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Opening Session

Developments and Issues Regarding Universal Primary Education (UPE) in Tanzania

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Acronyms and abbreviations

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BEMP	Basic Education Master Plan
CEF	Community Education Fund
COBET	Complimentary Basic Education and Training
CS	Composite Score
DAE	Donors of African Education
DPC	District Programme Coordinator
DR	Dropout Rate
EDSDP	Education Sector Development Programme
EFA	Education For All
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
ESDP	Education Sector Development Programme
ESR	Education For Self-Reliance
ETP	Education and Training Policy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Rate
GIR	Gross Intake Rate
GNP	Gross National Product
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Countries
HIV	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
HRD	Human Resources Development
IA	Adult Illiteracy Rate
ICBAE	Integrated Community Based Adult Education
IDA	International Development Association
IIEP	International Institute of Education Planning
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
LGR	Local Government Reform
LGRP	Local Government Reform Programme
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
NASEDEC	Nordic Association for Study of Education in Developing Countries
NECTA	National Examination Council of Tanzania

NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NIR	Net Intake Rate
PCR	Population Per Classroom
PEP	Primary Education Programme
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PSLE	Primary School Living Examination
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
RR	Repetition Rate
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SCR	Student Per Classroom
SDP	Sector Development Programme
SDR	Special Drawing Rights
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
TADREG	Tanzania Development Research Group
TAR	Proportion of Grade A Teachers in the District
TPR	Teacher Pupil Ratio
TRA	Tanzania Revenue Authority
TRCs	Teachers' Resources Centres
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
US$	United State Dollars
UTT	Pupil per Untrained Teacher
WCEF	World Conference on Education For All

Developments and issues regarding Universal primary education (UPE) in Tanzania[1]

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY:

Introduction

1. Tanzania development theory and practice are geared towards combating ignorance, disease and poverty. Investment in human capital and provision of education have been recognised as central to quality life. Provision of Education and literacy for all, the cornerstone for quality life, have been recognised at national policy level. This is in accordance with the United Nations Declaration on Basic Human Rights and the Jomtien Declaration of 1990. Evidently, Tanzania recorded very impressive expansionary education policies and reforms during the 1970s. However, the goal to achieve Universal Primary Education remains a chimera. The Jomtien objective of achieving Basic Education for All in 2000 has equally remained elusive. The forces against achievement of UPE are many and complex. However, a holistic approach to the problem of education provision and financing may provide us with the quickest positive results.

The UPE phenomenon: trends and indicators

2. There are three key areas of analysis in understanding and or contemplating UPE in Tanzania. Namely, measures of access to the first year of primary education; measures of participation and measures of internal efficiency of the education system cycle. However, one other key area of analysis is the primary school level female gross enrolment ratio.

UPE and collective national thought.

3. Achievement of UPE is part and parcel of the collective national philosophy. In this regard, one can identify three phases in Tanzania's political thinking which are intimately connected with UPE. The first phase, 1967 to 1980s, is associated with Socialism and Self-Reliance. UPE was part and parcel of the social economic transformation. This phase, usually associated with Mwalimu Nyerere, saw phenomenal growth in enrolments into primary schools. It was a phase which also answered to the call of education for all in a poor country committed to equitable and fair provision of education to all. However, this 'success story' was fractured with internal and external structural weaknesses. One thing is certain, implementation of UPE during this era received very little international donor agencies support. The Tanzania government was

[1] The data, which was available, posed several problems of completeness and reliability. Data for the same item had different values in different official reports. The major source of errors was the fact that since 1988 no population census figures are available. The population planning unit gives its estimates based on estimated parameters of the population. At the same time the MOEC planning unit makes its own enrolment projections based on different parameters. In several cases the sources cannot be reconciled because the discrepancy has a different base. Surely one of the main conclusions that the author would want to draw from the report is that the data base leaves too much to be desired even in core areas like enrolments and school-age population. Strengthening the data base needs to be taken as a policy making priority.

the sole provider of social services. The organisation and implementation of UPE were channeled through centrally directed development plans. This resulted into significant access to primary education. This was evidenced by high enrolment rates and rising intake rates but sadly low internal inefficiency. The second phase period, 1980s to 19990s, can best be described as the period of 'the growth of a new economic collective national thought'. This phase was characterised by newly introduced liberal ideas of free-choice, market oriented schooling and cost efficiency. Expansion of UPE (including other national priorities) featured prominently. However, the economy was not able to sustain their provision. This is the period usually associated with structural adjustment policies. Structural adjustment policies and programmes in vogue during mid 1980s had a highly pronounced adverse effect on UPE. This has been demonstrated by falling enrolment rates, low intake rates and high internal inefficiency. The third phase government, spanning the period 1995 and after is the era of 'income and non-income poverty collective thought'. The collective national thought is attempting to address the futures of (i) a donor dependency syndrome and a defeatist developmental mindset; (ii) a weak and low capacity for education management; (iii) failures in good governance in the organisation and production of UPE, and (iv) a ineffective implementation syndrome. This commitment is exemplified by abolition of fees and household contributions. This has resulted into positive signs on access and participation rates.

Macro economy context challenges

4. Tanzania had experienced a long and deep economic crisis during the period 1970s to 1980s. In this regard, the main challenge to UPE was whether or not it could be sustained. What one is saying really, is that the adverse economic trends reduced government capacity to finance social services. The proportion of public expenditure on education has been dismal. High levels of debt servicing continued to haunt economic performance. Even with the arguably debt relief windfalls experienced, one is still in doubt whether this could positively influence UPE. The changing country population and macro-demographic trends and dynamics have continued to exert pressure on UPE. Worse still, the HIV/AIDS scourge has had a very damaging impact on government resources.

The UPE drive: quality or quantity.

5. It is indubitably clear that the central problem in education in Sub-Saharan Africa is whether to expand access to education or to improve its quality. However there has also been the problem of how to resolve the problem of making choices related to cost effectiveness relative to expanding enrolment. There is incontrovertible evidence that in Tanzania the quality of primary education has declined.

UPE relevance to peoples lives and work.

6. Issues relating to UPE quality and relevance to peoples lives include employment, productivity and external efficiency of UPE investment. Evidence abound that very little progress had been made towards achieving these under UPE.

UPE and strategy for district allocation of investment.

7. The UPE drive was implemented without a well-thought out strategy for allocation of investment. The process of transferring the investment management function of primary education to local control was not effectively followed through. One is saying that a progressive UPE achieving investment strategy would take consideration of two

approaches, namely, to adjust the flow of funds to the recipient districts and to ensure that allocations are made in accordance with regional needs.

The top down approach for UPE.

8. The system of central management and implementation of UPE have remained a top-down in approach. A modern democratic education system is one that enables learners, parents and teachers to participate in the decisions that affect them. A key strategy in implementing UPE is to empower and to commit communities in the development of primary education. Ownership and empowerment of communities have been the main factors behind the current increasing rates. The District Based Community Education Fund, the positive impact of School Mapping and the District Based Support to Primary Education are a case in point.

Current policy concerns on the education sector

9. Recent efforts to redefine the role of the state in the Tanzania education system have included the thrust of the Public Service Reform Programme. Central government has withdrawn from direct provision of goods and services. The Public Service System has been restructured and employment levels have been reduced. The decentralisation process is geared towards rationalising government through the restructuring of regional administration and the launching of the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP). All public interventions, which focus on primary education, are now realigned to correspond with the LGRP.

Conclusion and implications

10. The Tanzania experience with UPE suggests that a complex interplay of factors may have influenced and affected differently the UPE direction and magnitude. This experience points to policy directions in the following areas. First, the national social-economic policy context and government commitment are the preconditions for the success of UPE. Second, the national leadership must recognise the need for an adequately provided for and funded pluralistic UPE system that benefits from greater involvement of households, students, the private sector, NGO's and complementary development partners' investment. Third, community contributions/cost-sharing should replace individual household contributions. However, these should be additional to and not a substitute for government spending on UPE. Fourth, the limits of structural adjustment programmes and their negative impacts must be evaluated against their orthodox objectives. Fifth, properly prioritised and well managed debt service/relief initiatives are needed to free up funding for UPE. Sixth, UPE should be results oriented, appropriately relevant and transformative with respect to peoples lives and work. Seventh, improving the quality of existing schools should go a long way in improving enrolment and retention rates. Eighth, UPE is implemented by districts and regions. Grants from central government should seek to adjust the flow of funds to recipient districts by focussing on the needs of the districts to spend money on UPE services and the ability of districts to meet these needs from its own fiscal resources. Nineth, the sustainability of UPE must be seen to be affected by the quality of inputs. However, these inputs can only be effective in strengthened institutional arrangements.

2. INTRODUCTION

11. Tanzania has consistently focused its development strategies on combating ignorance, disease and poverty. Investment in human capital and provision of education as human rights have been recognised as central to quality of life (see URT, 1989). At national policy making there is a general consensus in the objective to offer education and literacy for all in Tanzania. Among national leadership this goal has been repeated continuously since the United Nations (UN) formulation of the relevant Basic Human Rights document half a century ago. The bells on Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Education For All (EFA) rang louder after the 1990 Jomtien Declaration which in a sense emphasised that "**revitalised partnership at all levels**" should be built in order to achieve Education For All (WCEFA, 1990). How to achieve this ambition and sustain it on the other hand, seems more difficult to determine and realise. The call for casting wider the partnership net in UPE/EFA provision (at local and global level) and in the development of education, constitute a great challenge for education policy makers, planners and administrators (Shaeffer, 1994).

12. 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 (see Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC), Education Status Report, 2001). Other developments and trends indicate a decline in the quantitative goals set rather than being closer to them (Cooksey and Riedmiller, 1997; Mbilinyi, 2000). At the same time serious doubt is being raised about school quality and relevance of education provided (Galabawa, Senkoro and Lwaitama, (eds), 2000). The forces against achievement of UPE are many and complex but it is now accepted that a holistic approach to provision and financing may be the quickest route. Erratic planning and project style implementation will continue to make it impossible to keep up early positive enrolment numbers irrespective of the UPE attainment crisis (Narman, 2001).

13. The UPE programme in Tanzania, which was actually built on the philosophy of **"Ujamaa" (African Socialism)**[2] and the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)[3] reforms, had a good chance of succeeding. The ESR philosophy had addressed some relevant novel ideas of relevance of education, egalitarianism, practicality and elimination of elitism. However, the fact that the UPE programme was accompanied by high and rapid growth in enrolment rates for a few years which later levelled off; and then fell need exploration so as to provide a contribution to the overall issue of Education for All; and, an agenda of the Government(s) and development communities/agencies.

[2] "Ujamaa" (African Socialism) ideology dominated most of the 1967 – 1985 era of the late Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere. The highlight of this era was the nationalization of production and provision of goods and services by the state and the dominance of the ruling party in community mobilization and participation.

[3] Education for Self Reliance (ESR) reform and philosophy authored by Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere gave a thorough critique of the education system inherited from the colonial state by showing that it was elitist (for the few), theoretical and bookish (not integrated with production) and alienating (divorcing the recipients of it from his/her African society in general).

3. SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT[4]

14. The importance of providing Universal Primary Education (UPE) in Tanzania and other less developed countries of the peripheral has never been disputed. The question is how? It is not the mere initial enthusiasm to expansion of primary education and achieving quantity in the short run, which matters. Rather, the Government must consider the long-run implications of UPE efforts as related to cost-effectiveness of investments as well as the commitment to achieve, the institutional arrangement/capacity/competence and developmental mind-set. And given the limited resources and low/weak institutional capacity available difficult decisions have to be made regarding trade-offs between investments that promote school quality relative to choices that expand school network and enrolments. Thus the achievement of UPE begs for appropriate and strategic investment to allow for a feasible joint pursuit of access and quality in a holistic manner.

