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**Development Agendas and Their Relationship with Secondary
Education in Tanzania**

(A Historical Analysis from the Late 1800s until the 2000s)

A thesis

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of the requirements for the degree

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Abstract

Secondary education has, in recent years, been recognised globally as a development issue that needs urgent attention. The United Nations released a set of Sustainable Development Goals in 2015 that contained targets aimed to be reached by 2030. Secondary education was included in this set of goals, demonstrating the global move to improve access to this level of schooling.

The United Republic of Tanzania is an ethnically diverse country located in East Africa. It has had a complex and contested history, with many different groups having influenced its present day shape. This thesis focusses on the various perspectives which have shaped the current formation of the education sector. This examination begins during the period of colonialism under the German Empire (late 1800s) and moves through to the 2000s. Understanding the historical context of the modern day situation is particularly important for effective implementation of future policy. This thesis seeks to bring together a wide range of literature on this topic, hoping to shed light on the current situation in Tanzania.

Development discourse and policies have shaped secondary education in Tanzania for many years, and still continue to do so. This means that any investigation of education needs to take into account the broader field of development.

Development as an ideology emerged after World War II at the same time as many countries gained independence from their colonial rulers. The context of its emergence necessarily influenced the type of ideas and policies promoted, an influence which is still apparent today. Some of the main educational development ideas examined in this thesis are those of the Tanzanian government, international multi-lateral agencies, local non-government organisations and the Tanzanian people themselves. These diverse groups have had differential impacts on the secondary education system's formation and development. I draw on various development theorists and frameworks to provide an in-depth analysis of this.

The thesis is focussed on five main themes. These themes run throughout and include an examination of the structural factors influencing the secondary education system, the emergence of a dualistic education system, the progression

of a Tanzanian national identity through the education system, a specific analysis of Tanzanian girls' access to secondary education, and the relationship between neo-liberal policies and the secondary education system. These themes connect each time period together and illustrate the importance of gaining a contextual understanding so that future secondary education system policy is both equitable and culturally relevant.

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List of Abbreviations

IMF	International Monetary Fund
US	United States of America
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Plan
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
CBO	Community Based Organisation

Introduction

The object of this thesis is to explore how different development ideas have impacted and changed the secondary education system in Tanzania. Various development ideas have materialised in the education sector, originating from diverse groups including; the Tanzanian government, outside multi-lateral agencies, non-government organisations (NGO) and the Tanzanian people themselves. Each of these perspectives will be explored in this thesis. Historical factors importantly inform many development ideas and it is therefore important to consider the contextual background in which the education system has arisen. Thus, I examine the development ideas that have influenced the education system in Tanzania since the colonial period (late 1800s). Within each chapter, education is analysed in relation to particular development ideas and the specific secondary education policies and programmes which have resulted from this. The historical exclusion of girls from secondary education is given particular attention.

My personal history and connection to Tanzania is what lead me to choose this thesis topic. Seven years of my childhood were spent living in Tanzania and a further seven spent in the neighbouring country of Kenya. This fostered my interest in the region, together with my studies in Anthropology, particularly the Anthropology of Development. Educational access is one area that has been of great concern throughout Africa, especially in relation to how unequal access articulates with the imposition of Western development ideas and policies. Choosing this as an area of research provided an opportunity for me to re-engage with my Tanzanian history.

Importance of Research in the Area

Education has, historically, been identified as an area of development. For many years universal primary education was at the forefront of many development goals throughout the world. Tanzania was relatively successful in relation to this goal, obtaining, in 2013, a gross enrolment ratio at the primary level of 86 percent (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2016). Secondary education has only recently been given prominence as a development goal. This attention is a result of the low secondary education attendance rate throughout much of the developing world.

Access to secondary education has been blocked by various barriers which need to be explored if there is hope of increasing access. Tanzania has had a particularly low level of secondary education, with a gross enrolment ratio of 32 percent, in 2013 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2016). This is also low in comparison to Africa as a whole, which has a 47 percent gross enrolment ratio at the secondary level (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2016).

Current scholarship in the area of secondary education in Tanzania is varied and somewhat piecemeal. There has, however, been complementary research into secondary education in East Africa and the wider context of Africa. Research into the political make up of Tanzania, both in the present day and in the past, is much more pronounced than that on secondary education. This latter research was drawn on to help explain the political framework in which secondary education policies arose in Tanzania. Using this literature, an aim of this theses is to bring together the historical, political and social environment which the current secondary education system in Tanzania has emerged from.

Methodology

The methodological approach of this thesis was documentary analysis, through qualitative literature-based research, from a wide range of sources. This has included drawing on a broad spectrum of academic journals and books, from a range of disciplines. Drawing on a variety of disciplines has been important in order for the research to encompass an extensive and diverse topic. This allowed for a complex understanding of secondary education in Tanzania, in relation to development ideas, on the local, national and international levels. Examination of studies done in similar areas has also been conducted, as part of understanding the situation. Two relevant theses were Colwell's (2001) study on health development and the representation of native women in Tanzania, and Kessler's (2006) study on the process of nation-building in Tanzania and its relation to the level of peace and stability in the country. Both of these studies helped to provide contextual understanding without specifically addressing the topic of secondary education in Tanzania. Government documents produced by the Tanzanian state were particularly key to the documentary analysis of this thesis. Using these documents highlighted the areas that have been addressed in relation to development,

education in general and secondary education in Tanzania. These documents included plans, programmes and policies relating to the subject area. A final major source was the use of webpages. These webpages were used for the identification of development ideas surrounding education policies. These were on both global and local levels, specifically those of multi-lateral agencies and NGOs.

The research process used the method of thematic analysis and synthesis. This required seeking and exploring common themes, through extensive content analysis of each document. Bryman (2016, 597) describes this process as going through three main stages: coding the texts, generating descriptive themes, and generating analytic themes. This process was used to draw out common themes from the information gathered and to discover emerging themes. The thesis explores a wide range of themes throughout a long historical background meaning that coding was important in order to separate out topics and then discover themes. Drawing on a range of disciplines was part of this methodology as it provided a variety of perspectives from which to consider issues and themes. Altheide and Schneider (2013, 5) assert that the aim of documentary analysis is to help “understand culture, social discourse, and social change”. Documents can be seen as symbolic representations of both “social meanings and institutional relations” (Altheide and Schneider 2013, 5). This is particularly significant when looking at the government documents produced by the Tanzanian state in addition to giving an understanding of researchers working in the area. Acknowledging this, meant recognising that documents are not value free and will have a bias element to them. This bias needs to be carefully considered when researching through documentary analysis.

This thesis has also drawn on Altheide and Schneider’s (2013) method of ethnographic content analysis. When document analysis is considered to be fieldwork, this method can be employed (Altheide and Schneider 2013, 23). It requires both “immersion” and “discovery” of the subject area through a fluid analysis which allows themes to emerge throughout the research process (Altheide and Schneider 2013, 26). The research for this thesis followed this methodology through developing research questions and themes, but allowing the information gathered to form new areas of research and discovery. Following this

methodology allowed for new themes to emerge and be expanded on that had not previously been thought of. The process of doing this allowed for the utilisation of a range of theories to produce the theoretical frameworks within which this thesis is situated. This helped to give understanding to particular patterns and relationships that interact to give the current secondary education system in Tanzania.

Chapter Outline

This thesis is divided into six main chapters that explore the way in which development ideas have influenced plans and policies in relation to education in Tanzania. Chapter One: Development Framework, provides the framework of development, in a broader sense. It examines the emergence of the discourse of development and how this was transformed into development policies. Understanding the broader framework of development is important as it provides context to the development ideas that worked towards various education policies. Within this chapter is a closer look at the emergence of development in Tanzania, helping to discover the development framework within which Tanzanian policies are designed. Chapter Two: Education in the Colonial Period, looks at the ideas and policies surrounding education during the colonial period in Tanzania. During this chapter education is addressed in general, not specifically at the secondary level. This is because there were limited secondary education policies during this time period but the general education policies are still important as they influenced policies in the future. Chapter Two gives some contextual background to how the colonial period shaped future ideas and policies in Tanzania. A focus of this thesis, though, is to explore the period of independence and nation-building in Tanzania, a task addressed in Chapter Three: Building an Independent Tanzania through Education. Drawing on various theorists this chapter investigates how education was used as tool for creating the independent socialist state of Tanzania. Chapter Four: Neo-liberal Economics and its Effect on Education, analyses the movement away from socialism and the imposition of neo-liberal development reforms, by multilateral agencies. This chapter examines how the imposition of neo-liberalism changed the country's approach to development and how this effected the social makeup of society, particularly education. These ideas continue

to be expanded on in Chapter Five: Education as a Tool for Development, with a particular focus on how secondary education changed during the first ten years of the twenty-first century. Chapter Five has a specific focus on girls and their access to education. This period of time specifically identified secondary education in relation to girls as a consideration for Tanzania's development. The final chapter provides the conclusion of the thesis, tying together the main themes and arguments found throughout. The main themes discussed in the conclusion and throughout this thesis are; structural factors, dualistic education, nationalism and language of instruction, a focus on girls and the impacts of neo-liberalism on the secondary education sector.

Chapter One: Development Framework

The discourse of development emerged during the post-colonial period when multiple countries gained independence from their colonial rulers. It had already started to build as an idea prior to this period when the changing effects of World War II had meant a redefinition of colonial control over colonies and the changing relations between countries throughout the world. These changes were linked to de-colonialization, the Cold War, the expansion of capitalism and the advancements made in both science and technology (Gardner and Lewis 1996). Multilateral organisations, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), argued that development ideas and strategies would be beneficial to the countries coming out of colonialism as these would help them transition from being colonies to becoming independent nations. These development ideas and strategies were based around theories of neo-colonialism, neo-liberalism and, eventually, post-colonialism. Yet, these have been criticised by various groups and theorists for both failing to do this, for implementing Western standards of measurement and for enabling an extension of European control beyond the colonial period (Escobar 1995). This section will provide a context and frame to the emergence of development as an ideology, as well as outline a range of development strategies and policies. It will then address the changes in development ideas and policies from the period after World War II, including the era of neo-colonialism, the 1970s and the dominance of neo-liberal ideologies, and ideas of post-colonialism. A discussion of Tanzania's internal political ideology will be included, addressing the socialist model of Ujamaa and its focus on self-reliance. A brief examination of the Millennium Development Goals, the Sustainable Development Goals and Tanzania's Development Vision 2025 will follow. All of these development ideas, strategies and policies are important considerations for education and its progression since the colonial period in Tanzania and provide an important contextual framework to this thesis.

Development Rises as a Discourse and as Policy

After World War II, many new theories emerged including the idea that poverty was something measurable (Escobar 1995). Alongside this came categories that grouped countries together depending on their side in the Cold War; the capitalist

West was categorised as the 'First World', the communist Soviet Union and its allies as the 'Second World', and those not allied with either side as the 'Third World' (Castree, Kitchin, and Rogers 2013). The emergence of modernisation theory and the concepts of economic stages of growth and development meant that the definitions of these categories involved concepts that defined the developed from underdeveloped (Castree, Kitchin, and Rogers 2013). The Third World became a concept used to describe those less economically developed in relation to Western countries (Tomlinson 2003). The measurement of poverty alongside these categorisations resulted in comparisons being made between the 'developed' and 'developing' countries. These comparisons were largely based on perceived economic advancement and placed capitalism as the ultimate goal for developing nations to reach (Gardner and Lewis 1996). Escobar (1997, 497) refers to development after World War II as:

The process to pave the way for the replication in most of Asia, Africa and Latin America of the conditions that were supposed to characterize the more economically advanced nations of the world - industrialisation, high degrees of urbanisation and education, technification of agriculture, and widespread adoption of the values and principles of modernity, including particular forms of order, rationality and individual orientation.

This perspective of development was one orientated towards Western thinking at the time, with modernity and urbanisation being seen as the truest representation of a developed nation. Gardner and Lewis (1996, 7) define this type of development as "quantifiable, and reducible to economics." Development was thus seen in terms of economic progress and little attention was given to the social and cultural aspects of people's livelihood. Any identified social problems were measured in terms of economic advancement and this was applied to both the health and education sectors of states (Escobar 1995).

The period of time following World War II saw the rise of the United States of America (US) as the dominant superpower in the West. While this took place, the Soviet Union in the East competed for world dominance and thus competed against the US in a fight for allies and control. This competition became known as the Cold War and is generally agreed to have stretched from 1947 to 1991 (Fink 2014). This war was considered a capitalist fight, by the US and other Western

nations, and a communist fight by the Soviet Union and its allies (Fink 2014). As a result of this, the US displayed a strong anti-communist zeal which translated into their approach to development (Escobar 1995). Their growing power and influence as a world superpower meant that this anti-communist zeal was translated into development discourses and policies throughout the world, but specifically in Africa. The discourse of development that arose during this period has been criticised for being an extension of colonial control. It has been called into question whether development was, and is, helping the countries it is aimed at or whether it is a Western imposition. Gupta (1997, 320) refers to how it has been used as a “powerful tool of domination in the postcolonial era” of Western countries over their former colonies. This type of domination has been defined as neo-colonialism and is, arguably, part of the development discourse. Not only was development said to be an imposition of Western ideas but it has also been criticised as a “consolidation of US hegemony” in particular (Escobar 1995). Large amounts of power and control accrued to the US from debts accumulated during the war (Herring 2008). Their power over much of the emerging development ideas, strategies and policies meant that these were driven by concerns of capitalism and correspondingly, that communism as a template for development was shunned. These influences all drove the way in which development was addressed and the establishment of institutions to monitor and control development practices. These institutions included the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which were set up at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944 (Helleiner 2014). Both institutions were aimed at regulating development and were heavily dominated by the US as well as capitalist ideals. They became key players in development discourses throughout Africa.

Neo-liberal Revolution and its Impact on Development

Both the World Bank and the IMF were part of the neo-liberal economic revolution in the 1970s, which saw a movement to market led development and a focus on market forces (Leys 2005). This neo-liberal shift saw the privatization of the public sector and the removal of state controls (Leys 2005). Development in Africa at this time was largely driven by these neo-liberal policies and standards set by Western powers, particularly by the World Bank and the IMF. By the

1970s, ideas of what a developed nation should look like had already been planted in many African nations and some nations had begun to strive for this. Yet, due to their recent independence, many did not have the ability or resources to develop in this way without foreign assistance. This resulted in the need to borrow from the World Bank and the IMF. These institutions had their own agendas of economic progress and advancement as well as modernisation. Gardner and Lewis (1996) describe these agendas as Western ethnocentric concepts whereby Western ideals were imposed on the African nations through the development discourse.

Evidence shows that many African nations sought to create plans for the development of their nations (Gardner and Lewis 1996). These plans for development were often hoped to be a “freedom from the colonial yoke” yet, as the evidence demonstrates, this was not the case (Riddell 1992). In Tanzania, a series of development plans were released, beginning with a three year Development Plan from 1961 to 1964 aiming at reducing “illiteracy, poverty and poor health” (United Republic of Tanzania 2012, 1). This plan was followed by three different five year plans, all of which aimed at development and advancement of Tanzania as a nation and included plans for the development of education. Along with the lack of resources and ability to implement their plans came the economic depressions of the 1970s which meant that these newly independent nations were forced to borrow money in order to avoid economic ruin. Due to the IMF and World Bank’s own agendas, however, this money came with conditions attached (Riddell 1992). These conditions came in the form of structural adjustment programmes which forced the removal of the state from the public sector and promoted an open economy in all public sectors. Part of this ‘reform’ included the privatisation of all social sectors of society, including the education sector. These programmes allowed the implementation of Western development ideals and policies in developing nations. Due to the heavy dominance of the US in both the World Bank and the IMF, evidence shows development ideals and policies coming from these institutions as being orientated towards US ideas and capitalist ideology. Julius Nyerere was, and still is, an influential member in Tanzanian politics. He was Prime Minister of Tanganyika from 1961 and then became Tanzania’s first president from 1964 until 1985. In

1985, Julius Nyerere addressed some of the concerns relating to the imposition of development ideals on African nations at the Royal African Society:

The developed countries have a very large measure of control over the world economy. They act as a group, and make decisions which they see as in their own interests. The leadership of the group is in the hands of the nation with the most powerful economy – USA. (Nyerere 1985, 493).

This demonstrates some of the sentiments held by developing African nations towards the structural adjustment programmes and the power held by the developed nations, predominately that of the US.

