

Will the '2014 Education and Training Policy' Prepare Tanzanian Children to Face Challenges of the 21st Century?

HAKIELIMU POSITION PAPER ON THE EDUCATION AND TRAINING POLICY 2014

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms:

ATE	Association of Tanzanian Employers
CSSE	Certificate of Secondary School Examination
DP	Development Partners
EFA	Education for All
EGMA	Early Grade Mathematics Assessment
EGRA	Early Grade Reading Assessment
ESR	Education for Self Reliance
ETP	Education and Training Policy
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GPA	Grade Point Average
LOI	Language of Instruction
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MKUKUTA	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupunguza Umaskini Tanzania
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NECTA	National Examinations Council of Tanzania
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
PEDP	Primary Education Development Programme
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examinations
PTR	Pupil Teacher Ratio
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Plan
TDMS	Teacher Development and Management Strategy
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

1. Executive Summary

In 2014 the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training launched the new Education and Training Policy (Sera ya Elimu na Mafunzo) 2014. The Policy replaces all the previous education policies, including the Education and Training Policy of 1995. The new education policy comes at a time when there has been an explosion and availability of knowledge through technological development. Internet and its availability to even remote areas through mobile phones have made vast knowledge available to most of Tanzanians. The new education policy is expected to usher Tanzanian into 21st century.

This paper is HakiElimu's position paper on the new policy. As a leading education advocacy civil society organisation HakiElimu is duty bound to bring to stakeholders its views on the policy document. The aim is to describe the strengths of the new policy and to highlight any shortcomings in it. This is important as the policy is going to guide the education sector in the country in the coming decades. The paper discusses the current situation in education as it is expected that the policy would address these issues and propose ways to overcome the problems faced by the sector. Tanzanian education faces many challenges. Perhaps the most pressing challenge is how to respond to the knowledge explosion taking place in the world. A huge amount of knowledge, on every subject conceivable is available on the World Wide Web. As a result the role of schools, teachers, and students is in transition. How would the MoEVT manage this transition?

Education also faces challenges that we have inherited from the last century, poor learning outcomes; inequality based on gender, income; access to education. The medium of instruction has been a challenge for the last 50 years. In recent years youth unemployment has emerged as a major problem that needs to be addressed. The policy was analysed using different criteria such as its political feasibility and to see if it was financially viable. Policy was analysed to see if it addressed the main challenges facing the education sector.

In relation to education structure, the Policy states that the old structure of 2 years of pre-primary; 7 years of primary; 4 years of lower secondary; 2 years of higher secondary and 3+ years of higher education will be replaced by 1 year of pre-primary; 6 years of primary and 4 years of secondary. The 11 years of education will be *compulsory* and *free*. The aim of this change is to bring Tanzanian education in line with neighboring countries. One of the problems in the policy is the vagueness on the age of entry. It states that children will enter standard one between the ages of 4 and 6. This will mean having children of different ages in the same class and finishing education at different ages.

The 2014 Education Policy aims to improve quality of education through several measures including improved monitoring, curriculum reforms to make education more relevant; ensuring improved teaching of science; improving teaching and learning environment and providing basic services to children; improving school infrastructure; creating a safe environment for children; providing guidance and counselling services to children; introducing peace education in schools; and carrying out continuous assessment in schools and reforming the examination system.

All these proposed changes have been made before and are necessary but not sufficient to improve the quality of education. Our view is that, poor quality of education is a reflection of poor quality learning and teaching. The 2014 Policy is silent on qualifications required for a person to become a teacher. We have also shown that teacher absenteeism contributes significantly to poor quality of education. On curriculum reforms the policy states that government will ensure that it will develop basic skills of communication, reading, writing, numeracy. Creativity, research; analysis information; translation; evaluation; and use skills of creativity in entrepreneurship at all levels of education will also be developed. These changes, if implemented, could significantly improve the quality of school graduates and make it easier for school graduates to find employment. The policy also states that the government will put in place a sustainable process to measure progress of students and carry out periodic assessment of manpower needs with different skills to ensure that the education that is provided is able to meet these needs. According to the Policy the government will create a good environment and ensure that the education and training sector produces manpower with the required skills and numbers for national development. These are positive statements. However, the 2014 Education Policy is silent on immediate changes that are necessary to ensure that students finishing education are able to find employment in the formal sector.

On the medium of instruction (MOI) at secondary level, the Policy does not come up with concrete suggestions, although it has been announced by the government that Kiswahili will be used as LOI at secondary level. We presume that this will happen in the government secondary schools while private schools will continue to use English as medium of instruction furthering the public/private schooling divide.

Education is facing many problems related to equity at different levels. There are equity issues related to access, process and performance. These issues are not new; the education sector has been facing them for the last several years. No systematic attempt has been made to address these issues of inequity. The issue of equity as a result of private schooling is not discussed in the Policy 2014. The Policy touches upon education of marginalised groups and states that these problems will be addressed. Policy statements like that the government will ensure gender equality have repeatedly been stated in past but have hardly received the attention they deserve. The fact is, these are general statements, which are often repeated without any concrete action being taken.

HakiElimu recommends:

1. Technological development and global competition are going to define education in the 21st Century. The education policy has to ensure that Tanzania is not left behind in benefitting from these developments.

2. There is need for the statements to be more specific and country-wide driven. For example, the age at which children start primary schooling should be clearly stated leaving no room for ambiguity. It should moreover, be applicable to all the children in the country, both in private and secondary schools, taking into consideration the country's geographical and demographic mapping of schools and pupils' homes.

3. Similarly, the Policy must come up with a clear statement on the medium of instruction. Currently, the policy statements on this are disturbingly vague. HakiElimu believes that there is need for a national policy on the medium of instruction that should be applicable to all the schools in the country, both private and public.

4. The national education Policy needs to clearly define the role of private education in the country. As discussed, access to top performing primary and secondary schools is limited by a child's ability to pay or religious affiliation. It should not create different demands for private schools at the expenses of poor performing public schools. The starting point should be to improve the public system.
5. The Policy needs to address the issue of youth unemployment. Currently, employers feel that the education system is not adequately preparing youth for employment. The role of schools to provide hard and soft skills relevant for employment need to be stipulated in the national education Policy. On the other hand, the industry is not expanding quickly enough to absorb all the school graduates.

