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PUBLIC EXAMINATIONS IN TANZANIA
1926 - 1976

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Education at
Massey University

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P.P.G.

ABSTRACT

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Ever since 1967 when Tanzania adopted the policy of socialism, the problem of examinations has been discussed. Since then some reforms have been introduced in the examination system by (a) the nationalization of the examination system and (b) the introduction of continuous assessment as part and parcel of what constitutes a student's pass or failure. However, despite these changes it is felt that there is still a need for a suitable examination system. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to examine, from an historical perspective the factors which influence an examination system with the view to having an insight into some of the problems connected with examinations. More specifically the study addressed itself to the following questions.

- (a) What role or roles have public examinations played in Tanzania's education system since 1926? The aim here was to establish why, despite criticisms, public examinations have continued to exist.
- (b) In the light of experiences elsewhere, what should be the nature and role of examinations given the present educational socio-political and economic conditions of the country?

- (c) What is more desirable for Tanzania; a public examination, an internal assessment or a combination of both?

It has been established that public examinations in Tanzania have largely played the role of selection despite the fact that they have been meant to certify that a candidate has completed a certain phase of education. In this "misuse" lies the source of criticisms that have been levelled against examinations generally.

Since in the Tanzanian context the need for selection examinations still exists, it has been recommended that efforts should be made to find better means of selection rather than the present use of traditional examinations whose predictive validity is questionable. In this regard, therefore, it has been recommended to explore the possibility of using aptitude tests.

It has also been established that there is a need to improve the efficiency of the present examinations by formulating clear and precise examination objectives derived from clear and precise curricula objectives. Consequently the need for close collaboration between curriculum developers and examiners has been stressed.

In the light of experiences in countries such as New Zealand, Australia, England, Russia, Cuba, China and Korea, it seems that Tanzania cannot completely do away with public examinations at this stage. The decision to introduce continuous assessment in the system of examining appears to be a step in the right direction but in order for the system to work successfully it is necessary to familiarise all concerned, especially teachers, with the basic techniques of testing and educational

measurements. There is also a need for an efficient system of moderation which seems to be lacking at present.

Finally the necessity for constant research into and evaluation of any changes in the examination system with the view to making it a more efficient tool of educational evaluation and development has been emphasised.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Tanzania is one of the few developing countries that have decided to change the education system inherited from the colonial days into one which is in line with the ideology and aspiration of the nation. The ideology which Tanzania has adopted is that of Socialism and in accordance with this ideology, the aim is to create a socialist society which is based on three principles: equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by the people's joint efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none. [Nyerere: 1967, p. 5-6]

Hence the sort of education which is provided in Tanzania for Tanzanians must aim at the creation of a new man, free from the indignity he has suffered in the past. Above all it must produce a worker, since in a truly socialist state, which Tanzania has declared as its goal, every able bodied person is a worker. Furthermore it must inculcate the democratic ideals which are the guarantees of equality. Work and democracy are necessary because without them we cannot succeed in creating a society which is free from exploitation.

In order to achieve the above stated goals it becomes imperative to reform the education system in such a manner that the stated goals are achieved. One of the ways of devising such a system of education is to introduce new curriculum packages which are structured in such a manner that their contents are in agreement with the goals of the nation. However, introducing new curriculum packages is not

sufficient. Those packages must be translated into operational terms. This means that the teaching methods must conform with the aims of the new curriculum. Consequently the teachers already in the field must be re-orientated to the new system while those still in training must receive the necessary guidance which will enable them to implement the objectives of the curriculum when they graduate from the college. More important still, the assessment methods must also be reviewed. This means the examination system has to change. Also the consumers of the examination results must be prepared to accept the changes.

Although it is fairly easy to change the curriculum contentwise it is not very easy to define its objectives into operational terms. In the absence of well defined objectives it becomes difficult to implement it in the classroom. Also it becomes difficult to change the examination system to fit with the stated objectives.

Ever since 1967 when Tanzania adopted the policy of socialism, the problem of examinations has been discussed. In his treatise, Education for Self-Reliance, Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, questioned the nature and role of the examinations which Tanzania had inherited from the British. This debate has been going on ever since. While very few people would like to continue with the colonial system of examinations others would like the system modified by combining the final examination with some form of internal assessment. A few of them would even prefer the complete abolition of public examinations. However, steps have already been taken to modify the examination system.

In conformity with the Directive of the Party, since 1976 the weight of the final examination, which is a public one, has been reduced by 50 per cent. The remaining 50 per cent has been assigned to internal assessments by teachers. Also, since the education policy is to combine academic study with work, it has been decided to assess pupils' characters and attitudes to work as well. This is done by schools themselves and it is taken into consideration when passing the final verdict on the candidates' performance.

Purpose of the Study

Although some changes have been introduced into the system of examining the problem of devising a suitable examination system still remains. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to examine, from an historical perspective the factors which influence an examination system with the view to having an insight into some of the problems connected with examinations. More specifically, the study addresses itself to the following questions:

- (a) What role or roles have examinations played in Tanzania's education system/systems since 1926? The aim here is to establish why, despite criticisms, public examinations have continued to exist.
- (b) In the light of experiences elsewhere, what should be the nature and role of examinations given the present educational, socio-political and economic conditions of the country?

- (c) What is more desirable for Tanzania a public examination, an internal assessment or both?

Educational Significance of the Study

Although there are several studies on Tanzanian educational system, very little has been done in the field of examinations particularly at secondary level. And yet it is extremely important to study the place and role of examinations since they exert a very important influence on the whole educational system. Any changes in the examination system are likely to have great impact on the schools and society as a whole. Hence in order to plan for future needs of the educational system it is imperative to know, through study, the requirements that might have to be met as a result of changes in the examination system. Conversely any changes in the educational system will necessitate a change in the examination system if such changes are to be meaningful. For example, if the curricula change in a certain direction examinations will have also to accommodate this change. But any new system requires the training or re-orientation of those who are supposed to implement it. In the case of examinations, therefore, any changes will require the retraining of teachers and educational administrators in the new techniques of assessment. If for example it is decided to introduce new testing procedures, it will be necessary to train test developers. It may also be necessary to gear our teacher training programmes to the requirements of the new testing procedures. Even school administration may have to change accordingly. More important still, employers, parents and society

as a whole will have to be re-orientated to the new system. In short studying the examination system is necessary for educational planning.

Definition of Terms and Delimitations of the Study

For the purpose of this study "Tanzania", unless otherwise stated, shall mean the mainland part of the United Republic. Also the study is mainly about Tanzania mainland although since 1973 Examinations have become one of the Union Affairs, that is to say, those affairs of state such as Foreign Affairs, Defence, Higher Education and so on which are the concern of the Union Government. Hence in this study nothing is discussed about examinations in Zanzibar during the colonial period although similar conditions obtained there as well.

"Public Examination", as used in this study, means the National Examinations which are set and administered centrally for students completing either Primary or Secondary Education. It excludes the Civil Service examinations which are conducted by the Civil Service Commission for promotional purposes of Civil Servants. For the same reasons examinations conducted by tertiary institutions are not discussed either, except where necessary, for comparisons only.

"Leaving Examinations", means those examinations whose aim is to certify that the examinee has completed a certain level of education.

The term "internal assessment", means the tests, exercises and/or terminal examinations conducted by schools as opposed to the final

examinations conducted by the National Examinations Council of Tanzania. Sometimes this term has been used interchangeably with "continuous assessment". But strictly speaking "continuous assessment" refers to both internal assessment and the final public examination.

"Curriculum" means all the learning experience provided by or under the auspices of a school. It also means a course of study (Pendaeli: 1976, p. 7).

Review of Literature

Although there are several works on Tanzania's educational system generally very few of them deal specifically with the problem of examinations.

For example, Cameron and Dodd (1969) give a good account of the development of education since colonial days but examinations are just mentioned on passing. Dolan (1969) concentrates on the educational development in the period prior to the adoption of Education for Self-Reliance. But he too does not dwell on examinations in detail. Similarly the works by Court (1970), Morrison (1970) and Mbilinyi (1972), are very good accounts of the educational system from the sociological, political and historical points of view but although examinations are mentioned they are not the main concern of the authors.

There are, however, a few studies which deal directly with examinations particularly at Primary level. Among those who have written on this topic are Honeybone and Beattie (1969) who

wrote on the system of examining in Tanzania. But their concern was not so much to do with the influence which examinations have on the education system but rather on the system of examinations as it then operated. Also the Primary School Leaving Examination (P.S.L.E.) has been the subject of two major reports; one by Vernon (1966) and the other by Beattie (n.d.). However in both cases the main problem tackled has been how to improve the system of selection to secondary education. Perhaps the most eloquent discourse on the problem of public examinations has been Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance and also the Musoma Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance. More recently Omari and Manase (1977) have given a good account of the effects of the Primary School Leaving Examination (P.S.L.E.) Nevertheless there is a glaring gap as regards the origins, role and influence of examinations generally. This study, therefore, attempts to fill this gap.

Primary and Secondary Sources for this Study.

The most useful primary sources for this study have been the Reports of the Department of Education for the years under study. However, the material had to be pieced together as it was not in a ready made form. This was perhaps the most difficult aspect of the research. Other Government publications proved to be useful too. Some of the documents such as Government files are with the National **Archives**. These too were very useful indeed and they have been cited in the relevant parts of the study. Newspapers and also some journals have been consulted. Several books on

examinations were very useful especially since they provided the needed comparative information on examinations. These too appear both in the text and in the bibliography. Lastly informal discussions with teachers, educationists, examination officers, university staff and pupils, provided some useful insight into the problem of examinations.

Research Procedures

This study is predominantly historical. Hence most of the research work involved reading several original documents such as Government reports and files. Fortunately many of these reports are stocked in the National Library and also in the Library of the University of Dar es Salaam. Some of the rare documents including the Government files are stocked in the Tanzania National Archives (TNA) at Dar es Salaam both in original form and in microfilms.

The writer spent quite an appreciable amount of time looking into these documents which provided the necessary primary sources for this study.

Regarding the problems involved in the new examination system this writer has had the added advantage of being fully involved in the processing of the results of the examinations and the issue of certificates in accordance with the new procedures. Also the Examinations Officers of the National Examinations Council, including the writer, managed to visit all secondary schools and spoke to both teachers and pupils concerning the new system of examining. These visits were very valuable

because from the reports compiled by the officers it was possible to know what the teachers and students are thinking about the new system. On the whole it can be said that the new system appears to have been well received despite some problems here and there. It should be pointed out, however, that these visits were merely meant to monitor the feelings of both teachers and pupils concerning the new system of examining and also to clarify some points connected with examination administration. They were not specifically designed for the purpose of this study. Nevertheless, as already mentioned, they proved very helpful.

Preview of the Study

With regards to the layout of this study, it is divided into five chapters. Chapter I is the Introduction. Chapter II discusses the development of education and examinations during the colonial period (1925-1961) while Chapter III deals with the dynamics of examinations in independent Tanzania (1961-1976). It also discusses some of the policies which have been in force during this period. Chapter IV discusses the whole problem of examinations. Experiences in other countries are also discussed. The final Chapter attempts to give a summary of the whole study together with recommendations for change.

Background of the Study: The Country

The United Republic of Tanzania lies between 1 and 12 degrees south of the equator on the east coast of Africa. It got its name in 1964 when the

mainland (formerly known as Tanganyika) united with the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

Tanzania has eight neighbours. To the north are Kenya and Uganda while to the west her neighbours are Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi. To the south are Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. On the east her border is the Indian Ocean.

Tanzania mainland was under colonial rule for about seventy years. From mid-1880's it came under German rule and together with Rwanda and Burundi it was known as German East Africa. After the first World War it was administered by Britain as a Mandated Territory.

After the second World War Tanganyika remained under British rule but this time as a Trust Territory. From that time until 1961 when she became independent, she was known as Tanganyika. In 1962 Tanganyika became a Republic and was known as the Republic of Tanganyika. Then in 1964, as a result of the union with Zanzibar, she became known as the United Republic of Tanzania.

Tanzania has an approximate area of 886,265 sq. km. In 1974 its population was estimated at 14.8 million. The growth rate of the population was estimated to be 2.7 per cent per annum. The population density is, however, unevenly distributed. More than 94 per cent of the population live in the rural areas.

Education System

Formal education is provided at three main levels:

- (i) Primary Education
- (ii) Secondary Education
- (iii) University

Primary Education consists of 7 grades (usually known as standards). Secondary education usually takes 4 years to complete. However, there are several Advanced level or Higher Secondary Schools which provide a further two years of education leading to the National Form 6 Certificate Examination. The Education system can be summarised as follows:

- (i) Primary Education (Standard I-VII)
- (ii) Secondary Education (Form I-IV)
- (iii) Higher Secondary (Form V-VI)
- (iv) University (3 to 5 years)

Primary and secondary education is free. Also since November 1977 Primary Education is compulsory for all children aged between 7 and 12. As regards enrolment ratios since independence. (see figure I in the following page.

The education system is highly centralized, Hence the curriculum and examinations are also highly centralized. Curriculum development is under the Institute of Education while examinations are conducted by the National Examinations Council of Tanzania. Both institutions are under the overall charge of the Ministry of Education.

[See Appendix C.7

TANZANIA EDUCATIONAL PYRAMID COMPARATIVE DATA FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS 1961, 1971 & 1976

KEY TO FIGURES
1976 1971 1961

KEY TO FIGURES
1961 1971 1976

LEVEL	1976	1971	1961	1961	1971	1976			
UNIVERSITY 1 ST YEAR	814	624	70	6	75	80			
SECONDARY FORMS 6	1,591	1,240	251	25	196	255			
5	1,582	1,354	211	25	254	301			
4	6,360	5,274	1,121	482	1,770	2,346			
3	6,614	5,375	1,540	548	1,947	2,857			
2	6,748	5,426	2,514	1,019	2,197	2,673			
1	5,743	5,554	2,967	1,229	2,016	2,877			
PRIMARY STDS VII			99,171	46,563	11,322	23,939	56,779		
VI			98,106	54,011	13,061	31,256	63,480		
V			106,066	63,300	14,737	39,308	73,454		
IV			117,118	82,396	65,152	30,239	55,850	85,680	
III			137,130	89,616	65,553	34,787	59,689	103,159	
II	236,305			98,954	67,647	41,345	67,636	191,412	FIRST WAVE — UPE
I	270,424			111,018	72,773	48,613	79,073	236,073	SECOND WAVE — UPE

BOYS

ENROLMENT NUMBERS IN THOUSANDS

GIRLS

SECTORAL PLANNING UNIT
MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION

Figure I

CHAPTER II

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXAMINATIONS
1925-1961

The study of the dynamics of examinations cannot be meaningful without the study of the policies and development of education generally. This chapter, therefore, examines the policies and forces which governed the development of education during the British colonial rule so as to provide a background against which examinations operated during the period under review.

The chapter is divided into two sections. Section A deals with the period up to 1945 which is also known as the Mandatory period, while section B deals with the period from 1945 to 1961 which is also known as the Trusteeship period. It has been necessary to divide the colonial period into these two sections because the tempo of educational progress differed significantly during these periods. During the earlier period educational progress was very slow and limited mostly to primary education while in the latter period, thanks to the United Nations Visiting Missions and the Nationalist Movement, there was a rapid expansion of education. The different types of examinations then in existence are also discussed.

A. DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN 1925 AND 1945Colonial Educational Policy:

President Julius Nyerere (1967,1) defined the purpose of education as being:

to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development.

This definition, he went on to say, is "explicitly or implicitly" true for all societies whether communist, capitalist or pre-colonial African societies. We might add that the same broad definition could, and indeed did, apply to the colonial education which was imposed upon the Africans by the so-called "mother countries". But whereas in an independent society education is supposed to further the interests of the nation, in a colonial society it is, by definition, meant to cater for the interests of the colonial power. This is true regardless of the stated objectives.

An examination of educational policies in colonial Tanzania supports this view. During the German period in Tanzania, the colonial regime stated very categorically what it regarded as being the prime purpose of educating the Africans. Thus in the official Circular issued in 1903 these aims were clearly stated as being:

- (a) To enable the native to be used in government administration,
 - (b) To inculcate a liking for order, cleanliness, diligence and dutifulness and a sound knowledge of German customs and patriotism.
- [Cameron and Dodd: 1970, p. 56]

Although christian missionaries had established a network of schools before the Germans colonized Tanzania, the colonial regime found it

necessary to establish its own schools in addition to Mission schools because it was not too sure of their suitability as vehicles of colonisation. For one thing the loyalty of the missionaries, was doubtful because of their heterogeneous composition. Furthermore, the education provided by the missionaries had different objectives from that of the colonial regime. The missionaries were naturally interested in using education as a means of getting converts who could read the Bible and also be of some use to the missions themselves. It was not primarily meant to provide manpower for the State, nor was it specifically meant to inculcate a spirit of patriotism to the German nation. Thus the German regime was forced, as it were, to open its own schools and by the time the War broke out they had established an impressive network of schools especially along the coast and the eastern part of the country. However, most of the schools in the hinterland were owned and run by missionaries. The Government, in order to encourage the spread of German culture in these Mission-owned schools, paid grants in aid to those schools which included the German language in their curricula. [Cameron and Dodd: 1970]

The British took over Tanzania in 1919. And the first few years were spent trying to establish law and order. Although the first Director of Education was appointed as early as 1920, it was not until 1925 that the foundation of British colonial education system based on cooperation with the Missions was laid down. In that year the conference between Missions and Government was held. The then Director of Education regarded that meeting as a most important one. In his opening speech he said:

This conference ought not to fail to be one of the most momentous events in the history of this Territory. If the results are what we anticipate, it will rank with the abolition of slavery and other far reaching measures which have contributed and are contributing to the gradual emancipation of the natives, whose welfare here and in neighbouring colonies and Protectorates is a very special care of the educationist.
 /Conference between Government and Missions: 1925, p. 4/

What were the anticipated results? Fortunately the speaker has the answer, for he went on to say that the aim of education was to be "the social advancement of the African and the sound economic development of Africa". (Conference between Government and Missions, p. 4) He was, however, very concerned with matters of "peace". By "peace" he meant, in other words, law and order. He went on to say that education should be concerned "above all" with "the subordination of individual differences of opinion to the paramount need for peace to that most exacting of all mistresss, Africa" (p. 5) Indeed, his objective, representing the main objective of the colonial administration, was to produce a docile class of people who were not in a position to question the existence of the colonial regime. Experience had shown that the educated elite, if not properly controlled, could easily succumb to the "bad" influence of the "political agitator". Hence the content of education and the number of the educated had to be controlled in such a manner that it did not disturb the peace. Therefore he advised the conference in the following manner:

We most of us have learnt something of the African and his psychology, and that though normally happy and contented he is at the same time peculiarly impressionable and may become an easy prey of the political agitator. One of Africa's considerable needs therefore is that she may be spared the evils of vocational over-production. /Conference between Government and Missions: 1925, p. 6)

Education and educationists, therefore, had an extremely important role to play in this most important task of sparing the African from the evils of over education.

Rivers - Smith¹ advocated a cautious policy of education which would ensure that the numbers of educated Africans conformed with the manpower requirements of the state and the economy. Since Tanzania was and is still predominantly an agricultural country, great emphasis was to be placed upon agricultural education so as to produce a happy and contented peasantry. He told the conference that "Agriculture must be made the basis of all educational activity. If as the result of education a discontent with village life sets up permanent urban migration, education will have failed". (p. 7)

The bogey of the political agitator worried him very much. And in order to prevent it from happening it was necessary to devise a curriculum which would make the African more adapted to his own environment and his station in life. Hence the emphasis on agriculture, citizenship and hygiene. Furthermore manual work was to be preferred to intellectual work. "Literary education

¹ Rivers - Smith was the first Director of Education during the British colonial rule in Tanzania.

tended to produce a troublesome class of "editors and preachers" and was consequently to be discouraged. The African had to be taught the use of tools not only as a means of getting semi-skilled artisans but also as a means of character training which would go a long way to "curb the pugnacity of the native which was reflected in such clashes as the Maori and the Zulu Wars of the nineteenth century".
 /D'Souza: 1975, p. 377

It should be noted that Rivers-Smith was implementing the policy of the Imperial Government which, through its Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies, issued a Command Paper in 1925 entitled Education Policy in British Tropical Africa.¹ This policy emphasised that education had to be adapted to the needs and abilities of the individual native and his community. It had also to prevent the development of a hiatus between the educated few

¹ This policy was directly influenced by the Phelps - Stokes Report. The Phelps-Stokes Report was the work of the education commission set up in 1920 with the crucial support of the colonial office and the British dominated International Missionary Council (Berman: 1977) in order to investigate the state of education in Africa and to make recommendations for future direction. The Commission visited East Africa in 1924 and came up with a detailed report which in short advocated the policy of 'adaptation'.

and the majority. Consequently there had to be a simultaneous frontal attack upon illiteracy of the young as well as adults. At the same time, since women had been neglected educationwise, it became imperative to emphasise the education for girls as much as for boys. Education for girls was looked upon as extremely important as a means of bringing about happy and contented homes. Since East Africa depended on agriculture for its sustenance agricultural education had to occupy the central position in the curriculum. 'Healthy' elements within the society had to be preserved but things such as witchcraft and other abnoxious practices had to be rooted out through moral education and good citizenship. Moral education could be taught not only through religious teachings but also through such organisations as the Boy Scout Movement, Young Farmers Clubs and so on.

It was with this background that the Command Paper of 1925 was issued as a policy for the British African Dependencies of Tropical Africa. Its tone is typical of "adaptation" It stressed that:

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life; adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas, as an agent of natural growth and evolution. Its aim should be to render the individual more efficient in his or her condition of life, whatever it may be, and to promote the advancement of the

community as a whole, through the improvement of agriculture, the development of native industries, the improvement of health, the training of the people in the management of their own affairs and the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service.
 [In Cowan et al 1965, p. 46]

It was not envisaged at this early stage to provide higher education. However, the door for higher education was not closed. It was stated that:

As resources permit, the door of advancement, through higher education, in Africa must be increasingly opened for those who by character ability and temperament show themselves fitted to profit by such education. [In Cowan et al: 1965, p. 47]

This then formed the basis of British colonial education policy in Tanzania during the entire period of their rule. In the spirit of the Command Paper and subsequent memoranda on education, some changes were introduced to fit with changed circumstances. But on the whole the policy remained intact.

The Development of Education up to 1945:

The Conference of 1925 which, according to Governor Sir Donald Cameron, was to produce the educational "Charter" for Tanzania, did not only mark the beginning of cooperation between Government and the missionaries but it also marked the beginning of Government control over Mission

schools. It was agreed that henceforth Government would provide grants-in-aid to recognised Mission schools. But in order for any school to qualify for grants-in-aid the Missions had to adopt the official curriculum provided by the Government; employ qualified teachers and accept inspection. In this way Government could ensure that what was taught in Mission schools was in accordance with the official policy. The Missions, on the other hand, were willing to cooperate with the Government (so long as they were allowed to preach the Gospel) because cooperation provided them with the much needed funds for further expansion of educational programmes.

One of the first steps to be taken by the Government after the conference was to form the Advisory Committee on African Education. This committee was formed in 1926 and its membership consisted of three government officials, two Africans, two representatives of trade and commerce and no less than eight missionaries. (Cameron and Dodd: 1970, p. 62) Thus, the missionary influence was very great indeed since they had the biggest representation. This committee was to meet twice a year and up to 1934 it held regular and fruitful meetings. After that year it never met at all until 1944. For part of the ten years period when it did not meet, it was replaced by a Central Advisory Committee. This new committee had more government officials and half the original number of missionary representatives. (Cameron and Dodd: 1970, p. 63) As a result this committee was more subservient to the Government's way of thinking. Thus the previous cooperation and indeed missionary overwhelming influence, that had existed from the

1925 conference appears to have waned in the period between 1934 and 1944.

