policy directives concerned with the content and purpose of primary education, it is interesting to see whether this has affected the overall balance of the curriculum since Independence. For, whilst the more profound changes might well be in terms of the content and pedagogy of individual courses (see Sections 3.2 and 3.3 respectively) one would, at least, expect the overall balance of the curriculum between different subjects to reflect these changes in Ministerial policy.

The allocation of classroom periods for the different subjects in four distinct time periods (the years immediately after Independence, 1971-70; the aftermath of the Arusha Declaration, 1971-74; the latter half of the seventies after the Musoma Resolution, 1975-80; and finally the stage of "consolidation" of primary education, 1981-83) is given in Table 18.

The first time period incorporated only two significant changes from the colonialist syllabus for European children which had been designed by the colonial administrators for an elite minority. These were the designation of Swahili as the National language in 1964 with its consequent introduction as the medium of instruction in primary schools and the Africanisation of the existing syllabi, for example in history. The major change after the Arusha Declaration appears to be an overall reduction in the number of classroom periods per week concomitant with the introduction of self-reliant activities in the afternoons. On the whole, Kiswahili, Arithmetic and English retained roughly the same number of periods per week in each grade, but the "less important" subjects, such as geography, history, music and physical education were taught less.

Immediately after the Musoma Resolution, the balances in Grades I, II, V, VI and VII reverted to more or less that prevailing before the Arusha Declaration whilst Grades III and IV continued with a reduced number of periods. Finally, in 1980, the decision was taken

TABLE

ALLOCATION OF PERIODS PER SUBJECT

	1961-1970 (post-Independence)							1971-1974		
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	I	II	III
Kiswahili	9	9	9	7	6	5	5	9	9	7
Arithmetic	5	5	7	7	7	8	8	5	5	6
English	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5
Political Education	-	-	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	1
Science including Agriculture	1	1	5	5	4	4	4	1	1	3
Geography	-	-	3	3	3	3	3	-	-	2
History	-	-	-	3	3	3	2	-	-	-
Dom. Science/Home Economic optional for boys	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	2	2	2
Arts and Crafts	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Physical Education	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	1
Music	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	-	-	1
Religion	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Adult Education (only for teachers)	-	-	3	3	3	3	3	1	-	3
Agricultural Theory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Plus: Self reliance every afternoon

10

PER GRADE FROM INDEPENDENCE TO - DATE

(post Arusha)				1975-1980 (post Kuscma)							1981-1983 (Consolidation of PE)						
IV	V	VI	VII	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
6	6		5	9	9	7	6	6	6	5	12	12	8	8	7	7	6
6	7		8	5	5	6	6	7	7	7	9	9	7	7	7	7	8
5	6		6	5	5	5	5	6	6	6	-	-	6	6	6	6	6
1	2		2	-	-	1	1	2	2	2	-	-	1	1	2	2	2
3	4		4	1	1	3	3	4	4	4	-	-	2	2	3	3	3
2	2		2	-	6	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	2	2	2	2	2
1	2		2	-	-	-	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	2
2	3		4	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
2	2		2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
1	1		2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3	3		3	-	-	3	3	3	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-		-	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	-	-	-	-	2	2	2

TABLE 18 : ....

TOTAL PERIODS PER GRADE

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
1961 - 1970	30	30	44	44	44	45	45
1971 - 1974	25	25	33	33	39	39	45
1975 - 1980	29	29	37	37	43	43	45
1981 - 1983	30	30	35	35	40	40	40

Source: U.N.E. Personal Communication, 1983.

to defer the teaching of English until Grade III. The "slack" was taken up entirely with extra lessons of Kiswahili and Arithmetic, indeed those subjects were given greater emphasis throughout the primary cycle.

In evaluating a curriculum, it is obviously not sufficient simply to look at the titles of the lessons, and we shall be examining some of the courses in a little more detail below. Nevertheless, some overall patterns are very striking:

1. Despite apparently radical changes in the overall direction of the formal education programme the balance has remained traditional, centered firmly on the three Rs.

2. Both before and after adopting the ESR objectives, the teaching of English has retained a prominent place in the curriculum, in a situation where fluency in English can only possibly be relevant to a small minority of the total population (although a large proportion of the urban modern sector).

3. In a country such as Tanzania with c. 85% of the population in rural areas, it is curious to see how little emphasis is given to Agriculture.

4. Despite the political importance given to the introduction and continuation of self-reliant activities in the schools, in practice, some difficulties have emerged.

In our discussions with the Ministry, the over-riding concern seemed to be with consolidating what was already being offered - and, in particular, to give more attention to the teaching of Kiswahili, Arithmetic and English - rather than questioning what existed. After these radical shifts in policy in relatively quick succession - relative that is to the usual long term planning horizon for education - this caution is unsurprising, perhaps commendable. Nevertheless, we think it is appropriate to question the direction of the curricula and, in particular, the apparent lack of attention to the teaching of agriculture relative to the aspirations espoused in Education for Self-Reliance.*

* Not, note when considered relative to other African countries, as Tanzania pays more attention to agriculture than many of her neighbours.

Thus, we recognise and appreciate the early motivation for moving away from a "bush-oriented" education immediately after Independence. But the situation is different now, and agriculture could be treated as a socially valuable activity, rather than as an occupation for "failures". Some writers, following Foster (1968, 1969) would argue that this is utopian and that hidden the hidden curriculum - of access to job opportunities via academic qualifications - will always prevail until the allocation and selection mechanisms in the wider society are changed. Whilst we would agree that it is a very difficult task to change such mechanisms which are so deeply embedded in the social structure, it is surely important that a programme purporting to be a complete educational package in rural areas should have a pronounced agricultural orientation (if not technical instruction per se).

3.2 The Content of the Curricula

It is, however, easy to criticise the overall balance as being in some ways antithetical to the spirit of Arusha. But, apart from the comment about agriculture, it is not immediately obvious what should be the criteria for a curriculum to fulfill the expectations of the ESR policy, or of the Ministerial objectives other than that it should be adequate "to give pupils a permanent ability in literacy" (MOE, 1982). That particular aspect will be considered in Section 4, under "Outputs". Here we are concerned with the implementations of ESR in the primary schools. Note that, in contrast to many other authors, we are concerned with the whole programme and not just self-reliant activities: ESR is more than just integrating productive work with the classroom lessons although this is an important aspect. There is one other caveat before we continue with the discussion: there has been a lot of polemic and very little research written. This review tries very hard to concentrate on the research.

Komba (1981) provides a systematic analysis of the policy statements around the theme of ESR and concludes that there are four distinct criteria for evaluating self-reliance activities in the educational sector: the politico-ideological value, the economic value, the academic value and the community linkage or integrative value. He goes on to evaluate the implementation of ESR in Tanzanian schools concentrating on self-reliant activites as such: but his suggested criteria constitute a useful typology for an overall evaluation of the content of the curriculum.

3.2.1 Politico-Ideological Value

The Musoma Resolution is very clear:

> "the basic aim of our education is the development of socialist attitudes. A socialist is a worker. Therefore, by introducing work in schools, we are building socialist habits in the students - the socialist habit of wanting to work."

At the same time, ESR was against having workers who behave like robots - instead, they should be critical and be able to participate in decision making (Nyerere, 1968).

The empirical evidence either way is very scanty. Thus, what actually goes on in schools is hardly documented at all, although snippets of information appeared in the successive policy documents which expounded the principles of ESR and the kinds of projects which schools should undertake (see, e.g. Mwingira, 1972). Here we consider the more systematic surveys. Thus, Lema (1972) surveyed over 1400 respondents (it is not clear who they were) and found that schools and colleges had not quite understood the implications of ESR . . . ; that most administrators thought that what mattered was the kind of project chosen and the way it is carried through; and that attitudes to work had not changed significantly. Besha (1973) came to similar conclusions with regard to attitude change as more importantly "the self-reliance activities are under-taken mechanically. There is little attempt to teach the pupils "skills" (even very elementary) required in carrying them out. In other words, self-reliance acitivites . . . are divorced from . . . classroom work." (Besha, 1973 : 5). But, after the initial enthusiasm to write, describe and debate there has been relatively little empirical research about the influence of self-reliant activities upon the children's attitudes, although Komba (1981) cites small studies by Muganyizi (1976) in some schools in Bukoba district and a similar study by a study by Tuntufye (1977) in the Mbeya district.

It is difficult to point to any other direct impact on the formal curriculum: for example, the "political education" slot is more concerned with the history and principles of socialism than its

practice. However, one Tanzanian educator has argued that socialist practice is taught through the twice weekly sessions of physical education. Madeje (1980) describes how the current physical education course emphasises the process of learning as opposed to mere skill acquisition and accumulation of knowledge. He goes on to argue that "Physical education's contribution towards development of democratic principles should not be underestimated (for it) is education in and through activity." (p. 78), and shows how it is better organised in primary than in secondary schools. Indeed, teachers themselves "recognised the importance of games in fostering school spirit and providing an avenue for guided social and emotional development . . . " (p. 77).

3.2.2. The Economic Contribution of Self-Reliance Activities

The only reason why a whole sub-section is devoted to this topic is that there has been relatively more research and study of the economic viability of productive activities in the schools. On the whole, this seems to be for the rather unsatisfactory reason that 'it is easier to measure'. As we shall see, the review is mostly negative.

Thus, an MOE evaluation in 1975 included 4,810 primary schools (as well as 35 secondary schools and 12 CNE's) and concluded by showing how all these institutions were trying hard to implement the idea of self-reliance. Maliyamkono (1976) carried out a study of which kind of school (public vs. private, boarding vs. day, boys vs. girls, urban vs. rural) were the most productive. He finds no difference between the categories, except that the rural school is more productive; more importantly, he reaches the interesting conclusion that there was no significant correlation between the academic performance of a school and its productivity.

Most of these very early studies suggest that the contribution of the self-reliant activities to the running costs of the primary school is small. (This is sometimes contrasted to the supposed success in secondary schools, but see Saunders, 1981). However, even though detailed records are kept, there are few reports with precise figures.

In January 1977, Nyerere presented a five-year retrospective report to the TANU Executive Committee, when he said that "in the school year 1974/5, economic activities in our schools (remeber, this includes secondary schools) produced goods to the value of over TSh 7.7 million . . . These self-reliance activities are still small and often ill-organised, but they are being accepted as part of the normal educational system" (from Coulson, 1979 : p.49).

There is obviously an underlying tension here between introducing self-reliance activities as part of an attempt to integrate education with work and seeing the activities as making an important financinal contribution to the possibility of the school being self-reliant. We have already remarked upon our impressions that there was little integration between the self-reliant acticities and the remainder of the curriculum. How have the self-reliamt activities evolved as a financial proposition?

Some recent detail is provided by the detailed Micro Planning exercise in the Songea District, where "Each class in the Primary Schools spend 2 periods a week for production work" (p.95) and the reported income of TSh 1,352,239 (about SKr 850,000) from the 136 schools was made up as follows: 648,807 from Agriculture, 466,366 from Fund-raising work, 103,695 from Commerce, with 133,390 from other sources; and 520,821 was spent by the schools themselves. The average revenue per school in Songea, some TSh 10,000 is nearly enough to pay one teacher's salary. If these figures were reproduced throughout the country then the amount raised by primary schools alone would be TSh 100 million. Admittedly, there is an eight year gap between Nyerere's report and the above study making comparisons difficult, but the difference is striking.

3.2.3 The Academic Objectives of Self-Reliance

The overall objective was to provide an educational programme which was a complete package wherein the student "is expected to become aware of his social responsibilities in a poor country attempting a socialist transformation (King, 1984, p. 5). We

shall be considering the apparent contradication between the completeness or terminality of the package and the selectivity of the final exam in Section 5. Here, we examine whether or not there have been pressures to reform the curriculum so as to contain only material that would be relevant to those terminating at the end of primary school.

