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**Education Privatisation Policy Reforms in
Tanzania and New Zealand Since the 1980s:
A Comparative Critical Policy Analysis Study**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Education

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1999

Abstract

This thesis is a comparative study of contemporary education policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand. It explains why and how Tanzania and New Zealand introduced and implemented education privatisation policy reforms in the 1980s and 1990s. The study analyses the socio-economic and discursive influences on national education policies and discusses the implications of current market-oriented education policies for the state's provision of education and for social justice in education.

Employing comparative education policy analysis (CEPA) approach, the thesis traces the genesis of contemporary education privatisation policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand within the contexts of wider transformations in the capitalist world system. It is argued, in the study, that national education policies have been changing according to the nature, functions and position of the state within the capitalist formation.

The thesis also underscores the critical importance of analysing policy documents. The researcher argues that the analysis of the education policy documents enables the policy analyst to deconstruct the policy discourse and reveal the policy implications to various groups of people in the society. Through critical discourse analysis, (CDA) this study explicates how the discourse of privatisation supports and legitimates the development and implementation of market oriented education policies in Tanzania and New Zealand.

The thesis further argues that the market panacea espoused in current education privatisation policy reforms has adverse implications for social justice in education and for the state provision of education, particularly in relation to "children at risk". Finally the thesis proffers suggestions for alternative policy interventions and identifies some of the areas that need further research.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincere thanks and gratitude to all people who contributed in various ways towards the accomplishment of this thesis. Although it is not possible to name them all, I have singled out a few for particular mention.

I am grateful to my chief supervisor, Professor John Codd whose support, patience, guidance and encouragement have contributed greatly in shaping this thesis. I am equally grateful to my supervisor, Associate Professor Wayne Edwards, for his advice, encouragement and support in many ways.

My appreciation is extended to the New Zealand Vice Chancellors Committee for granting me a Commonwealth Scholarship Award that enabled me to pursue a PhD programme at Massey University and provided the opportunity to study the New Zealand education policy reforms. My gratitude for financial support is also extended to Massey University and the Clem Hill Memorial Fund that made it possible for me to fulfil my academic obligations; including participating in national and international conferences which have contributed to the refining of some ideas in this thesis.

I am indebted to the government of the United Republic of Tanzania that has granted me the study leave to undertake this programme of study. Thanks are also due to my colleagues and friends in Tanzania, particularly Leonida Mbelle and Martina Rwegelera, who secured and sent me the very much needed reading material from Tanzania.

My gratitude also to my relatives, friends and colleagues, who provided me with the warmth, support and inspiration that kept me going. I would like to single out my husband and friend, Ndibalema Alphonse, for understanding, inspiration, constructive criticism and unconditional support. Special thanks go to my children, Rwezaura, Mwemezi, Rweyemamu, Sophia and Kabyemela. In them, I gathered strength and enthusiasm to complete this task.

Thanks are also extended to two very important persons in my life, my mum and dad. This thesis is a product of the vision of education for a little girl that they set many years ago.

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Glossary of Abbreviations

APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation
CAC	Comparative Administration Group (of the American Society for Public Administration).
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis.
CER	Australia New Zealand Closer Economic Relations Trade Agreement.
CEPA	Comparative Education Policy Analysis approach
DED	District Executive Director (Tanzania).
DEO	District Education officer (Tanzania).
EEC	European Economic Community.
ERO	Education Review Office (New Zealand).
ERP	Economic Recovery Programme
ESR	Education for Self Reliance.
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
G-7	The seven leading Industrial powers
GST	Goods and services tax
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and development. (the World Bank).
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INSET	In-service Teacher Education Programme(Tanzania)
MNCs	Multi-National Corporations
MUCE	Massey University College of Education.
MUCHS	Muhimbili University College of Health Sciences (Tanzania)
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDC	National Development Corporation (Tanzania)
NGOs	Non-government Organisations
NECTA	National Examination Council of Tanzania
NZ	New Zealand
NZME	New Zealand Ministry of education
NZQA	New Zealand Qualifications Authority
OECD	Organisation for economic co-operation and Development
OUT	Open University of Tanzania
PA	Policy Analysis approach
PSLE	Primary school Leaving Examination (Tanzania)
RDD	Regional Development Director
REO	Regional Education Officer
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes.
SIDA	Swedish International development Agency
Std.	Standard or grade in Primary School (Tanzania).
SUA	Sokoine University of Agriculture.
TAA	Tanganyika African Association.
TANU	Tanzania African National Union.
TIE	Tanzania Institute of education.
TNCs	Transnational Corporations
TSC	Teachers Service Commission (Tanzania).
Tsh.	Tanzanian Shilling(s)
TZ	Tanzania
TZME	Tanzania Ministry of education
UN	United Nations
UNDP	<i>United nations Development Programmes</i>
UNICEF	United Nations International children and Education Fund.
UNESCO	<i>United Nations Education</i>
UPE	Universal Primary Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
URT	United Republic of Tanzania

Policy Documents

- NZ-Picot Report NZ Task Force to Review Education Administration (1988)
Administering for Excellence, Wellington, Government Printer.
- NZ-TS
Education New Zealand *Tomorrow's Schools* policy document. NZ Ministry of
(1988), *Tomorrow's Schools*, Wellington, Government Printer.
- NZ-Treasury document New Zealand Treasury (1987) *Government Management: Brief to the
Incoming
Government, Vol. II: Educational Issues*, Wellington, Government printer.
- TZ-ETP Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy* document. URT (1995)
Education and Training Policy, Dar es Salaam, Ministry of Education and
Culture.
- TZ-Task Force Report URT (1993) "Tanzania Education System for the 21st Century", *Report of
the Task Force*, Dar-es Salaam, Ministry of education and culture &
Ministry of Science Technology and Higher Education.
- World Bank document World Bank (1987), "Educational Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa:
Adjustment, Revitalisation and Expansion," *Report No. 6934*, Washington
DC, World Bank, September 15, 1987.

PART I

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Chapter One

Introduction

Between the late 1970s and early 1980s, advanced industrial countries started to experience economic recession that exposed the vulnerability of the capitalist economy; giving rise to the search for more enduring ways for capitalism to consolidate itself. Thus, a resurgence of the capitalist ideology is witnessed, with greater appeal for the basics of capitalism such as free trade, competition, individual achievement, diverse migration and privatisation of social services.

Various terms and synonyms such as "Thatcherism", "The New Right Ideology", "Reaganomics", "neo-Conservatism", "neo-Liberalism" and "Economic Rationalism", have been used to refer to this ideology which places the economic, social and political activities under the direction and control of market forces. Privatisation of physical and human resources is portrayed as a major mechanism for giving the market forces the requisite capacity for such control. Conceived and shaped by the dominant classes in the Western developed countries, this movement, through the existing world economic system (global finance capital), has become a dominant global phenomenon.

Creating doubts about the existing social, economic and political arrangements, this "mono-culture", backed by the economic might of its supporters and the post-cold war euphoria, has forced many nations of the world, "developed" and "developing", to restructure their economies and re-orient their policies and practices for the provision of social services. Task forces, commissions, groups of experts, review committees, etc. have been formed in many countries to analyse the existing social institutions and to recommend future policies to put privatisation into practice. As one of the social institutions, education has not escaped such scrutiny and reform.

This study examines how both Tanzania and New Zealand, following the global trend, sought ways of developing and adopting policies for streamlining the provision of

education in line with the dictates of the market forces; despite their physical, social, economic and technological differences. The difference between Tanzania and New Zealand cannot be over emphasised. Occupying an area of approximately 945,087 square kilometres between one and twelve degrees south of the equator in East Africa, Tanzania is about three times bigger than New Zealand; Tanzania's population of about 30 million people is almost ten times that of New Zealand; and while New Zealand is one of the developed countries, Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in the underdeveloped bloc.

However, each of these diverse countries commissioned education Task Forces in the 1980s to do similar tasks, resulting in each nation effecting education privatisation policy reforms. It is noted, for example that, in 1982, the government of Tanzania appointed a Presidential Commission, commonly referred to as "The Makweta Commission", and assigned it the task of examining the existing system of education in the country and making appropriate recommendations. The Commission produced the document, *Education System in Tanzania Towards the Year 2000* (URT 1984). Likewise, the Department of Education in New Zealand, in 1982, produced a background paper for the OECD reviewers, "Educational Policies in New Zealand", and, in 1985, the Minister for Education appointed a committee which produced "The Curriculum Review" report in 1987. However, the recommendations in the documents mentioned above, in the two countries, were proposing to make the existing education systems offer more or better services rather than restructuring or overhauling them altogether.

By the middle of the 1980s, calls for more radical changes became imminent. Thus, in New Zealand, the Government appointed a Task Force which produced a report, *Administering for Excellence* (1988), commonly referred to as the "Picot Report". From the recommendations of the *Picot Report*, New Zealand produced the *Tomorrow's Schools* (1988)¹ policy statement which has been described by some policy analysts (Codd 1990; Lauder 1990; Grace 1990) as signifying the most significant educational reforms experienced in New Zealand in the present century.

On the other hand, in 1990, the Tanzanian Government appointed a Task Force to review the existing education system and produce a blue-print for the future. The Task Force produced a report entitled, *The Tanzania Education System for the 21st Century* (URT 1993). On the basis of this report, Tanzania developed *The Education and*

¹See Appendix A

Training Policy (URT 1995)², which signifies a turn-around from the education policy existing in Tanzania since the country received its independence.

It is also important to note that, prior to the reforms, both Tanzania and New Zealand shared not only the varied experiences of British colonialism but also Keynesian state welfarism. Between the 1930s and 1980s, under the banner of egalitarianism, New Zealand implemented state welfarism, evident in its economic and social policies, including the national education policy. Similarly, after independence, under the guise of "Ujamaa," (African socialism), the post-colonial state in Tanzania formulated and implemented state welfare policies including Universal Primary Education (UPE). Thus, contemporary reforms, in both countries, meant a shift of assumptions not only about the functions of education but also about the state and society, in general.

