Peter Williams

Chapter 6

Sustaining UPE against the odds in Tanzania

Introductory note

This study refers basically to experience in Mainland Tanzania. The Zanzibar education system is separately administered from education on the Mainland, where 97 per cent of the population resides. UNESCO data aggregates information for the two constituent parts of the Union but most of the reports and monographs on education in Tanzania confine their discussion to the situation on the Mainland. In the present study, wherever it is known that observations and data apply to Zanzibar as well as the Mainland, that fact is made known.

Background data

National data

The United Republic of Tanzania is situated on the coast of East Africa and has a land area of 883,000 km^2 (of which Zanzibar accounts for just 2,000). Projections from the National Bureau of Statistics give a population of 38.7m for 2006 (Mainland 37.5m and Zanzibar 1.1m), the annual growth rate is estimated to be 2.9 per cent and the average density of population is about 44 per sq. km. for the whole country. Expectation of life at birth is 54 years. The political capital (seat of Parliament) is Dodoma in the centre of the country, but Dar es Salaam (population 2.3m) is the commercial and administrative capital where most Ministries are housed. The official language, used widely in commerce and in international dealings, is English: but the most widely spoken national language is Swahili and that is the language of instruction in primary school.

The United Republic was formed in 1964 by the union of mainland Tanganyika, a UN Trusteeship Territory, that became independent from Britain in December 1961, and the islands of Zanzibar a former British Protectorate that became independent in December 1963. It is a multi-parliamentary democracy. The Executive Head of State is the President: the current incumbent is Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, the fourth President, succeeding Benjamin William Mkapa (1996–2006) Ali Hassan Mwinyi (1986–1996) and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (1961–1986). Successive governments have all been formed by the TANU party, which changed its name to CCM in 1977.

Tanzania is a member of the UN, the African Union, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Commonwealth of Nations.

Tanzania's GDP has recently been growing at over 6 per cent p.a. and was approximately $US120 billion at factor cost in 2005 giving a GDP per capita of roughly $320. The country is largely agricultural and the agriculture sector accounts for half of GDP. The next most important productive sector is manufacturing with about 7 per cent of GDP in

1999. Minerals (gold in particular, diamonds, gemstones) account for a high proportion of foreign exchange earnings. The national currency is the Tanzanian shilling (£1 = Tshs. 2,500, $US1 = Tshs. 1,280 as at August 2007).

Education

Education in Zanzibar and education on the Mainland are separately administered, each of the two constituent parts of the Union having its own Ministry responsible for Education. On the Mainland this is the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training for school-level education and the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology for post-secondary education, each headed by its own minister. As said in the introductory note to this chapter, reflecting the separately administered education systems, the most commonly used, quoted and published statistics from the Ministry in Dar es Salaam are for Mainland Tanzania only, and exclude Zanzibar. Unless otherwise stated, therefore, the discussion and analysis in this study applies only to the Mainland.

The formal education system in each of the two parts of the United Republic has a 7-4-2-4 (3-5) structure for general studies: seven grades of primary school, followed by four years of secondary, two years of upper secondary ('sixth form') and then three to five years' university. Pre-primary education for two years, mainly in the voluntary sector, precedes this and has a 29 per cent coverage. The primary school system was reduced to seven grades from eight in the 1960s, when the two-stage system (Standards I–IV lower primary school and Standards V–VIII upper primary) had the selection bar at the end of Grade IV removed. The overwhelming majority (99.8 per cent) of primary schools are in the public sector, but at secondary level the non-government sector is more important and in 2006 accounted for 30 per cent of students.

Table 6.1. Tanzania: enrolments, enrolment rates and teacher situation by level of education, 2006 (Mainland Tanganyika and Zanzibar combined)

Education level	Pupils '000 T	(%F)	GER	NER	Teachers '000 T	(%F)	% trained	PTR
Pre-primary	638	(50)	29	29	11	(58)	22	57
Primary	7 960	(49)	110	98	152	(48)	100	56
Secondary	676	(47)	n.a.	n.a.	23	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Tertiary (2005)	43	(29)	1	3				

Source: UIS Global Education Digest 2006

The number of primary pupils recorded by UIS represents the third highest for any country in Sub-Saharan Africa, exceeded only by Nigeria (21m. in 2005) and Ethiopia (8m.).

The official age of entry to school in Tanzania is 7 years, so that the primary school age-range is ostensibly 7–13, and secondary school 14–17/19. National examinations at Grade 7, 11 and 13 are set and marked by the National Examinations Council of Tanzania.

Tanzania and Universal Primary Education

This study focuses on Tanzania's efforts since Independence in 1961 to attain universal primary education. There have been two main thrusts: the first was in the decade following the 1974 Musoma Resolution and included the UPE declaration of 1977, and the second was ushered in by the abolition of primary school fees in 2002 and is still on-going. The first drive for UPE peaked in enrolment terms in 1983. The *UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks* for 1983 and 1984 showed gross enrolment ratios in primary education of over 100 for the period 1980–1982, but later estimates made in the light of more accurate population data suggest that the highest GER reached at that time was 96.3 in 1981 (a composite of male GER at 100.7 and female at 91.9). The numerical enrolment peak (most children enrolled) in those years was actually two years later, in 1983, when 3.56m children were in primary school. That was 23,000 more than in 1981 but the GER had dropped sharply to 90.5 by 1983. This illustrates how a rapid increase in school-age population (3 per cent p.a. in Tanzania in the early 1980s) can cause GER to drop sharply even if enrolments are stable or on a slight upward trend. An important supplementary feature of this first quest for 'education for all' was that Tanzania also claimed to have achieved universal adult literacy at the same time.

Tanzanians were well aware that the recorded GER of close to 100 at the start of the 1980s did not mean that all children of school age were actually in school. Many school places were occupied by learners over the official primary-school age and in 1981, when GER is now estimated to have been 96.3, the net enrolment rate (NER) was only 68.1. (In those years NER peaked in 1980 at 69.4).

These UPE peaks in the early 1980s were followed by a slump in enrolment rates between the mid-1980s and late 1990s. Actual primary-school enrolments only fell 11–12 per cent, by 400,000, from 3.56m in 1983 to 3.16m in 1988: and by 1992 were back at record levels of 3.60m, rising to 4.04m in 1998. Because of substantial population growth, however, both GER and NER steadily declined and in 1998 stood at 63.6 and 47.1 respectively, far below the levels attained in the early 1980s. Half a million more children were in school in 1998 than in 1981, but enrolment *ratios* were 20 points down for NER and 30 points down for GER.