First, it is important to emphasise that the vast majority (over 90%) do not go on to any form of post primary education (see Section 4), and the majority of these primary school leavers will be in the rural areas. We have already remarked upon the lack of a substantial agricultural component; in fact, this is only one example of the more general problem that the curriculum as a whole appears to be top-heavy theoretically, and not sufficiently practical.

The teaching of English illustrates the importance of these decisions about the curriculum for it brings into focus the whole question of the real purpose of primary schooling. If primary school is to provide a good general education for the mass of students, who will not be continuing to secondary school, then a smattering of English is sufficient; if, on the other hand, the primary school is seen as preparatory to the secondary school, then it is probably essential to provide a solid grounding in English.

Tanzania, of course, was the first African Commonwealth country to opt for a national language as the teaching medium in primary school (see Tiffen, 1979). But the English is still taught intensively - about 8 hours a week - from Standard III to Standard VII, and it is one of the three subjects examined in the Primary School Leaving Examination. It, therefore, absorbs a considerable fraction of the available teaching time which could be used to deepen understanding of culture and environment. At the same time, there are frequent complaints in the secondary schools about the pupils' lack of mastery of English.

There clearly is a problem: not only is the teaching of English in the primary schools taking away valuable teaching time from other, possibly more relevant, subjects, it is not being taught

sufficiently well for that small minority who do continue to secondary school. Yet it seems likely that English will be used as the teaching medium in the majority of subjects in the secondary school for at least the next few years. Moreover, the Ministry obviously believe that it is important to strengthen the teaching of English because "Tanzania has to grow and develop as a Nation |and| English is necessary to this development |as| A lot of knowledge is stored in the English language" (comments from MNE).

It is questionable whether English does play such a crucial role in the dissemination of useful everyday knowledge. But, whatever the "correct" answer, at the moment, everyone (including the elite minority) gets a raw deal. Indeed, it is difficult to understand how it happened that, when the decision to restrict access to secondary school to a trickle was taken and maintained now for 15 years, the teaching of English was not similarly curtailed. Teaching English to all, whilst taking away the opportunity for almost all to use and learn it properly seems to be the worst of both worlds (King, 1984, p. 11).

The logical solution would appear to be to scrap the teaching of English as a major subject in primary schools, possibly introducing conversational English as a topic in Standards V, VI and VII, and providing an intensive formal English language course for those who are intending to proceed to secondary school. Incidentally (?), this would also release a considerable amount of resources which are presently invested in the attempt to provide English textbooks for every primary school pupil and in teacher training. The issue is worth further discussion.

3.2.4 The Integration of School and Community

One of the general problems of primary schools in the rural areas of developing countries is that they are not easily accepted by adults, qua parents. There are two sides to this problem in the Tanzanian context. On the one hand, parents want their children to "succeed" with a job in the formal sector and they see schooling as instrumental to that (Foster, 1968), but the

chances of reaching secondary school from a rural primary school are very small and so primary education seems "pointless". On the other hand, the school does not appear to be providing any "useful" knowledge or skills to the children. The introduction of productive work into the school curricula should therefore also be seen as having a symbolic message for the community. Similarly, the extent to which the community are involved in the school is influenced concretely by whether they helped to build it or not (which was considered above). Here we shall examine the extent to which the scanty evidence suggests that the typical school is integrated into the community and discuss the well known "community education centres".

Other issues, such as whether or not the move towards integration with a rural environment, is essentially conservative or not, are outside the scope of this report.

(A) Community Participation in and Control over the School

On one level, there has been enthusiastic participation by the community in the development of primary education. Thus, the Micro Planning exercise in Songea Rural District reported that "the people are very keen on building the classrooms through self-help . . . (but that) very few classrooms are allowed to be built each year" (p. 5). The Sub-Sector Review estimated, on the basis of an on-the-spot valuation of the school buildings and furniture, that 75% of their value is the product of support from the local community.

This does not, however, appear to lead to the parents having any influence over what goes on. For, one thing that is striking about the educational programme in Tanzanian primary schools is its uniformity. In itself that is not surprising, in that the curricula and final examinations are centrally decided: what is surprising is the degree of uniformity so that one got the impression that if one could have been in two schools at once, then exactly the same lesson would have been on the timetable, taught in exactly the same way. Moreover, it is difficult to see where there is sufficient flexibility for the "community" to introduce any variations at all. Thus Ishumi reported on a research project among 140 schools in Bagamoyo, Arusha and Masai districts:

"Not a single school was found to have formulated its syllabus 'substantially or partially' with reporesentatives of the community. There was no 'conscious, purposive or functional interaction' between the school and the community" (p. 253)

An unsurprising result, given the administrative structure, but well worth documenting.

(B) Community Education Centres

These justly famous experiments in the integration of school and community have been described many times (see, for example, the section in Baume, 1982). They were modelled partly on the village school built as part of the Litowa settlement established by members of the TANU Youth League in 1961. The Litowa village itself was founded on the basis of work and profit-sharing and the school was developed as a response to the needs of the community. The school seems to have been tremendously successful in implementing collectivist organisation and decision-making (Yoroka, 1973; Wood, 1969). On the basis of the experience of Litowa and of the Kibaha Education Centre (Mbina 1972), the Second Five Year Plan for 1959-74 called for the transformation of primary schools into education centres for the community.

One of the first such centres was at Kwamsisi, where the educational system was revamped to consist of four areas:

(i) Literacy and Numeracy
(ii) Citizenship
(iii) Self Help and Cultural Activities
(iv) Community Studies

Tosh (1974) and Moshi (1976) provide brief summaries of this project which was financed partly by UNICEF. The "school" activities included an experimental banana and pineapple garden, a latrine-digging project, and the establishment of poultry units and a cooperative shop.

On our visit, we were similarly impressed by the Malele Primary School in Morogoro Rural district: there did seem to be active participation by the village in the running of the school and in

being responsible for what the school produced. But we soon realised that Malele village was one to which substantial resources had been provided. Next door there was a local health centre and the village, whilst some way from the main road had been provided with all the essential services. We were interested to learn that the Ministry is transforming all primary schools in Dodoma into CECs. The problem is: can this level of resources realistically be provided very quickly?

This review of the content of the curriculum in the light of policy statements such as the Arusha Declaration and the Musoma Resolution is not optimistic. Whilst the primary schools are rather successfully generating income through their self-reliant activities, this has not been accompanied by the hoped-for integration of education and productive work, either in the design of the courses or in practice.

Equally, it does not look as if the academic objectives of providing a complete and terminal package within the seven year cycle are being fulfilled: for it is difficult to comprehend the present curriculum other than as a preparation for secondary education. This is most obvious in the case of English but many of the other subjects are also treated rather academically. Finally, despite a rhetoric of participation, the involvement of the community seems to be limited to contributing their labour: with a few isolated exceptions, there is little community control over the schools.

3.3 The Quality of Teaching: the Teachers and their Texts

In Section 2, we documented the rapid growth in the numbers of teachers concomitant with the expansion of primary enrolments and pointed to the concern which the Ministry had over the 'quality' of the teachers trained during the UPE bulge. Here, we want to delve a little deeper into the problem of quality bearing in mind the overall direction of educational policy discussed in Sections 3.1 and 3.2 above.

Many of the problems involved in implementing ESR, which were raised in the previous Section, depend, in the end, upon the teacher.* On

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* This emphasis on the role of the teacher is not to deny the web of economic and social constraints upon their efficacy; we only want to draw attention to the crucial role of the teacher in the best of all possible worlds.

one level, the teacher can help to demonstrate that primary education is about more than entrance to secondary school or they might reinforce the link between the 'quality' of primary education and secondary placement. Next, if the school does try to pioneer new relationships with the surrounding community, the teacher has to be the prime mover in introducing community knowledge (about, for example, local history, politics and agricultural practices) and in integrating education with relevant productive activities. Finally, if the school's task is to assist in the wider aim of social transformation, the teacher's explicit committment to that task will be important.

The difficulty for the researcher or policy-maker who is concerned to find out about the quality of Tanzanian teaching in these terms is how to discover what is going on in some 10,000 widely dispersed primary schools. Traditional measures of teacher quality - such as their qualifications or even their numbers of years of experience - do not automatically guarantee a receptivity to local community knowledge, and needs, nor a committment to socialist transformation. Indeed, the opposite might be true, as good teaching according to the ESR criteria demands more inventiveness and adaptation to rural conditions than traditional exam-oriented learning (taken from King and Court, 1982).

Given the lack of evidence with which to evaluate the quality of teaching in the classroom, we have concentrated our review on the training of teachers in the light of the Ministry's intention to 'upgrade' the qualifications of their teaching stock. This is of particular importance in view of the large number of 'UPE' teachers trained under the Distance Learning Scheme, the vast majority of whom have only Standard VII (as background) (see Section 2.2.1).

At the same time, we shall present some more 'subjective' data in an attempt to respond to the issues we have raised.

It is even more difficult in some ways to evaluate the quality of the teaching materials available. It is not at all obvious what would constitute a textbook specifically oriented towards providing a complete educational package, nor one which is especially adapted

to promoting integration with the rural community. Even if the texts are appropriate to a rural-development oriented economy, there is no guarantee that they will be used to get across that explicit message.

Moreover, there is no guarantee that they will be used at all! It is not unusual to find a stock of newly produced textbooks at the Regional or District Education Office, not yet distributed to the schools or, if distributed to the schools, unused. This can happen for a number of reasons other than the typical complaint of lack of transport for distribution, inspection and monitoring. In a situation of inadequate or uncertain supplies, a headmaster or village education coordinator may reasonably decide to keep a reserve; or, teachers trained to teach with one set of textbooks may be reluctant to experiment with new ones before they have themselves become thoroughly conversant with them perhaps through a refresher course.

In these circumstances, the most sensible course for the Ministry would be to consolidate the supplies of existing textbooks rather than attempting to draft whole new sets once again (recall that, at the moment, there is on average only one textbook for three pupils). For, whilst it is not true to say that any textbook is better than none at all, a textbook can be inadequate in several respects without being useless. In the Tanzanian context, when the contents of the curriculum are relatively clear, what is essential is how the textbook is introduced to the student by the teacher and how the latter uses it in her or his lessons.

The issue of quality resides, therefore, in the quality of the teacher, which will be the focus of the remainder of this Section.

3.3.1 The Training of Primary School Teachers

Teacher training is regularly carried out through the 35 Colleges of National Education who provide the primary schools with teachers of Grade IIIC (Standard VII School leavers plus 3 years training and Grade IIIA (Form IV Secondary school leavers plus 2 years trainint). However, during the UPE expansion phase the MNE adopted

several emergency measures. Thus, routinely, the length of residence for each of the two grades was reduced by one year (for Grade C from 3 to 2 years and for Grade A from 2 to 1 year); to compensate for this, a more rigorous selection of candidates was adopted.

The most important measure, however, was the Distance Learning Scheme by which the Ministry hoped to have produced, by the end of 1980, 45,000 teachers who are basically Standard VII school leavers. Whilst the emergency nature of this measure meant that recruitment was organised on a rather haphazard basis (see Omari et al, 1983, p. 44) the scheme did produce some 35,000 teachers in three years.

The curriculum in the CNE's is supposed to train the teacher for the double role of primary school teacher and community development leader. Partly as a result, the curriculum is very heavily overloaded with 45 periods a week in 15 different subjects (see Table 19). It is, therefore, difficult for the teacher to acquire a practical mastery of the pedagogical skills that are needed in the teaching of the three Rs, reading, writing and arithmetic.