15. In the pursuit of an effective holistic approach to UPE several factors may contribute to the sustainability of UPE achievements. The demands made on the educational system and its institutions are increasingly numerous and complex. On the one hand, the resources made available to these institutions and their managers are proportionately fewer. Such resources have usually been secured under conditions of cost effectiveness. Government, on the other hand, has to reduce public expenditure while still pursuing equity goals. Educational management and administration has to play a key role in resolving some of the problems which emerge in this climate of unlimited demands with limited resources with which to implement the desired UPE programme. Meanwhile parents and students are clamouring for quality education for all. The negative labour market signals and unfavourable employment prospects in Government and other parts of the "**formal**" sector seem to erode the perceived value of schooling. This situation is made worse by the reduced external efficiency of education and general lack of relevance to people's lives and work. Yet, the problems of implementation and sustained provision of UPE, such as the lack of a quality teaching force, the an un-availability of textbooks and other learning materials, low nutritional status of children and overcrowded classrooms militate against positive achievement as a characteristic of the ineffective implementation syndrome.

16. The contingent supportive internal and external environment is a pre-condition to achieving UPE and therefore necessitating contingency strategies. Internally given the regional and districts' diversity the partnership net has to be cast wide by promoting local capacity/competence policy reforms on empowerment, autonomy, pluralism, decentralisation, equalisation and stimulation. Externally, debt-relief and its management through structural adjustments and the general globalisation processes must be managed properly so that they can work for the poor in the provision of goods and services, UPE inclusive.

[4] The major argument here is that pursuit of effective UPE needs visionary and committed leadership, ready to protect the achievements overtime through macro commitment to general efficiency and broad human development and through poverty alleviation. Even so one needs the right institutional arrangements and capacity to deliver UPE.

4. THE UPE PHENOMENON: TRENDS AND INDICATORS

17. The UPE drive in Tanzania has been explored by describing, analysing and discussing three measures: (1) The measures of access to the first year of primary education namely, the apparent intake rate. This is based on the total number of new entrants in the first grade regardless of age. This number is in turn expressed as a percentage of the population at the official primary school entrance age and the net intake rate based on the number of new entrants in the first grade who are of the official primary school entrance age expressed as percentage of the population of the corresponding age. (2) The measures of **participation**, namely, gross enrolment ratio representing the number of children enrolled in primary education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the eligible official primary school-age population; while the net enrolment ratio corresponds to the number of children of the official primary school age enrolled in primary education expressed as a percentage of the corresponding population. (3) The measures of internal efficiency of the education system which reflect the dynamics of different **operational and decision making** events over the school cycle like dropouts, promotions and repetitions.

Access to Primary Education: Older Primary School Entrants[5]

18. The absolute numbers of new entrants to grade one of the primary school cycles have grown steadily since the 1970s. The number of new entrants increased from around 400,000 in 1975 to 617,008 in 1990 and to 851,743 in 2000, a rise of 212.9 percent in relative terms. An erratic trend is observed in the level of the apparent (gross) intake rates (probably due to unreliability of data). The apparent intake rate was high at around 80% in the 1970s dropping to 70% in 1975 and rising up to 77% in 2000. This level reflects shortcomings in primary education provision (probably due to unreliability of data). The apparent intake rate was high at around 80% in the 1970s dropping to 70% in 1975 and rising up to 77% in 2000. This level reflects shortcomings in primary education provision. The apparent intake rates vary widely across the country's 113 districts. In terms of gender, the rates are generally consistently higher for boys than girls except in Kilimanjaro, Dar es Salaam, Mbeya, Mara, Iringa and Arusha (see Education Status Report, 2001; TADREG, 1998). These regions have higher levels of gender parity. Tanzania is marked by wide variations in both apparent and net intake rates-between urban and rural districts with the former districts performing higher[6]. Low net intake rates in rural areas reflect the fact that many children do not enter school at the official age of seven years (Kuleana, 1999, PRSP, 2000).

[5] Some scholars have measured school quality (or access) by whether there is a school within a one-hour walk! The danger of using this measure is the inherent assumption that "distance" is a major and probably significant determinant of access, when in-fact even if a school is within walking distance, if the child has no ability to pay for the direct costs he/she will not be able to **access** schooling.

[6] The recently executed Education Status Report (2001) suggests major differences in education achievement across geographical , rural-urban and gender differences. While most Tanzanians are comfortable at explaining instances of gender and urban-rural differences few would like to discuss geographical/district/regional ones for fear of being labeled "tribalistic"

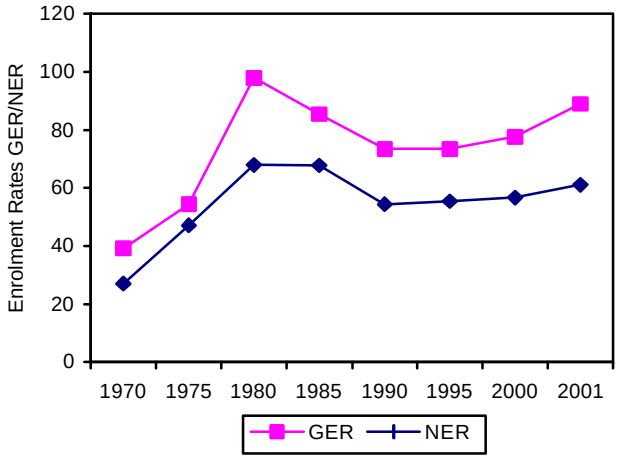
Table 1. Primary Schooling Participation, Access and Internal Efficiency Rates (1970 – 2001)

	Participation (Enrolment Rates) GER (NER)[1]	Access (Intake Rates) GIR (NIR)[2]	Internal Efficiency (Dropout/Rep. Rates) DR (R.R)[3]
1970	39.1 (27.0)	83 (37.0)	0.9 (0.7)
1975	54.1 (47.1)	84 (34.0)	(1.1) (1.1)
1980	98.0 (68.0)	78.2 (34.0)	(2.0) (1.5)
1985	85.5 (67.8)	70.3 (32.0)	2.7 (2.3)
1990	73.5 (54.3)	77.0 (21.0)	4.8 (3.9)
1995	77.6 (55.5)	72.0 (18.0)	4.8 (4.0)
2000	77.7 (56.7)	77.0 (15.0)	6.6 (4.8)
2001**	(89.0) (61.0)[4]	85.0 (27.0)	6.6 (3.3)

Note: [1]. Trends in participation in primary education are indicated by gross and net enrolment rates, [2]. Trends in access to primary education are indicated by apparent (gross) and net intake rates, [3]. Trends in internal efficiency are indicated by dropout rates and repetition rates, [4]. These are Basic Education Strategy Projections

19. The foregoing analysis suggests that a large number of primary school entrants in Tanzania are actually older than the official entrance age. The Education Status Report ((2001), Kuleana (1999), The World Bank (1996) and EFA (2000) have cited some of the factors underlying late entry into primary schooling. These include economic hardship, opportunity costs (paid and unpaid) of child labour, distance from school and access to transportation. In the case of Tanzania and in the district of Kisarawe, Kibaha, Kilosa and Sumbawanga in particular, increases in the number of "older" entrants need also to be interpreted positively. They have resulted from literacy campaigns, school mapping initiatives, mobilisation related to the achievement of EFA goals, or demand stimulating attempts like Complementary Basic Education and Training (COBET) and Community Education Fund (CEF) arrangements prepare parallel systems to accommodate children who have already passed the official entrance age.

Figure 1: Evolution of Participation in Primary Education (Enrolment Rates)



Participation in Primary Education: Regression of GERs and NERs

20. The regression in the gross and net primary school enrolment ratios; the exceptionally low intake at secondary and vocational levels; and, the general low internal efficiency of the educational sector have combined to create a UPE crisis in Tanzania's education system[7] (Education Status Report, 2001).

21. Development efforts directed at expansionary policies during the years following independence in 1961 resulted in increased access, participation and low internal inefficiency of the primary education system.

22. There were 3,161,079 primary school pupils in Tanzania in 1985. In the subsequent decade primary enrolment rose dramatically by 30% to 4,112,167 in 1999. This was in keeping with the efforts of the "**third phase**" government's objective to achieve UPE and poverty reduction. These absolute increases were not translated into gross/net enrolment rates' which actually experienced a decline threatening the sustainability of quantitative gains.

23. The Gross Enrolment Rates which were 35.1% in late 1960's and early 1970s' grew appreciably to 98.0% in 1980 when the Net Enrolment Rate was 68%. This is mainly because the general will to achieve UPE was at its highest in the 1970's, partly due to the then ruling party's (Tanganyika African Nation Union) ideology and the committed mass mobilisation effort led by Mwalimu J.K. Nyerere. This period also experienced an increasing allocation of Government recurrent expenditure to education which averaged 17% of the total education expenditure relative to the country GNP which was also high at around 4.9% (high as compared to the Africa South of Saharan average of 3.3%).

24. The period 1980 to 1990 experienced declines in both GERs and NERs while the period 1995 to 2001 is experiencing both higher GERs and NERs in line with the basic education investment strategy (see EDSDP – Primary Education Initiation Plan, 2001).

25. The expansion of the sector in the 1970s' led to a crisis of distortions in terms of priorities. There were problems of sustainability, payment of fees and general decline of the system's efficiency and effectiveness. The burden of the government solely providing for primary education remained appreciably high as the resources continued to be scarce because of low revenues and low tax take relative to GDP.

[7] Our view which is also shared by Cooksey and Riedmiller (1997) is that as the transition and absorption rates into secondary and vocational education respectively declined this situation acted as a disincentive to parents who had wanted their children to proceed to these levels of schooling after primary.

Table 2. Grade-Specific Enrolment Rates[1] in Primary Schools in Tanzania 1992-1999 (%)[8]

Grade	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
1	82.7	80.5	77.9	79.7	78.5	77.1	71.3	70.7
2	74.4	76.8	74.4	72.7	76.7	74.6	72.6	68.3
3	70.1	71.5	72.1	70.7	68.7	71.3	71.3	69.3
4	75.5	75.8	76.6	71.1	74.2	70.0	67.1	75.9
5	62.5	63.0	61.1	67.8	57.8	64.5	56.2	59.3
6	61.0	59.8	61.4	57.0	62.2	53.9	61.0	52.2
7	58.0	59.9	55.8	56.9	54.2	59.0	49.1	48.0

Source: BEST, various; Population Planning Unit for Population Projections

[1] The magnitude of GERs is affected by the assumed population growth rate of the age group. Since there has been no national census since 1998.

Internal Efficiency and UPE: Resource Wasteful Undertaking?[9]

26. The input/output ratio shows that it takes an average of 9.4 years (instead of the planned 7 years) for a student to complete primary education. The extra years are due to starting late, drop-outs, repetition and high failure rate which is pronounced at Standard Four where a competency/mastery examination is administered (ESDP, 1999, p.84). The average social resource envelope wastage at primary school level are huge estimated at US$ 106 per child per cohort of seven years.

27. The drive towards UPE has been hampered by high wastages rates. It should be noted that with average and under age children and those repeating grades, a country's gross enrolment rates could be more than 100%. The rates for Tanzania have been quite below the 100% mark. This situation is quite alarming since it shows that in quantitative terms the differences in education opportunity are widening over time and across schooling levels.

28. It is vital that during the UPE drive efforts are directed at increasing retention levels in the education system. Indeed, for the whole period 1985 – 1999 the Tanzania primary education system was at risk because available data (which incidentally is not generally reported for international comparison purposes and is seldom used internally) suggest that learners are not performing effectively and completing each cycle in the education system. The primary school life expectance which was 6.60 and 6.23 in 1980 and 1985 respectively dropped to 5.48 in 1990 and slightly improved to 5.66 in 1998. This means that the total number of years of schooling which a Tanzania child of age 7 can expect to receive in the future, (assuming, that her/his probability of being enrolled at

[8] The Tanzania Government with the support of the World Bank and Donors has recently produced a "**Primary Education Strategy and Investment Initiation Plan**" whose major policy drive is "**enrolment expansion and quality improvement**". Part of the plan expected financing gaps are expected to be covered by HIPC relief initiative reallocations.