These development ideas have impacted the way in which failure to reach development goals has been addressed and where criticism was placed. The ideas, strategies and policies that emerged in this period have been classed as ‘mainstream development’. They have had substantial implications in the transformation of African nations’ post-independence and particularly in the analysis of their failure. This is not just evident in the development policies of Africa but is also apparent in the Pacific. O’Meara’s (1990) study of Samoan Planters discovered that development agencies blamed villagers’ traditional social goals for the economic failings of the country. Such social goals were said to create ‘underdevelopment’. This underdevelopment is considered in relation to economic progress and rates of return (O’Meara 1990). The study, however, demonstrated that this was not the case and that economic reasons were just as much an influence over the Samoan Planters as were traditional social goals. The clinging to traditional methods of living was more “an adaption to their poverty” rather than the “cause of that poverty” (O’Meara 1990, 193). This is evidence that development agencies misdirected blame and were unable to see the reality of the situation. It also demonstrates that the imposition of market values into development measurements does not necessarily reflect the value systems of the people themselves. Blame is put on social and cultural values rather than looking at the root cause of the issues. It is also debatable whether development failure has really taken place or if, in fact, it is simply a misconception of what development should look like, focussing on the economic rather than the social and cultural. Stacie Colwell (2001) states that there are conflicting perspectives of where blame is placed, seeing “culture as cure” versus “culture as cause”. The concept of

culture as cause is evident in the thinking behind many mainstream development ideas that focus on implementing adjustments without a consideration of the social and culture outcomes. This, once again, adds to the argument that development failure is, in fact, a misconstruction due to its focus on economic progress and accumulation and having no regard for social and cultural development. The focus lies explicitly on economic progress and accumulation.

Mainstream development ideologies and agendas arose after World War II, though they are still in place in many institutions today. These mainstream development policies follow top-down approaches and are arguably littered with Western ethnocentric concepts. Due to their failings, these mainstream development ideologies have been called into question both by outside sources as well as by people within Tanzania. President Nyerere was one such critic who targeted the failure of this type of development. In more recent years, the Tanzanian government in 'The Tanzania Development Vision 2025' recognised some of the failings as well. Some other critics come from non-government organisations (NGOs) and researchers working in the area. Evidence of the growing gaps between the rich and the poor as well as the increasing levels of global poverty has been seen (Pyhälä 2013). On top of this, the promise of "world economic integration" has failed in many respects and instead the process of "global fragmentation" has begun to take shape (Pyhälä 2013, 198). This has led to the emergence of alternative forms of development aimed at adopting bottom-up approaches. These work through the empowerment and participation of the local people themselves (Gardner and Lewis 1996). This sees alternative models of development such as self-reliance and grassroots movements. An example of this in Tanzania is the 'Sungusungu' village vigilante group. This group was established in the 1980s as a grassroots movement against the high levels of social disorder in the Nyamwezi and Sukuma tribes, particularly in relation to cattle theft, other property theft and witchcraft (Abrahams and Bukurura 1992, 93). This movement used the already existing history of collaboration between villages to form a group of protection (Abrahams and Bukurura 1992). The group was met with some resistance from other institutions of law and order due to the methods they took to enforce this but in 1989 it was recognised, through legislation, by the government as a legitimate form of law and order enforcement (Abrahams and

Bukurura 1992). The case of the ‘Sungusungu’ demonstrates where a grassroots movement has the power and ability to respond to a local issue using local methods and eventually becoming recognised as a legitimate group.

Development Goals, Plans and Programmes

Since colonial times education has been part of the development discourse and was identified after independence as a development issue needing to be addressed. This is evident in various ways but particularly through the Millennium Development Goals and the Sustainable Development Goals, both released by the United Nations (UN). The Millennium Development Goals were compiled in 2000 and were expected to be achieved by 2015 (United Nations 2016a). Two goals that are specifically linked to education and development are Goal 2 “Achieve Universal Primary Education” and Goal 3 “Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women” (United Nations 2016a). Goal 3 relates to the access to education in Tanzania, as it has been historically disproportionate between genders due to underlying cultural, social and economic factors (to be discussed in following chapters). Education has also been identified as a tool for the empowerment of women in recent years. The Sustainable Development Goals were released in 2015 as a successor to the Millennium Development Goals and are foreseen as being achieved by 2030 (United Nations 2016b). These once again contain two goals that specifically address education and women’s development; Goal 4 “Quality Education” and Goal 5 “Gender Equality” (United Nations 2016b). Countries also created their own development goals which were included in plans. Examples of this in the Tanzanian context are the five year development plans that were released by the government in 1964 and continue today, as well as The Tanzania Development Vision 2025. Both these sets of development plans outline goals for development as well as ways to achieve this (see Chapter Four). Throughout all these development plans, both in the Tanzanian context and outside, are included sections directly related to educational development. This is due to education being identified as a basic human right that any developed nation should have available to all its citizens (McNeely 1995). Since independence, the newly established African nations had to find a balance between developing a curriculum that was both culturally relevant and would also allow them to

participate in the wider society, both nationally and globally, and eventually be recognised as a developed nation (White 1996). This resulted in importance being placed on development plans to include sections dedicated to the development of education. A specific policy of educational development that has had significant impact in many developing nations is the “Education for All” policy. This was promoted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (UNESCO 2016). This policy specifically impacted Tanzania in the period after independence with the introduction of Universal Primary Education (explored in Chapter Three and Four), as well as the changes made to the secondary education sector in the 2000s (see Chapter Five).

Outside Funding

As African nations gained their independence, they sought ways by which to build themselves a nation that was distinct from that which had existed during colonial rule. Education was quickly identified as a tool for “nation building and creating national citizenry” and thus goals of educational development were adopted (McNeely 1995, 483). In order, however, for many of the goals to be achieved, outside aid had to be sought as the African nations were not in a position to fund this type of development. This resulted in the intervention of multilateral agencies such as the World Bank, as well as other agencies of development (Maclure 2006). Characteristic of mainstream development, these agencies had their own development ideas as well as economic and political reasons that influenced their agendas for development and these agendas in turn impacted on educational development policies as they were pushed by the agencies. The World Bank and IMF have advocated for the maintenance of English as the language of instruction in secondary school because it is more cost effective to do so (Babaci-Wilhite 2010). This will be explored further in Chapter Five but it demonstrates how an international agency only offers assistance on the basis of their own agendas and development ideas. These policies and agendas focussed on the standardisation of education, applying the same policies in multiple countries (McGinn 2000). As a result of this standardisation and the forces of globalisation, many education systems today appear to be homogenous in nature (Ramirez 1997). Major problems exist with this homogenisation because applying the same standard to

all systems is not going to work because no country is the same or operates in the same way. The insistence of the use of textbooks and examination papers that have been produced overseas is one such example (Brock-Utne 2002). This may be to try to create a quality level of education but it inhibits learning as it is not specific to the country. For example, a history textbook may explore the topic of the American Civil War if it was written in America. The Civil War may be important in America's history and be worthwhile for American students to study but, in Tanzania, the civil war will have little, if any, relevance to the student. Tanzanian students would therefore likely be better off learning about Tanzanian historical events which have affected the make-up of their own country.

Education becomes tied up, according to McNeely (2005), in national ideologies and this means that no one policy can be applicable as every nation will have different ideologies. Woodward (2010) states that this standardisation is one of the flaws of development in general, in that it imposes a single measurement, based on a market evaluation, which does not accurately represent the area in which it is used (quoted in Pyhälä 2013). This links to the ideas discussed earlier about the conflicts between seeing culture as cure versus culture as cause. Where a single market evaluation is used, there is no consideration for cultural and social aspects and thus culture is seen as the cause of development failure in education.

Standardisation does not allow for an education curriculum to be adapted to the culture in which it is being placed. This becomes a problem when the culture in which it is being placed has a set of beliefs and values that contradict or conflict with that being imposed through the homogenised curriculum. An example of such issues can be examined in the instruction of the reproduction system and menstruation for girls. Western models of education look at providing this type of information through factual, formal classes; however, in the context of Tanzanian cultural beliefs and practices, this is not possible due to the taboos surrounding the female body (Sommer 2010). Prior to European arrival, this type of information was passed between generations through "informal networks of knowledge" with older women instructing the younger (Allen 2000, 23). Today, this is a particular issue because girls cannot learn through Western methods due to cultural taboos but those living away from home do not access the information through the informal networks of knowledge either (see Chapter Five). According to Eriksen

(2010) homogenisation is part of the nation building process, so mass education is homogenised to enable this. The Tanzanian government used mass education as a tool for nation building but this mass education was not always accepted by certain groups due to the diverse cultures within Tanzania (see Chapter Three).

Throughout the African continent it can be seen, from the 1970s, that the agencies of development pushed neo-liberal thinking into the education sector through various structural adjustment programmes. In Africa, these structural adjustment programmes affected education by pushing for the privatization of education, increasing school fees and reducing the role of government in the education sector (Samoff 1999). The structural adjustment programmes became the driving goal for mainstream development in the 1970s, as is evident in the education sector. The educational development pushed in countries through this type of development is all focussed on top down approaches that are contrived by outside sources. President Nyerere identified this issue on reflection of Africa's debt crisis; donors "use their aid for ideological and foreign policy purposes" (Nyerere, 1985, p.492). The debt crisis which Nyerere refers to had arisen during the 1970s as a result of large loans being sought for development. These loans came with conditions based on the agendas of the donors which resulted in the power being left in the hands of these donors. Throughout history, particularly since independence, the competing development discourses can be seen to have an influence over education policies throughout the world.

Tanzania and Development

The United Republic of Tanzania is an African nation that has existed as a nation since 1964 upon the unification of two entities, Tanganyika and Zanzibar (Mbogoni and Project Muse 2012). Tanganyika gained independence in 1961 and Zanzibar in 1963 (Mbogoni and Project Muse 2012). Tanzania as a nation sought to establish itself as a country independent of Western control. As in other newly independent nations, Tanzanians had competing ideas concerning how their country should manage the various discourses and strategies of development. Tanzania's situation is particularly interesting because of the socialist approach they took after independence through the Ujamaa model (Payer 1983). This socialist approach was alongside the adoption of Pan-Africanism which is an

ideology that many African nations adopted after independence with the hopes of unity together against imperialism and colonialism (Shivji 2008). Tanzania adopted a model of Ujamaa which translates as ‘familyhood’ (Caplan 1993). This model was projected as the main thrust of the Tanzanian government after independence and was cemented in the Arusha Declaration in 1967 (Bjerk 2010). The focus of this model was to achieve the self-reliance of the nation whilst maintaining social and economic progress and ensuring equality among all (Caplan 1993). Part of this Ujamaa model included policies towards education, specifically Education for Self-Reliance, (see Chapter Three). This socialist approach to development, however, was not readily supported by the outside development agencies and once the economic crisis hit in the 1970s, the agencies instead insisted on their own agendas being enacted in Tanzanian social sectors, if aid was to continue. The economic crises of the 1970s affected many Western nations due to the oil price shocks and resulted in limited aid being given. In Tanzania, this economic crises was particularly significant because of the oil price rise, the war with Uganda and a series of droughts that resulted in crop failure (Caplan 1993). This meant that Tanzania’s resources were run dry, which will be further discussed in Chapter Three, and resulted in a heavy dependence on outside aid, particularly from the World Bank and the IMF, for economic survival. As with other countries, the World Bank and IMF placed structural adjustment programmes on Tanzania which impacted many public sectors (Payer 1983). These structural adjustment programmes were also a result of the neo-liberal turn in ideology that had taken place in Western nations (see Chapter Three and Chapter Four).

Chapter Two: Education in the Colonial Period

Tanzania's colonial history is complex and its legacy continues to impact on Tanzanian society today. Until 1964, Tanzania was governed as two separate entities: Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Tanganyika was a colony of Germany from the late nineteenth century until 1919 at their defeat in World War I (Mbogoni and Project Muse 2012). After World War I, the League of Nations handed over the administration of Tanzania to Britain, who remained the colonial power until independence in 1961. The administration of Tanzania took the form of the United Nations Trust Territory system in 1947 (Mbogoni and Project Muse 2012). This trust territory system was part of various steps taken towards decolonisation and independence for colonies.

Zanzibar underwent a different history to Tanganyika, being ruled by the Omani Arabs from the nineteenth century. It was the centre of the Omani Arab slave and spice trade from the 1830s, which in turn led to British involvement in the area (Diagram Group 2000). Britain abolished slavery within its entire empire in the 1807 Abolition Act. This Act took many years to implement but led to some of the interventions in Zanzibar, alongside protecting their own trade routes particularly with India (Sherwood 2007). Eventually a treaty was signed in 1873 with the ruling Sultanate, which would end the slave trade and close the slave market in Zanzibar (Sherwood 2007). In 1890, Zanzibar became a protectorate of Britain and remained so until 1963. This was closely involved with the politics of the division of Africa amongst European powers as well as ongoing relations with the ruling Omani Arabs in the region (Mbogoni and Project Muse 2012). Despite this take over by Britain, the influence of the Omani Arabs remained and is still evident today, with 99 percent of Zanzibar residents identifying as Muslim as well as Arabic being widely spoken in this area (Central Intelligence Agency 2015).

Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined together in 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania, independent of any colonial power (Mbogoni and Project Muse 2012). These historical changes throughout the colonial period influenced the education policies throughout the time period and continue having an effect on policies present today (Vavrus 2002c). Many of these policies were not specifically related to secondary education but are an important consideration because it is

these policies and ideas that would later influence the way in which secondary school education was addressed. There was a range of perspectives on education in this period; however, this chapter will focus on only a few. In Tanganyika, some perspectives were German colonial, British colonial and an African perspective from the Chagga people. In Zanzibar, the perspectives presented will focus on those of the British colonial administration and the Muslim people from the region.

German Perspectives on Education in Tanganyika

German influence over the Tanganyika region prior to World War I was the main European perspective impacting on education in the region. This education mostly took place through the Lutheran German missionaries, as well as other Protestant and Catholic missionaries. They saw education as a means of “preserving traditional social arrangements” demonstrating the importance the missionaries placed on the traditional practices of the African people (Vavrus 2002c, 373). They held particular concern for the negative impacts individualisation and capitalism could have on the youth if implemented at the education level and thus tried to keep these practices separate from African education (Vavrus 2002c). This stemmed from the belief that if the African youth were educated in European ways then they may have the ability to rise up and overthrow their colonial powers (Vavrus 2002c). Part of this concern also lay in the fear that if they learnt European ways, they would not want to participate in “manual labour” which would have resulted in the colonial administration not having a workforce (Vavrus 2002c). Another aspect that informed this perspective, particularly the German Lutheran missionaries, was that these missionaries had seen the effects of modernisation and individualisation in Europe and disagreed with it as going against their religious principles (Colwell 2001). This meant the missionaries wanted to avoid this happening in Africa. As a result, they strove to limit European ideas in education and focus instead on increasing the productivity of the people. These concepts are related to the maintenance of social order and the inoculation of the African people with the missionaries own religious beliefs, characteristic of imperialism.

Education under the missionaries had very little external control and thus the missionaries were free to develop it how they wanted. The result of this was schools were often set up with the purpose of evangelising the African people through their youth (Thompson 1976). This meant what was taught would revolve around the religion of the missionaries (Thompson 1976). The German colonial administration (between 1885 and 1890) started to have a more active role in the region and quickly realised that there was, from their perception, a lack of educated 'public servants' available to work for their administration (Thompson 1976, 19). As a result, they set up their own government school in Tanganyika in 1892 with the aim of educating for the role of public servants (Thompson 1976). The development of a government school is interesting as it is one of the first steps towards providing higher education for those who were intended to enter 'higher' paid jobs. Education provided, in this form, was a version of utilitarian education that was orientated towards fulfilling the perceived needs of society (Tarrant 1991). The utilitarian model of education is very different to the model of critical education in the way it is specifically orientated towards education for a purpose rather than for knowledge acquisition (the utilitarian model will be further discussed in Chapter Three) (Giroux 2010). Government schools at this time were set up for the sole purpose of producing public servants which meant that the possibility of implementing alternative forms of education was left to the limited vision of mission schools, particularly in relation to girls whom the government did not educate (Thompson 1976). The establishment of schools for creating civil servants is the beginning of a distinction in education provided to different people, dependent on their family's socioeconomic position. Government schools attracted male children from elite families, educating them in European ways and teaching them to perform the role of public servant (Thompson 1976). This took place to maintain German control over the colony through the people themselves. The missionary schools remained the educators for the rest of the population, those of less socioeconomic status, as the administration wanted to keep them as productive members of society. The two different systems emerging at this time are the first indication of a dualistic education, a concept which will be discussed in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

Many of the German missionaries have been given credit for the significant education provision that they brought to the region. Shann (1956) provides an example of this in the Kilimanjaro region where school attendance rates reached 8000 prior to World War I, then dropped to 1850 after the missionaries were banished from the colony after Germany's defeat in the war (as quoted in Vavrus 2002c, 373). The German missionaries' attitude towards education can be analysed from different angles. They did provide significant amounts of education to the region; however, from many of the reports it appears that many of these education schemes were caught up in maintaining the idea of the "tribe". While this can be seen as preserving and protecting the culture from modernisation and "European dispositions" it has also been critiqued for being a way of maintaining control of the colony and creating a productive labour force (Vavrus 2002c, 371). This was related to ideas of the coloniser being able to maintain social order whilst the "victim", or the one being colonised, must either "serve or be destroyed" (Said 1993, 168). The ideas of servitude, particularly, come into the frame once the government schools were established with the purpose of creating public servants to serve in the administration. Whilst the missionary schools were involved in this form of control, they were also using the education system as a way of spreading Christianity.