6. Finally, the Policy has to take the issue of quality head on. As discussed earlier, the issue of quality of education is tied to the quality of teachers. Teacher preparation, support, deployment, their working and living conditions are issues that need to be addressed. Standards of teacher competencies, attendance, and teaching need to be developed. Currently, the system is not optimally managed in the context of local conditions and scarce available resources.

2. Introduction

This document provides HakiElimu's response to the newly formulated Education and Training Policy (URT: 2014). The Policy comes at a time when the education sector is facing severe challenges. Tanzanian education has to address several pressing challenges such as technological development, poor learning outcomes and the linkage between the education system and labour market. This paper looks at different challenges currently facing education and discusses how the new Policy aims to address these challenges.

It is important from the onset to clearly define the key terms that are going to be used in this position paper. A national education **policy**, like Education and Training Policy 1995, establishes the main goals and priorities pursued by the government in matters of education – at the sector and sub-sector levels – with regard to specific aspects such as access, quality and teachers, or to a given issue or need. A policy is in line with the constitution and shows the government's commitment. The policy is composed of broad statements that are either sector–wide or specific to sub-sectors. A Policy does not have a set timeline. It does not, normally state, when the policy statements will be implemented or how it will be implemented. A **strategy,** results from the policy, and specifies how the policy goals are to be achieved. It is more detailed than the policy. The strategy sets directions for achieving goals and priorities set out in the policy. A **plan** is more detailed in that it defines the targets to be achieved, activities to be implemented and when, responsibilities for implementing particular activities and resources needed to realize the policy and strategy. A plan operationalises the strategy and the policy. It lays a roadmap of concrete actions that need to be taken to achieve the goals of the policy. Unlike the policy, plans are time bound (UNESCO: 2013).

National education policies are formulated by Governments to ensure that they address the problems that the sector is facing. Policies also arise from the need to attain the national economic, social and political goals as education is seen as crucial to ensuring the achievements of the national goals. The policies are translated into laws, rules and principles, to guide the operations in the education systems. Since independence in 1961, the government of Tanzania has several times embarked to reform the education system to meet the national development goals and achieve desired objectives. One of the key element flowing through education polices in Tanzania is its focus on economic achievements. One clearly sees in these policies the desire to match education to the existing socio-economic landscape in the country. Whereas, the Education for Self Reliance Policy focused on rural-oriented vocational training, the Education and Training Policy aimed at preparing students for more technologically advanced work places. The shift from making education relevant to a rural setting to a more urban setting reflects the changing economy of the country where the proportion of agriculture to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has been declining and the proportion of manufacturing, construction, mining and service has been increasing. Supplementary education policies promulgated after 1995 clearly reflect the changing policy shifts (URT: 2007).

2.1. Historical Perspective on Education Policies

In this section, we will briefly look at some of the major education policies from the time of independence and see how education was used as a tool to achieve the national socio-political and

economic goals. Tanzania (known as Tanganyika at the time) faced a major problem of creating a nation from a country divided along ethnic, racial and religious lines. The British colonialists who used education, among other policies and practices to keep Tanzanian society fractured, created this division. During the colonial period, there were different schools for different races: Africans, Asians and Europeans. Another problem that the government faced at the time of independence was that schools were educating a very small proportion of Tanzanians, especially Africans. The immediate period following independence, 1961 to 1967, was the period of nation building where education played a major role. Education was used to address the twin problem of fractured and inadequate education system.

Education changes during the period were guided by the Education Ordinance, 1961 (Galabawa: 1990). The Ordinance did away with schools divided along race, religious and ethnic lines and integrated all schools which were then controlled and managed by the government and voluntary agencies. The government abolished school fees in order to ensure that children of the poor the majority being Africans accessed education. This meant that children of the poor were able to access education from primary to university level without having to worry about the cost of schooling. The Ordinance also made English and Swahili as the two media of instruction. However, in 1965, Kiswahili became the sole medium of instruction in all the primary schools. The aims of all these changes were to create one Tanzania through a single system of education that followed a centralised uniform curriculum. After the process of nation building was in place, the Government embarked on the expansion plan to increase the number of children attending schools with the aim of achieving manpower self-sufficiency by 1980. This expansion was to support the Africanisation policy that was adopted after independence.

Perhaps by far the major changes in the Tanzanian education resulted from the policy of Education for Self Reliance (ESR) (Nyerere: 1968, 267-300). In 1967 Tanzania decided to follow a socialist path of development. ESR was a blueprint for Tanzania to build a socialist society through education. ESR reflected the philosophical views of Julius Nyerere. Nyerere saw Tanzania's future in development of rural areas based on socialist principles. He argued that the role of education, especially primary education was to prepare youth for a life in rural areas. He envisioned educated youth, with better agriculture skills leading the national development.

ESR called for a complete transformation of the organisation of the schools, the structure of educational system, and the content of learning. It called for re-enforcement of cooperative, rather than competitive methods of learning and work, and for the need for student participation and decision-making in schools. Socialist ideology was to permeate the whole of the educational system. Pupils at primary school level were to be taught elements of modern agriculture: they were expected to become agents of economic and political change within the ujamaa villages.

ESR was a revolutionary philosophy that aimed at the transformation of education from the inherited elitist and colonial education system to an education that was at the same time productive and inculcated socialist co-operative values. The fundamental shift was an attempt to make education more appropriate to a rural, developing society, where primary schooling was meant to be both universal and a preparation for work in the communities. Primary education was to be a

complete education, relevant and useful for the recipients and not preparation for the next level of education.

During the early years of independence, the key feature of the policy formation was that the process of change in the education sector, like in other sectors, was led by the governing party TANU. Education changes were seen as political issues rather than technical and bureaucratic. Every time changes were made, it was the Party organs that made the changes and directed the government to implement them. That was true for ESR as well. Although ESR was initiated by President Nyerere, it was discussed and approved by the National Executive Committee of the party before the Ministry of Education was directed to implement it. All efforts were used to inform the public about education for self-reliance. Mass media, speeches of leaders, including of Nyerere were used for the purpose. The result was that all stakeholders, parents, students, and teachers became familiar with the purpose and approaches of ESR.