It is against this backdrop that this study analyses the contemporary education policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand. With specific reference to educational privatisation policies, the study examines the influences of socio-economic and discursive dynamics on education policy. The study also examines the implications that education privatisation policies hold for the role and function of the state in the provision of education and the contribution of education to social justice.

Statement of the Problem

During the 1980s, largely as a consequence of external economic pressure, the Tanzanian Government adopted a series of "Structural Adjustment Programmes" (SAPs) which have deregulated the economy, given more scope to market forces and greatly reduced the role of the state in the provision of social services, including education. The move to pursue structural adjustment policies has reinforced the trend towards privatisation of education and has had the general effect of reversing the policy of Universal Primary Education to which the Government had made a commitment in 1974. As a consequence, many children throughout Tanzania are now receiving little or no education and the incidence of "out of school children" has become a serious social problem. In this study these children are referred to as "children at risk".

This study examines the influences and circumstances surrounding recent national education policies in Tanzania and compares them with New Zealand's education policy reforms that have occurred since the late 1980s.

²See Appendix B

Focusing on the socio-economic influences on national education policy reforms, the study attempts to explain why countries in different parts of the world, particularly post-colonial nations, have implemented policy reforms in the 1980s. It explores how the education policy reforms are supported and promoted by the discourse of privatisation. The study also discusses the implications of the education privatisation reforms for the provision of education, for the market, and for society in general. Further, the study explores viable policy interventions that may assist in alleviating the adverse effects of the reforms, particularly in Tanzania.

The Purpose Of the Study

The purposes of the study are to establish the historical genesis of contemporary education privatisation policies and the global forces at work; to examine the implications of these policies for social justice and their effects on the provision of compulsory education; and to draw viable policy recommendations for the minimisation of the tension between education privatisation and compulsory education in Tanzania. The thesis focuses on policies contained in Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy* (URT 1995) which are compared to those in New Zealand's *Tomorrow's Schools Policy* (NZ Ministry of Education 1988).

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are:

- i) to examine the influences of socio-economic and discursive dynamics on education policy, with specific reference to education privatisation policy reforms;
- ii) to determine how education privatisation policies indicate both change and consistency with the role of the state in the provision of education under capitalism;
- iii) to examine the implications that education privatisation policies hold for the provision of education and its contribution to social justice; and
- iv) to draw policy recommendations for improvement of education provision particularly in Tanzania.

Lines of Inquiry

In the light of these objectives, this study has been guided by the following lines of inquiry:

- What major changes have occurred on the economic and political scene in Tanzania and New Zealand since industrial capitalism era, and how have these impacted on education policies in both countries?
- What were the key policy documents and what part did they play in the education policy process?
- What are the similarities and differences in education policy reforms of Tanzania and New Zealand?
- What ideological assumptions underlie education policy in both countries?
- What are the major effects of increasing privatisation in both countries?
- What policy recommendations can be drawn from this kind of comparative analysis?

Rationale for Theory

This is a qualitative research study which has greatly benefited from existing literature on the theories of the state, theories of development and education policy; and on discourse analysis, comparative education and policy analysis. These have provided the basic understanding of the scope of the study and the organisation of the research tasks and analysis of data.

Wiersma (1995) contends that, "A theory is a generalisation or a series of generalisations by which we attempt to explain some phenomenon in a systematic manner" (Wiersma 1995:18). He identifies two types of theories according to how they emerge: the "top down" theories (normally referred to as grand theories) that originate

from the research literature and the conceptual writing in the discipline; and the grounded theories that "come from the inductive analysis of the data as the research is conducted". While "top down" theories are mainly associated with basic and quantitative research, grounded theories are associated with applied and qualitative research.

Eisner (in Flinders & Mills 1993) notes that, as late as 1993, grand theories were hard to find in qualitative research, especially ethnographic, narrative and artistically based studies. Eisner explains that, in attempting to make qualitative details of local circumstances vivid to the reader, these studies paid less attention to forms of explanations that are deduced from scientific theory.

The practice of not using grand theories in qualitative studies, however, can be located in arguments about the worth of theory in social sciences that are drawn from the understanding that "social science disciplines differ in fundamental ways from the natural sciences" (Gaynor 1998:7). MacIntyre, (in Gaynor 1998:7)³ argues that social sciences, such as management science, have not developed significant law-like generalisations which are adequate to predict human behaviour or organisational phenomenon. Others (e.g. Becker 1993) contend that arguments for the use of theories in social studies, which is embedded in the "scientific talk", are an unwarranted imposition on qualitative studies, as this creates unnecessary epistemological dilemmas. Becker argues that:

Qualitative research - we might better say research that is designed in the doing; that therefore is not systematic in any impersonal way; that leaves room for, indeed insists on, individual judgement; that takes account of historical, situated detail, and context and all that - the research of that kind is faulted for being exactly all those things and therefore not being able to produce "scientific", objective, reliable knowledge that would support prediction and control. Research that tries to be systematic and impersonal, arithmetic and precise, and thereby scientific, is faulted for leaving out so much that needs to be included, for failing to take account of crucial aspects of human behaviour and social life, for being unable to advance our understanding, for promising much more in the way of prediction and control than it ever delivers...Epistemological issues, for all the arguing, are never settled, and I think it is fruitless to settle them in the way the typical debate looks to. These are simply the commonplaces, in the rhetoric sense, of scientific talk in social sciences, the framework in which debate goes on (Becker 1993:219).

It has been noted, however, that using theory can be "a mixed blessing" (to use Henstrand's (1993) words) for educational researchers. Bringing theory into the

³ MacIntyre's observations are referred and explained by Gaynor, A. J. (1998:7).

research not only requires more time for the researcher to understand the theory/theories he or she is using but also adds to the issues for which the researcher has to be accountable. As Henstrand (1993) explains:

The decision to use theory gives the researcher just one more issue to worry about. Although theory gave me a framework from which to observe and analyse the case, it also forced me to be conscious of the way in which I was using it or not using it (Henstrand 1993:98).

On the other hand, using theory enables the researcher to establish a basis for working through issues as they arise and to gain distance and perspective (Henstrand 1993:99).

Some educational researchers (e.g. Marks 1996, Wiersma 1995, Flinders & Mills 1993) also contend that selecting what counts and framing the social situation requires a theory. Marks (1996) argues, for example, that, even in the grounded theory approach, the researcher has "an a priori" conception of the area or subject of research. Moreover, (Wiersma 1995) adequate theoretical constructs can enhance the 'translatability' of the results of a qualitative research whereby, "translatability refers to the extent to which adequate theoretical constructs and research procedures are used so that other researchers can understand the results" (Wiersma 1995:223).

This indicates that, depending on the study, a theory or theories has or have a role to play in research studies (Wiersma 1995). First, a theory can provide a systematic view of the factors under study as well as identifying the gaps, weak points and inconsistencies that indicate the need for additional research. Secondly, through the process of attaching meaning to facts and placing them in proper perspective, a theory helps in defining the problem. That is, "it helps identify the proper questions to be asked in the context of the specific project" (Wiersma 1995:19). In this study, for example, the decision to analyse the historical context of contemporary policy reforms is aided by the theories of the state and of socio-economic development while the view of education policy making as a process supports the use of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

Sometimes a theory may also "tip off" the researcher on what to look for. Although this role may be interpreted as deterministic, a theory is useful in this regard through suggesting an explanation of observed phenomenon or predicting "the unobserved or undiscovered factors by indicating their presence" (Wiersma 1995:19). Equipped with the theoretical understanding of social justice, for example, the researcher in this study is able to discuss the contributions of education policies to equity or inequalities.

Moreover, a theory may make data obtained within or across studies more meaningful by providing an avenue through which they can be incorporated in a meaningful whole. Wiersma notes that:

Conditions under which research is conducted and data are obtained within and across studies tend to be more valuable when incorporated into a meaningful whole; standing alone they may not mean much. As the facts of research study, the data derive significance from the theory or the theories they fit. Conversely, the theories become acceptable to the extent that they enhance the meaning of the data (Wiersma 1995:19).

By the same token, Eisner argues that, "theory is supposed to be the conceptual vehicle that assigns pattern to individuality"⁴.

This role of theory/theories is relevant to this study because, as a comparative study, a common avenue is important, through which data from New Zealand and Tanzania can be understood. Building on the theories of the state, for example, the study analyses the context of education policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand within the nature, position, role and functions of the post-colonial state in different formations of the capitalist mode of production. Thus, a theoretical understanding of the capitalist mode of production, the capitalist state and education policy, forms the common ground upon which education policy reforms in both Tanzania and New Zealand are analysed.

The role of theory, therefore, "is to provide a framework for conducting research, and it can be used for synthesising and explaining research results" (Wiersma 1995:20).

However, as Wiersma (1995:20) observes, "theories are valuable to the extent that they are useful." That is, a theory valuable in one study may not be appropriate for another study. Thus,

The criterion by which we judge theory is not its truth or falsity, but rather its usefulness. Theories sometimes decrease in usefulness in the light of new knowledge, and they are combined, replaced, and refined as more knowledge is made available (Wiersma 1995:19).

It has been noted, for example, (Edwards 1986) that a grounded theory that provides for an opportunity for the generation of theoretical ideas which are discovered throughout the research process, is more suitable for ethnographic studies "in which the

⁴Quote from Elliot W. Eisner's Foreword to the book edited by Flinders, D. J. & Mills G. E. (1993) *Theory and Concepts in Qualitative Research: Perspectives From the Field*, New York, Teachers College Press (pp. vii-ix).

researcher gathers the data in the field and seeks to present that data faithfully and accurately from the view point of the people who inhabit that field" (Edwards 1986:22).

Grand theories of social, economic and political development, on the other hand, provide the researcher with a tool not only to explain the essence of the problems of development but also to question what is portrayed as conventional understanding and remedy for these "developmental" problems.