[9] The numbers on internal efficiency trends for the period 1990 – 2000 need to be interpreted with care due to unavailability of census information. However, if our population projections are correct then the system which looses almost 30% of a "**seven year cohort**" could be tentatively described as **wasteful**.

any particular future age is equal to the current enrolment ratio for that age) is 5.66 in 1998. The low school life expectancy is also reflected in the low public spending on education as a percentage of GDP which translates into an index of spending efficiency of 2.26 in 1998/99; an inefficient index level of spending when compared with a 1.3 figure of S.S.A

29. The Tanzania experience shows that the move towards UPE should be accompanied by action directed at introducing internal efficiency gain measures. There are several competing explanations which can be combined to form intervention policies. It has been shown that at the first grade most parents prefer that their children repeat first year because at the first enrolment most of them feel that their children are not yet acquainted with the school environment. Early years of schooling tend not to be child friendly. The low repetition rates at higher grades can be explained by the policy in the country that does not allow repetition and grade make up. The existence of a grade four "**weeding-out**" examination explains the high repetition rate at that level.

Table 3. Index of Education System's Coverage Efficiency in Tanzania (1985 – 2000)

	1985	1990	1995	2000
School life expectancy (year)	6.23	5.48	5.66	5.80
Public spending on Educ. As % of GDP	2.1	2.3	2.5	2.7
Index of Spending Efficiency				
Tanzania	3.0	2.4	2.3	2.1
S.S.A	1.1*	1.1	1.3	1.2

Source: Computed from World Education Report, (1995) and Education Status Report (2001)

30. Dropout rates in Tanzania primary school system tend to be associated with age, gender and socio-economic status. With the exception of the coastal districts and gender insensitive areas like Tarime, Ngorogoro and Bariadi, dropout rates are higher among boys than among girls. They tend to be high at grades one, four and six because of possible disinterest in schooling and the dry-curriculum offered. The general lack of careful school monitoring of learning, achievement and quality is another determinant of dropout. It is therefore important that social mobilisation campaigns, collective national efforts and other interventions pursue policies which could curb children from dropping out of school or being excluded from school.

Gender Perspective

31. The primary school level female gross enrolment ratio has declined from 83.2 in 1985 to 77.6 in 1999. The corresponding ratio for males is 83.8 and 75.3 respectively. Thus the GERs for both boys and girls have slightly declined between 1985 and 1999. However the decline is sharper for boys than that for girls. Net Enrolment Rates for girls are slightly higher than for boys. This might suggest that the opportunity to stay on and repeat is more limited for girls although more girls of the school going-age than boys are in school. It might also suggest that once girls are enrolled in school it is easier to retain them than boys, more so at the relevant grade.

5. UPE AND COLLECTIVE NATIONAL THOUGHT[10]

32. The achievement of UPE very much depends on a national collective effort. Three phases in Tanzania political governance can be associated with the performance of UPE numbers and quality. The first phase spanning the period 1967 to early 1980s could be described as the "**self-reliance –expansionary collective national thought phase**". This is the period of second national vision (the first one being the vision to achieve independence). The Arusha Declaration, on Socialism and Self-Reliance was the major philosophy. Universal Primary Education (UPE) was part of the social economic transformation envisaged in the principles and programmes of the Arusha Declaration.

33. Attainment of education for all in Tanzania as anywhere else, carried with it both political and moral imperatives. In the early 1970s, the first phase government, under a directive issued by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of then ruling and sole political party, TANU, the government embarked on an enormous national campaign for universal access to primary education, of all children of school going age. It was resolved that the nation should have attained universal primary education by 1977, which was a reduction by 12 years from 1989, the date cautiously suggested and predicted by UNESCO and other experts and educational planners.

34. Throwing caution to the wind, the Party, under the leadership of the former president, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, directed the government to put in place mechanisms for ensuring that the directive, commonly known as the Musoma Resolution, was implemented. The argument behind this move was essentially that, in as much as education was a right to each and every citizen, but more, that a government committed to the development of an egalitarian socialist society cannot desegregate and discriminate her people in the provision of education, especially at the basic level. For this matter the process of universal primary education in Tanzania, was contemplated and implemented with the full cost borne by the government.

35. Both internal and external observers witnessed something akin to a miracle as enrolments in primary schools across the nation soared and the nation was gravitated in the frenzy to implement the call for education for all in a poor country committed to an equitable and fair provision of education to all the citizenry. Report after report, particularly from the government itself, paid glowing tribute to the extraordinary success of the campaign.

36. Imbedded in this "success" story, were internal structural weakness as well as external factors which were to work towards not only eroding and reversing the achievements of the universal primary education campaign in Tanzania, but also compromising the quality of primary education leading to growing disenchantment and despair amongst the populace in general, and the elite in particular.

37. To start with, it worth noting that, given the socialist inclination thriving in Tanzania at that time, traditional partners in educational provision were either reluctant to come forward to support the efforts Tanzania was putting in the campaign or, most arguably, the government itself was reluctant to call for assistance from such sources. Thus, in the annals of implementation of that phase of UPE, the involvement of the international donor agencies and other partners in development is only but minimally apparent. It may also be recalled that, not long before that, in 1967, with the Arusha

[10] The typology on the "**three phase**" should be taken as analysis convenience rather than a deliberate attempt to associate performance with individual leaders at the time. What is true is that the different phases were: **expansionary, growth, and poverty alleviation/income generation** driven respectively with different consequences on enrolment rates.

Declaration, most denominational schools run by Christian missions had been nationalized and de-denominalised by the government. Thus, with a sense of "wait and see" relationship hanging in the air between the traditional partners in educational provision and the Tanzanian government, the latter was basically on her own in the fight for universalisation of education in the country.

38. As will be shown later, this was to prove too much of an undertaking to be borne by the government alone, since not only was educational provision free, but also in the same egalitarian spirit, other services, especially health, were provided universally free by the government. Thus, the government's readiness, ability and capacity to handle such an enormous task within a short time and limited resources were put into question. And as student enrolment across the country soared, it was increasingly apparent that the government was biting more than it could chew (Ishumi 1984; Malekela 1984: Mgunda 1999)

39. The government was the only provider of social services with limited support from donors. Efforts to tackle UPE were channelled through centrally directed, medium-term and long-term development plans resulting into significant access to primary education. Through central instruments the government showed responsibility to facilitate Universal Primary Education (UPE) basic requirements including the training of teachers en-mass. The government was very strategically placed to affect UPE since it had all the necessary and legitimate organs. The state was very close to educational institutions as manifested by leadership and availability of finances though the relationship was dominated by elements of control rather than promoting quality and excellence (Mushi, 1997).

Table 4. Typology of Social-Economic Phases, Policy Reforms and Characteristic Features

Typology	Year	Reforms/Policy Features	Characteristic Feature/Results
Phase I	1970's, early 1980s'	ESR, strong state intervention, no fees, high community mobilization (Ujamaa), low civil society groups participation; top-down self help schemes, "**expansionary collective national thought**", education as instrument of social change.	Increasing participation and access; high internal efficiency, quality for the few; increasing education spending; lack of consistency and massive growth of the population; slow growth of the economy and thinly spread.
Phase II	Late 1980's early 1990s'	Liberalisation, private school ownership, reduced supervisory role of government, control, SAPs, Cost-sharing, "**growth of the economy collective national thought**" fees and user charges/contributions, reduced role of government, education as instrument of efficiency.	Falling/declining participation and access, low internal efficiency rates; declining education spending, low quality of provision and product.
Phase III	Late 1990's and early 2000	Vision and Mission 2025, Civil and Institutional Financial Reforms, Education Sector Development Programme, Poverty Reduction Strategy, rethinking "**income and non-income poverty collective national thought**", Local Government Reform, Debt-Relief Initiative (HIPC), Social Sector Strategy (SSS), education as an instrument of economic and qualitative change.	Increasing participation and access; high internal inefficiency; low quality provision; increasing education spending; commitment to social/economic parametric assumptions, UPE fees abolished no-contributions on admission.

40. The second phase spanning the period of late 1980s' to early 1990s can be described as the period of "**growth of the economy collective national thought**".. This phase was characterised by new liberal ideas such as free choice, market-oriented schooling and cost efficiency leading to the loosening of government control of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) agenda. Though expansion of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and other social services were a national priority the economy was not able to sustain their provision. The irony of it is that, the first phase government emphasised a lot on self-reliance and expansion but it tended to achieve the opposite in reality.

41. The education sector lacked quality teachers as well as teaching/learning materials and infrastructure to address the expansion of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and being self-reliant on the other hand. The solution lay in revamping the economy and reducing the government role through wider stakeholder partnership in provision and financing of the social sectors. A vacuum was created while fragmented donor driven projects dominated primary education support. The introduced individual (household) cost sharing (rather than community cost-sharing) hit most the poorest of the poor.

42. During the second phase government the situation was significantly gloomy, the reforms in government, starting with the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) of the mid-eighties dealt another blow to UPE in Tanzania. The decreased government support for the provision of social services including education as well as cost-sharing policies were not taken well, give the most incomes were below the poverty line. SAPs led to a situation where farmers received less or no subsidies; a large number of workers lost their means of livelihood through retrenchment and rationalization of the workforce, particularly in the civil service and other areas of public domain; cost-sharing permeated other areas, particularly health services. All these created a situation where the loser was education especially amongst low income earners.

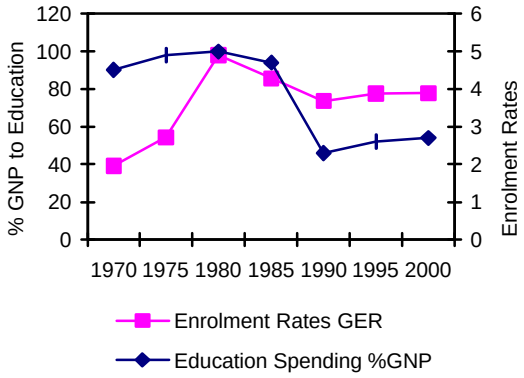
43. The third phase government spanning the period 1995 and after, can be described as the era of "**income and non-income poverty collective national thought**" The era is trying to address both income and non-income poverty so as to generate capacity for provision and consumption of better social services. As part of the underlying underpinnings of the third phase government and the articulated vision 2025; the impediments to achieving socio-economic progress were given. These are:

- a donor dependency syndrome and a dependent and defeatist developmental mindset;
- a weak and low capacity for education (or economic) management
- failures in good governance and in the organisation of production (UPE provision); and
- ineffective implementation syndrome (URT, Tanzania Development Vision, 2025).

6. MACRO ECONOMIC CONTEXT AND CHALLENGES[11]

44. Tanzania had experienced a long and deep economic crisis (late 1970s' to mid – 1980s). In this case the main challenge to UPE achievements could be described in one word: **sustainability**. How could the positive post reform achievements be sustained in the long run? This was the main challenge with respect to both GDP real growth and inflation and with regard to **self-reliance**. The economy has continued to exhibit a marked deficiency in that exports can finance only a small portion of imports. Indeed, imports exceed exports by far, ranging from over three times for the Mainland (1998) to over thirty times for Zanzibar (1999). The balance between revenue and expenditure has influenced the development of UPE and general education as reflected in higher expenditure to GDP ratios, and revenue/GDP ratios. The strategic pronged approach has been a simultaneous drive towards increasing revenue earnings and reducing expenditure in absolute terms or in adopting efficiency enhancing measures.