After ESR, the most important education policy was the Education and Training Policy (ETP) of 1995 (URT: 1995). ETP was an important document that guided education from mid 90s for a decade and half of the 21st Century. The formulation of ETP shows two fundamental changes from ESR. One, ETP and other policy documents that were formulated during the period were documents commissioned to local consultants or were written by Ministry officials (Buchert: 1970). Policy formation shifted from the Party to technocrats and bureaucrats. This was expected as in a multi-party nation the ruling party lacked legitimacy to formulate policies. However, formulated policies had to be approved by the government and the parliament. Secondly, the goal of education shifted from preparing students for a socialist society to preparing them for employment in the formal economy. ETP was preceded by Education for the 21st Century, a document prepared by commissioned academics. Education for the 21st Century was an important step in preparing ETP 1995.

Several issues such as decentralization, education for all, technical and vocational education, entrepreneurial skills have dominated education policies in 90s and in the 21st Century. ETP was a comprehensive document which covered all levels of the education cycle. The broad policies of ETP were as follows (ETP: 1995, xii, xiii):

- Developing partnership between private and public sector in provision of education. Creating an enabling environment in which this partnership develops and flourishes.
- Broadening the financial base for education and training, through more effective control of government spending, cost sharing and liberalisation strategies.
- Streamlining of the management structure of education, by placing more authority and responsibility on schools, local communities, districts and regions.
- Emphasising the provision of quality education, through curriculum review, improved teacher management and introduction and use of appropriate performance and assessment strategies.
- Increasing access to education, by focusing on the equity issues with respect to women, disadvantaged groups and areas in the country.
- Facilitating the growth of the culture of education for job creation and self-employment through increased availability of opportunities for vocational education and training.

3. Situational Analysis

Policies normally are statements of future intention for the sector. In this section we will analyse the situation in the education sector and identify a few key problems that the sector is facing. We will then see if the Education 2014 Policy has statements on these problems.

3.1. Rapidly changing world

Currently the world is facing many problems ranging from climate change and conflicts in many parts. In education the new technology has led to access to an unprecedented amount of knowledge, knowledge that is available to an increasing number of people even in remote areas. This availability of knowledge poses several questions. One, what does 'to be educated" mean in the current situation? Two, what is the role of teachers going to be, when children can assess knowledge on their own? Three, what is going to be the role of students? Currently, the students' role has been passive, following instructions from teachers. Teachers are seen as depositors of knowledge which they pass on to children. Not only is the sphere of knowledge changing, but the world around us is changing as well. The world of work is transforming with ever increasing use of technology.

3.2. Poor Learning outcomes

Arguably the most serious problem that faces Tanzanian education is poor learning outcomes. Increased schooling as a result of implementing PEDP and SEDP has not been matched by increased learning. In recent years, thanks to national assessments carried out by Uwezo and by USAID it has become clear that the vast majority of our children are not learning what they should be. Our efforts in the education sector have concentrated on two things, access and inputs. Given our international commitments for Education for All and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), our priority has been to ensure that all children are in school, especially those of primary school going age. We have also concentrated our efforts on ensuring that children in schools are given the basic requirements – classrooms, toilets, books and teachers. It appears that what these children learn in classrooms has moved away from our radar. This is dangerous, children are school to learn, if they do not learn then the basic purpose of sending them to school is not met. According to Uwezo, the Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA) and Early Grade Maths Assessment (EGMA), data the problem is quite serious. We will briefly look at what these assessments show.

Uwezo findings over three years indicate consistent underperformance by children. In their latest report (Uwezo: 2015) show that less than half the children in standard 3 were able to read a simple Kiswahili text. The problems in English were more glaring, only one in five children was able to read a simple text in English. In numeracy less than a third were able to do simple multiplications which they were required to learn in standard two. (Uwezo: 2015, 2/3). Similar results were found by EGRA and EGMA, an assessment conducted in 2013 and supported by USAID (USAID: 2014).

Performances of students in national examinations conducted by the National Examinations Council (NECTA) are not any better. Over the last five years the pass rate has varied between a

high of 58.3 percent in 2011 to a low of 30.7 percent in 2012 (URT: 2015, 56). In the 2014 Primary School Leaving Examination,(PSLE),only 57.0 percent of all the children sitting the exam passed, leaving 43 percent (340,726) failing, without any future prospects for education (URT: 2015, 146). The national figures mask huge variations in performance by districts. Whereas in districts like Biharamulo nearly 90 percent of the children passed, only a quarter of all the children in Mkalama district passed the exam. Both Uwezo findings and analysis of the PSLE show that children in urban areas outperform children in rural areas.

Poor performance is also evident in Certificate of Secondary School Examination (CSSE). Pass rates in CSEE too have varied considerably in the last five years. In 2014, 68.3 percent of the students passed, a considerable improvement over the pass rate of 43.1 percent in 2012 (URT: 2015, 68). Analysis of CSSE results for 2014 show that 69.8 percent of the students passed the exam. However, the majority of them, 39 percent, passed with division four. Only 3.1 and 10.5 percent of the students passed with a division 1 or 2 respectively. Analysis by subjects reveals interesting findings. Only one in five students passed basic maths exam. Only 37.4 percent of the students passed history and 37.7 percent passed civics; slightly more than half of the students passed English. More students (69.7 percent) passed Kiswahili than any other subject (URT: 2015, 71).

3.3. Teachers and teaching

What explains this poor performance across the board, at every level of the basic education system? Current low levels of learning and falling standards of education in Tanzania are partly a result of poor teacher competencies and poor teaching motivation. These problems are compounded by poor teacher training, deployment, management and monitoring. In order to overcome these problems the government developed a comprehensive strategy to address them. The Teacher Development and Management Strategy (TDMS) 2008 -2013 (URT: 2008) recommended a holistic approach to address the problems of teachers. The learning environment would have greatly improved if the recommendations of TDMS had been implemented. Unfortunately most of the TDMS recommendations still remain on paper.

The quality of education is directly related to the quality of teaching and learning. The role of teachers in improving the quality of education is crucial. Several studies have shown the link between teacher quality and quality of education. Studies (Coleman1966, Husen et al, 1987; Solomon 1987) clearly indicate that teacher quality does have a positive impact on the level of academic achievement of students attending schools in developing countries.