There are several reasons why relations between the missionaries and the Government became strained. One of the reasons is to be found in the conflict that existed right from the beginning, though not openly, between Government's and missionary policy on education. The Government's view was that education should help to produce the necessary people who could man the lower rungs of the Civil Service and also occupy some minor posts in the industrial field and/or commerce. Most missionaries, however, regarded the role of education as being that of producing "good" people. Thus the Roman Catholic members of the Advisory Committee on African Education advocated that:

The object of education is not to produce skilled labourers or able professional men or good research worker or even good citizens, but quite simply good men human beings rich with the infinite joys and infinite sorrows of true wisdom.¹

According to the missionaries, therefore, the so called "Bush" schools were just as important as the other more advanced schools, because they were the source of inspiration to the majority of the rural people . On the other hand the Government regarded them as inimical to development as they did not provide enough skills required for service to the state. Furthermore the Government was concerned about the quality of such schools. Whereas

¹ See Memorandum submitted by the R.C. Members to the 7th Meeting of Advisory Committee on African Education in TNA 19484. Vol. 1.

the missionaries regarded them as "centres where decency and cleanliness, knowledge and Christian discipline will spread their influence through the lives of parents and children", the Government saw them as "primitive and ill-equipped" and as "an offence to acceptable standards". /Cameron and Dodd: 1970/

Another point of conflict was the emergence of the so-called Native Authority Schools. In accordance with the policy of Indirect Rule which was introduced into Tanzania by Sir Donald Cameron, chiefs were encouraged to open their own schools. The first native school, therefore, appeared in 1926. Many were soon to follow suit. The missionaries were, however, not very happy with these developments because they believed that chiefs were a hindrance to the work of evangelization. They did not trust the Government officials either as they thought that they were not impartial. "We cannot rely upon receiving impartial treatment from Provincial Commissioners", they said. /Canon Broomfield: 1933 in TNA 19484 Vol. 17

The last straw was the world wide economic depression which lasted from 1930 to 1934. While the depression lasted the Government decided to cut the expenditure on education. This was in conformity with its policy of making sure that every "dependency" was "self-sufficient". Because of the depression no "dependency" including Tanzania was in a position of self-sufficiency. Furthermore, the Government considered education as being a "non-productive" service and therefore in times of difficulties, retrenchment applied very harshly to this sector. Hence during the depression Grants-in-Aid were cut by 45 per cent and the Government's

own educational staff by almost 40 per cent. (Cameron and Dodd: 1970, p. 61) The Protestant missionaries suffered most but the Catholics had other sources of funds and in actual fact their educational programmes continued to expand.

Despite these shortcomings, there was an impressive growth of both Government and Mission schools especially before the depression. The following table shows the expansion of education facilities in 1930.

TABLE I
Enrolments in African Schools, 1930

Institution	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils on Roll		
		Boys	Girls	Total
Government Central School	8	1,732	-	1,732
Government Girls Boarding	2	-	77	77
Government Village School	47	2,816	5	2,821
Native Admin. School	35	2,383	2	2,385
Assisted Mission School	147	8,332	3,710	12,062
Unassisted Mission School	2,838	68,486	38,836	107,304
T O T A L	3,077	83,769	42,630	126,381

SOURCE: Report to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Tanganyika Territory for 1930, London, HMSO, (1931) p. 55.

Apart from the 8 Government Central Schools, there were 17 central schools conducted by Missions. There were, however, no girls central schools. The nomenclature is rather confusing but according to the African Education Ordinance (1927) and the African Education Regulations (1928) "Central School" meant a school in which not less than four standards were taught in English, it could include elementary, industrial and boarding sectors. Village schools usually consisted of the first two sub-standards taught in vernacular and a further two standards which were normally taught in Kiswahili. The Central school, therefore, started in standard III and was completed in Standard VI. Later on the nomenclature changed so that "primary schools" consisted of standards I to IV and Central Schools consisted of standards V through VIII. Most of the Assisted Mission schools were the recognised primary and central schools while the unassisted ones were largely sub-standard schools, mainly catechetical centres, known as "Bush" schools. As the table shows these schools formed the largest category of mission schools. No secondary schools existed up to 1934 when the first Junior Secondary (standards IX to X) was opened at Tabora. The official policy at this time regarded secondary education as something superfluous and unnecessary for Africans. The Director of Education reported as follows:

No secondary education in its generally accepted sense is yet given, and it is by no means certain that the educational future of Tanganyika Territory can best be served by the adoption of the educational shibboleths of more organised civilisations. Until the African has developed a right

sense of values, a matter of generations, it may be that his interests will best be served by avoiding the confusion which arises through a misunderstanding of the true meaning of such terms as "Secondary School", "High School", or "College".
Annual Report of Department of Education: 1929, p. 17

Thus for a long time Africans in Tanzania were denied any chances for higher education. However, demands for higher education became louder and louder even before the outbreak of the War to the extent that the Government was forced to do something about it so that by 1945 there were eight Government secondary schools and ten Mission secondary schools. Cameron and Dodd: 1970, p. 717

The Emergency of Examinations

As already observed there were no secondary schools until late in the 1930s. Any examinations that were done by pupils were, therefore, not those of secondary education.

Some form of selection examinations to central schools appear to have been conducted in order to select a few individuals for further studies. By 1925 there were four Central Schools situated at Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Bukoba and Tabora. The latter was opened on February 26th, 1925 specifically for the education of the sons of chiefs. The roll had 99 boys of whom 16 were actually chiefs. Dar es Salaam school was opened in 1921 followed by Tanga in 1922 and Bukoba in 1923. Annual Reports of Department of Education 1924-19257

The entrance examinations to these schools do not appear to have been organised on territorial bases but were probably arranged and conducted locally under the leadership of the headmaster of the central school. who, for a long time, acted as an inspector of the primary or village schools within his area of jurisdiction. The 1923-1924 Annual reports by the Director of Education indicate the existence of some mechanism of selection as follows:

Boys of outstanding ability and promise are drafted from the village elementary schools to Central Schools where a more advanced training is given in literary and practical subjects, special attention being devoted where possible to instruction in improved methods of agriculture.
Annual Report of Department of Education: 1924, p. 57

The curriculum of Central Schools included subjects such as English, Arithmetic, Hygiene and "such subjects as will eventually fit the native to compete for clerical posts in an African Civil Service or to fit him for further specialised training in any department in which he may be employed". Annual Report of the Department of Education: 1924, p. 57

The Central Schools Leaving Certificate Examination, 1926-1933:

The first public examination to be conducted in Tanzania for African boys was known as the Central Schools Leaving Certificate Examination. As the name shows this examination was done by all pupils completing standard VI. It was "conducted

by the Education Department the papers being corrected by a board, composed of education officers and missionaries". /Annual Report of Education Department: 1929, p. 77

Dar es Salaam, Tanga and Bukoba reached the productive stage in 1926. These schools presented 21 candidates for the examination of whom 11 were successful.

All the successful candidates and most of those who failed have obtained suitable employment. The effect on the attitude both of parents and pupils has been very noticeable. At Bukoba, where great difficulty was formerly experienced in getting parents to pay the small fee for the maintenance of boarders, on the reopening of the school in September there were 28 candidates for 20 vacancies, all willing to pay the fee. /Report to the League of Nations for 1926, p. 607

Although, according to Government, "the Central school was founded partly to correct the inherent propensity of the African to seek respectability in the veneer of European clothes at the expense of skilled manual labour", /Annual Report of the Department of Education: 1929, p. 37 it appears from the above that this objective was defeated by the introduction of the Central Schools examination which rather than assessing the ability of pupils to perform skilled 'manual' labour instead assessed their ability in academic work alone. Furthermore if by "suitable employment" it meant employment in Government Service, then this explains why there was a marked positive change in the attitudes of both the parents and the pupils

with regard to education. Education was seen by both parents and pupils as a means for liberating the individual from the drudgery of peasant life. By putting the emphasis on certificates based on final examination Government was sowing the seeds which would eventually destroy its own policy. And although in the previous year there had been "little sign of the creation of the conceited clerical type of young political agitator" [Annual Report of the Education Department: 1925, p. 317] the change in the attitudes of both parents and pupils in the following year was indicative of the beginning of the creation of the new class of workers. The relatively privileged position which the Central School leavers enjoyed was to have great impact on the future development of education in the country.

Up to 1929 this examination was confined to Government schools only. In that year, however, Tosanaganga (a Catholic School) became the first Mission school to present candidates for the Central Schools Leaving Certificate Examination. Their performance was very satisfactory. The Director of Education in his 1929 Report had this to say:

The Roman Catholic Italian Fathers of the Consolata were the first to present six candidates for the schools certificate examination and if their success may be looked upon as an earnest of the preparation of candidates by missions generally, no anxiety need be felt about the future efficiency of the mission schools. [Annual Report of the Education Department: 1929, p. 117]

From that time onwards mission schools participated fully in this examination. Table II shows the growth of and performance in this examination from 1926 to 1932.

TABLE II

Performance in Central School Leaving Examination
1926-1932

Year	Number of Candidates	Passes	% Passes
1926	21	11	52.38
1927	30	19	63.33
1928	34	19	55.88
1929	42	21	50
1930	81	41	50
1931	89	26	29
1932	112	64	57

SOURCE: Annual Reports of the Department of Education from 1926-1932.

The most striking feature of this examination is the consistency of the pass and failure rates over the years. In most cases only half of the pupils who attempted this examination passed. The year 1931 was particularly bad. More than 70 per cent of the candidates failed. This might have been due to the policy of retrenchment by which more than half of the European staff was reduced. With this reduction it is likely that the schools suffered academically. Furthermore it appears that this was a deliberate policy of matching school graduates with manpower requirements - requirements which had fallen very low as a result of the depression.

The Tabora Entrance Examination

At the Ninth meeting of the Advisory Committee on African Education held on 28th March, 1933 it was "agreed that it was no longer desirable to issue school leaving certificates to Africans passing standard VI, but that the Certificate examination should be postponed until after standard VII". [Proceedings of the A.C.A.E. p. 5] In the following year Tabora School opened the Junior classes of secondary education (Standard IX and X.) Entrance to this school was by competitive examinations. This examination was substituted for the Central Schools Leaving Examination and was open to all candidates from primary schools who had completed four years education in the vernacular and four in English [Annual Report of the Education Department: 1934, p. 6]. Although this examination was mainly for the purpose of entry to Tabora school it became also the standard for all central school leavers.

In 1934 Government schools presented a total of 45 candidates for this examination. Of these 21 passed. The Missions presented 21 candidates of whom 16 were successful. By 1938 the number of secondary schools to which successful candidates could go had increased to three; namely Tanga, Tabora and Dar es Salaam. The number of candidates offering this examination was, however, still very small. In that year 88 candidates attempted the examination but only 25 were successful. Eventually, however, 30 pupils were selected to pursue further studies at the three secondary schools. [Annual Report of the Education Department: 1938, 7] This was indeed a very small number compared to the

previous year when 58 candidates had been successful out of 76 who had attempted the examination.

By 1940 the number of Junior Secondary Schools had increased to five. Besides the three government secondary schools at Tanga, Tabora and Dar es Salaam, there were St. Mary's Tabora (Catholic) and St. Andrew's Minaki (Anglican). The Tabora Entrance Examination had by now, for all practical purposes, changed to Secondary Schools Entrance Examination. Until the end of the war, therefore, this examination was the most important tool for selecting the lucky few for the few secondary schools then available to Africans.

The Makerere Entrance Examination

Although as early as 1935 the demand for more educated people both in the commercial sector and the Government was very much pronounced, the official policy was that there was no need and that it was extravagant to build and staff secondary schools for Africans in Tanzania while accommodation for them was available in the neighbouring territory of Uganda. [Reports of the Department of Education 1931-1935]

Tanzania students who qualified could be enrolled at Makerere¹ or Mulago in Uganda after

¹ Makerere College itself was founded in 1922 as a trade and technical school. In 1935 the first school certificate examination was held. By 1938 it was offering intermediate study courses. It became the University College of East Africa in 1949 under special relationship with the University of London. It conducted the first degree examinations for the London University in 1953. (Higher Education in East Africa, 1955).

completing Junior Secondary. Entry to Makerere was by competitive examination known as the Makerere Entrance Examination. In 1935 Tanzania presented nine candidates from Tabora School for Makerere Entrance Examination of whom six passed. The following year the number had increased to eleven, five being from mission schools. But the passes remained at six. This examination served not only as an entrance examination but also as a leaving certificate examination for Junior Secondary. By 1937 the grip of this examination on the curriculum was already being felt. The Education Report for 1937 expressed the need for liberating the secondary school system from the domination of the examination. But progress in the direction had to await the full assessment of certain implications of a special Commission's report. Annual Report of the Department of Education: 1937; p. 177

Despite all the concern the examination continued to be taken by schools in East Africa; and in Tanzania it was last taken in 1949 when 30 candidates attempted it and 15 of them passed. Meanwhile the Cambridge School Certificate Examination began to assume a more important role.

The Makerere Entrance Examination was the fore runner of external¹ examinations in Tanzanian schools. It firmly established within the minds of many people who managed to pass it the "Makererean" complex. Thus the foundations for upward social

¹ The term 'external' here is used in the sense that the examination was prepared outside the country.

mobility through the examination syndrome had been well established by the end of the war.

B. DEVELOPMENTS BETWEEN 1945 AND 1961

Educational development:

This period witnessed the most rapid changes not only in education but also in the political development of the country which culminated in the political independence of Tanzania in 1961.

In terms of political development Tanzania became a Trust Territory under the United Nations. Britain continued to administer the country but for the first time it was clearly stated that the role of the Administering Authority was to prepare the people for ultimate independence. Furthermore the Administering Authority was required to furnish the United Nations, through its Trusteeship Council, with annual reports concerning the advancement of the country towards independence. These reports were to be supplemented by Visiting Missions from the United Nations Trusteeship Council after every three years. During these visits the delegates were able to ascertain the stages which the country had reached towards its goal of independence.

The Africans themselves were becoming even more politically conscious. By 1954, under the leadership of Julius K. Nyerere, they had managed to form a strong political party¹ which demanded

¹ The Party was known as Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) founded out of Tanganyika African Association (TAA) on 7th July, 1954.

independence. Nyerere appeared before the Trusteeship Council and presented the case for independence. Within seven years Tanzania regained her constitutional independence.

In the field of education this period also witnessed great changes. It was a period of both expansion and qualitative improvement. These changes were partly a result of local demand for more and better education and partly a result of outside influence. For the first time the Administering Authority's efforts in the field of educational development were evaluated by an independent outside body. Hitherto the only outside evaluation had been that of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. From 1947 when Tanzania became a Trust Territory, United Nations Visiting Missions came to Tanzania after every after three years. The last Visiting Mission came in 1960 and in the following year Tanzania had already regained her independence.

Apart from many other complaints or petitions which the Visiting Missions got from the peoples of Tanzania, the question of education for Africans figured very prominently. Meanwhile the British Government had also seen the writings on the wall and had decided to speed up to some extent the educational development of the country.

The Ten Year Plan for African Education

In 1947 the Ten Year Plan for African Education was launched.¹ By that year only about

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¹ This was part of the overall Ten Year Development Plan (1947-1956) the first of its kind in Tanzania.

10 per cent of the school age children were attending the first four years of primary education. The aim of the plan was to raise the enrolment to 36 per cent by 1956. Although secondary education was not completely neglected the emphasis was on primary education. Admittedly the number of children attending primary school was too small for future expansion of African education. Nevertheless secondary education and higher education should have received more emphasis than it did. The plan envisaged a total of only 200 Tanzanians in institutions of higher education by 1956.

[Cameron and Dodd: 1970] The United Nations Visiting Mission criticised this aspect of the plan. It regarded the provision for higher education as inadequate. Another feature which the Mission criticised was separate development in education which, although it had been in existence even before the war, was intensified after the war when separate education systems were instituted for Africans, Europeans, Asians and other non-African children. The Visiting Mission, therefore, criticised this policy because it was not conducive to the policy of harmonious development of all races for which the United Nations stood. The Government, on the other hand, became defensive and gave the counter argument that by preparing a plan for Africans alone it was fulfilling its obligations of paying more attention to the interests of the Africans. The Visiting Mission was not impressed, however, and recommended the integration of education. [Dolan: 1969, p. 60]

The Ten Year Plan was revised in 1950 in view of the 1948 census which showed that the population of school age children was actually bigger than which had been estimated in 1947.

Hence some new costing of education had to be done. However, except for an increase of pupils in primary schools from the figure of 250,000 to 310,000 pupils, the targets set in the original plan were only slightly altered. But the pattern of education was changed slightly. Hitherto the pattern of education consisted of six years primary education (4 years village schools and 2 years District schools) followed by four years secondary education. The revised plan introduced a new element in the education pattern: the Middle School. Thus the new pattern of education took the following shape:

- (a) Primary Schools (Standard I-IV)
- (b) Middle Schools (Standard V-VIII)
- (c) Secondary Schools (Standard IX-XII)¹

In accordance with this plan, 20 per cent of those completing standard four of the primary education were to be selected by competitive examination for middle schools. A still much smaller proportion of those completing middle schools were to continue to secondary schools. No provision was made for higher education in Tanzania. [Cameron and Dodd, 1970]

In 1951 the second Visiting Mission came again to Tanzania. Education once again took the first position in the many petitions which the Mission received from the African peoples. Africans

¹ Many Secondary Schools, however, had only standards IX and X until after independence. These schools were known as Provincial Secondary Schools as opposed to the Territorial Secondary Schools which went as far as Std. XII.

bitterly opposed the revised plan because it did not go far enough. Four year primary education was regarded as being insufficient as it turned out 11 or 12 year-old kids who were incapable of standing on their own and also, because they were ill-repared, soon relapsed into illiteracy.¹ Africans, therefore, wanted a further modification of the plan so as to provide for a continuous six year primary education. The Visiting Mission sympathised with the African cause. While reiterating the observations made in their first visit, they noted that the provision for 20 per cent of those who completed primary schools to continue with post-primary education was not sufficient for future man-power needs. They, therefore, recommended an increase in middle school enrolment and also provision for technical and adult education. They also deplored the backward state of education for girls. The Administering Authority curiously replied that some Africans did not want education any way and that expansion of middle schools would have lowered the standards in secondary schools.

[Dolan 1960: pp. 65-68]

The Third Visiting Mission (1954) was perhaps the most important of all as far as Tanzania is concerned. The Mission came when Tanzanians were demanding independence from Britain within a given time-table. The Mission stated that Tanzania could be independent within 20 years. As it happened Tanzania became independent in less than ten years. This came as a bombshell to the Administering Authority who thought that

¹ See for example Minutes of the Advisory Council on African Education 17th Meeting 5-6 June 1950. TNA 19484, Vol. II.

Tanzania was a long way off from independence, and, therefore, thought they could take matters easy. They were rudely awakened to the fact that they had to speed up development plans in order to prepare the country for independence.

The Mission again emphasised the need for integrated education and criticised the Revised plan because it did not provide for advancement by 1956 but rather made 1956 the starting point of educational expansion. They also raised the point of Higher Education in Tanzania by insisting that arrangement had to be made for the establishment of a university in view of the needs for future requirements of high level manpower. The British Government, however, did not see the **necessity of** a university as yet. [Dolan: 1969, pp. 71-72]

The fourth Visiting Mission came to Tanzania in 1957. This time there were many complains from the African people against the middle schools system. We have already seen that Africans had opposed it right from the beginning, although the Governor had the audacity to tell the Legislative Council in 1952 that the programme was enjoying much popularity. In his own words:

The new Middle School syllabus has been widely welcomed, especially for the prominence given to agricultural and handwork subjects, it being an important feature of this course to train young Africans away from the prevalent conviction that a clerical stool is the ultimate seat of learning, and that the banner of advanced culture is to be seen only in a zoot tie
[Hansard 27th Session: 1952/53, p. 13]

However, it was not long before he found out that he had been wrong. If the programme was popular to some elements within the territory it was definitely not popular among Africans. Thus in 1955 he told the same Legislative Council that he had "found misgivings in various parts of the territory regarding Government's Middle schools policy". He went on to lament in the following manner:

Unfortunately some of the products which are turned out appear to be empty but swollen-headed young men who would not deign to soil their hands by toil; who have lost their sense of values and appear never to have heard of such a phrase as "the dignity of labour" and who seem to expect themselves to be regarded fully educated and to be entitled to well-paid employment for which they are inadequately equipped. (Hansard 13th Session 1955/56: p. 28)

It should be observed, however, that actually many standard VIII leavers could readily find employment both in government and the small private sector. Hence there was, as yet, no school leaver crisis. However, many African parents felt that these schools lacked in academic subjects and that they did not teach enough agriculture to be of any use. They wanted their children to receive the same kind of education as that which European and Asian children were getting. They, therefore, continued to press for a six year primary education as was the case with European and Asian education. The Visiting Mission endorsed the demands of the Africans.

They re-emphasised the need for an integrated system of education and provision for higher education in Tanzania. [Dolan: 1969, pp. 82-83] These observations by the Mission were also endorsed by the United Nations Trusteeship Council especially with regards to the establishment of a university in Tanzania. At one of its sessions, the Council passed the following resolution:

The Council recalling its previous **recommendations** on this subject and noting that the Visiting Mission has reported keen desire in the Territory for the establishment of a University College, endorses the view of the Visiting Mission that while this cannot have at this time priority that an expansion of secondary education should have, it will become a political and educational necessity well before the date of 1965-1966 suggested by the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa. The Council hopes that the Administering Authority will bear this in mind and take early steps towards the establishment of a University College in Tanganyika. ¹

This statement was almost prophetic. The first thing which the independent government of Tanzania did was to establish a University College. Thus the University College of Dar es Salaam was opened in 1961 on temporary premises provided by TANU the movement that had led Tanzania to independence.

¹ U.N. Report of Trusteeship Council for 7 August 1959 - 30 June 1960, 15th Session. Supplement No. 4(A/4404) N.Y. 1962, p. 50.

The Five Year Plan

As Tanzania approached independence there was more cooperation and understanding between the United Nations and the Administering Authority. The latter endeavoured to up-date its educational programmes. Shortly before the arrival of the Fourth Visiting Mission the Government had launched another plan for African education, the Five Year Plan (1957-1961). The emphasis of the plan was on secondary education and also a possible 8-year continuous primary education. The Government also accepted the integration of schools in principle. Integration came into being in 1962 as a result of the report of the committee appointed in 1958 to study the problem. The last Visiting Mission to Tanzania took place in 1960 when the country was on the threshold of independence. The Mission was pleased that the necessary steps were being taken by the Administering Authority to effect a peaceful march to independence. All in all the two development plans achieved what they had set out to do. [Cameron and Dodd: 1970]

Examinations

The period under consideration is also very important as far as examinations are concerned. With the introduction of the 4-4-4 pattern in the schooling structure, it meant that candidates had to sit for some form of examination at each stage. Although the policy of the Government was that each stage would provide education that was complete in itself, it will be seen that in order to move to another stage it became necessary to sit for an examination which increasingly served the purpose

of selection rather than showing whether the students had successfully completed an education phase. It will be noted that the examination system, in most cases, defeated the 'noble' objectives which the educationists had formulated with regards to education. As for the types of examinations the following were the most important.

The Standard Four Examination

Before the Ten Year Plan for African Education was revised in 1950, pupils had to sit for the standard IV examination in order to be selected for the District Schools. With the approval of the Revised Plan by the Secretary of State, the middle school was substituted for the District School and pupils who wanted to go on to the middle school sat for the Standard IV examination. With regards to this examination the 1953 Annual Report states;

Entry to a middle school is controlled by competitive and selective examinations conducted usually at the provincial level in Standard IV of the primary schools.
/Annual Report of Department of Education: 1953, p. 187

Usually this examination was supplemented, whenever possible, by interviews conducted by Headmasters of Secondary Schools in the provinces. Since the Plan provided for one in every five pupils to proceed to middle schools the number of those who were to pass the examination was pre-determined. It is clear, therefore, that a good many pupils (80 per cent) usually went back to the villages and being too young could not be gainfully employed. Furthermore they soon relapsed into illiteracy. This is why African parents were against the 4-4-4 system.

The Territorial Standard VIII Examination

The middle school system officially came into existence in 1951. Pupils completing Standard VIII of the Middle Schools usually sat for an examination which was centrally organised - hence the name. This examination was held in October and it served, inter alia, as a passing-out examination from the middle schools. The examination consisted of papers in English, Kiswahili, Arithmetic, General Knowledge (incorporating elements of subjects such as Biology, Health Science, History, Civics and Geography).