The situation has been turned round dramatically since 2000, and especially after tuition fees were abolished in time for the 2002 school year. Enrolments have risen from 4.38m in 2000 to 7.96m in 2006 which is well over twice as many pupils as in the peak year (1981) of the first thrust. The GER is estimated at 110 in 2006 and exceeds 100 for both boys (112) and girls (109), while the NER at 98 is far above its former peak level in 1980.

The remainder of this brief study:

- summarises Tanzania's efforts to achieve UPE in the 1970s and 1980s (part 3);
- describes the period of regression from the early 1980s to the turn of the century (part 4);
- provides some glimpses of the 'second wave' starting in 2001 and now ongoing (part 5);
- sets out summary conclusions (part 6);

- comments finally on the terms of reference of this project as they apply to the Tanzanian case (part 7).

Tanzania's first thrust to UPE

The Addis Ababa Conference on African Education in 1961 had set a target date of 1980 for the achievement of UPE in sub-Saharan African countries. But even though both Gold Coast/Ghana (Nkrumah) and the Western and Eastern Regions of Nigeria (Awolowo, Azikiwe) among British dependencies had already embraced the aim of universal primary education as a means of mobilising public opinion behind the 'Independence project', Tanzania did not attempt to follow suit. This was certainly not because of any lack of sympathy on Tanzania's part with the goal of UPE. It simply reflected economic and political realities. For the stock of skills inherited at Independence was pitifully small and the education system was hopelessly underdeveloped – in 1961 at Independence there were only 1,603 students in Form 4, and 176 form 6 students, of whom 14 per cent were females. Higher education was in the very first stages of development.

Economic resources were short – unlike its West African cousins Tanzania did not go into independence with substantial financial reserves – and so the Government of Julius Nyerere had to choose priorities carefully. With some reluctance, given the socialist philosophy of the regime, the decision was made to focus initially on developing the human resources that would enable Tanzania to localise key positions in Government and the public services. Secondary and higher education consequently received the bulk of the investment resources in the 1960s. It was not a comfortable situation to be constrained to invest heavily in the education of a few, as Nyerere frequently insisted:

> 'In a socialist country universal primary education would be provided for all children, and post-primary education would be available to all who could benefit from it, however old they may be ... . The poverty of Tanzania does not allow for the kind of expenditure which would be necessary for such universal services, however much we would like them'.
>
> (Nyerere in a 1971 speech, quoted in Omari et al. p. 37)

Nyerere repeatedly exhorted the recipients of secondary and higher education to remember their obligations to Tanzania's poor rural masses on whose behalf (and from whose taxes) investment in their education was being made. It was always clear that as soon as circumstances allowed the emphasis would switch to extending primary education and adult literacy, in accordance with the philosophy of *ujamaa* as expounded in the *Arusha Declaration* and in its education counterpart, *Education for Self-reliance* (1967).

The Government did not neglect primary education in this period. The 1961 Education Act removed racial and other discrimination from the education system. The eight-grade primary education system with a selection exam at Standard IV was converted to an all-through seven-grade system so that by 1968 entrants to all primary schools would have the possibility of continuing through to Standard VII. From 1969, by circulars issued in 1967, Kiswahili was made the medium of instruction in all grant-aided primary schools.

But it was only in 1969, in its Second Five-Year Plan, that the Government felt able to set a target for achievement of UPE. Conservatively, its proposal was to increase the enrolment rate steadily to reach 95 per cent by 1989, and this obviously had to involve expansion of primary education at a rate exceeding expected population growth. The Plan still put most emphasis on consolidating the development of those parts of the system that produced high-level manpower, and emphasised that the expansion of primary education would have to involve a great measure of self-help in order to keep down the budgetary costs. In the event, partly no doubt as a result of improved transition rates to upper primary grades under the new seven-year primary system, a period of substantial growth of primary-school enrolment took place in the Second Five-Year Plan – 6 per cent in 1971, 9 per cent in 1972 and over 10 per cent in 1973. The planned increase in Standard I enrolments over the Plan period was 203,000, but the actual figure was 247,000 (Omari et al. p. 36).

In 1971 primary school fees were abolished in Maasailand (Mosha, 1995) and in 1973 across the whole country. In 1974 at the ruling party meeting in Musoma, the National Executive Committee passed a resolution directing the Government to make plans that would enable every school-age child to go to primary school by 1977, twelve years sooner than had previously been planned. Omari et al. (p. 38) point out that this decision could hardly have been predicted from previous events: the planners had long been emphasising the need for caution calculation of logistics and costs and Nyerere himself had stated in 1971 that:

> 'We have provided school places for only about 52 per cent of the children of primary school age – that is how far we are from our objective of universal primary education! And it is absurd to think that passing resolutions at TANU Conferences, or asking questions in Parliament, can solve this problem.'

Yet that is exactly what took place three years later at the Party Conference in Musoma in November 1974, all the more unexpected given that the country was suffering from drought conditions.

According to the Government's own review of the implementation of UPE (1989, pp. 4 and 5), the reasons for deciding to advance the date of UPE were that villagisation (the creation of central *ujamaa* villages) had been proceeding apace and government had justified this in terms of the possibility it afforded to make available to the public essential services, including schools:

- the process of villagisation itself created demand for school places;
- the TANU Congress in 1973 had learned that schools had capacity for more children than were actually in school;
- UPE was seen as a means to promote universal literacy, another key aim of the Party and Government's programme. It was realised that almost as fast as the ranks of adult illiterates were reduced by the campaigns, their number was replenished by illiterate youths reaching adult age (Omari et al. pp. 37 and 39).

A further consideration may have been consciousness that serious disparities were developing in primary education enrolment, reflecting the emphasis on self-reliance and differ-

ential resource availability between districts (Omari et al. p. 36). A policy of universalisation represented a promise of 'catch-up' for poorer districts.

The decision to abolish school fees and the Musoma Resolution set in train an explosion of enrolments, amounting to a tripling of the numbers in primary school between 1973 and 1981 and a big jump in the enrolment ratios (compare 1973 – enrolment 1.13m, GER 40.1, NER n.a. with 1981 – enrolment 3.54m, GER 96.3, NER 68.1).

What do we know about how this was achieved in logistical terms? It seems to be generally agreed that there was rather little by way of feasibility studies and careful forward planning before the UPE policy decision was announced. Thereafter, however, a period of intensive activity took place to ensure implementation of the Musoma decisions that 'within three years ... by November 1977 arrangements must be completed which will enable every child of school age to obtain a place in a primary school'.

Preparations and policies

The preparatory work was both political and technical. In fact, the Ministry of Education's account of the preparatory phase lists 'campaigns for mass education' as its first item. Tanzania used the press and radio to get messages across to the people about the need to send their children to school and the part they should play through community effort. Government and party leaders toured the country to provide motivation.