There were special problems with the Distance Learning Scheme. Thus, Mrutu (1977) examined the curriculum for UPE teachers in Tanzania and showed how the programme was hastily planned and the curriculum had several weaknesses. Omari et al (1983) conducted an extensive study of the Distance Teacher Training Scheme. They studied schools in 2 districts in each of 10 regions in June 1979. In all 141 primary schools and 150 UPE teacher training centres were visited; and questionnaire were administered to some 150 UPE tutors, 284 UPE student teachers, 141 head teachers of the primary schools, 180 Grade 1 and 2 teachers, and about 600 Grade 2 pupils.

The 150 tutors had had an average of 10 years of schooling, all had had professional training in teaching, the majority had been teaching for 6 or more years, and nearly all had previously been either head teachers or ward educational coordinators during the earlier adult education campaign. The training centres themselves were, usually, primary schools and several did not have classrooms, desks,

TABLE 19

Curricula for Grade IIIa and Grade IIIc

General Courses in Colleges of National Education, 1980

Subjects	Number of Periods per Week	
	Grade IIIa	Grade IIIc
Education	8	8
Political Education	2	2
Swahili Language	6	6
English Language	4	4
Science and Agriculture	5	5
Mathematics	4	4
Geography	3	3
History	3	3
Domestic Science	2	2
Music and Arts	2	2
Religion	2	2
Physical Education	2	2
Arts and Crafts	2	2
Teaching Aids	1	1
Total	46	46

Source: Chuo Cha Ufundi: Vyuo Vya Serikali IIIa Na IIIc, Department of Teacher Training.

chairs, blackboards, libraries, or radio cassettes (see their Table 14, p.54). According to the student teachers, teaching aids were seldom used during their training and, when used, consisted of diagrams or drawings rather than models or real objects, moreover, they pointed to the acute shortage of basic materials in order to prepare their own teaching aids. They, themselves, would have preferred greater emphasis on the academic subjects (English, geography, mathematics and science in particular), and would have preferred a formal institutionalised training. Nevertheless, perhaps surprisingly, the overall evaluation of the programme by the student teachers was positive.

In addition to these pre-service training facilities, there is an in-service teacher training college at Bagamoyo providing 9 month refresher courses. There are plans to transform most of those CNE's which presently provide 'III-type' training into in-service training colleges. The Ministry plans to provide one year up-grading courses for Grade IIIC teachers over the eighties, mainly by correspondence but including also a three month residential phase.

The present in-service course is very theoretically biased but, judging by the research evidence presented below, this is not what is most urgently required. Moreover, as the joint ILO/World Bank mission demonstrated, this ambitious programme would take some 15 years to complete and they, therefore, proposed a number of other options such as mobile teachers centres along the lines of the one at Moshi. The trouble is, like so many educational innovations, there is no evidence about the actual impact upon classroom performance.

The importance of these in-service refresher courses - even when they are short - should not be underestimated. For, whilst the majority of research on the relationship between levels of training (certification) and learner achievement is negative (see the review by Alexander and Simmons, 1975), some studies do suggest that there is a relationship between teacher participation in in-service training programmes and pupil achievement in Mathematics and Reading (quoted in Idama, 1982). Indeed, intuitively, whilst it is

obviously necessary for teachers to have a certain level of academic qualifications, there is no obvious reason why extra academic qualifications should be related to more skillful pedagogy; on the other hand, it is plausible to suppose that the motivation to enrol in in-service training is related to the enthusiasm with which they will teach.

Unfortunately, absolutely no data is available on the relation between participation in in-service training and performance in the classroom, although we shall be considering some studies of teachers' attitudes in the next sub-section.

3.2.2 The Teachers in Post

We have already emphasized the difficulty of assessing the quality of primary education. Furthermore, we have only been able to locate a very few studies when teacher's practice itself has been observed. In this section, we shall, therefore, include studies which have solicited outside evaluations of the teacher and her or his teaching.

One point is worth making right at the beginning: the basic salaries that a teacher receives is low compared to other countries in that region of Africa; moreover, the salary levels have been progressively depressed in relation to GNP per capita since Independence (see Table 20). Given these salary levels, the continuing commitment of the teachers in post is noteworthy and the temptation for them to engage in private tuition (see Section 2. above) unremarkable.

TABLE 20

Evolution of Basic Salaries of Grade IIIC Teachers

	Monthly Salary	GNP per capita Current Prices
1962/63	366.7	-
1964/66	366.7	-
1970/71	478.3	-
1971/76	600.0	-
1977/78	600.0	-
1981/82	720.0	1400.0

Source: Taken from various Ministry documents and from Shami (1978)

(a) Pedagogy.

First, the structure of assessment is always an important constraint upon pedagogy. In the case of Tanzania, the Primary School Leaving Examination at the End of Standard VII seems to be a moment of particular drama. It is therefore important to investigate the kind of skills which are being tested in this Examination. From our cursory inspection of the papers we can only reiterate the conclusions of a Report to JASPA by Little (1981):

> "The English and Mathematics papers contained a large proportion of items testing the application of rules. The General paper was dominated by items testing the recall of factual knowledge. (There were) technical problems of good item writing . . . most of the papers . . . (lacked) . . . items testing knowledge and skills related to real life."

It is difficult to see how such an examination is congruent with the avowed aim of the primary school curriculum which is to provide a relevant terminal education for the mass of children.

Moreover, the questions in the PSLE are all of the multiple-choice variety. Apart from generating some rather obvious ambiguities as to what actually is the correct response (for some examples, see Little, 1981), it is, once again, difficult to see how preparations for these kind of questions are conducive to the development of an inquiring mind or a self-reliant individual.

Another hardy perennial in discussions about education in Tanzania is the medium of instruction. Whilst Kiswahili has been the teaching medium in primary schools since 1964, the secondary schools have continued to use English. There have been several proposals to make the change, prompted partly by the students' inadequate mastery of English when they enter Form I. The study carried out by Bhaiji (1976) to investigate the feasibility of and objections to introducing Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in Secondary Schools provides an interesting commentary on that debate. Questionnaires were administered to 200 students and 40 teachers in one primary and two secondary schools. The point of interest to us is that, whilst teachers in secondary schools favoured a change to Kiswahili as the medium of instruction and are optimistic about the prospects for

learning more quickly if they do, the teachers in primary schools disagree about the desirability of the change and are pessimistic about the learning outcomes if the changeover is made.

In 1976, the Institute of Education conducted a study of the teaching and learning of Kiswahili in Standards I and II (reported in Misambwa and Chipa, 1977). They sampled six schools from each of the twenty regions stratified according to size and location, achieving a final sample of 47 rural and 47 urban schools. They administered a questionnaire to the teachers and observed their performances in the classroom. In general, staff teaching Kiswahili at this level found it an interesting and respected job, but several agreed that some teachers were not sufficiently enthusiastic in teaching children how to read and write.

The study investigated the relative efficacy of four teaching methods: the sentence method, word association, syllable and sounds of letters. There was no apparent relationship between the method used and the achievement scores in the five language skills tested. Apparently, therefore, the pedagogical approach adopted made no difference to the outcome.

One of the very few studies, where the teachers have actually been observed in the classroom is Chale (1983) which will be considered more fully below. On the basis of a check list of items reflecting the range of teachers' tasks and competencies, he observed three lessons of each of two groups of 42 teachers - those regularly trained and those trained by Distance Methods. There are some problems in his comparison of the two groups of teachers, but they do not affect the quality of the data as a whole.

His results are summarised in Table 21 below. It can be seen that whilst the Distance Trained Teachers are rated as more competent in respect of every criterion, the pattern was similar in seven of the eight categories. Thus, whilst both sets of teachers showed adaptability (to overcrowded classrooms and shortages of texts, etc.) and were assessed as fair or competent in their approach to the lesson (choice of methods, structure of lessons, etc.), communication skills (clarity of expression, organisation of content, etc.) and

TABLE 21

Summary of Chale's Observations of Teachers' Classroom Behaviour

	College-based Training			Distance-based Training		
	NOT demonstrated	FAIR	WELL demonstrated	NOT demonstrated	FAIR	WELL demonstrated
Mastery of Pedagogy	8	50	42	5	44	51
Adaptability to Demands of Teaching	12	28	60	4	24	72
Clarity in Communication	6	40	54	5	32	63
Relating Subject Matter to Environment	28	51	21	22	40	38
Involvement of Child	24	41	35	16	40	44
Class Management	9	43	48	2	34	64
Self-Confidence and Interest in Child	20	56	24	10	38	52
Monitoring Progress	7	61	32	6	56	38

class management (keeping order, use of blackboard, etc.), they were poor or only fair in relating subject matter to the environment (use of local materials and concrete references), involvement of child (engaging children in group work, stimulating them, etc.), and monitoring progress (giving and correcting exercises, spend time with children). The exception, when there is a large (and statistically significant) difference is in the teacher's self-confidence and interest in the child (using their names, and being supportive)where the majority of college trained teachers were only fair, whilst the distance-trained teachers were good.

Chale's overall assessment, that in respect of most pedagogical criteria, the teachers were only fair, must be considered disappointing. Given the specific deficiencies he noted, however, it is not obvious that an up-grading course of the kind the Ministry is proposing will do anything to remedy them!

(b) The Quality of Distance-Trained Teachers

The major focus of interest recently, however, has not been on appropriate pedagogy *per se*, but on the quality of teachers trained *via* the Distance Learning Scheme (henceforth DLS) as compared to the 'normal' training in residential colleges.

First, it is clear that the DLS is much cheaper. Chale (1983) gives comparative estimates which we reproduce in Table 22. Note that this comparison underestimates the relative cost advantage of the DLS resulting from the unpaid teaching service rendered during the training period. But, even ignoring this, the DLS approach apparently cost about one quarter of the 'normal' residential approach. Given this incredibly low level of resources input into the DLS, it would, *a priori*, not be surprising if they were less well trained in some respects.

TABLE 22

Comparison of Costs of College Based Teacher Training and the Distance Teacher Training Award

	College Based		Distance Scheme	
Variable Cost		17,119		3,649
Fixed Cost (annualised)		11,106		579
Hidden Costs (annualised)	Clothing, tools	1,130	Ward Coordinators	3,520
			Premises of LTCs	84
			Premises of TTCs	1,179
	Less value of production (estimated at 7.2% of running costs)	-2,123	Less value to government of teaching in schools by	-810
Net annual cost per trainee (TSh)		27,334		7,201

Whilst Omari et al (1983) did not study the teachers themselves, they did question the District Education Officers about the aims of the DLS, the state of preparedness of participants in the programme, and the main problems that arose during its implementation. The DEOs tended to emphasise the acquisition of permanent literacy as a human right as the main aim of UPE. However, the mediocrity of preparations at a national level, especially in terms of encouraging parental cooperation which they attributed to the suddeness with which the policy was introduced (their Table 24, p.61) were the most serious obstacles, the lack of teaching materials being the main outstanding problem, along with pupils' absenteeism.

Moshi (1979) gives an interesting financial breakdown of the costs of the DLS. Of the 1,000 million TSh allocated to the program in 1975/6, to 1977/8, 26.9% went on new classrooms, 20.6% on building teachers' houses, 8.4% on the new teachers' salaries and 44.1% on materials and equipment. We have already remarked upon the relatively low level of teachers' salaries (see above), although it is unclear whether the 8.4% refers to the salaries of the teacher trainers or the DLS teachers themselves: but this breakdown shows up another problem. The 44.1% allocated for materials and equipment include 20% to be used at the primary school level. That means some 200@ MTSh to be shared between 40,000 teachers or about TSh 5,000 per new teacher in post. Moshi (1979) remarks ". . . teachers are being paid to work but they are not being provided with the necessary facilities and equipment needed to do an effective job of teaching and learning" (p.78).