According to the Director of Education, "Standard VIII examination is not, and never was intended to be, a selective examination, it is purely a leaving examination and as such must be related to the work done in the middle school".¹

Thus although the Government had no intention of making the Territorial Standard VIII examination a selective examination, in actual fact it was very selective. Passes were ranked into three classes. Those who obtained class I passes usually went on to secondary schools while those with class II and III went on to further training either as teachers, rural medical aids, forest rangers, agricultural assistants and so on. During the earlier period even those who could not pass usually found some employment as clerks. Only

¹ See letter by Director of Education to Headmaster Mpwapa of 30/5/1956 in TNA 321/7 Vol. I.

on rare occasions did a class VIII leaver miss some form of employment. The crisis of the standard VIII leaver came much later.

There is yet another aspect of the Territorial Standard VIII examination which defeated the original intentions of the middle school course. The examination did not test the very subject(s) which were the core of the whole course. According to the Provisional Syllabus for Middle Schools, "the form and bias of the course at any particular school, will, so far as is possible, be related to the needs and reflect the life of the area in which the school is situated". Thus for the schools in the country side, and this meant most of them, the bias was to be either agricultural or industrial. Homecraft was to be the major bias in the girls' middle schools. Every effort was made to adhere to this principle. However, except for Homecraft which was first examined in 1953, these biases were not examined. In a situation where examinations loomed large, it meant the downgrading of the very subjects which were the heart of the middle school curriculum. It also explains, albeit partially, why the middle school experiment failed.

Meanwhile the numbers of candidates continued to rise with the increase in the number of middle schools. The expansion of middle schools was much greater than the expansion of secondary schools. The result was that the examination became more and more competitive. At the same time fewer and fewer standard VIII leavers were finding employment in both public and private sectors as employers usually began to recruit more and more Standard X leavers. The Territorial Standard VIII Examination,

therefore, became even more selective in nature. The Table below shows the performance in this examination from 1951 to 1957 when it was last done under such name.¹

TABLE III

Performance in the Territorial Standard VIII Examination

Year	Number of Candidates	Passes in Classes			Fail	% Fail
		I	II	III		
1951	1,147	11	376	599	161	14.3
1952	1,497	58	303	1,002	134	8.8
1953	2,439	61	879	1,309	196	8.0
1954	3,734	176	1,698	1,385	475	12.6
1955	4,652	547	2,836	919	350	7.5
1956	5,471	284	1,029	3,284	874	14.1
1957	5,742	250	1,158	3,269	1,065	18.5

SOURCE: Annual Reports of the Department of Education, 1951-1957.

¹ According to Circular Ref. No. 321/8/2 of 15th February 1958 (TNA, EDA 324/208), it was decided to abolish the Territorial Standard VIII Examinations, as with the large numbers of candidates involved, its administration had become too large a commitment for the Department of Education to undertake. It was however, decided to introduce the Common Entrance later General Entrance Examination for those candidates who wanted and were recommended for further education. However, it soon became open to every Standard VIII leaver.

Territorial Standard X Examination

This examination, taken at the completion of Standard X of secondary education, was perhaps the most important examination for the majority of pupils who had been lucky enough to cross the hurdles imposed by the standard VIII examination. Here they had to cross another hurdle before they could proceed to the senior secondary school or join the Junior Service in the Government and in the commercial sector.

The examination was introduced in 1947, following the recommendation of the Advisory Committee on African Education.¹ At first it was not meant to be the basis of entry to Senior Secondary Schools of the Voluntary Agencies. It was, however, decided to make it the basis for entry to the Government Secondary School, Tabora. So in a way it took over from the previous examination known as Tabora Entrance examination. Eventually it became the basis of entry to all the senior secondary schools.

The effect of this examination on the schools and pupils began to be felt very early. Thus, in his report of 1949, the Director of Education observed:

There are indications in some schools of pupils becoming infected with the examination fever which displays itself in the well recognized symptoms of paying scant regard to any

¹ See Minutes of the Advisory Committee on African Education held at the Secretariat on 7th to 11th July; 1947, (TNA E/20/16 Vol. V.)

part of the curriculum which is unlikely to be specifically tested in the end of year examinations. /Annual Report of Department of Education: 1949, p. 207

He attributed much of the weakness to the rigidity of the syllabus which prescribed too much detail to be covered in each standard while there was no mention of class projects. Projects were neglected because they were not examinable. He gave the example of one school that had embarked on a project but had to abandon it because it was not to be examined. He reports as follows:

One Government school embarked this year on an exceedingly interesting project which affected not only the well-being of the school itself but also the lives of all those in the thickly populated area adjacent to the school. It has been reported that this project went very well to start with, but that when it was well underway the pupils lost all interest in it on discovering that no specific questions in the Standard X examination would be asked on their particular project. /Annual Report of the Department of Education: 1949, p. 207

The effect of the examination on teaching and learning worried the education officials who feared that it was encouraging 'cramming'. It was decided, therefore, to revise the examination regulations in order to improve the scope of the examination. A committee was set up in 1951 in order to do the revision. The new regulations came into effect the following year. It was hoped that "the dual function of the examination, to

test attainment in the junior secondary course and aptitude for further education or training" would then be more successfully achieved. At the same time the possibility of "cramming" for the examination was believed to have been largely removed [Annual Report of the Department of Education: 1952, pp, 28-29].

It appears, however, that the question of 'cramming' was still to be solved for in the following year the Provincial Education Officers voiced considerable concern about low performance in that year's (1953) examination by Government and Anglican schools. It was claimed by the Provincial Education Officers that the schools that had done well in the examinations, viz. Pugu, Ihungo, Ilboru, Umbwe and Tosanaganga had two things in common:

- (a) continuity in their European staff.
- (b) a well developed technique of cramming.

These views were endorsed by the Director of Education who wrote to the Chairman of the Standard X Examination Committee requesting him to do something about it. The Chairman was of a different opinion. He replied that Tabora Secondary School, of which he was the Headmaster, had not done well because it had weak candidates that year any way.

He also pointed out that as a matter of fact Malangali, another government school, had done very well in the same examination and that he believed that the two reasons outlined above did not apply to it. He admitted that he was not very conversant with the Roman Catholic schools which had done well but that he knew that Ilboru (Protestant) did not enjoy continuity of European staff and yet its results were very good. He was of the opinion that the staff of that school was highly dedicated to their work. He indicated the possibility that the staff in the Catholic schools was just as dedicated.¹

It was decided, however, to do something in order to remove any recurrence of cramming. It was alleged that the questions on General Science, History and Geography were set too closely on textbooks. It was, therefore, decided to change the 1954 examination by asking questions based more on outside reading than on the texts. It was hoped thereby to remove all possibilities of cramming.

The Chairman's observation referred to above were vindicated for the results of 1954 examinations showed that Mission Schools still did much better on the whole than Government schools, despite the stringent measures taken to prevent 'cramming'. [Annual Report of the Department of Education: 1954] Hence the allegations of the Provincial Education Officers and the Director of Education were proved baseless.

¹ This debate can be found in TNA 321/1 Vol. III. See for example the letter dated 12/2/54 by the Director of Education to J.R. Crabbe and the letters' reply in his letter of 2/3/54.

The examination consisted of papers in English Language, English Composition, Mathematics, History, Geography, Swahili and any other two selected from Physics with Chemistry, Biology and Needlework. To qualify for a certificate a candidate had to reach a minimum aggregate mark in the examination as a whole and pass in English and five other subjects. [Kayuza: 1963, p. 247] Beginning 1950 the certificates were classified into Class I, Class II and Class III. To qualify for a Class I certificate a candidate had to have clear passes in all subjects. Thus the examination was fairly tough. Very few candidates managed to get Class I. Many of them got Class III and nearly one third of all candidates failed. The following table shows performances from 1947 to 1960, the last year of this examination.

TABLE IV

Performance in the Territorial Standard X
Examination 1947 - 1960

Year	Candi- dates	Passes	Class I	Class II	Class III	Fail
1947	178	96	-	-	-	82
1948	269	103	-	-	-	166
1949	270	163	-	-	-	107
1950	369	280	7	102	171	89
1951	422	300	13	101	186	142
1952	533	380	9	139	232	153
1953	527	340	22	132	186	187
1954	647	438	9	129	300	209
1955	725	528	18	204	306	197
1956	862	607	22	234	351	255
1957	1173	839	51	313	475	334
1958	1334	996	76	337	581	340
1959	1535	1185	93	403	689	350
1960	1635	1224	100	425	699	411

SOURCE: Annual Reports of the Department
of Education, 1947-1960.

The Territorial Standard X Examination was abolished in 1961 because for the first time there were more places in Standard XI than could be filled by standard X leavers. Thus according to the plan 1,800 places were to be provided in Standard XI in 1962 while the number of pupils in Standard X

in 1961 were estimated at 1785. Hence there was a surplus of 15 places in standard XI in 1962. Furthermore it was decided to have a full 4 year secondary education. Hence the Territorial Standard X examination became redundant.

The Cambridge Oversea School Certificate Examination

This examination became the most important one to many Tanzanians. It superceeded the Makerere Entrance Examination which, in Tanzania, ceased to exist in 1949.

The Cambridge Oversea School Certificate Examination, however, started on a very modest scale. It is true that Indian and European students sat for the examination as early as 1934. African students, however, attempted it for the first time in 1947. That year two Mission schools, St. Andrew's Minaki and St. Mary's Tabora, presented about 14 candidates and 4 of them were successful. The following year, Tabora Boys (Government) joined ranks. These schools together presented 28 candidates and 15 of them passed. [Annual Reports of the Department of Education: 1947-1948]

This examination was set and marked by the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate. It was, therefore, the first real external examination. Pupils who did well in this examination could be selected for further studies at Makerere in Uganda.

The examination results were classified into three divisions. Division I certificates were awarded to candidates who passed in at least six subjects, receiving credits in at least five including the English language. Division II was

awarded to candidates who passed six subjects including English Language. They had also to get at least four credits and reach a general standard of performance in their best six subjects. The rest of the successful candidates were awarded Division III. During the earlier years of this examination every candidate had to pass English in order to qualify for an award of a certificate. Later, however, the regulations were slightly loosened so that a candidate who had performed well in other subjects but unfortunately failed in English could be awarded a **General Certificate of Education**.

The effect of this examination on the curriculum was indeed very great. Generally the examination had negative consequences upon learning and teaching. Preparation for it monopolised, or almost monopolised, the time table, although many pupils usually left even before taking the examination. As early as 1945 the Director of Education expressed his concern with regard to the bad effects which this type of examination was having on the curriculum. Speaking in the Legislative Council he said:

I should like to deprecate the undue importance that has been given to the question of examination results. There is a danger that a school might be encouraged to prostitute its work - to prostitute its true vocation in order to cram for examination. /Hansard: 20th Session 1945/46, p. 101/

Although at that time he was referring to the effect of the examinations on Indian schools, (for as yet Africans could not sit for this examination) the same attitude towards external

examinations could be expressed with regards to African schools. Indeed it did not take very long before it was realised that the effect of the examination on African education was just as 'prostituting' as had been the case with Indian education. Any subject which was not examined at the end of the year was not taken seriously by the students. Most students who went on to senior secondary schools after completing Junior Secondary (Standard X) had only one thing in mind—to pass the Cambridge School Certificate Examination (which was the base for selection to Makerere College and other institutions of learning) which would guarantee them a happy and prosperous future .

One aspect which worried many educationists was the rigidity of the syllabuses issued by Cambridge. These syllabuses were too 'British' in many respects. The questions asked in the examination were heavily loaded with British jargon. In 1953 it was reported that the mathematics papers of the Cambridge examination were still "impregnated with an English background and included even problems on 'men and bath taps' or 'trains and tunnels'. The English papers were heavy with grammar and nineteenth century literature while other subjects were adapted from the normal syllabus of an English school instead of being taught out wholly with the needs of Africa in mind. The report also attacked the way subjects such as history were being taught. The African school child too often was being forced to learn and regurgitate "a miscellany of historical facts" that darkened his understanding. /Report of the East and Central African Study Group; 1953, p. 937.

They recommended that the General Certificate of Education could have been a better alternative to the Cambridge School Certificate because it was more flexible and, therefore, was more suited to the needs of the African secondary schools. If this recommendation had been adopted it could have been possible to examine subjects such as agricultural science which was considered extremely important for the future leaders of African life. As it was the Cambridge School Certificate examination continued to enjoy an unchallenged position until well after independence. This pre-occupation with the Cambridge Examination coupled with the high rewards which the successful students got, enhanced still further the concept of regarding examinations as ends in themselves. Meanwhile the numbers of candidates taking the examination continued to rise year after year as a result the general expansion in the provision of secondary education especially beginning with the inception of the Five Year Plan for African Education (1957-1961). See Table below.

TABLE V

Cambridge School Certificate Examination Results
1947 - 1961

R e s u l t s	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Division I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70	91	98	92	103	169	162
Division II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	142	147	197	226	201	407	457
Division III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	101	84	122	160	156	256	240
Sub Total	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	313	322	417	478	560	832	859
G.C.E.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	151	211	336
Total Pass	5	15	30	34	57	64	86	98	-	-	-	-	711	1043	1195
Fail	9	13	12	9	10	23	15	7	72	129	189	203	243	316	410
Number Sat	14	28	42	43	67	87	101	105	385	451	606	681	954	1359	1605
Per cent Pass															
(1) Excluding GCE	35.7	53.5	66.6	79	85	73.5	85.1	93.3	81.3	71.4	68.8	70.2	58.7	61.2	53.5
(2) including GCE	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	74.5	76.7	74.5

SOURCE: Annual Reports of Education Department: 1947-1965

NOTES: (1) In 1947 only two schools presented candidates. These were St. Andrew's College, Minaki which presented 5 candidates, 4 of whom passed and St. Mary's, Tabora which presented 9 candidates, of whom only one passed.

(2) Divisions were introduced later, as was the G.C.E.

This chapter has shown that there were different policies and forces which governed the development of education during the colonial period. The forces which were responsible for educational development during this period were the colonial regime and the Christian Missionaries. It has been shown that during the Mandatory period the colonial regime was not in favour of a policy of rapid development of education for Africans. During the latter period, however, the regime was forced to heed the demands of the Nationalist Movement and the United Nations and began to expand the educational facilities for Africans. As regards examinations ~~it~~ has been shown that from the beginning they performed mostly the role of selection. Although the pervasive nature of examinations on the curriculum was noticed very early, nevertheless as the demand for higher education increased they became more and more entrenched within the educational system and became almost ends in themselves.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXAMINATIONS
IN INDEPENDENT TANZANIA: 1961-1976A. TRANSITION TO EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE
1961/66

The preceding chapter examined the policies and forces which governed educational development and examinations in the colonial context. This chapter is intended to give an over-view of the educational policies which have been in force during the period under review so as to provide a background against which examination policies and changes in East Africa in general and in Tanzania in particular are discussed in the rest of the chapter.

Educational Development

Tanzania attained Independence on 9th December, 1961. With the attainment of independence the shortage in skilled manpower became very acute. The demand for qualified indigenous workers greatly exceeded supply. Under such circumstances, therefore, it became necessary to launch measures almost bordering on emergency in order to obtain the necessary manpower. Expansion of secondary and higher education, therefore, was seen as the only way of solving the problem. Even UNESCO recommended this approach at the expense of its oft adhered to policy of humanitarian education. The plans which followed the previous two plans were, therefore, different from the previous ones in that they concentrated more on producing high level manpower, through the provision of more places in secondary

schools and higher education rather than the expansion of primary education.

The Three Year Development Plan 1961-64

This plan was essentially an interim one and was meant to bridge "the period of transition from the colonial type of administration to independence". It was different from its predecessors also in that it relied very heavily on external aid. Much of this aid came from Britain but also for the first time these external financial resources were to be international, largely through the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development [Cameron: 1970]. It should be recalled that during the colonial period the doctrine of internal self-sufficiency had been strictly observed. This period, therefore, marked the beginning of external and international aid, not only in education but also in other fields of social and economic development.

The most urgent need recognised by the planners was "to increase the number of secondary schools and to expand technical facilities". This was in conformity with the policy of allocating funds and resources to those projects which were considered most economic. During that time primary education was not considered to be economic enough. Hence the emphasis was put on secondary and technical education because of its economic value since it was through it that the high level manpower required for the development of the country could be acquired. It was decided, therefore, to extend thirty three existing Form 1 and 2 streams to Form 4, the level at which school certificate was taken. Also three Secondary Schools which had been conducting courses up to Form 4 level began to offer

courses for the Higher School Certificate. In addition seventeen new streams beginning from Form I were introduced.

Although the plan did not provide for the expansion of primary education as such, a start was however made to provide primary education of at least 6 years duration. Many primary schools were 'extended' to Standard VI. It was also planned eventually to merge middle schools with primary schools so as to provide an eight year primary education to all. The partial implementation of this project was overtaken by governments' decision in 1964 to reduce primary education from 8 years to 7 years.

On the whole the plan achieved what it set out to do. By the end of the plan the number of Form 4 places had more than doubled from 1603 to 3630, and the number of candidates for Higher School Certificate leapt from 176 to 463 [Cameron and Dodd: 1970, p. 172].

Five Year Development Plan 1964-1969

The Five Year Plan was the first major attempt by independent Tanzania to map out the social and economic development of the country. Its major objectives were three, by 1980:

- (a) to raise the per capital income from £19 6s. 0d. to £45;
 - (b) to be fully self-sufficient in trained manpower requirements;
 - (c) to raise the expectation of life from between 35 to 40 years to an expectation of 50.
- [Five Year Development Plan; 1964, Vol. I, p. viii]

Education's role was most concerned with (b) above. Its first priority was to expand secondary and higher education, so as to meet the economic requirements for high level manpower. Primary education was not neglected completely for it was decided to ensure that the quality of primary education was maintained at a level adequate to lay the foundation of permanent literacy. This could have been achieved, it was believed, through having double sessions in Standards III and IV and also through better qualified teachers. [Five Year Development Plan: 1964, Vol. II, p. 102]

This emphasis on economic returns naturally ran counter to the humanistic ideas which had been followed by the colonial regime. The planners themselves agreed that the plan did not adhere to the policy. The plan stated:

This education policy admittedly differs in the short run from humanitarian ideals which attach great importance to moulding human minds and strive to have the greatest number possible benefit from education as a source of moral enrichment and aesthetic satisfaction. Indeed, it should be stressed that the results of this idealistic position are most frequently ephemeral and even become harmful to society as a whole when not accompanied by a simultaneous improvement of material living standards. With the available financial resources for economic and social development of the country as scarce as they are, the Government has henceforth decided to pursue a policy of educational development in line with economic requirements. [Five Year Development Plan: 1964, Vol. I, p. 13]

Under the circumstances in which Tanzania found herself immediately after gaining independence, she had no alternative but to pursue this policy. Of course the policy was regarded as a temporary one and future developments were to show the inadequacy of this policy as far as harmonious development of the country was concerned. Meanwhile the Government was so pre-occupied with the manpower problem that the question of the type of education suitable for an independent African state had to be shelved aside until much later. There was only one thing which the Government was prepared to do - to regard education not as a luxury but as a necessity and therefore to spend as much on it as far as resources could allow. About six months after launching the Five Year Plan President Nyerere pointed out the limitation which had been imposed on African education by the colonial regime. Addressing the Heads of Secondary Schools he said:

The problems you have been facing are a direct result of the need to remedy years of neglect of education. I am sure I do not need to remind you of the position when we ourselves assumed control of the affairs of our country. The shortage of skilled and educated citizens reflected the fact that the education of our people was regarded as a luxury, a social service, on which the expenditure could be and was cut whenever the Government revenues were low. Not only that; the allocation of resources within education emphasised basic primary work. Of the 50 per cent of our children who started school, 80 per cent dropped out after four years; of the 20 per cent

who were left only a further 20 per cent entered the first form of secondary school - and 80 per cent of them left after Standard X. /Nyerere: The Nationalist December 5th, 1964/

The independent government left no stone unturned in order to expand educational facilities to as many pupils as possible. As one measure of reducing wastage, school fees in secondary schools were abolished in 1964.

Although the plan as a whole was not very much of a success due to overdependence on external aid which was not forthcoming anyway, and also due to bad weather which crippled the agricultural products, it was very successful in the field of education. Table VI shows this fantastic expansion of education during the plan period. Entrants to Form I continued to rise above the planned intake. This rise was particularly noticeable after 1966. This rise may have been caused by the "private" schools whose emergency in the educational scene will be discussed later. The number of pupils in Form 4 and 6 was less than planned during the first half of the plan period but by the end of the plan period, enrolments in these forms had exceeded the planned enrolment.

TABLE VI

The Development of Secondary Education 1964 - 1969

	1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969	
	Plan- ned	Actu- al	Plan- ned	Actu- al	Plan- ned	Actu- al	Plan- ned	Actu- al	Plan- ned	Actu- al	Plan- ned	Actu- al
Entrants to Second- ary School (Form I)	5250	5302	5705	5942	5915	6377	6195	6635	6475	6989	6755	7149
Number of pupils in School Certificate Class. (Form IV)	4165	3630	4900	4505	5040	4723	5355	5004	5705	5763	5915	6328
Entrants to Higher Cert. Class (Form V)	680	616	800	780	840	826	880	895	1080	1214	1220	1410
Number of pupils in Higher Certificate (Form VI)	520	463	680	603	800	761	840	814	880	929	1080	1226

SOURCE: George Skorov: Integration of Education and Economic Planning in Tanzania, p. 46.

Tanzania: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education for 1969 Table B22 p. 55.

EXAMINATIONS

The Standard V Entrance Examination

This examination continued to be held in rural areas where places in the upper classes were less than those in the lower classes. In urban areas, however, pupils were allowed to continue their studies without interruptions from standard I through standard VIII and later standard VII. This examination was a matter of local exigency. By the end of the plan period, owing to the fact that all primary schools had been expanded to seven standards, the standard V entrance examination died a natural death.

General Entrance Examination

This examination was introduced in 1958 when the Territorial Standard VIII examination was abolished. Every pupil who successfully completed standard VIII of the then middle school was awarded with a leaving certificate provided his/her conduct was satisfactory. The General Entrance examination was, therefore, not a leaving examination but, as the name implied, it was meant to be a selection examination. Only a few pupils who had been recommended by their heads of schools were at first registered for this examination. Later on, however, every standard VIII or VII leaver attempted the examination.

The examination was centrally set but was administered and marked regionally. On the basis of the results of this examination and headmasters' recommendations, candidates were selected to secondary schools by the regions in accordance with selection ratios worked out by the Ministry.

During the early years of this examination the best pupils from the whole country were selected to three Territorial Schools - namely Tabora Boys, St. Francis' College, Pugu and St. Andrew's College, Minaki. There were also two girls' Territorial schools; Tabora Girl's Secondary School and Marian College, Morogoro. In 1960 the Government decided to abolish territorial selection following the expansion of Standard IX (Form I) places in many provinces. This decision was strongly opposed by some schools and governing boards and some individuals. Very strong opposition was voiced by the two Mission schools, Pugu and Minaki. The Headmaster of St. Francis' College said that the abolition of Territorial selection would have greatly altered the very character of the school - a school which had been built by the Catholic Church to cater for the needs of Catholic students all over the country. He threatened that unless the recruitment of Pugu remained on a territorial basis he would have had no option but to **discontinue** recruiting standard IX the following year. He went on to say:

We consider that Territorial Schools still have an important role in the educational, social and political development of the territory and that in wiping them out the Department of Education is doing a disservice to the people of Tanganyika.¹

¹ Fr. O'Connor, Headmaster Pugu to Acting Chief Education Officer, letter of 2/9/1960 in TNA EDA 321/8/II.

It appears that the Government yielded. At least up to 1962 Pugu continued to recruit Form I students on Territorial basis. After that period, however, not only did Pugu have to recruit pupils from Regions selected by the Government but, in conformity with the policy of integration of schools, which came into force that year, she had to admit even non-Catholics.

