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K. M. OSAKI: Tanzania: Reflections on the Secondary Education analysis and development programme

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The Tanzanian secondary education sector remains one of the least developed in sub-Saharan Africa. Earlier education policies (e,g, Education for Self Reliance, 1967, Education in Work, 1974) focused on the consolidation of primary education to the extent that secondary education sector was reduced to a minute sector designed to develop 'high level manpower' for the public, parastatal and private sector. This trend even evolved a "primary education is terminal" policy which was designed to make primary education produce a person who could join the rural economic sector without attending secondary education. Secondary education remained for the few, with a very elitist curriculum (Chonjo et al, 1996). Following economics liberalization in 1995, this policy was no longer possible because many primary leavers found no jobs or decent living in the rural areas, and were flocking into urban areas but without the requisite knowledge and skills to survive in a liberalized, market economy. Their competitiveness in the middle and lower labour market was too low compared to that of their counterparts in neighbouring countries. After a policy of cost sharing in the

primary sector, it also became clear that many poor parents were unable to pay and hence their children were dropping out of primary school sector.

Primary Education Development Programme

In 2002, the government of Tanzania launched the primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) which aimed at:

- Expanding opportunities for all children to attend primary education by abolishing fees
- Improving quality of provision of primary education and opportunities for further education at all levels

Following this move, it was envisaged that secondary school intake, which was very low compared with that in other African countries, would be even lower, and with rising unemployment, social upheaval might arise. The Ministry of Education and Culture and key financing organizations had started analysis of the post primary education sector with a view of determining the possibility of expanding it since 1995 (See Osaki, 1995). With the expanding primary school output after PEDP, it was felt necessary to commission a Post Primary Education Sector analysis focusing on Secondary Education, Tertiary and Vocational and Technical Education sector analyses.

Secondary Education Sector analysis

A recent review of the secondary sector (Osaki & Njabili, 2003) reveals the following characteristics:

- Ordinary level, four years after primary; advanced level, two years following 'O' level;
- Net enrollment ratio of 7%, concentrated in community schools
- There are government schools which include community built schools run by the government, and government built and run schools, as well as non government schools owned by religious NGOs (seminaries, secular), individuals and private companies, but all schools follow the national curriculum, with the exception of a few international schools which follow the IB curriculum or the Cambridge curriculum.
- Approx. 30% students in boarding (2003 estimate);
- About 70% of teachers in secondary schools are diploma teachers (A level + 2 years teacher training), 22% university graduates. 60% of the graduate teachers are in non government secondary schools.

Strengths of the system:

-most teachers certified and trained, gender balance at 'O' level, but in 'A' level girls form 30% of the student population.

- -Parents share costs by paying nominal fees, even in government schools
- -Repetition rate is low, except from form 2 to form 3 due to a national form 2 examination
- -School inspection is active, national exams council well established, ranks schools on the basis of performance in exams every year.

Weakness of the system

- i) Sector very small up to 2003, took 7% NER, rest of Africa 25-39%
- ii) Transition from Primary to secondary 25% (rest of Africa 50-8-%).
- iii) Government budget going to secondary 6-7% in 2003 (cf 19-20% in higher education)
- iv) Considerable regional variation in sec participation (Kilimanjaro has 13% of all sec schools while Lindi has 1.7%)
- v) Over reliance on examinations to assure quality, forgetting others e.g sports, extra curricula, culture. . .etc.
- vi) Uneven teacher distribution among special vs community vs non govt. schools
- vii) Low supply of graduate teachers, turn over high in govt. schools, going to non government schools for higher salaries and better management.
- viii) Girls perform poorly in NECTA exams, esp. in science and maths
- ix) Teacher salaries are low and most teachers are not satisfied with their job.

In terms if Access

- i) GER 10.2% (2003), NER 7% (O level) and GER 1.7 and NER of 0.4 in 'A' level.
- ii) Non state sector 30%, great variation in quality of provision
- iii) "A" level curriculum packaging in subject choice combinations, some of which are greatly undersubscribed; a review needed;
- iv) Gender rep equal in Primary and 'O' level, 30% in 'A' level
- v) Non government schools include a large seminary presence (Christian, muslim) some provide training for future ministers, most of them just secular education and select few to join ministry;
- vi) O level find jobs in business, military, vocational, and technical education; A level go for university education, computer studies, technical/vocational and secretarial studies (Mukyanuzi, 2003).
- vii) Curriculum failed to prepare for changing labour market.