British Perspectives on Education in Tanganyika

At the end of World War I, the German missionaries were forced out as the colony of Tanganyika was transferred to the British administration (Mbilinyi 1980). As they had throughout their empire, the British controlled Tanganyika through a system of indirect rule. This indirect rule meant using already existing hierarchies and leadership systems to rule through (Vavrus 2002c). This meant using the local leadership structures to exercise control and this same principle was applied to the education system in Tanganyika. The British administration assumed control of both the government schools that had been established by the German administration and jurisdiction over the missionary schools.

Colwell's study of the maternal and child health in Tanganyika in this period found that culture was either seen as "cure" or "cause" (Colwell 2001). Drawing on these ideas, culture-as-cure can be seen to be enacted in education in this

period through which the British administration justified the type of education they provided. According to Mbilinyi (1980) the British used the education system as a way to groom the local leaders in British values and beliefs and customs through the government schools that they had inherited. This type of education was only given to the children of the elite and those involved in leadership, thus maintaining the existing hierarchies and systems of control (Samoff 1987). It was designed to inculcate the elite children in European ways of life so that they would see the British rule as beneficial to the country and would seek to maintain it once they rose to leadership positions (Samoff 1987). In this case culture was seen as the cure, if it helped to maintain the British rule.

Education for the rest of the country was left largely in the hands of the missionary schools when Britain first assumed control of the colony (Thompson 1976). They used this system to serve “the objective function of providing the African with the skills and knowledge necessary to be productive peasant producers, workers or petty-bourgeois servants of the state, and shaped his willingness to accept his place in the colonial social structure” (Mbilinyi 1980, 236). This objective shows the British colonial attitude towards education as a way of maintaining the social order and submissiveness of the African people, thus making rule easier for the British. The education of girls was particularly focussed in the direction of maintaining social order through teaching them in domestic studies and agricultural production whilst upholding any of the traditional gender norms (Vavrus 2002c). This goal is highlighted in a government report released in 1928 which describes the success of mission schools being when the “tradition of hard work for women is well maintained” (quoted in Vavrus 2002c). Maintaining social order amongst the people was the goal of the British administration and this was produced through education systems that were specifically designed for upholding social order and traditions. Culture-as-cure was used in these circumstances to justify the education of the African people in limited forms and what the British administration deemed to be appropriate for the control of the colony (Colwell 2001).

The main drive behind British colonisation was their “mission to civilise” the African people (Mbogoni and Project Muse 2012, 3). In the 1920s, the British

administration focussed on health and hygiene education, the hope being that this would increase the population (Vavrus 2002c, 370). Koponen (1986) asserts that the aim of this was to decrease mortality rates, yet statistics have shown that in some areas of Tanzania these rates were equivalent to those in many European countries and if anything they increased with some the interventions that came with European medicine (quoted in Colwell 2000, 36). This provides evidence of how the British administration believed that Western intervention would help solve the problems but their solution was not relevant to the situation. It did not take into account the contextual factors that would impact on such policies. The medicine was often not available and some hospitals were unsanitary and increased the spread of disease rather than reducing it (Colwell 2000). This meant that traditional practices were often still better options in treating disease than these unsanitary hospitals (Colwell 2000). Despite this, the British administration evidently did not want to admit the failure and instead placed blame on the local people and their attitude of “fear and ignorance” towards Western medicine (Colwell 2001, 186). This blame does not account for the autonomy of the local people to make decisions for themselves based on what they believed was best and whether their practices were better for them. The failure to educate the African people in Western health and hygiene practices was thus blamed on the local people.

The drive to educate in European health and hygiene practices changed again in the 1930s when a global economic depression hit both the education and health sectors of British administration (Vavrus 2002c). The depression particularly affected the British colonies, including Tanganyika, as it caused the commodity markets for African exports to crash and create a strain on the resources that could be provided to both the education and health sectors (Kallaway 2005). The 1930s were also a time when discourses surrounding development started to emerge, although they were not yet identified as development. There began to be a movement away from the preservation of tradition and a refocus on stimulating “economic recovery and improving social conditions” (Kallaway 2005, 348). Returning to Colwell’s study, evidence shows that the perspectives of the British administration moved from seeing culture-as-cure to seeing culture-as-cause (Colwell 2001). Failure of the education system, as well as the health system as

described by Colwell, was blamed on the local people and their practices (Vavrus 2002c). The use of culture-as-cause helped the British administration to implement policies as the African people were seen as being in need of rescue. Education policies had received little attention when Britain first assumed control of the colony and while some pressure increased for this to change, the depression of the 1930s meant that little change could be enacted (Kallaway 2005). The depression had caused a lack of funding in the education and health sector and as pressure increased the administration sought areas to place blame. As a result, culture became seen as the cause of the education issues and the traditions and practices of the local people were blamed.

The change to seeing culture-as-cause meant a change in the focus of education from preserving the social order and traditional practice of the African people to trying to create a more “stable, ‘detribalised’ urban working class” society (Eckert 2004, 474). This change impacted on the way in which education was given and led to restrictions being put around the missionary schools. A call was also made by UNESCO for the state to increase as education provider rather than the missionary schools (Thompson 1976). These ideas grew throughout the period of World War II and became influenced by post World War II politics. The period between the 1940s and 1950s saw the colonial world coming to an end and led to the rise of ‘developmental colonialism’ (Eckert 2004). This developmental colonialism was evident as Britain created policies that were supposed to help the Africans in their preparation for independence but was also a way of cementing their influence in the area through education and other social programmes (Eckert 2004). Greater provision of education from state, rather than missionary, sources became the main drive and “education for citizenship and development” became the slogan used to promote such changes (Eckert 2004, 484). Secondary education and higher education were given very little precedence in these plans and policies but these are still important to consider as they would later have major implications for secondary education. Girls, in particular, had very little access to secondary education. According to the Annual Report to the UN for 1958, they comprised just ten per cent of the secondary school attendees (quoted in Eckert 2004, 484). Such low proportions would have ramifications for future development of girl’s education as they had to overcome obstacles that were

created in this colonial period. The change and adoption of education for development is important in that it gives a context to the policies that were promoted in the independence era and some of the perspectives that lay behind different agendas.

Chagga Perspective on Education in Tanganyika: an African Example

Another perspective on education was that of the Chagga people, who are one of the many ethnic groups present in Tanzania today and in colonial times. Present day Tanzania is made up of over 130 ethnic African groups (Central Intelligence Agency 2015). These groups have merged with each other over the long period of Tanzania's history which makes following ethnic groups throughout history a tricky task. Limited research has been done on these groups, particularly research relating to education; however, the Chagga people of the Mount Kilimanjaro region are one group who have been studied in relation to education since the colonial period.

The Chagga are a Bantu speaking people and today number approximately two million (Shoup 2011). They are considered to be a highly educated group of people in Tanzania with high literacy rates since the 1980s, much of which can be accounted for through initiatives taken by the people themselves to improve access to education (Shoup 2011). As with many other ethnic groups in the region, they had their own systems of education prior to European colonisation. These were systems of education through which knowledge was passed down generation to generation (Mbilinyi 1980). Education for the Chagga people had involved both the spiritual and moral development of a child as well as the acquisition of skills required to participate and contribute to their community (Mosha 1999). This acquisition was gained through the teachings of the "extended family unit" which included mothers, fathers, grandparents, elders and other children from their age group in the process of acquiring knowledge to become an adult (Mosha 1999, 35). Some of this knowledge was taught throughout childhood whilst other parts were handed over as part of initiation rites (Mosha 1999). Whilst these types of informal education did not conform to the European system of education, they were very much present and an integral part of society long

before European arrival. Systems of complex socialisation and knowledge acquisition demonstrate the competing ideas on education prior to the colonial period.

The Chagga people have been identified by multiple researchers as progressive in their adoption of European models of education, economy and medicine. The area in which the Chagga people lived historically worked to their advantage as it is a fertile land which has allowed them to capitalize on their environment and enter into the trade economy (Colwell 2000, 40). This makes them an unusual case in Tanzania and does not reflect the experiences of all the ethnic groups in Tanzania. As a result of their economic prosperity, the Chagga were able to embrace European models of education (Colwell 2000). When the colonial powers failed to provide adequate education to these people they responded by funding their own education systems and setting up schools (Vavrus 2002c). The Chagga funding education themselves, demonstrates their desire for education in spite of a lack of funding from the British administration. The Chagga people disprove the theory that blames culture-as-cause as they show adaptation of European models and systems. Their provision of education funding when the British administration failed disproves theories around their ignorance or fear being a barrier to education. Instead, it points to the failings of the British administration to provide adequate education and how culture was used as a scapegoat. Prior to European arrival, the Chagga had lived on the slopes of Kilimanjaro in a political system of chiefdoms (Bender 2013). They had settled on the fertile mountain slopes for many years and were able to control a vast range of natural resources, which created an agrarian economy (Bender 2013). This political and economic formation meant that they were more equipped to adapt to European models, and grow their economy through the cash crop production of coffee (Bender 2013). The Chagga were, therefore, more adequately equipped to fund education compared to other ethnic groups, particularly compared with nomadic and decentralised groups.

Education Perspectives in Zanzibar

In Zanzibar, the case of education was different due to the strong presence of the Omani Arabs who had brought the religion of Islam with them to the region

(Carmichael 1997). This strong presence had implications for the education sector of society, as well as other areas. Once becoming a protectorate of Britain, the education system was able to seek funding from the British administration; however, Christian institutions were given more support than Muslim (Dilger 2013). This was linked to Britain itself having been built on Christian institutions and during the colonial period the church was still an integral part of the state. The lack of support was also largely due to the prejudices that the British colonial administration had towards Islam at the time and the belief that Islamic education would not provide the skills necessary to contribute to society (Loimeier 2009).

In Zanzibar, there were four different institutions of education during the colonial period: government schools, mission schools, Indian schools and Qur'ānic schools (Loimeier 2009). The mission schools were few in number and had low attendance rates, this was due to them being Christian mission schools, while the majority of Zanzibar was made up of Muslims (Loimeier 2009). Added to this low attendance rate was that the missionaries had never established a strong presence in Zanzibar, unlike that established in Tanganyika (Dilger 2013). The Indian schools had attendants from a range of different Indian Muslim ethnic origins (Loimeier 2009). These schools were semi-supported by the British colonial administration as places to educate the working class, and are recorded as having a lack of funds and as a result, a shortage of staff and equipment (Loimeier 2009, 238). This leaves government schools and Qur'ānic schools as the main competing education systems in Zanzibar during the colonial period.

These two different schooling systems were in competition for pupils, yet they had drastically different objectives in the type of education they would provide. For the Muslims, education was seen as “a way of acquiring those social and religious skills that were required and a basic in a society defined by religion” (Loimeier 2009, 248). Qur'anic schools, therefore, sought to provide this for male students whilst girls were not included. Girls instead remained at home to learn household chores (Thompson 1976). Much of the education in these schools was based on discipline and “the rote learning of passages from the Quoron [*sic*]” (Thompson 1976, 14). This was evidently part of the process of enculturation, whereby new generations were taught the necessary cultural knowledge to

participate in the society they were submerged in. The Qur'ānic school objective of education was in contrast to that of the government schools who were controlled by the British administration from 1908 (Loimeier 2009). Government schools instead sought to use education as a form of transferring “marketable skills” to maintain the societal hierarchy, through which the British ruled indirectly (Loimeier 2009, 248). This meant that government schools aimed at encouraging elite members of society to become educated in British values and beliefs (Loimeier 2009). The British administration, as previously discussed, had used this same government system for the education of elites in Tanganyika.

Prior to World War I, the British administration refused to acknowledge the Qur'ānic schools as legitimate forms of education as well as seeing them as competing spaces of control (Loimeier 2009). This also worked in the opposite sense with Muslims not wanting to attend either government schools or Christian mission schools due to their attitude towards them. Muslims saw them as a “medium for transmitting colonial ideologies and for moulding employees for colonial service” (Mushi 2009 quoted in Dilger 2013, 460). This shows that the people in Zanzibar were able to see the objective of the British rule and in some ways resisted it. This was in contrast to the situation in Tanganyika, where there were no other major sources of competition to provide education. As was the case in Tanganyika, the British colonial administration suffered from a lack of funding after World War I which continued until independence (Vavrus 2002c). As a result, the British could not afford to maintain their rejection of the Qur'ānic schools, if they hoped to retain control of Zanzibar (Loimeier 2009). The administration began to seek ways to integrate the Qur'ānic education system into the existing government schools system (Loimeier 2009). One of the ways in which they tried to do this was through changing the language of instruction from Arabic to Swahili (Loimeier 2009). This was met with a large amount of resistance because Qur'ānic schools taught in Arabic, the language of the Muslim religion (Loimeier 2009). Language has been marked by many as a main cultural indicator and source of control. By teaching children in a certain language they will be socialised into that culture. The topic of language of instruction became a significant issue throughout Tanzania's educational history (to be discussed in following chapters). Its emergence at this time demonstrates the ideas around

educational development and the use of language as a tool for nationalism. The struggle between Arabic and Kiswahili, as the language of instruction, exhibits identity politics already emerging in the education sector.

The British education system only provided elementary and primary education but these are still important considerations for investigating how the development ideas started to develop and how they would influence secondary school education practices and policies in the future (Loimeier 2009). As the slow integration with Qur'ānic schools and government schools took place, a range of ideas were combined. Changing attitudes towards the education of girls looked to educate them in becoming "respectable wives and mothers" (Windel 2009, 13). This aim was shared by both the British administration and the Muslim elites, and resulted in the relative success of the Zanzibar Government Girls' School which was aimed at training young girls in homemaking success (Windel 2009). This demonstrates a way in which the social order could be upheld whilst also satisfying both the objectives of the British administration and the Muslim elites. The integration also demonstrates the rise of the discourse of 'developmental colonialism' (Eckert 2004, 469). The British administration started seeking ways in which to influence Zanzibar after independence. It is at this stage that development ideas start to emerge and influence the policies and practices surrounding education. The British colonists believed that having jurisdiction over education would be one of the ways to allow Britain to retain influence over their colonies, even after independence.

Conclusion of Education Perspectives in both Tanganyika and Zanzibar

During the colonial period in Tanzania (Tanganyika and Zanzibar at the time) there were a variety of ideas and perspectives on education. These perspectives began to take the form of development ideas towards the end of the period as colonialism came to an end. The German colonial period in Tanganyika mainly addressed education through missionaries who had already set up systems prior to the arrival of an administration, all of who had to leave Tanganyika after World War I when the colony was handed over to British administration. The approach to education taken by the British colonists to begin with, seems to be largely

focussed in maintaining social order and control through grooming elite African leaders in European ways whilst the rest of the population was educated as labourers to provide a work force.

The evidence points to changing attitudes towards education both during the 1930s when funding was limited and after World War II when decolonisation was starting to take place and development ideas began to emerge as the way forward. The perspectives of African peoples during this period vary greatly due to their huge diversity. This section has specifically discussed the Chagga people's perspectives and their own initiatives and ideas about education. Evidence also shows that sophisticated systems of education were already in place in Tanganyika prior to European arrival but these systems were different to the European education system and thus were not always acknowledged as valid and, also, may have not been recorded properly by the colonial administration.

Zanzibar provides a different perspective on education in the colonial period due to the competing education systems of both the British and Muslims. The Qur'anic schools saw education as a means to pass on cultural knowledge whereas the British administered government schools were looking to prepare children for the work force as well as upholding social control. In both Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the British administered education was heavily linked with Christian principles and the influence of Christian missionaries was strong (Windel 2009). This resulted in resistance, particularly from the Muslim communities, who did not want their children to be schooled in alternative religions. All of the education policies and objectives during this colonial period influenced the way in which education was addressed, setting the precedence for a wide variety of ideas and perspectives. Towards the end of the period, as decolonisation started to come into view, the idea of "developmental colonialism" arose, with colonial powers finding ways in which to continue development post-independence (Eckert 2004). The period also demonstrates the discourses of culture-as-cure and culture-as-cause being used to justify policies. These ideas would influence and mould education in the following years in Tanzania.

Chapter Three: Building an Independent Tanzania through Education

The focus of this chapter is on the development ideas which influenced education in Tanzania during the period of independence until the end of the 1970s. Nation-building was a key characteristic of this period, with attempts being made by the new government to establish Tanzania as an independent new nation. Education was one of the tools used to implement the nationalist ideology, specifically the 'Education for Self-Reliance' policy. Another tool used was a single national language being the same as the language of instruction within schools. Both these tools were used to unite the people as one 'Tanzanian nation' with an African socialist model of development being the underlying feature. The socialist turn that was taken after independence resulted in limited support from Western powers, who were operating under anti-communist feelings. Demand for secondary education often outstripped government provision and caused more inequalities as a result of some of the solutions that were chosen. The global economic crises of the 1970s had an immense impact on Tanzania's own development policies and resulted in help being sought from outside sources. Changing development ideas within Western development agencies in the 1970s led to neo-liberal economics being their main focus and drive. As a result, a neo-liberal turn was forced in exchange for economic relief, and the socialist outlook of Nyerere and his government became unachievable.