Meanwhile the examination continued to be done by more and more pupils as the expansion of primary education continued. According to the Plan all primary schools had to be converted into seven years. This meant that in some areas primary schools were extended to Standard VII while in others standard VIII had to be phased out. This exercise was done in three phases:

Phase I involved the following regions: Arusha, Coast, Kilimanjaro, Morogoro and Tanga. In these regions all standard VII and VIII pupils in 1965 sat for the General Entrance Examination. By 1966, therefore, the change over had been completed in these regions.

Phase II involved the following regions: Kigoma, Mara, Mwanza, Shinyanga, Tabora and West Lake. Here the change over was completed in 1967.

Phase III involved the remaining regions viz: Dodoma, Iringa, Mbeya and Ruvuma. Here pupils in Standard VII and VIII sat the Examination in 1967. Thus by 1968 the changeover had been completed throughout the country as planned. Five Year Development Plan: 1964, Vol. II, p. 112

This changeover meant that more and more primary school leavers attempted the Entrance examination. But because places in Form I did not expand by the same ratio it meant that the percentage of pupils who failed to get to secondary schools increased year after year. The impact was felt as early as 1966 especially in Phase I regions when for the first time the so-called "Primary School Leaver Crisis" emerged. In 1965 both standard VII and VIII pupils competed for Form I places and naturally many failed to get places in Form I. The matter became a major concern for many parents especially in Kilimanjaro Region which was hardest hit. This concern was echoed even by the Party's Organ, the Nationalist. In its editorial the paper expressed the views of many in the following manner:

Many remember the resentment which we felt at the middle school idea of the former colonial government because it was clear the primary purpose behind it was to stop the children's education at the eighth year; it was intended that a large majority of our children in school should go no further than Standard VIII, and that is why we fought the system and substituted for it one that dovetailed to a secondary course. /The Nationalist:
30/12/1965/

The editorial is a clear testament that even some of the party leadership had not developed a clear ideology of the purpose of primary education. This ideology had to come later when Nyerere clearly spelled it out in his policy paper Education for Self-Reliance. Before then many parents, and even government leaders, regarded

primary education as merely a stepping stone to secondary education. The 12 year children who completed primary school were too young to be of much use to the nation. That is why the Nationalist sympathised with the parents. The editorial went on to say:

We cannot refrain from agreeing with those who feel that no sacrifice on our part as parents is too big to enable our children to continue their formal schooling after the primary level.

Indeed the situation was serious. As the following table shows, the percentage of unsuccessful candidates for Form I had been rising since Independence.

TABLE VII

Unsuccessful Candidates for Form I Places as a Percentage of Total Candidates

Year	Percentage
1965/66	85.2
1964/65	68.6
1963/64	68.1
1962/63	63.5
1961/62	59.6
1960/61	59.3

SOURCE: Mbilinyi 1972, p. 89 extracted from Morrison: 1970, p. 392.

As a result of this crisis many parents began to send their children to Uganda and Kenya for secondary education to some private owned schools. Meanwhile in Tanzania itself many private schools were opened, sometimes without the official blessing of the Ministry. In many cases they were

inferior to public schools because they often lacked in qualified teachers and facilities. However, the mushrooming of these schools is still going on today and it shows that parents still hold the view that no sacrifice on their part as parents is too big to enable their children to continue with formal education after primary level. In other words, they still regard primary education as being merely preparatory to secondary education. Since entry to secondary school is through an examination, this examination must have great impact on many people - pupils as well as, and perhaps more so, parents. It will be seen that indeed this examination is perhaps the most sensitive of all examinations because it affects the greatest number of people. The numbers involved can be fathomed from the fact that while in 1964 there were 20,348 candidates, by 1966 the number had risen to 52,574.¹ The number of places available in Form I had not marched this fantastic rise. Thus while in 1965 there were 6,377 places in Form I, in 1967 the number of places was 6,685 and the percentage of pupils gaining places in Form I had dropped from 14 per cent in 1966 to 13 per cent in 1967. [Annual Reports of the Department of Education: 1964-1969]

The Cambridge School Certificate Examination

If the primary curriculum was much influenced by examination with the consequence that subjects which were not examinable were ignored by both pupils and teachers, the secondary curriculum was even much more so as already seen. The curriculum continued to be controlled by the

¹ This included Std. VII pupils.

examination requirements. Passing examinations became the pre-occupation of both teachers and pupils and schools were regarded as excellent or poor not by the type of people they turned out but by the number of certificates their pupils got as a result of this examination. The employers, including the Government, also helped to strengthen the search for passes by categorizing people not only in accordance with the possession of certificates but also the type of the certificate they possessed, i.e. whether they were First Class, Second Class or Third Class. Holders of the first two categories of certificates usually were guaranteed well paid employment or further education with even better pay if they could manage to complete their courses successfully.

Under such circumstances the pupils, and indeed teachers, were acting only as rational beings in stressing the passing of examinations since education had come to be viewed as a means of 'emancipation' from rural drudgery. Furthermore the frequent reference to manpower requirements by the leadership inculcated a sense of indispensability into the students minds. Schools became places of nothing else but study. Pupils were not required, and indeed were not expected, to dirt their hands. They had only one duty-to study for examinations. Even simple tasks such as cleaning their dormitories were left to paid employees except for a few school (usually Mission Schools). Agriculture, a subject which was not examinable, had never been practised in almost all secondary schools except in three schools which had an agricultural bias.¹ It will be recalled that

¹ These were Kibaha, Lyamungo and Galanos.

agriculture had also been abandoned in primary schools partly as a result of opposition from the Africans and partly because it was not examined.

The nature of the examination itself further enhanced the 'bookishness' of the education which the secondary schools imparted upon the students. The students were required to pass in six subjects at one and the same time including at least one from each of three cognate groups of subjects and not more than one from a fourth and more heterogeneous group as follows:

- Group I: English Language and English Literature, History, Geography and Scripture.
- Group II: Foreign Languages (for Tanzania Swahili belonged to this group).
- Group III: Mathematics, Science (Geography included).
- Group IV: Drawing, Music and Handcraft, Domestic subjects. [Bruce: 1969]

Most school presented candidates for subjects in group I, II and III and hardly any in Group IV except for girls who sat for the Domestic Science subjects. As can be seen these groups contained highly academic subjects in the British tradition. Syllabuses remained very much 'British' in character. The questions which were asked in this examination were still set as if they were to be done by British pupils. In fact even the texts used in Tanzanian schools had been written with British students in mind. No wonder, therefore, that students had to commit to memory facts which they did not understand just in order to pass their examinations. As can be seen from the following table they did fairly well in this exercise.

TABLE VIII

Cambridge School Certificate Results 1961-1967

R e s u l t s	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967
Division I	162	188	242	224	370	414	391
Division II	457	522	604	679	929	1011	1052
Division III	240	296	626	622	966	1031	1019
Total Full Certificates	859	1006	1472	1525	2265	2455	2462
General Cert. of Education	336	402	349	698	1407	1578	1767
Total Pass	1195	1408	1821	2223	3572	4033	4229
Fail or Absent	410	542	1018	1407	803	733	751
Number Sat	1605	1950	2859	3630	4505	4766	4980
Per cent Pass excluding GCE	53.5	51.3	51.8	42.0	50.9	51.15	49.4
% Pass includi- ng G.C.E.	74.5	72.2	64.11	61.2	82.2	84.6	89.9

SOURCE: Annual Reports of Ministry of
Education 1961-1967.

The General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) was normally awarded to candidates who had done well in other subjects but had failed in English. In many cases holders of G.C.E. were even better academically than say holders of the so called Full Certificates especially the Division III ones. Nevertheless many people had the mistaken notion that the G.C.E. was inferior to the Cambridge School Certificate. It did not occur to them that the Cambridge School certificate had already been abandoned in Britain and that the G.C.E. with its main advantage of having no group requirements had taken over. Some people began

to question the usefulness of this type of certificate but nothing could be done until after the three East African countries—Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania decided to form their own East African Examinations Council. This Council came into existence in 1967. The Cambridge School Certificate changed the name to East African School Certificate and General Certificate of Education in 1968. The changeover is discussed in section B of this chapter. Here it should suffice to say that the original Cambridge School Certificate examination was last done in East Africa in 1967.

The Cambridge Higher School Certificate Examination

The Higher School Certificate Examination was sat by African students for the first time in 1960 following the commencement of Form V classes, in three boys' secondary schools and one girls' secondary school¹ in the previous year. Hitherto this examination had been taken only by Indian students and a few Europeans.

With the introduction of this examination, many Tanzanian students did not have to go to Makerere, Uganda, for Higher secondary studies. Instead they went there to do their degrees without first having to sit for what were known as preliminaries.

In 1960, 84 candidates from African Secondary schools took this examination. 47 obtained Higher School Certificates and 36 received Statements of Results. 24 candidates from Government Indian secondary schools took the examination. 13 of them received full Certificates and eleven

¹ The schools were St. Francis College, Pugu, St. Andrew's College Minaki, Tabora Boys and Tabora Girls.

received Statements of Results. In the case of European pupils only four took the full Higher School Certificate Examination and one for part of it. Two of them obtained Higher School Certificates and two received Statements of Results.

(Annual Summary of the Ministry of Education: 1960)
On the whole performances in this examination was of very high standard as can be seen from the following table.

TABLE IX

Comparative Data: Higher School Certificate Results - Public
Secondary Schools

Year	Total Sat	No. Sat		HSC Award		% SR or GCE		% Pass		Fail	Absent	Total Fail/Ab.						
		Sc. Arts	Arts	Sc. Arts	Arts	Total	Pass	Sc. Arts	Arts				Total	Grand	Incl	Sc. Arts	Arts	Sc. Arts
1960	113	60	53	34	32	66	35.9	29	21	40	106	98.2	-	-	-	-	2	-
1961	157	73	84	22	48	70	44.5	51	36	87	157	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
1962	199	114	85	47	55	102	51.5	65	30	95	197	99.0	-	-	-	-	2	-
1963	258	117	141	41	100	141	54.7	76	40	116	257	99.0	-	-	-	-	-	1
1964 ₁	471	232	239	70	121	191	40.5	158	117	275	466	98.6	-	-	-	-	4	1
1965	617	269	348	106	153	259	42.0	239	116	355	614	99.5	-	-	-	-	-	3
1966	763	396	367	116	195	311	40.5	274	163	437	748	97.4	-	-	-	-	11	9
1967	826	493	333	134	152	286	34.6	337	178	515	801	96.9	-	-	-	-	22	3
1968*	920	496	424	254	298	552	60.6	207	117	324	876	95.2	-	-	-	-	35	9
1969*	1211	703	508	406	403	809	66.8	264	105	369	1178	97.3	33	-	4	7	37	7

SOURCE: Annual Report of the Ministry of Education for 1969.

Notes: Candidates who could not get 3 principals usually got a Statement of Results (S.R.) which later was called General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) Advanced Level.

*The examination was jointly run by the Cambridge Syndicate and the East African Examinations Council from 1968.

Such good performance is a reflection of the highly selective nature of the Cambridge School Certificate examination done at Form IV level. Those who did Form 5 and 6 work were the ones who had done particularly well in the school Certificate Examination and who aspired for University studies. It is no wonder, therefore, that their performance throughout the years was so good.

The table also shows the tremendous expansion in the sheer numbers of Form 6 leavers. Within ten years the number of candidates in this examination had almost multiplied by ten. But what is even more important is the fact that despite the expansion the performance continued to improve as can be seen from the percentage of those who were awarded with full certificates. Whereas in 1960 only 35.9 per cent received full certificates, in 1969 the percentage of candidates receiving full certificates rose to 66.8 per cent. It is also encouraging to see that as a result of the deliberate policy of increasing the number of graduates with science qualifications, the number of science candidates in the Higher School Certificate Examination was more than Arts Candidates.

In conclusion it can be said that by the end of the Plan the secondary education system had been well established. Higher School Certificate classes had been firmly established and the Plan requirements were being met successfully. But more important still another examination had come into the scene—the Higher School Certificate Examination which became another goal for many students aspiring for University Education.

B. EDUCATION FOR SELF-RELIANCE AND EXAMINATIONS:
DEVELOPMENTS 1967-1976

Educational Policy

In the preceeding section of this chapter it was stated that there were several crises in 1966. One of the crises being the so-called primary school leaver problem which arose as a result of the tremendous expansion of primary education after introducing seven year primary education. That crisis was just one of the indicators of the lack of ideology for the whole country and also, because of it, the absence of stated objectives of education in Tanzania. Hitherto it had been assumed that what had been good enough during the colonial times would have been just as good for an Independent state. This attitude was to be expected because even during the colonial times many people did not question the viability of European education but rather demanded to be given as much of it as possible. It is true that they resisted some of the schemes introduced by the colonial regime. But even in such cases their resistance arose partly because they thought their children were not receiving the sort of education which the European children were receiving. For as Beeby (1966) says:

Parents in these countries often have a clear idea of what **constitutes** education, it is the kind of academic schooling their European rulers had, which has been handed on to them, perhaps in a watered-down form, through the schools of the missions or of the state.

However unfitted it might be to the life of the primitive village or farm, this was the type of education that evidently gave the European his material superiority and that offered the local boy a hope of release from the poverty, and tedium of life on the land. (pp. 29-30)

Indeed this was the attitude held by many people in Tanzania during the early years of Independence.

In 1967, however, these attitudes were challenged by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania. In his policy paper, Education for Self-Reliance, Nyerere attacks the colonial education because it induced attitudes of human inequality. Instead of transmitting the values and knowledge of Tanzanian society from one generation to the next, "it was a deliberate attempt to change those values and to replace traditional knowledge by the knowledge from a different society". Moreover this type of education, having been based on the assumptions of a colonialist and capitalist society, "emphasised and encouraged the individualistic instincts of mankind, instead of his cooperative instincts. It led to the possession of individual material wealth being the major criterion of social merit and worth". (p.3)

It should be remembered that there were other defects in the colonial system of education. Some of the defects, such as its being run on racial lines and its inadequacy, had been rectified by 1967. The racial and religious characteristics had been removed as early as 1962 when integration of schools came into effect. Also the inadequacy of education experienced at

the time of independence was being successfully rectified through the deliberate policy of the new Government of expanding both primary and secondary education. Syllabuses, especially in geography and history, had already been altered in order to be more relevant to African situation. But all these were mere modifications of the existing system. The events of 1966 which included University students demonstrating against the terms of National Service as presented by the Government made it necessary to review the whole purpose of education in Tanzania. Nyerere suggested that having examined the objectives of Tanzanian education it was then necessary to look at the relevance of the existing structure and content of that education for the task it had to perform and in that light decide whether further modifications or complete changes were necessary.

The objectives of education cannot be divorced from the objectives or ideology of the nation as a whole. Although Tanzanian leadership had frequently announced its intention to build a socialist country it was not until February, 1967 that this intention materialized. In that year The Arusha¹ Declaration and TANU's Policy on Socialism and Self-Reliance was promulgated. According to the Declaration Tanzania was to become a socialist society based on three principles: "equality and respect for human dignity; sharing of the resources which are produced by our efforts; work by everyone and exploitation by none". Nyerere went on to state that Tanzania was "committed to a socialist future and one in which the people will themselves determine the policies pursued by Government which is responsible to them" /Education for Self-Reliance: 1967, p. 67

¹ Arusha is a town in Northern Tanzania. This is where the Policy of Socialism was adopted by the then ruling Party.

With this clear definition of the country's ideology it became relatively easy to define the educational objectives. In a society which is determined to build Socialism education has to pave the way for the realisation of this goal. Nyerere, therefore, defined the role of education as being that of fostering the social goals of leaving together, and working together, for the common good. It should "inculcate a sense of commitment to the total community, and help the pupils to accept the values appropriate to our kind of future, not those appropriate to our colonial past". In particular it has to counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance. In terms of content the education provided has to take cognizance of the Tanzanian situation. Since Tanzania is predominantly agricultural, and is likely to remain so for many years, education has to produce good farmers. It has also to prepare good workers for Tanzania is a country of "peasants and workers". As far as its structure is concerned every stage or cycle has to be complete in itself and not merely a preparation for the next stage.

Examinations

In his treatise Nyerere recognises the role of examinations and how they can affect innovations. He is particularly perturbed by their influence on the attitudes of many people. He is convinced that reforms cannot be effected unless examinations are "down-graded in Government and public esteem". At the same time he points out one of the major effects of examinations on the curriculum. He says:

Furthermore, at the present time our curriculum and syllabus are geared to the examinations set - only to a very limited extent does the reverse situation apply. A teacher who is trying to help his pupils often studies the examination papers for past years and judges what questions are most likely to be asked next time; he then concentrates his teaching on those matters, knowing that by doing so he is giving his children the best chance of getting through to secondary school or University.
 /Education for Self-Reliance:
 1967, p. 157

He also deprecates the obsession with the so-called international standards which have developed without considering the particular problems of Tanzania. He suggests that first it is necessary to determine the sort of education which is needed and then the "examination should be designed to fit the education which has been provided".

The sort of education that is needed in Tanzania has already been defined. But one important fact which is stressed is that students should be part of the community-contributing to the common pool of the community and also contributing to their upkeep as well. They should not be just learning and leaving even such minor jobs as keeping their dormitories and gardens clean to paid employees. In other words what is required is that students should combine study with work. Here again Nyerere points out that unless the examination system is changed the implementation of this policy will be difficult. In his views:

One difficulty in the way of this kind of re-organisation is the present examination system, if pupils spend more of their time on learning to do practical work, and on contributing to their own upkeep in the development of the community, they will not be able to take the present kind of examinations - at least within the same period; /Education for Self-Reliance: 1967, p. 237

However, he does not see why the examination system should be regarded as sacrosanct. "There is no reason why Tanzania should not combine an examination, which is based on things we teach, with a teacher and pupils assessment of work done for the school and community", he says. According to him this would be the best way of "selecting entrants for secondary schools and for University, teacher training colleges, and so on, than the present purely academic procedure". /Education for Self-Reliance; 1967, p. 237

This then was the situation as it existed in 1967.

Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance with regard to the Examinations System

As already seen the policy paper on Education for Self-Reliance called for radical reforms in the then examination system. This reforms were necessary in order for the entire educational reforms to succeed. To what extent were these reforms implemented? This question can be answered by examining some of the changes

which were introduced in the examination system partly as a result of the new policy and partly as a result of other factors.

Towards Nationalization of Examinations:
The East African Examinations Council

Soon after independence the need for a local body empowered with the responsibility of conducting school examinations was voiced by many people. It was felt that this was necessary as part of consolidating the country's independence and as a further step towards disengagement from colonial restrictions in the educational system.

The first steps towards the establishment of such a body were taken soon after independence. The Government commissioned Mr. J. Deakin, the then Registrar of the West African Examination Council to examine and report on the possibility of establishing a Tanganyika Examinations Board, a body which was supposed to control not only school examinations but also Civil Service Examinations. In March 1962 Deakin presented his report to the Government. Deakin recognised the need for such a body because:

An independent Board would bring educational experience and opinion to bear upon the problems of examinations by providing a forum in which University personnel, teachers and administrators could meet on equal footing. This is most important in view of the influence which examinations in practice exert upon education, however undesirable it may be in theory that they should do so. [Deakin: 1962, p. 47]

Although the need for the establishment of the Examinations Board was recognised nevertheless Deakin expressed some fears as to when it should come into effect. He suggested that the Board should be established in stages as there were then few qualified examiners. Furthermore he thought it would have been very expensive to run examinations in Tanzania. The question of expenses also influenced UNESCO's advice to the Tanzanian Government not to establish the Examinations Board at that time because it would have been too costly. Hence Tanzanians continued to take examinations prepared by Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate.

Meanwhile developments in East Africa, as a whole were leading to the formation of a Regional Examinations Board following the creation of the University of East Africa. In 1964 the Senate of the University established a Working Party under the Chairmanship of Mr. H. Creaser, Dean of the University Faculty of Education to look into University Entry Requirements. The Creaser Committee reported, among other things, that:

There is strong pressure for the early establishment of an East African Examination Council to take over from the Cambridge Syndicate the external school examining at the form 4 and form 6 levels. Such a step can be justified on both educational and political grounds. But any such authority will be faced for a time with practical difficulties of costs and of shortage of adequate assistant examiners that are likely to limit its effectiveness considerably. It may well be, therefore, that those concerned will view with favour a

plan of action which would enable such a council to proceed at the start with more limited scope but with greater effectiveness.

[Creaser Report: 1964, p.43]

Consequent upon this report, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa in 1965 invited the Cambridge Syndicate to send an adviser to East Africa to consult with the Governments and the University on the possibility of setting up an examinations Council. Cambridge appointed Mr. Hardy, Deputy Secretary of the Cambridge Syndicate, to come to East Africa for the task. Mr. Hardy came to East Africa and after consulting with the bodies concerned prepared a report which formed the basis for the establishment of the Council. The East African Examinations Council was, therefore, formed towards the end of 1967 by an Act of the East African Legislative Assembly and became operative in 1968. The Council became one of the bodies under the then East African Common Services Organisation which later became the ill-fated East African Community. The Act stipulated, among other things, that "The objects of the Council shall be to conduct within East Africa such academic, technical and other examinations as the Council may consider necessary or desirable in the public interest".

Although the Council came into existence in that year it was not until 1974 that it became completely independent of Cambridge. Meanwhile it had been agreed in 1968 that the Council would work jointly with the Cambridge Syndicate, gradually taking over the examining of both the Ordinary level and Advanced level of secondary school leaving examinations until it could be in a position to

stand on its own. The first step in this direction was the joint awarding of certificates by the two bodies. As a result the former Cambridge School Certificate/G.C.E. and the Higher School Certificate were replaced by the East African Certificate of Education/East African School Certificate and the East African Advanced Certificate of Education awarded jointly by the Council and the Syndicate (Kiwauka, 1973).

The setting and marking of examination papers was done partly in East Africa and partly in Cambridge. The syllabuses used were largely those of Cambridge but during the transitional period efforts were made to produce local syllabuses. International subject panels were set up to prepare syllabuses which reflected local needs of the three partner states. But this work of necessity took quite a long time to accomplish. However, one positive step towards liberating East African schools from the strong hand of the Cambridge Syndicate had been taken. Nevertheless, the examinations provided by the Council continued to have the Cambridge flavour in many ways. The questions were still set in the same manner as Cambridge had done for years. The East African Examination Council was, however, more lenient in its conditions for award of certificates. The grouping system was abandoned and a candidate could get a certificate provided he passed with a credit at least one subject. This regulation was, however, accepted only by Tanzania and Uganda. Kenya continued to follow the Cambridge style and that is why at the Ordinary level candidates in Kenya were awarded with a School Certificate classified into three Divisions as Cambridge used to do. This fact showed that, Kenya was not prepared to abandon the

'Cambridge style' because she considered it to be superior to any other system.

Tanzania Pulls out of the East African Examinations Council

Soon after the policy paper on Education for Self-Reliance was promulgated, there was held a very big conference of educationists from all over Tanzania mainland. Among the several recommendations which they made was to welcome the formation of an East African Examinations Council which was eventually to take over from the Cambridge Syndicate. The Conference also urged the government to look into other aspects of selection to higher education.

It did not take very long, however, before it was realised that the East African Examinations Council was not a suitable body for advancing the Tanzanian revolution. As the Council was being formed some officials in the Ministry of National Education began to question the suitability of the Council for the needs of Tanzania. It was felt that Tanzania public policies on examinations, and indeed on education as a whole, were at variance with some of the partner states especially Kenya. For example, while Tanzania was advocating the policy of egalitarianism Kenya was encouraging individualism as exemplified by her insistence on having certificates classified into three divisions, with the holders of Division One being regarded as superior to holders of certificates of Division Two or Three. It was, therefore, felt that to share a common public examination system while having such divergent policies, would have compromised Tanzania's principles and also strangled curriculum development.