There are many factors that determine the quality of teaching, including teacher qualifications and experience, their level of motivation, and working conditions. In terms of numbers, the overall situation has significantly improved in recent years. National PTR in primary schools, dropped from a high of 56 in 2005 to 43 in 2014 (URT: 2015, 36). Although PTR at national level is within accepted level, teachers are not equally distributed between regions, districts and schools. These variations are particularly marked at primary school level. In 2014, Tabora region had a PTR of 57 compared to 31 in Kilimanjaro region. Variations are even more pronounced at district levels,

even for districts within the same regions. In Njombe region, Ludewa district had a PTR of 89 compared to 31 in Makete (URT: 2015, 94). Variations at school levels are even more glaring (Tamasha: 2012).

Having an adequate number of qualified teachers is a necessary but not sufficient condition for quality education. Motivation, dedication, work ethics are perhaps more important to ensure that children receive quality education. In recent years students who have done well in their O and A-levels are reluctant to join the teaching profession. Several studies have shown that the majority who join the profession as a last option include those who have recorded poor performance in exit examinations. A study by Mkumbo (2012) stated that the most often stated reasons by teachers for joining the profession was the ease with which students could become employed as a teacher. Student teachers were guaranteed a job on completion of their training unlike in other professions. Several teachers in Mkumbo's study said that students can join the profession when their grades were so poor that they could not join other professions. With such a "reputation" of the profession it is no wonder that only students with low grades join teacher training colleges. Given the poor content knowledge these students have, it is unlikely that they will be capable to engage in quality teaching.

Knowledge of content is as important for teachers as the familiarity with pedagogy. Many teachers in Tanzania not only lack techniques of teaching but their content knowledge of the subjects that they teach is also poor. A study by the World Bank (2011) assessed the content knowledge of Tanzanian teachers in English and mathematics. Ten teachers of standard 4 and those who taught standard 4 in the previous years, from 180 randomly selected primary schools (132 rural and 48 urban) were assessed through tests in English and mathematics. The study found that only one in 10 managed to complete all the questions on the primary language curriculum. There was slight difference between rural and urban teachers. For mathematics, the performance was slightly better, with 75 percent of the teachers managing to complete all questions on the primary mathematics curriculum. Differences between teachers in rural and urban areas were not significant.

Even when teachers are competent, which many are not, learning can only take place if teachers are in class and teaching. The World Bank study (2011) found that on any given day 23 percent of teachers, 20 percent in rural areas and 36 percent in urban areas, were not in school (p.16). Even when teachers were in school, 53per cent of them were not in classrooms at any given time. Teacher absenteeism was much higher in urban areas, where 68 percent of the teachers were not in class compared to 50 percent in rural areas. On average pupils were taught for only two hours and 04 minutes out of required five hours of teaching. In rural areas pupils were taught for two hours 11 minutes compared to one hour 24 minutes of teaching in urban areas.

3.4. Medium of Instruction

It defies reason that in Tanzania we are teaching secondary schools students in a language which most do not understand. Following independence, the government promoted the use of Kiswahili at all levels and made it the national language. In education, after introduction of Kiswahili as LOI in primary schools it was presumed that it was only a matter of time before Kiswahili became a LOI

in secondary and higher education. As late as 1997, the government announced a language policy, *Sera ya Utamaduni* stressing the need for using Kiswahili throughout the education system. However, this aspect of the policy was not implemented due to lack of political will (Brock-Utne: 2003, 15).

The debate on the medium of instruction has primarily focused on the use of English at secondary level. The current practice of using Kiswahili in primary schools for the majority of children and English at secondary and higher level is creating quality problems at secondary levels. This would not have been a problem had children in public primary schools received a good grounding in English. The vast majority of children entering secondary schools have low competency in English. This does affect their performance in secondary schools. Looking from the students' perspective, all the terminologies they learned and used for seven years of primary education in Kiswahili were not of use from day one in secondary schools. They must re-learn new terms in English.

It is well documented that students and teachers in secondary schools have not attained levels of competency required to make English a medium of instruction. Both teachers and students struggle to express themselves in English. Studies have shown that using English as the LOI in secondary education has a profound effect on the quality of education. Nearly thirty years ago Criper and Dodd (1984; 14) wrote:

> *Throughout their secondary school career little or no other subject information is getting across to about 50 per cent of the pupils in our sample. Only about 10 per cent of Form IV's are at a level at which one might expect English medium education to begin.*

3.5. Youth Unemployment

In Tanzania, youth[1] represents about 19 percent of the total population.(National Censes 2012) Although proportion of the youth in the total population has remained fairly constant in the last two decades, in absolute numbers, the size of youth has almost doubled from 4.4 million in 1990 to 8.1 million in 2010 (Morisset 2012). Tanzania is facing a youth unemployment crisis which is unrivalled by many other nations in the world. In 2012, Tanzania was home to more unemployed 15 to 24-year-olds per capita than in 109 other countries. A survey by the non-governmental organisation Restless Development found that out of over 1,000 young people across Tanzania they studied, only 14 percent reported working a formal, wage-earning job (Global Post: 2013).

The study by Restless Development found that of the approximately 900,000 youths (15-24 years) who entered the job market in 2011, fourteen percent did not complete primary school, 44 percent finished their primary but did not access secondary education. Thirty eight percent reached secondary but did not finish form four and only four percent went beyond form four levels. Overall, this study and the Household Budget Survey data show that the stock of well qualified people in Tanzania is low, despite large investments made since independence in the sector (URT: 2014). Problem of youth unemployment originate from education in the country that fails to teach the skills and intellectual prowess that employers are looking for. *Tanzanian education provides general knowledge but not skills that are necessary for employment* (Global Post: 2013).