Nation-Building and Education Policies under President Nyerere and his TANU Government

Nyerere and his Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) party led the country of Tanzania in its independence from Britain as well as in its unification of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. From the outset they sought to create and build a nation that was distinct and separate from its colonial past. The purpose of this was to create a country that was united as one people who could develop together into a developed nation (Cameron 1980). As discussed in Chapter One, the establishment of this nation followed a socialist political ideology as well as a Pan-African one (Shivji 2008). The new government created and followed the development policy of Ujamaa which can be loosely translated as "familyhood"

(Vavrus 2002c). This brought together some of the socialist ideologies with an African twist to create what Nyerere hoped would become a Tanzanian ideology. This development policy would prove to be one of the most influential during the period after independence in which the Tanzanian nation was formed. The ideology was cemented in the Arusha declaration in 1967, to implement ideals of Nyerere and his TANU government as policies (Bjerk 2010). At the time of independence, Nyerere and his government identified “ignorance, disease and poverty” as three main obstacles to development (Wabike 2015, 20). Education quickly became identified as a way in which to facilitate the transition to independence and the creation of a nation. Overcoming the three main obstacles through a radical restructuring of the education system was deemed necessary for success.

Gellner (1983, 48) argues that nationalism is a form of social organisation that arose after the industrial revolution and it is “based on deeply internalized, education-dependent high cultures, each protected by its own state.” The high culture which Gellner refers to is defined as having a literate population which can only be achieved through educating the people. Sabra (2007, 84) explores this theory arguing that cultivation involves the “investment in a national education system” which produces a population that shares both a common language and a common labour force. Both Gellner’s and Sabra’s theories are embodied in the way in which Tanzanian nationality was cultivated through a new education curriculum. This curriculum was the state, Nyerere and the TANU government, creating what they wanted Tanzanian nationality to be, thus demonstrating the development discourses in the education sector at the time. As has been established in chapter two, the British colonists ruled through the elites of a society as their form of control. This ruling extended to the sphere of education as they used education to groom the new elite in the values and beliefs of British capitalist society thus enabling them to maintain their rule through the elites due to shared beliefs and values. This was identified by Nyerere and his government as a major flaw of the Tanzanian education system and one that needed to be changed in order to achieve true independence.

Nyerere (1968, 269) stated that colonial education was “motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train the individuals for the service of the colonial state.” If Tanzania was going to become a nation, independent of colonial rule, then removing this type of education was seen as essential. Education, therefore, was remodelled to a curriculum based on the beliefs and values of Nyerere and his TANU government, instead of one that embodied colonialism. It was still used as a medium for the transfer of ideas but instead this new ideology stressed Tanzanian national unity rather than loyalty to Britain. This meant introducing a curriculum that focussed on Tanzanian history, culture and values as well as giving students “a strong sense of national and Pan-African identity” (Court 1984 quoted in Miguel 2004, 335). The curriculum was the first building block to Tanzanian specific education that was, ideally, independent of any colonial influence. Jourdan (2004, 107) argues that schooling becomes a “crucial mechanism for fostering national consciousness” in newly independent countries in order to form a new identity which separates them from their colonial predecessors. These ideas were all involved with the development ideals of Nyerere and the TANU government for their country and the creation of a nation through education.

The challenge of establishing a nation is clearly evident worldwide and this was also the case in Tanzania where contestations over the shape of the new nation existed. This was also true in the education sector with a range of competing ideas coming from the new government, the Tanzanian people and outside forces. The focus on education for the elite in colonial times meant that a large proportion of the population had not had access to education (Oketch and Rolleston 2007). After independence, there was a high demand for education from those who had not previously had access to it (Oketch and Rolleston 2007). Achieving this, it was assumed, would prove that independence era policies were more beneficial than previous colonial policies and were not just serving the interests of the elite. High demand for education, however, would lead to demand outstripping provision and thus elite or economically endowed groups set up their own schools. This will be discussed further later in Chapters Four and Five.

Outside influences put a strong emphasis on Universal Primary Education as a development policy to strive towards (Oketch and Rolleston 2007). Achieving this would allow Tanzania to be recognised as a successful nation on the world stage. Demand for education by the Tanzanian people, coupled with outside pressure to increase education, impacted on Nyerere and his government's plans and policies around education. The major policy pursued was "Education for Self-Reliance" which was inaugurated at the Arusha declaration (Block 1988). Education for Self-Reliance was part of "Tanzania's broader socialist development strategy called Ujamaa" (Vavrus 2002a). The main goals of this policy were to reduce inequalities in ethnicity, class and gender through making a basic level of education available to all (Samoff 1987). This basic level education meant that much of the focus was on primary education as Nyerere believed that this should be a complete education, giving everyone an equal opportunity to fully participate in their community (Samoff 1987). This type of education was closely related to the socialist ideals of Nyerere and his Ujamaa policy in which the focus was communal participation and equality.

Tools for Nation-Building: Education for Self-Reliance

Education for Self-Reliance was linked into the development ideas of Tanzania becoming a self-reliant country, independent of outside assistance and influence (Wabike 2015). Nyerere wanted to build an egalitarian society based on three main principles; "equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none" (Nyerere, 1968, p.272). Nyerere also believed that to build a successful Tanzania, all children should be educated to the basic level of primary education which would give them the tools necessary to participate in society. Education under such principles became geared towards creating this egalitarian society, focussing on community living and ensuring all children had the ability to participate in their communities through a basic and practical schooling. Nyerere had built his principles on the ideology of African Socialism. There were a range of groups which had influenced him to reach this point. Nyerere's dreams of socialism had originally been fostered by British left-wing thinkers at the university he attended in Edinburgh, although his ideas would later develop and move away from these thinkers. (Muravchik 2002).

The union with Zanzibar revolutionaries, and particularly their leader Karume, led Nyerere to establish links with the Eastern bloc, particularly China, Russia, Cuba and East Germany, countries in which the revolutionists had already forged relationships (Muravchik 2002). Nyerere's relationship with China, in particular, grew and his ideological perspectives became modelled largely on what he believed was China's model of "selfless devotion", a doctrine which he asserted would be the best model for Tanzania (Muravchik 2002, 208). The Chinese influence drove many of Nyerere's development ideals but particularly his three main principles which resulted in the education system being modelled on principles that would allow children to serve and participate within their own communities (Cameron 1980). This meant a movement away from the traditional book learning methods that had been introduced in colonial times, towards a more practical style which taught children to become productive members of their society (Wabike 2015). This approach was a different version of the utilitarian model of education whereby education was aimed at social improvement and Bentham's concept of it as the "greatest good for the greatest number of people" (Gutek 2011, 288). The utilitarian model establishes the sole purpose of education to be training for societal participation (Tarrant 1991). This model is the opposite of the critical model of education, which aims at educating for the sake of learning and the development of the student's own consciousness (Giroux 2010). This version of utilitarian education was different to the one used during the colonial period, for the training of elite children to perform government jobs, but was still education for a purpose and function in society. Basing education on this version of the utilitarian model had its drawbacks, however, as religious Muslim schools were forced to conform, thus removing their autonomy and freedom.

In the initial stages of this educational development, secondary education was given limited funding in comparison to primary (Wedgwood 2007). One reason for this was that the primary focus was on educating all children to a basic level in which they could participate fully in society, which Nyerere defined, as a 'Tanzanian citizen.' Another reason was that at the time secondary education was considered too extractive a system to be maintained in a society focussed on rural community living (Wedgwood 2007). Most secondary schools at the time were based in urban centres and thus anyone attending them had to relocate to these

urban centres, removing them from their local villages (Wedgwood 2007). This type of education was not seen as beneficial by Nyerere and his government in creating a socialist society through Ujamaa, as it did not uphold their principles of community living. Demand for secondary education, however, grew in this period, and by the 1970s, groups had started setting up their own private schools. Reasons for this were linked to the value placed on having a higher level of education, particularly for jobs which required students to be qualified beyond a primary level (Samoff 1987). Some provision of secondary level education was established but only if it was deemed beneficial for the development of this Tanzanian socialist society. The focus of Ujamaa was on rural community living. Most secondary education was available in urban areas which meant students had been attending schools away from their region, and therefore not participating in their communities. This is something Nyerere (1968) hoped to eradicate by establishing secondary schools in rural areas which met the needs of the community with active participation from the students themselves.

The curriculum for state secondary schools followed the needs of the state. Only a selected number of students were educated to this level and they were educated in specific occupations that the government required to be fulfilled. These were different types of “trained manpower” (Cameron 1980, 107). Secondary education, similar to primary education, moved away from the book learning style of the colonial period to what was deemed a more practical style in order to enable productivity and participation in society. Nyerere (1968, 283) offered examples of this practical style in two ways; students being responsible for the upkeep of the school and a farm or workshop integrated into the school system which would provide food to the community. One of the key changes was the movement away from examinations to try to ensure equality of opportunity to secondary education rather than it being based on academic achievement (Cameron 1980). The drive to establish secondary schools in rural areas was to encourage full participation in society through, for instance, the upkeep of the school by students themselves. This meant that jobs such as cleaning and gardening were all to be given to the students (Nyerere 1968). Focussing on rural areas as sites of secondary education was linked with the overall Ujamaa policy of rural village living. The utilitarian model of education in independent Tanzania was designed to create an egalitarian

society that would bring the greatest good for the majority. This contrasted to the version utilitarian education during the colonial period that focussed on producing public servants from the children of the elite (see Chapter Two).

Tools for Nation-Building: Language Policies

Eriksen (2010) argues that one of the distinctive characteristics of nationalist movements is the vernacularisation of a language. By giving people a shared language, this becomes a “powerful symbol of cultural unity” and this symbolism allows for the building of a shared identity and nationality (Eriksen 2010, 124). In order to achieve this shared language, it is introduced to all public sectors of society and state administration (Eriksen 2010). An important part of the development of Tanzania as a nation was Nyerere’s decision to adopt a single state language (Miguel 2004). An immense feat for a country which contains over 120 different ethnic groups, and over 158 different languages spoken, which still exist today (United Republic of Tanzania 2015). The language of choice, Kiswahili, was of Bantu origin and it became the shared language of the state administration. It was further introduced as the language of instruction in all state schools as part of imparting new generations with a sense of Tanzanian nationalism (Mbilinyi 2003). This was part of uniting the country as one people with one identity rather than multiple different tribal ones (Miguel 2004). By doing this, the hope was to create a strong nation that was separate from its colonial predecessors. It was particularly important in the context of creating a Tanzanian socialist state that had an emphasis on family and unity and a shared identity.

Creating this Tanzanian socialist state was important for building a nation independent of any colonial powers as it allowed the establishment of a new identity, separate from those that had been formed under colonial domination. Jourdan (2004, 102) identifies three main “stepping-stones to national consciousness” in the building of a new nation. These are “schooling”, “community language” and “the development of popular culture” (Jourdan 2004, 102). Evidence of this in Tanzania at the time, after independence, can be seen in the restructuring of the education system, the establishment of Kiswahili as the language of the nation, and the creation of a Tanzanian identity and culture. The

national homogenising of both education and language was aimed at creating a unified Tanzanian state. However, this has been critiqued for being the vision of Nyerere and the TANU government rather than representing the view of the majority of the population. Universal Primary Education would be at the forefront of this vision, resulting in a lack of development at the secondary school level. One of the major consequences of these policies was that the demand for education began to outstrip provision which resulted in groups setting up their own schools. Only those groups which were able to afford to do this were involved in this process which meant that despite trying to create an egalitarian state, a division based on economic status remained. This would later become an area of contestation, which will be discussed further in following chapters. Whilst trying to unify all people under one national identity, many ethnic groups would seek to resist this as their identity came from their tribal roots rather than a Tanzanian one. This is linked to Eriksen's explanation that nationalist ideology cannot be fully enacted as ethnic minorities will not conform and remain a "thorn in the eye of many governments" (Eriksen 1997, 112). For a country which had such a diversity of ethnic groups, this resistance was an issue that the TANU government encountered.

Obstacles to Tanzanian Nationalism

Zanzibar's Unification and Resistance to Tanganyika

Zanzibar's population, as in colonial times, had different views on educational development than the rest of mainland Tanzania (previously Tanganyika). Although unified within Tanzania from 1964, it is still important to consider it, to some extent, as separate: a separation which played out in the different way in which education developed. Zanzibar was divided prior to 1964 with African nationalism on one side and "Zanzibarian nationalism" also known as "Arab nationalism" on the other (Fouéré 2014). The society had been segregated for many years due to the ruling Arab elite class system and this in turn led to frustrations amongst the Africans living in Zanzibar (Shivji 2008). Due to a dissatisfaction in recent election results, after independence, the Afro-Shirazi Party and the Umma Party united to overthrow the Sultanate and his government in January 1964 leading to a 100 day revolution (Shivji 2008). Once in position,

the Afro-Shirazi Party, led by Karume, negotiated with Nyerere and his government for a union of sorts (Shivji 2008). This resulted in the unification of Zanzibar and Tanganyika as one sovereign state called United Republic of Tanzania in April of 1964 (Katundu and Kumburu 2015).

The revolution and unification had impacts on many public and private spheres in Zanzibar, including the education sphere. The revolution overthrew the Omani Muslim Arabs and resulted in the revolutionaries seeking an alliance with the Tanganyika government (Loimeier 2009). As a result of this, many of the Qur'anic schools that had been acknowledged by the government under British protectorship became excluded as legitimate forms of education (Loimeier 2009). Instead, the education system followed the Tanzanian policy of self-reliance (Loimeier 2009). This meant that the focus was on equality between all, including religious affiliation, and thus no segregation could be made on the basis of religion or gender. Included in this equality of schooling was the renouncing of segregation based on gender (Ziddy 2001 as quoted in Loimeier 2009, 470). Prior to this, girls had restricted access to education due to religious and cultural beliefs and customs. While all Zanzibarians were entitled to education, as was characteristic of Education for Self-Reliance, this education had to conform to the policies of equality. This was a contested area of development due to the major role of religion in Zanzibar and resulted in a slower adoption of equality policies. Alongside this slower adoption, Zanzibar also took longer to adopt Kiswahili as the national language (Miguel, 2004). The slow implementation of education systems and adoption of Kiswahili as the national language would become factors in Zanzibar retaining some of its autonomy from the rest of Tanzania. It demonstrates that nationalist ideology can be countered by ethnic minorities, in this case the Muslims of Zanzibar. Retaining semi-autonomy, Zanzibar was not subject to the enforcement of education policies in the same way that mainland Tanzania was. This would hinder the unity between the two entities, at this time and in future years.

High Demand for Secondary Education

The TANU government's lack of attention and funding to secondary education meant that once again demand outstripped provision. Secondary education in the

final years of colonial domination became an area associated with positions of power and influence given to only elite members of society (Samoff 1987). Once independence was gained, this image was still instilled in many of the parents' perceptions of secondary education which led to a demand for this to be accessible to all citizens (Samoff 1987). As primary education became free, more children were able to reach a basic education level, but this in turn meant that a higher level of education was perceived as being needed for "higher" level occupations (Samoff 1987). As a result, major growth was seen in private secondary schools, particularly in areas such as Kilimanjaro (Samoff 1987). In this area, schools were set up by voluntary agencies and community organisations providing the education they believed was necessary and that the government had failed to provide (Samoff 1987). The Kilimanjaro region, as discussed in Chapter Two, is home to the Chagga people who had embraced formal education expansion since colonial times (Vavrus 2005). The Chagga people are considered a particularly progressive and entrepreneurial group who place high value on education. This is evident, during this time period, through their establishment of their own secondary school. This type of private secondary education became education only for those who could afford it. While the Chagga people were able to set up schooling for their children, not all other ethnic groups were able to do this and thus it became education for the economically prosperous. The Chagga had an economic advantage due to the fertile environment in which they lived and their participation in the economy from the cash crop production of coffee (Bender 2013). The demand for secondary education, resulting in private schools being established, furthered inequalities rather than preventing them, as the government had strived to achieve. It is also argued, by Wedgwood (2007, 387), whether Education for Self-Reliance was being achieved or whether it was rather changing reliance to state-reliance. State-reliance in this circumstance refers to the way in which the state was the main provider of "employment, goods and services" (Wedgwood, 2007, 387). The argument is that reliance had shifted from colonial dependency to state dependency, meaning that the population was now subject to dependency on the state, rather than the colonial administration, for survival and provision of services.