Effectiveness in secondary education sector

i) In O level, examination pass rate was 50% in the lowest grade (division iv) failure rate 20-25% in 'O' level. In A level failure rate is only 10%;

- ii) Teachers and parents viewed effective schools as those with teachers who use interactive teaching styles;
- iii) Schools with better trained teachers perform better than those without, and these are also those that have a higher unit cost, due to paying higher salaries to graduate teachers. Church schools tend to be very economical in spending as compared to government schools where unit costs are higher with less pass rate, except for the special schools of high achievers. The National Examinations Council about 1100 in July 2003 of Tanzania (NECTA)
- iv) School are few and relatively small in size with enollment ranging from 200-1200 children most government school buildings were run down.
- v) Management was highly centralized with most decisions made at the ministry level; and no powers on the 20 regional and 125 district administrations on secondary and tertiary education
- vi) Student flow was smooth except in form 2 where there was a dropout of up to 10% after the form 2 examination. Pupil teacher ratio was around 20:1. A few urban schools were running double sessions, but their effectiveness was poor, afternoon sessions missed most classes.
- vii) Policies governing secondary education included. The Education and Training Policy (1995) the Secondary Education Master Plans SEMP (2000) the Teacher Education Master Plan TEMP (2000) and the Education Sector reform Programme MOEC (2000), SEMP and TEMP were still draft policies.

The goals of SEMP were mainly to:

- (i) Increase access in secondary education
- (ii) Improve equity in secondary provision across age, gender, regional and ethnical line.
- (iii) Enhance quality
- (iv) Raise Internal efficiency by improving management

Developing the Secondary Education Development Programme

In view of the analysis a variety of options for expansion existed when developing SEDP. There were major proposals developed in the Secondary Education Development Programme SEDP; namely:

- (a) Raising access by improving the transition rate from primary to junior secondary level (form 1) from 21% (2003) to 40% (2009) and for junior (O level) to senior (A level) from 15% (2002) to 32% (2009). This would be done through a number of strategies namely:
 - Expanding two stream schools to four stream schools by building new infrastructure.
 - Rehabilitating old government secondary school

- Constructing new 'O' level schools in underserved areas, especially pastoralist areas, and less developed regions.
- Expand facilities and upgrading some schools from 'O" level to full range 'O" to "A" level.
- Supporting the non government sector by giving capitation grants for teaching and learning materials at 50% the rate of government schools; giving development grants to providers serving disabled groups, and supporting in-service training.
- Expanding open and distant training by enrolling out of school youth in secondary adult education.
- Reducing drop out and failure rates to less than 2% through optimal utilization of teachers, optimizing teaching load and raising PTR from 20:1 to 30:1 by 2009.
- (b) To Improve Equity across geographical, gender, disadvantaged groups, income levels' through:
 - Constructing schools in underserved areas
 - Giving scholarships to children from poor families
 - Improving education facilities for the disadvantaged groups
 - Building hostels for girls in existing schools in pastoralist areas.
 - Reducing school fees for day students by 50%

(c) Quality improvement through

- Curriculum review and streamlining by reducing compulsory core subjects from 13 to 7 (Kiswahili, English, Maths, Civics, History, Biology, Geography, Physical Science) adding options in designated schools and addressing cross cutting content (HIV/AIDs, environment, gender, civil rights and health) across the curriculum. Existing biases and vocational subjects are to be transferred to appropriate sectors and fused in core subjects. A review of science/math curriculum in line with leaning abilities will be done.
- Streamlining teacher education to suit emerging needs of the expanding secondary education sector at three levels, namely:
 - (i) Level I Diploma the largest group, in which "A" level school leavers get a 2 year training (1 year in college, 1 year in school). In 2004, a total of 2500 such teachers have graduated from the 14 diploma teachers colleges.
 - (ii) Level II Degree level (BA/BSc with education, or BEd) Current training produced around 350 graduates in 2004 but expansion is

expected through creation of two constituent colleges of the University of Dar es Saalam by converting leading TTCs. In addition more non government universities have been opened and they are also training teachers to degree level in addition to the University of Dar es Salaam. Enrollment in these institutions is expected to rise in the coming few years.

(iii) Lever III is a crush programme of taking fresh form VI (A level) graduates, giving them a month training and issuing them with temporary teaching licences. Already the first cohort of 615 such trainees will begin their training in 3 centres starting June 9, 2004.

