

**FORGOTTEN EVALUATIONS: EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN
TANZANIA FROM 1961-1999**

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis argues that changes in development ideology, and not evaluations, were the primary influence behind changes in education policy in Tanzania from 1961-1999. It reviews the policymaking process in Tanzania and the affect of development ideologies on policy choices. It further examines the formation of different dominant development ideologies in different development situations, and their influence on education policy. It shows that evaluations were not included in the policymaking process in Tanzania. Instead, differing dominant development ideologies affected by the economic, political and social situation, were responsible for education policy choices. This thesis explores how these development ideologies formed in Tanzania, why they were dominant, and how they were unaffected by evaluations. It concludes by looking at what this ideological led policy in Tanzania has meant for the country, and what it could mean for other developing nations.

Keywords: Tanzania; education; policy; evaluation; ideology; development; Nyerere; modernization; liberalization;

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INTRODUCTION

In Sub Saharan Africa, the hope and optimism attached to education as a method of reducing poverty in the late 1950's and early 1960's, turned to scepticism in many countries in the 1980's and 1990's.¹ While substantial achievements in improving access to the restrictive education systems of the colonial period were made, poverty remained, and many children still did not receive basic education. After independence, Tanzania took great strides in lowering illiteracy and improving access to education. However, subsequent economic crises and policy decisions resulted in an education system concerned more with cost effectiveness than equity and equality.² Understanding the factors that influence and shape education policy in developing countries is essential in recognizing what role education may take in different development situations. This thesis attempts to answer the questions: What were the shifts in educational policy within Tanzania between 1961 and 1999? Were education policies evaluated, if so, how and by whom? What was the outcome of these evaluations? Finally, did these evaluations influence the shifts in educational objectives?

This thesis is entitled *Forgotten Evaluations* to highlight how evaluations were excluded from the policy making process in Tanzania in two major ways. Firstly, evaluation strategy was rarely included within education policy. This is not to imply that evaluations did not occur. Rather when policy choices occurred, no evaluation plan for the future was included. This resulted in evaluations that were sometimes sporadic and not comprehensive, covering only a certain region or district. It also allowed

¹ (Samoff, No Teacher Guide, No Textbooks, No Chairs: Contending with Crisis in African Education 2003), 412

² (Buchert 1994), 147

organizations such as UNESCO and the World Bank to facilitate evaluations based on their own strategies. Secondly, when evaluations were completed, policy makers frequently ignored their findings. Recommendations were not included in subsequent policy, and as a result, policy makers did not address recognized problems.

It is argued here that changes in development ideologies influenced policy makers to exclude initial evaluation strategy, and not incorporate existing evaluations into new policy. Each time the dominant ideology changed, it caused policy makers to rethink the role of education in the development of Tanzania. The focus shifted between education to promote growth within the economy, and education as a necessity for every member of society. When major policy changes took place, policy makers did not analyze the success or failure of past objectives. Instead, they created new objectives all together. Policy makers excluded evaluations because the objectives evaluated were no longer relevant under each new ideological paradigm. Policy makers were focused on how new objectives would create an education system consistent with the dominant development ideology at the time. By using examples of both external and internal economic, political and social circumstances, this thesis illustrates changes in the development ideology and subsequent education policy in Tanzania. The purpose here is not to evaluate the education policies themselves. Many academics and development experts have debated the merits of each policy approach. Instead, this analysis attempts to explore if evaluations played a role in policy decisions or if education policy was simply an extension of the dominant development ideology.

Ideology is a difficult concept to define because, as William Tordoff has suggested, it is often perceived as, “a cloak for vested interests or as an essentially

irrational response to social strains.”³ Although such negative connotations are sometimes accurately associated with the term, a broader definition shows they are not always applicable. Tordoff goes on to explain that often in developing countries, “‘ideologies’ are essentially clusters of ideas elaborated by individual national leaders.”⁴ This was the case in Tanzania, where African Socialism was the national ideology from independence in 1961 until 1985, with President Julius Nyerere as its main proponent. Although African Socialism was the official state ideology for more than two decades, during certain periods other more dominant ideological paradigms influenced development policy. Therefore, to define ideology as simply the official doctrine of the state is insufficient. John Plamenatz’s more expansive definition of, “any system of ideas which acts to support or subvert accepted modes of thought and behaviour,” serves as a starting point.⁵ Tordoff enhances this definition by further clarifying the word ‘system’ and adding, “ideology is not just a philosophy but a *body of ideas* which is shared and organized.”⁶ Tordoff’s ‘body of ideas’ will be referred to here as the ‘dominant development ideology’. The dominant development ideology was the *body of ideas* with the greatest influence on policy makers.

Which dominant development ideology was most influential at any given time in Tanzania was subject to economic, political and social strains. As the economic, political and social situations changed in the country, they determined which ideology influenced policy makers the most. Although members of the government most often made final policy decisions, the dominant development ideology was not always congruent with the

³ (Tordoff 1992), 42

⁴ *ibid*

⁵ Plamenatz as quoted by (Tordoff 1992), 42

⁶ (Tordoff 1992), 42 *emphasis added*

declared state ideology. In Tanzania, although the official state ideology was Nyerere's version of African Socialism from 1961-85, it is argued here that the dominant development ideology shifted twice. Policy makers were influenced by the *body of ideas* which guided the World Bank from 1962-1967, and then by those guiding the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other outside donors from 1982-1999. With the shifts in the dominant development ideology, the role of education changed, and policy makers altered their policy objectives accordingly.

This thesis contends that from independence in 1961 until 1999 the dominant development ideology in Tanzania transitioned through three different periods, divided by two major ideological shifts. The dominant development ideology changed from modernization to *ujamaa* followed by liberalization. While each ideology's main ideas and approaches are included in later sections, a brief introduction is necessary. The first period was from 1962 until 1967 when the dominant development ideology in Tanzania was modernization. The theory of modernization was dominant around the world at the time. The belief among development experts was that developing countries would follow the same path as the developed countries. It became dominant in Tanzania because of the strong influence of the World Bank during this period. The second period was from 1967-1981, when the dominant ideology was Nyerere's version of African Socialism, which he termed *ujamaa*. This official state ideology began to influence policy makers more than modernization, and education policy reflected this change. This period began with the policy of Education for Self Reliance, and concluded shortly after policy makers adopted the policy of Universal Primary Education. The next period was from 1981-1999, when liberalization emerged as the dominant ideology. This ideology was

prevalent among international organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF. As Tanzania began to struggle economically, the influence of these organizations increased in the country and the ideas of liberalization began to dominate. This period began with the structural adjustment phase that lasted until 1989. It concluded with Non Governmental Organizations (NGO's) and other aid donors having a large influence on policy makers' decisions.

The analysis of Tanzania begins in 1962 because this was the first year the government enacted new educational policies, after independence in December 1961. The reorientation of the education sector under the Arusha Declaration and the policy of Education for Self Reliance was the basis for the shift in 1967-68. The shift in 1981-82 was due to the implementation of Tanzania's first Structural Adjustment Programme in 1982.⁷ The investigation ends in 1999 because this was the relative end of the structural adjustment phase, and immediately before the United Nations created the Millennium Development Goals, changing the dominant development ideology around the world once again.

While this thesis addresses the formation of policy later, an important distinction between policy and ideology is necessary here. A development ideology is a larger set of ideas based within a certain philosophical approach to development. Although the ideology of one organization or another may not be explicitly stated, it is the guiding force behind all of its decisions and actions. Policy, while guided by ideology, is much more specific. For example, the World Bank may have an ideology of liberalization, but many policies explaining more specifically the necessary steps to liberalize a country's

⁷ (Buchert 1994), 145

economy. Having an ideology of liberalization implicitly advocates a belief that the liberalization of the economy, and other aspects of society, is the correct way to address development issues. As a result, education policy makers may not consider the merits of a policy such as universal primary education, under an ideology that promoted specific technical training. Ideology would therefore lead to the exclusion of certain policy options. In this sense, ideology is the guiding force behind development policy decisions. It dictates the approach to development and policy makers' decisions.

This project begins with an explanation of how different development ideologies determine different approaches to education policy. It continues by covering how the policy making process is connected to these ideologies, how ideology affected education policy in Tanzania, and the role of evaluations. It then goes on to provide an analysis of education policy in Tanzania, specifically how evaluations have affected policy decisions, if at all. It concludes with some reflections on what ideologically led education policy has meant for Tanzania, and what it could indicate for policy in other developing countries.

Tanzania has been chosen as the case study because the country declared that education held a central role in building a socialist and self-reliant country from 1967-1985. An analysis of the policy making process before, during, and after this period will show to what degree this commitment to education was implemented, and what it meant for social and economic development in Tanzania. Tanzania had a strong socialist state ideology from 1961-1985, yet policy decisions did not always align with this ideology. The country serves as a good example of how ideologies from organizations outside of the state can subvert the official state ideology. How these differing ideologies have

affected policy within Tanzania can also serve as an example of how the same processes may occur in other countries. Under different development ideologies, Tanzania rarely used evaluations in the formation of education policy. Therefore, Tanzania shows how the exclusion of evaluations in education policy was not inherent to any particular development ideology. It will also highlight how evaluations can become insignificant if the objectives they are evaluating are no longer congruent with a larger development ideology. While Tanzania's strong commitment in the 1970's of using education as a primary method of furthering development may be unique, its struggle within the global economy was not. The economic shocks of the 1970's and structural adjustment plans of the 1980's forced many developing countries to change strategies. Tanzania can therefore serve as an example of how these economic shocks limited the resources of policy makers in similarly affected countries.

EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

Many authors have examined specific education policies and programs in Tanzania since its independence.⁸ However, few have taken a holistic approach and contrasted different periods against one another. The most extensive examinations have been by Joel Samoff and Lene Buchert. Similar to this analysis, Samoff recognizes 1967 and 1981 as turning points in education policy in Tanzania.⁹ However, the period of 1967-1981 that I have termed 'education for *ujamaa*', he divides into two periods. He titles them "Education for Self Reliance" between 1968 and 1974 and "education for

⁸ (Buchert 1994) (Freyhold 1979) (Hall 1976) (Lange, Wallevik and Kiondo 2000) (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994)

⁹ (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 99-100

socialism” from 1968 until 1980. Samoff treats these as two distinct periods because the government’s main policy changed in 1974 from Education for Self Reliance to a policy of Universal Primary Education. This thesis does not divide this period because it argues that while the policy was changed, the dominant development ideology of *ujamaa* was consistent for the entire period. This dominant ideology was the guiding force behind the policy switch in 1974 and continued to guide policy until 1981.

Samoff argues that, “a fundamental premise underlying national policy over Tanzania’s first two decades of independence was that social transformation must *precede* economic growth.”¹⁰ However, this thesis argues that from 1961 until 1967 and between 1982 and 1999, changing ideologies caused this tension to reverse, and a desire for economic growth preceded social transformation. In both cases, this was due to a high amount of foreign involvement. While the government promoted one type of development ideology, foreign involvement meant that policy makers adhered to different development ideologies.

Samoff also argues that the policy making process in Tanzania is a constant negotiation and that different “poles of influence” are responsible for policy formation.¹¹ He lists these as formal authority, overlapping institutions, national campaigns, local initiatives and external influences. Within his explanation of each of these poles, there is no mention of evaluations. Evaluations did occur and their influence or non-influence is something Samoff does not address. Although he explains how each of these poles of influence contributed to change in Tanzanian policy after 1967, he does not sufficiently cover the period from 1961-1967. This is a major weakness in Samoff’s treatment of

¹⁰ Ibid, 92, Emphasis from original

¹¹ (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 104

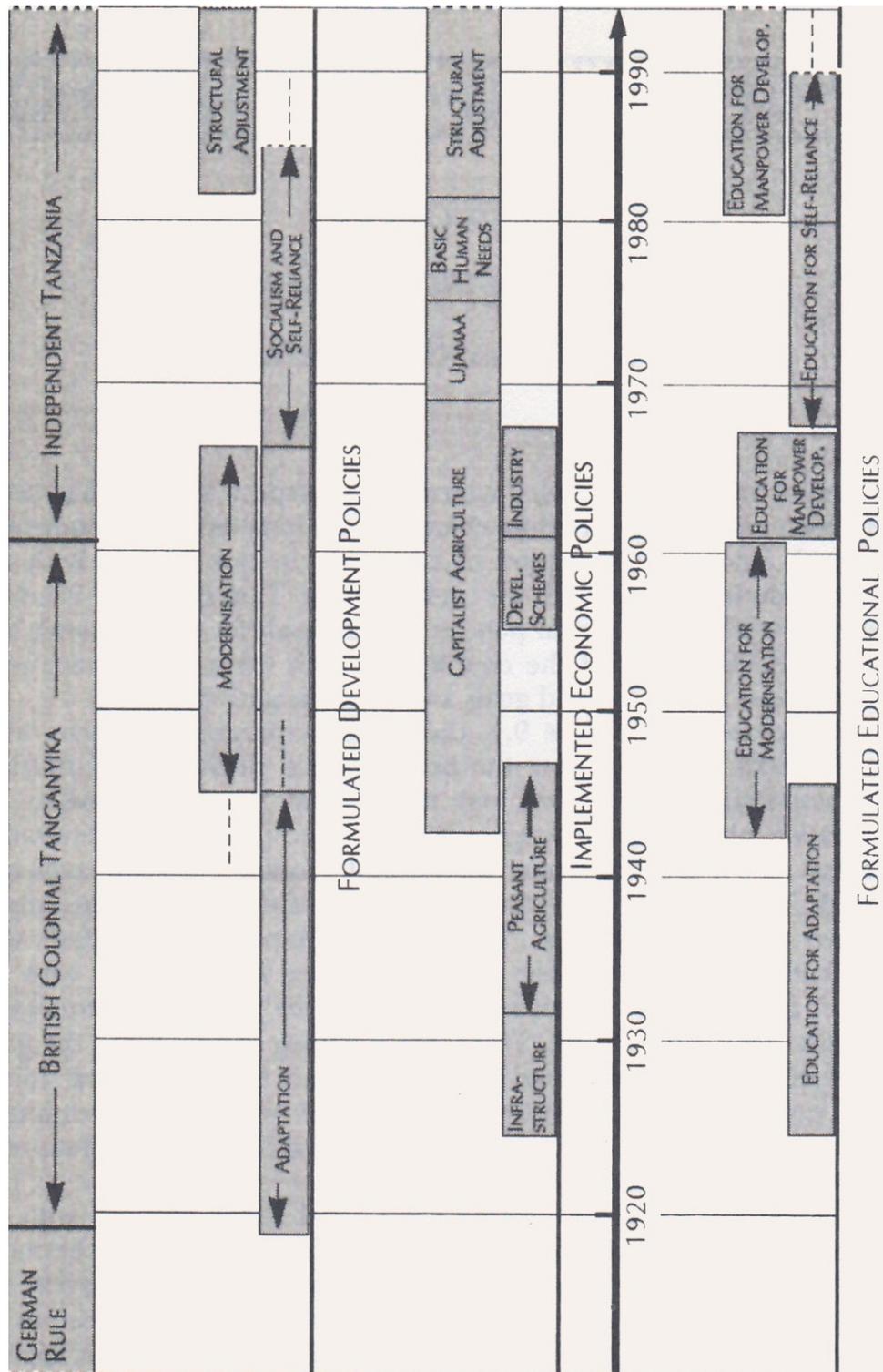
Tanzanian education policy. In his work, he briefly addresses this initial period after independence before the analysis moves on to 1967. This weakens the analysis because without a clear understanding of what led to the policy shift in 1967, subsequent policy changes are more difficult to understand. This brief post independence period is very important to examine, in order to understand how influences on policymaking in Tanzania changed in 1967. This thesis examines this period thoroughly in order to highlight how the government promoted one type of ideology while objectives were created to adhere to a different ideology. More specifically, it looks at how evaluations were taking place during this period but being left out of the policymaking process. Samoff claims that in Tanzania, “each of the major policy initiatives was prompted by a *sense* that Tanzania’s schools were not adequately serving their development tasks.”¹² However, he does not clarify where this ‘sense’ comes from. The purpose of examining evaluations here is to gain a better understanding of where this ‘sense’ came from, and to understand why evaluations were not a part of the ‘poles of influence’ guiding policy.

In her examination of education in Tanzania, Buchert argues that, “the relative importance of the educational sector changed with alterations in the overall development strategies.”¹³ She provides a diagram (Figure 1) of the different policies put in place in Tanzania since 1920. This diagram illustrates how different development and education policies overlapped. What Buchert terms the “formulated development policies” are broken up similarly to the periods in this analysis. They match most closely with the

¹² (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 93 Emphasis added

¹³ (Buchert 1994), 167

Figure 1: *Historical Timeline of Policy Development and Implementation in Tanzania 1919-90*¹⁴



¹⁴ Taken from (Buchert 1994), 168

shifts in the dominant development ideology. However, Buchert does not explore in detail the affect outside influences had on the formation of these policies. The development ideologies were the background for the formation of these policies and thus must be explored more thoroughly. This analysis examines how each development ideology shaped different development approaches.

Buchert concludes that there was a change from a policy of Universal Primary Education in the late 1970's to a policy that stressed quality over quantity in the 1980's. She explains that, "underlying this change was apparently the notion that the goals of the policy of Education for Self-Reliance had not been achieved and, perhaps, never could be."¹⁵ However, she does not ask why this notion existed, or how policy makers decided policies would not meet their objectives. Without analyzing evaluations, the question of why these objectives were not being met could not be accurately answered. Yet, policy makers did not consider evaluations when enacting new policy. Buchert does not examine why these evaluations were not included.

This thesis attempts to add to this body of literature by including a more thorough examination of education evaluations in Tanzania. It explores what type of evaluations took place and when, in order to gain a better understanding of how they affected policy. Evaluations are the focus here because they serve as one of the few methods that allow development experts or policy makers to question the status quo, and come up with alternative options. They provide suggestions and allow for the creation of unique solutions for different development situations. Policy makers often did not consider the

¹⁵ (Buchert 1994), 171

recommendations made by evaluations when making policy decisions. The purpose here is to examine why this occurred and what role evaluations played in policy decisions.

Recognizing ideology as a guiding force behind policy is not a revolutionary declaration. Every policy can be said to have an ideology behind it. However, while ideology may guide policy, there are often other influences in the policy making process. Evaluations serve as one of these contributing factors and often attempt to suggest alternative options that go against the dominant ideology. If policy makers are unwilling to consider options that are outside of the ideological purview, evaluations become less relevant. As governments and other organizations spend millions of dollars and countless hours on education evaluations around the world, this recognition of irrelevance is worrisome to those attempting to provide education in developing countries. If one dominant ideology is behind the financing of education, both the fear of being ignored and not receiving further funding, will cause evaluators to no longer suggest ideas that go against this dominant ideology. As a result, certain policy options will not be considered. This is extremely important in the current development situation in which many foreign organizations create and implement programs in developing countries.