It was recognised that resources were short and that resort must be had to self-reliance and radical alternatives in education delivery. The latter would include, for example, community construction of classrooms and teachers' houses, slates instead of pencils and paper for pupils' use, resort to double sessions, older students teaching younger ones in the same school, and secondary school pupils teaching in primary schools.

A series of three implementation guidelines was issued in 1974 and 1975 dealing with classrooms, teachers and equipment preparations. There were to be volunteer teachers given a monthly allowance of 150 shillings, and short term courses[1] were to be provided for them. Half-day schooling was to be introduced to make possible the admission of more children to Standard I. A maximum age of entry to primary school of 12 years was laid down. A census was carried out by regional education officers in 1975 which showed that there were 1.8m school-age children, and these data were used as the basis for ordering supplies.

Construction of classrooms and teachers' houses etc was to be by community effort, but Government offered help of Tshs. 5,000 for every teachers' quarters (later raised to Tshs. 12,000) and Tshs. 7,000 for classrooms (raised to Tshs. 10,000 later). Villagers were supposed to build latrines using their own resources.

Teacher supply was a crucial concern. It was estimated in 1975 that 68,900 teachers would be needed compared with the availability of 28,900, a shortage of 40,000. The annual output from training colleges was only 4,000 a year. To deal with this:

- Efforts were made to draw retired trained teachers back into service;
- Existing training colleges were expanded and new ones built;

- The grade A course was restructured to provide just one year in college followed by a second year in the schools on teaching practice;
- A programme to train Grade C teachers outside colleges was introduced. This new programme, to train P7 students in a three-year course leading to a Grade C certificate, had the following elements:
  1 class training in special centres 2 or 3 times a week for three years given by ward education co-ordinators who were trained for the purpose;
  2 training by radio and cassettes;
  3 education by correspondence (materials provided by the Institute of Adult Education);
  4 practice class teaching for 10–15 periods in the first year and 24–30 periods in the third year;
  5 this was followed by a six-week training course in college.
- Education was introduced as a subject in secondary schools and technical schools with a view to using graduates of these institutions as teachers (however this plan was actually abandoned before implementation).

Achievements

Pupil enrolments

There was a marked increase in intake in 1975, the year after the Musoma Resolution, perhaps by as much as 60 per cent and there were further big increases in Standard I intake in 1977 and 1978. Standard I enrolment appears to have peaked at 878,000 in 1978 (compared with only 248,000 in 1974). To judge from the data in the *Implementation Report* (p. 71) and *Basic Statistics in Education* (*BEST*) *1999* (Table 4 1h), the swollen 1978 intake passed through the system in a tsunami-like surge, almost 200,000 larger than the cohorts either side of it, which finally reached Standard VII in 1984. Total enrolments expanded cumulatively by 26 per cent in 1975, a further 23 per cent in 1976, 16 per cent in 1977, and a staggering 32 per cent (representing an extra 720,000 pupils) in 1978. By 1978, indeed, total primary school enrolment had doubled in just three years since 1975; and between 1973 and 1981 there was a tripling of enrolment.

Particular success was achieved in the gender ratio which, for all primary classes taken together, rose from 42 per cent females in 1974, to 46 per cent in 1978 and 50 per cent in 1985. To have achieved gender parity at that time was very remarkable and far ahead of other African countries.

In spite of these successes, the best information currently available from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics suggests that Tanzania never did better in this period than about 70 per cent in terms of NER and 96 per cent GER. Ministers at the time claimed to have very nearly achieved their UPE objective, but it seems they in fact fell quite far short of it. The Ministry's own 1989 report on UPE confirms this in its analysis of regional variation of GERs and NERs for 1986, showing that GER varied from 93 per cent in Iringa to only 66 per cent in Dar es Salaam, and NER from 78 per cent in Coast Region to 56 per cent in Dar (Table 2, page 18). With reference to this rather unexpected data for Dar es Salaam, Sumra (1995) states:

'... nowhere is the problem as big as in Dar es Salaam. In Temeke district, Dar es Salaam, there were 57,594 children between the ages of 7 and 13 not in school, that is nearly 60 per cent of the age group in the district. Out of these 63.38 per cent were boys and 52.39 per cent were girls. In urban areas, one of the reasons for not enrolling could be lack of space in schools. In all three districts in Dar es Salaam, and that is true for all the urban districts in the country, there are more males who are not enrolled than girls. The lure for making quick money through petty trade and in some cases desperate needs of the family push children to engage in economic activities instead of attending school. In Dar es Salaam the problem is made worse by a large number of street children.'

The recorded enrolment figures also overstate actual achievement in another major way: the Ministry's data suggests that average actual *attendance* was only 83 per cent of those nominally registered. (MoE 1989, p. 22).

The Ministry itself explains the shortfall in enrolment in the following terms, (some of them somewhat implausible):

- some parents didn't know the age of their children and were late in sending them to school for that reason;
- children were engaged in income-earning for the family, e.g. cattle and goat herding, or in child caring;
- some deliberately left education to get wage employment;
- some communities married their children after puberty (age 13–15) and hence they couldn't continue with schooling;
- disruptions to schooling caused by disturbances like cattle raiding;
- witchcraft (fear of witchcraft deterring teachers and supervisory staff enforcing attendance in communities where witchcraft practices existed);
- Koranic classes took priority over formal school for some Muslim parents.

One might have expected that with the passage of time the age range of children in Standard I would get closer to the official entry age of 7, but the fragmentary evidence provided for the years 1982–86 in the Ministry's report suggests that this was not the case. In Table 6.2 1999 data taken from BEST 2000 are given for comparison.

Table 6.2. Age distribution of children enrolled in Standard I in Tanzania 1982, 1986, 1999

	1982	1986	(1999)
7 years	24.2	17.4	(19.0)
8 years	29.1	25.0	(26.5)
9 years	22.7	24.2	(23.3)
10 years	13.8	18.2	(17.1)
11 years and above	5.9	9.5	(8.3)
Other ages	4.1	5.4	(5.9)

Sources: for 1982 and 1986: Ministry of Education (1989) Table 3 p. 18. For 1999: *Basic Statistics in Education 1999*, Regional Data: Table 1(d). Ministry of Education and Culture (2000).

Repetition and drop-out

Omari 1994 p. 27 gives crude wastage rates of 28 per cent for the 1978 Standard I cohort, as it progressed over the period 1978–84 and 47 per cent for the 1983 cohort over the period 1983–89. The Ministry report on UPE implementation shows 102,000 drop-outs in 1980, with drop-out between Grades III and IV accounting for 32 per cent of this and drop-out between Grades VI and VII 18 per cent. Repetition rates are not readily available for the bulk of this period but in 1991, according to Omari (1994), repeaters accounted for 124,000 out of 3.51m enrolled, i.e. just under 3 per cent of the total.