During the early years, however, it was felt that the need for cooperation among the three partner states was so important that Tanzania decided to continue working together with the other East African countries in this field. By 1971, however, Tanzania had become rather worried with the speed at which the East African Examinations Council was moving towards complete independence from Cambridge. Tanzania felt that the process was too slow and therefore decided to pull out of the East African Examinations Council and began to conduct her own examinations. This decision was greeted with pleasure by many. The Standard in its editorial, for example, commented as follows:

A spirit of Uhuru¹ pervaded the Ministry of National Education yesterday. The plunge had been taken - the biggest colonial educational link had been severed. At one stroke, Tanzania was freed from the shackles of Oxford, Cambridge and London. Indeed it was an anachronism that Tanzanians continued to sit for examinations which bore little relevance to our present day needs. Now at long last Tanzanian ability will be assessed by Tanzanian teachers in a Tanzanian context, according to Tanzanian standards and a Tanzanian syllabus. [The Standard; 11/6/71]

Although it is true that from that year onwards Tanzanian ability has been assessed by Tanzanian teachers (sometimes with the help of expatriate teachers) in a Tanzanian context, it has taken quite sometime to gear the examinations to Tanzanian standards and to a "Tanzanian syllabus". What actually happened is that many

¹ "Uhuru" is a Swahili word meaning "freedom".

syllabuses were just a modification of the old Cambridge syllabuses. That is why they were known as 'Provisional' syllabuses. Meanwhile new syllabuses were prepared and these reflected more the principles enunciated in Education for Self-Reliance. But perhaps the most important departure was in the way the questions were framed. Henceforth instead of asking useless questions on 'tunnels and bath taps', for example, candidates were asked questions on such problems as the 'surplus' realised by a cooperative society or self-reliance activities. Questions on history and geography became much more geared to Tanzania and East Africa as a whole instead of being "Eurocentric". The efforts to Africanise the syllabuses especially in the social sciences had started as early as 1965 and by 1971, therefore, there was something to start with. However, the job is still going on. For apart from producing new syllabuses it is necessary to produce the necessary textbooks and teachers reference books. This is not a matter of a few days.

It is gratifying however, to note that efforts are being made to produce the necessary textbooks and teachers reference books within the shortest possible time.

The National Examinations Council of
Tanzania is Born

When Tanzania pulled out of the East African Examinations Council the responsibility of examination administration was placed in the Directorate of Curriculum Development and Examinations of the Ministry of National Education. The first examination conducted by the Ministry were held in November/December 1971 following the announcement

by the Government to pull out of the Council in June 1971. It might be asked how the Ministry managed to conduct such National Examinations within so short a time.

One of the factors that helped Tanzania to conduct her first National Examinations successfully was the sheer spirit of self-reliance. Once given the task the officials concerned worked day and night to ensure a successful execution of the job. But there was yet another factor which made it relatively easy to accomplish the job. Tanzania already had some Tanzanians trained in Examination work and by 1969 there were about 80 of them who had been involved in this work. Furthermore for many years such examinations as the Territorial Standard VIII and Territorial Standard X had been conducted in Tanzania. The primary school leaving examination was being conducted by Tanzanians and so were the Teacher Certificate Examinations. The University College, Dar es Salaam was also conducting its own examinations. Moreover the Curriculum and Examinations section had started to prepare for eventual take over of the examinations as early as 1965. Therefore Tanzania had already a base from which to launch a new examination system.¹

It was felt, however, that in order to carry out the job efficiently it was necessary to have a special body which would deal with matters of examinations without undue interference from other quarters. In November 1972, therefore,

¹ I am indebted to Mr. R. Kiyao for this information.

the Government agreed in principle to establish such a body to be known as the National Examinations Council of Tanzania. The necessary legislation was completed in the following year. The Act enabling the Council to perform its functions was passed by Parliament on 21st November, 1973. The Council began to function immediately. Since 1974, therefore, Examinations have been conducted by the Council.

The Council consists of a Chairman appointed by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania and twenty six members appointed by the Minister for National Education (Tanzania mainland) and the Minister for Education (Zanzibar). The Chief executive is known as Secretary and is also appointed by the President. The Council is invested with the responsibility of formulating examination policy and conducting examinations within the United Republic. It can grant diplomas, certificates, and other awards of the Council. The Act stipulates that the Council shall have authority over all school examinations conducted in Tanzania but it shall have no jurisdiction over University examinations nor on examinations conducted by individual institution for their students only or employers for their employees only. The Council also does not have jurisdiction over the promotional Examinations conducted by the Civil Service Commission. However, the Act also empowers the Council to cooperate with any other group or persons in the execution of its duties. [See Appendix A]

With the establishment of the Council all foreign examinations were forbidden in Tanzania except for a few specialised and professional examinations. These can still be done in Tanzania

but they have to be routed through the Council.

The Musoma Directive on the Implementation
of Education for Self-Reliance 1974

Although by 1971 Tanzania had freed herself from the shackles of Cambridge by starting her own examinations, she had not tackled one important problem: What type of examinations?

Nyerere had proposed radical changes in the examination system. For example he had advocated a system of examinations which would take into consideration the pupils progress throughout his stay at school instead of looking only at his performance at the end of his school career. Furthermore, since the content of education had to change so as to combine study with work, examinations had likewise to change so as to take care of both the work done by the pupil as part of his training as well as his academic work. The implementation of this policy took a long time. Thus even after the National Examinations Council had been formed examinations continued to follow the same system inherited from the colonial days. Continuous assessment was not yet considered as necessary nor was the contribution of pupils to their upkeep and the community considered when selecting pupils for further studies.

The lack of proper examination policy seven years after the announcement of Education for Self-Reliance reflected the extent to which the implementation of the policy as a whole had been carried out. Although efforts had been made to transform the curriculum in accordance with the policy of Education for self-reliance, and although all schools began to have a farm or a poultry unit

and pupils themselves did most of the work of cleaning their premises, these activities were done in isolation. The policy of combining study with work as an integral whole took a long time to be implemented mainly because school administrators, teachers, pupils and parents all still regarded academic work as the only function of any school system. In the absence of a system of education that integrates study with work, therefore, it was difficult to change the examination system.

After waiting for seven years without any tangible results regarding the implementation of this policy the Party issued a Directive to the Government requiring it to implement the policy immediately. Thus at a meeting in Musoma, a town in Northern Tanzania, in November 1974, the National Executive Committee of TANU issued what became known as the Musoma Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance.

The Directive dwelt at length on selection procedures for the University and other higher institutions of learning. Henceforth direct entry to University on completion of Form 6 was to be discontinued. Candidates would be eligible for entry to University after working for at least two years. And even then they would have to get good recommendations from their employers and the Party Branch at their place of work. Their performance in the National Form 6 Examination or its equivalent would be taken into consideration but the final decision on whether to admit the candidates to University would also depend on the strength of the recommendations received from the employers and the Party. Thus the old practice of selecting candidates to University on the basis of their performance in the Form VI examination alone was

to cease. It was believed that in this way higher secondary education would not be regarded as being merely a preparation for University. Furthermore those selected for University would be people who are prepared to serve the nation.

In the field of examinations the National Executive Committee made the following observations:

In the field of education, examinations were designed in order to measure the students' level of understanding of the subjects which he was taught. Examinations are also used as a tool for selecting a few out of many, whenever the need arises, so that only those with a higher level of understanding are chosen: Since what is measured is the knowledge of the subject taught normally examinations are set according to the content of what was taught in the classroom. A student is required to answer given questions in a specified period of time on a chosen day. In such a situation the student is, as it were, ambushed. If we are now saying that classroom instructions must be combined with work outside the classroom and the sum total is what should constitute the education that a student will get, there is an urgent need for bringing about changes in our examination system. (para 45)

In view of the above, therefore, the National Executive Committee was of the opinion that the 'ambush' type of examinations should be stopped, and directed that:

The excessive emphasis now placed on written examinations must be reduced, and that the students' progress in the classroom plus his performance of other functions and the work which he will do as part of his education, must all be continually assessed and the combined result is what should constitute his success or failure. (para 47)

What the Directive wanted, therefore, was some form of continuous assessment of the pupils' achievements in both the academic and character and his attitude towards work. This is the task which the responsible bodies were called to perform.

Implementation of the Directive

The Musoma Directive shook the educationists into taking some positive steps towards change especially in selection to University and also in the examination system at secondary school level.

Immediately after the announcement of the Directive was made, the University announced major changes in its admission policy as we have already seen. The National Examinations Council did not lag behind. The Secretariat of the Council formed a committee which came out with proposals for a reform in the system of examining in line with the Musoma Directive. These proposals or recommendations were further debated by the entire senior staff of the Secretariat. Then some other institutions such as the Institute of Education and the Directorates of the Ministry of National Education were also invited to give their views.

Since Examinations is a Union affair, the new examination proposals were also discussed with educationists from Zanzibar. The comments gathered from these conferences were all incorporated into one final draft of recommendations which was then presented to the Council for ratification. The Council also sent delegations to Cuba, the Peoples Republic of China and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea to study the examination system in those countries. These countries were selected because they have developed educational systems whose emphasis is on combining study with work. The delegations submitted reports and recommendations which were also taken into consideration when introducing the new system. [Gandye and Mtani: 1975, Manning and Ndabi: 1975]

This preliminary work was done in 1975 and the new examination system became operative in 1976.

The New Examination System

It will be recalled that both the policy paper on Education for Self-Reliance and the Musoma Directive deprecated the overemphasis on final examinations taken at the end of the course. In devising a new examination system, therefore, the question of downgrading the final examination which acted as the sole arbiter of the students fate was uppermost in the minds of those concerned with the innovation. In line with the Directive it was decided to take into consideration two aspects when making an assessment of the candidates performance during his school career. These were:

- (a) Continuous assessments made by teachers.
- (b) Final written examination conducted by the Council.

Since education had to combine study with work both academic work and the attitude towards work (or character assessment) had to be examined. Hence as from 1976 continuous assessment consists of

- (a) academic performance and
- (b) assessment of character and attitude towards work.

These two aspects of assessment are carried out by the schools throughout the school career of the candidate. Hence the assessment is not only continuous but it is also cumulative.

Continuous assessment in academic work is divided into three parts:

- (a) Exercises - such as homework, class-work, quizzes etc.
- (b) Terminal examinations or tests.
- (c) Projects.

These three aspects of academic work have been given a weighting of 50 per cent while the final written examination conducted by the National Examinations Council carries the remaining 50 per cent.

Assessment of character and attitude to work is done separately and, therefore, given a weighting of 100 per cent.

In order to carry out this work properly special forms were devised by the National Examinations Council and these have to be completed by the schools and submitted to the National Examinations Council every year. Thus the scores obtained by each candidate in each subject as a result of the periodic exercises he/she does during each term are recorded in a special form. At the end of

the year the averages obtained at the end of each term together with the performances in terminal tests are then transferred into another form which gives a summary of the performance in academic subjects. Similarly character assessment and attitude towards work is assessed each term. In assessing character and attitude towards work teachers are asked to complete a short 7 item questionnaire ranging from working hard to leadership qualities. Each item is given a grade A, B, C, D, or F. Each of these letter grades is given a special weight. Letter grade A is given most weight while F has the lowest and is regarded as failure. Also each item has different weighting. These assessments are also entered in a special form devised for this purpose.

Project work is also examined as from the third year of secondary education. Each candidate is required to do a total of three projects. These projects are to be done in a period of two years, that is in Form 3 and Form 4 or Form 5 and 6 in case of those in Higher School classes. The projects are chosen from three groupings of subjects, viz:

- (a) Language group
- (b) Arts and Social Science
- (c) Natural Sciences/Technical/Agricultural etc.

In the case of Form 5 and 6, students do three projects chosen from their principal subjects. Students are encouraged to do the projects in groups of 3 to 5. The projects are marked by the teachers responsible for the different groupings of the subjects. In doing the project work students are required to show that they are using their knowledge of different subjects within the groupings.

Marks obtained from project work are also entered in a special form which is submitted to the Council at the end of Form 4 or 6:

Thus each year schools submit these continuous assessment forms to the National Examinations Council of Tanzania. The Council extracts this information and converts the marks into the respective weighting in case of exercises, terminal tests and project work. When the candidate reaches Form 4 or 6 these results are combined with the results of the final examination. As already stated continuous assessment in each subject carries 50 per cent and the final examination the remaining 50 per cent. The final result, therefore, is derived from not only the final examination but also from the assessment from schools.

Character assessment is done separately. The grades given by teachers are also converted into percentages. These percentages are then reduced into three categories as follows:

1. 80% - 100% VERY GOOD
2. 39% - 80% GOOD
3. 0% - 38% POOR

Thus candidates placed in category 3 are regarded as having not satisfied the examiners as far as their character development is concerned. While character assessment is largely a measure of the affective dispositions of the candidates other assessments are largely concerned with the cognitive domain. These two aspects cannot easily be combined together. They have to be assessed separately. But since both are regarded as equally important as far as Tanzanian education is concerned, the results of both aspects are taken into consideration when determining whether

the candidate has passed or not. Hence a candidate who gets a 3 in character assessment is regarded as having failed even if he does very well in the academic aspect of his examinations. Similarly a candidate cannot pass the examination simply by getting VERY GOOD in character assessment.

Although the system of internal assessment appears to be new in fact it is not so. As early as 1971 the Ministry of National Education issued a circular on what was termed as "New Methods of Evaluating Students' Progress" (Muze: 1975). This directive followed the recommendations of Heads of Secondary Schools who met in June 1971, the time when the Government decided to sever her links with Cambridge and conduct her own National Examinations. In making this recommendation, therefore, the Heads were just responding to the Government's policy. The directive spelled out the components of this internal assessment which schools were supposed to assess. Special forms were devised by the Ministry for this purpose.

It appears, however, that after a brief enthusiastic response from schools, the schools stopped to carry out the exercise as required. The major reason for stopping was probably connected with the relationship between this internal assessment and the final National Examinations. The latter continued to be the sole judge of students' fate. Teachers felt that the amount of work involved in this exercise did not square with reality. In the wake of Musoma Directive this policy was revived. What became new, therefore, is the fact that internal assessment was given equal status with the final examination. As a result it is now taken much more seriously by both the teachers and students.

Conditions for Award of Certificates

Earlier it was noted that with the introduction of the East African Examinations Council, the conditions of award became even more liberal. Candidates could gain a certificate with one pass at credit level. The new system also provides for the award of a National Form 4 Certificate to a candidate who obtains one pass with credit or two passes. But there are two major differences between the old system and the new:

In the new system two things have been introduced;

- (a) Character assessment
- (b) Classification of Certificates into four Divisions.

In order to determine the results the following procedure is followed:

The examination results in each subject are indicated in letter grades as follows:

- A - Indicating Excellent
- B - Indicating Very Good
- C - Indicating Good
- D - Indicating Satisfactory
- F - Indicating Fail

Grades A, B, C and D are Passes while F is Fail. Also A, B, and C are regarded as credits.

Attitude to work and character assessment, as already seen, is shown in three categories as follows:

1. VERY GOOD
2. GOOD
3. POOR

To qualify for a Division I Certificate a candidate has to fulfil the following conditions:

- (i) obtain VERY GOOD in attitude to work and character assessment
- (ii) pass in at least seven subjects which must include at least one subject in each of the following subject groups
 - Siasa (Political Education)
 - Kiswahili
 - Foreign Languages (e.g. English, Language, Literature in English, and French).
 - Social Sciences or Technical
 - Mathematics
 - Natural Science or Business Education or Agriculture or Military Science.
- (iii) pass at grades A, B and C in at least five subjects
- (iv) obtain an aggregate of not more than 17 points¹ taking the candidates best seven subjects.

Division II Certificate is awarded to a candidate who:

- (i) obtains GOOD or VER GOOD in attitude to work and character assessment
- (ii) passes in at least seven subjects which must include at least one subject in each of the subject groups mentioned for Division I.
- (iii) passes at grades A or B or C in at least four subjects
- (iv) obtains an aggregate of not more than 21 points taking the candidates best seven subjects.

D

¹ Points are derived as follows; each letter grade is given a point as follows; A=1, B=2, C=3, D=4 and F=5.

Division III is awarded to a candidate who:

- (i) obtains GOOD or VERY GOOD in attitude to work and character assessment
- (ii) passes in at least seven subjects one of which must be at grade A or B or C OR Passes in at least five subjects two of which must be at grade A or B or C
- (iii) obtains an aggregate of not more than 25 points taking the candidates best seven subjects.

Division IV is awarded to a candidate who:

- (i) obtains GOOD or VERY GOOD in attitude to work and character assessment
- (ii) Passes at least one subject at grade A, B, or C OR Passes two subjects at grade D.

Thus in all cases a candidate has to obtain at least a GOOD in attitude to work and character assessment in order to qualify for an award of a certificate. Character assessment affects the Division of the Certificate also in that one cannot get a Division I certificate without obtaining a VERY GOOD in character assessment. If a candidate obtains only a GOOD in character assessment he may be awarded a Division II certificate instead of Division I even if he fulfils other conditions.

In the case of the National Form 6 Examination, the same conditions apply. But in this case candidates normally take fewer subjects.

Examination Results are also indicated in letter grades as follows:

- A - Principal Pass
- B - Principal Pass
- C - Principal Pass
- D - Principal Pass

- E - Principal Pass
- S - Subsidiary Pass
- F - Fail

Division I is awarded to candidates who:

- (i) obtain VERY GOOD in attitude to work and character assessment.
- (ii) pass Siasa (Political Education)
- (iii) obtain not less than TWO principal passes
- (iv) obtain not more than 10 points in THREE subjects, excluding SIASA, taken at principal level.

Division II is awarded to candidates who:

- (i) obtain GOOD or VERY GOOD in attitude to work and character assessment
- (ii) pass Siasa (Political Education)
- (iii) obtain not less than TWO principal passes
- (iv) obtain not more than 13 points in THREE subjects, excluding SIASA, taken at principal level.

Division III is awarded to candidates who:

- (i) obtain GOOD or VERY GOOD in attitude to work and character assessment
- (ii) EITHER pass two principal subjects OR pass one principal subject with a grade not below C.

Division IV is awarded to candidates who:

- (i) obtain GOOD or VERY GOOD in attitude to work and character assessment
- (ii) EITHER obtain at least one principal pass OR obtain at least two subsidiary passes in subjects taken at principal level.

The effects of these changes in the examination system are discussed in the next chapter. It seems to this writer that this is indeed a revolutionary change and merits some discussion. Meanwhile let it suffice to say that the changes introduced in 1976 in the examination system are likely to have far reaching effects on the entire educational system in Tanzania. Their success or failure will largely depend on the society's acceptance or otherwise of the system.

In this chapter the aim was to examine the policies that have influenced educational development and, therefore, examinations in independent Tanzania. It has been noted that during the first five years of independence Tanzania continued to follow more or less the educational system that she had inherited from the British. During this early period of independence education was supposed to play the role of producing the much needed high level manpower and hence the concentration on higher education in the First Five Year Development Plan. With the adoption of the Arusha Declaration the emphasis changed, the role of education became that of helping to build socialism. The examination system had also to change but this could not be achieved without disengaging completely from the colonial system of examinations. Tanzania, therefore, decided to sever her links with Cambridge and began to conduct her own examinations. Having done so she was able to introduce changes in the examination system which are aimed at helping to build a socialist society.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION(a) The Traditional Role of Examinations

Before examining the pros and cons of the new system of examining, it is necessary to remind ourselves of the traditional functions of examinations.

Perhaps the best account on this subject is the one given by Morris (1961). Morris looks at examinations as tools designed for various purposes. In his account he lists four main uses of examinations: they can and have been used as a means of maintaining standards, as an incentive to effort, as an administrative device and for social engineering.

Examinations and maintenance of standards

Although an individual examinee regards himself as the only target, in actual fact the purpose for which the examination may be set is to maintain certain pre-conceived standards. In this sense, therefore, the examination becomes a tool designed to preserve or even initiate these pre-conceived standards. Examples of this type of usage fall under three heads: competitive entry, licencing and inspection.

As for the first usage, Morris points out that there are many instances of this usage. For example entry to civil service, secondary education, colleges and university is highly competitive.

Examinations, in these cases, are used in order to exclude the majority of candidates so as to allocate the remainder to the available vacancies. This method is used mainly because demand for the vacancies exceeds the available places and in order to do justice to all and at the same time maintain the required standards, examinations are seen as the best tools for this dual function.

Morris goes on to illustrate this application of examinations by citing the highly competitive examinations for entry into the Chinese Imperial Service. These examinations continued almost unchanged for over 1500 years until the end of the nineteenth century in a form of a series of eliminating heats. It is said that candidates began by entering for a First Examination conducted by the local Sub-Prefect. The candidates were required to write two literary essays.

The best candidates out of the lot were required to undergo four other eliminating heats of similar nature designed to reduce the number of candidates to 50 or 60 at each centre. The surviving 50 or 60 sat for the Second Examination which consisted of two eliminating bouts. This examination was conducted by a more important official - the Prefect. Those aspiring for a Bachelor's degree and who had passed the Second Examination, sat for the Third Examination (four heats) which was conducted by the Provincial Examiner. The degree itself had ten grades. But successful candidates were not awarded the degree before passing another examination known as the Triennial Examination. This was a cunning device designed to ensure that they retained their

knowledge for one, two or three years beyond the degree examination.

The survivors had to undergo a further series leading to the Master's degree. At this stage only a tiny fraction of the original number of candidates remained. It might be thought that these could have easily got employment in the higher offices. Not so! They had no right to public employment in these offices. They, however, were given certain trappings of honour. For example the Master could, in his official dress, "wear a higher grade of gilt button and put a board over his door, announcing himself a 'Promoted Man'". For employment he had to be subjected to another elimination round at Peking. But even if he became the winner he did not automatically get the job. Lots had to be cast for allocation to one of the vacant posts. Finally those who desired to further distinguish themselves, could enter a last heat giving them entry to the Hamlin (the 'Forest of Pencils') at Peking. These could become poets or historians to the Celestial Court or perhaps be appointed Provincial Examiners.

As Morris says, "It is a nice thought that the Supreme End-Product of the most lengthy and gruelling chain of examinations in history was just another examiner (p.3)". Perhaps we might add that our examination systems have not changed very much from the one described above and although the End-Product may not be just a poet or a historian many of our professors and teachers are just other examiners. The most important feature of this type of examinations, is that the number of successful candidates largely depended upon the number of

available places for which the candidates competed. This has been the case, especially with our Primary School Leaving Examinations.

The other types of examinations whose function is to maintain standards are what Morris calls licensing or qualifying examinations. There are many examples of such types of examinations ranging from the driving test to professional examinations. The aim of such examinations is to 'pass in' those who are considered fit and to exclude the "undesirables". In this way standards, whatever they may be are maintained.

The third way whereby examinations can be and are used as a means of maintaining standards is to employ them as additional to inspection. One or a few students may be examined in order to ascertain whether standards are maintained or not. Such a procedure was very much used in the days when governments used to grant-aid some schools; in order to find out whether the investment was paying handsome dividends. But in doing so the criterion used was a pre-conceived set of standards. Thus such examinations were also meant to be used as tools for maintaining standards.

Examinations as a device for stimulating effort

Many educationists agree that examinations can be used as a device for stimulating effort. Implicit in this is that human beings need to be plodded along in order to do something. Examinations, it is said, give a sense of purpose which stimulates the candidate into exerting some effort into his

work. Indeed it is true that:

Few individuals even adults with scholarly inclinations, work effectively and with sustained application if they feel entirely free from obligation to external demands of some kinds. Even creative artists and writers testify to the value of some form of discipline. [Pidgeon and Yates: 1968, p. 5]

Thus the importance of examinations as a means of stimulating both teachers and pupils towards sustaining efforts for the accomplishment of their tasks is self-evident.

Examination as an Administrative device

In many ways most examinations serve administrative purposes. Even the first two examples fall under some form of decision-making, hence administrative category. For even in determining who should enter and who should not, administrative decisions have to be made. Also examinations help to determine who should receive the grant or not. Hence although we separate between an exam used as an adjunct to inspection and an examination used as an administrative device, in actual fact these two cannot be separated since inspection is but one stage in the process of decision-making - an administrative process.

Examinations as a tool of social engineering

Examinations are taken within a social milieu for definite purposes. Depending on the ideology of the society concerned, therefore, they

have a particular role to play in that society. In some cases they can be used as tools of breaking through class barriers and speeding up social mobility. In other cases, however, exams can be used as tools of exploiting others. This may be particularly true in societies where only the privileged few are given the opportunity through examinations, to move upwards.