Figure 2. Rise and Fall of GER and Spending on Education



45. The structure and pattern of public revenue and expenditure over time could be characterised as (a) domestic government revenue remaining stable at around 12 – 13% of GDP for the period 1990 – 1999; (b) external revenue support increasing steadily but with notable fluctuations and unpredictability on the budget support component; (c) more of the external resources going into capital investments rather than budget support (d) servicing of government external debt consuming around 22.6% of recurrent expenditure for the period 1995 –1999.

46. The economic trends did certainly reduce government capacity to finance provision of social services, including education. The percentage share of expenditure on education to GNP was 4.5% in 1970s and reached a maximum of 5.0% in 1980; dropped to 2.3% by 1990 and slightly rose to 2.7% in 2000. As percentage of government recurrent expenditure the education sector share was high in 1975 at 19%, falling to a minimum low of 12.7% in 1985 and rising to 21.2% in 1995. The planned figure for 2001 is 22%[12].

47. In fact in terms of proportion of public expenditure allocated to the education sector Tanzania compares unfavourably with other comparatively poor countries which have allocated higher proportions to education. Burundi (30%), Rwanda (26%) and to a

[11] It is interesting to note that the overall macro-economic achievements over time have been positive but these positive developments have not been associated with relative positive trends in primary school enrolments and quality outputs for a long time.

[12] Data on how much really goes into education needs further reconciliation; otherwise, readers are at first glance always confused. However, it should be noted that the estimated percentage share of **public spending** on education in **total public spending** is NOT the same thing as the sector share of education spending as a percentage of total government spending (i.e. total education budget share in total government spending) which includes estimated non-government budget

lesser extent Zimbabwe (20%), Kenya (16%) and Uganda (15%) (UNICEF, 1999,1998, pp 22) are a case in point. In this regard, the large fluctuations in the allocations to education would tend to suggest that the allocation of significant resources to education (indirectly to UPE) would seem to be a result of **policy phases, political commitments and effective implementation of human resource development strategies** than a consequence of national earnings **capacity**.

Table 5. Comparative Data Macro-Economic Context for Tanzania (1998)

	Tanzania	Sub-Saharan Region	Least Developed Countries
Population growth rate (% p.g)	2.8	2.9	2.5
Government Revenues as % of GDP	11.5	(17.8)	(21.5)
Public spending on education			
As % of total govt. spending	22.9	14.0	13.0
As % of GDP	2.7	5.12	3.3

Source: UNESCO (1996) World Education Report, 1993, UNICEF (1998) The progress of Nations, 1998, MOEC (2001) Education Status Report, URT (2000) Public Expenditure Review.

48. Local revenue mobilisation efforts have an influence on the level of financing and provision to UPE. The figure of 11.5% government revenue as a percentage of GDP remains low by regional comparisons[13]. Despite improved efficiency in tax-administration and improved collection improvements by Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) the revenue effort is not expected to go beyond 13% by fiscal year 2002 (Public Expenditure Review, 1999). It has to be noted that public spending on education as a percent of total government spending has been as high as 22.9% in 1997, a figure well above that of Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) average of 14% and higher still than that of the least developed countries (13%). Within government resources education has been prioritised, but not to the same levels across the three government phases. Total public spending on education has been lower than that of other sub-Saharan African countries or even lower than that of the least developed countries. This situation suggests that during UPE drive there is need for casting wider the partnership net in mobilising resources for education.

49. The excessively weak macro-economic context in which UPE was implemented is exemplified by the trend of international debt payment. The decline in enrolment rates corresponded to falling real levels of spending on education and to increasing debt service charges. The ratio of debt service to government expenditure which was 7.6% in fiscal years 1969/70 rose to 11% in fiscal years 1984/85; to 23% in fiscal years 1995/96 and to 27.9% in the years 1995/2000.

[13] Tanzania government spending is around 11.8% of the GDP compared with 23.6% of the least developed countries and 36.5% in Sub-Saharan Africa. The problem seems to be the low proportion of public revenue captured through the tax net in Tanzania, not that Tanzania is allocating a low proportion of disposal tax income to education.

50. The high levels of debt servicing continued in the 1990s with little prospects that the budget would be able to keep pace with demographic trends and internal wrong prioritisation of allocations to education. Indeed, the debt service to education spending ratio increased from 94.9 in 1995 to157.2 in 1997, and to 174.8 in 1999.

Table 6. External Debt Service Trends (Tsh. Bill.)

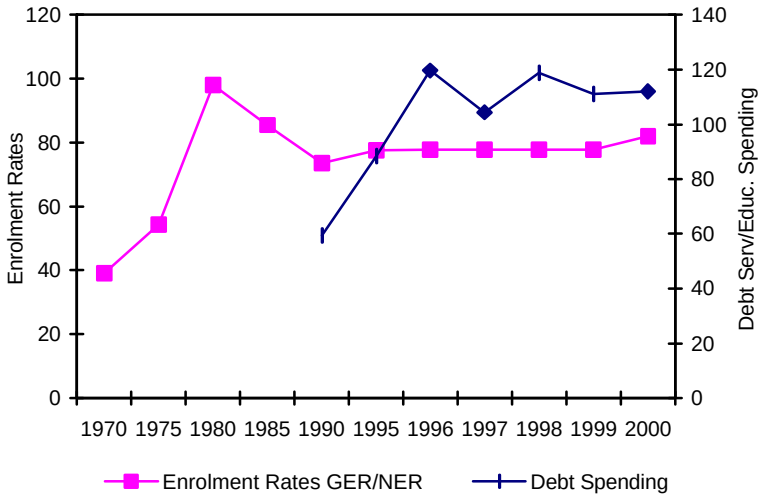
Year	Government Recurrent Spending	Service of External Debt	Debt Service/Rec. Spending	Education Spending	% Debt Service/Educ. Spending
1990				59.4	
1995	386.6	88.2	22.8%	88.3	100.0
1996	470.0	120.0	35.6%	119.6	100.3
1997	587.1	164.3	27.9%	104.5	157.2
1998	711.9	227.0	31.9%	118.9	190.9
1999	791.9	194.1	24.5%	111.1	174.8

Source: URT, National Accounts of Tanzania: 1987 – 1998, URT, (2000) Economic Survey, 1999

51. We should hasten to add that a prudent debt management framework is being worked out to complement the Highly Indebt Poor Countries (HIPC) relief by converting the high social opportunity costs of debt servicing into high gains in human welfare of debt relief. The expectation is that education for debt swap will increase education sector financing and UPE financing in particular. Already, the government of Tanzania is committing 30% of HIPC funds to education (PRSP, 2000).

52. One is not even sure that the HIPC initiative would be sufficient to address the UPE-debt overhang in Tanzania. A starting point would be to prepare a strategy for converting debt savings into UPE investment (or other priorities) so as to ensure that debt relief is not used for other purposes like other past "**windfall**" gains. As regards UPE there would be need to address concerns related to inefficiencies and absorption capacity.

Figure 3. Evoluation of Enrolments and Debts-Service



53. The changing country population and the macro-demographic trends and dynamics have continued to exert pressure on the provision of UPE. The increasing numbers of school going children did not make it possible to release enough resources to improve the magnitude and quality of UPE. Population growth remained high though it declined from 3.1% during the period 1975 – 1995 to around 2.7% from 1995 – 2000 (in the absence of a country wide census since 1988 these projected figures need to be taken with caution). It is estimated that the number of primary school going children aged (7 – 13 yrs) has grown from around 5.3 million in 1990 to around 6.8 million in 2000 (MOEC, 1999). The fertility rate, estimated at 5.4%, remains relatively high. This adversely impacts on UPE. Yet, the costs of providing for UPE fall on those of working age just when around 53% of the population is below the age of 18 which contributes to the dependency ratio (though falling from 80% to around 70%) has remaining high.

54. The period 1985 – 2000 has experienced the HIV/AIDS scourge. Its impact was to increase the dependency on the government resources for both education direct costs and the HIV/AIDS related economic loss of skilled teaching staff. The Education Status Report warns of the effect of HIV/AIDS on the education sector brought about by a declining demand for education. Recent survey studies (see Katabaro, 1999) suggest that limited household resources are being diverted to taking care of the HIV/AIDS related diseases in the household rather than education. Meanwhile the deaths of adults in the households are decreasing household labour income part of which would have been used to finance UPE-schooling.

55. By 1993 the most HIV/AIDS affected area in Tanzania was Kagera Region on western side of Lake Victoria. In three studied districts of the region namely, Bukoba rural, Karagwe and Muleba, net-enrolment rates for primary education were respectively 43.9%, 42.1% and 44%, quite below the national average figure of around 54% by then. In the same districts, teacher attrition rate had increased from around 0.8% in 1980s' to 1.6% in the 1990s. The supply side impact of HIV/AIDS on education has recently been associated with unfavourable Teacher Pupil Ratios in Iringa region (Luhanga, 2001) to the detriment of UPE quality provision.

7. CONSTRAINTS OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENTS[14]

56. The widely talked about and criticized action, which constrained the UPE, is the structural adjustment programme implemented under the Bretton Woods Institutions' inspired economic reforms of the mid-1980s. The reforms in the education sector were part and parcel of the economy-wide reforms, which began in earnest with the adoption of the Economic Recovery Programme(s). The reforms addressed four key macro issues of access, quality, finance efficiency and greater role to be played by the private sector.

57. It has to be appreciated that the success stories in enrolment expansion of the 1970s were achieved through centrally directed, medium and long-term development plans. The majority of the 11,409 primary schools currently in operation were constructed during the 1970s. Most of the teacher training colleges were also established during the period. Priority was given to primary education while secondary and post-secondary education expansion was narrowly determined by future manpower needs as per obtained skill mix ratios pertaining to the economy wide projections.

58. The first comprehensive structural adjustment programme, "Economic Recovery Programme I (ERP I)" (supported by multilateral donor agencies) was followed by ERP (II) in 1989 – 93. which aimed at dismantling the system of state control and promoting the private sector. The economy experienced a major transition from a state controlled system to freemarkets (World Bank 2001).

Table 7. Primary School UPE Indicators During SAP Period

	1991/1992	1992/1993	1993/1994	1994/1995
No. of Schools (%)	10,437(0.4)	10,945(4.9)	10,879(-0.6)	10,878(0.0)
No. of Streams (%)	91,614(-2.9)	99,299(8.4)	103,925(4.7)	105,811(1.8)
No. of Teachers*	104,892	101,306	101,816	103,900
Gross Enrol. (%)	3,507,384(3.9)	3,599,580(2.6)	3,732,943(3.7)	3,793,201(1.6)
GER	74.9	74.4	74.2	74.0
NER	53.8	54.2	53.7	52.6
Teacher/Pupil Ratio**	1:33.5	1:35.6	1:36.6	1:36.5

Source: BEST 1990 – 1994, June 1995 (Based on Public System)

* This figure is the total of public and private schools. Since 1992 the No. of private schools has remained at 131/132 schools, but this number has increased since 1995/96.

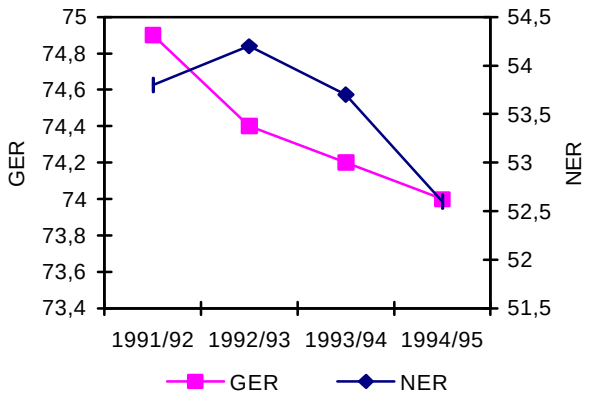
** Based on total teachers and pupils in all schools

[14] Note that actually the Education and Training Policy (1995) had somewhat conflicting messages. On the one hand it proclaimed **cost-sharing**; on the other **access**. It could be argued that some of these changes are not actually consistent with improving access!