School buildings

The number of primary schools in Tanzania grew by 27 per cent in the decade after 1976. In 1983 when the condition of classrooms was assessed, there were only 57,000 classrooms, a third of which (17,000) were temporary. The absolute shortage was reported to be 20,000.

The Ministry of Education reported a 59 per cent increase in the number of teachers' houses (1978 to 1982). Nevertheless, out of about 90,000 teachers only 15,600 (17 per cent) had permanent housing and a further 12 per cent had temporary housing.

Equipment

As at 1983 there was a serious shortfall in available equipment, with only 56 per cent of the number of desks, 27 per cent and 12 per cent of teacher's tables and chairs, and 13 per cent of cupboards required. In 1983 only a third of the pupil exercise book requirements were met and books, pens and pencils were in very short supply.

The reasons given by the Ministry of Education (1989) were:

- shortage of funds, equipment and personnel at the Institute of Curriculum Development;
- shortage of foreign exchange and devaluation of the Tanzania shilling making it hard to obtain equipment made abroad;
- lack of transport for distribution;
- inadequate budgetary allocations for equipment, and failure to collect more than 38 per cent of the required parental contribution of 20 shillings per pupil.

Teachers and teacher education

Primary teacher numbers rose sharply to reach 94,000 in 1986, compared with only 39,000 ten years earlier. Understandably teacher supply could not keep pace with enrolment growth so that in the early years of the UPE project the teacher-pupil-teacher ratio rose sharply to 50 in 1976. But as the supply of new trainees, especially the out-of-college Grade C teachers, 'kicked in' the ratio fell back to 33 in 1986. In fact the teacher supply situation improved fast enough for Grade A teacher education to revert to two years in college in 1980 (as distinct from the truncated one-year-in-college course introduced in 1977) and for the Grade C college course to be lengthened from two years to three years at the same time.

Evidently, the composition of the teacher force changed quite substantially. Over the whole period 1975 to 1983, 82,000 new teachers were produced but less than 30 per cent of these were Grade A. Over 40 per cent were Grade C teachers produced by the distance-education route, and the remainder were college-trained Grade C teachers. Even as late as 2000, there were 62,000 teachers of this cohort remaining in schools, most with poor qualifications and hardly retrainable.

Recoil: the Eighties and Nineties

Almost as soon as UPE had been launched, the situation of the country changed for the worse, with a serious economic crisis reflecting the downturn in the world economy, exacerbated in Tanzania's case by the strain of the Uganda war.

An early response to the economic difficulties was the decision to ask parents to contribute 20 shillings per school child – this was not easy to collect and the Ministry of Education reported (MoE 1989, Table 20) that only 34 per cent of the levies could be collected in 1980 and 39.5 per cent in 1984. Some regions were only able to collect between 10 per cent and 20 per cent of what was due. Despite the rate of non-payment when the fee was only TSh20/=, it was increased to TSh100/= in 1985. Later, in 1995, primary school tuition fees were formally reintroduced and a rate of about TSh2000/= per pupil was being charged by the end of the century. According to the Education Sector Review, only 51 per cent of fee income due was being collected in 2000.

Economic difficulties persisted throughout the 1980s despite the introduction of an economic reform package under the Structural Adjustment and Economic Recovery Programmes, and foreign indebtedness considerably increased. Consequently, the resources invested in the education system diminished and there were serious shortages of key inputs to the schools. A drastic drop in the quality of education was experienced in the three dimensions of inputs, process and outputs.

Inputs: In the decade after the Musoma Resolution expenditure on education increased markedly in current price terms, but in constant prices it fell; and the share of the budget set aside for education diminished dramatically from 14 per cent in 1975/76 to only 6 per cent in 1985/86. Donor contributions to education development were minimal over much of the period of greatest expansion. Although Government subventions to the schools were supplemented by parental financial contributions, by self-reliance efforts in construction, and by schools' own productive activities, there was a serious shortfall of resources. The impact was particularly severe on books, materials and equipment where provision was totally inadequate – the number of textbooks per pupil was only 1:10.

One area where inputs per pupil did not decline was in the supply of teachers. The large investment in teacher production in the late 1970s yielded its dividend in subsequent years. The size of the teaching force grew strongly right up to 1986 and the teacher-pupil ratio improved from 1:50 in 1977 to 1:33 in 1986. It was only later, when budgetary cuts began to bite more severely, that newly trained teachers lacked jobs and a pool of unemployed qualified teachers developed.[2]

Process: The situation in the schools is described by Omari et al. (p. 45) in the following terms:

> 'By January 1978 the program of universalization of primary education started to show signs of stress. Classrooms designed for 45 pupils were serving 80. Children were attending classes under trees and sitting on the ground; newly constructed classrooms were falling apart; and some classrooms were small and hazardous. The classes and teachers that were produced for the universalization program were considered second-rate. The trainee teachers had no offices, and the established teachers began to feel threatened by the para-professionals. Discipline problems increased with rumours about the para-professionals having sexual relations with their students, coming to school drunk, being given too heavy a work load, and being expected to teach the difficult classes. There was an aura of chaos mixed with the enthusiasm. Parents were complaining about 'universalization of illiteracy' rather than universalization of literacy and newspapers carried articles about the falling standards and chaos in primary schools.'

There seems little doubt that the quality of education did suffer badly as a result of resource shortage, overcrowding and the pace of expansion. No doubt the quality of management and supervision also left a lot to be desired, and this was exacerbated by poor communications and lack of transport to visit schools.

Outputs: Wastage (drop-out) was serious, but not exceptional by comparison with other countries. The Ministry of Education reports an average rate per grade in 1980 of 3.5 per cent which when compounded would yield about 23 per cent over the cycle. Nor was repetition a major problem overall during most of the period, given that regulations were in place to limit it. However when the Standard IV exam was re-introduced in 1986, it resulted in 190,000 out of the 1986 Standard IV class repeating the grade in 1987 (MoE 1989, p. 35). Some 36 per cent of pupils had failed the exam. An analysis of the Primary School Leaving Exam (Standard VII) results in 1986 showed that only 17 per cent of pupils scored 50 per cent or more on the exam: the regional variation was from 37 per cent in Dar es Salaam to 8 per cent in Coast Province.

For a time, the turn-around in the progress of UPE was masked by the progression through the system of the cohorts already enrolled. Numbers in school continued to increase right up to 1983 and it was only after 1984, when the bulge intake from 1978 had passed through the system, that overall enrolment started to contract. The 1978 intake to Primary 1 represented the peak during the first UPE thrust. Thereafter, there was stagnation in primary-school entrants, but no complete collapse in numbers. Only when the enrolments are matched against 3 per cent population growth, does the serious decline in the coverage of the system become apparent.