The Chinese examinations already referred to, appear to have been open to all and, therefore, more egalitarian in character. However, we are told that (as an example of social engineering) they were not open to "the immediate children of play-actors, executioners, torturers and brothel-runners, and the descendants of barbers, priests, nail-cutters and scavengers, though inquiry into lineage was not so strict in these latter cases" (Morris: 1961, p. 19). Whatever the reasons for excluding these groups, it is clear that examinations were used as a device for maintaining a certain balance within society.

From the above account it is clear that examinations have always had some role to play in society. It is also clear that they are not supposed to be ends in themselves but rather tools whose efficiency is largely depended on the users. Like a knife they can be blunt or sharp depending on how they are maintained. Furthermore they can either be used for good or evil! It is in this light that we might view the role of examinations when discussing whether they have a place in modern society and especially in countries such as Tanzania - a developing country faced with many problems which is the lot of the Third World.

(b) The Case for and against Examinations

It has already been pointed out that examinations can have good and bad effects upon a nation, pupils and teachers. In recent years several people have tended to criticise wholesale the role of examinations. It might be useful, however, to remind ourselves that although examinations have been subjected to criticisms for many years, nevertheless they have continued to hold their place in the academic sphere. Some of the reasons why they have survived have already been pointed out while discussing the purposes or traditional functions of examinations since their birth in ancient China. But it is important to remind ourselves of some of their good effects and some of the bad ones with the view to appraising their role in a country such as Tanzania. It seems that the best account on this issue is the one contained in the 1911 British Report of the Consultative Committee on Examinations in Secondary Schools which is cited by Wiseman (1961) Skurnik (1973) and also by the Radford Committee (Radford Report, 1970). Since it is still relevant to day it is quoted here verbatim:

1. The good effects of examinations on the pupils are:

- (a) that they make him work up to time by requiring him to reach a stated degree of knowledge by a fixed date;
- (b) that they incite him to get his knowledge into reproducible form and to lessen the risk of vagueness;
- (c) that they make him work at parts of a study which, though important may be uninteresting or repugnant to him personally;

- (d) that they train the power of getting up a subject for a definite purpose, even though it may not appear necessary to remember it afterwards - a training which is useful for parts of the professional duty of the lawyer, the administrator, the journalist, and the man of business;
- (e) that in some cases they encourage a certain steadiness of work over a long period of time; and
- (f) that they enable the pupil to measure his real attainments: (i) by the standard required by outside examiners, (ii) by comparison with the attainment of his fellow pupils, and (iii) by comparison with the attainments of his contemporaries in other schools.

On the other hand, examinations may have a bad effect upon the pupils' mind.

- (a) by setting a premium on the power of merely reproducing other people's ideas and other people's methods of presentment, thus diverting energy from the creative process;
- (b) by rewarding evanescent forms of knowledge;
- (c) by favouring a somewhat passive type of mind;
- (d) by giving an undue advantage to those who, in answering questions on paper, can cleverly make the best use of, perhaps, slender attainments;
- (e) by inducing the pupil, in his preparation for an examination, to aim rather at absorbing information imported to him by the teacher than at forming an independent judgement upon the subjects in which he received instruction, and
- (f) by stimulating the competitive (and, at its worst, a mercenary) spirit in the acquisition of knowledge.

2. The good effects of well conducted examinations upon the teacher are:

- (a) that they induce him to treat his subject throughly;
- (b) that they make him so arrange his lessons as to cover with intellectual thoroughness a prescribed course of study within appointed limits of time;
- (c) that they impel him to pay attention not only to his best pupils, but also to the backward and the slower amongst those who are being prepared for the examination; and
- (d) that they make him acquainted with the standard which other teachers and their pupils are able to reach in the same subject in other places of education.

On the other hand, the effects of examinations on the teacher are bad:

- (a) in so far as they constrain him to watch the examiner's foibles and to note his idiosyncrasies (or the tradition of the examination) in order that he may arm his pupils with the kind of knowledge required for dealing successfully with the questions that will probably be put to them;
- (b) in so far as they limit the freedom of the teacher in choosing the way in which he shall treat his subject;
- (c) in so far as they encourage him to take upon himself work which had better be left to the largely unaided efforts of his pupils, causing him to impart information to them in too digested a form or to select for them groups of facts or aspects of the subject which each pupil should properly be left to collect or envisage for himself;
- (d) in so far as they predispose the teacher to overvalue among his pupils that type of mental development which secures success in examinations;

- (e) in so far as they make it the teacher's interest to excel in the purely examinable side of his professional work and divert his attention from those parts of education which cannot be tested by the process of examination.

Concerning the effects of examinations upon a nation, some of the bad effects as far as Tanzania is concerned have been highlighted. But it is important to stress that examinations can have some good effects too. Although not everyone would agree, it seems that some of the good effects upon a nation are:

- (a) the establishment and maintenance of educational standards;
- (b) the encouragement of learning at all levels of society;
- (c) the identification, recognition and use of talent according to merit and efficiency by scientific means;
- (d) the reduction of patronage and bribery;
- (e) the development of skills for current and future national requirements;
- (f) the development, revision and stabilization of curricula;
- (g) the encouragement of democracy by equalizing opportunity for employment and advancement and the efficient allocation and use of national resources;
- (h) the stabilization of government and society.

[Skurnik; 1973, p. 59]

On the other hand examinations can have bad effects upon a nation. Skurnik (1973, p. 60) lists the following as being among the bad effects:

- (a) the development and perpetuation of inadequate or false standards of education;
- (b) the discouragement of learning through failure experience;
- (c) the identification, recognition and use of measurable but irrelevant or wrong talents;
- (d) the increase of mediocrity and inactivity among civil servants;
- (e) the development of skills unnecessary for national development;
- (f) the development and perpetuation of irrelevant or wrong curricula;
- (g) the maintenance of inequality of opportunity by assessing and certifying achievements available to few;
- (h) the misuse of national resources;
- (i) the disintegration of government and society by replacing established traditions and practices with new ones.

While this list of good and bad effects of examinations on society, teachers and pupils is not exhaustive, it seems to this writer that pointing out the good effects and bad effects of examinations alone may be a futile exercise. As a matter of fact some of the good and bad effects which are attributed to examinations are actually a function of something else - namely the curriculum and/or teaching methods. While it is true that examinations can have a lot of influence on the teaching methods, it is also true that, as tools, they can be controlled in such a manner that they fulfil the objectives of the user. The objectives of the user are or should be contained in the curriculum. The role of the examinations should then be to determine the extent to which the objectives of the curriculum

have been realized. Their efficiency would then depend on how well they perform this task. But one of the major problems which the examination administrators face is that the curriculum objectives are in most cases broached in very broad terms e.g. to "produce people with enquiring minds". Such objectives need to be translated into more specific behavioral objectives which can be measured. In most cases, however, this task is rarely done. Often the syllabuses consist of a number of "topics" which candidates are supposed to "cover" within a given time with the pious hope that having done so they will have acquired skills which would enable them to possess "enquiring minds".

In the absence of well defined goals, examinations tend to test only what has been covered in the syllabus. In other words they tend to find out whether a candidate can remember (recall) the contents of a particular syllabus in a particular subject area. They fail miserably to test whether the candidate has acquired certain cognitive skills which can enable him to have an enquiring mind. Unfortunately because examinations have great influence on learning and teaching, such syllabus - oriented examinations tend to perpetuate bad teaching methods and rote -learning. Indeed in this respect examinations can have very undesirable effects upon the entire educational system for as Wiseman (1961:p. 146) observes:

The syllabus - content approach tends to perpetuate ineffective educational practices; it is a reactionary instrument helping to incapsulate method within the shell of tradition and accepted practice.

On the hand if the examinations are set in accordance with the aims or goals of the curriculum they can become very useful in that, because they are goal-oriented, they can foster critical awareness, good method and functional content in learning - and teaching.

In summary it can be stated that examinations can serve useful purposes. But very often they are misused and sometimes even when they are employed for the right purpose, they may fail to perform their role properly if the educational goals are not well defined. Hence many of the criticisms which are often directed against examinations are probably misdirected. In many cases there is nothing wrong with examinations per se. Nevertheless this does not mean that examinations are always perfect as tools of measurements. Sometimes they may not serve their roles well if they are not properly designed and administered. In other words even if the educational goals are well defined, examinations may fail to assess pupils achievements if they are not well constructed or if they are used for purposes other than what they had been designed for.

It is important to stress, therefore, that rather than condemning them wholesale we should try to find ways and means of improving their efficiency. And in discussing the efficiency of examinations we are partly concerned with reliability and validity questions.

Reliability

In order for any tool to be effective it must be capable of performing in the same manner whenever it is applied to a certain task. In other

words it must produce the same results on repeated applications. Since examinations are tools, their reliability depends on the extent to which they are consistent in their results. In operational terms, we can determine whether an examination is reliable or not by applying the same examination to similar population under similar conditions over a given period of time. If the test or examination is highly reliable - i.e. consistent - then the results of the second testing of this group of examinees should be very similar to the first results provided that marker or examiner reliability is also assured. The degree of similarity can be measured by the product - moment correlation coefficient, the maximum value of which is 1.0 for a perfect similarity. Such a correlation is known as the coefficient of reliability.

Validity

Reliability estimates the accuracy of measurements, but it says nothing about what is measured. If we want to know whether the examination is measuring the intended aspects we cannot get the answer by the calculation of reliability. Instead we have to determine the validity of the examination. By validity is meant the extent to which the test or examination does what it is designed to do. Validity is, therefore, inextricably linked with the objectives of the examination. If, therefore, an examination does not have clear, and precise objectives or table of specifications, such an examination is unlikely to be of much use if we want to validate it.

Although validity and reliability are two different things, nevertheless they are interconnected. If a test is grossly unreliable it cannot be expected to be valid. But it does not follow that a highly reliable test is automatically valid for an instrument can be consistently measuring to precision but if it is measuring the wrong things, then it is not performing its job properly and therefore its results are invalid. It can be said that validity is definitely a more important criterion for measuring the efficiency of an examination although it is much more difficult to apply than reliability.

Since there are various purposes for which examinations can be employed it follows that there must be different types of validity. If for example we devise a test or examination for the purpose of selection such test can be valid only if it predicts well the future performance of the selectees. If on the other hand, we construct a test which makes sure that the content of a syllabus is well covered and use it for selection such a test may not be valid for this purpose although it measures what has actually been taught. It is clear, therefore, that there are two aspects of validity in this case - content validity and predictive validity. If the examination is designed to measure the achievement or attainment of the examinee then what is important here is content validity. For the purpose of selection the most important criterion should be predictive validity. Thus content validity refers to the extent to which an examination or test measures the objectives of the course. As stated earlier in order to achieve this objective the goals of the examination should be clearly specified in measurable terms. Predictive

validity is actually one aspect of what Popham calls criterion - related validity. It is called so because what is involved in this approach is "to correlate performance on a measure (the one which are hoping to validate) with an independent external criterion". (Popham: 1975, pp. 120-121). For example if we want to determine whether a certain test or examination predicts well the performance of the same students on another examination, we have to compare their performances in both examinations. The external criterion in this case is the second examination. The correlation between the two examinations or test would give us a criterion - related validity coefficient. Usually the second examination is held after an interval but sometimes the test and the criterion can be measured without any intervening time. In this case the two tests are held, as it were, concurrently. Hence the term concurrent validity. But both predictive validity and concurrent validity refer to the same thing, namely criterion-related validity. There are other types of validity but for the purpose of this study these are the most important.

(c) How Efficient are the Tanzanian National Examinations?

As already seen, Tanzania began to conduct her own examinations in 1971 when she pulled out of the then East African Examinations Council which acted as the "clearing house" for the Cambridge Syndicate". The prime motive behind this decision was to conduct examinations in accordance with the aims and goals of Tanzanian's education system as

contained in the Policy Paper Education for Self Reliance. Because examinations have powerful influence over learning and teaching, it was rightly believed that the policy of Education for Self-Reliance could have never succeeded without changing the examination system as well for although the work of curriculum development was in the hands of Tanzanians themselves, examinations continued to be controlled by outsiders. It was felt, therefore, that in order to rectify this anomaly the examination system had also to be nationalized.

The nationalization of the examination system was, therefore, the first step towards making the examinations more relevant to what was being taught. Hence it can be said that the decision to nationalize the examinations was aimed at making them more valid. Because the examinations were to be set and marked by Tanzanians in accordance with Tanzanian syllabus, it was felt that the national examinations would have been much more valid contentwise than the previous ones. It is true, however, that during the earlier period the examinations continued to follow the same format as that of Cambridge. The traditional essay type questions were the most favoured. The validity of such examinations has always been suspect. Therefore it would seem that in this respect, the examinations could not be said to have been very valid. On the other hand objective type questions which have been in use for some papers in conjunction with essay-type questions, are regarded as being more valid than the essay-type examination. But objective-type questions are very difficult to construct. Needless to say an objective test which is not well constructed

can be just as invalid as an essay type examination.

There is yet another area of concern with regards to the validity of the two major secondary school examinations, viz: the National Form 4 Examination and the National Form 6 Examination. Although efforts have been made to ask questions which call for more application of knowledge rather than mere recall as used to be the case in the past, and although the syllabuses, and therefore, the questions are more geared to Tanzanian needs, there still remains one major defect; the examinations are not set in accordance with a detailed set of specifications (Manning: 1976 p. 104). This is partly due to the fact that very often the syllabuses do not spell out educational objectives in terms of specific behavioural changes expected of the students after a course of instruction. The aims of the particular syllabuses are spelled out in broad terms. Under such circumstances, therefore, it becomes very difficult to formulate questions which are goal-oriented. Thus very often the questions are syllabus - oriented and as such they are likely to be having the same harmful influences on learning and teaching as the Cambridge exams were alleged to be having. In this case, therefore, it is difficult to determine whether the examinations are testing what they should be testing.

Since every stage in the educational ladder is supposed to be complete in itself the only valid examination would be the one which produces results which show the extent to which the candidate has been equipped with the necessary skills to enable him to take his rightful place within the society. The present examination system does not seem to fulfil this function despite the recent changes.

Although Nyerere (1967) in his policy paper Education for Self-Reliance called upon those concerned to design the curriculum in terms of the aims of the nation and after that design a system of examinations to fit with the education provided, the curriculum developers appear to have done little more than to repeat the general aims contained in Education for Self-Reliance. They have not yet attempted to tackle the more difficult task of spelling out the behavioural objectives required of a Tanzanian school leaver. The need for such a reform in the curriculum cannot be overstressed. If the curriculum does not change in line with the objectives of the nation, we cannot expect examinations to change in the desired direction. However, it should be pointed out that some efforts are being made in some individual subject syllabuses to spell out these objectives. But these efforts should be coordinated in an integrative manner.

In his draft report Selection for Secondary Education in Tanzania, Beattie stresses the importance of formulating clear objectives in the curriculum in the following manner:

The time has come now to state precisely what behavioural changes the primary course should produce in line with the general aims. How will each part of the curriculum contribute to the whole objective? How does the effective Tanzanian citizen behave? What skills should he have? How should he behave when faced with various types of problem situations? What knowledge can contribute to his competence in these situations? Are the situations the same all over the country? What is common to all areas, and what is special to different parts of the country? (p.13)

These questions apply not only to primary education but also to secondary education. In order for this task to succeed there must be the closest possible cooperation between curriculum developers and those concerned with the development of new examining techniques. Only when this task is accomplished can we hope to have an efficient examination system in terms of its content validity.

Although this new approach to examinations would be more efficient, its implementation would be much more difficult. It would be necessary to train people in this new techniques for the truth of the matter is that there are as yet very few people trained in educational measurements and evaluations of this kind. Furthermore in order for the whole educational programme to succeed our methods of training teachers would have to be radically reviewed. Also those teachers already in the field would have to be retrained since they are, in the final analysis, the key to the success of the programme. They are the ones who will have to translate the stated objectives into operational terms. Also they are the ones who would assess the day to day progress of the students. It is important, therefore, that they should be fully involved in the whole programme right from the beginning.

The need for research in the whole field of examinations is also very pressing. So far very little research has been done in this area. As a result we cannot say whether our examinations are valid and reliable. There are also other aspects of examination administration which need to be researched into with the view of strengthening and/or improving the system. It is encouraging, however, to note that the urgency of this matter

has been recognised and the first steps have been taken. The Council has established a unit to deal with Research and Evaluation. It is envisaged that eventually the unit will develop into a fully fledged Test Development Unit capable of providing the necessary advice to teachers in the field of educational measurements and evaluation.

In discussing the question of efficiency of any examination system we have to bear in mind the purpose it is supposed to serve. An examination of the Tanzanian system shows that often what is stated as being the aim or purpose of the examination is not always in congruence with reality. For example in the colonial days the examinations which candidates sat at the completion of any particular cycle within the education ladder were meant to be 'leaving' examinations. But increasingly they became selective examinations. This came about because the performances in these examinations were used to determine whether one was fit for further education, for government service or for rural life. The ones who had performed very well were regarded as "academic materials" while those who had not done so well were regarded as being only suitable for rural life. Thus although the colonial regime spoke in lofty terms in favour of agricultural education, when it came to rewards they rewarded better those who, through the passing of examinations, managed to run away from rural life. The purpose of examinations became divorced from the stated objectives of education - to produce a contented peasantry:

This "disease" continued even after independence. In fact, if any thing, it became worse.

The pre-occupation of the Government with manpower requirements enhanced still further the search for certificates. As Vernon says:

Indeed the obsession of primary schools with passing the G.E.E.; and of Secondary Schools with passing the Cambridge Certificate, was if anything intensified here in the early 60's, when secondary leavers, even with meagre qualifications, were so easily able to get Civil Service or other 'white collar' jobs. [Vernon: 1966, p. 65]

As we have already seen in 1958 the Government decided to change the name of the Territorial Standard VIII Examination to General Entrance Examination (G.E.E.). This step was taken in recognition of the fact that this examination had changed its nature from being purely a leaving examination to a selective examination. Since it provided entry to different sectors such as secondary education, teacher training, nursing and so on it was proper to call it "General Entrance Examination". This examination continued to be taken by all primary school leavers (although leaving certificate were issued to all school leavers with satisfactory characters) because they all hoped to obtain a place in a secondary school, civil service or other sectors of the economy.

(d) Some Comments on the Primary School Leaving Examination

In 1967, following the Arusha Declaration and the publication of the policy paper on Education for Self-Reliance, this examination got a new

name - the Primary School Leaving Examination (P.S.L.E.). It should be remembered that by that time the Government and the Party had stated categorically that Primary Education was to be complete in itself and not a mere preparation for secondary education. Hence changing the name from "General Entrance" to "Leaving" was regarded as being more in consonance with the 'new' policy. However changing the name alone has not changed the purpose of the examination. In fact the term 'Primary School Leaving Examination', is a misnomer for the examination is conducted solely in order to select a very small percentage of candidates for secondary education. As Table X shows the percentage of successful candidates has continued to drop rapidly. Indeed it appears that when the programme of Universal Primary Education (UPE) which was launched in 1977 is completed, the percentage will even be much less.

TABLE X

Percent of Primary School Leavers Selected
for Secondary Education

Year	Number of Candidates	Number Selected	Per cent Selected
1967	47,981	6,635	13.8
1968	58,872	6,989	11.9
1969	60,545	7,149	11.8
1970	64,630	7,530	11.7
1971	70,922	7,740	10.9
1972	87,777	7,955	9.1
1973	106,203	8,165	7.7
1974	119,350	8,472	7.1
1975	137,559	8,715	6.3
1976	156,114	8,620	5.3

SOURCE: Omari and Manase: 1977, p. 40.

This is due to the fact that there is no corresponding increase in places in secondary schools. Indeed since the percentage of candidates who get selected to secondary schools is falling every year, this examination gives false hopes to many pupils who attempt it and yet fail to get a place in Form I of the secondary schools. Worse still this examination is probably having harmful effects on teaching and learning. Preparation for it almost monopolises the time table. Subjects which are not examinable are not taken seriously by both the teachers and pupils. Thus although the major objectives of primary education is to produce good farmers, agriculture, is not examined.

Instead pupils sit for four papers namely English, Kiswahili, Mathematics and General Knowledge. The latter incorporates elements of geography, political education, history and science. All the papers are done in one day. As can be seen other important subjects in the curriculum such as agriculture, art and handwork are not examined. To continue having the examination in this form is to repeat the same mistakes which were made by the colonial regime. It was precisely because of ignoring some subjects in the Territorial Standard VIII and later General Entrance examination that the Middle School experiment collapsed.

Besides having harmful influence on the curriculum the Primary School Leaving Examination has become a night mare. First of all, due to the ever rising number of candidates, it is increasingly becoming very difficult to run and very expensive. Worse still since 'passing' this examination is the only way to get into public secondary schools and since many parents want their children to get secondary education, many a parent put a lot of pressure on their children to study hard for examination. This has damaging consequences on the youngsters. The question of security is also a major concern for those connected with examination administration. The recurring night-mare of these officials each year is that leakage or cheating might occur and impair the impartiality which this examination is supposed to maintain. Indeed over the past few years, there have been reports of leakages of the examination. Sometime it has necessitated the setting of new papers and thereby incurring more expenses and loss of time. Thus this examination

has become a real night-mare not only to the pupils who are pressurised by both the parents and the teachers into studying for the examination, but also to the education officials responsible for the conduct of this examination. It is also a night-mare to the teachers since the success of any school is measured by the number of pupils it manages to send to secondary school and not by the quality of its leavers. In fact the concentration on this examination often leads to the total neglect of the personality formation of the pupils. As Omari and Manase have recently observed:

In fact since only a few pupils are selected, teachers often exploit the students' fear of failure. They inculcate a subservient attitude among those expecting to be selected who do not want their personality characteristics to tarnish their academic records. Pupils who know they will never be selected for further education or training because of their poor academic performance tend to be disposed to a rebellious attitude and occasionally become quite aggressive towards teachers suspected of favouritism.

[Omari and Manase: 1977, p. 487]

It is clear, therefore, that the continued use of this examination in its present form is having very harmful influence not only on the curriculum but also on the very policy of Education for Self-Reliance. Since it is used for selection of just a handful of pupils it is not fair that it should continue to dictate the primary school curriculum in this manner. To be useful the examination should serve the interests of the majority. As it is this examination cannot be said to be doing so.

Despite the glaring faults of the Primary School Leaving Examination, many parents and even teachers are not prepared to see its early demise. Omari and Manase (1977) found that many people whom they interviewed felt that the present examination gave a fair basis for selection purposes" (p. 68). Some of them, however, felt that this one-day examination is too arbitrary. But they were not prepared to substitute it with continuous assessment because continuous assessment is expected to be inefficient "as teachers are not currently perceived as being honest". [Omari and Manase: 1977, p. 70]

These findings are very revealing. It is clear that although it is ten years since the policy of education for self-reliance was promulgated, many people still regard primary education as a mere preparation not for life but for further education. They, therefore, regard the examination as the only way of ensuring that justice is not only done but that it is seen to be done. They still do not trust continuous assessment largely because they believe that it will lead to corruption, nepotism and favouritism. However, we have to ask ourselves whether we should continue to use this instrument for selection in view of the obvious weaknesses we have already pointed out.

Although the examination is used for selection, in actual fact it is not the only factor that is taken into consideration when deciding who should or should not go to secondary school. The practice is that all schools do keep records of the progress of each child. On the basis of the school records, each school selects one best candidate from each stream. A pupil so selected

prior to the examination is assured of a place in Form I provided he reaches a certain minimum aggregate marks in the final examination. The number of Form I places in each District is fixed beforehand in accordance with a quota system devised by the Ministry of National Education. After marking the candidates are rank ordered according to the total marks obtain. The cut-off point in each District is determined by the number of Form I places allocated to that District using the quota system. During selection all preselected above the cut-off point and those who fall below this point (provided they do not fall below twice the number allocated for the District) are automatically selected. The remaining vacancies, if any, are filled by candidates who do well in the final examination alone beginning with the highest scores until all the vacancies are filled up.