1 Youth population between 15-24 years as defined in Tanzania National Census Report 2012.

Tanzanian employers are concerned about the quality of education in the country. They argue that a poorly qualified labour force is one of the factors making Tanzania unattractive for business. The World Economic Forum Global Competitiveness Report for 2007/2008 indicates that 15.7 per cent of the factors contributing to the difficulty of doing business in Tanzania were due to problems associated with labour. These included an inadequately educated workforce, poor work ethics and restrictive labour regulations (ATE: 2011). A slightly outdated study, a tracer study done by the University of Dar es Salaam in 2003, found that while employers had high regard for scientific and technical knowledge possessed by graduates, they were concerned about the English proficiency, communication skills, problem solving ability, innovativeness, creativity and often negative attitudes towards other workers and unwillingness to learn (ATE: 2011, 17). Attitudes towards work tend to be negative with an absence of creativity, accountability and motivation and a reluctance to change. ATE also argued that there was a mismatch between the supplies of skills and the demand: vocational training institutes, technical colleges and universities supply graduates whose skills often do not match with the skills needed by employers. It is obvious that schools will have to change in order to produce youths who have employable skills, and this needs to be done soon.

3.6. Stoking Inequality through Education

The ethos of Tanzania in early years of independence was to create a society based on equality. As stated earlier, one of the first tasks of the government was to ensure that all children had equal opportunity to pursue education, depending on a child's capability. Racial, ethnic, religious, income barriers to a child's ability to access education were removed. Unfortunately, these barriers have re-emerged. Children are denied access to quality education based on religion and/or ability to pay. The emergence of private schools in the 1980's have created a dual system of education, good quality private schooling for the elite and a poor quality one for the children of the poor.

The problem of private schooling is problematic both at primary and secondary level. The number of private primary schools in the country has grown from 204 in 2005 to 767 in 2013 and that of secondary schools from 543 in 2005 to 1,061 in 2014. Private primary schools form only 0.46 percent of all the primary schools in the country. Thus the number of private primary schools is tiny, less than half percent of all schools in the country. Yet, the proportion of private primary schools among the top performing schools is much higher than their number justifies. In 2014 PSLE ranking the top 15 schools were all private schools. The top school, Twibhoki in Serengeti district had an amazing average score of 93.88 percent. Out of 33 pupils at Twibhoki, 30 received A in all the five subjects, only 3 pupils received B, two in Social skills and one in Mathematics. These top 15 schools were not from the normally well performing districts, but were from across the country. Moshi rural, Ilala Urban and Kinondoni urban had one school each in the top 15 schools. Kahama Urban had 3 schools in the top 15 schools. Of the top 50 primary schools in the PSLE ranking, only 5 were public schools. Why is this matter of concern? First, it shows how poorly children are taught in public schools. The majority of teachers teaching in private schools have received the same training that their colleagues in public schools have received. Why should public schools perform so poorly? Second, private schools are dividing Tanzanian along income lines. Private schools are accessed by children of the elite, children of the parents who can afford to pay

high fees, these are mostly the salaried class and those engaged in business. Children of the poor, however talented they may be, are excluded from these schools because of their poverty. Children of the elites who go through these English medium primary schools by performing well will get selections in the top secondary schools. Given their English proficiency gained in private schools, they also enter secondary schools with the added advantage of having better English literacy than those children joining from public primary schools. We have created a dual education system which is creating two kinds of citizens, English fluent, well-educated who would take up good jobs and the majority with low English fluency struggling to find any kind of job. Certainly this situation cannot be accepted in Tanzania which has prided itself in providing equal opportunities to all its children.

The situation is the same in secondary schools. There were 1,061 private secondary schools in 2014 out of a total of 4,753 secondary schools; 22.32 percent of the total. In 2014 CSEE, 21 schools had an average Grade Point Average (GPA) of above 4.000, all were private secondary schools. Of the top 50 secondary schools, only Ilboru, ranked at 35 was a public school. The top secondary school in the country was Kaizirege in Kagera where all the 83 students passed with distinction. The school had an average GPA of 4.5374. Of all the secondary schools, Kaizirege ranked 1st in history, geography and basic maths; 2nd in English and 3rd in Chemistry and Biology. It is almost given that most of the students graduating from these well performing private schools will go to Form 5 and then to universities. The majority of students from poorly performing public schools will not reach university. This situation has serious implications for using education to break the cycle of poverty.

4. Analysis of the 2014 Education Policy

4.1. Policy overview

Overall the 2014 Educational Policy is in traditional framework. There is no out of box thinking that has gone in formulating the policy. For example, how does education address the issue of knowledge explosion? Through internet one can access up to date knowledge on practically any topic. With the rapidly changing technology, internet availability through smart phones has reached even the most remote places in the country. How does Tanzanian education face up to this challenge? What knowledge should children be able to access? What do children need to know in the rapidly changing world? How do we transform 20th Century classrooms to 21st Century ones? Are classrooms going to remain ones where teachers stand in front of the class delivering knowledge and children sitting patiently and listening to teacher, or a different kind of classroom will evolve as a result of the changed scenario where the teacher is not the primary source of knowledge? What is going to be the role of the teacher in a situation where children can access knowledge on their own? Do we need textbooks with outdated information? All these questions are unanswered in the new policy. How do we prepare students to have the skills, literacy and disposition to cope with enormous, ongoing change in almost every aspect of life?

In a developing country like Tanzania with a growing economy and significant poverty, the aim of education policy should be one that impacts the economy and reduces the poverty levels. However, this is a narrow view of education. Education has also to inculcate values of honesty, integrity, caring, tolerance and so on. We certainly need our children to have the necessary skills and knowledge but more than that we also want our children to grow up as good human beings. These "soft" outcomes of education are not addressed by the new education policy.

Within the existing framework of the policy the following questions will guide our analysis.

1. How sound is the policy technically?
   - Is it built on evidence?
   - Is it politically feasible?
   - Is it financially realistic and
   - Does it have stakeholder consensus, what is the source of its legitimacy?

2. Is the policy addressing the key problems facing the education sector?
   - Access: How does the policy aim to address the problem of marginalised children? There are marginalised groups, such as pastoralists, street children, orphans, that fail to access education. Many children do not complete 7 years of primary education.
     How does the policy propose to address these issues of access?
   - Quality: Various assessments have shown that learning outcomes are poor.
     How does the policy propose to address the issue of quality?
   - School to work transition: Employability of school graduates is a major concern.
     How does the 2014 policy address this issue?