It is expected that these strategies will ensure adequate supply of qualified teachers in schools and teachers colleges by 2009. Other strategies of improving quality include:

- Establish open and distance teacher education programme for diploma teachers
- Providing teaching materials, by purchasing and supporting local publishing industry
- Improving setting and relevance of examinations
- Providing in-service training to teachers, college of education tutors and train libranans.
- Establishing online teacher training system in diploma colleges
- Rehabilitating diploma teacher training college
- Improving student learning time by providing school lunch in day schools
- Providing remedial classes to underperforming girls primary facilities and guidance and counseling program;
- Implementing management reform though devolving powers to lower levels, training key actors, producing operational manuals for school management procurement and financial management, etc.
- Improving management efficiency by strengthening school inspectorate, regional and district education managers, and creation of an effective quality assurance mechanism for SEDP.
- Addressing cross culting issues in the curriculum by strengthening extra curricula activities focusing on gender, HIV/AIDS, environment, etc.

Implementation of the Plan

The Ministry of Education and Culture plans to implement the plan by distributing roles as follows.

- (a) Ministry headquarters roles
 - (i) Monitoring implementation of the Education and Training Policy
 - (ii) Curriculum preparation

iii) Coordination of INSET

- (v) Preparation and management of national examination
- (vi) Managing schools with special needs
- (vii) Registration of new sec. Schools
- (viii) Recruitment and registration of teachers
- (ix) Selection of form V students
- (x) Coordination of Inspection of school (Implemented in districts).
- (xi) Mobilization and allocation of resources
- (xii) Management of cross regional teacher transfer
- (xiii) Establishment of national minimum standards for schools and college.
- (xiv) Approval of Educational Materials through the Educational materials Approval Committee (EMAC)
- (c) Roles devolved to regions
 - (i) Coordination of development plans of the districts.
 - (ii) Appointment of school boards
 - (iii) Supervision of educational development in the region
 - (iv) Process student appeals
 - (v) Supervision of Std VII Form 4, Form 6 Exams
 - (vi) Selection of Form I students for government schools
 - (vii) Coordinate living and transfer of teachers at regional level

Similar roles are devolved to district, wards, and school boards level. There are also some roles played by stakeholder ministries such:

- The Ministry of Local government and Regional Administration
- Education sector Development Steering committee
- Development partners in Education (i.e international and bilateral financing and donor organizations)
- Non governmental organization

Management and Monitoring of the Plan

SEDP is managed structures at MOEC, but a review of the current management structure (organizational audit) is underway to determine the best way of managing the plan, given the experience of managing the Primary Educational Development Program PEDP. The latter has shown many problems of effective management and leadership in the programme.

Budget

The budgeted cost of the plan is Tsh. 1,433,084 billion over the 5 year period.

General Comments

The programme intending to begin this July 2004 runs the following risks and constaints

- (a) Current pass rates of candidates required to join form I and form V are low and there may be problems getting the volume of qualified entrants to these levels given the current low pass rates. However for Form I the experience of good non government schools is that even 'failed' students, if given a good medial programme of English for 6 weeks can improve their performance significantly. The problem is, therefore whether the expansion heat will create a suitable environment for the quality to be maintained. Initially, it might be necessary to take in less qualified people that at present. Currently, form V entrants are required to pass at least 3 subjects at credit level (C and above). It is not certain whether there will be sufficient qualified candidates for the form V places, which will be available in 2005. Similarly the students completing 'A' level will be in high demand in diploma colleges, tertiary and higher education institutions offering diplomas and degrees in various programmes. Thus at the initial stage, a shortage of candidates is envisaged, but this could improve later on. Should the system lower standards by taking admitting those with lower pass rate the impact will be felt throughout the system much late on with serious consequences.
- (b) Production of qualified and quality teachers for the program may be problematic for the following reasons:
 - The MOEC relies on the diploma colleges, which admit those with Advance certificate of secondary education (A level), to produce the majority of the teachers. Those joining secondary teaching through this route usually have lower passes and are those who have not been selected for university. Their content knowledge is weak even for teaching. An expanded intake into form 1 drawns in a larger % of weaker learners who require better trained and experienced teachers. Thus quality is likely to fall. The recent reduction of the training programme to one year in college and 1 year in school also has its snags, as preparations for the in-school training have been poor.
 - There is also the planned induction training and licensing of even the weaker "A" level candidates to become teachers through a one- month induction programme, which starts mid 2004. As we go to press, verbal discussion with the Director of Secondary Education indicated that the training this year will be for only two weeks; omitting Sundays this turns out to be 10 days. This will produce weak teachers with serious consequences on quality (similar to what UPE teacher training programme of 1977 did to the quality of primary school teachers-see TEMP)
 - Graduate teacher training at the University of Dar es Salaam now takes four years. Some argue that this is too long and expensive and propose alternatives such as a three years in college training followed by a year in school using mentor teachers. This sounds good but there are currently no mentor teachers trained and there is no training programme established. SEDP has provision for expanding

university level training by converting two diploma teachers colleges into university level constituent colleges. The funds allocated are meager, and no provision on mentor training is specified, let alone motivation to do the job. A poorly run mentor programme might prove unworthy and raise questions but Tanzania is open to lessons from the rest of Africa.