Finally, there have been a number of small-scale studies of the comparative performance of the UPE teachers in the classroom and two major evaluations: here we present those that were available to us.

Galabawa (1979) shows how the public believe that the quality of instruction and of education are falling. Thus, one writer in Uhuru (Lawoneko) suggested that the Ministry itself sees teaching as a low-status activity by the way it designs the form where a student can indicate his future career priorities: for, if a student is not selected for further studies, then (s)he is, <u>in any case</u>, sent to a teacher training college; another, a primary school pupil in Njombe said ". . . teachers employed under the UPE program do not have the necessary standard of competency" (Uhuru, 29th August, 1978).

Galabawa therefore resolved to compare the UPE teachers and the graduates of the residential programme both in respect of their classroom skill in teaching Mathematics and their own performance in a Mathematics test. He investigated the academic and classroom performances of 77 teachers in Iringa District, 40 of whom were graduates of the residential programmes and 37 were UPE teachers. He collected data using a constructed mathematics test, an observation schedule, and evaluation rating forms.

Whilst his sample is small so that one would not necessarily expect statistically significant results - and, of course, restricted to mathematics - what is interesting is that the results are almost identical! Thus, on the Mathematics test given to the teachers, out of a possible maximum of 33, the mean scores were 13.5 and 13.0 for the residential graduates and UPE teachers respectively. Even more important, although the residential teachers were rated higher than UPE teachers in respect of command of language, skill in evaluation, planning lesson procedure and techniques of instruction, the UPE teachers were rated higher than the residential teachers in respect of the knowledge of subject matter, methods and principles of teaching, use of materials of instruction, and relating classroom materials to other fields of study. This latter difference (which, in fact, is statistically significant) is noteworthy as it illustrates the possible advantage of the UPE approach in making primary education relevant to the local environment. Galabawa illustrates this from his observation of two teachers from the two programmes trying to teach the concept of an "angle" to Standard III pupils. Whilst the UPE teacher demonstrated angles using ropes, school buildings and string to concretize his explanation, the residentially trained teacher relied exclusively on the book and the "talk and chalk" method (p. 111). Galabawa concludes that both groups of teachers need in-service training support and that the residential programme could perhaps learn from the UPE approach.

A much more extensive evaluation has recently been produced by Chale (1983), also of teachers in the Iringa region. He set out to compare a matched sample of recently qualified teachers who had been certified between 1978/9 and 1980/81, and out of 240 teachers he obtained a

sample of 87 trained through the Distance Learning Scheme and 79 through the Teacher Training Colleges. He used a variety of research and evaluation methods: results of their own examinations in both academic and pedagogical subjects; structured observation in the classroom of the teaching competency of 42 of each category of trainee; interviews with the same 84 teachers; and postal questionnaires to the whole sample. He presents a wide range of results in respect of nine criteria of teaching competency.

1. Teachers' mastery of the academic subject matter
2. Teachers' mastery of the educational theory and pedagogy
3. Teachers' adaptability to teaching demands
4. Teachers' clarity of expression and communication
5. Teachers' relating of the subject matter to the learning environment
6. Teachers' involvement of the child in learning and co-operation activities
7. Teachers' classroom management and control
8. Teachers' self-confidence and interest in the child
9. Teachers' monitoring and assessment of the pupils' progress.

Chale also found that, in respect of their own examination results, the teachers trained through the Distance Learning Scheme were better - although on the basis of his evaluation of the teachers' mastery of the subject matter, both groups were about equal. More importantly, in respect of ALL the other criteria, he found that the teachers trained through the DLS were more competent than those trained via Teacher Training Colleges.

On the whole, his findings are more reliable than those of Galabawa in that he was able to complete all the ratings himself according to a standardized questionnaire. But, the fact that many of the differences he found could be related to differences in local practical experiences which would discriminate against the recently qualified graduate of the Teacher Training College and in favour of the UPE teachers, many of whom had been teaching adults for several years previously, casts doubt on the applicability of his findings to the stock of Grade IIIC teachers; and it is disappointing that he did not include any material on the performance of the pupils themselves.

3.3.3 Conclusion

The implementation of the UPE policy required a very large number of new teachers in a short time. In turn, these new teachers required training. The existing facilities were inadequate to this task. The point is, whether or not the products of the admittedly hurried training programmes that were introduced, are, in fact, inferior teachers. Hearsay evidence suggests that they are of academically lower standards but the studies by Galabawa and Chale do not bear this out, so that the objective of the proposed up-grading courses which are concentrating on the academic subjects is therefore doubtful.

More important is the question of whether residentially trained teachers or those trained under the Distance Learning Scheme are equally good, better or worse at teaching. The balance of the little evidence presented above is in favour of the Distance Trained Teachers. Thus, Galabawa showed how UPE teachers were more successful in making mathematics more relevant to the local environment; Chale's comparison suggests that the teacher's trained through the Distance Learning Scheme were better in respect of a wide range of criteria of teaching competency. Doubts remain because the sample sizes were relatively small and it is to be hoped that the Ministry's evaluation, in which a very large sample of teachers will be surveyed and tested will cast further light on the topic. It is hoped that this evaluation will be completed in 1985.

3.4 Students Reaction

It is obviously difficult to evaluate the reactions of students or their parents to the educational system in general. Here we shall restrict the discussion to specific evaluations that are made either informally by the students or by the system. Thus, on one level, there is the question of the pupils' immediate reactions to the school regime. There is one small study of problems of "discipline" and some evidence about attendance. Next, there is the question of the school's formal reaction to these problems in terms of dropout (or expulsion) and repetition of standards. Finally, there is some evidence about the levels of attainment during the primary cycle.

3.4.1 Disciplinary Problems and Absenteeism

It is a typical complaint of teachers in hard-pressed deprived urban areas of overdeveloped countries that the pupils are "uncontrollable" or always "truanting". What is the situation in Tanzania?

Manase and Kasanga (1978) report on a participant-observation study in two schools in 1975 in Iringa and Mtwara. They found that most pupils said that a person was "disciplined when he fulfils the expectation of the society . . .". In contrast, the teachers and the DEOs say that "a disciplined teacher is one who abides by his code of conduct . . . a disciplined pupil is one who abides by school regulations" (both quotes from p. 7).

In a later study, they focussed on the interrelation between the school regulations and the community mores highlighting the difference in the acceptability of female sexuality. In both cases, the question of "discipline" encapsulated a disagreement between the formalism of a traditional school regime and developments in the wider society.

Manase and Kasanga go on to argue that the Arusha Declaration was, in one sense, metaphysical as it proposed that one can make revolutions in Tanzania without eradicating the structures of under-developement. At the same time, the progressive ideas in the Declaration on participatory democracy which were later issued in 1971 as a set of party guidelines (Mwongozo) are often called upon by students and workers in any confrontation with teachers and management respectively. In particular, they showed how collective crises could erupt over the food available in different schools, and over appropriation of the school fund by some of the staff. In such situations, the immediate source of frustration is the teacher. The authors end by recommending a more extensive participation by the students in the management of the school.

Levels of attendance and of truancy were oft-quoted "problems". Whilst national figures are not available, attendance registers appear to be kept meticulously by the head teachers and collated to, at least, the District level. There are wide variations between the schools in any one region. Thus, in the Songea District, where the

overall attendance rate was 88.3%, this varied in the districts between 84.6% and 91.2%, in the wards between 80.5% and 98.0%, and at the level of the schools between 53.8% and 100.0%. Other micro planning studies confirm the impression that the national attendance rate is between 85% and 90% (see also MSE, 1984) but that there are some 'problem' schools or wards which would repay further investigation.

A case study of truancy and dropout was carried out by Nkoma (1979) in the Pangani District (Tanga Region). He interviewed 25 teachers, 48 pupils, of whom 24 were non-truants and 24 were truants, and 41 parents and guardians of pupils. He showed that the level of truancy was consistent throughout Standards I to VII and that the rates were the same for boys and girls. In general, truants come from poor homes and, on the days they were not going to school, they were occupied in productive activities. They were not just idle. Moreover, more than half of the truants suggested a change in the school curriculum, mostly in favour of vocational subjects.

Kimaro (1981), in a similar study, set out to establish the extra-school factors which influenced student absenteeism and drop-out in urban primary schools. His analysis is based on a sample from Iringa of 58 persistent absentees, 67 regular school attenders, 21 drop-outs, 7 parents of each group and 76 primary school teachers. He found that absenteeism and drop-out were related to family economic status, educational level of the parents, living conditions in the child's household, and area of residence; moreover, the rates of absenteeism and dropout for a school were related to school location in the town. He also discusses at length the possible influence of family size and structure as mediated by the upbringing of the child. Both authors conclude by recommending that serious effort be made to design a primary school curriculum which is complete in itself, that the mass organisations should be more directly involved in the question of child upbringing, and that repressive regulations (such as that concerned with schoolgirl pregnancy) should be dropped.

3.4.2 Dropout and Repetition

In some senses, of course, these are outcomes of education and so should be considered in the next section. But, inasmuch as we know

that the primary cycle is meant to be complete in itself, we have taken the view that it is more appropriate to treat educational status within the primary cycle as 'intermediate'.

(A) Dropouts

The dropout rate on a national level is officially very low (below 1%). But, as an analysis of the national data for 1980 conducted by the Ministry shows, the reported rate of 0.73% based on "the number of pupils who were officially reported to have been expelled or to have voluntarily given up schooling, does not reflect the magnitude of the problem of dropout at our Primary Schools" (MNE, 1982, p. 5).

They show how Unreported Dropouts arise through in the process of transfer between the regions. Their claculations give the true dropout rates in 1980 as 3.24% overall, varying between the Standards and between the sexes as shown in Table 23. Moreover, the rates vary widely at the local level: thus the Micro Planning exercise in the Kilosa District (IIEP, 1982) showed a rate of Dropout from Standard I varying from 2.1% to 8.0% (p.99) even between "zones" (comprised of several wards) otherwise identified as homogenous (pp. 78-82).

A study by the Ministry of the UPE cohort (entering in 1978) shows that there has been "a rather high drop-out rate . . . (of) . . . 5.4% p.a. as compared to a national average of 2.0%. In the span of four years, we have lost 139,401 pupils (15.5%) from this single group" (p.16). At the same time, the dropout rates for cohorts following the 1978 cohort apparently had lower dropout rates.

Whilst even these rates are relatively low - compared to some other African countries (see below) they do mean that a significant minority of those who enter Standard I do not stay the course. Thus, if the national rates of dropout calculated in MNE (1982) were to be replicated for the cohort entering in 1980 then only just over 80% of whose who started school in 1980 would still be in school in 1986 (when they ought to be in Standard VII). Whilst, those who dropout have not necessarily "wasted" any educational resources, it is obviously important to examine the reasons for this rate of dropout

TABLE 23

TRUE DROPOUT RATES FOR BOYS AND GIRLS FOR 1980

	BOYS					GIRLS				
	1980 Enrolment	Dropouts Recorded	Unreported	Total	%	1980 Enrolment	Dropouts Recorded	Unreported	Total	%
Standard I-Standard II	247,463	294	6,328	6,622	2.68	240,631	252	3,713	3,695	1.65
II III	269,493	1,029	3,651	4,680	1.74	258,213	863	3,555	4,418	1.71
III IV	413,811	1,693	14,489	16,182	3.91	383,959	1,444	14,836	16,280	4.24
IV V	269,971	2,942	4,963	7,905	2.93	237,728	2,833	3,663	6,496	2.73
V VI	246,953	2,355	4,030	6,385	2.59	209,644	2,739	4,975	7,714	3.68
VI VII	210,825	3,045	5,477	8,522	4.04	167,765	3,627	9,528	13,155	7.68
	1,658,516	11,358	38,938	50,296	3.03	1,497,940	11,758	40,270	52,028	3.47

Source: M.E.S. Flow of Pupils and Drop Out-Rates, Dar es Salaam, 1981.

and we are glad to hear that the Ministry intend to incorporate this in the next version of the statistical questionnaire sent annually to the schools.