- Equity: Equity remains a major concern in terms of gender (both access and performance), rural urban divide (in terms of allocation of resources, access, and performance). Household Budget Surveys show big differences in terms of education levels and poverty between urban and rural areas. How does the policy address these issues of access? Private schooling is leading to a dual system of education, good quality schooling in fee paying private schools for the rich and poor quality public schooling for the poor. However, this picture has met the attention of the government which has set aside schools for academically strong students such as Ilboru, Kilakala, Kibaha, Tabora boys and girls and Loleza girls, just to mention a few.
- How far does the policy address the national and global priorities for education? These priorities include Vision 2025, MKUKUTA, MDGs, EFA, and Incheon Declaration 2015. Will the implementation of the policy lead to the achievement of goals set in the national and global priorities?

Before we analyse the policy, we will look at the key features of the policy document. The 2014 Education Policy has five chapters. The first chapter is the introductory chapter which discusses the existing situation. The second chapter discusses the importance of the policy, the vision, mission and goals of the policy. The third chapter is the key chapter which discusses the main issues and lists the policy statements relevant for each issue. The key issues discussed are:

3.1. Flexible system, structure and procedures, enabling the Tanzanians to develop in different ways academically and professionally.
3.2. Quality education and training whose standards are recognised regionally and internationally to meet the national development needs.
3.3. Availability of various education and training opportunities in the country.
3.4. Human resources requirements according to national priorities.
3.5. Effective management and administration of education and training in the country.
3.6. Sustainable funding for education and training in the country.
3.7. An education and training system that considers cross-cutting issues.

The fourth chapter discusses the legal framework governing education and training in the country. The fifth chapter discusses the institutional framework for the delivery of education.

The 2014 Education and Training Policy is different from the Education and Training Policy 1995 in many ways. Perhaps the most significant difference is that ETP was much more detailed, dealing with each level of education, from pre-primary to higher. The 2014 Policy makes more general policy statements, applicable to all levels of education. Nearly all the policy statements in ETP were concrete; a number of statements in 2014 Policy are not specific. Compare the following statements from ETP and 2014Policy:

> *Primary education shall be universal and compulsory to all children from the age of 7 years until they complete this cycle of education, (ETP, page 36)*
>
> *Serikali itaweka utaratibu wa elimu msingi kuwa ya lazima kuanzia darasa la kwanza hadi kidato cha nne; na kutolewa kwa miaka kumi na umri wa kuanza darasa la kwanza kuwa kati ya miaka minne hadi sita kulingana na maendeleo na uwezo wa mtoto kumudu masomo katika ngazi husika. (Policy 2014; page 24)*

ETP policy statement is specific, that a child should enrol in primary school when he/she attains the age of 7. The 2014 Policy statement states that a child should enrol in primary school when he/she is between the age of 4 and 6 *depending on the development and ability of the child to cope with learning at the appropriate level.*

4.2. Is the 2014 policy evidence based?

2014 Policy in the introductory section discusses the gains made as a result of the implementation of ETP 1995. The gains are mostly in terms of increased access to various levels of education. It also discusses the shortcomings faced during the period, namely quality and equity in education. The 2014 Policy sees these shortcomings as resulting from inadequate inputs. It attributes poor quality of education due to falling morals of teachers as a result of poor working and living conditions. Lack of ICT and proficiency in the medium of instruction are given as main reasons for the falling quality of education in the country.

One of the problems faced in analysing the policy is not that no sources for the statements made are given nor is there a reference section that would indicate what literature was considered. This is particularly problematic when the 2014 Policy discusses the shortcomings of the ETP 1995. It argues that an evaluation of the ETP found that 59 policy statements out of a total of 149 were not implemented; of these 25 were in primary and secondary education, 18 in technical education and 16 in higher education. The 2014 Policy does not list the policy statements that were not implemented nor is there a reference to the evaluation, who did it and when it was done although it was logical for the 2014 Policy to begin with an evaluation of the 1995 ETP. The 2014 Policy also argues that there was a delay in formulating a strategy to implement the ETP, which was done in 1997 (URT: 2014, 8). The Policy also highlights other shortcomings in implementing ETP 1995. It appears that analysis of the ETP and existing situation was the basis for developing the policy. It would have helped if reference to literature used was made.

4.3. Is the Policy politically realistic and financially feasible?

From where does the Policy draw its legitimacy? In the formulation of the Policy stakeholder consultation was carried out. A one-off meeting was held at the Blue Pearl Hotel in Ubungo where representative of civil society organisations and academics from the University of Dar es Salaam discussed the draft of the Policy and made recommendations. There were also consultations with the Development Partners (DPs). The Policy was also discussed in the national parliament. It appears that stakeholder consultation was carried out and there is a broad ownership of the policy at the national level. It is not clear, though, how much parents were involved in discussing various policy statements in the Policy. A mobile phone survey done by Twaweza in partnership with the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) found that 63% of the parents want their children to be taught in English both at primary and secondary levels. (Twaweza Press release 16 July 2015). Nine out of ten parents reported that children faced difficulty switching from Kiswahili to English. For parents the solution of the problem was to use English as the medium of instruction both at primary and secondary level but the Policy saw changing LOI at secondary level to Kiswahili as the solution of the problem.

Is the policy financially realistic? That would largely depend on the period of implementation. If the policy of making 10 years of basic education universal and compulsory is staggered over a period of time then it may be feasible. The implementation date is also not clear. Would all students finishing standard 7 in 2015 go to Form One? If so, what would be the need for Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE)?

In the following section we would examine the extent to which the 2014 Policy addresses issues that we looked at in the situation analysis section.

4.4. Structures of education and access

According to the new policy the old system of education 2 years of pre-primary; 7 years of primary; 4 years of lower secondary; 2 years of higher secondary and 3+ years of higher education will be replaced by 1 year of pre-primary; 6 years of primary and 4 years of secondary. Eleven years of education will be *compulsory* and *free*. The Policy gives the rationale behind this change. It argues that a person under the old structure will join the work force when he is 23+ years of age. Compared to other countries in the region this is high. A person should be able to join the workforce at an earlier age. If all children will receive 11 years of basic education then they will be 15 or 16 when they finish Form 4, an age they may be able to work. In Kenya, children join primary schools between the ages of 5 and 7 and go through a system of 8 years of primary, 4 years of secondary, and, 4 years of tertiary education. Children in Kenya will be between the ages of 17 and 19 years of age when they finish secondary education and 23 years by the time they finish university education. Perhaps more important than the age at which children finish their schooling is the skills, knowledge and values that they acquire in schools which make them employable.