It is also important to note that, since education is a wide, interdisciplinary field that draws from many other disciplines and practices, depending on the purpose of an educational research, various theories may be employed. In this study, theories relevant to the understanding of the scope of the study and guiding of the research tasks are presented and analysed in Chapter three, which focuses on theoretical considerations. The theories considered include: theories of the state, theories of development and theories or models of education policy; as well as the theoretical understanding of social justice in education. The section on conceptual framework provides a brief explication of why and how particular theories are useful for this study.

Studies on Education Policy Reforms

Ozga (1987) asserts that, until as recently as the 1970s, the field of education policy was occupied mainly by non-sociologists. She argues that previously it was a confine of specialists in educational or social administration and in social policy. This observation is supported by Hargreaves (1989) who observes that critical overviews, of social contexts of different educational policy initiatives, have been rare. He notes that research on education policy,

focused more directly on policy issues - whether as pragmatic response to the current exigencies of research funding or as a way of providing a more solid foundation of evidence for theoretical claims - has sometimes made it difficult to see the wood for the tree. In developing detailed understandings of the workings of TVEI, low attaining pupils project and the like, they have often lost sight of the social trends and requirements that give these disparate initiatives a more general coherence and logic (Hargreaves 1989:43).

It is worth noting that the early studies of education policy fell under the dominant paradigm of the time, the "empirical-analytic paradigm", (Popkewitz 1984) which assumes that there are distinct general or universal rules of policy making with less regard for specific context or actual circumstances in which policy is formulated. Based on positivism, the studies in this paradigm are mainly descriptive and they concentrate

on what *is* while ignoring or undermining what *ought to be*; thus imposing a distinction between facts and values in policy decisions.

Such an approach to studying policy is problematic as it leads to the conception of policy-making as merely a technical and rational process, "to canvass alternatives; assess cost and benefits and implement choices" (Simeon 1976:550). Such a conception has been rejected by many policy analysts (e.g. Simeon 1976, Dale 1993, Codd 1988) since the 1970s. In this approach, they saw a danger of the emergence of a specialised sub-discipline of "policy science" which would lead to ignoring or simply assuming the social economic and political forces.

An approach to education policy that divorces policy from the social, political and economic contexts within which policy making takes place is considered inadequate because, although the descriptive and quantitative data are important in understanding policy, they are inadequate as they leave out the rules and values which develop and reinforce what is aggregated or observed. In general, policy is not as predetermined, logical and unproblematic as portrayed by studies based on the empirical-analytic paradigm would like us to believe (Crump 1993).

With a shift in paradigm in the 1970s to the symbolic or interpretive paradigm, some researchers on education policy also followed suit in the form of phenomenological studies. The symbolic or interpretive paradigm views social life as rule making and rule governing. Thus, the focus is on the unique human capacity to invent and use symbols. "Rather than making the behaviour of people the facts of science, attention is given to the interaction of and negotiations in social situations through which people reciprocally define expectations about appropriate behaviours" (Popkewitz 1984:41). The emphasis is on the communicative aspect of a social phenomenon. Thus, Popkewitz (1984) contends that the interpretive approach shifts the focus of theory to the nature of discourse rather than behaviour. The emphasis is on defining how reality is constructed through meanings shared by those participating in the organisation, rather than being imposed from outside (Crump 1993:18). Popkewitz (1984) notes, for example, that, using transcribed conversations from the class room, Barnes (1975) analysed the functions of discourse to provide broad and contextually defined definitions for learning and for curriculum.

The focus on discourse is important in understanding policy because it provides room for analysing the ideological hegemony in the policy process. Phenomenological studies may also help in exploring and analysing the context within which a particular policy takes place. Like the studies based on the empirical analytic paradigm, however,

phenomenological studies concern themselves with aspects of *what is* and not *why it is* or *what might be*. The concentration on the phenomenon under study also makes it possible to leave out some of the relevant processes in the wider context.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the debate about education policy was at its peak mainly due to the education reforms that were introduced as a result of a shift from state welfarism to neo-liberalism. As Troyna (1994) notes, by 1990, there was a vast literature on education policy, especially in developed countries. Thus, Troyna (1994) argues that the contemporary education reforms have acted as catalysts for the development of a genre of policy studies which break ranks both with empiricist accounts of education policy and with those which rest upon managerialist perspectives of the policy process.

What is common to these contemporary approaches to education policy studies is the incorporation of what Raab (1994) refers to as critical and sometimes politically committed sociology, including the perspectives on the sociology of knowledge, and of debates about the necessity and possibility of change (e.g. Apple 1985, Dale 1989). Thus, it can be argued that the education policy sociology studies of the 1980s and 1990 are within the paradigm which Popkewitz (1984) terms, "critical science or social science as historical expression paradigm"; a paradigm that is based on critical theory (Dale 1994:39).

Popkewitz (1984:46) argues that, the critical approach to policy, "has interest in practical discourse and hence is akin to historical analysis of social processes". Williams (1977 in Popkewitz 1984:45) identifies two major strands in the critical paradigm: the 'residual' and the 'emergent'. While in the residual strand, the major residues of the past culture are incorporated into the critique for considering alternatives to the dominant culture, the emergent strand offers arguments that are in opposition to the dominant culture and institutions.

Popkewitz (1984:45) argues that "the function of critical theory is to understand the relations among values, interest and action and, to change the world, not to describe it". Thus, in a critical approach, the dynamics of social change, of past and present, are examined to "unmask the structural constraints and contradictions that exist in a determinant society". This is important in understanding education policy because policies are presented differently by different actors and interests (Ball 1993) to achieve different aims. It is important, therefore, to understand the complex interwoven network of the policy process, to explain how policy comes about, whose interests are being served, what is the documented or legislated form of policy and what occurs as outcomes. In that case, the descriptions of the policy process at the same time, can

become prescriptions and advocacy in political struggles (Jennings 1987). As Cox (1980 in Dale 1994:40) observes:

Critical theory is directed to the social and political complex as a whole rather than to the separate parts. As a matter of practice, critical theory, like problem-solving theory takes as its starting point some aspects or particular sphere of human activity. But whereas the problem-solving approach leads to further analytic subdivision and limitation of the issue to be dealt with, the critical approach leads towards the construction of a large picture of a whole of which the initially contemplated part is just one component, and seeks to understand the processes of change in which both parts and whole are involved (Cox 1980:130)⁵.

The advantage of the critical paradigm is that it offers the policy analyst an opportunity to do what Dale (1993) terms, as a study *of policy* and *for policy*. Thus, it allows the study of education policy to capture the socio-political and economic, as well as the "politicity" (Torres 1996:163, Green 1994) of education.

It is important to note that studies in this paradigm are not homogeneous. Troyna (1994) observes that:

Some are embedded in the Marxist framework (Cultural Studies, 1991; Dale, 1992; Hatcher and Troyna, 1994), while others draw on pluralist approaches (Ball 1990a; Kogan et al., 1984; Macpherson and Raab, 1988) and feminist perspectives (Blackmore and Kenway, 1993; Hughes, 1992). It is also possible to discern the influence of various (mainland European) theorists on studies of contemporary education policy. These include Foucault (Ball, 1990a; Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992; Kenway, 1993), Baudrillard (Bowe, Gewirtz and Ball, 1992) Bourdieu and Offe (Codd 1992), and Barthes (Bowe, Ball and Gold, 1992; Maguire, 1991; Rosie, 1992) (Troyna 1994:4).

There are also different ways that the policy analysts have conducted their studies. Troyna (1994:4) further notes that some policy analysts, such as Macpherson and Raab (1988) have relied almost entirely on interviews, and, while others have adapted a political ethnographic approach, some have emphasised primary source documentation.

It is worth noting, however, that some contemporary conditions are creating constraints for conducting educational policy studies within the critical framework. Hargreaves (1989) notes with concern that the decline in the independently funded educational research and the emergence, in its place, of a more cursory, politically tied evaluation of particular initiatives actively discourages penetrating critiques that may reflect poorly on the sponsors. The situation is more grave in developing countries where research is

⁵Cited in Dale (1994:40)

externally funded. Hence, funding agencies, driven with pre-set priorities and objectives or agenda, may seek to control the policy research process. Referring to Anglophone Africa, Hartwell (1994) contends, for example, that:

International agencies which have tried to define the procedures for education policy analysis and planning have tended to highlight the technical aspects of the process. They operate from the assumption that education is a tractable system; that once the proper information is at hand and has been analysed the policy options become evident (Hartwell 1994:30).

Such a perspective not only leads to narrow and technocratic education policy analysis but also curtails critical understanding of policy. Highlighting predicaments of researchers in Tanzania, Broke-Utne (1993) explains the fear of the researchers that penetrating critique may jeopardise their chances of getting sponsorship for any research in future. Consequently, in the 1990s, there have been attempts to separate education from politics. Contrary to many research studies conducted in the 1960s and 1970s, contemporary education research in Tanzania, with a few exceptions, (e.g. Samoff and Sumra 1994) is basically technical and compartmentalised into specific parts of education such as management, funding, curriculum development, etc. A caveat has to be made, however, that, while these component parts of education are important, it is crucial to understand “the processes of change in which both parts and whole are involved” (Cox 1980:130, in Dale 1994:40).

By situating the analysis of education policy reform in Tanzania within a larger contextual framework, this study seeks to develop a holistic understanding of the analysis of educational policies, as opposed to the sectoral and technocratic analyses and interventions.

Another important issue emanating from the literature is that, although contemporary policy reforms are global and driven by the assumption that economic regeneration could be achieved through improvement in education, (Marks 1996) there are very few comparative studies (Lawton 1992) of these reforms. The few existing comparative policy studies compare countries within the same bracket of economic development. This study seeks to cross this barrier and to reveal the issues of concern for both developed and developing countries. This study conducts a comparative policy analysis of education policy reforms both in Tanzania and New Zealand. The study also examines education policy reforms within the shift of assumptions from the emphasis on the markets failure, as portrayed by the Keynesian model, to the governments' failure as portrayed by economic rationalism.