The quota system together with pre-selection was devised in order to reduce disparities between regions and schools in selection for secondary education. It is to be noted, however, that the quota system by its very nature does not discriminate fairly in terms of achievement. A candidate with lower marks from one District may be able to get a place in Form I at the expense of a candidate from another District which has very many streams. Hence because of the quota system the examination is not even competitive enough at National level. It is, however, very competitive at District level. Politically, and perhaps socially, the quota system can be defended at this particular stage of the country's development. It is, however, difficult to defend it on purely pedagogical reasons. One wonders whether, under such circumstances, the present examination is necessary.

Couldn't other means of selection be devised especially in view of the experience gained through pre-selection? In fact, as Beattie reported it seems that pre-selection has satisfactory predictive validity.

In his follow up study of about 253 pupils who had been selected in 1965 he found that the performance of these pupils in their Form 2 end-of-year examination correlated very satisfactorily with the aggregate marks they had obtained in their General Entrance Examination. Also he found that pre-selected pupils obtain significantly higher secondary marks than did those who had been selected purely on the basis of the General Entrance Examination results (p. 101). Thus it seems that pre-selection may be even better than the written examination. Using preselection would also conform with the policy of making the primary school and end in itself and the downgrading of the importance of selection examinations.

In view of the fact that many people still do not trust selection based solely on internal assessment the final examination could be phased out slowly by giving more weight to internal assessment and progressively reducing the weight of the final examination. Alternatively instead of allowing every pupil to sit for this examination, only the pre-selected could be allowed to sit for the examination. The marks obtained in internal assessment could then be combined with the final examination before making the final decision. Meanwhile further research into this field is required in order to arrive at a more valid way of selecting would-be entrants to secondary schools. What is true, however, is that the present examination leaves much to be desired.

(e) Public Examinations and Internal Assessment

As we have already seen Tanzania has decided to reduce the weight of the final written examination in determining the pupils achievements at the completion of their secondary education. In conformity with the Musoma Directive the students progress throughout their school careers has to be assessed and the combination of this continuous assessment together with the final examination is what constitutes the pass or failure of the students. This step has been taken in order to make the system of examination much more fairer to the students.

There are several arguments in favour of this move. One of the main advantages of internal assessment is that it gives the teachers the opportunity to assess those aspects of instruction which are not easily amenable to public examinations. Also the students take their lessons more seriously when they know that whatever they are doing counts towards their final mark. At the same time it reduces cramming and keeps most pupils working steadily throughout their school career.

While internal assessment has a lot to recommend, there are nevertheless a number of problems, connected with it. The major worry of students, teachers and the public is the question of parity between schools. It is always feared that if the assessment of pupils is left entirely in the hands of schools it may be difficult to maintain the same standards between schools. This is due to the fact that some schools and teachers may be much tougher in their assessments while some may be too lenient. In order to alleviate this fear it becomes necessary to introduce some measures of moderation.

Another major defect of basing school evaluation on purely the internal assessments by teachers is that it does not provide us with a common standard for measuring the efficacy of the educational system. It is accepted that perhaps the major advantage of an external examination is that it provides us with an external audit which helps us to know the standards of the education system. Internal assessment does not play this role very well mainly because it is difficult to maintain parity between different schools within the country or even between different classes within the same school. Furthermore it is urged that internal assessment deprives the teachers of one school the chance to compare their teaching efforts with others.

The problem of parity between schools has been a major issue in many countries. The system which is usually employed is some form of moderation. For example in 1970 when Queensland (Australia) decided, as a result of the recommendations of the Radford Committee, to abolish public examinations for both the Junior Certificate and the Senior Certificate, the question of maintaining parity between schools was tackled by introducing an elaborate system of moderation. The responsibility of maintaining comparability of standards was vested in the Board of Secondary School Studies. The Board exercised this responsibility through a moderation committee and chief moderators. The moderation committee had a full time staff including an executive officer and research staff. In moderation procedures the Board usually used inspectors of schools, selected secondary school teachers and staff members of tertiary institutions

as their agents. Also in order to ensure that the whole programme was a success, the Committee recommended that the pre-service and in-service training of teachers include the necessary training in the new assessment procedures. (See Basset in Campell et al: 1976 pp. 13-41).

In New Zealand since 1945 a system of accrediting has been in existence for candidates to University. The candidates who are not accredited can still sit for the University Entrance Examination which is purely external. Since 1969, however, a new element has been introduced - the Sixth Form Certificate awarded to those pupils who have successfully completed a sixth form programme in a minimum of four subjects. This Certificate is based purely on internal assessment. (Elley and Livingstone: 1972). Despite the many advantages which accrue to the Sixth Form Certificate, the problem of moderation appears to be an important one in this case too. As Elley and Livingstone (1972) point out there appears to be disparity not only between schools but also across different subject areas when the results of the University Entrance Examination and the Sixth Form Certificate are compared. They conclude by saying that:

Thus, against the advantages of the more flexible curriculum, the more comprehensive evaluation, and the lower proportion of failures which the Sixth Form Certificate would lead to, it can be seen that the problems of equality of standards, both across subjects and across schools, could militate against its acceptance as a leaving certificate with grades which have a clear and consistent meaning.

The fact that some pupils have already passed the University Entrance Examination in a subject after failing to gain a Sixth Form Certificate in it suggests that this difficulty is not unreal.

[Elley and Livingstone: 1972, p. 65]

However, the trend of public opinion in New Zealand is in favour of abolishing the University Entrance Examination and maintaining the Sixth Form Certificate alone. But in order to minimise some of the weaknesses inherent in the system of internal assessment, they think that some system of moderation would have to be devised.

At the Fifth Form (equivalent to Form 4 in Tanzania), students still take a public examination for their school certificate. There is however, growing demand for the abolition of this examination and its substitution with internal assessment by teachers. The main argument against this examination has been largely the same - that it has a dictatorial power on the curriculum. This demand has been gathering momentum since 1971. However steps to implement it have been rather hesitant mainly because of the problem of maintaining parity between schools. Nevertheless some steps have been taken towards internal assessment even at this level. For example Japanese has been internally assessed since 1973 and Indonesian and Art. since 1974 (School Certificate Examination Board, Discussion Paper 2, 1974 p. 5). But perhaps the most bold steps have been those taken by schools in Napier in 1976. According to The Dominion (22/9/76) Napier Boys', Napier Girls', Colenso and Taradale High Schools, were to be the pioneers

in having their Schools Certificate assessed internally in all the subjects. Thus the paper reported as follows:

For fifth form students at four Napier high schools next year the nail-biting nervousness of external examinations will no longer be a worry. Gaining their first educational qualification will be a year-long exercise rather than a few hours under the eagle eye of examination supervisors!

It is hoped that if this scheme succeeds it will set the blaze for the rest of the country and internal assessment might be introduced much faster than is the case now.

In other countries such as England and Wales the grip of the public examinations is being minimised by the introduction of new modes of examining. In 1963 a new certificate known as the Certificate of Secondary Education (C.S.E.) was introduced. This paved the way for more teacher participation in the examination process through its three modes of examining.

The choice of the mode is left to the particular schools and it works as follows:

- (1) Mode I is an external examination based on a syllabus prepared in the region.
- (2) Mode II consists of an external examination based on a syllabus prepared by one or more schools and approved by the regional authorities.

- (3) Mode III consists of examinations based on syllabuses prepared locally by the schools. The examination is set and marked by the schools themselves but it is moderated by the region. [Bruce: 1969]

Thus in England and Wales, as elsewhere, the question of maintaining parity between schools has been the major worry. Hence the need for some form of moderation.

There are countries such as Russia which at one stage tried to abolish examinations altogether because:

It was believed that examinations foster formalism in teaching and get the pupils into the habit of mechanical memorization of material, rather than promote a creative approach to study. Experience showed that these fears were unfounded. [Strezikozin 1969: p. 152]

Examinations were re-introduced in Russia in order to raise the educational level of the young people. But there is one important difference between the old examination system and the new. While in the past the candidates were, as it were, ambushed, now the candidates are made to know what the examination will be like well in advance. For as Strezikozin says:

Every year the question for the examination are issued four to five months before the examinations. This enables the pupils to see in what direction they should work to systematize and revise the subject matter in preparation for the exams. It might be feared though, that some of the pupils will learn

the answers before hand, answers prepared not independently, but with the help of teachers, parents or friends. To avoid this the examiners are given the right to find out whether or not the pupil has learned the material mechanically by asking supplementary questions on the material.
 [Strezikozin 1969; p. 156]

Thus in Russia examinations are used as tools for effective teaching and learning. Furthermore the final examinations are not marked centrally. In each school there are examinations commissions headed by the director of the school. The subject teachers in that school are the members of the commission which does all the marking and processing of the examination results. The same procedure, we are told, is followed also in China and in the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (Manning and Ndabi: 1975). In all these countries however, justice is observed by allowing candidates to appeal to a Tribunal in case they think they have been victimised. A remarking of scripts may be ordered in case the complaint appears to be genuine.

(f) Character Assessment and Certification

Perhaps one of the most revolutionary changes in the new system of examining in Tanzania has been the introduction of a new dimension in the whole exercise. For the first time, as we saw in the previous chapter, the assessment of character and work habits is taken into consideration when awarding certificates. A candidate may fail to obtain a certificate altogether notwithstanding his/her performance in the academic subjects if his character is assessed as BAD. Also a candidate

who should qualify for First Division may instead get a Second Division if his character is assessed as being mere GOOD for in order to get a First Division Certificate one has also to get a VERY GOOD in character assessment.

The assessment of ~~character~~ is a very difficult task. In fact it can easily be subjective. It is for this reason that schools are advised to involve all teachers within the school when the assessment of pupils is being made. Otherwise some pupils may be victimised or favoured if no proper guidelines are laid down.

While many would agree that character assessment is a necessary part of educational evaluation, it is not so certain whether many would agree that this should also determine whether one gets a certificate or not. Even in countries such as Cuba. (Gandye and Mtani, 1975) and Russia (Strezikozin, 1969) although character assessment is important, every school leaver gets a certificate regardless of his/her character. However, in the case of Russia, for example, character assessment is also shown in the certificate and this helps the employers and institutions of further learning to know what sort of person they have so as to help him in case his character assessment was poor. The purpose is to transform him into a better man and not to condemn him as a failure. In Tanzania we have decided not to issue the certificate at all to a candidate whose character is not good. It is still debatable whether this has been the right decision. It appears, however, from interviews with teachers that many of them like it. But it seems the reasons for liking it is not directly connected with the healthy intellectual

development of the pupils. They like it mainly because it helps them to maintain "discipline" in the schools. In other words character assessment acts as a threat to would-be trouble-makers. If this is the true reason why teachers support it then we may be defeating the very purpose for which this assessment was introduced. The purpose was not to produce submissive people but rather free people with enquiring minds.

Another thing which needs to be re-examined is the classification of certificates into four divisions. Since we have stated categorically that every cycle in our educational system is to be complete in itself it might be advisable just to issue leaving certificates which would show the performance in each subject area and also the character assessment. The present system of issuing certificates may perpetuate the very elitist attitudes which we have declared war against. A comprehensive leaving certificate could well serve the purpose of selection if need be. Also in order to reduce the pre-occupation with selection it would be useful to reconsider the necessity of having Form 5 and 6 classes. These classes were introduced as a preparation for University. Now that we have declared that going to University is not automatic on successful completion of Form 6, could it not be possible to have a continuous secondary education without a break at Form 4? It could then be possible to have a four or five year secondary education instead of the present six years one. But it would require improvements in our facilities and teaching in order to maintain the same or better quality of secondary products. In this way we would avoid having selective examinations to a large extent.

(g) Evaluation of the New System

It may be too early to evaluate the new system of assessment. Nevertheless the preliminary assessment of the system shows that it is likely to succeed. When the system was first launched in 1976 many people welcomed it but some had reservations especially regarding the fairness of the system. Many were worried that some teachers would not do their job properly and that instead they would just "cook up" the marks. Some of them it was alleged, would be tempted to favour certain pupils at the expense of others. It was also feared that the new system would tax the teachers too much as they were already overloaded with many other chores.

Although a few cases of cheating were noted in the first year of this new system, all in all teachers performed their duties properly. The major problems which the Council faced were to do with mere administrative aspects. For example some schools did not submit the assessment forms in time thereby causing a delay in the processing of the final results. Others did not complete the forms properly. But these were very few indeed.

There is one good thing about the new system; the final public examination acts as a moderating device. Normally the marks given through internal assessment are standardized by using the performance in the final examination as the criterion. In the 1976 examinations, after standardization, it was found that there was good colleration between the marks given by schools and the final examination. Only about

4 per cent of Form Four candidates had more than ten marks outside the standardized marks. Also about 75.2 per cent of all the Form Four candidates had less than five marks outside the standardized marks. For Form 6 it was 67.1 per cent. Even if there had been no standardization at all a candidate who was supposed to obtain a C could have obtained either a D or B but not an A or F. This proves that actually teachers can rank and grade their pupils very well. Hence the fear about disparity between schools is to a large extent baseless.

While it is easy to standardize marks it is much more difficult to do so for character assessments. For that matter the assessments given to the Council by teachers are taken as they are. This should in fact be the case since it is only the teachers who know their pupils well.

In the case of character assessment, just as in the case of academic assessment, the work was fairly well done. Only about 2 per cent of the Form 4 candidates obtained Division II certificates instead of Division I because they did not obtain VERY GOOD in character assessment. Also about 1 per cent of the candidates who could have otherwise obtained certificates failed to do so because they had been assessed as POOR in character and attitude towards work. None of them could have obtained a First Class certificate anyway! Examinations Statistics and Evaluation Report: 1976

In conclusion we may say that Tanzania is not the only country in the world to introduce a system of examinations which combines a public external examination with continuous assessment. Other countries in the world have similar arrangements.

This system has been in use in Canada and New South Wales for many years. It is also used in Cuba and India. However, Tanzania may very well be the first in Africa not only to introduce the new system but also to embark on serious assessment of the affective domain. It might be watched with interest by many countries, especially those countries in Africa which have declared a policy of building socialism. Also in this chapter we have seen that despite the many criticisms which are often leveled at public examinations, they have some positive contribution to make to the cause of education generally. Nevertheless it has also been noted that sometimes they may exert a harmful influence over the education system especially if they are misused. One way to minimise these harmful influences is to improve their efficiency by ensuring that they are reliable and valid. Another way is to introduce some form of continuous assessment into the system through the use of internal assessments as well as the public examination. In this connection the decision taken by the National Examinations Council to introduce the system of continuous assessment must be seen as a step in the right direction. However, it has also been revealed that in order for this new approach to work satisfactorily it is necessary to have a good system of moderation and the re-orientation of both teachers, pupils and the consumers of the examination results.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has concentrated on the role of examinations in a developing country, namely Tanzania.

It has been revealed that examinations have a role to play in any educational system. The nature of that role depends upon the objectives of the education given. However, in many cases it has been found that the stated aims and goals of education have been defeated by the use that has been made of the examination results. And although examinations are essentially mere tools of educational evaluation they have sometimes become ends in themselves. The reason why they have become ends in themselves is to be found in the use they are put to. Passing examinations has been one of the major means of having access to upward social mobility.

During the colonial times, for example, examinations were supposed to be leaving examinations but they soon became selection examinations. For instance the Central School Leaving Certificate Examination was essentially, as its name implies, meant to mark the completion of the Central School. The major objective of the Central School was to produce people who could fit well in a society which was predominantly rural. Hence the curriculum stressed agriculture although in towns subjects such as tailoring, typewriting and boot making were encouraged. According to such curriculum, therefore, examinations should have been for determining the extent to which students had become better equipped as farmers. However, this was not the case. Instead they were meant to

assess other achievements such as knowledge of the English Language and Arithmetic. Furthermore, those who happened to do well in these examinations and even those who did not do so well found themselves being offered 'suitable employment'. By suitable employment it was meant white-collar jobs. Few of them ever returned to the land. Thus the examination became the passport to city life. In fact the examination became a selection examination for different types of employment which were then available in the colonial junior civil service. As the education system expanded examinations became even more competitive as the expansion did not match with the demand. Hence you had the "entrance examinations" whose purpose was to select a few individuals for further education. These lucky few were assured of even better employment on completion of their education. Since the salary structure was such that the more certificates you had the more the pay, examinations assumed prominence out of proportion in the entire educational system.

The situation was accentuated during the early years of independence when the dearth for skilled manpower and the policy of localization rocketed even some of the not very well educated into the big positions of responsibility. The salary structure inherited from the colonial regime with its undue emphasis on certificates did not help to improve matters. People went to school not so much in order to learn but in order to get certificates which would then guarantee them better pay. The pre-occupation of both teachers and students became the acquisition of the art of passing examinations and indeed schools and teachers were judged good or bad depending on the pupils performances in these examinations.

For the first five years of independence, Tanzania was vacillating as regards the ideology to be followed. It is true that since the days of the struggle for independence both the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) in the mainland and the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) in the islands, had been advocating socialism as their ultimate goal after attaining independence. Nevertheless this policy was not officially adopted until February 1967 when the Arusha Declaration was announced by President Julius K. Nyerere.

With the advent of the Arusha Declaration the aims of education were clearly spelled out by the President in the policy paper Education for Self-Reliance. The aim of education was to create socialist workers. Accordingly the curricula and examinations had to be formulated in accordance with the educational objectives.

Nyerere was convinced that without changing the examination system we could not succeed in implementing the new system of education which advocated, among other things, combining study with work. However, he realized also that it was necessary to spell out very clearly what was expected of our youngsters after receiving the type of education we were devising before we could devise a suitable examination system. It is rather disappointing to note that to date very little attempt has been made to try and translate the broad educational goals into operational terms. What has been done is to use the broad objectives as they are in trying to implement the policy.

In the absence of well defined curricula objectives, therefore, it has been very difficult to change the examination system. It was under

such stalemate that the Party issued the Musoma Directive in November 1974 calling upon the Ministry to implement the policy of Education for Self-Reliance. The Directive actually merely reiterated what had already been stated in the policy paper Education for Self-Reliance. On examinations the Directive emphasised the fact that students must be assessed throughout their school career and everything which they do as part of their education should be assessed. Since the policy of combining study with work had already been adopted, it meant that work had also to be assessed. Hence the assessment of academic work plus character and attitude towards work was to constitute the totality of assessment.

It was in response to this Directive that the National Examinations Council decided to introduce the new system which involves the combination of continuous assessment with the final examination on a 50-50 basis. However the aim is to reduce progressively the weight of the final examination. This would conform with the policy of down-grading examinations. It is hoped that some of the glaring faults of public examinations may thereby be rectified.

Although it is too early to assess the effects of the new system on schools, pupils and society as a whole, there are nevertheless good signs of success. However, caution must be sounded here in that what has changed is merely the method and not the examinations themselves. More examining has been brought into the classroom through day to day exercises, terminal tests and projects. If we are not careful we may find ourselves increasing examination fever in schools

instead of reducing it. Already some teachers have voiced concern as regards the number of exercises and tests required each term. They feel that they are being overloaded with examination work. They are required not only to give exercises and tests but also to mark them and record them in different kinds of forms issued by the Council for this purpose. We do not know much as regards what students think about the new system. Surely a research into this area would prove very valuable. Concerning the fairness of the system, many of the students seem to be of the opinion that the system is much fairer than the one shot final examination. This view was expressed by many of the students in the schools which the writer and other officials of the Examinations Council visited. It is not, however, known whether the students feel that they are being required to do too much work. The effect of character assessment on students needs also to be appraised. This is another good area for future research.

It may also be too early to assess the impact of the new system upon society as a whole. However, it appears that many people are in agreement with the policy of continuous assessment provided the final examination which acts as a moderating device is maintained. Several people with whom the writer had the opportunity to discuss this issue are definitely in favour of some form of public examination at least at this stage of development because they consider it to be a necessary 'thermometer' of our educational system. Also as we saw in the case of the Primary School ⁴ leaving Examination the final examination adds to the fairness of the whole

selection process. For as long as our examinations remain mainly devices for selection it seems that the internal assessments alone will not suffice. The need for an external audit will continue to exist if only to convince people that justice is being done.

The question of having or not having examinations does not, therefore, arise. What is important is what type of examinations? It appears that a combination of both internal and public examinations is a much more reliable and valid way of assessing pupils' achievement.

Examinations have been so much entrenched within the entire educational system since the colonial days that it would not be possible to abolish them completely at this stage of development. Many people who themselves went through the system would be the last to support any move in that direction. In any case examinations are not inherently bad. Indeed as we have already seen it is what is done with the results which is often at fault. In the Tanzanian context examinations have by and large been used for selection purposes. Thus the Primary School Leaving Examination is a purely selection examination and because only a few candidates are selected for Secondary Education its effect on the educational system is probably harmful and yet unless other suitable methods of selection are devised its early demise seems to be remote. At secondary level the Form 4 Examination is also largely a selection examination for Form 6, teacher training and for the junior services of both the public and private sectors. In the past the Form 6 Examination was also for selection mainly to the University. However, since it is no longer possible to enrol

for University courses directly on completion of Form 6 the effect of the Form 6 Examination as a selection examination has to a large extent been minimised. As suggested earlier it might be wiser to have a single tier of secondary education instead of the present 4-2 system. In this case the concept of making secondary education complete in itself would be better understood by both the students and the public at large. Thus instead of having a selection examination at two or three different levels we would have it at only one level: at the completion of primary education.

It has been stressed in Education for Self-Reliance that examinations must be "down-graded in government and public esteem". One way of doing so has been the adoption of the new system whereby the public examination alone is not the decider of the fate of the student. However, the truth of the matter is that so long as the salary structure remains pegged to the certificates one obtains regardless of his contribution to society, examinations will remain a most potent factor in the society. In the final analysis the success of this policy (down-grading exams) is intricately linked with the success of the whole policy of socialism.

In summary the study has revealed that public examinations in Tanzania have largely served the purpose of selection even though they have been designed to measure attainment. In this sense we can say that they have been misused and in this misuse lies the origin of much of the criticisms levelled at examinations generally. Since, in the Tanzanian context, the need for selection examinations still exists it is recommended

that efforts should be made to find better means of selection rather than the present use of traditional examinations whose predictive validity is questionable. In this regard the use of aptitude tests should be considered seriously. As regards the efficiency of the present examinations there is a need to improve their efficiency by formulating clear and precise objectives of the examinations in conformity with the curricula objectives. This implies that curriculum developers and those who deal with examining must work in close collaboration. If possible they should be under one management. It is, therefore, rather unfortunate that at present there are two separate bodies, the Institute of Education which deals with curriculum development and the National Examinations Council which deals with examining alone. There is an urgent need to review the reasons which led to the decision to separate curriculum development from examinations.

In the light of experiences in countries such as New Zealand, Queensland (Australia), Russia, Cuba, China, Korea and England, it seems that Tanzania cannot completely do away with public examinations at this stage. The decision to introduce continuous assessment in the system of examining appears to be a step in the right direction but in order for the system to work successfully it is necessary to familiarise all concerned, especially teachers, with the basic techniques on testing and measurements. There is also the need for an efficient system of moderation which seems to be lacking at present. All this implies that there is a need to plan carefully the manpower requirements in the field of educational evaluation generally. Meanwhile the need for seminars and short courses for teachers

and other examiners appears to be a pressing one too.

In conclusion it may be fitting to stress the need for constant research into and evaluation of any changes in the examination system with the view to making it a more efficient tool of educational evaluation and development.

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NATIONAL EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL
THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

No. 21 OF 1973

I ASSENT,

J.K. NYERERE,
President

6TH DECEMBER, 1973

AN ACT TO MAKE PROVISION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT,
CONSTITUTION, CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATION OF
THE NATIONAL EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL OF TANZANIA
AND FOR MATTERS CONNECTED THEREWITH AND INCIDENTAL
THERE TO

(.....)

ENACTED by the Parliament of the United Republic
of Tanzania.