59. The SAPs' policies in education emphasized and encouraged:

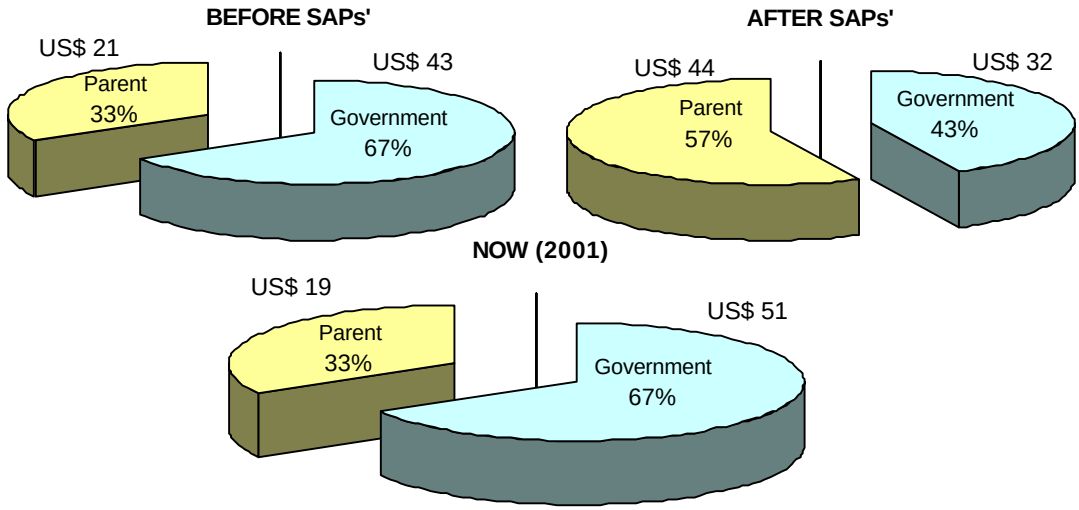
- cost efficiency gains
- cost sharing between the government, parents, students and other stakeholders and;
- the development of non-state schools. Liberal ideas of freedom to own schools, market-oriented education programmes and loosening of government control, dominated the scene. The catch-all political phrase of 'education for all' could no longer be sustained.

Figure 4. GERs/NERs During SAP - Period



60. The outcome of SAP's has been summarised by Mbilinyi (1990) as follows: *"(1) growing inequalities in access to education at all levels, (2) growing disparities in the quality of education, and (3) a change in the direction and vision of education*" (p.2)

Figure 5. Division Between Government and Parents Primary Recurrent Costs[15]



Source: Education Sector Country Status Report (2001) and Survey by Author

[15] Actually school level survey data reported in the Unit Cost Analysis section of the Education Status Report suggest that parents prior to abolishing contributions and fees at primary school level contributed as much as the government to primary and secondary education as well as teachers colleges. Thus the "popular" statement that the major financier of the sector is the central government is not strictly correct; at least not by 1999.

61. The magnitude of the problems facing primary education were revealed during the SAP-period. Resources available for education declined and the allocation to the primary education sub-sector for 1994/95 dropped in real terms of expenditure per primary school pupil from the 1992/93 figures (Svantesson, 1994). Total contributions by the parents for primary education overtook contribution by the government; an illustrative sign of state withdraw. The dual economy was firmly established with an ever-widening gap between the state on the one hand, and parents and communities on the other in the financing of primary education. The poor were being squeezed more and more, thus leading to threatened access in equity provision and consumption. (Wort, 2000). Thus while efforts were directed at improving the macro-disequilibrium, human development and most likely poverty reduction goals were sacrificed.

62. The number of primary schools decreased from 10,960 in 1992/93 to 10,891 in 1994/95. It was partly against this background that increases in the number of class streams was considered a priority by the third phase government; a move which further crowded classrooms.

63. Gross enrolment in public primary schools fluctuated during the SAP period having increased from 3,600,000 in 1992/93 to around 3,800,000 in 1994/95 (Wort, 1996). Table 7 shows that the gross enrolment ratio decreased slightly from 74.9% in 1992/93 to 74% in 1994/95. The decline was also registered in the NER for all school children attending primary schools from 1992 (54.2) to 1994 (NER = 52.6).

64. The disenabling environment of SAP was further reflected in the number of children of school age who were not in school by 1993. The figure had increased from 700,780 in 1980 to 2,027,419 by 1993. The failure of the concepts of choice and market forces was vivid during and after the SAP period. The promised land of possibilities of choice between schools, improved school and student performance and diversity of school options did not materialise. Efficient and well performing schools were not rewarded. However, inefficient and poorly performing schools survived. The market invisible hand had not made schools responsible to the wishes of parents and students!

65. The history of SAPS in Tanzania is incomplete if the World Bank and its affiliated agencies IMF and IDA are not given due mention. Incidentally, few people have appreciated liability of these creditors for the failure of policies which they imposed and the disastrous performance of UPE. In the rush to advise, the World Bank view was that there was probably considerable scope for increasing school fees and contributions (1991: p.49). Its enrolment and cost projections for the year 2000 seem to have been based on the assumption that nearly 80 percent of 7 year olds were attending school in 1989. However, the MOEC figures actually showed it to be a mere 12 percent. In the following two years it declined to 11 and 10 percent (World Bank, 1991, p. 90). As it later turned out, both the cost and parametric assumptions were wrong. The cause of non-enrolment and dropout was that the direct costs were too high.

66. Closely associated with SAPs, there were parents who were finding competing demands for the shrinking income making it difficult for them to give priority to education. This is leading to the emergence of an elite who are finding the education offered through public schools, too poor for their children. Thus, either their children are enrolled in the so called private " international schools", English medium schools; or in some cases the children are enrolled in primary schools outside the country.

67. It has been argued (Muganda 1999), that this particular practice has a negative effect on the whole process of education for all, especially UPE, in Tanzania, since it means that not only the total expenditure on public education is divided between the affluent private schools and the poorly resourced public schools, but also the will to assist the public schools is diminished by the practice. Particularly, this is so considering that those who take their children outside the public system, also happens to command considerable influence on the policy making process in the country. The pressure on the government to support the schools and raise the standard of education need to be under taken by all parents who have the capacity, ability and stake in schools, rather than leaving the overseeing of the public education system to be undertaken in a detached manner.

8. THE UPE DRIVE: QUALITY OR QUANTITY?[16]

68. In a thought provoking paper presented during the NASEDEC (1999) Conference in Vaasa, Finland, Marope (1999), while acknowledging the crisis facing education in Sub-Saharan Africa, took trouble to show that the centre of the crisis is the ambitious aspiration to "**pursue the double pronged agenda of expanding access to education while improving its quality**". Is quality provision just an ambitious pursuit or a necessary course of action if UPE numbers have to be improved and sustained?

69. The role of school quality in enhancing primary school outcomes has been widely studied and debated (DAE, 1995, Hynemann and Loxley, 1981, Mosha, 1994). Yet, focusing on primary school quality alone may not be a priority when a significant portion of the school age population (43%) are not in school. To a keen observer therefore it may not be sufficient to argue that only primary school quality matters! The issue needing resolution becomes how to consider and make choices related to cost-effectiveness that matter most in improving school quality relative to investments that expand enrolment numbers (Handa and Simler, 2000).

70. Evidence suggests that during the UPE drive in Tanzania the quality of primary education declined and this trend had negative influence on enrolments (Cooksey and Riedmiller, op. cit; TADREG, 1993). The search for quality during UPE demands that the reality must resemble the rhetoric as perceived by clients, parents and pupils in particular. The realisation that their children are not learning much discourages many parents from sending their children to school (TADREG, 1993). One mother according to TADREG commented: **"… all of my children have completed standard 7 but none knows how to read and write!"** Lamentations on perceived falling standards are common as exemplified by the statement that:

> *During those good old days, schools and nearly each and everything [the speaker lists a large number of items]…all these things were provided free of charge. To-day our schools hardly have these things despite the fact that we are paying some money as school fees…We cannot expect our children to learn very much in the absence of all these things mentioned above.* (TADREG, 1993, p.35).

71. The "disenabling environments" have made quality universal primary education a daunting challenge. For Tanzania the issue has been the attainment of optimal trade offs between available resources and learning outcomes. To be able to gauge the efficiency in the transformation of tangible resources into learning outcomes we use data collected from 113 districts of Tanzania. The impact of education inputs on enrolment (NER) and on primary school leaving examination results (PSLE) is established. At primary school level in Tanzania, the PSLE performance and NER (enrolment) are evaluated as outcomes using correlation and multiple regression analysis based on the following assumption:

- over crowded classes are associated with poor performance in examinations;
- quantity and quality of teaching contribute to good performance in PSLE;
- the level and quality of staffing encourage enrolment;
- overcrowded classrooms discourage enrolment because they are not child friendly;

[16] There is still a big group of people mainly policy makers who believe that **quantity** and **quality** cannot be achieved together. Our argument is that if parents and students perceive low quality in provision, demand for schooling will be curtailed. We are not talking of resource constraint; but of the optimal path to trade off the two.

72. The data and analysis in this section of this paper are adopted from TADREG (1999) and enriched with information from the Education Status Report (2001). The TADREG report summarises quantitative data on district level poverty and education indicators for Mainland Tanzania. The PSLE indicator data were obtained from the National Examination Council (NECTA). The other data were obtained from the MOEC central data base developed by its planning and policy department.

73. Table 8 shows the correlation between the selected education inputs and outputs in the 113 districts of Mainland Tanzania. The selected inputs were: class size as shown by average school age Population per Class Room (PCR); proportion of Grade A Teachers in district (TAR) (*in contrast to proportion of Grade B teachers who are usually considered less qualified/untrained than their Grade A counteparts*) and the average Pupil Teacher Ratio (PTR) in the district,. The outputs of each district were defined as the Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) as well as the average Primary School Leaving Examination Score (PSLE) for each district.

Table 8. Correlation Between Primary Education Inputs and Outputs in the 113 Districts of Tanzania

	PCR	TAR	PTR
NER	-41%	39%	-24%
PSLE	-21%	41%	-19%

Source: Computed from TADREG (1997) and Education Status Report (2001).

Notes:
(1) as the number of pupils per classroom increases (overcrowding) the number of school age children enrolled in the districts decreases and vice-versa;
(2) as the number of pupils per classroom increases (overcrowding) the district average performance in the primary school examination (PSLE) decreases (falls) (and vice-versa);
(3) as the average district **teacher pupils ratio**, increases (large number of pupils per teacher) the average of school age children enrolled in the districts decreases; (classroom overcrowding discourages enrolment of school age children);
(4) high average district teacher pupil ratios are associated with poor performance in primary school leaving examination (PSLE)

74. The correlation results between primary education inputs and outputs in the 113 districts shown in Table 8 would tend to suggest that:

- the districts where the level of inputs is low or poor (high PCR, low TAR and poor PTR) do also record poor performance in participation (NER) and poor achievement in relevant national examination. (PSLE);
- there is an inverse relationship between the average teacher pupil ratio (PTR) of the district and the average PSLE performance of the district;
- there is a positive relationship between the proportion of Grade A teachers in the district (as compared to total of Grade A plus Grade C) and the average performance of the district in PSLE;
- there is a positive relationship between the proportion of Grade A teachers in the districts and participation as indicated by NER;
- there is a negative relationship between school age population per class room (PCR) and both average district PSLE performance and districts' average NER

75. These findings bring us back to the perspectives on the quantity and quality relationship in UPE provision. That NERs are positively associated with both the PTR indicator of quality and the quality of the teachers (as shown by proportion of Grade A teachers) tends to reinforce the perspective that participation and quality should not be approached as operationally alternative strategic policy options in achieving UPE.