It is also worth noting that, in Tanzania, market-oriented education practices were introduced concomitantly with other economic liberalisation programmes long before an official educational policy statement was produced. That is, although market-oriented education reforms in Tanzania started in the 1980s, Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy* document was produced in 1995. Thus, when this study commenced in 1995, no study to analyse the *Education and Training Policy* document was in existence. This study, therefore, seeks to examine the meaning of the policy statements; to expose the discourse of privatisation contained in the policy text as well as the implications of the policy so as to set a basis upon which various educational issues are underscored and viable alternatives can be explored.

Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis is organised in six parts: the introductory part in which the writer states the problem, the purpose and objectives of the study; as well as a discussion of the rationale for theory and studies on education policy reforms. This part also delineates the organisation of the study.

It is envisaged in this study that the theoretical understanding of the main concepts in the study is important not only to guide the process of collecting and analysing the relevant data and discussing the findings but also in mapping the scope of the study. Theoretical considerations have also helped in identifying the methodology appropriate for conducting this study. Thus, **Part II**, on the conceptual and methodological framework, discusses the key concepts which are basic to understanding contemporary education policy reforms and sets the foundation upon which the methodology pertinent to this study has been constructed. In chapter two, on theoretical considerations, the dynamics of education are analysed in relation to the concepts of policy, the state, socio-economic development, as well as social justice and privatisation. In chapter three, discourse analysis and comparative education policy analysis (CEPA) approaches are discussed so as to establish their appropriateness as the methodology for studying contemporary education policy reforms.

With the view that policies, particularly educational policies, do not develop in a vacuum, social, political and economic imperatives (Codd et al. 1990, Dale 1989, Gordon and Pearce 1993) form the context within which they are conceived, developed and maintained, **Part III** focuses on the analysis of the context within which educational privatisation policies have developed, both in Tanzania and New Zealand. Acknowledging that the context is both internal and external, the study traces the

historical genesis of contemporary reforms within the transformation of capitalism and the changing position and functions of the capitalist state, in general, and the colonial and post-colonial state in New Zealand and Tanzania, in particular.

Part IV focuses on Tanzania's and New Zealand's education policy reform documents. It is contended that a particular discourse compatible to a transformation of capitalism is developed to promote the positioning of the state and the market order that it upholds. Thus, it is argued that a discourse of privatisation has developed within the globalisation process to support and promote global finance capitalism and the nature, functions and positioning of the state in that formation. As a corollary, the education policy documents that are produced are couched within this supportive discourse.

Part V discusses the implications of education privatisation policies for social justice in education and for the state's provision of education. It is argued that the market panacea espoused by the policy responses to the crises of the 1980s and 1990s obscures the relationship between education and social justice and has adverse implications for state's provision of education, particularly, as it relates to "children at risk".

Part VI comprises the conclusions drawn from this study and the researcher's suggestions for education policy development as well as some areas identified further research.

PART II

CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This part of the thesis, first, discusses concepts which are basic to the understanding of contemporary educational policy reforms and, second, sets the foundation upon which the methodology for this study has been conceived. The main objective of this part is to analyse existing theoretical assumptions about education policy within broad theories of the state and social, economic and political development; hence, to establish their relative pertinence in understanding contemporary education policy reforms. Comparative policy analysis and discourse analysis are also analysed and discussed in order to establish their appropriateness as methods for studying education policy reforms.

The part comprises two chapters; Chapter two, on theoretical considerations and chapter three on methodology.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Considerations

This section discusses the nature of education policy and the theoretical perspectives of the state and socio-economic development. The discussion examines the nature of education policy and sets a basis upon which the nature, role, position and functions of the capitalist state can be understood, particularly the colonial and the post-colonial state. It also questions the “conventional theories of development” and suggests an approach that would allow the examination of development in the social, political and economic spheres. It argues that the "socio-political economy approach" to development, that gives first priority to the development of people as opposed to material things that are given first priority in the conventional theories of development, would promote what has been referred to as “appropriate development” (Trainer 1989). The "socio-political economy approach" also emphasises the status of people as social entities that would contribute to their collective development. In that regard, policies that contribute to development should ensure social justice in terms of fair distribution of resources, fair processes of production and distribution of goods and services and collective responsibility for progress. Such an approach provides an opportunity for assessing the contribution of contemporary education to development through analysing whether current education privatisation policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand are contributing positively towards social justice or are creating tensions between education and social justice.

Education Policy

In attempting to explain contemporary educational policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand, this study considers literature on policy and, particularly, on education policy. This is based on the view (Ball 1994, Crump 1993, Guba 1984) that, in approaching a policy task, it is imperative to have a clear understanding of the nature of policy as this would not only provide a clear perspective of the scope of the task but also provide an understanding of how others see policy. Crump (1993) and Guba (1984) also argue that the way which we define policy will strongly influence the way we study it.

To underscore the conceptual meaning of policy, however, is not a simple matter, since various policy analysts and studies on policy sociology provide different definitions.

As Ball observes, "It is not difficult to find the term policy being used to describe different things at different points in the same study" (Ball 1993:10).

Crump (1993) identifies various predominant approaches to policy to which he refers as policy models or theories. These include systems models, the contingency model, the incremental model, the elite model, the problem solving model, the phenomenological model and the process model⁶.

In the systems theories, policy is viewed as an output of a production system. The system is made of three components. The open system models, for example, comprise the inputs, that is the desired product by the community, which can be local, regional or national; the system, that is the political structures and procedures, which is generally institutional and authoritative but can be of any size; and the outputs which are whatever happens in terms of actions or decisions. Lunenberg and Ornstein (1991:213 in Crump 1993) contend that the open system model applies to all levels of policy; the micro, comprising small scale or localised policy making; and the meso level at the middle, comprising the regional bureaucracies, union agencies and parent organisations that play a role in policy making at that level or interact in policy making at micro or macro levels. While the macro level is the level of the state, or nation, dominated by political institutions and powerful individuals, the mega level is the international sphere, which in recent years is generating remarkable similarities in policy development and policy research (Crump 1993:15). Thus, similarities in the current education privatisation policy reforms seem to suggest that their origins are at the mega level.

It has been argued (Crump 1993) that, although the *open systems model* does not provide a true representation of what happens in each level of the system, it appears to represent what happens in real life. Another merit of systems theories is that they can be valuable in highlighting policy issues because they provide an opportunity to focus on the environment in which the policy is to occur, the system itself and a consideration of the outcome.

The systems theories, particularly small group theory, can also be used to explore policies within sub-systems, such as schools or organisations within a school; hence, producing an overview of the environment in which policy is to be implemented. However, the suggestion, (Dahl in Ham and Hill 1984:26-28) that policy decisions are determined by the relative intensity of the preferences of the members of the group,

⁶For an elaborate analysis of each model see Crump (1993).

leaves much to be desired as it is difficult to attribute cause and effect analysis to any policy decision, except in clear-cut situations, which are rare (Crump 1993:14).

Some views of systems models are based on an attempt to explain social behaviour in an educational setting. Crump notes that:

In this model systems are perceived as two-dimensional: a normative dimension (which provides insights into the conceptualisation of the institution) and the personal dimension (which provides insights into the personal and individual components). While this view of a social system has merit, it neglects the level of interaction between these two dimensions and does not explicitly acknowledge the interaction of either or both dimensions with external factors (Crump 1993:14-15).

Another form of systems theory is the *rational model* (Dye 1984:30) or the *public finance model* (Lane 1990). This model is based on the assumption that there is no difference between economic and social policy. As a corollary, it propounds that all policies must demonstrate cost and benefits.

This model has several weaknesses. Not only is the rational model based on incorrect positivist assumptions (Chalmers 1976), which presume a rational quantitative measurement of value preference, a predictive capacity and rational decision making, but also "there are so many barriers to rational decision making that it rarely takes place at all in Governments" (Dye, 1984:32). This model gives priority to the economic factors in policy decision making: suggesting that those policies that do not demonstrate economic cost and benefits should not be pursued, even if they exhibit social benefits. Thus, Crump (1993) observes that, while this model may be useful for analytical purposes, it is misdirected in its search for rationalism as a prime factor in policy making.

However, the rational model has been influential in promoting neo-liberal market economy policies that have been introduced in many countries of the world in contemporary times. This is because economic rationalism, an ideology upon which these policies have been based, conforms to this model. Describing economic rationalism, Codd (1998) contends that:

The term *economic rationalism* refers to the dominance of the economy and economic processes over all areas of state policy-making. It is an ideology which has the primary objective of achieving a total rationalisation of the agencies of the state, including educational institutions, to bring them into line with the policy prescriptions of free-market economics... (Codd 1998:7).

Thus, as Crump (1993:15) contends, the rational model "was espoused not only in education, but also in the guise of economic rationalism during the late 1980s and 1990s". The model is particularly relevant for this study as both Tanzania and New Zealand have been subjected to economic rationalism and it is upon this ideology that contemporary education reform policies in both countries are based.

The incremental model, on the other hand, suggests that policy should be an addition to an earlier policy, so as to extend what exists rather than take risk with something completely new. Accordingly, patches and pieces are added to the existing policy, altering its general thrust and providing a new rationale; therefore, creating a new form of the old policy (Crump 1993). The form of policy development that existed for almost a century in New Zealand, and for about twenty years in Tanzania, before structural adjustment policies, subscribes to this model.

Because they do not propose major departure from norms and ways of doing things, incremental policies are found to enjoy popular support. Crump (1993) asserts that:

This approach is seen to be easier to cost, less likely to go wrong, more likely to be supported by those in power and by workplace or political superiors, and more likely to enjoy public support because no radical change is proposed (Crump 1993:16).