Total enrolments were on a rising trend after 1985 and reached 4 million at the end of the 1990s. However they failed to keep pace with population growth and the net enrolment

Table 6.3. Enrolment in Standard I and all grades of primary school, 1974–85

Year	Standard I (000s)			All Enrolments		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
1974	139.6	108.0	**247.6**	727.2	501.7	**1 228.8**
1975	239.1	194.1	**433.2**	888.9	644.0	**1 533.0**
1976	270.4	236.1	**506.5**	1 064.3	810.0	**1 874.4**
1977	287.5	255.7	**543.2**	1 221.7	972.5	**2 194.2**
1978	461.0	417.3	**878.3**	1 582.9	1 330.1	**2 913.0**
1979	276.6	264.0	**540.6**	1 713.1	1 484.3	**3 197.4**
1980	246.8	240.0	**486.9**	1 779.1	1 582.1	**3 361.2**
1981	249.8	248.2	**498.0**	1 846.9	1 683.7	**3 530.6**
1982	248.3	249.2	**497.5**	1 810.5	1 693.2	**3 503.7**
1983	271.4	271.2	**542.6**	1 816.6	1 736.6	**3 553.1**
1984	264.5	268.9	**533.4**	1 762.8	1 721.1	**3 483.9**
1985	265.0	260.0	**525.0**	1 584.5	1 575.6	**3 160.1**

Source: Ministry of Education (1989) Appendix '0', p. 80.

rate of only 47 per cent at its nadir meant in effect that in a 20-year period coverage of the system had declined by a third (from a NER of 70 per cent) in 1980. This seems to have represented the combined effect of falling supply of primary education on the part of Government and falling demand from parents. Tanzania may have signed up to the global Education for All campaign launched at Jomtien in 1990, but it had not progressed towards the goal by the time of the successor Dakar Conference in April 2000.

The leadership of the country remained with the TANU/CCM party throughout the 1980s and 1990s, but the phase of enthusiasm and exhortation that had driven the UPE campaign in the 1970s was over. This may have been partly due to the perception initially that UPE and universal adult literacy had in fact been achieved soon after 1980: it took some time for the realisation to sink in that progress had been halted. But there was also a change of mood, with access and equality no longer being the drivers of policy. Economic efficiency and productivity were the new watchwords, and Government stressed cost-sharing and encouraged voluntary and private sector schools to establish themselves. 'Expert' advice, supplied mostly by the donor countries and creditor agencies, was that UPE could not be afforded and that the search for cost savings should take priority in education policy. Lawson (1995 p.19) cites the World Bank's Public Expenditure Review as calculating that, in 1993/94, the education budget would have to be increased by 25 per cent if UPE was to be attained at then-existing standards of school provision: but additional funding equal to 176 per cent of the entire education-sector budget would have been required if UPE was to be attained at what were considered to be 'acceptable standards' of school provision!

It is hardly surprising that Galabawa in his paper on Tanzania for the ADEA Biennial Meeting in Arusha in 2001 should give such a gloomy prognosis for UPE prospects:

> In spite the very impressive expansionary education policies and reforms in the

1970s, the goal to achieve UPE which was once targeted for achievement in 1980, is way out of reach. Similarly, the Jomtien objective to achieve Basic Education for All in 2000 is on the part of Tanzania unrealistic. The participation and access levels (as shown by enrolment and intake rates) have declined to the point that attainment of UPE is once again an issue in itself.

A new attempt in a new century

In his re-election campaign in 2001, President Mkapa promised to abolish primary school fees. Meanwhile, agreements were reached with the main donors to reschedule Tanzania's external debt and that the funds released should be devoted to universalising primary education. The World Bank agreed to make a loan to Tanzania of $US150m in support of a new programme to expand and reform primary education. A Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP), to run from July 2002 to June 2007, was launched with the aim of expanding enrolment, improving quality, building capacity and instituting more efficient resource use. A key aim was to achieve UPE by 2005, and, in quality terms, to reduce pupil-teacher ratios to 40:1, expand in-service training of teachers and make available a per capita grant per student of $US10 to be allocated directly to schools and be spent on teaching-learning materials, including one textbook for every three students in each subject.

As a result of external inputs and the greater commitment of Tanzania's domestic funds, substantially more resources went into primary education. Mushi (2006) shows that as against 11 per cent of the Government budget devoted to education in 1997/98 (and 13 per cent in 1999/2000) the proportion rose to over 19 per cent in 2003/2004. Basic education gained at the expense of other levels, the share of the education budget increasing from 64 per cent in 1997/78 to 73 per cent in 2003/04. Secondary education (1 per cent lower share) and tertiary education (4 per cent lower share) were the main losers.

The effects of the new policy on enrolment was immediate. Enrolment has climbed steeply from 4.4m in 2000 to almost 8m in 2006 when the NER reached 98 and the GER 110. Wedgwood points out that, as well as the abolition of tuition fees, the PEDP's restrictions on all other kinds of charges previously made by schools have also been a positive factor. Most likely, too, the inputs aimed at improving quality, and the system of direct grants to primary schools, have had their effect. For example, in 2003 the book/pupil ratio had improved to 1:4 from 1:8 previously. Between 2001 and 2002, the number of teachers rose by 6 per cent, the number of primary schools increased by 5 per cent, and a total of 29,922 new classrooms were built during 2002–2004. Dropout rates between Grades 4 and 5 declined from 6.8 per cent in 2000 to 5 per cent in 2004. Pass rates on the Primary School Leaving Exam have improved to 40.1 per cent in 2003 compared with 27.1 per cent in 2002 and 19.9 per cent in 1999, but Wedgwood attributes this in part to the incorporation in the exam of Kiswahili on which students tend to do well, and consequently according less weight to mathematics and English where they perform less strongly.

The record on quality is, however, still ambivalent. Wedgwood quotes Sumra as claiming

that 'At the community level key stakeholders have seen no evidence of efforts to improve quality', with the pupil-teacher ratio worsening from 46:1 to 57:1, and being as high as 71:1 in some regions. In individual schools there are classes of up to 200 or more (Sumra 2003). Wedgwood goes on to say:

> 'Many schools have adopted double shift teaching to cope with the increased enrolment. This has led to a reduction of teaching hours from 6 to 3.5. Little in-service training has taken place and many schools are still lacking textbooks. District spending on learning resources has mainly gone on expensive science kits but few teachers have the skills to use these. There has been a great deal of construction but most of this has been classrooms. Far fewer teachers' houses or latrines have been built. Teachers' houses are important for staff retention, especially in remote areas, whilst latrines are important for maintaining attendance, especially for girls. In some areas the quality of construction has been low.'