- c) Government allocation to Education may not shift from the current 25% to the assumed 32% of the budget as planned, and secondary education cake may not rise from the current 6% of the total education budget to the projected 21%. Similarly the assumed economic growth of the GDP from 3.6 to 4.4 by 2005 might not be achieved. These will seriously reduce funding available and affect SEDP
- d) Managerial capacity to run the medium growth expansion plan could be problematic. We are optimistic due to the current progress (the enrollment target for form 1 in 2004 is claimed to have been achieved and surpassed by 10,000 children already). However, the experience of managing PEDP has been tough enough with a low capacity to use the given funds while keeping records and managing the planned expansion properly. Some worry that the capacity of the MOEC is low to handle a much more complex SEDP. An organizational audit is planned during 2004 and measures will be taken to strengthen SEDP management at the centre and the regions. This might necessitate a review of the roles the MOEC centre has allocated itself in SEDP, or a strong capacity building plan quickly implemented. Lessons from the provincial roles operating in South Africa will be of great boost in improving the system. Capacity building takes time and its impact also takes time to be felt.
- e) Reactions of communities in underserved areas might be negative. Some ethnic groups such as the Maasai, the Sukuma, Hazarde and Makonde have reservations about the impact of western education on their culture and wellbeing, and might respond more slowly than expected. Schools could be vacated during migration following a serious drought, curriculum may have to be reviewed in consultation with local elders, a practice the MOEC has less experience and capacity.
- f) Costs of schooling are still high to many low income groups, especially in rural areas despite the lowering of secondary school fees from 40,000 to 20,000 per year. Many poor families might still be unable to pay and this will greatly undermine equity. The grants indicated for poor families might be very tricky to administer as some well to do parents might cheat their way to get the favour, leaving out the most needy. Despite low fees, there are other household costs, including uniforms, transportation, exercise books and other indirect costs, which the poorest of the poor might not be able to afford.

- g) Quality of construction and other services in general might be poor. Whenever a programme is being implemented quickly and on a large scale, the tendency to do a bad job exists and construction of school buildings, like that of roads, often leads to weak structures which eventually are unsafe for the learners. Quality of textbook printing, given the high demand, and curriculum revision, given the urgency and delicacy of the task, as well as teacher training, are all in danger of being watered down. Lessons from the Comprehensive Secondary movement in UK in 1965 can be drawn here.
- h) Backwash effect of the poor programme. Given the potential flops in management, teacher training, construction and supervision, a poor quality SEDP programme might have serious consequences in future at all levels, including higher education and teacher quality. Lessons from the UPE itinerant teacher education programme of the 1970s show this had a serious impact at all levels and there are over 60,000 teachers recruited at the time who have failed to upgrade to required standards until their retirement.
- i) Production of large numbers of form 4 leavers without opportunities for higher education, training or jobs will peak after the first cohort of the expansion reaches form 4 in 2013. Steps need to be taken to expand the economy so that it can take up these youngsters before they cause social upheaval.

Conclusion

Four issues arise, following this discussion:

(i) There may be too many problems and pessimists might say, lets stop the programme.

This is of course not the solution to the low secondary intake in Tanzania. Like the old maxim, a problem is addressed by solving it, not by running away from it as it will breed a bigger problem.

- (ii) The problems may be too old as they have been experienced elsewhere in Africa including Zimbabwe, South Africa, Nigeria......) We are here to learn the older solutions to similar problems, but also to benefit from the experience of previous analysis and solutions.
- (iii) There are many solutions to the problem of secondary expansion for various countries but these depend on historical, social, economic and cultural conditions of each case. The need is to choose a solution that fits Tanzania at this historical moment.

(iv) Too little financial ability

Despite having a wealth of natural resources, Tanzania is listed among the poorest countries in Sub-Sahara Africa. This is a shameful situation given the fact that we are ranked as having:

- The second largest biodiversity in Southern Africa;
- A large deposit of gemstones, gold and other unexploited minerals;
- The most attractive tourist destinations including mount Kilimanjaro, the largest per capita national park area in an African country with attractions including the Ngorongoro Crater, the Serengeti, the Great Ruaha, Lake Manyara etc.
- The largest area of inland water bodies, mainly embodied in the Great Lakes and along the coastline with potential for all sorts of resources;
- A very large proportion of arable land;
- A very diverse, peaceful and intelligent population. It is possible that one factor that has led to poverty is failure to expand the Post Primary Education Sector. We hope that his project is able to raise the quality of life and economy in Tanzania.

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