DEVELOPMENT IDEOLOGIES

The underlying ideology in any developing country is a large determinant of what role education plays in a development approach. The type of education provided, who receives it and the purpose of receiving an education, all depend on the ideology behind the policymaking process. The two ends of the ideological spectrum are described here as ‘human development’ and ‘economic development.’ The main difference between

these two ideologies is definitional. Each ideology defines both development and the role of education differently. These two views of education's role in development, education as development or education as a means of economic growth, signify an ideological distinction. Those that take the human development approach, define development in terms of the living standards of the population in a certain country or region. Equality and human rights are often taken into account to a greater degree. The economic development approach defines development using economic indicators such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Gross National Product (GNP). In its simplest form, this economic development definition recognizes development occurring if these indicators are increasing. This is not to suggest that economic development is not concerned with humanity, or that human development ignores economics. These two definitions intertwine with one another in many different areas. However, policy makers usually adhere more closely to one development definition or the other. If they endorse both, they often argue that one type of development relies upon the other, and should therefore be the initial focus.

Education is an essential component in both human and economic development strategies. The role education plays is dependent upon how policy makers interpret education's place in development. Amartya Sen defines development as, "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy."¹⁶ In this human development vein Sen explains that elements which are essential for development such as healthcare, education, sanitation and food and water security, are not the result of increased economic prosperity within a country, but the end objectives which should be the first priority of development

¹⁶ (Sen 1999), 3

policies. While Sen recognizes that, “sometimes the lack of substantive freedoms relates directly to economic poverty,” he stresses that, “in other cases the unfreedom links closely to the lack of public facilities and social care, such as the absence of epidemiological programs, or of organized arrangements for health care or educational facilities.”¹⁷ Sen argues that defining development in this way challenges the perspective of a purely economic definition, which would question if education is “conducive to development.” Instead, he defines education as a “constituent component” of development.¹⁸ This creates an environment where education’s “relevance for development does not have to be freshly established through [its] indirect contribution to the growth of GNP or to the promotion of industrialization.”¹⁹ Sen considers education as development because an educated populace, who obtain a basic level of literacy, is better prepared to take actions to remain healthy and enact social change.²⁰ This ability can lead to increases in other standards of living, increasing freedoms and enhancing development.

Education plays an important, yet different role in the economic development definition. Educational attainment leads to increases in individual human capital. If an individual is gaining knowledge in any way that allows them to perform more skilled labour, their amount of human capital is increasing.²¹ Most formal education systems provide this type of knowledge, and therefore increase the human capital of their pupils. It is well established that people with more education receive higher wages.²² Although

¹⁷ Ibid, 4

¹⁸ ibid, 5

¹⁹ (Sen 1999), 5

²⁰ ibid, 129

²¹ Ibid, 100

²² (Pritchett 2001), 368

this rule would seem to suggest that greater investment in education within a country would lead to higher economic growth, this has not been the case empirically.²³ Although there was an educational explosion around the world in the 1960's, many countries that invested in education failed to grow economically.²⁴ Lant Pritchett represents the economic development perspective when he explores why this increased investment has not led to growth. Pritchett shows that although billions have been invested in education around the world, this investment has not led to economic growth.²⁵ He gives three reasons for this paradox. Those being educated are either practicing individually beneficial yet socially wasteful activities, increasing the supply of educated labour and therefore reducing the rates of return to education, or not improving their cognitive skills or productivity but simply receiving accreditation that allows them to obtain higher paying employment.²⁶ More importantly, his approach shows the role education plays in this economic definition of development. Pritchett implies that the main purpose of education is to create economic growth, and that macroeconomic growth is the essential measurement of a country's development. This represents the alternative view of education's role in development. The purpose of education from this perspective is to increase the rate of economic growth, and to measure all investments in education by their contribution to growth.

Although these two approaches continually intertwine, they represent a fundamentally different approach to the role education plays in development. Either, that educating the population defines development or, education will lead to higher economic

²³ Ibid

²⁴ (Easterly 2002), 73

²⁵ (Pritchett 2001), 368

²⁶ Ibid, 369

productivity and therefore increase development. Samoff outlines this tension in Tanzania by recognizing that while, “understanding social transformation as the foundation for economic growth calls for schools that organize learning around principles of equality and participation.” There has also been an, “emphasis on academic mastery and individual achievement in the schools [that] manifests the deeply embedded and persisting expectation that economic growth requires skills more than participation and equality.”²⁷ In Tanzania the dominant development ideology shifted from economically focused at independence, to more human focused in the 1970’s and back again in the 1980’s. Policy makers realigned education policy following each shift to fit into the new ideological paradigm.

EDUCATION POLICY FORMATION

Essential to this analysis is the reasoning behind the policy choice of the government. In order to understand what influences policy makers a clear definition of policy is crucial. The definition used here will be that of Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry who focus on education policy. These authors recognize that policy goes beyond the document itself and includes the processes from conception to implementation.²⁸ They define policy as, “both process and product...policy involves the production of the text, the text itself, ongoing modifications to the text and processes of implementation into practice.”²⁹ This definition is useful in education because education policy extends well beyond the initial text. When policies are implemented they are not always executed

²⁷ (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 92

²⁸ (Taylor, et al. 1997)

²⁹ *ibid*

in accordance to the policy document. Policy must therefore be understood as much more than public pronouncements. It includes all of the processes that take place as a result of the policy after it has been implemented.

Williams and Cummings organize the policy-making process into a policy cycle that consists of six stages: assessment, objectives, generation of policy options, policy decision, implementation and evaluation.³⁰ While the authors recognize this as an acceptable framework, they also realize that it is simplistic. Within this framework, each step is complex and intertwined with the surrounding political and economic context. Many of these stages raise questions such as, who performs the initial assessment? Who is allowed to generate options? Who sets the policy objectives and how are they measured? Who decides if a policy was implemented properly? Who evaluates the programs and what are the consequences of these evaluations? While the process of policymaking is important, analyzing every stage of each Tanzanian education policy through four decades is out of the scope of this project. Instead, it focuses on what influenced the main educational objectives, and the role of evaluation upon measuring the success of these objectives and forming new ones.

A particular problem for African policy makers is a lack of reliable economic and social statistics. While the very rational approach introduced above theoretically leads to policy that is more efficient, it relies heavily on competent feedback mechanisms. Paul Mosley recognizes that the main problem in policymaking is, “not a lack of data but a lack of facts.”³¹ Without a lack of reliable accurate facts that can be trusted, “concerning both trends of the economy and the impact of policy,” it is extremely difficult to create

³⁰ (Williams and Cummings 2005), xxxiii

³¹ (Mosley 1992), 236

efficient policy.³² He suggests that if this data deficiency exists, it inflicts a paralysis on any attempt at rational policymaking. Mosley surmises that if policy makers cannot resolve this reliable data problem, policy based on this unreliable feedback mechanism will not be effective.³³ Evaluations can serve to take available data and turn it into facts. These evaluations can serve to inform policy makers about trends and impacts of past policies, while attempting to predict the outcome of new policy. Without evaluations that are working efficiently and giving accurate feedback in a timely manner, misguided policy may be a result of a lack of data more so than inept policy makers.

Goran Hyden describes policy making in Tanzania as an irrational process where, “ideological spontaneity is encouraged and a certain amount of youthful risk taking permitted.”³⁴ Hyden suggests that Alfred Hirschman’s description of policy making in developing countries where, “motivations-outruns-understanding,” is applicable in the case of Tanzania.³⁵ He assumes that because the development issues are so urgent, policy makers barely have time to plan their next move. As a result, he argues that they create policies with targets that are beyond any realistic achievement in order to, “mobilize hidden resources.”³⁶ He concludes by recognizing that, “to try out widely different policies, that is, to make moves into the unknown, may be useful when understanding is limited.”³⁷ Hyden bases his assumption that Tanzania’s policymaking process is irrational on this implication that understanding is limited. He suggests that because knowledge was lacking, Tanzanian policy makers set lofty goals with no hope of

³² *ibid*

³³ *ibid*

³⁴ (Hyden 1984), 109

³⁵ (Hirschman 1975) as quoted by (Hyden 1984), 108

³⁶ (Hyden 1984), 109

³⁷ (Hyden 1984), 110

achieving them. However, when evaluations were taking place it created an environment in which policy makers understanding was increasing and evaluators were recognizing problems in the sustainability and effectiveness of certain policies. Evaluations were expanding the knowledge policy makers had of the education system.

In contrast to Hyden's explanation of Tanzanian policymaking as irrational, Duncan Holtom shows how it was rational. Similarly to politicians in other countries, Tanzanian policy makers promoted policies that would both develop Tanzania and secure their political position.³⁸ While policy makers in Tanzania may not have been as informed as more developed countries, they were not creating policies with hopeful objectives while having insufficient means to achieve them. This suggests that policy makers were not improvising in Tanzania. Instead, they were creating policy that would lead to further development and political longevity. If further development were the objective of policy makers, one would expect them to use all available resources in their policy decisions. Yet they were not considering evaluations in the creation of new education policy. The reason was not irrational policymaking, but instead changes in the definition of development in Tanzania, due to changes in the dominant ideology. These changes in ideology led to new policy objectives, which made past objectives evaluators had assessed irrelevant.