76. Apart from the burden of provision on the part of the government, a few other salient and connected issues that are deemed to have collectively contributed to the decline of UPE quality in Tanzania are also worth of explication. To start with, it has to be noted that the pace at which the process was put into place, of necessity ignored or glossed over serious preparatory requirements. The need for availability of structures, materials and environment conductive to teaching and learning of an expanded student population put a strain on the capacity of the relevant operation. This has been documented and addressed by most observers of UPE process in Tanzania. The capacity to mobilize local resources in this regard seem to have been long exhausted and only in some instances, especially where external assistance played a hand, do we note some improvement either in infrastructure or even in the availability of some of the basic teaching and learning materials. Of late there is also a growing sense of disparity depending on the socio-location of particular primary schools. Some of the schools located in the more affluent communities, particularly in urban areas receive more community support in comparison with schools serving less affluent communities. Researchers in this regard have pointed out the unavailability of teaching materials, classrooms toilets, textbooks, chalk and other basic requirements to a school to operate at minimum standards. It is common knowledge that unless there is a close correlation between student intake and the facilities that make learning possible, the result will be dissatisfied students and disgruntled teachers – with little teaching and learning taking place. This was never taken into consideration during the implementation of universal primary education in Tanzania and the requisite facilities has been declared too inadequate for appropriate teaching and learning.

77. Equally, and perhaps more seriously there was the problem of teachers and teacher recruitment. The Tanzania government having been mandated to foresee the implementation of the campaign, instituted an innovation, whereby teachers were trained from a distance – dubbed the Village-Based Teacher Training Programme (Ishumi 1984, Malekela 1994). This programme managed to produced about 40,000 teachers within a period of three years (1974 – 1977). These teachers were usually primary school leavers who had not been successful to proceed with further education. These were recruited to volunteer to teach in primary schools while they underwent distance education in basic curriculum areas. The method produced many teachers in a short time, at a fraction of the cost, compared to residential courses. However, it has also been a central aspect to the criticism of the declining quality of primary education in Tanzania.

78. The quality of teachers and their general satisfaction with the job are the most important single ingredients in education which anyone planning for quality education should take into serious and careful consideration. The case of UPE in Tanzania reveals that the teachers recruited to cover the serious shortfall of teachers in the mid-seventies are still in the system as recent surveys indicated. For example, a SADC (2000:143) report on the assessment of needs for educational policy development and planning management, states that:

> *By 1997, it was widely believed that the dramatic decline in educational quality was due to the overwhelming presence in schools of unqualified teachers recruited in the 1974 mobilisation for UPE.*

79. Muganda (1999) has also made similar observations about the quality of education and the negative effect reflected from the employment of under-qualified teachers in primary schools, implying that the quality of teachers has a direct influence on the motivation of children to enroll and to remain at school. Muganda (1999), further, argues that when the future of the children does not seem to be determined by their performance at school, children would soon "choose" alternative attractions outside the school.

80. Teachers have been labeled the single most important tool for educational effectiveness (Hernes 2001) and the case of UPE in Tanzania should not be an exception. In as much as the teachers command of their field is vital, so is their perception of how they are treated, managed and supported professionally. In Tanzania the record for teachers support in primary schools has been wanting for a long time and in recent years the situation has experienced even further decline (Alphonce 1993; 2000). It may be argued, therefore, that when teachers are poorly remunerated, ill-trained, and inadequately supported for career advancement and professional growth, they may not offer their services at the most optimal levels, thus leaving students and parents dissatisfied with school experience.

9. UPE RELEVANCE TO PEOPLES' LIVES AND WORK

81. For the purpose of analysis one would like to separate issues of UPE quality and relevance to peoples' lives and work. They are actually interwoven. Relevance may be considered broadly to include issues of employment, productivity and external efficiency of UPE investment. If the UPE numbers achieved in the late 1970s and early 1980s had to be sustained primary education provided by then had to be relevant to peoples' lives and work. In the period after independence in the early 1960s; education was seen as a rare resource which entitled those who acquired it to income and easy exit from general poverty.

Table 9. Annual Returns to Investment in Education in Tanzania by Short Cut Method (1998/99) in Tshs.

Level	E(high)	E(low)	Private Costs	Social Costs	Social Return	Private Return
Primary	1,127,172	420,00[1]	(48,000)	(91,696)	0.14 (14%)	0.10 (10%)
Secondary	1,349,400	1,118,316	(152,007)	(307,954)	0.09 (9%)	0.16 (16%)
Higher/Univ.	2,536,188	1,349,400	313,525	3,675,863	0.08 (8%)	0.23 (23%)

[1] Estimated as equal to minimum wage or the going market price of unskilled labour
Source: Computed from Data available in Education Status Report (2001)

82. The years of ESR implementation (1967-) and thereafter showed very little progress towards the objective of making primary education terminal and in a sense of preparing pupils for self-employment.

83. The tendency for parents and pupils has been to aim at post primary and secondary school education or some white collar jobs. "**Success**" in **educational achievement was culturally defined as being accepted into academic secondary schools, thereby defining the 95% of pupils who were not selected into post primary as "failures" by default? (UNDP, 1999)**. It is our considered opinion that UPE as enshrined in ESR was pushed down the throat of popular opinion. The contradictions between official policy and household intentions are not helped by recent findings. In Tanzania like in other developing countries, private returns to investment in secondary and university education are higher than private returns to investing in primary schooling.

84. The Basic Education Strategy plans to raise the transition to secondary to 20%. However, the majority of pupils run the risk of seeing themselves as failures. This is precisely because there are too few viable alternatives that can build human capacity and lead to income generation (UNDP, 1999). The only was to alter this is through a search for a premium mobile that would create employment opportunities by restructuring investment patterns.

85. The link between education and work includes questions about the habits and characteristic of productive workers. However the educational ambitions of young people ought to reflect the conditions of the labour market rather than the unrealistic career aspirations of these young people. Of recent, the informal sector has assumed a significant role in contributing to GDP and hence employment. This is an aspect of existing labour market conditions which ought to be reflected in educational curriculum innovations.

10. UNIVERSAL PRIMARY EDUCATION (UPE) AND STRATEGY FOR DISTRICT ALLOCATION OF INVESTMENT

86. Although Tanzania (Mainland) is made up of 20 regions and 113 districts with different resource endowment and differing economy wide performance indicators, the Universal Primary Education (UPE) drive was implemented without a well thought out strategy for allocation of investment. The process of transferring the investment management function of primary education to local control was not effectively initiated and followed through. A real division of functions and roles in primary education between the centre and localities appears in the Tanzania case to be a pre-condition for Universal Primary Education (UPE) success.

87. Districts and local councils or authorities show major differences with respect to both taxable wealth, needs and the prices they encounter for educational resources. Poverty and high prices in several districts are sometimes positively correlated, creating an unfortunate situation. Rural districts notably, Mtwara, Rural Lindi, Rural Kisarawe, Bagamoyo, Kigoma, Igunga, Serengeti, Ngara, Nzega and Maswa were unable to raise money for schools support over the government subsidies because households in the area are too poor. At the same time qualified teachers (mainly grade A teachers) have shown unwillingness to work in far-fling areas at the salary rate they would accept in the urban areas. The system did not design "**hard-ship**" salary increment for teachers' who are willing to teach in low-income rural areas.

88. Many of the low quality Universal Primary Education (UPE) issues are directly linked to lack of funds for school inputs essential for adequate education delivery, e.g. scarcity of school inputs such as teaching and learning materials; school operation and other supplies; and teacher pedagogical support and professional training. As the subsidy from central government continued to cover 90% of personal emolument, the residual costs of Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the other charge components (school recurrent costs of delivery) could not adequately be covered by the remaining 10% proportion.

89. The Universal Primary Education (UPE) drive was implemented without ensuring efficient fund flow and their effective utilisation at school level for each district. Institutional constraints became a major impediment to Universal Primary Education (UPE). These constraints include: low school-community capacity for implementing Universal Primary Education (UPE) delivery, weak district and central level capacity for coordination among the various stakeholders and management of the system, faulty policy and planning mechanisms, lack formative financial management, monitoring and evaluation. In essence, Universal Primary Education (UPE) implementation and success requires the establishment of minimum parameters of fund mobilisation and flow so as to facilitate fast fund flow and effect utilisation at school level.

90. A progressive Universal Primary Education (UPE) achieving investment strategy would take consideration of two approaches (i) first, to adjust the flow of funds to the recipient district under two broad criteria of: **the needs of the district to spend money on Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the ability of the district to meet these needs from its own fiscal resources** (ii) second to ensure that allocations are made in accordance with regional needs, as per development index.

91. We attempted to define seven Universal Primary Education (UPE) performance indicators for the twenty regions and constructed a development index to guide investment as follows:

- Regional share in national GDP (the lower the share, the more the need).
- Primary School, Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) (the lower the rate, the more the need).

- Illiteracy rate, IA (the lower the ratio, the lower the need).
- Students/Classroom Ratio, SCR (the higher the ratio, the more the need).
- Pupil per Untrained Teacher, UTT (the higher the ratio, the more the need).
- Pupil Teacher Ratio, PTR (the higher the ratio, the more the need).
- Primary School Leaving Examination, PSLE (the lower the performance, the more the need).

92. These indicators are assigned weights ranging 10% to 20%. The regional GDP indicator and GER are assigned the weight of 20%. The regions are subsequently ranked on the basis of their weighted performance in each of the indicators from "most" (rank 1) to "least" (rank 20) in need. The composite score of the regions were then converted into percentages to determine the share of investment of each region. Table 10 shows the computed investments share of each region based on the development index drawn.

Table 10. Development Index Weighted Ranking by Region

Region	GDP		GER		IA		SCR		UTT		PTR		PSLE		Composite Score	Final Rank	Share Investment
Weight	20%		20%		10%		15%		15%		10%		10%		100%		100.00
1 Arusha	19	1.81	9	0.86	2	0.10	9	0.64	4	0.29	7	0.33	16.5	0.79	4.81	10	4.76
2 DSM	20	1.90	19	1.81	20	0.95	3	0.21	2	0.14	3	0.14	20	0.95	6.12	3	1.43
3 Dodoma	5	0.48	10	0.95	9	0.43	5	0.36	6.5	0.46	5.5	0.26	7	0.33	3.27	17	8.10
4 Iringa	15	1.43	18	1.71	13	0.62	20	1.43	10	0.71	9	0.43	18	0.86	7.19	2	0.95
5 Kagera	12	1.14	6	0.57	8	0.38	19	1.36	12	0.86	18	0.86	5	0.24	5.40	11	5.24
6 Kigoma	3	0.29	3	0.29	4	0.19	7	0.50	13	0.93	10.5	0.50	6	0.29	2.98	18	8.57
7 K'njaro	11	1.05	20	1.90	18	0.86	18	1.29	14	1.00	20	0.95	12	0.57	7.62	1	0.48
8 Lindi	2	0.19	1	0.10	16	0.76	12	0.86	20	1.43	18	0.86	10	0.48	4.67	13	6.19
9 Mara	10	0.95	17	1.62	14	0.67	11	0.79	9	0.64	8	0.38	19	0.90	5.95	5	2.38
10 Mbeya	17	1.62	14	1.33	6	0.29	13	0.93	17	1.21	13	0.62	14	0.67	6.67	4	1.90
11 Morogoro	13	1.24	11	1.05	12	0.57	14	1.00	15.5	1.11	15.5	0.74	11	0.52	6.23	6	2.86
12 Mtwara	7	0.67	8	0.76	7	0.33	6	0.43	19	1.36	18	0.86	2	0.10	4.50	15	7.14
13 Mwanza	18	1.71	13	1.24	10	0.48	4	0.29	3	0.21	3	0.14	16.5	0.79	4.86	9	4.29
14 Pwani	1	0.10	15	1.43	11	0.52	8	0.57	6.5	0.46	13	0.62	13	0.62	4.32	12	5.71
15 Rukwa	6	0.57	5	0.48	5	0.24	16	1.14	8	0.57	10.5	0.50	15	0.71	4.21	14	6.67
16 Ruvuma	8	0.76	16	1.52	19	0.90	17	1.21	15.5	1.11	13	0.62	4	0.19	6.32	7	3.33
17 S'nyanga	16	1.52	7	0.67	1	0.05	1	0.07	1	0.07	1	0.05	1	0.05	2.48	20	9.52
18 Singida	4	0.38	12	1.14	3	0.14	10	0.71	11	0.79	3	0.14	9	0.43	3.74	16	7.62
19 Tabora	9	0.86	2	0.19	15	0.71	2	0.14	5	0.36	5.5	0.26	3	0.14	2.67	19	9.05
20 Tanga	14	1.33	4	0.38	17	0.81	15	1.07	18	1.29	15.5	0.74	8	0.38	6.00	8	3.81
Total	**210**		**210**		**210**		**210**		**210**		**210**		**210**			**210**	