Wedgwood reports that more students have been dropping out and more repeating. Because of the large numbers passing through the primary system, transition rates to secondary school will fall sharply, despite the recent launch of a Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP), and act as a disincentive to enrolment of primary pupils.

The improved provision of books and materials for the schools is contributing to create a better image of primary education, though a recent research report for CODESRIA (Mushi, 2006) details a number of problems that can arise. Mushi's basic conclusion on the direct support programme is guardedly positive:

> 'Although a number of significant quantitative achievements have been identified under PEDP, we cannot attribute them entirely to the direct support component; in fact the massive flow of funds is more associated with the achievements than anything else. However, there are other achievements which are purely qualitative and are attributable to the direct support.
>
> PEDP is too much dependent on external financing; its sustainability is susceptible to donor politics and their domestic policy environment. And as thus, sustainability of the achievements is not guaranteed. It is not the right time to declare that the direct support to schools in Tanzania is a success, there are many issues that remain unstudied and unresolved, but the lessons so far are mainly in support of the mechanism.'

Never has it been so important for Tanzania to recruit good quality teachers given that, far from achieving the 1:40 teacher-pupil ratio aimed at under PEDP, the actual ratio declined to 1:58 in 2005 (Mushi 2006 table 4), and the UNESCO Institute for Statistics still records 1:52 in 2006. A PTR of 1:52 may well imply an average size of the taught group of 65 or more, because many teachers are absent for reasons of sickness or in-service training, or have to devote some of their time to administrative and other duties. The reality is many classes with 100 or more children.

Unfortunately, teacher supply is under huge strain, as Wedgwood has shown. She demonstrates that teacher education in Tanzania is still beset by severe problems that impact on the quality of teachers. Just as happened thirty years ago, the Grade A course has been temporarily restructured to replace a two-year college course with one year in college and one year under supervision in schools. Arrangements for this supervision have so far been far from adequate. The qualifications of those going into the Grade A course are well below the Grade III secondary certificate that regulations stipulate – Wedgwood demonstrates that once the intake to Form V has been catered for, there are far too few Grade III and better certificate holders left over to fill the Grade A teacher training places, even if it were heroically (and wrongly) assumed that Form V and teacher training are the sole destinations of good Certificate holders. And it has been found that one in six of newly graduating teachers assigned to posts fails to take them up – partly because of the tendency to assign new teachers to rural areas where supply is most deficient, but by the same token conditions of work, professionally and domestically, are known to be unfavourable.

There has also been something of a continuing crisis in respect of the under-qualified teachers from the previous UPE drive, who were taken on without secondary school qualifications. They have been required under recent directives to 'upgrade' to grade A by studying and sitting for O' levels. But Wedgwood reports that 'results released in 2001 showed that over 90 per cent of teachers sitting O' levels failed (Rajani, 2001)'. Although the teacher upgrading programme has been reformed, Tanzania has still not emerged from the serious problems of quality in the teaching force resulting from the emergency recruitment programmes in the 1970s. There is still a large residue of poorly qualified teachers from that earlier period.

General conclusion

The Tanzania experience of attempts to reach UPE is one of the most fascinating in Commonwealth Africa. A very poor country with a rapidly growing population managed, largely by its own Herculean efforts, to enrol a very high proportion of its children in school in the 1970s and 1980s. It did this at the same time as implementing a universal adult literacy campaign.

To the extent that the first UPE campaign was successful, this was apparently due to two main factors. Most important was the political and social mobilisation that took place under a committed leadership, engendering a level of enthusiasm and energy among the people that carried the programme forward so far. Second was the programme of emergency measures and 'short cuts' that produced spectacular short-term results in terms of new teachers and new classrooms.

Unfortunately the roots of success were shallow and the project was not sturdy enough to withstand entirely the effects of international and domestic economic crisis in the late 1970s and the 1980s, and the simultaneous inexorable population increase. The level of enrolments dipped, though it should be recognised that even at the lowest point in 1986 the number of Tanzanian children in primary school was three times the 1971 figure – an enormous achievement. But measured by net enrolment ratios, the 'regression' was

serious, because at the end of the 20th century Tanzania was only half way to having all children of primary-school age enrolled compared with 70 per cent in 1980.

This regression was no doubt rooted in poverty and the wretched economic situation in which Tanzania found itself due to a combination of circumstances, some of the country's own making and some imposed on it by the international creditors working through the Bretton Woods institutions. But there is little doubt, too, that the very low quality of education – partly the direct result of the pace at which UPE had been introduced – depressed enrolment.

Tanzania is now embarked on a second attempt at UPE. In many respects the prospect is more hopeful than with the first attempt, largely because of massive donor support translated into more plentiful physical resources in the schools. The numbers in school and the enrolment ratios far surpass what was achieved thirty years ago and there is a more concerted attempt to get materials and equipment into the schools.

Yet this 'second time round' attempt has some of the characteristics of the first. In 1974 UPE was sprung on the country by the political leadership 'out of the blue', not very different from what happened in 2001–02. The risk involved in this top-down campaign is all the greater in that this second attempt at UPE is so dependent on donor support and donor whims. Moreover, this time round, as before, the structural imbalance in the education system reflected in the limited availability of secondary schooling threatens to depress the supply of competent teachers and the enthusiasm of parents for enrolling their children in primary school. Third, the quality of teachers remains a problem. The hastily recruited and inadequately trained Grade C teachers from twenty five years ago, having not yet reached retirement age, are still a drag on quality.[3] The average pupil-teacher ratio of 52 or more is incompatible with quality primary education. Tanzania still has very much to do.

Summary assessment of the Tanzanian experience in relation to the terms of reference of the study

To expand and supplement the general conclusions above, here the Tanzanian education story is related to the basic questions asked in the terms of reference for the study.

The educational system

Features of the education system itself that have influenced success or failure in UPE
One can look at this in two ways. On the one hand, Tanzania was ready to be radical in its approach to UPE and adopt emergency measures to save expense and to move things along quickly. These measures made possible a very rapid increase in enrolment in the second half of the 1970s. On the other hand, these same devices were not such as to command the confidence of parents in the quality of education, and insufficient funding was allocated to efficient management of the system and to provision of necessary support materials.

There was a divorce in Tanzania at critical junctures between the political perspective and

the professional perspective. Decisions were made on purely political grounds and the bureaucrats were told to find ways to implement the political decisions. Without this sense of urgency and direction, however, UPE in the 1970s would not have happened at all, for good or ill.