Failing Tanzanian Socialism

A major hindrance to Education for Self-Reliance was encountered in the 1970s, with an economic crisis that hit much of Africa, not just Tanzania (Wabike 2015). The crisis began in 1973 largely due to the oil shocks that hit the US and other Western nations through the hostile relations between the US and Saudi Arabia (Kruse 2014). These oil shocks increased prices and economic recessions hit many countries, including the African nations, thus enhancing debt. While some recovery was achieved in the middle of the decade, a second oil shock took place in 1979, once again creating a global economic recession (Kruse 2014). While Tanzania had been working towards becoming self-reliant and independent they were still very much influenced by global forces, particularly economic forces. A large amount of economic dependence on external donors and aid existed (Vavrus 2005). This meant that any economic crises that happened globally also affected them. The oil shocks of the 1970s particularly affected the donor aid nations who then withdrew from or intensified the loan repayments from developing countries, throwing them into debt crises (Harrison 2001). Heavy aid reliance meant that countries such as Tanzania were particularly hit (Payer 1983). This took place at the same time as Tanzania's war with Uganda, further worsening the economic situation (Vavrus 2005). The war had begun through Nyerere's support for the overthrown Ugandan president Obote by offering him and his supporters refuge in Tanzania (Roberts 2014). As a result, President Amin who overthrew Obote, had a strained relationship with Nyerere until 1978 when, through a series of events, they went to war with each other (Roberts 2014). The importance of this war in the Tanzanian economic setting is that it was not supported by other African nations and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (Roberts 2014). This lack of support meant that the entire cost of the war had to be covered by Tanzania's own resources with no support from outside, straining the economy further (Roberts 2014).

The education sector was greatly affected by these economic factors. Some of the major ways in which this took shape, according to Mbilinyi (2003, 4), were "declining financial resources for school equipment, buildings and teacher salaries, books", "overcrowded classrooms", "inadequate supply of school books,

textbooks, visual aids and other equipment”, and a very limited amount of education beyond the primary level. This entire lack of funding meant that Education for Self-Reliance was becoming a challenging expectation to meet. It demonstrates the interconnectedness of the Tanzanian economy with education, the politics of war and outside forces. The government had not yet achieved self-reliance and were still dependent on outside agencies for support and as a result were linked into the workings of outside economies.

Neo-liberal Orientated Agencies Response

International donors such as the World Bank and IMF were characterised by their neo-colonial development ideals which resulted in limited support for Tanzania’s socialist orientated Ujamaa policy (Payer 1983). Such neo-colonial policies were involved in maintaining control and influence over countries which were previously colonies. During the first years of independence, the socialist government largely tried to resist the ideals of the World Bank and the IMF. However, in the 1970s this changed because of the prospect of Tanzania facing economic ruin. The World Bank and IMF had, by the 1970s, taken a neo-liberal turn and wanted to impose this programme, policies and ideas onto the countries to which they loaned money. Funding was only given to countries on the conditions set out by the World Bank and IMF (Vavrus 2005). If these conditions were not met, then funding was not given and thus Tanzania had to conform for assistance (Vavrus 2005). These conditions came in the form of structural adjustment programmes and reforms. All of these reforms emphasised the privatisation of state sectors including education, the reduction of the role of the state, and a focus on market forces as the determining factor (Oketch and Rolleston 2007).

These conditions meant Education for Self-Reliance was no longer a possibility if Tanzania hoped to secure any funding from outside sources. Tanzania had come close to reaching universal primary education, reaching a gross enrolment ratio in 1980 of 95 percent, but this was no longer possible under the structural adjustment programmes, and the gross enrolment ratio dropped to 69 percent by 1990 (Wedgwood 2007, UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2016) . For secondary school education it meant the full privatisation of all government schools with fees being

introduced for all children (Vavrus 2005). This turned the responsibility of education back onto the parents who now had to pay the fees. In turn, this meant inequalities between rich and poor grew as only those who could afford an education could now get one. In some ways, this returned education back to how it had been in the colonial era; education for the elite. Mbilinyi (2003, 6) refers to the education that resulted from these changes as “dualistic” in that there were separate systems for the rich and for the poor. There was a dramatic shift in education policies due to the imposition of neo-liberal modes of thinking through the structural adjustment programmes. As a result of the changes, the Ujamaa model, that had been characteristic of the independence era, failed and instead a turn to a market orientated approach in educational development took shape (Vavrus 2002c). Nyerere’s (1968, 290) hope that “the education provided by Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must serve the purposes of Tanzania” would not be able to be met. By the time these changes were made, Tanzania was no longer able to follow Nyerere’s dreams of becoming a socialist, egalitarian society, instead privatisation and liberalisation permeated all public sectors, including the education sector.

Conclusion

The wide range of development ideas prevalent in the time period following independence until the end of the 1970s, had a significant impact on the education policies at the time and continue to impact today. Nyerere and his TANU government’s following of a socialist model of development, called the Ujamaa model, was a significant factor during this period. Part of their values and beliefs in equality meant basic primary level education became available to the masses as well as their policy of “Education for Self-Reliance” being given prominence in the enactment of the Ujamaa model. This policy was foundational in the rest of the education policies that were implemented in this era. The drive behind Education for Self-Reliance was the hope to become a nation which was reliant on its own resources and was independent of any outside influence or force. The focus was on the primary level of education due to the perceived need to first provide every citizen with a basic level of education. Secondary level education was given less attention initially by the TANU government. When their attention

did turn to secondary education, they felt the need to radically alter the curriculum. This change was so that the education system did not reflect that of their colonial predecessors. It instead focussed on moving away from examinations and book learning towards a more practical approach. This was aimed at providing children with the skills necessary to participate in their rural communities. Focussing on rural communities also resulted in secondary education being rolled out in rural areas rather than just urban ones.

The independence era was characterised by the government's endeavour to build a new nation. In order to be able to do this, they had to create a nation and unite the people in it. This is linked to Anderson's (1991) concept of a nation being an imagined political community. The community is developed to replace the role of religion and kinship and takes the role of "horizontal comradeship" (Anderson 1983, 7). In Tanzania, one of the main methods used to do this was the introduction of Kiswahili as the official national state language. This was part of building a nation separate from its colonial past, one whose people had a perceived shared identity and history and could be in comradeship with each other. Education was used as one of the main methods to spread this official language as well as to foster within youth a sense of Tanzanian national identity and culture. This attempted inculcation became complex when applied to Zanzibar. Zanzibar's ethnic and religious diversity made ideas of Tanzanian nationality a contested topic. The strong Muslim influence, as well as that of other ethnic and religious groups, meant that the 'Education for Self-Reliance' policy was slower to take hold in Zanzibar and the concept of a single Tanzanian nationality was not readily accepted. Zanzibar was not the only area that came into conflict with the state's ideas on education. Some of the more "progressive" people groups, such as the Chagga who lived in the Kilimanjaro region, were not satisfied with the education provided and established schools of their own. Groups such as the Chagga people or Zanzibarians had an impact on the education which was available and provided in their given areas.

The 1970s saw a dramatic shift in the development of education. The economic crisis and the war with Uganda both drained Tanzanian funds and resulted in help being sought from outside from the World Bank and IMF. However help came

with conditions in the form of structural adjustment programmes. Due to the economic situation at this point, Tanzania had little choice but to follow these reforms and, as result, much of the public sector was privatised. This emphasis on privatisation came from the World Bank and IMF's recent turn to neo-liberal modes of thinking. This severely impacted on the secondary education sector as all of it was privatised. As a result of this a 'dualistic' style of education emerged in Tanzania, with a major difference in what was available to the rich and what was available to the poor (Mbilinyi 2003).

Evidence demonstrates the socialist orientation towards development taken by Nyerere and his TANU government, with their emphasis on self-reliance for the country. This period from the time of independence until the end of the 1970s can clearly be seen to have a range of development ideas working on education policies. Evidence of neo-colonial thinking in development can be seen by the way in which outside agencies tried to influence education policies, replacing colonialism as the method of control. In the 1970s, this control is seen through the economic control and neo-liberal economic policies that were implemented. Despite neo-colonial thinking dominating outside agencies, Nyerere and the TANU government attempted to build an independent socialist Tanzania. The development idea of self-reliance has, however, been contested with some critics stating that instead of self-reliance, state-reliance emerged (Wedgwood 2007). State-reliance is the reliance that the population had on the state for goods and services. In the 1970s, the World Bank and IMF's shift to neo-liberal modes of thought in relation to development becomes evident in their introduction of structural adjustment programmes. All these different development ideas impact on the way in which education was shaped in this era and in turn impacts on the situation today (discussed further in Chapter Four and Chapter Five).

Chapter Four: Neo-liberal Economics and its Effects on Education

By the 1980s, a dramatic shift had taken place in Tanzania, with structural reforms and neo-liberal development ideas occurring. The dream of a socialist self-reliant Tanzania was lost and mass privatisation of all social sectors began, including in the education sectors. These ideas continued into the 1990s with economic value becoming the sole measure of successful development. As a result of structural reforms and the 1970s economic crisis, a heavy dependency on donor aid arose, shifting from self-reliance to donor-reliance. Despite many reforms, limited secondary education participation became apparent and answers were sought as to how this had happened. Two opposing arguments surfaced, one side blaming privatisation and structural factors as cause, and the other blaming cultural values and attitudes as cause. Amongst this, the Tanzanian government tried to hold onto some of the visions of being an independent nation and released development plans and policies to try and achieve this. These plans had neo-liberal influences behind them and had little concrete implementation past the policy level.

Neo-liberal Economics Intersect with the Social Sector

The economic crisis that hit Tanzania at the end of the 1970s (see Chapter Three) had resulted in a turn to external donors for aid, particularly the IMF and the World Bank. This meant accepting structural adjustment programmes and conditions that had been devised by these external donors. President Nyerere had largely tried to resist these as much as possible so as to maintain his hope for a socialist self-reliant Tanzania. As a result, the Tanzanian government had a strained relationship concerning aid donation with the IMF and the World Bank (Harrison 2001). In 1985 Nyerere resigned (due to the failure of his socialist vision) and was succeeded by President Mwinyi who had little choice but to completely comply with the World Bank and the IMF, accepting extensive reforms and relinquishing the Tanzanian vision of self-reliance (Holtom 2005). This meant an adoption of free market policies as a perceived way through which to improve the economic situation with little attention being given to social sectors. Riddell (1997) argues that development thinking during the 1980s was

focussed on a narrative of the market versus the state. This is evident in Tanzania where donors pushed for the privatisation of the education sector and for letting market demand take the place of state control. As a result, both public and private secondary schools implemented fees (public schools were run by the government and private schools by organisations and communities) (Lassibille, Tan, and Sumra 2000).

By the end of the 1970s, the demand for secondary school education had started to exceed government provision. This was magnified in the 1980s, as the government's policy for education turned increasingly to privatisation and the introduction of user fees. Previously, the government had limited private sector education development as they perceived it to have a potentially damaging effect on the idea of equality and education for all (Wedgwood 2005). Together with the structural adjustment programmes and the increasing demand for secondary education, the government, in the early 1980s, eased control over the private sector and began legitimising any private secondary schools established by local communities (Lassibille and Tan 2001). This demonstrates the development ideals and policies of external donors impacting on government decisions over the secondary education sector, ideals based around leaving education to market forces. Whilst policy based on these ideals helped to solve issues of providing secondary education under a limited budget, many negative consequences surfaced. Education was no longer available to all, particularly at the secondary level where only those who could afford it had access (Lassibille, Tan, and Sumra 2000). Alongside this emerged an increased competition for teachers, as they moved to private schools where higher pay was available, leaving a gap of inadequate staffing in government schools (Lassibille, Tan, and Sumra 2000). This meant that not only had education become expensive to access but was also limited in quality. This is linked to the idea, discussed in Chapter Three, of a dualistic education system becoming evident as the gap between quality of education for the rich and the poor widened. These were just some of the flaws linked with leaving education to market forces.

The 1990s exhibited many of the results of the adjustments, including secondary education becoming harder to access for those who could not afford the school

fees. According to Bommier and Lambert (2000), by 1992 the secondary school attendance rate in Tanzania was one of the lowest in the world. Despite this low rate, the World Bank claimed Tanzania to be a success story in terms of structural adjustment (Harrison 2001). This success was based purely on economic values, such as Gross National Product (GNP), and took no account of social elements. Harrison (2001) asserts that the failures were largely down played, such as corruption or state violence, in order to portray the success of structural adjustments rather than their flaws. Interviews conducted in Harrison's (2001) research, indicate that state corruption involved the unofficial accumulation of wealth at high levels of government, which were silenced through threats of violence or bribery. The gap between access to education continued to increase, however, thus creating more inequalities in education and opportunity. This demonstrates the flaw in value being placed on economic progress rather than an equality of access. Equality had been one of the defining features of the Nyerere independence period but this was lost during the structural adjustments, showing the influence and power of external donors over what was valued and prioritised within the Tanzanian government and society. Neo-liberal economics were based around the withdrawal of the state from all social sectors, leaving the market to provide for itself. This caused the fragmentation of society and the emergence of inequalities. The Federal Republic of Nigeria, in West Africa, provides an example of another African nation which was dramatically impacted by the neo-liberal policies, imposed during the structural adjustment programmes (Geo-Jaja 2004). Inadequate resources and structures resulted in variations in the quality of education throughout the country, and a decline in primary school enrolment (Geo-Jaja 2004). The situation in Nigeria demonstrates the general negative impacts of neoliberalism on education in African nations.

The Education and Training Policy document released in 1995 by the Tanzanian Ministry of Education and Culture addressed some of the issues surrounding secondary education access, particularly for girls. The policy reveals some of the issues that had arisen from the impact of neo-liberal economics on the social sector. Key parts of this called for the government to provide boarding or hostel accommodation for girls in secondary schools, financial support to girls in all education levels, and encouragement for girls to participate in maths and science

subjects (United Republic of Tanzania 1995, 20). These proposed policy changes were clearly addressing some of the structural causes of disproportionate access but “none of these recommendations are backed up by concrete plans of action” (Swainson 2000, 55). The solutions, as well as having little backing post-policy, focussed on compensating for the structures that already existed rather than changing them. These structures excluded females and in some cases exacerbated existing access problems. Neo-liberal economics, in relation to girls secondary school access, widened inequalities and created new barriers to access.

From Self-Reliance to Donor-Dependency

The period of structural adjustment created a heavy dependence on donor aid. As of 1990, it was said that 30 percent of Tanzania’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) consisted of aid, making it one of the largest recipients of aid in Sub-Saharan Africa (Bigsten et al. 1999, 2-3). This extremely heavy dependence resulted in donors having a strong prominence in development policy decision making. This was precisely what many African nations, including Tanzania, had sought to avoid in the years following independence, hoping to break free of their colonial bondage. Development has been criticised for being an extension of colonial control and this control was being re-established through donor aid channels that involved former colonists giving aid to former colonies (see Chapter One). Donor aid came with its own agendas and impositions of development ideals that often exacerbated socioeconomic problems. Tanzania’s history since colonial times can, therefore, be seen as moving through stages of reliance; reliance on colonial powers, reliance on the state, then reliance on donor aid. This, according to Wedgwood (2005), entrenched a culture and a cycle of dependency. All these different types of reliance were implemented on a macro-level, ignoring the local level factors and people’s participation in policy decisions. This meant that policies were made hegemonic at the macro-level and implemented on a vast scale without consideration of community circumstances. In the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 plan, it was identified that one of the main barriers to socio-economic progress was “a donor dependency syndrome and a dependent and defeatist developmental mind-set” (United Republic of Tanzania 1999, 7). This vision will be discussed in more detail later but it gives evidence of the Tanzanian

government's development strategy, particularly in regards to education planning. Donor-dependency was clearly highlighted as a barrier to development and ways to overcome it would be sought. At the time of economic crisis, donor aid had been seen as the solution to many of the economic failings. However, by the end of the 1990s, it had been identified as a barrier to development and independence.

Areas of Blame

As secondary education attendance rates dropped, questions were asked about why education was failing. By 1997, 57 percent of secondary schools in Tanzania were private (Lassibille and Tan 2001, 147). Those schools that were considered public still included fees for students, the difference being "recurrent costs" were covered by the government (Lassibille and Tan 2001). At the same time education for all was recognised as a basic human right by the UN (Ramirez 1997). Arguments arose around why there was limited education access for vast proportions of the population, coming from polar opposite development perspectives, when education had been identified as a human right. One side saw privatisation as the cause of inaccessibility whilst the other side saw cultural attitudes, values and beliefs as the cause.

Privatisation of the education sector had led to a large proportion of the population not being able to afford access (Morrison 2002). This was one of the results of the structural reforms whereby many basic services became unaffordable to many people as the privatisation of social sectors took place. On the opposite end of the scale, however, blame was instead placed on the traditional values and attitudes of the parents who were perceived to not want to send their children to school (Vavrus 2002a). This perspective was that of the World Bank and other donor agencies who pushed for privatisation development policies. It is a particularly relevant perspective in relation to education for girls at the secondary level. In Tanzania, many traditional gender roles were said to exist, particularly in relation to the domestic duties assigned to young females. These domestic duties were often highlighted as an area of blame by donor agencies who advocated for privatisation, stating that parents gave domestic duties greater priority than education (Vavrus 2002a). It was perceived that this cultural baggage was the reason for the low up-take of education for girls.