GDP= Share of Region's GDP (the smaller the share the more in Need), **GER** = Primary School Gross Enrolment Ratio (the lower the rate, the more in need), **IA** = Adult Illiteracy rate (the lower the ratio the lower the need), **SCR** = Students per Classroom (the higher the ratio, the more in need), **UTT** = Pupil per Untrained Teacher (the higher the ratio the more in need), **PTR** = Pupil Teacher Ratio (the higher the ratio, the more in need), **PSLE** = Primary School Leaving Examination (the lower the performance the more in need), **Composite Score** = WEIGHTED Rank for each of the six indicators, **Final Rank** = The Rank of the Regions based on their composite score arranged from 'least" (RANK 1) to "most" (RANK 20) in need.

93. Based on the development index Shinyanga is the most in need of intervention among the 20 regions, and should therefore receive the biggest share of investment. Tabora is the next in need. Iringa is the last but one while Kilimanjaro is the least in need. Within the region, allocations will be determined by peculiar needs identified internally and for each district. However, during the Universal Primary Education (UPE) drive grants where allocated every financial year to districts based on the current enrolment figures rather than on a combination of needs and fiscal capacity. Although grants where allocated on the basis of the number of children enrolled in primary education by districts, figures varied from an average in urban areas of Tsh. 14,199 to Tsh. 12,279 in rural areas for the year 1995.

Table 11. Non-Parametric Pearson Correlation of Selected Regional Primary School Indicators (Dependent Variable: GER)

	GDP	IA	UTT	PSLE	CS	GER	PCR	PTR
Share of Region GDP (GDP)	1.000	0.053	-0.341	0.380	0.438	0.327	-0.041	-0.285
Adult illiteracy Rate (IA)	0.053	1.000	0.222	0.195	.584**	0.345	0.247	0.300
Pupils Per Untrained Teacher (UTT)	-0.341	0.222	1.00	-0.265	0.373	0.180	0.569**	0.821**
Primary School Leaving Exam (PSLE)	0.380	0.195	-0.265	1.00	0.508*	0.562*	0.186	-0.182
Composite Score (CS)	0.438	0.584**	0.373	0.508*	1.000	0.621**	0.680**	.0.499
Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER)	0.327	0.345	-0.180	0.562**	0.621**	1.000	0.203	-0.106
Pupils Per Class Room (PCR)	-0.041	0.247	.569**	0.186	0.680**	0.203	1.000	.0.648**
Pupils Per teacher (PTR)	-0.285	0.300	.821**	-0.182	0.499*	-0.106	.648	1.000

** Correlation significant at the 0.01 level
* Correlation significant at the 0.05 level

94. Table 11 shows the implications of having in place a composite index driven investment criteria for regional/districts' allocations as follows:

- composite score index for each region is correlated positively with gross enrolment ratio ($r = 0.621$, $p = 0.01$) and primary school leaving examination performance ($r = 0.808$, $p = 0.05$;
- composite score index for each region is correlated positively with Pupil Per Teacher Ratio (PTR) ($r = 0.499$, $p = 0.05$);
- composite score index for each region is correlated positively with adult Illiteracy Rate (IA) ($r = 0.584$, $p = 0.05$).
- the number of pupils per Untrained Teacher (UTT) is correlated positively with the number of Pupils Per Classroom (PCR) ($r = 0.569$, $p = 0.01$)

95. Reliable data for use in a district level analysis of determinants of enrolment is hard to come by. However, available evidence from TADREG (1999) on "**education sector development programme and poverty alleviation strategy**" tends to caution that the future performance of UPE will more likely depend on efforts directed at micro-district levels. District level differences in inputs during the UPE drive seemed to be more pronounced than differences in outputs. For example, by 1997, school age population per classroom recorded the widest range: 43:1 in Mbeya to 430:1 in Igunga. Analysis by quintile shows that the top 20 districts had on average almost 4 times more classrooms in relation to the school age population than the bottom 20 districts (see TADREG, 1997). Average scores in the PSLE also varied substantially, from 12% for Dodoma Rural to 45% for Kigoma Urban. The average PSLE score in the first quintile was almost twice the score in the fifth quintile. Overall the average grade was very low in rural-districts.

11. THE IRONY OF TOP DOWN APPROACH FOR UPE

96. Is it not an historical irony that UPE should be engineered from the central bureaucracy? Systems dependent on central management and implementation of UPE have remained unconvincing in a climate of declining resources and insensitive institutional arrangements. Top-down approaches and stereotyping in setting and implementing UPE and the Education Sector Development Programme have been common in Tanzania to the detriment of the sector. UPE is a huge undertaking and has the potential of distressing any good intentions. Organising for UPE achievement can be a key problem in the Ministry of Education and Culture; the overseer of Education and Training Policy (1995) and standards. The nature of the UPE implementation activities exhibit/display several issues to be dealt with immediately in order to revive UPE. Such issues include: **lack and need for modernisation; lack for setting priorities; need to avoid confusion and inability to make right choices, the large size of the sector and the ministry itself, data management and its effective utilisation, and the inertia to try innovative ideas.**

97. A modern democratic education system is one that enables learners, parents and teachers to be informed, to participate, and to influence the decisions that affect them. The organisational functioning of the MOEC is not best suited for primary education effective implementation unless it is organised in some way as to directly involve its stakeholders, mainly parents, teachers and districts through strong parents/teachers associations. The stakeholder voice in UPE policy making has remained muted. The tradeoffs between the public and private sectors in provision and financing have sharpened overtime. The scenario that has emerged between the two sectors is that of control and competition rather than the two complimenting each other in UPE provision.

98. After the reintroduction of local governments in 1984, the MOEC has counted on the Ministry responsible for local governments to implement the UPE policy. However, this thinking may be wrong because it was mainly political and financial concerns that led to the reintroduction of local governments (Liviga, 1992). Educational issues played a minor role, although primary education is the most important and largest activity of local governments (Thirkildsen, 1993). During the UPE drive the local governments showed problems related to: **low capacity and competence to deliver, misallocation of funds from government subsidies and especially those earmarked for education, structural supervisory incompetence (of MOEC), weak fiscal revenue base and general lack of organisational and operational efficiency** (as shown by low TPRs, poor management of teachers and low performance in PSLE).

99. On the other hand in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the donor community played a major role in the reforms of the education sector especially in primary education. This led to the evolving of several policy packages in the MOEC. The result was "**an aid financed and fragmented sector, overwhelmed by workshops and assorted strategy exercises, that existed in a partial vacuum from mainstream activity**" (Wort, 2000). The result has been a reduced supervisory role of central government and its general impact on institutional weakening manifested in various limitations on the central implementation of UPE.

Table 12. Gross Enrolment Changes in School Mapping Pilot Districts (%)

(Post implementation figures in brackets)

District	G.E.R	N.E.R	P.T.R
Kisarawe	75(78)	66(67)	48
Musoma (Rural)	69(75)	30(42)	15
Serengeti	75(76)	62(64)	33
Bagamoyo	70(73)	53(56)	25
Morogoro (Urban)	84(86)	70(71)	15
Magu	60(61)	51(50)	80

Source: Galabawa, Agu and Miyazawa (2000)

100. A key strategy in UPE implementation is through developing empowerment to and commitment of communities for the development of primary education. One of the key UPE mission is that the districts therefore are able to operationalise strategies and take ownership. Besides, the national commitment of the "third phase" government; this ownership and empowerment of communities has been the secret behind the now rising enrolment rates. School/districts based programmes have a high chance of success in raising enrolments and school admissions. Three case studies illustrate this position:

Case one: The district based Community Education Fund (CEF).

101. This case study represents the Tanzania Human Resources Development Pilot Project (World Bank 1997).administered by the Ministry of Education and Culture under the Human Resources Development Programme. As part of a development credit from IDA to the United Republic of Tanzania a sum of SDR 15.0 million, the equivalent of US$ 20.9 million, and on standard IDA terms, with maturity 40 years, was loaned to help finance the Human Resources Development (HRD) component of Community Education Fund (CEF). At Primary school level, the objective of the project is to increase funding in a manner that will contribute to improved outcomes and increased accountability of schools to parents. This component is being implemented through the **Community Education Fund (CEF)** which aims at raising enrolments and quality/learning outcomes of primary education through increased parental participation and financing, school-based quality enhancement initiatives, and improved support for schools at the district level. The capacity building component of the project aims at building capacity through CEF programmes at the district and community levels and through selective training and project implementation at the Central Level. It is expected that MOEC will be able to **formulate** and **implement solutions to problems in primary education**. A matching grant is provided to communities.

102. **The Project Outcomes**: The major expected project outcomes under the CEF component were; **increased enrolment, improved performance as measured on PSLE, improved school environment for learning, increased parental and community involvement, improved school management and improved school financial base**.

103. **Project Selected Findings**: Selected categories of impact findings on this CEF project tend to suggest that:

- enrolments in CEF districts showed higher average growth rates trends than those shown by non-CEF but comparable districts for the same period of 1994 – 1998;
- CEF district enrolment trends tend to be positive for schools which are two years old in the project while those which have been in the project beyond or above three years tend to experience negative enrolment trends;
- the average school enrolment for the 370 CEF schools has increased from 316 pupils (two years ago) to 328 pupils (to date);
- the enrolment standard spread or dispersion between CEF schools has gone down from 270 two years ago to 236 to date an indication that the CEF ideas are spreading fast and the schools are becoming closer in terms of enrolment and mobilisation efforts;
- CEF schools tend to show improvement and score gains in PSLE when compared with other non-CEF schools at the regional level;
- CEF schools tend to show significant performance gains in the first and second years of project implementation while tending to fall off slightly in the third year within district comparisons.

Case two: Positive Impact of School Mapping. (at district level)

104. With the support of UNICEF and JICA the district school mapping process was designed to do the following: (i) strengthen local capacities to collect, organise, analyses and use educational data to make informed decision for educational development; (ii) improve districts' administrative, planning and monitoring capacities with respect to education; (iii) mobilise communities to participate in the development/improvement of education indicators; (iv) put in place accurate/reliable, detailed and accessible education information for use in decision making and action. The school mapping exercise in Tanzania adapted and used the instruments and techniques developed by the International Institute of Education Planning (IIEP); and outlined and followed a number of processes. The vision is that the use of these instruments and techniques/ processes, along with the data generated through them by the people themselves, will impact positively on the status of education in the areas concerned.