In spite of the attention paid to secondary education development in the first decade of Independence, the rate of increase could not keep pace with the growth of primary enrolments and the transition ration declined from 36 per cent in 1961/62 to 11 per cent in 1971/72 and only 6 per cent in 1980/81 (Omari et al. Table 33). The contrast with neighbouring countries was stark and even in 2005 when fresh attention had been paid by Government to secondary school development, the transition rate from primary to secondary school in Tanzania was the lowest shown for all 33 Sub-Saharan African countries for which the UNESCO Institute for Statistics provides the data in its 2006 *Global Education Digest* (Table 4, pp. 93–94).

It seems likely that the failure to allow secondary education to develop – even community secondary schools were discouraged for a long period – had two adverse effects. First, it led to intense competition for secondary school places and was discouraging in terms of parents' aspirations and expectations that their children might continue their education after primary school, thus encouraging drop-out. Second, the shortage of people with secondary education delayed the upgrading of the primary-school teaching force and probably served to maintain higher pay differentials between secondary-educated teachers and primary-educated teachers than would otherwise have been the case.

The nature and impact of crash programmes, particularly in the training of teachers?
There is no doubt that Tanzania was only able to achieve what it did through the use of emergency measures which included a good deal of improvisation in classroom accommodation, organising of schooling by half day schooling/double shifts, and the massive resort to special teacher training programmes. In this regard, the out-of-college training of Grade C teachers deserves special mention given that in the period 1976/77 to 1980/81 it supplied nearly 88 per cent of the teachers required (MoE 1989, p. 33). Wastage on the distance education course was about 10 per cent. An evaluation conducted by Omari et al. in 1983 suggests that there were many deficiencies in the programme, with a failure to provide the back-up support planned in many cases: even so, the majority (60 per cent) of trainees in their sample were basically satisfied with the programme.

Importance of the base-line and scale of the prior 'backlog'
The baseline provision in Tanzania was rather low with a GER of only 34 in 1970 (41 for males and 27 for females). This gave plentiful scope for rapid enrolment expansion in the sense that there was a very large pool of correct-age and over-age potential students ready to enter school. This is reflected in the fact that the GER in the early 1980s was a full 25–27 points higher than the NER, implying that a high proportion of pupils enrolled was outside the official age-group.

On the other hand, when it came to teacher supply, Tanzania was compelled to recruit many persons to its out-of-college courses who had no more than a completed primary schooling as their basic education qualification. Although Tanzania insisted that all

teachers should be formally trained (by a sleight of hand in a sense, because those on the distance course were teaching while they underwent training, and so were effectively untrained during much of their student-teacher period), there was no doubt that the quality of teachers was below what education administrators and parents would have liked.

Demographic issues

Effect of population growth or mobility in disrupting UPE plans

In Tanzania population growth was a hugely important factor in constraining the coverage of primary education in terms of GERs and NERs at times when enrolments were growing rapidly. The estimates of population growth being made on the eve of the UPE launch do not seem to have been wildly wrong. It does seem now, however, that the size of the baseline population on which projections were based was actually somewhat greater than thought at the time, and, for that reason, the estimates of GERs and NERs for that period have later had to be revised downwards by UIS.

Accuracy of population projections and adequacy of arrangements for monitoring population migration

Tanzania did its best by arranging a special census of school-age children in 1975. Nevertheless, the reported experience of regional and district education officers was that many more children enlisted for school than the plans and projections had provided for, and this may, in part, have been because more over-age children than anticipated turned up. The surprising fact that actual enrolment rates cited for Dar es Salaam in 1986 were reported to be the lowest in the country, suggests that urban provision of primary schools in particular did not keep up with the demographic situation on the ground, though other factors were at work too as Sumra has shown. Reliance on community self-help rather than tax revenues for the construction of schools may not have been beneficial in the cities, where self-help is more difficult to organise.

Societal factors

Relative impact of different factors on growth of enrolment

There was a strong pent-up demand in Tanzania for education, and this was fuelled by the good salaries earned in the post-Independence period by any Tanzanian possessing formal education qualifications. Exhortation by political leaders and the commitment to the ideas of *ujamaa* served to reinforce this sense that enrolment in school was not just an individual, but also a community endeavour. A compulsory-attendance law was passed by Parliament in 1978 (Omari et al. p. 45).

Considerations affecting demand for education by parents, guardians and communities

This has been a major problem in Tanzania, particularly because of poverty and the perception of parents that the quality of education is low. The decision to re-impose parental contributions of 20 shillings per child for school materials, only five years after school fees were abolished, hit many parents hard and indeed it was not possible to collect more than about a third of the levies due.

The survey undertaken by Omari et al in 1983 found education officers reporting 'rural populations, and especially parents, were mainly concerned about what their children would do after seven years of primary education. Would they have a life similar to their parents, join the labour force, or get secondary-school places? In addition, the parents were concerned about whether their children would actually learn to read and write and acquire skills for later life. The views suggested that many parents in the rural areas could not afford the annual 20 shillings per child along with purchasing uniforms and that many were sceptical and suspicious about the use of the accumulated subscriptions'. The response of urban middle class parents has been to put their children into private schools and this has contributed to the creation of a more stratified society, affecting even the composition of tertiary and higher education. There is a tendency for the UPE schools to cater for the poor while the rich and better-placed pay to obtain better-quality primary and secondary education.

Involvement of civil society organisations, private sector and local government bodies
The community was extremely important in getting facilities built and the whole construction programme was based on community self-reliance efforts. Religious organisations were no longer school managers after the nationalisation of schools under the Education Act of 1969, but were doubtless still influential in community leadership in many areas. As Masudi has pointed out, this 'meant that the NGOs' contribution to public education in terms of financial, material and human resources was put to an end. The Government had thus to spend more resources in education than had been the case before … . The move to control education underscores a situation where ideological considerations took precedence over economic realities'.

The private commercial sector in Tanzania was small and no mention is made in the literature of it having been involved in support for UPE. The number of private primary schools shrunk from 561 in 1976 to only 21 in 1986, the political climate post-Musoma being distinctly unfavourable to them

It is understood that in the current UPE thrust, more attention is given to the role of the school committee which is now a budget-holding entity to which government funding is passed direct, but the extent of its democratic representativeness requires further research.

Reasons why communities do not send girls to school
Tanzania was outstandingly successful in closing the gap between boys and girls in primary school enrolment rates during its first UPE campaigns. This is not to deny that there were special factors affecting girls' enrolment and the willingness of parents in some areas to send girls to schools. Osaki and Agu (2005) have drawn attention to the effect of early marriage following girls' initiation ceremonies in Maasai and coastal areas of Tanzania, for example.