Another factor influencing education for girls was assumed to be the practice of bride price (Bommier and Lambert 2000). Bride price is a cultural practice, common in much of Sub-Saharan Africa which was present prior to colonial arrival and still common in many areas today (Hague, Thiara, and Turner 2011). It is a “marriage rite” or exchange that involves the transfer of material goods from the future husband to the bride’s family as way of compensating for the labour lost through her marriage (Hague, Thiara, and Turner 2011, 550). In modern day East Africa, bride price has been commercialised and plays a role in education access for females (Hague, Thiara, and Turner 2011). Arguments about bride price and education have revolved around the economic value that education is perceived to hold. Parents are said to be only willing to invest in education if they perceive that they will get a higher rate of economic return through bride price (Ashraf et al. 2015). As a result, if education investment is perceived as offering a low rate of return then parents will not be willing to provide it and will instead keep girls out of school for domestic and marital reasons. These arguments are employed in placing the blame on cultural characteristics, and the parent’s attitudes and beliefs as the reason for limited access for girl’s education. Blame placed on people can be linked to the debate around the culture of poverty.

The culture of poverty debate, as presented by Lewis, is said to be a subculture of the poor which develops and in turn perpetuates itself (Lewis 1966). This subculture enculturates children in “basic attitudes and values” which maintain the social norms and thus prevents any attempt to change or escape poverty (Lewis 1966, 21). Lewis’s theory of the culture of poverty has been strongly critiqued by many as it ignores structural factors that perpetuate poverty and instead points the finger of blame at the victim (Bourgois 2015). Bourgois (2015, 719) argues that the concept of the culture of poverty “resonated with US popular blame-the-victim discourse” and was employed as a theory to justify ignoring the need for structural reform. This theory can be applied to the situation in Tanzania, where the World Bank and other development agencies pointed the finger of blame at the Tanzanian people and their cultural practices. These practices were blamed for restricting access to education rather than looking to structural causes that were inhibiting their access.

The case of the Chagga, in the Kilimanjaro region, demonstrates that parents were in some cases advocates for education not restrictors. In this region, the enrolment rates at the secondary level were higher for girls than boys (Vavrus 2002a, 533). The difference here is that this region has historically been an area of economic prosperity, so parents can better afford to educate their children. Chagga parents wanted to educate their children, and their economic advantage meant that girls had greater educational opportunities (Vavrus 2002a). This case demonstrates that parents' traditional attitudes were not against education when their economic circumstances were prosperous. The development perspective that parents' attitudes and values prevent educational access is further proved incorrect by the fact that during the 1970s, when emphasis was placed on primary level education and secondary education was not given as much attention, the demand for secondary education grew extraordinarily. This demand resulted in communities setting up their own unofficial schools in order to provide what the government did not (Wedgwood 2005). This demand for secondary education demonstrates that a value on education must have already existed, otherwise, simply, the demand would not have existed. Economic structural factors clearly have an impact here on the accessibility to education and need to be considered, otherwise there is a risk of falling into the culture of poverty debate.

This is not to argue that parental values, attitudes and traditions did not entirely impact on educational aspirations and opportunities. However, structural factors are clearly an influence and need to be accounted for. Bommier and Lambert (2000) conclude that the level of education that both the mother and the father held impacted on the schooling of their children. Those parents who, themselves, had a higher level of education were more likely to want to pursue education for their children. Parental education can be seen as a structural factor of poverty as those who have been educated would be likely to have managed to somehow break out of the cycle. Another factor identified by Al-Samarrai and Peasgood (1998) as contributing to girls' education is whether the mother has a source of income, those who do are again more likely to send their girls to schools. The mother's source of income is a structural factor and can be linked with the critique of the culture of poverty in that structural factors need to be considered when looking at the poverty cycle. A final factor that impacted on secondary level

education was the distance from schools (Morrisson 2002). Many communities did not have secondary schools close by and this naturally impacted on the attendance rate. These are all structural factors that should be considered when looking at why secondary education policies were failing. Blame has been placed on the cultural attitudes and values rather than looking to “national and international economic policies” that have affected access to education (Vavrus 2002a, 531). Attitudes and values clearly held some sway over the education and schooling of children but economic circumstance also evidently exerts just as much, if not more, force. It becomes evident through the range of studies done that both privatisation and parental attitudes would have impacted on education in this period. Yet, due to the dominance of the World Bank and the IMF, blame was placed solely on the parents. Their refusal to acknowledge or criticise their own failings in education development policies and structures became a barrier to addressing education issues.

Clutching at Nationalism

The time period from 1980 to the end of the 1990s is interesting to study from the point of view of nation-building in Tanzania. Nyerere had left a legacy of an aspiration for equality for all, particularly in relation to education (Mesaki and Malipula 2011). Yet, by the 1980s, this dream was hard to uphold due to the economic hardships facing the country. Privatisation of education had previously been seen as a threat to creating a Tanzanian socialist state. In the 1980s and 1990s, this was reversed and privatisation was promoted as the main education policy, particularly in response to the popular demand for education, and a push began to accept the structural adjustment programmes (Samoff 1990). Towards the end of the 1990s, however, the evidence of development failings and restriction on Tanzania’s self-autonomy began to be realised. This led to the development of the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 plan, released by the government in 1999 in the hope of providing a set of development goals that would be achieved by 2025. Some key parts to this revitalised development vision were a focus on national unity, equality for all and a revival of the culture of self-reliance (United Republic of Tanzania 1999). The achievement of this plan, it was envisioned, would produce a society that included the following five main

attributes; “high quality livelihood”, “peace, stability and unity”, “good governance”, “a well-educated and learning society” and “a competitive economy capable of producing sustainable growth and shared benefits” (United Republic of Tanzania 1999, 3) .

Education had already been identified as one of the key instruments to development and nation building in the independence era under the policy of Education for Self-Reliance (see Chapter Three). Ramirez (1997, 60) describes education as the “central preoccupation of the nation-state” for development in many different countries. This held true in Tanzania in the 1990s where education was identified as a “strategic change agent” for the development of a “well educated nation” who can “competently and competitively solve the development challenges which face the nation” (United Republic of Tanzania 1999, 19).

Education, therefore, once again became highlighted as a tool for the development of Tanzania as an independent nation. Whilst the period of economic recession had meant a reliance on outside aid, a revival of the concept of self-reliance was evident in the Vision 2025 objectives. This development plan returns to the idea of building an independent Tanzania and the importance of education in achieving this.

Language of Instruction Debate

An important consideration within Vision 2025 is the national language and particularly the language of instruction. Tanzania’s official language of Kiswahili was introduced during the independence era as a tool for unifying the Tanzanian people against their colonial predecessors. This official language remained throughout the 1980s and 1990s. However, in secondary schools the language of instruction was English (even though Kiswahili was the language used in primary schools) (Wedgwood 2005). This distinctive feature of secondary education has been called into question for multiple reasons. Advocates for English to remain as the language of instruction during this period focussed on the concept of English as the language of globalisation and world participation (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004). This meant that English was seen as a way of enabling young people to participate in the global society. For many, participation in the global environment was unlikely and perceived to be only available for the rich

and elite (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004). This seemed to defeat the point of teaching to the masses in English, as few students actually benefitted.

Many studies were also done on the impact that language of instruction had on secondary school learning. Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir's (2004) study found that students did not perform as well when they were taught solely in English. Also, many teachers default to Kiswahili within the classroom when understanding is not achievable in English. This is linked to both the teachers' and the students' lack of fluency in English and the need for understanding in a language in which they are fluent (Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004). That primary school education was taught in Kiswahili and then secondary taught in English lowers the likelihood of a successful transition from primary to secondary. Arguments for changing the language of instruction to Kiswahili revolved around the perceived power of language in the forming of an independent and unified nation. So, it seemed logical that education should mirror this sense of nationalism through the language of instruction.

Value Placement

Bourdieu's theory of symbolic capital is an integral part of power and position in society (Bourdieu 1977). Symbolic capital is the process by which an individual accumulates honour and prestige thus enabling them to gain or maintain privileged positions in society (Bourdieu 1977). Bourdieu (1977, 179) also asserts that symbolic capital can be converted to economic capital. Vavrus (2002a) uses this theory to explain the distribution of symbolic capital through the education system and how this can be converted to economic capital through gaining a higher level of education. Higher levels of education lead to greater amounts of honour and prestige as well as higher-paid jobs, and thus greater economic capital as well. Demand for secondary level education is explained through this theory as it provides greater symbolic capital as well as potentially higher economic capital thus providing the potential to gain more honour and prestige. The value placed on education higher than the primary level is evident in Tanzania through the demand for it from different groups since the time of independence.

Education is also associated with cultural capital, alongside other forms of knowledge and skills (Bourdieu 1977). Bourdieu (1977) states that cultural capital, like symbolic capital, can be accumulated through various methods which allows the individual to rise in social standing. Levinson and Holland (1996, 6) draw on this theory of cultural capital, stating it to be the process of “learning to embody and enact signs of social standing” through various education systems. Through the process of accumulating this cultural capital, a person is able to gain the status of an ‘educated person’ (Levinson and Holland 1996, 3). In Tanzania, this concept of an educated person was prevalent due to the value and prestige associated with having a higher level of education. Evidence of this can be seen when demand to access secondary education continued even after mass privatisation and the introduction of school fees. Clearly, education was still associated with honour and prestige otherwise demand would have decreased when the economic obstacles arose. Cultural capital can also be seen in the choice of language of instruction at the secondary level. The competing forums of whether to educate in English or in Kiswahili demonstrate the different cultural capital associated with these positions. Advocates for English as the language of instruction saw value in being able to participate in a global setting whereas advocates for Kiswahili as the language of instruction placed value in Tanzania being unified as a nation under one language. The different placement of value is linked with the cultural capital; that is, whether English or Kiswahili would further an individual’s position and prestige in society.

Development Goals

As the twentieth century drew to a close, serious questions were being asked about the autonomy of Tanzania as a nation as their heavy dependence on aid became evident. In 1999, the Tanzanian Planning Commission released The Tanzania Development Vision 2025 plan outlining a development strategy with targets set to be met by the year 2025. A key area identified as a target in this plan is “gender equality and the empowerment of women in all socio-economic and political relations and cultures” (United Republic of Tanzania 1999, 12). This target projects into the area of secondary education as there is evidence of an unequal access dependent on gender. In the context of these development ideas

and policies of gender equality and empowerment, the transition of girls into secondary education came to the forefront of government goals. An area particularly identified as prohibitive was that most secondary schools were boarding schools rather than day schools (Samoff 1990). Calls were made by both the government and multinational agencies, such as the World Bank and the IMF, to transform a majority into day schools, placing the cost of housing and feeding children back on the parents, all part of the privatisation process. This, however, was identified as one of the restrictions to girls being able to enter into secondary school education (Samoff 1990). Restricted access due to the high cost of housing and feeding can be seen as a structural factor, once again linking to Bourgois' (2015) critique of the culture of poverty and the need to consider structural and economic factors.

Dualistic education has been an issue that has arisen amongst much of Tanzania's education system. It has arisen due to structural factors which aggravate the gaps between rich and poor. Encouragement, during this period, from the World Bank led the government to develop policies around transitioning all boarding schools to day schools as part of the privatisation schemes (Wedgwood 2005). The policy implementation affected both male and female students, particularly those from rural areas. Transitioning to day schools meant that the children from rural areas had limited access to secondary education, while waiting for the establishment of secondary schools in their area (Wedgwood 2005). Those who chose to attend urban secondary schools would have to pay for both transportation costs and accommodation costs in the urban areas. According to Wedgwood (2005), some communities responded to this issue by setting up their own hostels closer to the schools. This was only possible if communities had enough economic funding to provide such accommodation and thus widened the gap between those who could afford education and those who could not, continuing the system of dualistic education between the rich and the poor. Inadequate structures, in this instance, reduced access and left the communities to find solutions.

By the end of the twentieth century, mathematics and science subjects had been identified as areas that would benefit development, particularly in relation to technological and economic progress (Ramirez 1997, 57). A focus on such

subjects demonstrates the neo-liberal globalisation process that had taken place, with the emphasis placed on Eurocentric ideas of progress and development (Shizha 2011). This process of globalisation impacted Tanzania's education system, particularly in the curriculum development. Within the Tanzanian Vision 2025 development plan there is a curriculum focus on maths, science and technology. These subjects are identified as strategies for realisation of the overall goal of development and progress, "Basic sciences and mathematics must be accorded signal importance in keeping with the demands of the modern technological age" (United Republic of Tanzania 1999, 21). In the 1995 Education and Training Policy Plan, "mathematics, science and technical subjects" are identified as important focuses for school curriculum to and enable "socio-economic development" (United Republic of Tanzania 1995, 53). This illustrates the emphasis put on economic progress, by the Tanzanian government, at the time and the development ideas and values behind such policies. Neo-liberalism favours maths and science because it is a Eurocentric philosophy which focuses on science and technology for progress (Shizha 2011). The impact of neo-liberal globalisation can be seen through the emphasis placed maths and science curriculum changes in the Tanzanian secondary education system.

Top-down approaches to development were one of the key features of the structural adjustment programmes implemented in countries by donor agencies. Neo-liberal economics at their conception need strong state controls to enforce policies but once these have taken hold the state begins to withdraw from the public sphere. This process is known as decentralisation and devolution, and is the withdrawal of the state from the public sector with the transfer of power to local council (Massoi and Norman 2009). Devolution is rarely accompanied by adequate resources and creates vast inequalities. In the education sector this widened gaps between the rich and the poor and prohibited access to secondary education. Larner (2005, 16), however, while acknowledging the "contradictory nature" of neoliberalism, argues that devolution can actually open new opportunities for community participation. It may enable policy and planning to move to bottom-up and human-centred approaches through the process of local government working alongside local communities (Massoi and Norman 2009). Cummings (1997, 778) refers to this as a "community approach" which focuses

on the “values and needs of the community.” This development idea is evident within the Vision 2025 development plan where community participation is recognised as needed for success:

[to] Permit a greater role for local actors to own and drive the process of their development. Local people know their problems best and are better placed to judge what they need, what is possible to achieve and how it can effectively be achieved. (United Republic of Tanzania 1999, 28).

According to Massoi and Norman (2009), this system was not initially successful in Tanzania as the local councils did not successfully involve local communities. This failure can be attributed to the structural factors which prevented local level participation. For neo-liberal policies to be successful in their bottom-up approaches, they need to first address the structural factors that prevent implementation.

Conclusion

The changing development perspectives between the 1980s and 1990s have clearly had an impact on secondary education in Tanzania. The 1980s were a time when structural adjustment programmes were implemented with free market and privatisation policies impacting all social sectors. As a result, by the 1990s, the secondary education attendance rates were very low and a dualistic education system existed, with a growing gap between education for the rich and education for the poor. The structural adjustment programmes caused a reliance on donor aid from donor agencies and created a cycle of dependency. Tanzania can be seen to have gone through three stages of dependency; colonial reliance, state reliance, and more recently, donor reliance. These types of reliance limited Tanzania’s autonomy as an independent nation and limited its own voice in relation to social issues, such as education. As secondary education rates dropped, analysis was undertaken as to why this was happening. This led to blame being placed on two different factors. On the one hand, blame was placed on the cultural attitudes and values of the people themselves, aligning with Lewis’s culture of poverty thesis that the poor perpetuate their own poverty. On the other hand, structural factors were blamed as the root cause of the poverty and lack of access to education, linking to the critiques of the culture of poverty thesis. Donor agencies, in

particular, refused to reflect upon the structural failings of their own ideals and policies.

This period is characterised by the struggle in Tanzania to try and remain an independent nation, something that had become increasingly difficult with the donor dependency that had emerged. In a hope to try and forge a way ahead the Tanzania Vision 2025 development plan was released. Together with debates around nationalism, arose the debate of language of instruction in secondary schools. Value on either English or Kiswahili became the reasons for choosing a certain language of instruction. Understanding this placement of value can be explored through Bourdieu's idea of symbolic capital, both in relation to language of instruction and economic opportunities. At the end of the 1990s, various solutions to the problems which had emerged were put forward. Some of these were included in the Vision 2025 development plan and other policies. An emphasis was particularly placed on girls access to education and encouraging them, through various interventions, into secondary education. Other focuses included moving to a day school system, strong promotion of mathematics and science subjects, and the active participation of local communities. Many of these policies did not account for structural factors which would affect their implementation and the people's access to education. This demonstrates the neo-liberal principles surrounding development that influenced government policies and plans during this time period.

Chapter Five: Education as a Tool for Development

Moving into the twenty-first century, secondary education has been increasingly addressed in terms of development. The donor reliance and privatisation, from the 1980s and 1990s, meant that much of the secondary education sector was private. With this private schooling and the strong NGO influence over education, inequalities between schools emerged. The language of instruction continued to be a debate of the period. Kiswahili remained the language used in the government administration and at the primary level of education but English was used in the secondary schools. These issues were addressed in two Secondary Education Development Plans, released in 2004 and in 2010. The changing policies and development ideas led to different perceptions of the value of secondary education emerging from a variety of perspectives. The education of girls, in particular, came into prominence during this time. Their education has been restricted over time by a range of structural and cultural factors which are discussed in this chapter.