There have been several small scale studies in different regions. Thus Shuma (1980) examined the family background of those children who dropped out of primary school before completing Standard VII in the same district of Kilimanjaro. She concluded that dropout can be seen partly as a problem of interpersonal relationships within the family and of socio-economic problems of the family, as well as an educational problem of the school system and existing educational practices, and a social problem of the community. In particular, her comparison of the occupations of the parents of dropouts and of those in Standard VII shows that all the parents of the dropouts were involved in subsistence farming and supplemented their income with petty trade, fishing or occasional labouring but that whilst most of the parents of Standard VII pupils were also involved in farming, over a third had some livestock, a quarter were involved in trading and one-fifth were civil servants. A similar study by Mbunda (1983) was conducted in the Kinondoni District (in the city of DSM). She showed that the rate of dropout was higher for girls than for boys and that the rates were higher for the upper Standards than for the lower Standards. The main causes of dropout were pregnancy, pupil's involvement in small businesses, employment as baby sitters of house girls, peer group influences, running away from home, and lack of uniform.

Omari et al (1982) commented on the higher dropout rates observed among the UPE children as follows:

> "Generally, factors accounting for dropout include apathy of parents, child labour in the family home or business, employment outside the home sphere, long distances from home to school, nutrition and health and dull teaching in depressing buildings and ill-equipped classrooms. These factors have greater influence after universal primary education has been introduced than before because of the inclusion of marginal groups in the school population."
>
> (Omari et al, 1982, p. 70)

(8) Repeating Standards

In principle, there is automatic promotion through all the grades. But the parents can make a special request to the head teacher that their child should be allowed to repeat a particular grade on the grounds of sickness, etc.

The national figures are given in Table 24 for all schools. The rate of repetition drops from Standard I to Standard IV. The very tiny rates given for Standards V to VII reflect the fact that repetition at the parents' request in these grades is only allowable in exceptional circumstances. Note, however, that some parents might withdraw a child from one school, having failed to be allowed to repeat Standard V and re-register in Standard V, at the beginning of the following year in another school in the same region without declaring that the child had already been in Standard V elsewhere.

Table 24

Percentage of Repeaters in Standards I to VII for 1981

	St. I		St. II		St. III		St. IV		St. V		St. VI		St. VII		Total
Enrolled	439	521	475	251	510	545	753	301	492	127	442	453	356	162	3530182
Repeaters	15	484	13	228	13	165	1	238		67		22		14	43218
Percent		3.1		2.8		2.5		1.6		0.0		0.0		0.0	

Source: MNE, Education Statistics, 1981.

Tvärhan 2

The progressive decrease in the rates of repetition through the first four Standards might be expected on rather general grounds that pupils want to repeat more often in the higher grades because it becomes more important for them to have good marks (an alternative explanation might be that once a child has become used to school, (s/he is more likely to succeed.) These rates do, however, mask considerable variations between areas. Thus, in the Micro-Planning exercise in the Kilosa district (Morogoro region) the repetition rates in Standard I vary from 0.2% to 5.0%. The rates do not appear to vary significantly between the sexes (based on the more detailed tables provided in MNE Statistics).

It is important to emphasise that these rates are low compared to other African countries in that region (see Table 25). For the record, however, I have calculated the average number of school years required for a pupil to reach Standard V, using the Reconstructed Cohort Method, based on the assumption that a pupil can only repeat once and the dropout rates provided by the Ministry (given in Tables 23 and 24). For the new enrolments into Standard I in 1980 or 1981, the average number of school years required for one hundred pupils to enter Standard V was 442.6 - a "wastage rate" of 10.7%. It is obviously, worth knowing why, some children start and do not finish even though they are a small proportion.

3.4.3 Educational Attainment during the Primary Cycle

Most schools carry out regular tests and examinations of their pupils throughout the primary cycle. (The implications of this have been considered above in sections 3.3 in general terms).

Some of the tests are also used as a ranking device: thus students within a given school are ranked on the basis of their performance in the end-of-year tests in Standards V, VI and VII. The resulting ranks are then forwarded to the National Examinations Council for consideration, together with the results on the Primary School Leaving Examination. However, as these tests are compiled and administered separately by the schools, they cannot be used as a comparative measure of attainment - even if one wanted to use them in that way - other than within that particular school.

There have, however, been a number of small scale studies of the attainment of children at various levels within primary schools in a variety of subjects. Two studies are reviewed below.

Note that this does not include the studies of the attainment of students in Standard VII- as this is the final grade, they are treated here as indications of the output of the school system.

A rather general study is reported in Nkumbi(1981) cited in Biswalo(1984). They studied the teaching and learning of English and found that

TABLE 25

Survival in primary education in selected African countries. Both sexes.

Country	Year	Proportion of Cohort Reaching Grade							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Botswana	1978	1000	972	963	940	890	861	789	-
Burundi	1978	1000	932	894	842	762	664	-	-
Kenya	1976	1000	857	802	688	616	573	523	-
Lesotho	1978	1000	803	717	608	524	440	375	-
Madagascar	1974	1000	687	621	547	407	371	-	-
Malawi	1978	1000	678	610	515	455	395	354	354
Swaziland	1978	1000	919	890	806	741	673	602	-
Uganda	1978	1000	870	803	697	611	576	576	-
United Rep. Tanzania	1974	1000	963	938	897	859	841	841	-
Zaire	1976	1000	792	778	706	643	636	-	-
Zambia	1977	1000	1000	1000	983	816	802	799	-

Note: The survival rates presented in this Table have been calculated on the basis of the Reconstructed Cohort Method. The rates used to calculate the cohort survival refer to the year shown and they have been maintained constant.

Sources: Extracted from Table 28 of the UNESCO background document for the Conference of Ministers of Education held in Harare, June 1982, Development of education in Africa: A Statistical Review. ED82/MINEDAF/REF2

(a) teachers often lack competence in the language;

(b) there is often abrupt and unplanned changes in the curriculum;

(c) textbooks, reference books and supplementary readers were lacking;

(d) teachers and pupils lacked motivation;

(e) pupils lacked adequate exposure to English.

In 1976, the Institute of Education conducted a study of the learning of Kiswahili in Standards I and II (reported in Mizambwa and Chipa, 1977). They sampled six schools from each of the twenty regions stratified according to size and location, achieving a final sample of 47 rural and 47 urban schools with a total of 1639 Standard II pupils. They administered an achievement test, a questionnaire for the teacher and obtained data from systematic observation of the classrooms. They have a number of detailed findings about the teachers' attitudes and the methods (s)he employs. Of immediate interest here is the finding that, of the ten items in the achievement test, the standard of achievement set by the evaluators - that more than 40% of the pupils obtain the correct answer - was attained in all except one of the ten items. The question that causes most difficulty was the ability to read a comprehension passage and answer questions upon it (see Mizambwa and Chipa, 1977, p. 31).

It is difficult to summarise this sub-section composed as it is of very diverse studies. One general observation is that the problems of truancy and dropout, and of under achievement seem to show wide variation between schools and between wards within a district. There are some "good" schools and some "poor" schools. Thus, whilst most schools maintain a high level of attendance (above 90%) and have few dropouts, there clearly are some schools which have considerable problems retaining pupils. These differences may also account for the wide disparity between small-scale studies of underachievement in particular schools and national levels of literacy skills reported by the NEC on the basis of the learning examination. It is not surprising that there are variations between some 10,000 schools : the problem is how much.

4. The Products of Primary Education

We have already talked about one kind of product of primary education - the "failures" within the cycle - that is those who drop out or fail to learn materials corresponding to their grade level. In this section, we review the evidence about the output of primary education at or after Standard VII. First, there is the straightforward question as to whether or not the students have learnt what they were supposed to learn, regardless as to whether or not it was appropriate, and whether their attainment is influenced by "extra-school" factors. Second, there is the question of what influences the transition to further education whether to a government or private secondary school, or to vocational training. Third, there is the whole issue of the appropriateness of the education that has been imparted and that has been received by primary school leavers (henceforth PSLs) who are not able to enter secondary education of any kind.

4.1 Education Attainment of PSLs

Every Standard VII pupil who does not drop out during the year takes the Primary School Leaving Examination (henceforth PSLE). This exam, which, until this year, was composed of five papers in Kiswahili, English, Mathematics, Science and General Knowledge forms the basis for the selection of a small number of students to government secondary schools. It could, in principle, also be used as a measure of the average level of academic attainment in the subjects examined (Kiswahili, English, Mathematics, Science, General Knowledge). However, until this year, the exam has been used only as a method of selection for the government secondary schools, although the individual results are in principle, available to other institutions of further education to which the PSLs might apply (such as private secondary schools and teacher training courses). Not only are the results not available to the individual pupil or to her or his parents, but there does not seem to have been any analysis of the average attainment (see King, 1983).

The situation as from this academic year (1983/4) will be different, as all the papers are being marked by the National Examinations Council (NEC). The change to centralised marking, as well as

setting, of the exams imposed a considerable administrative strain on the NEC. This had the 'unintended' consequence of reducing the number of papers to three (languages, Mathematics, General Knowledge including Science). In turn, this will presumably affect the respective weight accorded to the different subjects in the results. More importantly, for us, we note that the research section of the NEC intends to profit from the centralisation of all the marks so as to analyse the results as they already do for the Form IV and Form VI examinations (e.g. NEC, 1980).

For detailed information about the attainment of PSLs at the moment, however, we therefore have to rely on special studies. Two studies are reviewed here. The first, by Haule (1979), compared the literacy achievement among Standard VII rural and urban pupils in the eleven districts of the Mbeya region. Data were collected through documentary review, questionnaires to the 11 DEOs and the 34 teachers and through two Kiswahili tests constructed by the researcher which were administered to a sample of 305 pupils. He found that 16% of the sample were 'low achievers' (unfortunately undefined) in reading and 53% in writing. Whilst urban pupils performed better than rural pupils in reading, rural pupils performed better than urban pupils in writing. The former finding probably reflects the fact that there is much more opportunity in the urban areas to acquire specifically reading skills: for example, billboards and signs, and the easy availability of newspapers. But the latter finding is interesting (see below).

There was no significant difference between the sexes in reading achievement but in writing achievement girls lagged behind boys. He attributes - probably correctly - this finding (which is at odds with most research findings in developed countries) to their respective social roles when children in the Tanzanian milieu.

He also finds an inverse correlation between scores in the learning of reading and writing skills. He suggests that, in very large classes, teachers may concentrate more on teaching reading, as this is more easily inculcated and monitored en masse, to the detriment of imparting writing skills: in smaller classes, in contrast, teachers

may be "adventurous" and spend a considerable amount of time on imparting writing skills to the detriment of reading practice. It is all guesswork, but it is true that, in his schools, whilst the teacher-pupil ratios were high in rural areas in terms of enrolments, they were, in fact, quite low in terms of actual daily attendance. Ergo . . . it is interesting guesswork but clearly his detailed analysis must be treated with caution. Nevertheless, the overall overall message is clear enough, "about half the pupils will leave school without a good foundation in literacy skills at the functional level" (Haule, 1979, p. 109).