EVALUATIONS

Evaluations in general serve as a tool to increase the understanding of policy makers. Evaluations of education policy allow policy makers to ascertain how

³⁸ (Holtom 2005), 551

successfully their policy choices are meeting their objectives. Williams and Cummings explain that evaluations work to, “look beyond expressed objectives to assess unintended as well as intended effects.” Sometimes as a result, “new options may be generated [and] new policy decisions taken, to address remaining or newly arising problems.”³⁹

Evaluations are not only used to examine policies as they were intended in their initial form, but also how they were implemented and if this implementation had unexpected consequences. Their purpose is to compare ‘what is’ and ‘what should be.’ As a result, evaluations ascertain if the policy is taking place as planned and if the policy has led to the expected benefits.⁴⁰

Similar to the other stages of policymaking, many outside factors influence evaluations. Whether evaluations are included within policy as a regular occurrence or commissioned for political reasons may affect their findings. Who performs an evaluation also affects its approach and results. A government performing an evaluation may come to a different conclusion than an independent agency. The politicization of evaluations may result in evaluators choosing to exclude information that is not preferable to those who commissioned an evaluation. The organization responsible for the commissioning of an evaluation will also affect what it measures. As the dominant development ideology changed in Tanzania, how the ‘success’ of education policy was measured changed. Evaluators were affected by the dominant ideology and policy success was based on the role of education under each ideology. While evaluations were subject to this politicization, they could still serve as an invaluable tool to discover the full implications of policy choices.

³⁹ (Williams and Cummings 2005), xxxv

⁴⁰ (Williams and Cummings 2005), 213

One of the main arguments here is that evaluations were not included initially in education policy. Often when policy makers form new education policy, they include evaluation techniques for the future. There are some practical considerations for why this did not occur in Tanzania. Financial limitations were a realistic barrier to the evaluation of education within Tanzania. Michael Kinunda, working with UNESCO, assessed the role of evaluation within the Tanzanian education system in 1975. He explains that in 1975, the Tanzanian Institute for Education created a Department of Curriculum Evaluation and Research, staffed by only two senior members.⁴¹ While these two members devoted all of their time to evaluations and research, their ability to cover the entire country was limited. Due to the limited resources of the education system in Tanzania, evaluations undertaken by the government were limited as well.

Another reason evaluation strategy was not included in initial policy was that educational objectives were often tied to the success of other sectors. During the periods when policy makers aimed education at improving the economy, separate evaluation of each may have seemed redundant. If the education policies were successful, policy makers would see improvements in the economy. Although this would not have given policy makers guidance into how to improve policies or the responsibility of education policies for these improvements, it may be part of the reason evaluative strategies were not included. As Tanzania moved farther away from independence, more evaluative strategies for the future began to be included in initial policy. However, this did not lead to policy makers incorporating these evaluations when the time came to create new policy.

⁴¹ (Kinunda 1975), 9

The measurement of objectives is the essential goal of any evaluation. Without comprehensive statistics regarding how policy changes are being implemented or how successful certain areas of curriculum are, it is extremely difficult to determine if more than rudimentary objectives are being met. In education policy, it may be possible to ascertain student enrolment numbers or how many graduates are successful in the job market, yet objectives that are more complicated present a greater challenge. Difficulty in measuring some objectives is not due to a lack of data, but due to the obscurity of the objectives themselves. In Tanzania, one of the main objectives within the 1970's was building a socialist society through the education system. How to measure the success of these types of objectives is extremely complex. While inequality and poverty indicators may be useful in this situation, the essential problem is recognizing if the education policy is responsible for improvement of these indicators. Evaluators were thus limited in what they could achieve in their evaluations. While this may have led policy makers to give less weight to evaluations, it did not stop outside organizations from attempting to ascertain the best course of action for the education system in Tanzania. Although there may have been some problems in the evaluative process, evaluations that were occurring gave policymakers a better understanding of the education system in Tanzania.

In some cases, evaluations make policy recommendations overtly with specific policy suggestions regarding the future. In other cases, the recommendations are less obvious and ascertained by what the evaluation points out as flawed in the policy's implementation. Evaluations definitely became more sophisticated in Tanzania over the four decades discussed here. How increased sophistication affected the inclusion of

evaluations in the policymaking process is determined by exploring if evaluative recommendations were included within each education policy.

METHODOLOGY

I have chosen to analyze these issues by using process tracing to recognize the effect of each ideological shift, major policies implemented and evaluation of educational policy and programs. The purpose of using process tracing as a technique is laid out by George and Bennet as an attempt, “to identify the intervening causal process – the causal chain and causal mechanism – between an independent variable (or variables) and the outcome of the dependant variable.”⁴² This method is used here to determine the causal processes behind the major shifts in education policy within Tanzania since independence. This analysis highlights the influence of ideology on policy making by showing that policy makers did not use evaluations, if they did not adhere to the dominant development ideology. Each section explains the dominant ideology, what influenced it and how new objectives were created. In each case, policy makers based these new objectives upon the changing perception of educations role within society.

In order to show whether evaluations were or were not included in policy decisions, this thesis analyzes the evaluations that would have been available to policy makers within each period. It also tracks the recommendations within the evaluations to the next major policy shift. It then explores if the new objectives set out by policy makers followed recommendations made, or addressed problems presented by past evaluations. If policy makers were attempting to create new policies that were better

⁴² (George and Andrew 2004), 557

suited to achieve objectives not yet attained, one would expect recommendations made by evaluators to be included within new policy. If these recommendations were not included within new policy, this demonstrates other stronger influences on the policy makers. In the complex forum of policymaking, causality is not a simple linear process with one causal factor. Instead, it involves, “interacting causal variables that are not independent of each other.”⁴³ While many causal factors influenced policy in Tanzania, the dominant development ideology guided each major policy shift. These causal factors include economic strains and political and social pressure from both inside and outside the country. These factors are examined to establish their connection to the dominant development ideology, as well as highlight the absence of evaluations in the causal process.

IDEOLOGIES, EVALUATIONS AND POLICY FORMATION IN TANZANIA

With Tanzanian independence in 1961, the new government wished to separate itself from their British colonizers. During colonialism, most education programs enacted under the British government were unbalanced. Europeans and Asians had much more opportunity and funding within the system and gender balance was not present.⁴⁴ After independence, there were three major periods in education ideology, modernization, *ujamaa* and liberalization. The following analysis consists of three sections, each exploring the separate periods and how different variables formed policy. While each section cites spending estimates, it is important to recognize here the

⁴³ (George and Andrew 2004), 563

⁴⁴ (Buchert 1994), 68

difficulty of formulating these estimates. While government expenditures were regularly recorded, foreign contributions did not follow this pattern. Samoff recognizes that often when foreign organizations provided funding, they did not take the time to track what amount was to be allocated for each sector.⁴⁵ As a result, the exact amounts of foreign donations are not always clear. The numbers used here were taken from past academics, the World Bank, the United Nations and the government of Tanzania. Using all of these sources, this thesis forms an understanding of what affect foreign contributions had on policymaking. By tracking the objectives, implementation and evaluation of all the major policies within each period, the influence of ideology and failure to include evaluation is evident. Each of these sections describes the overarching ideology along with the surrounding factors that influenced it. As this examination scrutinizes the policies and evaluations, the effect of the dominant ideology becomes clear.

Education for Modernization: 1961-1967

At independence, Tanzania and its leaders faced many challenges. The literacy rate in the country was only 10.5 %, and while the population was just over ten million, there were only five hundred thousand students registered in school.⁴⁶ They approached these challenges with two plans. The first was the Three-Year Plan for Economic Development (1961-1964) followed by the First Five Year Plan (1964-1969). The dominant development ideology from 1961-67 was modernization. Modernization was the belief that developing countries would follow the same path as developed nations. During this time, Rostow's five stages of development were popular among

⁴⁵ (Samoff and Sumra, *From Planning to Marketing: Making Education and Training Policy in Tanzania 1994*), 154

⁴⁶ See appendix 3

development experts, especially at the World Bank. Under this modernization approach, education served to improve the productive capacity of a country's population and, in turn, increase economic growth.⁴⁷ This meant that policy makers attempted to use education as a tool to drive economic growth.

Tanzania's first two development plans were primarily economic, but education played a large role through the preferred strategy of manpower planning. The first plan was hastily conceived as Tanganyika transitioned from a United Nations Trust Territory to an independent state.⁴⁸ Due to this rapid creation, the first plan relied almost entirely on a team commissioned by the World Bank.⁴⁹ As a result manpower planning was the primary education policy from 1961-1967. This strategy attempted to forecast the labour needs of the economy and create programs in the education sector designed to meet these needs. Heyneman has recognized that, "from 1962 to 1981 all education investments supported by the Bank required justifications on the basis of manpower demands."⁵⁰ Therefore, any education project that received funding from the World Bank had to include manpower planning targets.

Nyerere had laid out the guiding state ideology within newly independent Tanzania in his policy paper entitled *Ujamaa – The Basis of African Socialism*. *Ujamaa*, translated as 'familyhood,' attempted to create a Tanzanian society with greater equality.⁵¹ However, the education policy implemented was concerned more with higher-level skills than equality and equity.⁵² Although the government promoted the

⁴⁷ (Buchert 1994), 93

⁴⁸ (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 96

⁴⁹ *ibid*

⁵⁰ (Heyneman 2003), 317

⁵¹ (Nyerere, Freedom and Unity 1967), 167

⁵² (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 100

ideology of *ujamaa*, the dominant development ideology of modernization that the World Bank promoted guided education policy. Although the official state ideology was much closer to the human development approach to development, the World Bank's modernization ideology was dominant. As a result, education policy followed an economic development approach.