He further observes that the incremental model is quite familiar to those involved in education. It is favoured by hierarchical, bureaucratic systems and suits the political environment for most ministers of education. Such an observation seems to be supported by Beeby's contention that:

Unless there is some political upheaval that goes beyond the routine changing of democratic governments a [educational] myth rarely dies a sudden death. Even when two myths are in partial conflict, the old myth, like many ancient faiths, is quietly absorbed into the new with a fresh interpretation of terms...There is an inevitable continuity in myths, however deferent they may appear (Beeby in Renwick 1986:xvi).

It has been noted, (Crump 1993) however, that policy-making in the 1980s and 1990s deflected from the incremental model, deliberately taking away decision making from the bureaucracy so that external opinions and more controversial policy strategies could be introduced and implemented. Moreover, this model also suggests an equilibrium approach to policy reforms⁷.

⁷The equilibrium approach to policy reforms is discussed later in this section.

Another model for understanding policy is the *contingency model*. This model is based on the organisational theory which suggests that there are no two work places which are exactly the same and that there are divergent variables which will affect the intended action and outcome. Consequently, it recognises environmental influences on organisations and their policy procedures (Luthan & Todd 1977 in Crump 1993). The model also maintains the system perspective and views the organisation as comprising interrelated systems (Crump 1993). Crump (1993:19) contends that, although this model avoids "the abstraction of more basic systems approaches and refutes the search for 'one-best-way', it is a model weak on theoretical possibilities and one caught up in identifying criteria for competency, performance and systems evaluation".

The elite model, on the other hand, constructs policy as the preferences and values of the governing elites. In this model, the elite is seen as all powerful and conservative while the ordinary citizens are viewed as passive, disinterested, even ignorant. Thus, policy becomes a top-down procedure, manipulative and one way (Crump 1993:17). Crump (1993) asserts that this model has been used by leaders of various movements such as the civil rights, feminist, environmental or literacy movements. He points out, however, that, in the 1980s and 1990s, the elite model is under challenge. The main argument against the model (Crump 1993) is that policies set by the 'all knowing elite' are dangerous even when they are for the benefit of the citizen because the end should not justify the means. Unfortunately, Crump's arguments do not discriminate between those policies that are meant to promote social justice and those that promote subjugation and control.

However, the use of the elite model in the education setting may be challenged on the basis that it can be a tool of state functionaries and/or a means of influence for intellectuals or teacher-union leaders over the teaching professionals, the students and the parents. It is worth noting that similar arguments have been used by supporters of education privatisation policies, in the developed nations such as New Zealand, to challenge the public education system by claiming that it has been captured by the 'all knowing' providers. In developing countries, including Tanzania, such arguments have been used to challenge policies that are claimed to have been developed by the 'all knowing' political elite to frustrate the professionals.

Another model for understanding policy is *the problem solving model*. Building on Dubnick and Bardes (1983:5), Crump (1993) observes that the problem solving model is based on the premise that public policies are responses to and sources of problems. Accordingly, a policy has the role of dealing with issues and attempting solutions as well as creating problems. The model suggests that policy creates problems for those

people, groups or institutions that it does not address or satisfy, as well as generating problems through the very process of being put into practice (Crump 1993:19). Although this model falls into the trap of making policy decisions appear to be a technical issue, it has merit in its suggestion that policy making is a continuous process.

It can be argued that the systems theories or models, the incremental model, the rational model, the contingency model, the elite model and the problem solving models, fall into the empirical-analytic approach to the study of policy. However, it has been noted (Popkewitz 1984, Simeon 1976, Dale 1993, Codd 1988) that the empirical-analytic approach to the study of policy is inadequate because it leads to the conception of policy making as just a technical and rational process; thus, removing policies from the social, political and economic contexts within which they are made.⁸

In the *phenomenological model*, on the other hand, the emphasis is on defining how reality is construed through meanings shared by those participating in an organisation or a particular setting. Thus, depending on the setting, the phenomenological model may be applied to both micro and macro settings. However, the model values situation policy development in order to take into account the varied needs and local conditions. As such, it supports a conflict approach to policy reforms and allows greater participation in policy-making. It is contended, however, (Crump 1993) that policy is not merely phenomenological as there are broader political, communicative and ethical factors which often outweigh the meanings attributed through the phenomenological model.

This thesis asserts that the phenomenological model falls into the *symbolic or interpretive paradigm* which focuses on the unique human capacity to invent and use symbols and which emphasises the communicative aspects of a social phenomenon (Popkewitz 1984). The focus on the communicative aspects (discourse) is important in understanding policy because it provides room for analysing the ideological hegemony in the policy process. In that regard, the phenomenological model may also fall into the critical paradigm⁹. However, the phenomenological model concentrates more on *what is* and ignores what *ought to be*.

A much more recent view of policy is *the process model* (Crump 1993). In this model, policy is seen as a political process of:

⁸More discussion of the empirical-analytic approach in the methodology section, pp. 75-76

⁹More about interpretive and critical paradigm in the methodology section, pp. 76-79.

Defining demands for action; developing responses and potential solutions; building support for these through gaining a degree of control over the decision-making or exercising existing power; legitimating the policy through a new discourse (by introducing jargons and new words or redefining existing language) and restructuring the institution; organisation or community to increase the likelihood that the policy will be implemented (Crump 1993:20).

The model acknowledges the power relations in the society and urges the policy analyst "to identify the controls (particularly the distributive control) so as to discover who makes the policy, what is its nature, what does it hope to achieve, why was it proposed at the time and what was not made the subject of policy" (Foster, 1981 in Crump 1993:20).

Crump (1993) notes that the process model has been used by intending reformists across the political spectrum. Thus, it is noted (Crump 1993) that:

While some see it as a valid way of pushing social reforms for the poor and disadvantaged, others see it as a useful tool for refocusing policy (through reference to economic imperatives) on conservative ideals (Crump 1993:21).

The process model has been criticised for being basically a systems model, since it still revolves around inputs and outputs through a linear process of problem identification, formulation, legitimation and evaluation (e.g. Crump 1993:21). In this way (goes the criticism), it has remained exclusivist and, at times, elitist. To these critics, the process model is seen as "a model that does not challenge the systemic bureaucratic grip on the policy process and can be used to foster narrow vested interests" (Crump 1993:21).

Ball's work (1990), on the policy sociology of the curricular and organisational changes brought about in Britain during the 1980s, serves to elucidate the above weaknesses of the process model. However, the inclusion of the variables within and outside the structure affecting policy implementation in the task of evaluation may significantly minimise the weaknesses of the process model. In that case, evaluation of policy implementation also becomes a "deconstructionist" activity which puts things apart so that one can comment on the likely actual consequences, the distributional impact of policies and the associated power and discourse (Ball 1990:1).

It is worth noting, however, that the process model falls within the critical paradigm which "has interest in practical discourse and hence akin to historical analysis of social processes"(Popkewitz 1984). Based on critical theory, the critical paradigm covers both

the phenomenological model and the process model. On critical theory, Dale (1994) argues that:

[It] stands apart from the prevailing order of the world and asks how that order came about. [It] does not take institutions and social and power relationships for granted but calls them into question by concerning itself with their origins and how and whether they might be in the process of changing... Critical theory is directed to the social and political complex as a whole rather than to the separate parts (Dale 1994:39).

Thus, a critical approach examines social changes within their socio-historical contexts. Invoking Foucault and Offe, Ball (1993) argues that "policies typically posit a restructuring, redistribution and disruption of power relations, so that different people can and cannot do different things". However, since "power is multiplicitious, overlain, interactive and complex, policy texts enter rather than simply change power relations"; thus, "practice and 'effects' of policy cannot be simply read-off from texts and are the outcome of conflict and struggle between 'interests' in the context" (Ball (1993:13).

It is important, therefore, to understand the complex nature of the policy process as well as policy texts. Thus, in order to understand the education policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand, it is important to analyse the context as well as the policy documents.

The ongoing discussion of the literature on the nature of policy also suggests that politics is an essential component of policy. In understanding education policy, therefore, it is important to understand the political arena at the centre of which is the state.

The State and Education

It is the contention of this study that a clear understanding of the state is important not only in understanding education policy but also in understanding contemporary education policy reforms. This is based on the conviction that education is neither politically nor technically neutral (Torres 1995:163). Invoking Freire's (in Torres 1995) consistent claims that there is an inherent "politicity" of education that has epistemological, analytical and ethical implications, Torres (1995) argues that this politicity also relates not only to the subtle linkage between education and power but also to the state and public education as contested arenas and sites for distribution of goods and services and competition involving political-economic projects (Freire 1994

in Torres 1995, Torres 1995). This is, in part, supported by Archer (1984) who observes that, most of the time, "most of the forms education takes are the products of political struggles. They bear the marks of concession to allies and compromise to opponents" (1984:2). In understanding education policy, therefore, it is important to understand the state, which in most cases is at the centre of the political arena.

Further, as noted by Codd, et al. (1990), Carnoy (1992) and Torres (1995), how one theorises the state has direct implications for how one views education. Torres (1995) argues that the prevailing notions of the state held by policy makers and researchers influence the dominant research agenda, the analysis of educational problems and policy prescriptions. At a practical level, theories of the state held by government coalitions and educational bureaucracies influence not only research but also the planning and operation of educational systems. Thus, Carnoy (1992:143) asserts that almost all analyses of educational problems have implicit in them a theory of the state, although only a few describe or articulate that theory.

Moreover, during the 20th century, education has increasingly been the function of the state (Codd 1988, Torres 1995). Torres (1995:262) notes that, in the 20th century, educational systems and practices are sponsored and mandated, organised and certified by the state.

The politicity of education policy is also captured by Green (1994) when he refers to the policy question. He asserts that:

A policy question is a request for a fairly stable, but modifiable authoritative line of action aimed at securing an optimal balance between different goods, all of which must be pursued, but cannot be jointly maximised. To such questions there are no purely technical solutions, a point that is revealed by the aetiology of policy questions. They appear to arise from conflicts among humans over the distribution of goods, i.e., conflicts of interest. However, the deeper roots of such questions lie not in a conflict of human interests, but in the incompatibility of the actual goods that human beings seek. Policy questions ask how to allocate such goods. But this allocation is the business of politics. No policy without politics nor politics without polity (Green 1994:unpaged).