PART I

PRELIMINARY

- 1. This Act may be cited as the National Examinations Council of Tanzania Act, 1973, and shall come into operation on such date as the Minister may, by notice in the Gazette, appoint. Short title and commencement
- 2. In this Act, unless the context otherwise requires: Inter-pretion
 - "the Chairman" means the Chairman of the Council;

"Committee" means a committee established under and in accordance with the provisions of section 10 and includes the Executive Committee established under section 9;

"the Council" means the National Examinations Council of Tanzania established by section 3;

"financial year" in relation to the Council includes the Council's first accounting period, whether shorter or longer than a year, and if the Council changes its accounting period, the period, whether short or longer than a year, employed to give effect to the change;

"member" in relation to the Council, means a member of the Council and includes the Chairman; and in relation to a committee means a member of the committee and includes the chairman of the Committee;

"Minister" means the Minister for the time being responsible for National Education;

"Secretary" means the officer appointed by the President to be the Secretary of the Council.

PART II

THE NATIONAL EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL OF TANZANIA

3. (1) There is hereby established an Examinations Council to be known as the National Examinations Council of Tanzania
- Establishment
of
Council
- (2) The Council shall be a body corporate and shall:

- (a) have perpetual succession and common seal;
- (b) in its corporate name, be capable of suing and being sued;
- (c) be capable of purchasing and otherwise acquiring and of disposing of any movable or immovable property;
- (d) subject to the provisions of the Act, have power from time to time to borrow money and to do or perform all such acts and things which a body corporate may lawfully do.

(3) The provisions of the Schedule to this Act shall have effect as to the constitution and the tenure of office of the members of the Council, termination of their appointment, the proceedings of the Council and other matters in relations to the Council and its members.

(4) The President may, by order published in the Gazette vary, amend or replace all or any of the provisions of the Schedule to this Act.

4. The objects and functions of the Council shall be:

- (a) to formulate examinations policy in accordance with the principles of education for self-reliance accepted by the people of Tanzania;
- (b) to assume responsibility for examinations within the United Republic and to make provision for places and centres of examinations;

Obje-
cts
and
func-
tions
of
Coun-
cil

- (c) receive from other persons or bodies of persons reports or other material affecting examinations policy and from time to time to consider and review examinations policy as circumstances may require;
- (d) to co-operate with other persons or bodies of persons in the orderly development of an examinations system in the United Republic;
- (e) to conduct examinations for, and to grant, diplomas, certificates and other awards of the Council.

5. (1) The Council shall have power to do all things and to act in all ways necessary for, or incidental to, the purposes for which it is established.

Powers
and
duties
of
Council.

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1) but subject to the provisions of subsection (4), the Council shall have power:

- (a) to administer the properties of the Council both movable and immovable;
- (b) to administer the funds and other assets of the Council;
- (c) to signify the acts of the Council by use of the common seal;
- (d) subject to the provisions of this Act, to appoint such officers of the Council as it may deem necessary;
- (e) to review regulations relating to examinations;
- (f) to consider and approve subjects suitable for examination;
- (g) to appoint panels or boards of examiners;

- (h) to enter into arrangements, whether reciprocal or otherwise, with other persons or organizations, whether within or outside the United Republic, for the recognition of awards granted in respect of examinations falling within their respective responsibilities.
- (i) to do all such other acts and things as may be provided for in this Act or as may be prescribed.

(3) The Council shall conduct within the United Republic either on its own or in participation with any other person or organization such academic, technical and other examinations as the Council may consider necessary or desirable in the public interests.

(4) Nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing the Council to do any act or thing in respect of:

- (a) internal examinations, that is to say examinations open to their own pupils or students only, conducted by schools or other educational or training institutions;
- (b) examinations conducted by the University of Dar es Salaam or the grant of degrees, diplomas, certificates and other awards of the University;
- (c) examinations conducted by employers where such examinations are open only to their own employees or to candidates who wish to enter their employment.

6. (1) There shall be a Secretary of the Council who shall be appointed by the President on such terms and conditions as the President may determine and who shall also act as secretary to the Executive Committee.

Secretary
to
Council

(2) Where the Secretary is not a member of the Council, he shall have no power to vote at any meeting of the Council.

(3) Subject to the provisions of this section, the Secretary shall have such functions as may be conferred upon him by the Council.

7. The Council may appoint on such terms and conditions as it may determine, such number of officers of the Council as it may consider necessary for the performance of its functions.

The
staff of
the
Council

8. The Council may, subject to such conditions and restrictions as it may impose, delegate to any person or body of persons, the power of appointment to any office or offices on the staff of the Council.

Delegation
of powers
of appo-
intment.

9. (1) The Council shall appoint an Executive Committee comprising:

Executive
Committee
of
Council

- (a) the Chairman, who shall be the Chairman of the Committee;
- (b) twelve other members of the Council.

(2) The functions of the Executive Committee shall be to act as the executive authority of the Council in the management of its ordinary affairs and to consult and to report to the Council thereon, and for the

purposes it may exercise all the executive powers and functions vested in the Council by this Act other than the power of approving estimates conferred by section 15 or any function or power delegated by the Council to a Committee established under section 10.

(3) The provisions of the Schedule of this Act shall apply, with such modifications as the circumstances may require, in relation to the tenure of office of the members of the Executive Committee, the right to terminate their appointment, and appointment of a new member to fill any vacancy, and also in relation to the quorum proceedings and meetings of the committee.

10. (1) The Council shall establish a School Examinations Committee, a Technical Examinations Committee and a Professional Examinations Committee.

Exami-
nations
commi-
tee
and
other
commi-
tees

(2) In addition, the Council may, from time to time, establish such other committees as it may consider necessary.

(3) The Council shall prescribe the composition, powers, duties and procedure of all committees established by it under this section and the tenure of office of persons appointed to such committees and, subject to the provisions of this Act, may delegate to any such committee any of its powers or functions other than the power of approving estimates conferred by section 15.

(4) The Council may appoint on any Committee established under this section any person notwithstanding that such person is not a member of the Council:

Provided that in no case shall the number of members of any such committees who are not also members of the Council exceed two-thirds of the total number of the members of the Committee.

(5) For the purposes of this section the Secretary shall be deemed to be a member of the Council.

11. (1) Without prejudice to the provisions of subsection (3) of section 10, every Examinations Committee established under that section shall be responsible to the Council for the control and regulation of the conduct of examinations in respect of subjects over which it has general responsibility.

Specific
functions
of
Exami-
nations
Commi-
tees

(2) Each Examinations Committee shall in addition to the general function in relation to examinations in respect of subjects over which it has generally responsibility and to matters pertaining thereto, have the following functions:

- (a) to satisfy itself with regard to the curriculum and standard of the relevant courses of study or training offered by the appropriate institution in respect of any diploma, certificate or other award of the Council and to report its findings thereon to the Council;

- (b) with the consent of the Council to make rules with regard to the standards of proficiency to be attained in each examination for a relevant diploma, certificate or other award of the Council;
- (c) to decide whether any candidate for the relevant diploma, certificate or other award, had attained the standard of proficiency prescribed in rules made under paragraph (b) and is otherwise fit for the grant of such diploma, certificate or other award;
- (d) to make proposals to the Council on matters relating to examinations conducted by the Council.

12. It shall be lawful for the Council to grant diplomas, certificates and such other awards as may be prescribed, to persons:

Awards of diplomas, certificates, etc.

- (a) who satisfy the requirements in respect of examinations conducted or approved by the Council; or
- (b) who, in the opinion of the Council, are entitled to receive such diplomas, certificates or other awards.

PART III

FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

13. (1) The funds and resources of the Council shall consist of: Funds of Council

- (a) Such sums as may be provided for the purposes of the Council by Parliament, either by way of grant or loan;
- (b) such donations, grants, bequests and loans as the Council may, from time to time, receive from any person or organization;
- (c) such fees or other charges paid to the Council by candidates for examinations;
- (d) such sums as may in any manner become payable to or vested in the Council either under the provisions of this Act or any other written law, or incidental to the carrying out its functions.

(2) The funds and resources of the Council shall be applied for the purposes for which the Council is established under this Act.

14. The Council shall have power to invest the funds of the Council in such investments as are authorized by, and subject to such conditions as are prescribed by, the Trustees, Investments, Act, 1967, in relation to investment of funds by a trustee.

Power to invest Acts, 1967 No. 33

15. (1) The Council shall, in respect of every financial year, cause to be prepared estimates of the expenditure and revenue of the Council, and such estimates shall be approved by the Council before the commencement of the relevant financial year.

Annual
estimates

(2) The annual estimates shall contain provision for all the estimated expenditure during the relevant year and in particular:

- (a) for the payment of salaries, allowances, passages and other charges in respect of the members of the staff of the Council;
- (b) for the payment of allowances, fees and expenses in respect of the members of the Council and of the Committees;
- (c) for the payment of all pensions, gratuities and other charges in respect of retirement and terminal benefits which are payable out of the funds of the Council;
- (d) for the construction of the buildings for use by the Council and for the improvement, maintenance, replacement and rental of buildings and other immovable properties owned or occupied by the Council;

- (e) for the proper maintenance and replacement of the furniture and equipment of the Council;
- (f) for the creation of such reserve funds to meet future contingent liabilities as the Council may think fit.

(3) Save with the prior written consent of the Minister no expenditure shall be incurred for the purposes of the Council otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of the annual estimates or of supplementary estimates approved by the Council.

(4) Copies of every annual estimates and of every supplementary estimates prepared in accordance with this section shall be furnished to the Minister.

16. (1) The Council shall cause to be prepared in respect of every financial year:
- | | |
|--|--|
| | Financial
statements
and
report |
|--|--|
- (a) a statement of income and expenditure during such financial year;
 - (b) a statement of the assets and liabilities of the Council on the last day of such financial year;
 - (c) a report upon the progress and work of the Council during such financial year;
- and shall cause such statements and report to be forwarded to the Minister.

(2) Within six months of the expiry of each financial year the Council shall cause the statements referred to in paragraphs (a) and (b) of subsection (1) to be audited by the Tanzania Audit Corporation established by the Tanzania Audit Corporation Act, 1968; and copies of the reports of the auditor shall be furnished to Minister together with the statements to which such reports related.

Acts,
1968
No.1

17. The Minister shall lay before the National Assembly, as soon as may be practicable after he has received them, copies of the statements and report referred to in subsection (1) of section 16 together with copies of reports of the auditor referred to in subsection (2) of that section.

Annual
state-
ments
of
account
and
reports
to be
laid
before
National
Assembly

PART IV

MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

18. (1) In the performance of its duties and exercise of its power, the Council may, with the consent of the Minister, make regulations generally for the government, control, administration and management of the Council and for conduct of its business, and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing, may make regulations prescribing:

Regu-
lations

- (a) the terms and conditions of service, pension and retirement benefits and the like, of staff, other than temporary staff;

- (b) measures for the discipline of staff;
- (c) the financial procedures of the council;
- (d) examination fees and other charges payable to the Council; granted by the Council;
- (f) the conditions which must be satisfied before any diploma, certificate or other award, may be granted;
- (g) the manner in which diplomas, certificates or other awards may be granted;
- (h) the manner in which examinations may be conducted;
- (i) anything which may be prescribed under this Act or any matter or thing which, in the opinion of the Council, is necessary to prescribe for the furtherance of the functions and objects of the Council.

(2) The Council shall cause to be published in the Gazette any regulations made under this section.

19. The Council may, with the approval of the Minister, make rules prescribing fees and allowances payable to members of the Council or a Committee.

Fees
and
allo-
wances

20. The Minister may give the Council directions of a general or specific character and the Council shall give effect to every such direction.

Minister
may
give
directions

21. No act or proceeding of the Council, the Executive Committee or an Examinations Committee shall be invalid by reason only of the number of the members not being complete at the time of such act or proceeding or of any defect in the appointment of any member or of the fact that any member was at the time in question disqualified or disentitled to act as such.

Proceedings of Council or committee not to be invalid by reason of irregularity

22. Without prejudice to the provisions of section 284A of the Penal Code, no matter or thing done by any member or officer of the Council or a Committee shall, if done in good faith in the execution or purported execution of the functions of such Council or Committee, render such member or officer personally liable for such matter or thing.

Protection of members of Council and Committees
Cap. 16

SCHEDULE

1. The Council shall consist of:
- (a) a Chairman who shall be appointed by the President;
 - (b) four members appointed by the Minister to represent such academic, technical and professional institutions as are likely to assist the Council in the discharge of its functions;

Composition of Council

- (c) one member appointed by the Senate of the University of Dar es Salaam from amongst the members of the Senate other than the member selected by the Students' Organization from amongst the students;
- (d) one member appointed by the Council of the University of Dar es Salaam from amongst the members of the Council;
- (e) two members appointed by the Minister from amongst the members of the National Assembly;
- (f) (i) such members (whose number shall be not less than three) as may be appointed by the Minister from amongst persons who are ordinarily resident in Tanganyika.
(ii) such members (whose number shall be not less than three) as may be appointed by the Chairman for the time being responsible for education in Zanzibar from amongst persons who are ordinarily resident in Zanzibar;
- (g) (i) six members appointed by the Minister from amongst persons who, in his opinion, have the necessary experience or qualification to enable them to make a useful contribution to the skills and disciplines to be promoted by the Council and to the deliberation of the Council;

(ii) six members appointed by the Chairman for the time being responsible for education in Zanzibar from amongst persons who, in his opinion, answer the description set forth in clause (i) of this sub-paragraph.

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 2. | Every member of the Council shall continue to hold office until his appointment is revoked by the appointing authority. | Tenure of appointment |
| 3. | Where any member absents himself from three consecutive meetings of the Council without reasonable excuse the Council shall advise the appointing authority of the fact and the appointing authority may terminate the appointment of the member and appoint another member in his place. | Absence from three consecutive meetings |
| 4. | Where any member is by reason of illness, infirmity or absence from the United Republic, unable to attend any meeting of the Council, the appointing authority may appoint a temporary member in his place and such temporary member shall cease to hold office on the resumption of office of the substantive member. | Appointment of temporary member. |
| 5. | The Council shall elect one of its members to be the Vice-Chairman and any member elected as Vice-Chairman shall, subject to his continuing to be a member hold office of Vice-Chairman for a term of one year from the date of his election and shall be eligible for re-election. | Vice-Chairman |

6. (1) The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of Council. Power of Chairman and Vice-Chairman
- (2) Where at any meeting of the Council the Chairman is absent, the Vice-Chairman shall preside.
- (3) In the absence of both the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman at any meeting of the Council, the members present may, from amongst their number elect a temporary Chairman who shall preside at that meeting.
- (4) The Chairman, Vice-Chairman or a temporary Chairman presiding at any meeting of the Council, shall have a vote and, in the event of an equality of votes, shall have a casting vote in addition to his deliberative vote.
7. (1) The Council shall meet not less than twice during every year and at such additional times as may be fixed by the chairman or, if he is absent from the United Republic or unable for any reason to act, the Vice-Chairman. Meetings and procedure of Council.
- (2) The Chairman or, in his absence from the United Republic, the Vice-Chairman may, and upon application in writing by at least five members, convene a special meeting of the Council at any time. Meetings and procedure of Council
- (3) The Secretary of the Council shall give to each member adequate notice of the time and place of each meeting.
8. At any meeting of the Council not less than one-half of the members in office for the time being shall constitute a quorum. Quorum.

9. Subject to the provisions relating to a casting vote, all questions at a meeting of the Council shall be determined by a majority of the votes of the members present, and if any member refuses or fails to vote on any question he shall be deemed to have cast a negative vote.

Decisions
of
Council

10. (1) The seal of the Council shall be of such shape, size and form as the Council may determine.

Seal
of
Council

(2) The Seal shall not be used except in pursuance of a resolution of the Council and shall be authenticated by the signature of the Chairman or the Secretary, or any member of the Council authorized to act in that behalf by the Council.

(3) All documents, other than those required by law to be under seal, made by, and all decisions of the Council may be signified under the hand of the Chairman, or the Secretary, or any member or officer of the Council authorized in that behalf by the Council.

11. (1) The Council shall cause minutes of all proceedings of meetings of the Council to be entered in a book kept for that purpose.

Record
of
proceed-
ing
of
Council

(2) Any such minutes if purporting to be approved by, and signed by the Chairman of the next succeeding meeting of the Council shall be evidence of such proceedings and, until the contrary is proved, the meeting to which the minutes relate shall be deemed to

have been duly convened and all proceedings thereat to have been duly transacted.

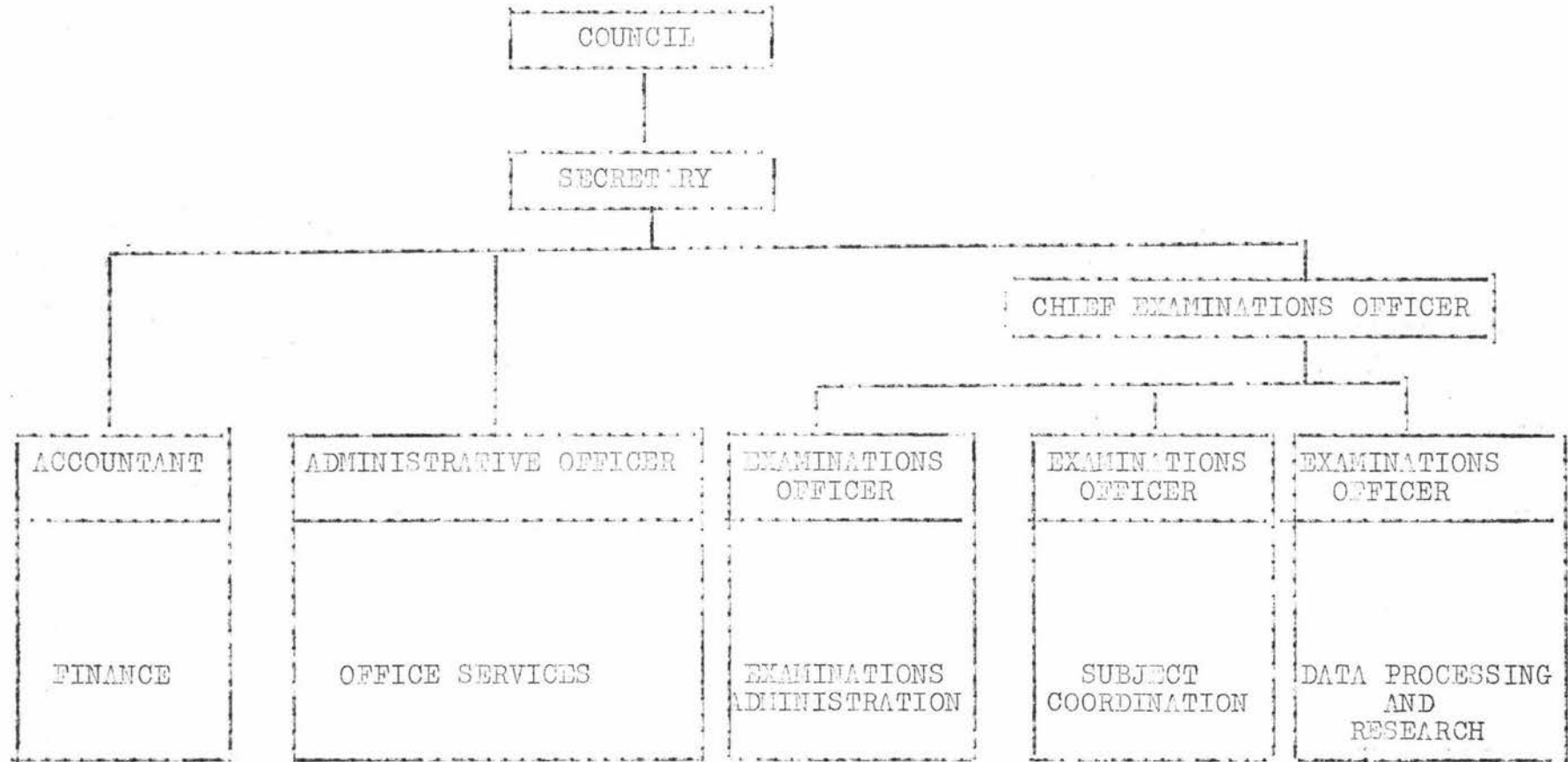
12. Subject to the provisions of this Schedule the Council may regulate its own proceedings.

Council
may
regulate
its
pro-
ceedings

Passed in the National Assembly on the twenty-first day of November, 1973.

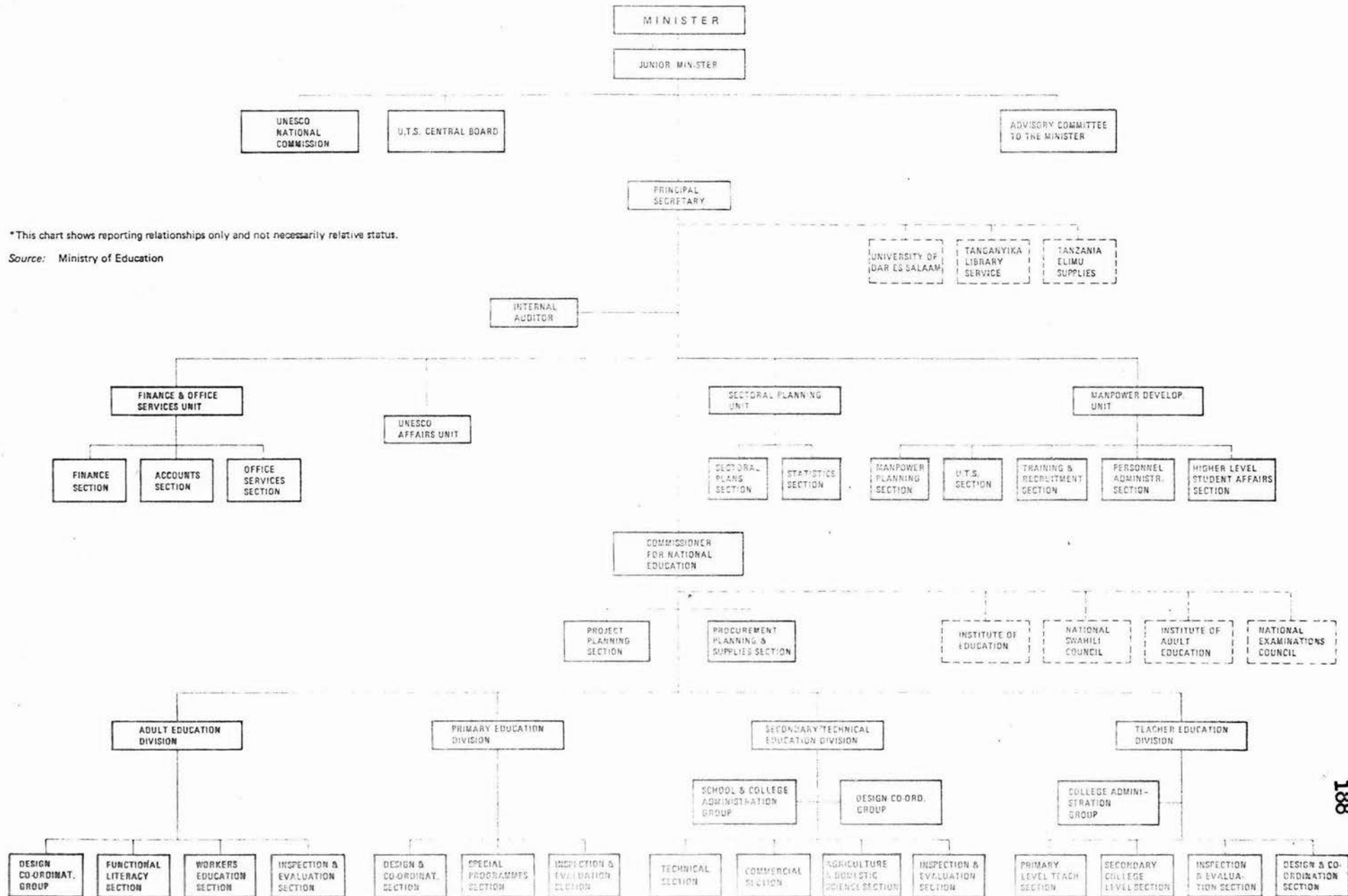
M. MWINDADI
Acting Clerk of the National Assembly

ORGANISATIONAL CHART OF THE NATIONAL EXAMINATIONS
COUNCIL OF TANZANIA AS AT 1976



SOURCE: National Examination Council Secretariat.

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION - NEW ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE*



*This chart shows reporting relationships only and not necessarily relative status.

Source: Ministry of Education