There were two main reasons why the World Bank's approach was the dominant ideology of the time. The first was technocratic and the second was economic. As previously mentioned, those making decisions on policy immediately after independence in Tanzania were primarily from the World Bank. Galabawa has shown that surveys at the time showed a shortage of trained and qualified personnel in all sectors of the economy, especially in the highest-level jobs.⁵³ Experts from the World Bank filled these shortfalls, which included a shortage of policy makers. At the same time, these gaps served as a justification to promote a policy of manpower planning, in order to address needs at the highest levels.

The other major restriction on policy options was the economic situation Tanzania faced. Van Arkadie recognizes that at independence the country's economy was, "dominated by external influences which were only in small part susceptible to influence by available policy instruments."⁵⁴ The economy was heavily dependent on external trade and much of the banking, insurance and industry businesses were foreign owned.⁵⁵ The financing of the education system also relied heavily on foreign contributions. As seen in appendix 2, from 1962-1967 the percentage of foreign funding for educational development expenditures did not fall below 64.7% and was high as 76.1%. This

⁵³ (Galabawa 1990), 8

⁵⁴ (Van Arkadie 1973), 25

⁵⁵ *ibid*

reliance on foreign loans and grants put Tanzanian policy makers in a position where, creating policy that foreign donors did not agree with may have resulted in a lack of funding to implement these policies.

Education policies created during this time followed this dominant modernization ideology. The government realized the need to fill positions after independence. A survey taken in 1962 showed that non-Africans occupied over 85% of all jobs in Tanzania that required a university degree.⁵⁶ Therefore, a manpower planning policy was adopted to address shortages in high level positions. However, as Leys points out, “objectives...were selected from among a range largely determined by the economic models being used by the planners, not from the range of the ‘revealed preferences’ of the political leadership.”⁵⁷ As seen in *Table 1* these objectives focused primarily on the economic outcome of society and not creating an egalitarian socialist state.

Table 1: *Education Objectives, Means and Outcomes in Tanzania from 1961-1967*

Objectives	Means	Outcomes
Self-sufficiency in high level manpower by 1980	Policy of manpower planning based on the growth of the economy	-Seen as a success by most, although manpower scarcity still existed in 1968 -Policy changed before 1980
Expand secondary, technical and university education according to labour requirements	Increase available spaces in secondary and tertiary school	Numbers increased in secondary and tertiary while primary grew at the same rate as the population
Production of manpower for local industries especially technical and engineering, administration, business, commerce, agriculture and health. ⁵⁸	-Restraint in expansion of primary school - Focus on science and vocational programs, limit expansion of arts subjects	- Some manpower targets were met - More science programs were created

⁵⁶ (Van Arkadie 1973), 33

⁵⁷ (Leys 1973), 6

⁵⁸ Objectives from first five year plan as quoted by (Galabawa 1990), 8

George Skorov working for UNESCO in 1966 produced an evaluation of the policy up to that point. The report entitled *Integration of Educational and Economic Planning in Tanzania* praised the authorities for recognizing that,

in the circumstances in which the country finds itself at present, educational development should serve primarily the economic and social needs of the country as defined by the development plan, and not simply pursue the ideal of having the greatest number possible receive schooling.⁵⁹

Skorov pointed out that had the government expanded education to become more egalitarian, priorities would have had to change and secondary education would have not held the top role.⁶⁰ He suggested that all of the other features of the educational policy are a result of this decision. Skorov also recommended that in order for secondary education to fulfil the role assigned to it, an even greater orientation towards the sciences and expansion of secondary school was necessary.⁶¹

UNESCO undertook another evaluation of the education policy in 1966 and one in 1967. Hunter examined manpower planning in the rural economy while King analyzed the non-formal education sector. Hunter agreed that the manpower planning technique was appropriate but that it needed to be applied more widely in the agricultural sector.⁶² He went on to suggest that further modernization of the rural economy should be the focus of further policies while formal primary education should be restricted.⁶³ Hunter surmised that further modernization of the rural sector would increase purchasing power among farmers. This would lead to economic growth in other supporting industries while

⁵⁹ (Skorov 1966), 65

⁶⁰ *ibid*

⁶¹ *ibid*

⁶² (Hunter, Manpower, employment and education in the rural economy of Tanzania 1966), 40

⁶³ *ibid*

also allowing further taxation to increase future education services.⁶⁴ King recommended the expansion of non-formal education because, “it can often produce skilled personnel more quickly and at lower cost than formal institutions.”⁶⁵ She also called for greater planning and organization between the Ministry of Education and those responsible for in service training.⁶⁶

These evaluations took the objectives of the original policy of manpower planning and made suggestions how to reach the long term objectives. In this situation, the policy laid out by the government met some of its objectives. The policy aimed its ultimate objectives at 1980 but was not in place that long. However, it did meet some objective targets set for the 1960’s. While these evaluators saw some successes, they realized that future policies could be designed to improve the ability of the education system to meet its manpower planning objectives. The evaluators may have been less inclined to criticize the manpower planning approach because of the popular modernization ideology dominant within their organization at the time. However, it must be remembered that they were making suggestions based on the original manpower planning objectives, and attempting to ascertain how effectively the policy was meeting these objectives. Manpower planning was designed to create a workforce that was skilled and could stimulate the Tanzanian economy. These evaluators were looking at the education policy through this framework and attempting to address the weaknesses of the policy. Their recommendations attempted to show the best methods to meet these objectives, not how to transform the education system in Tanzania.

⁶⁴ *ibid*

⁶⁵ (King 1967), 40

⁶⁶ *ibid*

The challenges of low literacy rates and enrolment that faced policy makers at independence remained in 1967. Although the literacy rate had increased to 20%, it had started at such a low level that a ten percent increase was not a substantial improvement. Policy makers had aimed education policy at improving the economy. Although Tanzania was supposed to be a society of equity and equality, enrolment rates had only increased by two hundred thousand.⁶⁷ By 1967, still less than half the primary school aged children were enrolled in school.⁶⁸ The government's commitment to improving the economic situation in the country took prominence over expanding access to education. This approach was closer to the economic development approach than the human development approach. As the country moved farther away from independence, the government became more committed to increasing literacy and enrolment.

Although Tanzania promoted an official ideology of *ujamaa* during this period, the dominant development ideology was modernization. This was due to the high financial and technical support from the World Bank. The education policies put in place focused on improving the economy because of the dominant modernization ideology. The evaluations of the education policies suggested more manpower planning techniques in the rural sector, and an increase in secondary education places. While the policy choices of the government brought macro-economic stability, low inflation and growth, Nyerere began to become concerned about increasing inequality.⁶⁹ The government decided to cast aside the cautious approach of economic modernization for a more ambitious approach to realize *ujamaa*.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ See appendix 3

⁶⁸ (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 99

⁶⁹ (Holton 2005), 557

⁷⁰ *ibid*

Education for Ujamaa: 1968-1981

The dominant development ideology from 1968-1981 was *ujamaa*. The socialist ideology promoted by Nyerere in 1962 had come to permeate every aspect of society, and guide education policy in 1967. *Ujamaa* was based on the idea that the family stretched beyond ones immediate relatives. Nyerere viewed this type of socialism not as a battle between the classes, but as an extension of the family to all members of Tanzanian society.⁷¹ Although the government had promoted this ideology since 1961, policies implemented did not reflect it until 1967. A new development strategy of Self Reliance in Tanzania meant that the government took control of the economy, as state pricing had replaced the market system.⁷² People were encouraged and later forced to form *ujamaa* villages, which were communal farms intended to be a model of Nyerere's new socialist society. The government was in a better position to administer its own development ideology as it had benefitted from the economic growth of the 1960's, and the increase in capable domestic civil servants. Throughout this entire period, this socialist vision of *ujamaa* guided every education policy decision.

With the introduction of the Arusha Declaration in January 1967, the Nyerere government signalled a major shift in policy. The government wanted to abolish exploitation and move towards a more socialist society.⁷³ Nyerere felt that Tanzania's reliance on foreign capital led to the exploitation of the country and its people. A method of this abolition of exploitation was the general policy of Self Reliance. This shift towards the realization of *ujamaa* resulted in the more specific policy of Education for

⁷¹ (Nyerere, Freedom and Unity 1967)

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ (Nyerere, Arusha Declaration: Socialism and Self Reliance 1968), 233

Self Reliance, unveiled in March 1967. While he recognized some of the successes of the education policies following independence, Nyerere felt it was time to ask the question, “what is the education system in Tanzania intended to do – what is its purpose?”⁷⁴ His answer was a system that would, “inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community,” and in turn create citizens that were engaged in every aspect of society.⁷⁵

Schools were to change from places where children learned only the skills necessary to become doctors, engineers or economists. Instead, the school was to become a community within itself that practiced the precept of Self Reliance.⁷⁶ This meant that schools were to be integrated into the community, and students would partly provide for themselves and their families through work. Nyerere argued that not every student would be able to have a high paying job and so instead, education policy should be focused on egalitarian ideals and the learning of common skills. Examinations were no longer to be the only form of assessment, but a more holistic approach such as values and social commitment were to be included as well. Nyerere did not give any example of how these types of assessments would take place.