This figure seems very high: indeed, information from the Ministry based on preliminary analysis of the PSLE results for 1983 suggest that the percentage of low achievers in literacy skills is much lower, "between 1 to 4%".

The second study, by Fuja (1981), compared two primary schools in Dar Es Salaam: Oysterbay - known to be a "good" school; and Kisarawe Street - known to be a "poor" school. He collected data from 28 Standard VII pupils in each school via questionnaires on their socio-economic family background and two achievement tests in English and Mathematics and from their English and Mathematics teachers. He found significant differences in pupils' performance according to the educational level of both mother and father, the occupation of the father but not of the mother. Moreover, pupils who received private tuition after school hours scored higher than those who did not. It is worth remarking that these differences reach statistical significance at the 0.1 level even on such a small sample.

It is difficult to draw out any sensible general conclusion from such contradictory results. Hopefully, however, the research section of the NEC will be able to use the tests to throw some light on this area and especially on the apparent disparities in attainment between "good" and "poor" schools.

4.2 The Transition to Secondary Eduation

The number of places in government secondary schools has, purposefully, been very limited (see brief discussion of debates around ESR in sections 3.1, 3.2 above). Thus, Nyerere was determined to adjust

the size of the expensive secondary sector to the rather small needs of the formal labour market as "a poor socialist country cound not afford the luxury of the educated unemployed, and the constant devaluation of educational certificates through the diploma disease" (taken from King, 1983, p.3).

The problem is, of course, that every parent wants her or his child to "do well" - which, at the moment, means either entry to secondary education or a job in the formal sector. Whilst the study by Komba (1975) discussed in section 4.3 below suggests that the consequent disappointment when the PSL returns to the village may not be quite as universal as previously supposed, the pressure from parents has been very strong.

This pressure on places in the secondary school leads to some parents employing a variety of strategies in their attempt to ensure a secondary school place for their child(ren). Thus they may manoeuvre so as to get their children registered at 'good' primary schools; they may employ private tutors, in some cases even from before the child actually goes to school! and generally pull strings wherever possible. This appears to be quite widespread in the capital, Dar es Salaam, where the headteachers of some schools we visited estimated that between one-third and one-half of the pupils enrolled also received private tuition in the afternoons.

Given the pressure on places, it is not surprising that the process of selection to government secondary schools is highly charged. However, the particular administrative arrangements have meant that this has affected not only the children themselves whilst taking the Primary School Leaving Examination, but also those involved in the selection process at the administrative level. Thus, until last year, the selection to the government secondary schools was the duty of the Regional Education Officers according to a quota 'q' of places allocated by the Ministry. They chose on the basis of the results of the Primary School Leaving Examination; but each head teacher was asked to "pre-select" one pupil from her or his school in principle on the basis of their overall performance in school and that pupil would be given a place if (s)he arrived in the first '2q'

positions. It is not difficult to imagine that this led to considerable pressure upon both the headteachers and the REOs, who had to weigh their recommendations against the results of the PSLE. The system introduced from this year means that the National Examination Council will take the average of the result in the PSLE and of the pupils' relative performance in Standards V, VI, VII. Whilst this might avoid some of the abuses of the previous system, it will still favour those who have had private tuition.

Another consequence of the limit in places in government secondary schools has been a demand from (some?) parents for the expansion of the private sector. The trends in numbers of students at government and private secondary schools since 1976 is given in Table 26. It looks as if the numbers entering private secondary schools, now, in the year when the UPE cohort has reached Standard VII, will exceed those entering government secondary schools. But the rapid growth of private secondary schools took place between 1976 and 1979 at the same time as the massive expansion of primary education, and not seven years later as one might have predicted on the basis of a rather mechanistic view of the demand for secondary school places. It appears as if the government's push for UPE of itself stimulated a demand for further education but at the secondary not the primary level.

Meanwhile, considerable effort has been made to maintain fair and equal chances for all children to obtain a place in the government secondary schools by the system of assigning a quota of places for each region. But the growth of private secondary schools has been very uneven. Thus Samoff (1981) showed that there was a considerable relative advantage of Kilimanjaro region (in terms of the number of secondary school places) in 1966 (82 places per 100,000 of 1967 population) although this had been considerably reduced by 1976. However, this equalising tendency has lately been mitigated by the rapid growth of private secondary schools, as can be seen from Table 27 reproduced from Court and Kinyanjui (1980).

Moreover, the quota system - whilst preserving equality between the regions - does not appear to have seriously affected the relative chances of upper social groups to obtain a secondary school place.

TABLE 26

Growth in Numbers of Students Attending Government and Private Secondary Schools, 1976-82

	Public			Private		
	Form I-IV	Form V-VI	Total	Form I-IV	Form V-VI	Total
1976	36,218	3,729	39,947	17,039	157	17,196
1977	37,883	4,082	41,965	18,924	289	19,213
1978	37,872	3,920	41,792	22,090	310	22,400
1979	36,834	3,464	40,298	28,466	417	28,883
1980	35,424	3,406	38,830	28,067	379	28,446
1981	34,748	3,544	38,292	29,078	232	29,310
1982						

Source: Ministry of Education Statistics.

Thus, Malakela (1983) reports on the results of a survey in 1982 of a reasonably representative sample of 1,186 Form IV Students in government schools (14% of the corresponding population). He uses the "representation index" to compare the family backgrounds of Form IV students with the results of the 1978 Census (when the students would have been sitting the PSLE in Standard VII). A selection of his results are reproduced below (Table 28(A). There are clearly wide disparities in the chances of a child entering secondary education according to the education and occupation of their mothers and fathers. On the other hand, to the extent that academic secondary education is a merit good, then it is encouraging that more than half of the students had come from families where the father had received at most four years of schooling and where the mother had received no schooling. Moreover, more than half of the fathers gave "farming" as an occupation; whilst they are under-represented vis-a-vis the corresponding population, many more of the

TABLE 27 Enrolment in Public & Private Secondary Schools by Region 1966 and 1976

	1966				1976			
	%	Aided	%	Unaided	%	Aided	%	Unaided
Region								
Arusha	2.9	(685)	5.4	(203)	3.3	(1,310)	8.8	(1,513)
Coast	20.3	(4,842)	28.0	(1,062)	4.5	(1,810)	-	-
Dar es Salaam	-	-	-	-	13.3	(5,321)	20.8	(3,592)
Dodoma	6.7	(1,596)	3.5	(134)	7.0	(2,799)	2.5	(429)
Iringa	7.1	(1,702)	1.0	(40)	8.4	(3,365)	4.0	(679)
Kigoma	1.2	(276)	-	-	1.1	(431)	0.8	(141)
Kilimanjaro	11.7	(2,781)	14.2	(540)	11.4	(4,542)	19.8	(3,414)
Lindi	-	-	-	-	1.1	(427)	2.7	(466)
Mara	2.4	(562)	4.4	(167)	3.6	(1,417)	2.0	(349)
Mbeya	4.3	(1,013)	5.1	(194)	4.1	(1,618)	3.7	(665)
Morogoro	5.9	(1,399)	4.0	(150)	4.5	(1,788)	7.6	(1,317)
Mtwara	6.0	(1,430)	0.7	(25)	5.0	(1,961)	-	-
Mwanza	7.3	(1,743)	14.9	(563)	6.2	(2,463)	8.2	(1,421)
Rukwa	-	-	-	-	0.9	(341)	1.1	(194)
Ruvuma	2.6	(627)	3.2	(122)	4.0	(1,607)	1.6	(282)
Shinyanga	1.2	(288)	-	-	1.6	(639)	2.6	(453)
Singida	-	-	0.6	(23)	2.1	(844)	0.7	(125)
Tabora	6.6	(1,568)	3.8	(145)	5.5	(2,209)	3.0	(518)
Tanga	8.4	(1,997)	4.8	(181)	7.4	(2,973)	3.8	(663)
West Lake	5.6	(1,327)	6.4	(243)	5.2	(2,091)	5.9	(1,024)
Tanzania		(23,836)		(3,792)		(39,947)		(17,245)

Source: Republic of Tanzania Budget Speech of the Minister of National Education, July 1977, taken from Court and Kinyanjui (1980).

TABLE 29

(A) SOCIAL SELECTIVITY OF POST IV STUDENTS BY FATHERS' EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

Fathers' Education	1970 Population Ages 40-49 %	Students by Fathers' Education N	%	Representation Index
None	54.1	285	24.5	0.45
Primary 1-4	29.1	331	28.4	0.98
Primary 5-8	14.3	345	29.7	2.08
Form 1-4	2.0	111	9.5	4.87
Above Form 4	0.5	91	7.8	16.29
All males N	620,068	1164		-

Fathers' Education	1970 Population Ages 40-49 %	Students by Fathers' Education N	%	Representation Index
Farmers	82.4	664	57.0	0.69
Artisans	5.8	72	6.2	1.07
Businessmen/Clerical	3.0	109	13.7	4.61
Professional	2.5	164	14.1	4.87
Managerial/Administration	0.6	90	7.7	12.45
Other workers	5.4	16	1.4	0.26
All males N	617,662	1165	-	-

(B) SELECTIVITY OF STUDENTS AT ENTRY TO FORM I OF PARENTS' EDUCATION

	1967 Population aged 25-34 N ('000s)	%	Representation of Parents Education at Level Public N	%	Private N	%	Representation Index Public	Private
No Education	1,188	70.4	264	15.7	54	8.1	0.28	0.12
Primary 1-4	334	19.8	442	35.6	145	21.8	1.8	1.1
Primary 5-8	123	7.3	401	32.3	273	41.2	4.4	5.6
Lower Secondary	23	1.4	113	9.1	143	21.6	6.5	15.4
Above Lower Secondary	4	0.2	41	3.3	48	7.2	16.5	36.0
All Population aged 25-34	1,688	99.1	1,241	100.0	663	99.9		

Note: Representation Index = $\frac{\text{Percent of Group Enrolled}}{\text{Percent of Same Group in Total Population}}$

1,165 students could have come from the 39,949 families where the father was a businessman, a clerk, a professional, a manager or administrator.

Malakela's results refer only to government secondary schools. Given the wide disparities observed, it is legitimate to ask whether the selection criteria provide equal opportunity for children with the same ability from different social groups (any bias introduced at this stage would, of course, be additional to the other social inequalities already documented in Section 2). It is impossible to properly answer this question without a detailed study of the process of selection. But the data presented in Table 28(B) based on a sample of 988 pupils from 12 schools in four regions, which compares representation indices calculated according to the parents' education separately for those admitted to Form I of government and private secondary schools, is suggestive. The chances for children born to those with no education of entering private secondary school are less than half of their already small change of entering the government secondary school; the chances for children born to a parent who went to Upper Secondary school are more than twice their already good chances of going to a government secondary school.

We can make two inferences on the basis of this comparison: first, rather obviously, the expansion of secondary education has benefitted the more educated sections of the population - those whose children were already educationally advantaged; second, whilst by no means providing equal opportunity as between social strata, the selection of students for government secondary schools is considerably fairer than for the private schools. (Note that, whilst this comparison demonstrates that the government secondary schools are more equable, it does not follow that they provide equal opportunity - even on the basis of ability).

Because places in government secondary schools are limited, the Ministry has tried to make the process of selection as "fair" as possible both between and within regions and it will be important to see whether the new system of selection by the NEC affects the relationship between socio-economic background and enrolment in

secondary school. In this context, whilst it might appear utopian to over-emphasise the wide disparities between children from different social strata, it does draw attention to the process by which social inequalities are reproduced. The proposal to introduce parental contributions towards the costs of secondary education (Msuya, 1984, p. 18) can only exacerbate this tendency: the already slim chances of a child from a poor family gaining entry to secondary school may well evaporate as the parents will be unable to pay.