The notion of the state, particularly the inter-relationship between the state and education, therefore, is important in understanding not only education policy but also education policy reforms. It is important to note, however, that there is no single view of the state. That is, there exist various views about the state which are sometimes grouped into different approaches or theories of the state.

Education and Theories of the State

The nature and role of the state has been a focus of attention for scholars, academics and states-people for a long time from the early Greek thinkers to the present. As a result, various theories on the essence of the state have been discussed. In this part, the study considers four different approaches to the understanding of the state as identified by Ham and Hill (1993). These include: the pluralist, the corporatist, the elitist as well as the Marxist theories.

The *pluralists* view the state as a neutral entity that draws its strength from all groups of people in a democratic society. Arguing that, in the democratic society, power is so widely distributed that “no group is without power to influence decision-making, and equally no group is dominant” (Ham and Hill 1984:27), the pluralists insist on the importance of multiple channels through which the citizens can control their political leaders and shape the development of public policies (Dunleavy and O’Leary 1987). This makes voting and elections essential for directing and controlling government in a democratic society. In that case, education may seem to be a process where the immature are brought to identify with the principles and forms of life of the mature members of the society (Torres 1995:258) and, hence, in future, to be able to participate in its governance. This subscribes in part to Gramsci’s suggestive hypothesis that education as part of the state is fundamentally a process of formation of social conformism (Torres 1995:259). By viewing the state as a neutral entity, however, the pluralists fail to note an essential part of Gramsci’s thesis about education and the state which views the state as an instrument of rationalisation with educational systems, and schools in particular, as privileged instruments for *socialisation of a hegemonic culture*.¹⁰

It is important to note that, although different writers in the pluralist group view the role of government differently, they all limit their study to one aspect of the state; namely the government. Other weaknesses of the pluralist approach include the fact that the distribution of power is less pluralistic than they seem to suggest (Bachrach and Baratz 1970, Clegg in Ham and Hill 1984) and that they ignore non-decision-making (Clegg and Dunkerly 1980)¹¹. These are serious inadequacies because taking the pluralistic view of the distribution of power may lead to focusing on the surface level of power,

¹⁰Torres (1995) notes that Gramsci understood hegemony as a process of social and political domination in which the ruling classes establish their control over the classes allied to them through moral and intellectual leadership. Also Gramsci referred to hegemony as the dual use of force and ideology to reproduce social relations between the ruling and subaltern classes

¹¹Cited in Ham and Hill (1984)

and hence, fail to identify the structures of domination and the rules within which power is exercised. It has been noted, (Ham and Hill 1984) for example, that:

Drawing on the works of writers who have emphasised the importance of nondecision-making and political routines, Clegg and Dunkerly maintain that the power of capital does not have to be exercised to be present because it is enshrined in the routines of capitalist societies (Ham and Hill 1984:179).

This is important in understanding the social institutions of the state, such as education, because it is through such institutions that legitimacy and adherence to such routines are ensured.

Another weakness of the pluralists, as Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987) note, is that they rule out the possibility that individuals could have interests which are not expressed as preferences in the electoral system.

The *corporatists*, on the other hand, contend that, through the democratic processes initiated and maintained by the state, various political interests can be regulated. According to Winklers (in Ham and Hill 1993), the state plays an independent and dominant role in its relationship with labour and capital; a view which is similar to Weber's argument about the ability of bureaucracies to exercise power (Ham and Hill 1993). In that regard, education becomes a source of power. According to Ham and Hill (1993), the corporatists' thesis is that the state not only supports the process of accumulation but actually directs it.

Thus, like the pluralists, the corporatists envisage the role of the state as being to define, protect and promote public interests. Thus, education as part of the state is viewed as value free and politically neutral. The corporatist approach also shares with the pluralists the weakness of giving the state a significant role of an autonomous actor. Further, it does not recognise the advantage of capital, not only over labour but also over the capitalist state which, according to Dale (1989), depends for its resources on the private accumulation of capital.

The *elite* theory, as espoused by Pareto, Mosca and Mills (in Ham and Hill 1993), points to the concentration of power in the hands of a minority. The elite theory contends that all societies have two classes; that of a few who rule and the majority that is ruled. According to the elite theorists, power accrues from a variety of sources, including occupation of formal office, wealth, technical expertise, knowledge, military might, birth-rights, control of important resources and so on. By the same token,

Bottomore (1966) makes a distinction between the political elite that is made up of those individuals who actually exercise power at any given time and the political class comprising the political elite and politicians in opposition, trade union leaders, business people and politically active intellectuals.

The elite theory has been seen by some authors (e.g. Dunleavy and O'Leary 1987) as an elaboration on the pluralist theory of the state because the existence of elites is not incompatible with pluralistic democracy as competition between and among them protects democratic government (Ham and Hill 1993). Using a Marxist critique, Miliband (in Ham and Hill 1993), on the other hand, contends that the power elite is but the ruling class by another name. These observations by the critics of elite theory are supported by research findings in advanced countries as well as Third World countries. Referring to USA, Howley, et al. (1993) note, for example, that research seems to provide clear evidence that schools sort students to recreate in each generation the economic stratification of the previous generation. They observe that:

In summary, we find that the research simply does not support the meritocratic rationale for schools' practice of sorting students. Instead, it seems to provide clear evidence that schools sort students for the purpose of recreating in each generation the economic stratification of the previous generation. Although individual students may use their educational attainment as a way to escape the economic lot of their parents, the majority of students do not find that schooling offers a very promising avenue of social mobility (Howley, et al. 1993:unpaged).

Studies conducted in developing countries in contemporary times (e.g. Ishumi 1984, Mbilinyi 1982, Samoff and Sumra 1994) also support similar findings. Problems of primary school leavers, unemployment and urban poverty indicate that schooling is no longer providing a 'social safety net' as it used to in the early period of its inception.

Thus, the pluralist, corporatist and the elite theories of state seem to overlook the process by which schools promote the ideological hegemony of dominant groups, resulting in what critical theorists (e.g. Bourdieu & Passerson 1977) term "cultural reproduction". The lack of historical-structural analysis of educational process in capitalist societies is also identified as one of their main flaws (Torres 1995).

The *Marxist* theories, on the other hand, view the state as the mediator of power to protect the interests of the most powerful group - the dominant class. As Lenin (1917) noted:

According to Marx the state is an organ of class rule for the oppression of one class by another; it is the creation of "order", which legalises and

perpetuates this oppression by moderating the conflict between classes.
(Lenin 1917:2).

The same sentiment is expressed by Anderson (1974:11) who asserts that the state is the "intricate machinery of class domination".

In the Marxist theories of the state, therefore, ownership (or the control of the means of production for power within the state) is central for understanding the state. Thus, Ham and Hill (1993) observe that the strength of the Marxist approach to the understanding of the state lies in its analysis of the significance of ownership or the control of the means of production for power within the state. Accordingly, the theory has the mode of production as its unit of analysis under which the state is an essential means of class domination. As a corollary, they refer to the feudal state, the capitalist state, etc., depending on which class is powerful in a particular mode of production. Thus, under capitalism, the state protects the interests of the bourgeoisie with social institutions like education and religion as value vehicles for defence and justification of bourgeois domination.

The Marxist theories of the state, examine and articulate the nature of the colonial and post-colonial state (such as that of Tanzania and New Zealand) and contextualise it within the capitalist mode of production. According to the Marxist and neo-Marxist conceptualisations of the state, the colonial state is seen (Carnoy 1984) as an extension of capitalist relations of production from the metropolis to the colonial territories. The colonial state, like the metropolitan state, acts in defence of the interests of the owners of capital (the capitalist class) and their bid to expropriate resources and make profit on investment. The post-colonial state is seen (Frank, 1971) as a reformation of the colonial state where the interests of the foreign owners of capital and the rising national capitalist class (compradorial bourgeoisie) are protected and safeguarded.

Ham and Hill (1993) and Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987) note that the Marxists, build on the view that the state is a whole set of institutions like the legislature, the executive, the military, police, judiciary and others, all of which work towards preserving the relations of production. In this regard, therefore, the Marxists assert that the function of the state is to co-ordinate and manage the economic crisis generated by the mode of production through political and ideological interventions. In the Marxist view, therefore, the role of the capitalist state is the maintenance of the capitalist mode of production. Thus, the main functions of the capitalist state are the preservation of order, the promotion of capital accumulation and the manufacture of legitimacy.

Carnoy (1984) notes that the Marxists distinguish between coercive and ideological state apparatus. The police, judiciary and military would be representative of the former, while social institutions such as education and religion represent the latter. The main function of the coercive state apparatus is the preservation of order through promotion and legitimation of the processes of capital accumulation and distribution. Education, as one of the state ideological institutions, helps in the promotion of capital accumulation and in the manufacture of legitimation of class domination. As Carnoy (1974) argues, the class bias in an educational system is derived from the class bias in the economy. He notes that, "the class system of education provides a vehicle for one class to "civilise" the other and to ensure that society remains orderly and safe, and that the ruling class stays at the top of the social ladder and retains political power" (Carnoy 1974:346).

With a similar view of education, it has been contended (Apple 1990) that the content and form of school curriculum are so ideological in nature that the ideas and culture associated with the dominant class are the ideas and content of schooling. The concept of *hegemony*, as propounded by Gramsci, (1971/1972)¹² also helps to establish the relationship between education and class domination. Pinar and Bowers (1992:168) note that Gramsci employed the concept of hegemony in two senses:

First, hegemony referred to a process of domination whereby the ruling class is said to exercise political control through its intellectual and moral leadership of the allied classes (Gramsci 1985). (This is the sense in which Marx and Engels used the term.) Second, hegemony referred as well to the use of force and ideology in the reproduction of class relations (Aronowitz & Giroux 1985, P. 88). Thus, hegemony is understood to occur via the use of force and via the shaping of human consciousness (Pinar and Bowers 1992:168).