The evaluations by Skorov, King and Hunter occurred just one year before the Arusha Declaration, yet the new policy of Education for Self Reliance did not follow any of the recommendations made. The government did not expand secondary school spots as Skorov suggested, but kept them the same and stopped teaching specialized skills in the elementary schools. Nyerere’s logic behind this was that those who were gifted academically would not suffer and still be able to go on to learn more specific skills.

⁷⁴ (Nyerere, Education for Self Reliance 1968), 271

⁷⁵ Ibid, 273

⁷⁶ (Nyerere, Education for Self Reliance 1968), 282

Regarding the mechanization of farms suggested by Hunter, Nyerere insisted that school farms must not be, “highly mechanized demonstration farms.”⁷⁷ While he cited the lack of capital necessary to mechanize all the community farms as the reason, he also states that pupils would not be preparing for the life they would be leading.⁷⁸ While King recommended adding to the non-formal education sector, the idea of community schools and learning more everyday tasks was not the method she had intended. She had suggested integrating non-formal ways of learning to create balance between the large rural population and the formal education system. These new policies would not create a balance, but would instead attempt to formalize some of the traditional non-formal education arenas. King saw the non-formal sector as a compliment to the formal sector. She proposed that if policy makers could transfer some of successes in the formal education sector to the non-formal, it could create a more holistic system.⁷⁹

Most importantly, the policy shift towards Education for Self Reliance went against the premise of all the evaluations. Each had suggested manpower planning was somewhat successful in its initial stages and should be pursued in the future. However, instead of attempting to create new policies that retained the successful parts of manpower planning, policy makers changed direction entirely. The government had decided that education would play a new role in society. Instead of producing pupils who would only search for the most lucrative job they could find, the school system would now attempt to instil communal and socialist values. It would create communities that were self-reliant and use what Tanzania had, abundant land and hard working people.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ (Nyerere, Education for Self Reliance 1968), 284

⁷⁸ *ibid*

⁷⁹ (King 1967), 40

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 272

Policy makers did not consider evaluations when creating new policy. The larger ideology of *ujamaa* was the base for the new policy and as a result, the government created new objectives to serve this ideology.

As seen in *Table 2* the new education objectives of the government were ambitious and focused heavily on building a socialist state. They aimed at changing the education system entirely by integrating education into society as a vital part of the community. While the government saw successes in greater primary enrolment and reducing adult illiteracy, it failed to achieve most of the other objectives of the Education for Self Reliance policy.⁸¹ In 1966, evaluators recognized the problem of primary school leavers that could not obtain a place in secondary school. It was still a problem in 1974 that new government policies had not addressed.

Table 2: Education Objectives, Means and Outcomes in Tanzania from 1967-1981

Objectives	Means	Outcomes
Develop curriculum aimed at meeting needs of the majority to live in a predominantly rural society	Formation of group of curriculum developers	Curriculum still based on international standards in 1975
Integrate schools into the community to keep students aware of responsibilities	Establishment of Tanzania UNICEF-UNESCO Educational reform Project meant to integrate schools and community	Students were still judged on the basis of written exams and not assessed on any community involvement
Schools need to be economically self sufficient by growing food and selling it.	Introduction of agricultural farms	Very few schools achieved self reliance
-Create a less elitist education system -Make each level of education terminal by preparing students for society	- Make students understand that their education is to prepare them for Tanzania society not further schooling -Raise entry age for primary education to seven years old	By 1974 only 6% of primary school leavers could attend secondary school by 1981 this number was 4%

⁸¹ For exact enrollment statistics from 1961-1982 see appendix 2

-Eliminate adult illiteracy by 1975	-Increase adult education centres	- Adult illiteracy was 27% in 1976 and 20% in 1981
-Achieve Universal Primary Education (original target year of 1989 changed in 1974 to 1977) ⁸²	-Increase primary school places	- In 1981 primary enrollment was 97% gross enrollment but only 70% net enrollment of children aged 7-13 years ⁸³

While the government continued to increase education spending in this period of Education for Self Reliance, there was very little evaluation of the policy. The first major evaluation of the Education for Self Reliance policy was the Musoma Resolution in 1974. It was the result of popular pressure, which caused the executive committee of the ruling party, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) to meet at the northern Tanzanian city of Musoma to debate the education sector.⁸⁴ Leading up to the Musoma Resolution no one suspected major changes in education policy.⁸⁵ As seen in *Table 2* the Musoma Resolution recognized many problems. The community schools had failed to reduce the financial burden on the government because they had not become totally self reliant.⁸⁶ The objective to judge pupils on more than just examination results had not been incorporated into assessments by 1974.⁸⁷ It also suggested the expansion of secondary school because by 1974 only 6% of primary school leavers could obtain a place in secondary school.

After the Musoma Resolution, the party leadership decided to move the target year of achieving Universal Primary Education back from 1989 to 1977.⁸⁸ This dramatic

⁸² Objectives taken from, (Galabawa 1990) , (Nyerere, Education for Self Reliance 1968) and (Buchert 1994) 112

⁸³ Means and Outcomes taken from, (Galabawa 1990), 12 and (Buchert 1994), 112

⁸⁴ (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 101

⁸⁵ (Omari, et al. 1983), 38

⁸⁶ (Galabawa 1990), 13

⁸⁷ (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 101

⁸⁸ *ibid*

change was not due to evaluations, but an impatience among the political leaders to implement their ideological beliefs.⁸⁹ The leaders also decided that Education for Self Reliance would only be successful if those receiving secondary education would give back to their community once they had graduated. It therefore made it mandatory to work for two years after graduating from secondary school before applying to university.⁹⁰ The dominant development ideology of *ujamaa* guided these changes. Omari et al. recognized a surprising lack of feasibility studies on how and when universal primary education was feasible.⁹¹ When the policy was adopted, the Tanzanian education system already had a teacher deficit of 10,000.⁹² In order to reach the policy objectives, teacher enrolment would have had to increase by 80 %, equal to 40,000 more teachers.⁹³ The system was not prepared for this increase in teacher training. The Universal Primary Education policy was inspired by the success of the mass adult education programs that had been put in place in 1970. Yet, enrolling every child of eligible age in primary school was more intensive, and policy makers did not take into account economic or practical limitations.⁹⁴

Although Universal Primary Education this was a major shift in policy, it was not a shift in development ideology. The policy brought the education system in Tanzania closer to the *ujamaa* ideology that was dominant at the time. The evaluation that occurred before the Musoma Resolution showed the policy of Education for Self Reliance had not met most of its objectives. Yet the new policy objectives placed more

⁸⁹ (Omari, et al. 1983), 39

⁹⁰ (Galabawa 1990), 14

⁹¹ (Omari, et al. 1983), 38

⁹² (Samoff, "Modernizing" a Socialist Vision: Education in Tanzania 1990), 248

⁹³ *ibid*

⁹⁴ (Omari, et al. 1983), 39

strain on the country's economy. The foreign investment in development expenditures increased from 59.6% in 1974-75 to 84.7% in 1975-76.⁹⁵ Tanzania struggled in the international economy as the first oil crisis in 1973 caused the government to borrow money from the IMF.⁹⁶ Price booms in coffee and cotton eased this economic difficulty in 1975. This boom would however begin to slump after 1977 and Tanzania would once again become more reliant on foreign donations. As the government began to implement the policy of Universal Primary Education, the country entered a period of financial difficulty. As a result, resources available for education were limited and the quality of education suffered.⁹⁷ The political leaders guided by the dominant *ujamaa* ideology, responded to popular pressure to increase access to education.⁹⁸ As a result, the problem recognized by past evaluations of access to secondary school remained unaddressed.

The shift toward a more egalitarian education policy in 1967 increased both literacy and school enrolment. The literacy rate jumped from 28% in 1967 to 73% in 1975.⁹⁹ This was due greatly to a new commitment to adult education and increased access to primary school. With the shift to Universal Primary Education in 1975 enrolment in primary schools increased by one and a half times.¹⁰⁰ This increased the investment needs and the strain on teaching resources within the education system. When the education system was evaluated at Musoma in 1974 policy makers realized secondary school places needed to be increased. Instead of creating a policy that would address this problem, the government went ahead with Universal Primary Education.

⁹⁵ See appendix 2

⁹⁶ (Holtom 2005), 552

⁹⁷ (Omari, et al. 1983), 79

⁹⁸ (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 101

⁹⁹ See appendix 3

¹⁰⁰ See appendix 2

This choice would put more strain on the secondary system and more primary school students would not be able to find secondary places. In spite of these added strains, the government went ahead with the policy choice.

Throughout this period of a dominant development ideology of *ujamaa*, policy makers continuously left evaluations out of the process. Although evaluators had recognized that under Education for Self Reliance the objectives of building a socialist community remained unmet, policy makers did not adjust their approach to meet these objectives. Instead, they continued to create policy based on the dominant ideology. As a result, the objectives attempted under Education for Self Reliance were abandoned for a more radical approach of Universal Primary Education. While primary enrolment increased significantly after 1975 the quality of schooling decreased. There were more students per classroom and less qualified teachers. The dominant ideology of *ujamaa* in Tanzania corresponds more closely to a human development approach. Education policy followed the belief that a larger degree of education among the masses was development in Tanzania. While Nyerere realized that the new primary school leavers would not have places in secondary schools, he did not see it as a problem. He felt it more important that they have a basic level of education. Although evaluators saw this as a problem, Nyerere believed that not having all school-aged children enrolled in primary school was a larger problem.¹⁰¹ It was this belief that guided the policies of Tanzanian education policy during this entire period.