In some ways, more serious from the point of view of this report, is the reliance placed on the Primary School Leaving Examination, especially given the skills tested in the examination items testing the application of rules and the recall of factual knowledge, all in the multiple choice format (see Little, 1981). For the importance of the PSLE "inevitably" means that classroom activities in Standards VI and VII are dominated by the need to practise those rather restrictive skills, to the detriment of other, perhaps more fruitful, pursuits (see also section 3.3.2).

4.3 The "Primary School Leaver Problem"

4.3.1 The Problems

Nyerere became very annoyed at the suggestion that primary school leavers were a "problem". In a speech at Tabora, in May 1967, he observed that people were panicking about the 50,000 pupils who had finished primary school in 1966 and of whom only 6,500 obtained secondary places. He was distinctly disappointed that the expansion in primary education viewed with pride by the government was being called a problem by the bourgeoisie. Nyerere saw primary school leavers as being a problem only in the minds of people in the transition from elite to mass education and a pretext for furtherance of vested interests (taken from Omari et al, 1982, pp. 33/4).

The extent to which parental aspirations continued to be a problem can be guaged from the opinion survey of Standard VII children's preferences after primary school (reported in Ishumi, 1984, p. 51).

. To go on to secondary school	44%
. To seek paid employment	25%
. To repeat the class/year	11%
. To join adult literary teachers	7%
. To go to National Service camp	7%
. To stay with my parents and work on the farms/fields/in the home	4%

In some cases, these aspirations for further education are diminishing (see the report on Lubasha's study below) but aspirations such as these, when unfulfilled, are bound to cause frustrations.

Moreover, the likelihood of a PLS obtaining wage employment in the urban areas is very low. Thus Leonor (1983) shows that, whilst the economy overall grew steadily from 1966 to 1979 (at around 4% to 5% annually), the growth in wage employment has not been so fast (see Table 29) and hardly kept pace with the rate of growth of population (around 3%). Given the rapid expansion of primary education and therefore the rapid increase in PSLs, wage employment is clearly not a vialbe option in the near future for more than a small fraction of PSLs, without a considerable level of under-employment.

4.3.2 What Actually Happens

One early case study was carried out in the Magua Ward in Mbinga District and reported in Komba (1975). He interviewed 97 Standard VII pupils, 97 PSLs, 40 Non-PSLs and 67 Village Elders about a wide range of issues around the theme of rural development, the skills available and required, and the role of youth therein. First, his data suggest that the youth, as well as the elders, were prepared to actively promote village development (his Tables 15 and 16). Second, he shows how a wide range of skills, both "traditional" such as basket and pot making, and "modern" such as carpentry are available in the village (his Table 12, reproduced here as Table 30), but that only the latter are being passed on to the youth (his Table 13). Third, all groups agree that what the village needs is to increase food-crops and cash-crops and to start

Table 29. Annual growth rates of wage employment by industry, Tanzania, 1965-76

Industry	1965-67	1965-72	1972-76	1965-76
Estate agriculture	-5.6	-2.8	3.8	-0.5
Mining	-6.4	-4.0	-1.5	-3.1
Manufacturing	10.1	11.6	8.2	10.3
Public utilities	22.2	14.6	5.1	11.0
Construction	15.5	7.4	-4.5	2.9
Commerce	6.1	4.8	11.3	7.1
Transport and communications	6.1	4.9	9.0	6.4
Services	3.2	2.9	3.0	2.9
Finance	na*	na*	9.3	na*
TOTAL, Wage sector	1.93	2.83	4.33	3.37

Source: Calculations are based on Appendix Table 3, Valentine, p.268, citing Tanzania employment and earnings for years 1962-1976.

*na means "not available."

Taken from Leonor (1983), his Table 6, p. 8.

Table 30. Background data summarizing descriptive factors for the four categories (STD 7 Pupils, PSLs, Non PSLs and Elders)

Category	Age	Sex	Parents Alive	Average Annual Revenue (of Family)	Marital State	With Educated Parents	With Skilled Father	With Skilled Mother	Most Frequent Skills of Fathers	Most Frequent Skills of Mothers	Skills Learnt From Father	Skills Learnt From Mother	
Std. 7 Pupils	90% 15-25 yrs	M=50% F=50%	90% both alive	74% with 1,600/=	unmarried 100%	76% (Std. 4)	93%	91%	farming, building, sewing, basketry	basketry pottery	farming	basketry	Still in School in 1974
PSLs	94% 15-25 yrs	M=60% F=40%	90% both alive	90% with 1,200/=	85% single		67%	63%	carpentry building basketry farming	basketry farming	farming	basketry	Std. 7 before 74/75
Non-	88% 15-25 yrs	M=64% F=36%	80% both alive	77% with 1,300/=	83% single	60% both ed.	72%	63%	carpentry building farming basketry	basketry farming	farming carpentry	farming basketry	Std. 4 usually
Elders	60% about 40 yrs	M=75% F=25%		30% with 1,500/=	generally married								

small industries and transport services (his Table 13) but that the primary school is not providing them as well as it could (his Table 14, presented here as Table 31).

Complementarily, his interviews suggest that PSLs and nonPSLs are seen to have an equally useful role to play in village development (his Table 14) but that PSLs face a number of problems when they return to the village. In particular, they had "difficulties connected with the cultivation of crops, especially cash crops such as coffee, and the lack of some skills, particularly those connected with building oneself a house" (p. 98). Whilst, there is no particular reason to suppose that these difficulties are more acute for PSLs than for non-PSLs, they underline an earlier observation by Foster (1968) that concern with the development of agriculture in the rural areas or with the provision of useful jobs for school leavers should not be focussed on the introduction of agricultural education and training into the primary school curriculum but with, for example, mechanisms of diffusing innovations and the provision of agricultural credit.

TABLE 31

Assessment of Past and Present Primary Education

	No. of Resp.	Yes	No	DK
To Non-PSLs:				
Does past primary education help present PSLs in village?	32	20	12	0
To Elders:				
Are elders satisfied with primary graduates?	37	11	25	1
To Std. VII Pupils:				
Does present primary school prepare youth for village problems?	87	73	14	0
To PSLs:				
Should present primary education change?	55	32	23	0
To PSLs:				
Does present primary school prepare youth to meet village problems?	66	51	15	0

Source: Koma (1975, Table 14g, p. 86)

A more recent study by Lubasha, entitled rather pointedly "UPE for What", was conducted in the Rufiji district (Pwani Region) where "out of a total of 908 primary school leavers who had completed primary education in 1978-80, in four research villages only 398 (43.8%) were living in the villages and 510 (56.2%) had migrated to towns, especially the city of Dar es Salaam" (p. 171). He interviewed 80 PSLs, 80 Primary VII pupils and 80 Adults, and observed an apparent trend in recent years towards staying in the villages rather than drifting to the towns which he attributed to a growing consciousness that "Poverty on the shamba is better than unemployment in an urban slum" (p. 171). Indeed, whilst there has been a considerable influx to the cities, the rural-urban surge of primary school leavers has not been as dramatic in Tanzania as in some other countries.

Lubasha illustrates the extent of rural poverty by showing that average yearly cash earnings from cashcrops in these villages ranged from TSh 21/- to TSh 229/-, but that even this was not usually available to PSLs as they did not have cashewnut farms. There "were some small scale industries where earnings were much higher, but the majority of PSLs were involved in petty trading". The problem was the inability of the village councils to mobilize human and natural resources for economic and social development. At the same time, whilst PSLs and their parents no longer aspired to wage employment and were more interested in vocational training as a second choice, only 12 out of the 80 actually managed to get some sort of further training.

A much larger study by Ishumi (1984) of the jobless in four urban regions of Tanzania (Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Mwanza and Tabora) showed how the majority (71%) had been to primary school. More searching interviews were conducted "with 630 randomly selected jobless individuals" (p 46) and whilst less than 20% had not had any schooling, it is interesting to note that 60% of their parents had had no schooling at all (see Table 32). Whilst it is tempting to infer a causal relationship from the fact that the majority of unemployed jobless have parents with little or no formal schooling, we must remember that the rate of expansion in primary education

TABLE 32

Educational Attainment of Unemployed Jobless and of their Parents

	Jobless		Parents	
	N	%	N	%
No schooling at all	117	18.6	370	60.0
Primary school Std. I-IV	135	21.4	171	27.1
Primary school Std. V-VI/VII	315	50.1	54	8.6
Secondary school	63	10.0	9	1.4
	630	100.0	612	100.0

has been so fast that the majority of the parental generation would in any case have had little opportunity for formal education.

Nevertheless, there is a strong flavour of educational underachievement in Ishumi's study in that, when asked what happened "after reaching or completing Primary VII", the responses were:

(1) Failed the school examination or not studied for further education 54.3%

(2) Expelled from school, because of

lack of school fees or school uniform 14.3%
pregnancy 7.1%
misconduct/naughtiness 5.7%

(3) Ran away from school, because

bored with school life 7.1%
wanted to get married 7.1%
teachers too harsh 2.9%
to attend Madraja, i.e. Islami Korani classes 1.4%

Ishumi himself concludes that "primary school education - has not been qualitatively adequate" (p. 97) and makes a number of policy recommendations which we shall take up in the final section. It is, however, important to note that Lubasha's study (conducted in 1982) suggested that the cult of failure - failure to get into secondary school - was losing ground: thus 64 out of his 80 adult respondents thought that failure to get into secondary school did not mean failure in life.

4.3.3 The Post Primary Technical Training Centres

Komba (1975) argues that, because a manpower perspective rather than a socialist rural development perspective has dominated discussions about policy, PSLs have been conceived of primarily as a left-over of the process of selection for secondary school entrance. Hence, proposed solutions have tended to aim at making PSLs feel usefully occupied rather than at providing them with the opportunity to make an effective contribution to local or national development. On the basis of his interviews with 97 Standard VII pupils, 97 PSLs, 40 Non-PSLs and 67 village elders in early 1975 (described above), he concluded that basic technical skills should be taught throughout the primary cycle and that specialised training should be complementary.

In practice, whilst there was no radical shift in the primary school curriculum after the declaration of UPE, the Ministry did set up a net work of "Post-Primary Technical Training Centres", supported by DANIDA. These were initially welcomed by the villagers, so that by 1977 there were 278 in operation. They "ought" to have been successful. But, they do not appear to be very popular. Thus, two of the Micro Planning studies report that "enrolment (in the four schools) is not good. These schools have a capacity for . . . 320 students and there are only 50 students enrolled" (Karagwe); and the Centres ". . . have never been full to the required size" (Songea). National figures reported to the International Conference on Education in Geneva support this: in 1980 there were 292 such centres with a capacity of 23360 places only 28% of which were utilised; and in 1982 when there were 313 centres with a capacity of 25018 places, only 32.5% were utilised. (MOE, 1984). One explanation for this poor take-up which

we can derive from the report of the JASPA (Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa) mission to Tanzania in 1978 is that there is not, in fact, a "market" for such craftsmen in rural Tanzania. For, the trainees are not sufficiently technically qualified to get craftsmen's jobs in the urban formal sector. Moreover, estimates from the Ministry of Manpower Development suggested that the total number of additional carpenters and masons required during 1975-80 would be about 2000 and 1000 respectively. The output from the National Vocational Training Schools (NVTS) and from various private trade schools was estimated to be much higher (see their Table 6). Yet the existing FPTTCs are supposed to have produced 2800 carpenters and 2600 masons in 1977 alone.