'Hard-to-reach' minorities
Omari et al. suggest that that the Maasai and some other nomadic groups are only likely to embrace education if its form is consistent with the demands of their herding culture. They also refer to 'cultural resistance because of religious and traditional beliefs' (pp. 68

and 69). The Ministry of Education alludes to the difficulties of providing education for the 20,000 or more handicapped children (this was even before the era of HIV/AIDS). The Ministry also refers (1989, pp. 19 and 20) to various social, economic and cultural factors underlying non-attendance at schools including nomadism and pastoralism, absence for circumcision ceremonies, cattle raiding, fear of witchcraft deterring officers from implementing the compulsory education directives, the competition from Koranic schools and so on.

Economic factors

Adequacy of UPE financing and the problems of sustainability

The main economic reason why UPE was hard to sustain was the high cost in relation to a constrained budget. Tanzania deliberately chose to launch UPE at a time when it acknowledged it could not afford it, and it managed to accommodate UPE by doing it 'on the cheap', using self-reliance, low-cost improvisations, and imposing resource starvation on schools and pupils. The tripling of school enrolment was bound to cause economic difficulty and once student teachers on emergency training programmes became qualified this had serious financial consequences.

A series of factors combined in the 1980s to create an economic crisis in Tanzania. They included the oil shocks to the world economy, the collapse in commodity prices, drought and consequent poor harvests, and the 'War to topple Idi Amin' in Uganda. These economic shocks meant that the necessary investments in quality of primary education could not be made and the share of education in the national budget fell quite steeply.

Primary education development in face of increasing demands for secondary and tertiary education

In the first fifteen years of Independence primary education expansion was undoubtedly held back by the political need to produce high-level manpower. The ratio of costs per student was fairly extreme in Tanzania with relative salaries and costs representing scarcities in the modern sector. In 1981/82 for example the unit cost ratios between primary, secondary and university were 1:26:298. Costs in secondary and tertiary education were high partly because provision was restricted: not only were economies of scale more difficult to achieve but, in a largely rural country, it was necessary to have a large element of boarding. For this reason, even though Tanzania was extremely restrictive in the provision of secondary education after the mid seventies – so much so that it had among the lowest secondary education enrolment rates in the world – secondary and higher education still consumed a high proportion of education expenditure. In 1982/83 the share of primary education was only 47 per cent even though the overwhelming proportion of students was then in primary schools – 3.5m against less than 100,000 at all other levels.

By the time of the launch of the second UPE drive, the unit cost of primary education had risen, and the unit cost ratio between the three levels in 1998 had narrowed to 1:4:62 (Galabawa 2000, Chapter 4). Reflecting this and because secondary and tertiary education had been held back, the shares of education expenditure in 1999 were primary 66 per cent, secondary 9 per cent and tertiary (including teacher education) 20 per cent.

The Government of Tanzania has more recently launched programmes of expansion of secondary and tertiary education recognising the need for a more balanced education development and it therefore seems likely that the proportionate share of primary schooling in the education budget will begin to fall.

Political factors

The commitment to UPE of the political leadership
Government and ruling party leaders in Tanzania showed strong commitment to UPE and campaigned vigorously for it during both of the main UPE thrusts. The Government was very single-minded in its selection of priorities, in the face of economic and other constraints.

Political disruptions and their impact on education
The war in Uganda to topple Idi Amin in 1978 occurred at the very moment when the main enrolment surge was taking place during the first drive for UPE, and had a serious effect on the economy, which was already under strain from the 1970s oil-price shocks. The main effect on primary education seems to have been qualitative: supply of materials and professional services to schools (inspection and advisory support) suffered, and teachers' salaries fell sharply in real terms. Later, Tanzania was affected strongly by the Rwanda/Burundi conflicts on its borders. Very many refugees crossed Tanzania's western borders to the Kigoma/Kagera regions and massive education provision for refugee children was made in camps established and funded by refugee agencies. This had some knock-on effect on the domestic system of education in those regions. Some resentment was felt among local people that the refugee schools often seemed better provided for than the Government's own system; and some local teachers may have been tempted by more favourable terms of service in the refugee schools.

International

International intervention and inaction by international partners
Tanzania's leadership was clearly heavily influenced by models from Cuba, China and other socialist countries in its radical approaches to education development, and was influenced by the continent-wide aspirations in Africa for UPE. More recently, as a participant in the Education for All conferences, it has been influenced to resume efforts at achievement of UPE – though it has to be said that in the decade following the Jomtien Conference Tanzania regressed rather than progressed.

In the first quarter of a century of Independence Tanzania was proud of its ownership of policy and in the education sector was not very dependent on foreign assistance at the time of its first UPE thrust. Some external funding was made available particularly by Sweden which through SIDA supported the Distance Teacher Training Programme in the late 1970s.

Following the economic crises in the early 1980s and the adoption of first a Structural adjustment Programme (1982) and then an Economic Recovery Programme (1986), Tanzania has been very much at the mercy of the international economic community

which 'forced' on the country a package of liberal economic reforms, retrenchment of public sector expenditure including denationalisation of some state enterprises and cutting of the public work force. Overshadowing everything in this period has been the weight of external debt: servicing and repaying the debt has required annual outlays equivalent to about one third of the annual government budget. Debt servicing has been larger in magnitude than expenditure on education.

In the early years of the 21st century a shift in policy was made possible by the decision of Tanzania's international creditors, led by the World Bank, to cancel/reschedule the debt and earmark the released resources for expansion of education and other services. The current Primary Education Development Programme 2002–2007, focussing on UPE, is largely externally financed. This poses a serious potential challenge to the sustainability of UPE which is even more at risk than when Masudi wrote (University of Dar es Salaam 1995, p. 113):

> The country's dependence on external donor assistance puts it in a rather precarious situation. Should the donor-groups withdraw their assistance it is obvious that the government's capacity to provide primary education will be seriously affected.

The dangers of dependence on donors are well illustrated by the somersaults in donor policies in recent years. In the late 1990s, several influential donors, including DFID, were pressing the Tanzanian Government extremely hard to close teacher training colleges and lay off 'surplus' teachers. Their projections conveyed the message that this was incontestably necessary. Only three years later, with the renewed drive for UPE, Tanzania's supposed teacher surplus had evaporated and a severe shortage of teachers was being experienced.

Notes

1 A three month course at a teachers college followed by supervision in the school by an itinerant coordinator.
2 Better qualified teachers – Grade A – were without jobs while the UPE trained ex-primary school leavers were in schools.
3 A proposal by the Teacher Education Master plan (MOEC, 2000) to phase them out by 2003–4 has not been implemented, despite their professional incapability. Many are due to retire soon, but the damage will stay on for years to come. This time round, with Secondary Education development, a similar program for training secondary school teachers seems to have been adopted since 2005: this takes in form 6 leavers and after a one-month course, releases them into schools.