Education for Liberalization: 1982-1999

¹⁰¹ (Omari, et al. 1983), 35

In the 1980's the quality of education became a larger issue. With the increase of students arising from the policy of Universal Primary Education, education resources were stretched thin and quality began to deteriorate. As the crisis of quality grew, the government formed the Presidential Education Commission in 1980 to evaluate the past nineteen years of education and plan for the next twenty.¹⁰² Once again, the evaluation of the education system was taking place only under crisis. The report produced, entitled *Education in Tanzania: Toward the Year 2000*, was released in 1982 and then quickly withdrawn due to its controversial recommendations. This ignited a national debate and it took the government two more years to release a new policy. The debate centred on the failings of the current education system and what types of new reforms needed to be undertaken to address the poor quality. The commission proposed to restructure the schooling cycle, impose secondary school fees and eliminate the two year 'practical experience' waiting period to enter university. Policy makers rejected the first suggestion but approved the latter two.¹⁰³ This signalled a shift once again in the dominant development ideology. The presidential commission made its suggestions based on the quality of education, its costs and its training role.¹⁰⁴ This was in stark contrast to the socialist ideology promoted by the state. The debate was taking place during the economic crisis that was affecting most of the world in the early 1980's. Tanzania was no different and had been receiving increasing amounts of foreign financial assistance. In 1981, it received its first structural adjustment loan from the IMF.

The dominant development ideology during this period was liberalization. The influence of outside organizations took much of the control of the education system away

¹⁰² (Galabawa 1990), 17

¹⁰³ (Samoff, Education Policy Formation in Tanzania: Self Reliance and Dependence 1994), 102

¹⁰⁴ *ibid*

from the government. Due to economic difficulties and dependency on foreign donors, the education agenda was subject to the dominant ideology of liberalization present in the IMF and World Bank. Under structural adjustment, there was a marked shift away from the central importance of investment in education. The structural adjustment loans came with stipulations that directed the government to invest in directly productive sectors. Education did not fall into this category and so the high investment in mass education and adult education in particular, no longer existed.¹⁰⁵ While the previous educational policy focused on issues of access, equality and ‘relevance,’ new concerns revolved around academic quality, cost and its training role.¹⁰⁶ Cost and efficiency was the new priority and funding changed as a result, with investment in education declining as a proportion of total government expenditures. Total expenditures dropped from 5% of the gross domestic product in 1982 to 2% in 1988.¹⁰⁷

Due to Tanzania’s financial difficulties, setting policy became increasingly difficult. The 1982 policy that emerged from the Presidential Education Commission focused on science, technology and vocational training. The failure of the state to provide educational opportunities led to the opening of more private secondary schools. The number of students in private secondary schools increased from 40,755 in 1985 to 76,764 in 1989.¹⁰⁸ The quality of these schools was poor and the fees expensive, which led to differences in education standards.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, international organizations that were providing aid to the country were increasingly bypassing the government and giving aid directly to NGO’s within the country. The number of NGO’s within Tanzania

¹⁰⁵ (Buchert 1994), 147

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 148

¹⁰⁸ See appendix 3

¹⁰⁹ (Roy-Campbell 1992), 159

grew from 85 in 1984 to 258 in 1992 and further to 8499 in the year 2000.¹¹⁰ In 1985, Nyerere stepped down and Ali Hassan Mwinyi took power.

In 1986 after a period of disagreement, Tanzania and the new Mwinyi government came to an agreement on a set of policies with the IMF.¹¹¹ While this agreement led to increases in foreign funding these funds were often attached to policy stipulations. Expanding demand and inadequate resources increased this reliance on foreign funding and meant that, “education increasingly took the form of marketing projects to external assistance agencies.”¹¹² Moving into the last half of the decade Samoff argues that, “priorities were set less by government and party leaders and more by what foreign governments and their aid organizations were willing to finance.”¹¹³ This strategy of marketing what foreign donors would finance essentially left the evaluations of projects up to these donors. This was problematic because as Psacharopoulos notes some organizations such as the World Bank are reluctant to, “change course and fit the country’s development needs.”¹¹⁴ The World Bank had a policy on how education systems were to be run based on sound theories, and was reluctant to spend time evaluating situations in order to implement unique policies for each country.¹¹⁵

As seen in *Table 3*, the main objectives of the education policy in this period focused on cost effectiveness. After 1990, the focus changed to access while maintaining quality and efficiency. The objectives policy makers could aim for were very limited

¹¹⁰ (Lange, Wallevik and Kiondo 2000), 6

¹¹¹ (Buchert 1994), 147

¹¹² *ibid*

¹¹³ *ibid*

¹¹⁴ (Psacharopoulos, World Bank Policy on Education: A Personal Account 2006), 336

¹¹⁵ *ibid*

during this period due to the financial limitations. Due to a lack of evaluations, policy makers had to rely on outside sources for their education information. This breakdown in the policy process resulted in the education system rarely reaching objectives within this period.

Table 3: *Education Objectives, Means and Outcomes in Tanzania from 1981-1999*

Objectives	Means	Outcomes
Improve academic quality and cost effectiveness especially at post primary level	-Restricted expansion of schools -Established secondary school fees	-Secondary school numbers increased -Private low quality secondary schools also increased
Develop new cost sharing partnerships to finance education	Took loans from IMF and World Bank	Financing remained crude and educators remained reliant on demands of donors
After 1990 - Broad access to and equity in education.	Relied on NGO's to provide basic schooling	Primary enrolment numbers began to decline

The dominant development ideology in the country was again dictated by foreign organizations. If educators wished to receive funding for projects, they had to ensure that projects were in harmony with the strategies of the financing organizations. This meant that policy makers would have a very difficult time creating policy based on anything but the ideology donors had laid out. In 1990, education policy changed to Education for All. At a world conference in Jomtien, Thailand organized by the United Nations, the key UN organizations as well as independent organizations and academic research institutions adopted the strategy of Education for All.¹¹⁶ This policy was adopted by the organizations that were producing most of the funding for education in Tanzania, and was followed for the rest of the decade.

¹¹⁶ (Buchert 1994), 148

The increases in literacy rates that had occurred in the 1970's continued into the beginning of the 1980's. They soon began to decline in the 1990's as the decrease in investment meant that many literacy programs were shutdown. It went from a level of 90% in 1986 to 75% in 1995. The focus on secondary schools that evaluators had suggested since 1966 finally took place in the 1980's. This led to the number of secondary school places doubling between 1985 and 1995, while primary places remained nearly the same.¹¹⁷ The focus on quality and cost increased the places in secondary schools but did not address the problem of increasing numbers of children not enrolled in primary school.

Evaluations felt the economic pinch most starkly in 1991 when a new national review of education policy was commissioned. After the evaluation had been started the chair of the commission, the Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam, reported that while some initial evaluations had been completed, the major work could not be completed until further funding was secured.¹¹⁸ Samoff argues that this reliance on external funding for evaluations led to large gaps in effective education evaluation.¹¹⁹ While the developing countries and development agencies have attempted to build partnerships, the development agencies control what type of education policies and evaluations occur. While many evaluations may be taking place, each agency has its own agenda and evaluative strategy. Furthermore, the funding for evaluations will only be extended to those who are evaluating what donors desire. This results in evaluations

¹¹⁷ See appendix 3

¹¹⁸ (Samoff and Sumra, *From Planning to Marketing: Making Education and Training Policy in Tanzania 1994*), 136

¹¹⁹ (Samoff, *Education Sector Analysis in Africa: limited national control and even less national ownership 1999*), 250

that adhere to the larger development ideologies influencing donors. In turn, this limits policy options and the space for national plans.

The dominant development ideology of liberalization in this period placed education on the economic development side of the spectrum. Education was seen as a means to promote economic growth and further economic development in Tanzania. The liberalization of the economy in Tanzania led to the liberalization of the education sector. This increased as the period moved forward with the proliferation of NGO's. The World Bank and IMF were the leading sources of education policy during this period. Their dominant development ideology of liberalization was therefore the most influential within Tanzania. The lack of evaluations led policy makers to rely on this dominant development ideology more, as they had little country specific evaluations to guide their policy decisions.

CONCLUSION

The shifts in education policy within Tanzania between 1961 and 1999 were due to changes in the dominant development ideology. As the ideology pendulum swung between an economic development approach and a human development approach, the role of education in society changed. The dominant ideologies shifted from modernization in the 1960's to *ujamaa* in the 1970's and finally to liberalization in the 1980's and 90's. By analyzing the objectives and outcomes of education policies, it is clear that evaluations were not included in the policy making process. While evaluations did take place within Tanzania, their findings were not considered as new policy was being formed. Instead, the dominant development ideology guided the changes in

education policy. It was responsible for the types of objectives created and how they were measured.

Shifts in the dominant development ideology and not evaluations are argued here as the reasoning behind education policy in Tanzania from independence until 1999. However, one could also argue that a lack of reliable data or sophistication of evaluations was responsible for the ideological guided policies of the government. If evaluators did not have the appropriate data, policy makers may not have trusted the results of evaluations. Similarly, if they did not trust the sophistication of the evaluative process, they may not have included evaluations in subsequent policy. Therefore, an ideological guided policy choice may have been policy makers' only viable option. However, there is no evidence to suggest that policy makers did not trust the reliability of evaluations. Problematic evaluations were not cited as the reasoning behind policy choices that went against evaluative recommendations. Furthermore, if a failure to acquire reliable data was an issue, it may be partly attributed to the government for two reasons.