The Marxist approach is criticised for ignoring non-class based struggles, and for its economic determinism. These criticisms are mainly based on the recognition of religious, gender or ethnic struggles as well as the growing disenchantment with the embedded 'reproduction theory' which, in the early 1980s, came to be perceived as "a discourse of despair" (Pinar and Bowers 1992:170). Pinar and Bowers (1992) note, for instance, that Giroux:

Characterised the reproduction theory of the 1970s as a "discourse of despair" as it ignored the possibilities of human thought and enlightened action...Reproduction failed to inspire struggle; it was, in Giroux's words, a "myth of total domination" (Pinar and Bowers 1992:169-170).

¹²Cited in Pinar and Bowers (1992).

Thus, it is noted (Pinar and Bowers 1992:170) that, between 1980 and 1984, the “theory of resistance” was promoted. This theory demanded analysis of those social practices that constituted the class-based experiences of day to day existence in schools. Pinar and Bowers (1992) observe that supporters of the resistance theory, particularly in terms of school curriculum, (e.g. Willis 1981, Giroux 1981, 1983, Apple 1982, Apple and Weis 1983) called for the development of a notion of radical pedagogy based on the early works of Paul Freire. Giroux (1981:24)¹³ emphasised that, at the core of radical pedagogy: “Must be the aim of empowering people to work for change in the social, political, and economic structure that constitute the ultimate source of class-based power and domination”.

It has been noted, however, (Pinar and Bowers 1992), that the support for resistance theory was short lived. It was realised that these moments of individual resistance (such as teacher resistance) are never “far from the surface” (Apple 1982a:269). Pinar and Bowers (1992:169-171) observe, for example, that, after some time, Willis noted that “the resistance of his ‘lads’ functioned re-productively: their resistance to mental labour functioned to reproduce their entrapment in the working class”. After examining the possible consequences of site resistance, Apple (1982b) also realised that even the terrain of resistance can be viewed as determined by capital interest, not by those resisting. He concluded that, despite resistance, reproduction continues. Thus, Pinar and Bowers (1992) assert that, after only a few years, resistance seemed to be in danger of being swallowed by reproduction.

It should be noted that some extent of determinism is positive and progressive, as it helps in understanding the essence of things. As the movement beyond simple reproduction (Apple and Weis 1983) is set in motion, so is the move towards locating site resistance within wider class struggles. Apple and Weis (1983) argue, for example, that meaningful intervention in the schools must be “a kind of praxis and that the connection between the schools and the larger society must be made” (Pinar and Bowers 1992:172). Increasingly, there has been a call (McCarthy & Apple 1988) for theoretical work that demonstrates how race, class, and gender interconnect and how economic, political and cultural power express themselves in education.

Moreover, if one looks closely beyond the “non-class struggles,” one would note that the conflicts (be they religious, gender or ethnic) are based on the relations of production, especially the ownership of the means of production and the produce of

¹³Cited in Pinar and Bowers (1992:170)

labour; thus, they are basically class struggles. The problem arises when these struggles are taken in isolation and at surface value. As Wright (1995) cautions:

If the essence of the phenomenon is seen to coincide directly with the phenomenon itself, then any attempt to explain the forms and functions of such social forms as money, capital, and the state is restricted to what is directly observable (Wright 1995: 239).

As this thesis explicates later, this would also apply to educational phenomena such as truancy. If the phenomenon of truancy is dealt with at its face value without deeper analysis of its essence, there is a greater chance of dealing with symptoms at the expense of deeper socio-political issues that are at the core of the problem. Thus, seemingly non-class struggles, in essence, may be deeply embedded in class conflicts.

By rejecting the separation between the phenomenon and its essence, the Marxist approach provides a holistic view of the state and its context (that is, the relations of production, the politico-juridical forms of appearance and their corresponding discourses). It has been noted, however, (Wright 1995:20, Colletti 1972:7-8, and Sayer 1987:84-88) that “this separation is no illusion, but is precisely the form in which the capitalist social relations of production actually appear at the surface level society” (Wright 1995:20).

A clear understanding of such appearances has to be situated within the class based economy. It is important to note that the formation of the class based economy (e.g. capitalist economy) represents the processes whereby individuals are abstracted from their social, materialist contexts and material things are abstracted from the social relations that produce them (Wright 1995: 238); thus, obscuring the relationship between economic and social relations.

Thus, universal suffrage mediated by the capitalist state, is seen as an instrument of bourgeois rule which is incapable of offering more to the working class than what is allowed by capital. In contemporary times, this is to some extent supported by Dale (1991) and Bertram (1993) who observe that Keynesian welfarism is allowed only when it does not adversely affect capital accumulation.

Further, by taking the mode of production as the unit of analysis, the Marxist approach transcends the notion of the "state in general" and observes the nature, position and functions of the state within its historical context. As Wright (1995:vii) argues, "for Marx, the modern state formation is emphatically a historical category and not a synonym for any and all forms of political power". Thus, he further observes that “for

Marx, the modern state formation is in fact essential to, and inseparable from, the actual configuration of capitalist development” (Wright 1995:vii).

This historical approach to the state enables Marxist theories to explain the nature, role and function of the state in different contexts created by the difference in environment at particular periods of time. Such an approach would help, for example, in understanding some of the differences that can be observed between the colonial and the post-colonial states in Tanzania and New Zealand.

It is the contention of this thesis, therefore, that the Marxist conceptualisation of the state provides the most appropriate basis for understanding the position of the state in relation to contending classes.

The Marxist conceptualisation of the state also provides the most appropriate basis for understanding the position of social institutions, like education, within the state machinery.¹⁴ By viewing education as an ideological institution of the state, the Marxist theories provide an analytical tool for explaining the nature, role and function of education in various societies, especially in the transforming capitalist societies. That is, building on Marxist theories of the state, we can explain the shift of emphasis in capitalist education from ascriptive - preferment on the basis of wealth and social influence; to meritocracy - preferment on the basis of merit; to credentialism - preferment based on appropriate formal qualification (Holmes 1980); to the current recourse to meritocracy and vocationalism which is a form of ascription in contemporary times. In contemporary times, education is one of the avenues through which family resources, including cultural capital, can be used to foster family reproduction and eventually class reproduction. Regarding class, family and cultural capital, Lauder observes that "research clearly shows that there are class cultural aspects which inform the nature of education decision making in addition to income" (Lauder 1990:20). Referring to New Zealand, he argues that, because working class school leavers lack financial and cultural capital, their outlook of taking a loan for higher education is tempered with caution.

On the other hand, this sense of risk would be exacerbated by the fact that, they have, typically, only a vague understanding of the linkage between university and the professional and managerial career structure. The same may also be true of their ruling-class counterparts but the drive imparted to them by the acquisition of cultural capital means that they go to university without typically asking why they are going. Such a luxury is not afforded working-class youth (Lauder 1990:20-21).

¹⁴This has been elaborated in the section on the discussion of related literature.

Giving examples of Australia and Sweden, he contends that, "the view that loans will deter working-class students is also supported by overseas research and experience" (Lauder 1990:21). Thus, postponement of gratification is one form of cultural capital that many working class children do not possess.

It is argued in this study that education is a social institution of the capitalist state which relates directly to the development of capitalism within a post-colonial society such as that of Tanzania and New Zealand.

Education and the Approaches to Socio-economic Development

This study is about education reforms. Thus, it is about changes in the approach to education. Unlike revolutions, however, reforms normally change the centrality of some aspects of policy; making some roles more preferable than others. In the contemporary privatisation reforms, for example, markets are more centrally positioned than social or political and, in some cases, even economic¹⁵ aspects of society.

It is important to note that, normally, reforms are promoted, supported or criticised by appeals to whether they would enhance or hinder progress. In other words, the assessment is based on the reforms' perceived contribution to the development of the society. However, there are various approaches to understanding socio-economic development that invariably produce different meanings of development.

The following discussion is on the "*Conventional theories of development*" and the "*Socio-political economy approach to development*" that is proposed in this study. The conventional theories of development are along two main stances - the capitalist stance and the socialist stance. The capitalist stance includes the liberal and neo-liberal approaches (sometimes referred to, as classical and neo-classical approaches) which embrace modernisation theories and the economic growth model. The socialist stance, includes the Marxist and neo-Marxist approaches which encompass the theories of underdevelopment and the world system model of development.

¹⁵The view here is that in circumstances where the opening up of the financial sector supersedes the opening up of the productive sector the potential for progress of the local economy is side tracked by the market. This issue is elaborated more clearly by Jorge Schvarzer in Ghai (1991:69-79).

The Liberal and Neo-Liberal Approach to Social Economic Development (The Capitalist Stance)

The capitalist stance to development is primarily economic and it proposes generating development through the market forces of supply and demand (Elliot 1982). The divergent views that exist within the stance are mainly on the extent to which government intervention in the economic system is desirable. While some (e.g. Milton Friedman 1962, 1980) propose that tariffs and other restrictions on international trade imposed by governments need to be abandoned, others (e.g. John Kenneth Galbraith 1963, 1979) support a greater role for government in the economy. The main assumption of both groups, however, is that industrialisation and technological development promotes economic growth and that such growth permeates the entire economy. Thus, for societies to develop, large corporations are necessary to achieve operational efficiency, innovation and economic stability.

Understanding the capitalist approach to development is relevant for understanding contemporary policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand because they are largely responsible for the development strategies undertaken in both countries this century. As Elliot (1982) observes, a wide range of institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, have been created to promote and support these strategies of development. It is worth noting that these organisations exert a lot of influence on the governments of these countries. As a leading British business magazine, *The Economist*, once noted, in reference to IMF and the World Bank:

As lenders in their own right, they directly control billions of dollars each year; indirectly, tens of billions more. They sit in judgement of governments, using their financial clout to influence economic policy in scores of developing countries. The fate of hundreds of millions of people turns on the decisions these institutions make (*The Economist* 12 October, 1991).