The 2014 Policy states:

- *3.1.2 Government will ensure that pre-primary education is compulsory and is given to children between the ages of 3 and 5 for a period not less than one year.*

It is not clear why the age at which children start pre-primary education is not specified. It is likely that children in urban areas and children of the rich will access schooling earlier compared to the children in rural areas and children of the poor. This has implications for the age at which children will finish their education. The same ambiguity about age of starting is also for primary education. The 2014 policy statement states:

- *3.1.3 Government will ensure that primary education is compulsory from standard one to form four; and is given for 10 years and the age of starting standard one will be 4 to 6 years depending on the development and ability of the child to cope with education at the appropriate level.*
- *3.1.5 Government will ensure that basic education is provided free in government schools.*

This will mean that a standard one class would have children of different ages, 4, 5 and 6. Those children joining primary schools at age 4 will finish their 10 years of compulsory basic education by age 14 while those joining at age 6 will complete their schooling by age 16.

It is positive that the government has decided to make 10 years of education compulsory and free ensuring that all children will complete form four education. However, there are several questions about how this will be done. Where would children receive their secondary education on completion of six years of primary education? Will all primary schools also have secondary classes up to form four, or will separate secondary schools be built to cater for the increased number of secondary school entrants? If all children have to finish 10 years of education, then does it mean there will be no national examinations at the end of six years of primary education? Will children repeat classes if they do not do well? These questions that should be answered in the strategy to be developed for implementing the Policy 2014. Cost implications for implementing 10 years of compulsory and free education will have to be considered. Currently Tanzania is spending 17.4 percent of its budget and 6.2 percent of GDP on education (URT: 2015, 81). Can the nation afford to spend significantly more to ensure all children complete 10 years of education. At the moment, about 33 percent of the relevant age group children are in secondary school, to ensure that all the children get secondary education will require tripling the secondary education budget.

4.5. Quality of Education

The 2014 Policy aims to improve quality of education through improved monitoring of the system, meaning improved inspection; carrying out curriculum reforms to make education more relevant; ensuring improved teaching of science; improving teaching and learning environment and providing basic services to children; improving school infrastructure; creating safe environment for children; providing guidance and counselling services to children; introducing peace education in schools; and carrying out continuous assessment in schools and reforming the examination system.

All these proposed changes are necessary for quality education. In the situational analysis we showed that poor quality of education is the outcome of poor teaching and poor quality of teachers that we have at all levels of education. The 2014 Policy is silent on qualifications required for a person to become a teacher. We have also shown that teacher absenteeism contributes significantly to poor quality of education. The following are some of the statements in the 2014 Policy that are proposed for quality improvement:

Monitoring: Policy statements 3.2.1, 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 talk about monitoring of education. Government will ensure, in collaboration with other stakeholders, will strengthen quality control and quality assurance at all levels. Government will ensure that organs responsible for monitoring and quality control are capacitated and provided needed resources. Government will improve the inspection philosophy, policy and system to ensure quality basic education. Implementing this policy will require revamping of the whole monitoring system. Inspection of both primary and secondary schools has not worked well in the past. In 2013/14, 7,094 primary schools out of planned 10,855 were inspected. Of the planned inspection of 2,942 secondary schools, 2,855 were inspected (URT: 2015, 44). Perhaps a more important issue is if inspection improves quality of inspection. There is no evidence to show that inspection leads to quality improvement in schools.

Policy statements 3.2.4; 3.2.5 and 3.2.6 deals with curriculum issues. Government in collaboration with stakeholders will review curriculum at all levels to make it relevant to the employment needs. Government will ensure that curriculum develops basic skills of communication, reading, writing,

numeracy creativity, research; analysis of information; translation; evaluation; and use skills of creativity in entrepreneurship at all levels of education. Government will strengthen assessment and examination processes at all levels. These changes, if implemented could significantly improve the quality of school graduates. As we have seen in our discussion earlier, these qualities and skills are missing in our school graduates making it difficult for them to find employment. Curriculum changes in themselves will not make a difference. Teachers will have to radically change the way they teach and this can only happen if they are retrained in adopting different pedagogy. Given our history, this looks an unfeasible expectation from our teachers.

Policy statement 3.2.6 is highly significant. Teaching will focus on developing creativity, research and analytical skills as well as develop literacy and numeracy skills. This is a positive statement. We will have to wait and see the strategy that will be developed that will make this possible. All these aspects are new and it will take a great deal of effort to change the mind set and capability of teachers to ensure teaching focuses on creativity, research skills, analysis of information, translation and so on. As stated earlier, this will require a fundamental change in the way our teachers teach.

On science and technology the 2014 Policy states:

- *3.2.7. Government will strengthen teaching of mathematics, science and technology at all levels of education and training.*
- *3.2.8. Government will ensure increased use of science and technology in teaching at all levels of education and training.*

Again these are positive statements but general. Much more detail is required to know what these actually mean in practice. What would it take to ensure improved teaching of science and technology in schools?

4.6. Youth Employment

Much more could have been said about preparing youth for employment. There are two statements about employment of school graduates.

- *3.4.2. Government will put in place a sustainable process to measure progress of students and carry out periodic assessment of manpower needs with different skills to ensure that education provided is able to meet these needs.*
- *3.4.3. Government will create good environment and ensure that education and training sector produced manpower in required skills and numbers for national development.*

Both these are positive statements. However, the 2014 Policy is silent on immediate changes that are necessary to ensure that students finishing education are able to find employment in the formal sector.

4.7. Medium of Instruction

As earlier discussed the medium of instruction, especially the switch from Kiswahili as a LOI at primary school level to English at secondary school level affects quality of education. The 2014 Policy does not come up with concrete suggestions, although it has been announced by the government that Kiswahili will be used as LOI at secondary level. We presume that this will happen in the government secondary schools while private schools will continue to use English as the medium of instruction furthering the public/private schooling divide. The policy states:

3.2.19. National language Kiswahili will be the language of teaching and learning at all levels of education and training and government will ensure sustainable use of the language to enable the target group education and training that is useful both at national and international levels.

3.2.20. Government will continue to strengthen use of English as a language of teaching and learning at all levels of education.