Firstly, throughout all three periods there is a surprising lack of feedback mechanisms built into the education system. While this may be understandable after structural adjustment took place, because investment in all areas of education declined. It is puzzling in the period from 1967-1981 when the government invested large amounts in education. With such a high commitment to education, both economically and socially, one would expect comprehensive evaluations to ensure policies were achieving their objectives. However, these were lacking in Tanzania and policy makers measured success by how closely policies aligned with ideology, as opposed to if they were achieving their objectives. Secondly, some of the objectives set out by the government at

different stages were obscure. Policy makers in the 1970's believed education could help create a socialist society, yet few targets were created which would allow policy makers to assess if this objective had been met. This made measurement of these objectives very difficult. Therefore, a lack of feedback mechanisms and obscure objectives may have added to the data difficulty in Tanzania.

Economic restrictions could also be argued as a reason ideology guided education policy. For much of the period covered in this analysis Tanzania was in financial difficulty. With a large reliance on foreign donors, evaluations may have been less of a priority than other educational expenses. As a result, ideology would have guided policy because evaluations were not a high enough priority. Economic restraints may have also restricted the government by allowing them to embark only on policies that were economically feasible. Therefore, if an evaluation suggested changes that were not economically feasible, the government may not have been in a position to incorporate these recommendations. However, the evidence shows that the government made policy choices, such as the shift to Education for Self Reliance and Universal Primary Education, which were not economically feasible. These decisions went against observers' recommendations at the time and showed that policy makers may have been open to recommendations that were not economically viable.

When evaluations are not conducted, policy objectives are not scrutinized and there is no accountability when they are not met. Without thorough examination of policy objectives, policy makers cannot measure the feasibility and success of their policy choices. When evaluations are conducted, but their findings are not taken into consideration, policy mistakes are repeated. In Tanzania, this meant that policy makers

did not address the problem of limited secondary school places for three decades. Additionally, the obscure objectives the government created may have been more specific if an evaluation process had been included. If policy makers were forced to clarify how these new policies were to be evaluated, such obscure objectives would have been difficult to justify. Although the government may have been strongly committed to using the education system to create a new socialist society, they had no method to measure if this was successful.

Interestingly, although the development ideology pendulum shifted between human and economic development approaches, evaluations were not prevalent in decision making in any period. Moving forward, this understanding can help us explore the reasoning behind shifts in education policy and decision making in policy more generally. Which ideology dominated influenced the method of measuring success in Tanzania and the formation of new policies. As development experts attempt to create education policies in developing countries, they must be aware of the larger development ideologies. If evaluations are continuously left out of the process, education policy will continue to shift between the two ends of the ideological spectrum, and improvements made by past policies will not be carried forward.

Increasingly outside organizations, each with their own guiding ideology, are influencing policy makers in developing countries. The dominant ideologies that lie behind influential organizations need to be recognized and included in the dialogue surrounding development plans and evaluations. Without understanding where a certain approach is ideologically situated, policy makers cannot understand what policy options are being excluded. Policy makers that make decisions based totally on the dominant

development ideology risk attempting plans that ignore economic feasibility or lose sight of the people they are attempting to educate. Both sides of this spectrum were witnessed in Tanzania. When policymakers were guided more by the economic development approach, many people were excluded from the education process. While under the human development approach, policymakers undertook policies that were not economically feasible. Although evaluations recognized the problems under each ideology, the successful aspects of each policy were abandoned as the ideological paradigm shifted.

Ideologically led decisions were made in Tanzania even when these decisions were contrary to evaluations, economic viability or political expediency. This can be useful to inform the debate on the importance of strict evaluation within development plans. This analysis has shown that a lack of evaluations can occur under any development ideology. A lack of awareness about the prominent influence of a dominant ideology on policymaking could be detrimental to the stated objectives of development plans. These ideologies are present within every education development project. In order to understand the formation of new education policy within developing countries the underlying ideology must be identified, recognized and included in subsequent policy discussions.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Tanzanian Foreign Contributions to Educational Development Expenditures 1962/63-1981/82 (Tsh '000 000)¹²⁰

Year	Tanzanian Share		Foreign Loans		Foreign Grants		Total Educational Development Expenditure		Total Foreign Share	
	Tsh	%	Tsh	%	Tsh	%	Tsh	%	Tsh	%
1962/63	41	35.3	64	55.2	11	9.5	116	100.0	75	64.7
1963/64	58	34.9	92	55.4	16	9.6	166	100.0	108	65.1
1964/65	112	32.9	197	57.9	31	9.1	340	100.0	228	67.1
1965/66	63	23.9	169	64.0	32	12.1	264	100.0	201	76.1
1966/67	95	34.1	137	49.1	47	16.8	279	100.0	184	65.9
1967/68	142	86.1	n.a.	--	n.a.	--	165	100.0	23	13.9
1968/69	80	30.0	00	0.0	187	70.0	267	100.0	187	70.0
1969/70	136	36.8	135	36.5	99	26.8	370	100.0	234	63.2
1970/71	206	49.0	136	32.4	78	18.6	420	100.0	214	51.0
1971/72	150	30.0	131	26.2	219	43.8	500	100.0	350	70.0
1972/73	171	29.1	180	30.6	237	40.3	588	100.0	417	70.9
1973/74	125	23.2	112	20.8	301	55.9	538	100.0	413	76.8
1974/75	256	40.4	161	25.4	216	34.1	633	100.0	377	59.6
1975/76	218	15.3	253	17.8	954	66.9	1,425	100.0	1,207	84.7

¹²⁰ Taken from (Samoff, "Modernizing" a Socialist Vision: Education in Tanzania 1990), 227

1976/77	263	12.9	374	18.3	1,402	68.8	2,039	100.0	1,776	87.1
1977/78	366	20.4	275	15.3	1,154	64.3	1,795	100.0	1,429	79.6
1978/79	379	19.2	168	8.5	1,431	72.3	1,978	100.0	1,599	80.8
1979/80	883	30.2	298	10.2	1,739	59.6	2,920	100.0	2,037	69.8
1980/81	716	22.6	179	5.6	2,274	71.8	3,169	100.0	2,453	77.4
1981/82	614	20.4	n.a.	--	n.a.	--	3,008	100.0	2,394	79.6
Total	5,074	24.2		--		--	20,980	100.0	15,906	75.8

Appendix 2: Education Enrolment Statistics Tanzania by Category: Schools and Enrolment 1962-1989¹²¹

Category	1962		1966		1976		1982		1985		1989	
	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E
<i>Government</i>												
Primary (I-IV)	3,342	443,779	3,853	561,755	5,804	1,954,442	10,002	3,503,729	10,147	3,160,145	10,404	3,252,934
Primary (V-VIII)		74,864		179,236								
Secondary (I-IV)	51	13,690	70	22,241	n/a	36,218	85	35,074	86	37,733	124	57,482
Secondary (V-VI)	10	485		1,595		3,729		3,909		4,589		5,340
Technical	3	1,516	3	1,444	n/a	n/a	2	1,409	3	1,449	3	1,927
Teacher Training	21	1,851	17	5,011	n/a	9,471	7	12,926	39	12,311	4	13,263
Higher	-	193	-	997	-	2,828	1	2,980	2	3,414	2	3,327
Higher (overseas)	-	1,327	-	2,325	-	1,070	-	1,244	-	1,066	-	1,287
Sub-total	3,427	537,725	3,943	774,604	5,804	2,007,758	10,097	3,561,271	10,277	3,220,707	10,573	3,335,560
Category	1962		1966		1976		1982		1985		1989	
<i>Private</i>	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E	S	E

¹²¹ Compiled from (Buchert 1994), 110 and 150, n/a – not available

Primary (I-IV)	n/a	n/a	631	49,025	n/a	n/a	33	9,070	26	9,614	27	5,667
Primary (V-VIII)	n/a	n/a		4,703	n/a	n/a						
Secondary (I-IV)	1	n/a	26	3,786	n/a	17,039	82	29,761	104	39,647	195	75,003
Secondary (V-VI)		n/a		6	n/a	157						
Technical	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Teacher Training	1	n/a	2	72	n/a	n/a	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub-total	2	-	659	57,592	-	17,196	115	39,232	130	50,369	222	82,431
Grand Total	3,429	537,725	4,602	832,196	5,804	2,084,954	10,212	3,600,503	10,407	3,271,076	10,795	3,417,991

Appendix 3: Literacy rates, Enrolment and Estimated Education Expenditures in Tanzania from 1962-1995

	1962/63	1966/67	1975/76	1980/81	1985/86	1994/95
Adult Literacy Rate (%)	10.5	28.1	73	80	90	75
Enrolment: <i>Primary</i>	518,663	794,719	1,954,442	3,538,183	3,169,759	3,568,087
<i>Secondary</i>	14,175	32,325	57,143	67,602	83,077	196,375
Total Expenditure on Education (MTsh)	116	200	977	2,148	n/a	89,302
Education Expenditure as a % of Total Gov Expenditures	19.6	20	16.4	14.1	13.3	22

¹²²

¹²² Statistics taken from, (Bank, Tanzania at the Turn of the Century 2002) (Bank, Tanzania: Social Sector Review 1999) (Buchert 1994) (Roy-Campbell 1992) (Samoff, "Modernizing" a Socialist Vision: Education in Tanzania 1990).

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