Results of Donor Dependency

At the start of the twenty-first century, the secondary education system in Tanzania had incorporated a wide range of development ideas and policies which influenced the shape it had taken. The mass privatisation of education in the 1980s and 1990s had created a donor reliance which in turn had given birth to a large variety of NGOs seeking to provide education. Evidence of this heavy dependency is found within the Tanzanian government's Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP) released in 2004 (an Education Sector Development programme designed to be implemented between 2004 and 2009). Within this plan NGOs and Community Based Organisations (CBOs) are recognised as partners required for the implementation of the Secondary Education Plan (United Republic of Tanzania 2004). This indicates that in the twenty-first century the government had come to believe that the best way forward for secondary education was to partner with NGOs and CBOs.

NGO involvement in education is conceived of as either beneficial or detrimental to development, depending on a range of factors, most importantly, how their own

organisation's development agendas impact on education policies. Being fully private, for example, may separate them from the government, resulting in there being no controls over them; this implies that they do not have to conform to national standards (Lewin 2005). This does not necessarily mean that the involvement of NGOs is always detrimental, but that it may prevent equality being achieved as there is no standardisation across the board. NGOs can be highly beneficial in helping to relieve a crisis situation and provide what is lacking. However, relieving an immediate situation does not change the structural cause that created the lack of provision in the first place. Malhotra (2000 quoted in Klees 2008, 24) argues that NGOs can become involved in the politics of being a "surrogate service" provider as the state provision fails to meet demand. This type of surrogate service has maintained structures of reliance on outside aid in order for the local system to survive, thus maintaining the cycle of inequality and marginalisation (Klees 2008). Problems have also arisen over the funding of NGOs. The surge of NGOs throughout much of the developing world has resulted in a high competition for the funding of their own organisations (Klees 2008). Funding is often secured by agreeing to some of the donors' own demands and agendas. This implies that NGOs are involved in the politics of funding rather than their focus being on locally relevant issues.

Despite the drawbacks of heavy donor aid dependency, there are some major benefits to having NGO and CBO involvement as part of the secondary education system. It is particularly beneficial when they focus on bottom-up approaches to development policies which seek to involve the people themselves in the decision making process. Klees (2008) calls for the empowerment of both individuals and communities to transform the system, giving them the independence that has been sought for many decades. While communities may have agendas about what they would like from the education system, they have not had the ability or power to implement these agendas. This is when an NGO help can be most useful. When the focus is on empowerment, the people need to be given the help and information required to pursue their own education development goals. The Tanzanian Education Network is an example of this as the organisation acts as organiser and mediator between the government, local NGOs, international NGOs and local people (Mundy et al. 2008). This organisation is able to remain as a link

between the state and civil society and thus help participation and partnership (Aikman 2010). The focus needs to be on grassroots movement and participation at the local level to allow the transformation at the local, regional and national level.

Language of Instruction Debate Continued

The language of instruction is an issue which has instigated much debate (see Chapter Four). Today, Kiswahili remains the national language, perceptibly providing unity through the use of a common language. Kiswahili is the language used throughout the government administration and at the primary level of education but, in secondary education, the language of instruction is English. A range of studies on the language of instruction at the secondary level have taken place and many of these have suggested that Kiswahili should be used instead (Brock-Utne 2010). These studies have highlighted some of the major issues of using English as the language of instruction. One of the main issues is that students are not able to gain a full understanding of other subjects due to their lack of fluency in English; another is that of students gaining a poor standard of English language learning due to their teacher's lack of fluency in the language (Qorro 2013). Once students enter the workforce, most will use Kiswahili as the language of communication (Qorro 2013). With this being the case, English language instruction seems to be more of a barrier to learning.

Conversely, there is a range of arguments for English remaining the language of instruction, despite evidence showing it to be ineffective (Qorro 2013). One such argument is advanced by NGOs, whose language of choice is often English. Given the strong NGO presence in the education sector, NGOs are likely to have an influence over the language of instruction (Brock-Utne 2010). Changing to Kiswahili is also believed to be too expensive as it would require a large amount of resources and a massive change in curriculum content. Many commentators believe that Tanzania does not have enough economic resources for this to happen (Vavrus 2002b). This argument is closely related to the "Western preoccupation with progress" that permeated Tanzania during the structural reforms of the 1980s and 1990s (Pomponio 1993, 198). The focus on progress is on economic factors,

in other words, unless something brings economic advancement it is not deemed necessary.

The development perspectives surrounding the appropriate language of instruction are influenced by the ideas of where value is placed. Bourdieu's theory of symbolic and cultural capital is useful for explaining this (see Chapter Four). There is a variety of perceptions regarding whether English or Kiswahili is more beneficial for secondary school education. English, as in the 1990s, is still perceived as being a global participation language and is therefore linked to better paid jobs and greater employment opportunities (Babaci-Wilhite 2010). This perception is not necessarily correct, as many jobs do not require an employee to function in English. English does, however, have validity for jobs in the tourism industry (Vavrus 2002b). This is a significant consideration for a country where travel and tourism contributes to an estimated 11 percent of the GDP in 2016 (Knoema 2016). While this may be a valid point, only 9 percent of the Tanzanian workforce is employed in the travel and tourism industry, meaning that only 9 percent will have benefitted from learning English (Knoema 2016). Parents have also been attributed with wanting their children to find work abroad, thus wanting their children to learn in English so they are equipped to work overseas (Babaci-Wilhite 2010). Very few end up working overseas, yet it remains one of the reasons for maintaining English as the language of instruction (Babaci-Wilhite 2010). This begs the question as to whether learning in English for the entirety of secondary education is actually beneficial for the majority of the population or whether an alternative option would be better. Retaining English is also closely related to development ideas about post-coloniality, with English being the evidence remaining of colonial predecessors. Qorro (2013, 39) argues that the politics of language and education are the "continuation of the colonial project" and that African elites, in particular, are linked into these politics. Language of instruction is part of post-colonial ideas, with English being one of the remaining vestiges of imperialism. This has influenced people into advocating for either English or Kiswahili depending on their emotional and political reactions towards the colonial era (Babaci-Wilhite 2010).

Value Placement in Relation to Secondary Education

Chapter Four explored Bourdieu's theories relating to symbolic and cultural capital. These theories help to understand the placement of honour and prestige in the creation of cultural and symbolic capital and how these can be applied to the education system. Levinson and Holland (1996, 3) argue that linked into these ideas is the cultural production of the image of an educated person. These theories help to explain the perceptions of value around secondary education in the 2000s. Attaining secondary school education has been proven to increase both employment opportunities, within and beyond Tanzania, as well as increasing the wage level paid (Al-Samarrai and Reilly 2008). As a result of this, symbolic capital is associated with gaining a higher level of education.

Symbolic capital can also be seen in development plans released by the Tanzanian government. In the SEDP 2004-2009, the value of secondary education is presented through the rationale of explaining that it is what "modern economies" require (United Republic of Tanzania 2004, v). Secondary education is required for "economic competitiveness," and is viewed as a tool for poverty reduction. It is also identified as relating to social benefits, which include; improving health standards, moderating fertility rates, reducing infant mortality, containing the spread of HIV and AIDS and enhancing social participation (United Republic of Tanzania 2004, v). This rationale demonstrates the development ideas, and value placed on secondary education that worked at the government level to produce policies surrounding secondary education.

A second SEDP was released in 2010 which proposed a plan for the years 2010-2015. Within this plan the issue of the access to secondary education whilst maintaining its quality was addressed. It states that demand for secondary education led to the construction of schools which became a "constraint on the provision of quality secondary education" (United Republic of Tanzania 2010, 18). This is one of the drawbacks of mass privatisation of the education sector (see Chapter Four). Privatisation results in the withdrawal of the state from the social sector which removes regulations and standardisation around quality. In response to mass privatisation and continuing demand for education access in Tanzania, many schools were set up by NGOs and community groups but this

meant consistency between schools was not monitored (Posti-Ahokas and Palojoki 2014). Funding is one example of how this lack of monitoring takes place. A National Education Trust Fund exists in Tanzania which is supported by the World Bank and funded by the Norwegian Development Fund. This fund targets non-government schools (Wedgwood 2007). As a result, these schools have received extra funding (Wedgwood 2007). The lack of monitoring is linked with the education sector being left to market forces and demands, and gaps between different schools arise as a result.

The problem of dualistic education, which arose after privatisation, still obtains in modern day Tanzania. One of the main propellants of its rise is the withdrawal of the state and with it any national standardisation. Al-Samarrai and Reilly (2008) conclude that students from certain schools are given preferential access to jobs due to contacts or the perception that certain schools supply better workers. This is an expansion of dualistic education as it is now creating dualism in the accessibility to jobs, dependent on which secondary school a student attended. Schools with high fees are only accessible to African elites who can afford this type of education but these schools are ones which are often perceived as opening better opportunities to students (Brock-Utne 2010). A combination of elite perceptions, class culture, placement of symbolic and cultural capital and funding, interact in this sector. Dualistic education is thus perpetuated through these factors which, in turn, propel the cycle of inequality in education. A result of all of this is that schools have targeted specific audiences, mainly those who can afford their education. English language, as described above, is often valued by the elite who want their children to work overseas or in high paying jobs, which are perceived as needing English, the language of privilege (Brock-Utne 2010). This results in some private schools specifically targeting an elite audience by advertising English as their language of instruction (Vavrus 2002b). By targeting specific audiences, each school becomes differentiated, furthering the gap between those who can afford to pay for education and those who cannot. This type of system results in inequalities between schools and education provision, far from President Nyerere's dream of a socialist nation.

Access to Secondary Education for Girls

In the last sixteen years, the secondary education of girls has become a particularly prominent issue in policy documents and development plans. The SEDP 2004 outlined improving gender inequality at the secondary level through extra tuition for under-performing girls, guidance and counselling services for girls, empowering girls through projects such as TUSEME, and fostering science and maths development (United Republic of Tanzania 2004, 11). The same ideas are continued in the SEDP 2010 with “improving girls participation and performance at all levels” being one of the issues identified as needing attention (United Republic of Tanzania 2004, vii). These development plans are influenced by global development ideas and policies, particularly those linked with the UN and their development goals around gender equality. The UN Secretary, General Kofi Annan, stated that “To educate girls is to reduce poverty. Study after study has taught us that there is no tool for development more effective than the education of girls” (quoted in Rihani 2006, 6). Influential outside forces such as the UN are clearly impacting on the way policy is created around girls’ education through various development goals. Research in the area have discovered that girls’ value secondary education (Posti-Ahokas and Lehtomaki 2014). However, participation in secondary education is often restricted by certain structural factors, which would need to be addressed in order to increase participation. These structural factors are often barriers to secondary education even when it is actively sought after.

Structural and Cultural Factors Affecting Access

One of the major barriers to girls completing secondary education, identified through research, is menstruation (Rihani 2006). Menstruation becomes an issue for girls as there is often a lack of adequate infrastructure facilities, which prevents them from attending school for approximately five days of every month (Rihani 2006). Schools often lack a water supply for washing hands, locked latrines and provision for sanitary product disposal (Sommer 2010). Coupled with this is the expense of sanitary products themselves, which contributes to girls staying home from school on the days that they are menstruating (Sommer 2010). Such monthly absences from school are often left unexplained due to cultural

taboos which prevent girls from talking with teachers about menstruation. As a consequence no additional help is given to girls to compensate for their monthly absence (Sommer 2010). This issue was addressed in the SEDP 2010-2015 as the goal to “provide girl child friendly environment to schools” through the installation of “A total of 50 ablution and latrine blocks in schools constructed annually” (United Republic of Tanzania 2010, 31). While this acknowledges the need to address issues surrounding menstruation, it may take a long time to be implemented and may not be extensive enough. Some NGOs are seeking to address this issue, one example being “Days for Girls”. The mission is “Creating a more dignified, free and educated world through access to lasting feminine hygiene solutions” and their focus is one of providing girls in developing countries with menstruation “kits” (Days for Girls 2016). It is hoped that these kits will provide girls with the necessary solutions to continue schooling throughout menstruation and to remove the expense of products needed to cope with this by providing easy to use reusable ones (Days for Girls 2016). Initiatives such as these are thought to empower girls whilst being aware of the cultural context.

Menstruation is not the only issue which girls in secondary education face. Another example is when families have low economic resources and require girls to stay at home for household chores yet send boys to school (Sommer 2010). Sending boys to school while girls stay at home is entangled with both cultural and economic principles. In Zanzibar, the culture stresses girls should be “well groomed” (Ziddy 2008, 227). This means that girls from poor families cannot go to school if they are not well dressed and therefore if economic circumstances are tight then they will choose to send boys who do not carry the same cultural norms in regards to grooming and presentation. Another issue for girls is sexual harassment and general safety both in school and en route to school (Ziddy 2008). This, once again, prevents girls from wanting to attend school or families from sending them (Ziddy 2008). Transportation safety is a consideration for girls as they need to either be escorted to school or put on safe transport (Ziddy 2008). This is not a consideration for sending boys to school as they are able to walk unescorted (Ziddy 2008). This is another barrier to secondary education as transport adds to the cost and escorting adds to the time of the parent who goes

with them. Overall, it requires more resources to get a girl to school than a boy (Rihani 2006). All these issues surrounding secondary education accessibility for girls are a consequence of structural factors. Low economic resources and transportation considerations, particularly, demonstrate how these structural factors become barriers to accessing education.

Education as a Tool for HIV/AIDS Containment

Girls are not the only ones who value their education at this level. Recent studies have identified girls' secondary education as a tool for the containment of the HIV/AIDS crisis that hit Africa at the end of the twentieth century (Vavrus 2006). It is hoped that by educating girls at a higher level it will help raise awareness of prevention tactics and essentially be an "education vaccine" (Vavrus 2006, 864). This was addressed in the SEDP 2010 with HIV/AIDS being identified as a "crosscutting issue" which needed to be included in the national curriculum (United Republic of Tanzania 2010, viii). This demonstrates how girls' education has been recognised as valuable for a range of reasons yet the current situation makes it difficult to access such benefits. Secondary education can only be accessed through negating all of the barriers highlighted above. This would require "a combination of personal effort, family support, and the enabling structures of the education system" (Posti-Ahokas and Lehtomaki 2014, 350). Using the "enabling structures," however, requires a restructuring of the entire system in order to enable the people to benefit from their use of the system. Structural factors that prevent access to education need to first be addressed in order for it to be used as a tool to fight HIV/AIDS. Access to education would have to be delivered nationwide, otherwise only a select few are gaining HIV/AIDS prevention education.

Empowerment of Girls Through Secondary Education

Gender was specifically addressed in goal number three of the UN Millennium Development Goals as the need to "promote gender equality and empower women" (United Nations 2016a). Wallerstein (1992) defines empowerment as:

a social action process that promotes the participation of people, organizations, and communities toward the goals of increased

individual and community control, political efficacy, improved quality of community life, and social justice (quoted in Romero et al. 2006, 391).

The empowerment of women through education has been highlighted as a development achievement that will involve women making their own life choices (Romero et al. 2006). Achieving empowerment is said to involve educating girls so they gain “self-confidence”, “knowledge” and “awareness” (Murphy-Graham 2008, 31). In the context of secondary education for girls in Tanzania, this means giving them the confidence to make informed decisions about their future, giving them the knowledge to be able to achieve their own goals, and to be aware of what is available to them, both at school and in the work place. Education is held in high esteem by the girls themselves, and various studies have shown they actively seek it out. Empowering them helps to give them the tools to gain what they seek. Posti-Ahokas (2013, 1285) argues that girls see education as a way of “building a better future for the whole family.” It is also hoped that through education girls will be able to more readily support themselves in the future and not be as reliant on family or husbands for their survival (Rihani 2006). These issues are all about gaining control of their own lives and having the tools to make informed decisions. Empowerment, however, does not change the barriers to education. Structural, economic and cultural factors all remain as barriers to accessing secondary education and should not be ignored (Murphy-Graham 2008). Empowerment is able to be used once these barriers have been overcome. It is a tool to be used to help those women who have been historically constrained by structural, economic and cultural barriers to reach their aspirations.

Education Access: Barriers Versus Tools

Barrier or Tool? - State

The government of Tanzania has had much involvement with the development of the secondary education system. Some of this involvement can be seen as helpful and some can be seen as a hindrance. In 2005, an NGO named HakiElimu, criticised the government for failures in the education system (Phillips 2011). This critique highlighted areas of failing in the education system as being neither democratic nor involving civil society in their policies (Phillips 2011). Instead,

they called for education policy to be a partnership between state and civil society through active participation of the local people (Phillips 2011). This criticism calls for further devolution and withdrawal of the state, demonstrating a neo-liberal agenda of its own. Phillips (2011) states that often NGOs such as HakiElimu are funded by outside agencies and thus are influenced by their agendas. Once again, this demonstrates the huge role outside development agencies have in influencing both the government and local NGOs within Tanzania. Babaci-Wilhite (2010) critiques the Tanzanian government for adopting a Western standard of education rather than developing their own locally specific one, yet this is what HakiElimu was advocating for. Adopting Western standards is problematic in regards to education, as these may not take into account the history, cultural values and beliefs of the local society. This creates an educational style of imposition rather than inclusion.