The Findings:

105. **One**, the number of school age children increased in three of the districts (Musoma, Serengeti and Magu) and decreased in the other three districts (Kisarawe, Bagamoyo and Morogoro Urban). There could be two possible competing explanations for the above developments; (i) that there was an improvement in data collection for the districts which experienced increase in the number of school age children; (ii) that there was an improvement in the Standard One Admission Rate as a result of school mapping for the districts which experienced a decrease in the number of school age children outside school. Both explanations point to a positive impact of school mapping.

106. **Two**, there was an increase in GER in all relevant districts and this development with respect to gross enrolment ratio (GER) is interesting. While gross enrolment increased at various levels in all the six districts; the pattern for the gross enrolment ratio is mixed. It increased in three districts – Musoma Rural (69% to 75%), Bagamoyo (70% to 73%), Morogoro urban (84.6% to 86%) and decreased in the three districts – Kisarawe (88% to 85%), Serengeti (86% to 85%), and Magu (61% to 60%). The explanations for the trends in GER is related to the way GER is defined. **It is defined as the ratio**

between the total number of school children enrolled in the current year to the total number of school age children in the population of the district multiplied by one hundred. In this case then, any policy intervention which affects the size of total enrolment or total number of student population will have positive or negative effects on the GER. The school mapping exercise affected the GERs in the following ways: (i) by identifying more of the school age children and putting them in school, thereby increasing the size of the denominator and subsequently increasing GER; (ii) by mobilising and sensitising parents to enrol their children in Standard One at the right age of seven years; this facilitated a decrease in the number of over-age children in school and thus decreased GER since the denominator decreased in this case. Both situations are indicators of positive impact.

107. **Three**, the Net Enrolment Ratios (NER) increased at varying degrees in the four districts – Kisarawe, Musoma, Serengeti and Morogoro urban – that had the information available. While in Musoma rural, it increased from 30% to 42% (12%); in Serengeti, it increased by 2% and by 1% each in Kisarawe and Morogoro urban districts. This trend suggests that the overall number of school age children in school has increased relative to the over aged children. However, NERs are lower than GERs for the districts. This is an indication that although the situation did improve a good proportion of school age children was still not in school.

Case three: The District Based Support to Primary Education (DBSPE).

108. The District Based Support to Primary Education (DBSPE) is a national programme developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) to improve the quality and access to primary education. The major outputs outlined in the DBSPE plan have been carefully linked to the major components of the Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) within the framework of the Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP). DBSPE has grown out of previous projects/programmes supported by joint donors. Currently, the government with the support of three major donor funding agencies; DBSPE, the Royal Danish Embassy (Danida), and Royal Netherlands have committed themselves to support 62 districts by the year 2001. These include the 14 districts of the MoEC/Danida PEP test phase. Likewise, the Embassy of Finland supports a total of the 11 districts. Further, the programme relates in many ways to the SDP process together with the Local Government Reform (LGR) initiatives, by building capacity at the district and school level for decentralised planning and implementation. DBSPE has already established operating procedures for launching the programme in the new districts and implementation procedures are outlined in the District Operational manual and the District Finance Manual.

109. **The Programme Impact**: The programme has improved the performance of district education staff, teachers and pupils in the targeted districts. Improvements have been registered in the broad support to districts to manage access and quality of primary schooling. In each district, DBSPE has created a system of Teachers' Resources Centres (TRCs) and school clustering to carry out In-service Teacher Training close to the schools. School Plans have been prepared covering school rehabilitation, teacher development and improved school management.

110. The three cases bring us back to the crucial question " how did CEF, school mapping and DBSPE contribute to the changes shown?" The programmes/projects which are district based contributed in strengthening the capacities of the schools and communities by improving the school-community linkages. The communities have been mobilised and empowered to support primary education. They increased their participation in school activities by making more contributions to the improvement of the

school environment and also followed up school attendance. That is to say, the communities participated both on the supply and demand sides of the schooling process. This made the change. The improved physical environment of schools not only attracted children to school but also provided more access. The follow up on attendance and dropping out ensured that more children stayed in school. The cumulative effect of both, in addition to parental interests in schooling facilitated the implementation of decisions on enrolment of Standard One pupils. The "**exit in voice and royalty**" has been turned around! A different ownership of schools, which has the ability to update schools, has been achieved.

12. CURRENT POLICY CONCERNS ON THE EDUCATION SECTOR

111. The trends and issues observed in the foregoing analysis reflect, at least partially, the changing policies, practices and commitment of the primary education authorities. We need to convey a more dynamic picture of primary education in Tanzania as a sub system that is in part the product of active policy intervention.

112. Recent efforts to redefine the role of the state in Tanzania education have included the implementation of the Public Service Reform Programme (PSRP) that began in 1993. Redefinitions have necessitated central government withdrawal from direct production/provision of goods and services; restructuring of the public service and reduction of employment levels by approximately 25%. The decentralisation process is being spearheaded by rationalisation of tiers of government through a restructuring of the regional administration and the launching of the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP). This will help to narrow down the scale of implementation based at the local government level.

113. All public interventions which are focussed on primary education are now realigned to correspond with the LGRP. On-going programmes and projects are being designed to benefit local communities by not only provision of services but also developing their capacity for active participation through small scale implementation.

114. A series of policy reviews and planning initiatives, articulating the long-term vision of the education sector culminated in the formulation of the Education and Training Policy (ETP) in 1995. Unlike previous education policies, the ETP covers the entire education sector. The main thrust of the policy framework is "**broadening the base of source of revenue and seeking to improve financial efficiency and effectiveness in executing the medium term mission of the sector. That is to achieve quality provision, equitable access, expansion of facilities and efficiency gains**".

115. The long-term policy objectives of UPE are now articulated within a pool of complementary macro policy initiatives. In particular, this is done through the Poverty Reduction Strategy (2000) which focuses efforts on (i) reducing income poverty (ii) improving human capabilities, survival and social well being and (iii) containing extreme vulnerability among the poor. On the other hand Vision 2025 aims at creating a well-educated nation and a high quality of life.

116. The primary education sub-system has for a long time operated without a donor assistance strategy. Donor assistance to the primary education sub-sector has been fragmented. The project based approach has resulted into serious vertical and horizontal distortions. Inequities have emerged in primary schooling access and quality between districts, schools, gender and disadvantaged groups (see Primary Education Implication Plan, 2001). The donor driven project style approach of primary school development often demanded unique and parallel management and reporting systems for each project over and above the normal official government structures. This led to inordinate expenditure of human, financial resources, time and general duplication of effort. To correct this situation the Tanzania Assistance Strategy (TAS) is designed to ensure local ownership and leadership, promotion of partnership in designing and executing development programmes, encouraging good governance and transparency, capacity building and aid-donor support effectiveness. The key word here is development assistance for local empowerment.

117. A sound primary education initiation investment plan has been prepared with the support of donors and the World Bank. This followed from prepared analytical work that established the basic education strategic framework, with which policy interventions and

investments formed the main elements of the initiation plan. Currently policy interventions and investments in primary education are related to the issues identified in the education status report. These are: **enrolment expansion and access promotion; quality improvement; strengthened institutional capacity and arrangement; ensuring adequate resources and efficient financial management; improvement of designs and interventions.**

13. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

118. As the facts and figures suggest and further explicate the argument it can be concluded that the conditions for universal primary education in Tanzania are not yet ripe. Even now if certain structural weaknesses are not resolved out, the UPE target may still fall seriously short. The role of the state in the provision of education as well as the involvement of communities have to be clearly stated and worked out. The teachers have not only to be well trained, but also they have to be professionally supported and motivated to follow through the whole exercise. The students and parents have to be recognized as clients who are motivated by outcomes too. As the quality of education declines in Tanzania, so is the raison d'etre for enrolling and staying in schools for most students. This is because for these students other compelling and lifesaving alternatives may quickly be found instead of spending, time in school which does not guarantee beneficial outcome. Parents may also reasonably find it better to spend their limited income on health, food and other more immediate needs for their families, rather than spending it on ineffectual education.

119. As we move into yet another UPE phase these issues should be foremost on our agenda. As the government casts its nets wide amongst development partners and the community for support in this venture, the sustainability of the staggering efforts should not be far removed from our thoughts and planning processes. It would be folly for us not to learn from history, particularly, when such history is still so recent.

120. The review of Tanzania experience with UPE implementation suggests that a complex of factors may have influenced and affected differently the UPE direction and magnitude. As pointed out earlier a holistic approach to implementation may be the quickest route to high achievements. To what extent can this Tanzania experience contribute to future policy initiatives? This experience points to policy directions in the following areas:

- **National Commitment**: The national social-economic policy context and its wider government commitment appear to be a pre-condition for UPE success. Countries need to re-examine their visionary leadership on this matter; which by actions fosters self-confidence in the determination of UPE and general education destiny by taking opportunity to bring about effective systems that: **promote macro-economic growth equilibrium, increase revenue generation through a reasonable tax-take relative to GDP, appropriately manage education supply and demand; control negative demographic and HIV/AIDS impacts; and promote local and community based initiatives**.
- **Casting Wider the Partnership net in provision**: The national leadership needs to recognize the need for an adequately provided and funded pluralistic UPE system that benefits from greater involvement of households, students, private sector, non-governmental organizations and complementary development partners' investment.
- **Community Contributions/Cost-sharing**: While it is clear that the philosophy of a completely free UPE provision could no longer be sustained, community cost-sharing should replace individual household contributions; and these should be additional and not a substitute for government spending on UPE. The additional community contributions should be translated into improved quality.
- **The Limits of Structural Adjustment Programmes**: In the process of implementing structural adjustment programmes, the limits of the process and their negative impact on incomes and poverty eradication must be evaluated against their

orthodox objectives. The orthodox objectives of structural adjustment programmes are not sufficient conditions for poverty reduction initiatives.

- **Indebtedness and Debt Service**: The Tanzania UPE drive was affected by high indebtedness forcing allocation of scarce resources to loan repayment rather that to education and other social sectors. Thus properly prioritised and well managed debt service/relief initiatives are needed so as to free up funding for UPE (education) initiatives.
- **Transfomative UPE**: UPE should be results oriented and in particular be appropriate, relevant and transformative with regard to people's lives and work. The gap between the assumed social benefits and the people's perceived private benefits needs to be narrowed. The signals in this direction are: **promotion of labour market employment opportunities; allowing for un-limited post-primary schooling, and ensuring rural and life skills relevance.** UPE has to be seen as being externally efficient in both micro and macro contexts.
- **Qualitative UPE**: In an environment of low enrolment rates and poor infrastructure, improving quality of existing schools might be just as effective at improving enrolment and retention rates as simply opening up more schools. The goal should not be merely to have children formally enrolled in schools but to ensure that they actually learn what they are supposed to learn (quantity and quality must be addressed simultaneously).
- **Criteria for Sharing UPE Costs**.: Grants from central government should seek to adjust the flow of funds to the recipient district under two broad criteria: **the needs of the district to spend money on UPE services and the ability of the district to meet these needs from its own fiscal resources**. A general lack of appropriate strategy for district allocation of investment (non-equalisation) continues to starve schools of resources. This has to be done within a strengthened institutional arrangement relating to implementation so as to optimise use of human, material and financial resources.
- The implementation and sustainability of UPE is to a large extent affected by the quality of inputs (i.e. teachers, textbooks, teaching materials, basic infrastructure, leadership). However, these inputs can be effective in strengthened institutional arrangements that promote decentralisation, pluralism, democratic provision, transparency, effective resource flow and accountability. The success of the Community Education Fund (CEF) and School Mapping initiatives at district level suggests that there is a significant relationship between village level social capital of which trust is a major determinant, parental participation in school related activities and school outcome improvement. This calls for a strict demarcation between the sphere of the "Education Officials" and that of the "funding availability through a variety of stakeholders". That is officials must establish a distance between themselves and interest groups seeking to extract concessions as questions of patronage and corruption will deter UPE productivity and sustainability.

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