4.8. Equity Issues

Education is facing many problems related to equity at different levels. In the situational analysis we raised the issue of inequality arising because of private schooling. We argued that private schooling denies children access to top performing schools because of their income or religion. There are problems of marginalised children who are unable to access education. In most cities one finds a number of children on streets who have no access to education. Similarly many children who are orphans or who are physically or mentally impaired are unable to access primary education. GRE and NER vary by regions indicating that children in some regions are unable to access primary education. Nationally, 12 percent of boys and 20 percent of girls, between the ages of 7 and 13 were not in schools. In Dar es Salaam region, more than a quarter of boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 13 were not attending school. There are children who drop out before completing primary or secondary education. In 2013, 67,192 children from primary and 80,153 from secondary schools dropped out (URT: 2015, 22, 23). For all these children this would mean an end to their education. The issue of pregnancy leads to many girls dropping out of schools, 297 girls in primary schools and 3,045 in secondary schools dropped out as a result of pregnancy (URT: 2015, 22,23). These issues are only marginally touched by the policy.

Girls, historically have performed poorly compared to boys at both primary and secondary levels. Nationally, 60.9 percent of boys and 53.9 percent of girls pass the primary school leaving examinations. In some regions, the pass rates for girls were extremely low, in Simiyu region, for example, on 33.1 percent of the girls passed PSLE in 2014 compared to 55.1 percent of boys (URT: 2015, 64).

These issues are not new; the education sector has been facing these for the last several years. No systematic attempt has been made to address these issues of inequity. The issue of equity because of private schooling is not discussed in the 2014 Policy. The Policy only touches upon education of marginalised groups. It states

3.3.1. Government will continue to increase opportunities to education and training equally for all groups at all levels including children with special needs.

3.3.2. Government will remove all the barriers that prevent children from completing the education cycle at all levels.

The policy statement like that the government will ensure gender equality has often been repeated in past but those affected hardly receive the attention they deserve. This is because these are general statements which are often repeated without any concrete action being taken.

5. Conclusions

ETP 1995 was an education policy to revamp the education sector after the difficulties faced in the 1980s and 90s in the context of liberalisation. The policy led to PEDP and SEDP which led to increased enrolment in both primary and secondary schools. The 2014 Education Policy therefore had an opportunity to move the system forward and take Tanzanian education into the 21st Century. Whether it is going to achieve this is open for debate. But we feel that a great opportunity has been lost to address issues that arise as a result of the rapidly changing technology and global environment. There are both positives and gaps in the 2014 Education Policy.

First, the positives. The Education 2014 makes 10 years of basic education free and compulsory for all the children in the country. We feel this is positive. However, the devil is in the details. We do not know how the policy will be implemented and how the costly it is going to be given the faulty past implementation of such education policy.

Now for gaps. In the last two decades there has been an explosion in knowledge available through internet. Knowledge that is available cheaply to whoever desires to have it. As technology has developed, this knowledge can be assessed by nearly everyone by use of smart phones. The 2014 Education Policy is mostly quiet on this issue. This availability of knowledge questions the basis of our current education system which sees teachers as the depository of knowledge which they pass on to students. What is the role of teachers in 21st Century? How do we define what knowledge should be available to our children? Internet provides unique opportunities for children; they can access knowledge which is of interest to them. Do we need a national curriculum or should learning be based on a child's interest and ability? Perhaps what is needed is a core curriculum which all the children should follow and the rest can be left for the teachers and children to decide. These questions are unanswered in the national policy. Do we still need to spend millions of shillings on purchasing textbooks? May be some basic textbooks are needed but beyond that one can access the required information on the net. Currently, many children access social media and are on Facebook and twitter and other sites. Do we need to educate children on the use of these media? As technology develops, our education has to keep abreast with it; otherwise we are going to be left behind.

We feel the medium of instruction in education is an issue that needs to be addressed squarely and without any ambiguity. Unfortunately the policy is ambiguous on this. The policy gives an impression that both Kiswahili and English are going to be used as LOI at secondary school level. What is most likely to happen is that there will be Kiswahili medium government secondary schools and English medium private primary schools. This means that the elitist education in primary schools will be extended to secondary schools. The issue of public and private schooling has not been addressed. Do we need to control fees in private schools to ensure that it is available to many more Tanzanians?

6. Recommendations

HakiElimu recommends:

1. Technological development and global competitiveness and their application in education are going to define education in the 21st Century. The education policy has to ensure that Tanzania is not left behind in benefitting from new techniques of production and quality education. There is need for the education policy to clearly define the role technology is going to play in schools. Given the knowledge explosion taking place and the increased access of it to all, it is important for the policy to define what knowledge is important for our children, how it will be accessed. There is need to define what role children and teachers will play in this emerging situation.

2. The policy should avoid a populist appeal and being out of context. For example, the age at which children start primary schooling should be clearly stated leaving no room for ambiguity and it should be applicable to all the children in the country, both in private and secondary schools. Indeed, the policy statements on "free school" need to be fiscally integrated to avoid false promises

3. Similarly, the policy has to come up with a clear statement on the medium of instruction. Currently, the policy statements are vague on this. HakiElimu believes that there is need for a national policy on the medium of instruction which is to be applicable to all schools in the country, both private and public. Having a dual LOI policy at primary and secondary schools will create a dual education system which should be avoided at all costs. *Recent statements by the Ministry that Swahili will be LOI in secondary schools must be applicable to all secondary schools, and not only government secondary schools.*

4. The policy needs to clearly define the role of private education in the country. As discussed, access to top performing primary and secondary schools is limited by a child's ability to pay or based on religious affiliation. This is creating a dual system of education, good private schools for those who can pay and for most children the poorly performing public schools. Excess demand for education will continue to be addressed by public school system where the private system will cater for differentiated demands as the middle class grows and becomes sophisticated.

5. The issue of youth unemployment needs to be addressed by the policy. As discussed employers feel that the education system is not adequately preparing youth for employment. The role of schools to provide hard and soft skills relevant for employment needs to be stipulated in the national education policy.

6. The main issue is the quality of education at all levels. This needs to be strategically addressed through enhancing teacher competences, motivation, supervision, availability of teaching and learning materials as well as improvement of the teaching and learning environment.

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