Despite the critics, the government must maintain its role of improving the education system. Mass privatisation has resulted in a wide difference between the best and worst schools, issues of the haves and have-nots have become prominent (Posti-Ahokas and Palojoki 2014). This is where the central state needs to have an active role in education as the regulating force and the maintainer of standards. The SEDP for both 2004 and 2010 demonstrate the government's aspiration to provide better quality secondary education and the value seen in its use as a tool for poverty reduction. The implementation of these plans will be the defining feature of whether they are considered successful in these regards.

Barrier or Tool? – Family and Communities

The economic constraints experienced by families, as well as wider gender and cultural norms impact on the ability of girls, in particular, to pursue secondary education. Family support, particularly from parents, has been identified as one of the areas which influences girls' access to secondary education (Posti-Ahokas 2013). This support can be given both financially and intellectually, in terms of the value placed on education attainment (Posti-Ahokas 2013). Community support also plays a role in access to secondary education (Rihani 2006). Many communities have sought to help with education through the provision of hostels and scholarships and the establishment of their own schools. Community

participation is identified by the government as an important way of improving secondary education (United Republic of Tanzania 2010). The encouragement of this participation is part of the neo-liberal process of devolution by focussing on transferring power from the central government to local governments (Massoi and Norman 2009). However, without the correct structures in place, including adequate human and financial resources, local government will not, despite best intention, be able to involve communities in decision making. This results in the growth of inequalities in education opportunities between regions. The contradictory nature of neoliberalism (see Chapter Four) means that without adequate support and structures, inequalities will be exacerbated (Larner 2005). The influence of outside donors is evident through this neo-liberal approach, particularly that of the World Bank and IMF. These organisations remain largely driven by neo-liberal economics and development ideas which colours the advice they give to governments. An example of this in Tanzania is their advocacy for not changing the language of instruction to Kiswahili as, they believe, it is not cost effective (Babaci-Wilhite 2010). This means that advice gained from these agencies needs to be considered carefully as they tend to focus entirely on economic progress. Focussing solely on economic progress prevents an analysis of some of the structural factors that are restricting education, in addition to ignoring social and cultural factors that permeate the education sector.

Future Developments

A variety of voices have emerged in the 2000s relating to educational development in Tanzania. These have expressed different opinions on what the secondary education sector should look like in the future. In regards to the language of instruction, Vavrus (2012) calls for the use of a dual-language programme to be implemented. The rationale is that the nation is never going to be completely free of its colonial predecessors. Instead of fighting against its past, it should strategically seek to use language as a tool for future development. This would result in the incorporation of English and Swahili into the secondary education system, both as official languages. Other suggestions include a change to Kiswahili as the main language of instruction and the relegation of English to a second language (Qorro 2013). This type of system would allow for those who

want to pursue jobs which require English to take it as second language class, but it would not inhibit their learning in other subject areas or the learning of other students. Babaci-Wilhite (2010) advocates for adequate unbiased information to be provided to people to allow them to make informed decisions about their choice of language instruction. These recommendations all focus on retaining both languages in some form, but without hindering learning, and allowing active informed participation.

Encouraging girls into secondary education has been identified as a target area for future development. This is due to the currently low participation rates of girls in comparison to boys and the wider advantages that educating girls achieves, both for the girls themselves and for the wider society. These policies need to focus on changing the structural, economic and cultural factors which block women from attaining a secondary level of education. Alongside this, empowerment can be used as a tool to break stigma around women's choices and allow them to make their own life choices. This is about producing the information that will give power and knowledge to the people, allowing them to make informed decisions about their own education. Such approaches need to focus on bottom up analysis and grassroots movements which give the opportunity to the people to gain what they want whilst being supported by the structures and institutions around them. This may involve information provision and advocacy work on behalf of these people in order to give them the strength to implement their own development. This will also require movement away from institutions which only provide support for the furtherance of their own economic agendas. In the SEDP 2010, it is identified that the World Bank had originally supported the Tanzanian government with scholarship money but this money ran out by 2007, meaning the system now struggles to provide scholarships to those students who need them (United Republic of Tanzania 2010, 9). This demonstrates how reliance on outside aid can hinder development when the support is withdrawn. Instead, systems need to be established that do not rely on sources which do not serve the interests of the people themselves.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis explored how different development ideas have impacted the policies surrounding secondary education in Tanzania. Since the colonial period, changing development ideas have shaped present day secondary education policies.

Understanding this historical context helps explain the current secondary education system. Secondary education came into prominence recently with the UN's release in 2015 of the Sustainable Development Goals. Goal 4 cited a commitment to "quality education" outlining free and equitable secondary education for all by 2030 as a target (United Nations 2016b). This makes research in secondary education imperative to development policies, and identifying barriers to access becomes an important research goal.

Tanzania has historically had a diverse range of actors influencing secondary education. An understanding of the context and history of the education system is necessary for the future development of plans and policies. This thesis sought to provide this understanding and, for this purpose, identified structural factors which have the potential to limit access to education in the future. These factors, I argue, need to be addressed in order for pupil numbers to increase. The field of education in Tanzania has been assessed by a range of voices in regards to its failings and successes. However, often the critique does not adequately consider the multitude of factors which influence this sector. This thesis has identified some of these factors in the hope that the information gathered can help to inform future decisions.

I have drawn on the (somewhat limited) available archival resources to discuss the development of secondary education in Tanzania since colonial times. I have also employed various theoretical frameworks to shed light on the data. In particular, I examine the ways in which, since its emergence, neo-liberalism has influenced the education sector. Neo-liberal ideas have impacted secondary education in two contradictory ways; creating inequalities and opening new opportunities for NGO involvement and community participation. This thesis identified both of these results in the secondary education system of Tanzania. The hope is, that by identifying both results, the situation can be analysed more thoroughly and a vast range of conflicting perspectives can be considered. The aim of this was to not

simply critique the current system but to see the barriers created as well as the, albeit limited, opportunities.

Emerging Themes

Structural Factors

Lack of access to secondary education emerged as a main theme during this research. Blame was a contested site, with different perspectives on where it should be placed. Cultural attitudes and values were suggested as the cause of many of the inequalities that arose in all social sectors, not just education. Culture has, historically, regularly been employed to explain how inequality of access arises. The cultural values, beliefs and attitudes of local people are often sited as being barriers to education. This area of blame, particularly, is identified when it comes to the secondary education of girls in Tanzania. Domestic obligations, religious protocols and cultural taboos are some of the areas in which blame is squarely placed. This began during the colonial period when culture was used as the scapegoat for the failings of the British administration. The debate gained traction during the neo-liberal economic reforms (see Chapter Four) where arguments based around the culture of poverty and blame-the-victim discourses emerged. These discourses allowed agencies to identify cultural attitudes and values as the reason for the lack of access to secondary education. This resulted in a culture of blame with no consideration of the structural factors that underpinned access. Multi-lateral agencies, in particular, blamed cultural attitudes and values rather than acknowledging structural limitations. These structural factors were therefore largely ignored in policy development and as a result many policies did not help alleviate the access situation.

Dualistic Education

Inequalities in secondary education and the development of a dualistic system is another theme that emerged in my research. Inequalities had already existed during the colonial period, with the emergence of an elitist education system, one which Nyerere and the TANU government sought to address during the years following independence. Nyerere, sought to close gaps and remove inequalities by

creating a socialist egalitarian society. In the 1980s, once the neo-liberal privatisation reforms were implemented, inequality gaps began again to emerge alongside the drive for economic progress. Gaps between access for rich and poor imply the existence of a dualistic education system. At the secondary level, dualistic education has been identified as an area in need of addressing due to the inequalities it creates in other areas, such as job opportunities. This continues the cycles of inequalities as now certain jobs are only available to those who can afford secondary education.

Dualistic education impacts on the structural factors that limit access to secondary education. This is because only those who have the economic ability can engage meaningfully with the system. It creates a cycle of inequality that becomes difficult to escape. For example, if a parent gained secondary education, they would be able to access a higher paid job, this would then give them the economic ability to send their own children to secondary school, who would then be able to access higher level jobs. Addressing the structural cause of access to education is a key area that impacts on the success or failure of new education policies. This would include breaking the cycle of dualistic education that perpetuates inequalities. In the 2000s, policies focussed on providing immediate relief to the education situation rather than addressing the structural cause of the inequality of access. As a result, both structures and policies maintain the cycle of dualistic education and the inequalities in access to education (Klees 2008).

Nationalism and Language of Instruction

Since the time of independence, Tanzania has been considered as one of the most stable African nations on the continent. Kessler (2006) argues that the reason for this stability is Tanzania's sense of a national identity. This national identity evolved through the process of nation-building during the independence era, which provided unity for an ethnically diverse country. The success of this identity was produced by maintaining ethnic group identities underneath a Tanzanian identity (Kessler 2006). As discussed in Chapter Three, education was used as a tool for building the independent nation of Tanzania. Education for Self-Reliance was the main policy through which this was conducted. The success of this policy can be seen in modern day Tanzania with Tanzanian nationalism

remaining (Miguel 2004). This was particularly instilled through the Vision 2025 development plan which re-committed to being an independent, self-reliant nation.

The use of a single national language, Kiswahili, was one of the tools used to instil a national Tanzanian identity. This was largely successful. Today Kiswahili remains one of the official languages used at the primary level of education and throughout government administration. However, language of instruction at the secondary level has become a hotly debated topic. The use of English or Kiswahili as the language of instruction is the contested site of this debate. Unlike the primary level education, English is the language of instruction at the secondary level of education. In 2014, a new Policy of Education and Training was released. This policy addressed the issues of language of instruction but did not give any clear indication as to which path would be followed. Article 2.3.19 states that Kiswahili would be used at all levels of education, whilst Article 3.2.20 states that the government would continue to strengthen the use of English at all levels of education (United Republic of Tanzania 2014). There is evidently no clear cut choice on which language policy to follow. Research in this area is therefore important to help guide policy choice in the future.

Language of instruction is related to both structural factors and dualistic education. Whilst changing to Kiswahili has been strongly advocated, structural factors limit the ability to change. Teaching resources for secondary education are all currently in English which means there would be significant costs in changing them to Kiswahili. For this to be achieved, there would have to be vast economic support from outside sources endorsing the change, as Tanzania does not currently have the economic resources to do this themselves. Due to the large proportion of privatised schools, implementing a nation-wide change of language of instruction would prove difficult. This is a structural factor as the education system and diversity of schools prohibits the implementation of nation-wide change. Barriers such as these prevent any new policies from being fully implemented. Language of instruction also relates to dualistic education because of the symbolic value associated with either Kiswahili or with English. Maintaining English upholds the concept of a language of privilege, a remaining structure of colonialism, while

Kiswahili advocates want to break away from the colonial remnants. Schools instructing only in English can widen inequalities and maintain the dualism because they uphold aspects of a language of privilege.

Secondary Education in Relation to Girls

In recent years, access to secondary level education for girls has been recognised as a tool for development. This has been identified on a global scale, through the UN and other development agencies, in addition to the Tanzanian government and NGOs working within Tanzania. However, there are structural factors that prevent girls from accessing education, even when policies are specifically aimed at them. Cultural factors have also impacted on this access, particularly in relation to menstruation. Success stories in this area have been demonstrated when organisations have been able to provide the necessary tools to overcome structural factors that prevent girls attending school whilst considering cultural factors that affect access. For example, the provision of sanitary packs by the Days for Girls organisation (see Chapter Five), which considers both structural and cultural factors.

Careful consideration of the historical context is important in regards to cultural factors. An understanding of a peoples cultural beliefs, practices and values, and how these are both manipulated and articulated with European colonialization is a crucial starting point for any understanding of the contradictory nature of development goals. When cultural factors are identified as barriers it is a result of them not being considered during the development of policy. Rather than blaming these cultural factors and trying to change them, agencies should look to encompass them within their policies. The example from Zanzibar (see Chapter Five) of girls needing to be well dressed and groomed to go to school gives evidence of cultural factors that impact education access (Ziddy 2008). Blaming this cultural view is not going to improve or change access; however, providing the resources to be able to dress girls well will help to overcome this issue. This is where cultural factors intertwine with the structural factors that prevent access. It requires contextual understanding to be able to address the source of the problem and overcome these barriers.

Neo-liberalism and Secondary Education Development

Political-economic frameworks are a key part of shaping development ideas and education policies. Since the 1980s, neo-liberalism has had a significant impact on the secondary education system in Tanzania. This framework, understood as a programme, philosophy and practice, resulted in the mass privatisation of the education sector and caused many inequalities. It also exacerbated the dualistic education system, widening the gaps between those who had access to secondary education and those who did not. Many criticisms of the adoption of neo-liberalism as a framework have explored its negative impacts. However, neo-liberalism has been described as having a “contradictory nature” (Larner 2005, 16). This contradictory nature manifests in the way in which it can open up opportunities for community participation at the local level (Larner 2005). Placing the emphasis on bottom-up approaches and local level community empowerment that partner together with the state is referred to as “multi-level collaborative arrangements” (Larner and Craig 2005, 407). In Tanzania, local level participation can be seen to be part of this enabling structure within neo-liberalism. However, structural constraints make community participation difficult to achieve. Secondary education policies highlight the positive role of local level partnership with the state and NGOs but inadequate resources have prevented this from being achieved.

Solutions for Future Policy

A variety of solutions have been sought and researched relating to secondary education in Tanzania. The Tanzanian government addressed issues surrounding secondary education in the two Secondary Education Development Programmes released in 2004 and 2010. These plans and policies need to be followed through by the government and backed by multilateral agencies of development if they are to be successful. A better understanding of the particularities of the context is required for this to happen. Addressing the structural factors that have underpinned the failings is necessary in overcoming the source of the issue. Once plans and policies have been rolled out they need financial support and evaluative follow up, otherwise they merely empty commitments (Wedgwood 2007).

Colonial domination is a reason for the emergence of many contemporary structural constraints impacting Tanzania, and a fear of continued domination has resulted in demands for a system that is the total opposite to the one of previous colonial rulers (Vavrus 2002b). The effects of colonial domination are still felt throughout Tanzania. However, some researchers have suggested using this history, treating it as an advantage. Vavrus (2002b) suggests that rather than trying to ignore and dispose of any colonial remnants, the country should instead accept them as part of the nation's history and use them as tools for future development. In secondary education, Vavrus (2002) advocates for a dual-language system using both English and Kiswahili for teaching. This is seen as a way of using both systems in the transition from dependency to self-reliance.

Another way forward is to embrace the bottom-up approach to development in regards to education. This approach emphasises giving local people the voice to decide their own agendas and to change the secondary education situation. This type of approach, however, needs adequate resources to support the people in their participation. Research, in Tonga, shows that development fails when a "cart of Western development, models, ideas and values" are put before the horse, that is Tonga's "existing culture and power structure" (Helu 1999 quoted in Pulu 2013, 307). This means the cart is pulled in multiple directions by different donors rather than being pulled forward together (Pulu 2013, 329). Tanzania's dependency on aid in the education sector relates to this concept of the cart being pulled before the horse. Support needs to come from NGOs working in the area who can listen to the people's voice and support them to actively make plans for the future. It also requires state controls to be placed around education to protect and retain standards of secondary education across the country. This cooperation between NGOs, the state and local level people will enable the cart of educational development to be pulled forward. Larner and Craig (2005) have asserted that neo-liberalism, as it develops, can open opportunities through the partnership of local level (people and communities) with NGOs and the state. Fostering this partnership in Tanzania will enable more people to access secondary education. However, it also requires the addressing of structural factors that prevent access and participation. If this is achieved then educational development will become sustainable rather than dependent (Pulu 2013, 311). A sustainable education

system would demonstrate the application of a Tanzanian driven model rather than imposition of a Western one.

Recommendations for Future Research

This thesis highlighted some of the barriers to accessing secondary education in Tanzania. Overcoming structural factors and enabling participation are identified as ways to increase access. However, this requires a full understanding of the cultural context of each community thus enabling sensitivity to cultural elements which influence access, in addition to the existing structural factors. Future research could focus on the ethnic groups and communities in Tanzania that have limited access to secondary education. While this thesis discussed the Chagga people, many other groups have different factors influencing their access. This type of research would better enable the use of bottom up approaches to implement effective policies. Another area of further research could be to examine secondary education in neighbouring countries, such as Kenya and Uganda. These countries have historically approached secondary education differently and have different factors influencing them. Ethnic boundaries do not follow nation boundaries and thus some groups are present throughout East Africa. Research in this area would give further knowledge on the cultural context of these groups.

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