It is possible that this situation of drastic "over-supply" was masked by the huge demand for primary school construction generated by the UPE programme, and, indeed, the NVTC claim that their output is far less than national demands so that the FPTC's are fulfilling a useful need. But the point is well taken: there is no point in training large numbers of skilled craftsmen if they have no capital for machinery, materials are in short supply, and no-one is crying out for those particular skills.

To emphasise this latter point, the Mission report argues that "at this transitional stage of village development, many communities still have only two or three machines . . . The maintenance of these few items presents the dilemma of village skill needs: if asked what happens when the machinery breaks down, the villagers will say someone has to come from town. If asked why then they don't train a craftsman for themselves, they will point out that these machines alone cannot keep a man busy" (JASPA Mission, 1978, p.221). The Mission report goes on to suggest that the whole structure of skilled trades needed by the village needs to be re-thought. They cite a TAPA proposal to regroup the skills required to meet rural needs, so that, instead of a series of separate trades associated with urban industry, there would be three broader clusters:

general builders	capable of plumbing, carpentry, masonry and painting
general metalworker	with abilities in welding, tinsmith, blacksmith and casting
general mechanic	combining motor vehicle repair, panel beating, fitting and welding, and auto-electrical.

Apart from the obvious comment that we could do with knowing how to produce such polymaths in our countries, it may be that even those three kinds of generalists are too specialist for rural needs and that the Centres should concentrate on training a multipurpose artisan who can do a bit of everything. In any case, it is clear that, for the strategy to succeed, the training has be be oriented towards the real requirements of the rural areas.

At the same time, there is another obstacle to the eventual success of such centres: the bias in the primary school curriculum itself. For the extent to which primary school leavers want to take up a technical trade will partly depend, as Komba (1979) argued, on the attitudes they learn in primary school - and technical training seems to be ignored almost as much as agriculture in the primary cycle. The problem, once again is one of an overall orientation rather than specific curricula content.

The majority of children completing primary school are not going on to secondary education, as their parents would like. But, given the way in which valued formal sector jobs are allocated (principally via educational qualifications), the parents are not being unreasonable in their instrumental view of primary schooling. The problem, therefore, lies with the relative incentives and status for agricultural as compared to other occupations not in the fact that primary school leavers do not go into the formal sector. Put this way, whilst the introduction of post-primary technical training centres are an important innovation, they can only be a part of a solution to the problems of developing the rural area.

SECTION 5

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE STATE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

This review of the developments of primary education in Tanzania since the Musoma Revolution has been rather unusual. Instead of debating the rights and wrongs of the policy of education for self reliance or indeed the potential for success or failure in such a policy, it has concentrated on a relatively detailed examination of the empirical research that has been carried out. The time has come to draw back from this somewhat academic presentation and reflect on what appear to be the salient features of the development of primary education. In so doing, we shall, where appropriate, draw attention to gaps in the tapestry of evidence which we have been able to piece together, and to speculate on the possible implications of the developments we have identified.

First, the impressive political commitment to provide a seven-year cycle of primary education free of charge to every child of school age in Tanzania. From a basically illiterate population in 1961, with under ¼ million children in school to around 70% adult literacy and an enrolment of 3½ million in 1981 is progress indeed.

This urge to ensure that everyone has a basic education, because "no development can take place without the development of men and women" is an important part of Tanzanian self-reliant socialism. For, that kind of socialism requires the participation by and of the whole population. An active and conscious participation in the affairs of the community, in turn, requires an educated population.

5.1 The Expansion

We have documented the spectacular increase in enrolments in primary education since the Musoma Resolution calling for Universal Primary Education : enrolments in 1971 of 2,906,19 increased "slowly" to 1,228,886 in 1974 and then dramatically to 2,912,984 in 1978 and 3,530,622 in 1981. Nevertheless, the movement towards universalisation of primary education is ambiguous : whilst the present numbers now enrolled represent 95% of the child population aged 7-13 (the official ages for school attendance) less than 70% of that particular

age group are actually at school. About a million children aged 7-13 (out of 3½ million) are not in school. Our more detailed analysis (in section 1.3) suggests that this is mostly because parents delay sending their children to school until the age of 9 or 10, so that the eventual enrolment rate of any cohort of 7 year olds since 1976 has been more than 80%. But there clearly is a residual category. Whilst it is easy to castigate nomadic groups etc, all the evidence suggests that the problem of integrating this group within the school system depends also on the adaption of the school system itself (of the higher "drop-out" rate of the UPE cohort). Such groups are not marginal to Tanzania - they are being marginalised.

Whatever the figures, few other countries have made such an intensive effort to provide basic education to the vast majority of its population at the expense of providing expanded opportunities for secondary and tertiary education for an incipient bourgeoise. It is worth recording and reflecting upon the factors which made this process possible:

- political mobilisation from the Party through to the ten-cells
- efforts by the executive from the cadres of ELIMU to the Ward Education Co-ordinator
- contributions by the local community both towards building the schools and in providing voluntary literacy teachers.

The rapid expansion has not, as in some other countries, been at the expense of social justice. Thus, we have shown how, in terms of enrolment ratios, there is increased equality both between regions and between sexes (see section 2.1). Moreover, to the extent that the upper social strata retain their advantage, the arena has now been shiften decisively to the possibility of access to secondary rather than to primary education. On the other hand, the resource inputs to primary education varies considerably within any one region or district in terms of both access to schooling and the equipment available. Indeed, some would argue that there are now three or even four levels or primary school in Tanzania: the newly created UPE schools predominantly located in the rural areas difficult of access and with very little resources; the older, established primary schools predominantly in the urban areas with slightly more resources; and a

few well-endowed primary schools where the children mostly come from better-off families. (The fourth level which one might add is the Inter-National School which includes a few Tanzanian children). These divisions correspond with the relative chances of obtaining access to secondary education.

It is, therefore, important to avoid complacency. The rapid expansion has taken place against a backcloth of economic "crisis". Together with the enthusiasm to enroll this has meant that the average resources available per child in primary school is only TSh 350 (or 28 US dollars) per year.

We have documented the consequences in terms of overcrowded and poorly equipped classrooms. The problem is, what happens if there is a renewed attempt to enrol everyone of school age. If we assume, as a rough estimate, that there are about1,000,000 children of school age not in school (and not intending to go to school), then their enrolment would cost another 600m. TSh given the Ministry's planned unit costs. If there were no other increases in enrolment elsewhere in the system - and that is very difficult to ensure (see section 4) - then this would mean increasing the total state expenditures on education from 2,800m. TAS to 3,400m. TAS, that is, from 15% of Government expenditure to 19% of Government expenditure.

5.2 The Relevance of School

The aim of the educational system in Tanzania is to provide every Tanzanian child with a basic education and, eventually, to achieve full sufficiency at all skill levels of the economy. In this way the educated Tanzanian citizen would be able to contribute autonomously towards the socio-economic development of the community. It would, however, be presumptious to suppose that any system of education or training can of itself generate socio-economic development. Thus, at the moment, in Tanzania, the production of basic foods is stagnating and industrial production is declining (see Leonor, 1981) whilst the problem of urban joblessness is spreading (Ishumi, 1981). However, "relevant", "integrated" and "appropriate" the education, it cannot solve those problems.

Nevertheless, whilst recognising the fundamental importance of the system of production, distribution and exchange, the school potentially

has an activating and dynamising role. In this context, the question is : given the present slow development of the rural areas of Tanzania, what is an appropriate form of primary education? In a school system where more than 90% of those who complete the cycle do not go on to further education, how should the curriculum be designed? What teaching methods should be used so that the seven year cycle is complete in itself? The aim is to educate children who are well-prepared for productive life in the rural Tanzania of today. What knowledge, skills and values should be developed during the seven years when the children attend school?

In fact, in this review, we have confronted many of the "classical" problems:

- the integration of the school (the relatively new institution) into the local community (with its existing culture and traditions)
- how to organise productive work in the school which both generates a useful income and is, at the same time, stimulating for the children and integrated with the rest of the curriculum
- striking the "right" balance between local influence in the village school and the requirements of a national curriculum
- the design of forms of assessment which are pedagogically constructive given the objectives of a terminal cycle of primary education rather than hurdles to the next stage.

We seem to have shown that, although the philosophy of "self-reliance" was promulgated seventeen years ago, none of these problems has been totally "solved". A minority of parents still see little point in sending their children to school, and many of those who do, delay sending their children to school in order to give them a better chance at the PSLE - seen as a means of escaping from the rural community! Whilst the productive work is well-established in primary schools it does not generate 25% of the costs (the Ministry's aim) nor does it appear to be integrated with the rest of the curriculum. There seemed to be very little evidence of any local influence over the curriculum which, at least in the higher grades, was dominated by the requirements for the nationally-set PSLE. Finally, the leaving examination itself: it looks like - and is seen as - a hurdle to the next stage, rather than the end point of an educational process; indeed, in as much as the form of assessment governs what is taught the PSLE is inimical to the development of an imaginative and inquiring mind.

These issues are not new: the same questions have been asked many times in a variety of context. They are also not easy to answer, politically or theoretically. Relevant for whom? Whilst the present curriculum does not prepare children for productive life in rural Tanzania, it does prepare them for entry to secondary education which is what most parents want for their children. The "preparation" is, of course, illusory for the vast majority of children attending rural schools where the chance of entering secondary education is near zero. But, it would be easier to change parents attitudes if there were more opportunities to pursue a "successful" agricultural career and if less reliance was placed on the PSLE. Put in these terms, it is not easy to point to a model which Tanzania could or should emulate. Nevertheless, granted that the issue of relevance is difficult to resolve it cannot be ignored.

5.3 What We Need to Know

We have searched for evidence relating to these issues. The studies we have found have often been incomplete or small scale. This is not surprising : for it is often forgotton how long is the planning horizon for educational reforms as fundamental as those proposed in Education for Self Reliance and the Musoma Resolution. But it is vital, in a country where so much effort is put into the education sector and so many innovations have been attempted, that these developments should be carefully watched. It is therefore a pleasure to find that researchers in Tanzania are following what is going on very closely. Nevertheless, the review has identified a number of gaps in the knowledge base for discussions about policy towards primary education.

First, what actually goes on in the classrooms? Are the teaching methods used in practice conducive to attaining the political goals for (primary) education in Tanzania? We have found several discussions in the literature but very few actual concrete empirical studies of classroom behaviour.

Yet, without such studies, it is difficult to judge the adequacy of teacher training. From outside it looks very theoretical and inappropriate to the demands of the teaching situation.

Second, what are the prospects for education for self-reliance and the formation of a generation of autonomous individuals when the teaching is dominated by a unified national system of examinations? What could be the appropriate form of assessment for self-reliant activities? The latter issue, especailly, has generated a lot of heat but not much light. Whilst we can count the number of cashew nuts harvested or the number of straw baskets woven, we also need to know the impact upon the child. Does (s)he become more self-reliant? In what ways?

Third, what are the prospects for local influence over the content of teaching given a unified national system of examination? Does successful integration with the community depend upon village development or can village development be facilitated by an active school? Once again much has been written about the Community Education Centres but the factors making for their undoubted success need to be properly analysed.

Finally, what actually happens to children when they leave school? Small scale studies have shown that some find useful occupations in their local villages whilst others spend their time in petty trading. It is very important to understand the dynamics of this process.

There are many other detailed questions which need to be answered. But we have been impressed by the range of empirical research that is available. We are convinced that if a climate of open and fruitful co-operation between researchers and the Ministry of National Education can be maintained then knowledge base for discussions will be improved and we will move nearer fulfilling the objectives of primary education in Tanzania.

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