Furthermore, it has been observed (Elliot 1982) that the aims of the international agencies have been to overcome the obstacles to trade, financing and industrialisation. More important to this discussion, however, is that the modernisation theory and the economic growth model, were employed as approaches through which the newly independent post-colonial nations could achieve development. Thus, socio-economic development strategies and the current "privatisation policies" in post-colonial nations, such as Tanzania, are based on the assumptions promoted by the arguments contained in these approaches.

The Modernisation Theory of Development

As the name signifies, the primary objective of modernisation theory is to provide a path which the respective post-colonial nations, (the so-called Third World countries, less developed countries, underdeveloped countries or developing countries) such as Tanzania, must take in the due course of their transition from 'traditional' to 'modern' societies. The theory gained its momentum during the 1950s and the 1960s when it successfully dominated the domain of development thinking on the post-colonial nations (Savitt and Bottorf 1995).

Despite their similar objective of transforming post-colonial societies into modern or Western industrialised societies, modernisation theorists differ over the most suitable way to approach and theorise this transformation. The modernisation theorists can be grouped in three major groups or schools; namely, structural-functionalism, evolutionism and culturalism. Each of these warrants further discussion at this point.

Structural-Functionalism

So (1990:20) argues that the structural-functionalists view society as an integral system which is similar to a biological organism. As a system, be it social, political or economic, a society has its own needs that must be fulfilled in order for the system to survive; that is, to maintain equilibrium. Society is composed of many structures; each has certain functions to perform and together they form a system. Thus, for the structural-functionalists, society is a self-regulating system such that, if the system's needs are met, then it can maintain itself through time.

Consequently, it has been contended (Talcott Parsons, in So 1990:20-23) that the ultimate goal of society, in the structural-functionalist view, is system maintenance or integration. If the system fails to perform required functions, it is said to be 'dysfunctional' and this will lead to crisis; that is, disequilibrium. Originating in the field of sociology, structural-functionalism has attracted a vast number of behavioural-political scientists who studied the political development of 'developing areas' during the 1950s and 1960s.

There are several versions of these behavioural-political science studies of the political development of 'developing areas'. Among these are the structural-functional model represented by Almond and Coleman (1960) and Almond and Powell (1966) and the institutionalisation model offered by Huntington (1968).

According to the structural-functional model of political development, a developed system is characterised by the differentiation of specialised structures - the so-called structural differentiation (Smelser, in So 1990:26) and its capacity for crisis management. Third World societies are considered underdeveloped because their political systems are functionally diffuse (that is, one structure performs several functions instead of there being specialisation in specific functions) and they are incapable of coping with changes. Subsequently, the structural-functionalists view of political development prescribes the Western-style democratic form of government as the model for Third World development, for, this form of government is both functionally specific and structurally differentiated and, hence, "modern". As Almond and Coleman (1960) state:

The political scientist who wishes to study political modernisation in the non-Western areas will have to master the model of the modern which in turn can only have derived from the most careful empirical and formal analysis of the functions of the modern Western polities (Almond and Coleman 1960:64).

Therefore, Third World political systems will become developed if, and only if, they can perform the functional requisites of conversion, capability and system maintenance and adaptation (Almond and Powell 1966), and they are capable of solving systematic crises. In short, the structural-functionalist model of political development of Almond and his associates is nothing but a blend of the Parsonian pattern of variables with the Eastonian input-output system theory. Thus, instead of theorising the causes of change in developing areas, as it claims to do, the structural-functionalist model of political development ends up with a tautological study of systematic response to change, not the change itself.

As for the institutionalisation theorists, modernisation means political institutionalisation. Samuel Huntington (1968), a leading proponent of this model, argues that there exists a close relationship between the modernisation process and political stability. This is because modernisation involves changes in both values and environment. To Huntington, modernisation has two major components: social mobilisation and economic development. The former breeds the rising aspirations and expectations among the people which usually exceed the capacity of the system to respond through its economic development.

This results in a gap between people's expectations and satisfaction or social frustration. To solve their frustration, people seek to participate in the political arena. Since, in many Third World societies, there are no political institutions (notably the

multi-party system) to absorb such participation, people then resort to illegitimate means like violence, riots and demonstrations. The net results are confrontations among different social forces and political decay. Huntington then gives an anarchic picture of Third World societies as follows:

Each group employs means which reflect its peculiar nature and capabilities. The wealthy bribe; students riot; workers strike; mobs demonstrate; and the military coup. In the absence of accepted procedures, all these forms of direct action are found on the political scene (Huntington 1968:44-45).

Huntington (1968) labels this highly politicised but politically under-institutionalised society as a praetorian society - a society in which political participation outruns political institutionalisation. To transform the praetorian society to a modern one, he prescribes a kind of institutionalisation modelled after Western society. Thus, what Huntington (1968) has proposed, among many things, is a conservative, elitist view of political development. Order is not considered a prerequisite for achieving the highest political good but itself becomes the highest political good. Huntington (1968) totally dismisses all the deep-rooted indigenous structures of Third World societies as inferior to his Western "party system" (Huntington 1968:196).

The drastic shift in the value orientations of the studies by political scientists of political developments, from the structural-functionalism of Almond and his associates in the fifties and sixties to Huntington's model of institutionalisation in the late sixties, significantly reflects the political reality of that time. O'Brien (1972) has pointed out that the fifties and sixties was the period of the American dream of post-war, Third World reconstruction. In response to the 'American Century', modernisation theorists, like Almond and his associates, prescribe 'an optimistic liberalism' to Third World development. Accordingly, political development is equated with Western democracy and its technological know-how and cultural superiority. Thus, modernisation comes close to Westernisation and Americanisation.

During the sixties, political situations in both the United States and the Third World significantly changed with the advent of the anti-Vietnam war movements, student uprisings and so forth, in the United States, and with the increase of authoritarian regimes instead of Western democracy in the Third World. These situations, forced modernisation theorists to become more realistic and, at the same time, less liberal in their analyses of Third World politics and development. The net result was a move from 'optimistic liberalism' to 'realistic authoritarianism'. In other words, modernisation theorists of the sixties seemed to agree, as Mouzelis (1980) puts it, that

authoritarian government is better than no government, and political repression is preferable to political chaos.

However, there is yet another type of institutionalisation model of development known as "development administration". This model gives primacy to the study of one particular segment of the Third World political structures; that is, public bureaucracy. Its goal is to strengthen the administrative capacity of the public bureaucracy to carry out economic development programs. This bureaucratic style of development administration originated in the work of the Comparative Administration Group (CAG) of the American Society for Public Administration during the early 1960s.

Although there exists no unified intellectual whole among the CAG, members of the Group seem to agree on the major theme of development administration, such that administrative development comes first, then development administration. Starting from this premise, the CAG calls for Third World administrative reform by means of transferring technology - in this case American public administration theories and practices (Braibanti 1969).

As its primary focus, the structural-functionalist approach to development has the problem of how to transform Third World societies into developed ones; modelled after the advanced industrial societies, notably the United States; without taking seriously into account the internal structures of these countries.

Structural-functionalism is relevant to this study as it reflects the political and administrative structures of post-colonial New Zealand and Tanzania. As it is revealed later in this study, post-colonial New Zealand modelled its political and administrative structure after the British structure. Likewise, Tanzania was advised to follow the Western structure. Thus, it has been noted (Rweyemamu (1973:48, Thomas 1992:224) that the policies of the governing party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), were not reflected in Tanzania's first and second development plans.

Evolutionism

The evolutionists, (sometimes known as the "stages" theorists) on the other hand, believe in a unilinear path of development. They argue that universal stages of development exist, through which all nations should pass in their course of development. Thus, all nations have to start from backwardness to transition (or taking-off) and end with development. Thus, the bottom line of the evolutionists is the assumption that all societies are "pretty much" the same; they start (take-off) at the same

point, pursue the same path of development and reach the same goal. Unlike the structural-functional model, whose main audience is political scientists, the evolutionary or stages theory of development had much appeal to many earlier economists in the 1960s.

The leading figure of the evolutionary model is Rostow (1971) who wrote *The Stages of Economic Growth*. Assuming that all societies would pursue the same path of economic development in order to reach the same goal, Rostow proposes the universal stages theory of economic growth for the transformation of the agricultural-traditional society to a society of high mass consumption. The relevance of Rostow's stages is that post-colonial societies (e.g. Tanzania) were to be located in their appropriate stage of development and, hence, were to be advised accordingly so that they could eventually "catch up" with developed societies. Such a view could also be used to justify the continued periphery position of post-colonial societies in the capitalist world system.

Similar to Rostow, Organski (in Somjee 1991:11) has employed stages theory to the study of political development. Organski prescribes four universal stages of political development, beginning with primitive unification (take-off) to industrialisation, national welfare, and finally abundance or affluence. He purports that such stages are universal to all societies.

It is important to note that Rostow's economic stages and Organski's political stages coincide. Primitive unification coincides with the preconditions for take-off; industrialisation with the take off age; national welfare with the drive to maturity; and the abundance or affluence stage with the age of high mass consumption.

The stages theory is highly mechanistic, simplistic and ahistorical; for it assumes that, once the process of change starts, ("take-off") then it will go all the way to the end of a continuum without any interruption. The simplicity of the theory can hardly match the complexity of the real world and proves to be extremely difficult to apply to any particular country. The stages theory, therefore, is not sufficiently contextual, since it never takes into consideration the different conditions existing in different societies at different historical times.

Furthermore, (Hunt 1989) the possible existence of external constraints to national economic development is also ignored. Rather, the constraints are seen as predominantly internal to the traditional society, lying in its class structure and the related savings propensities, its culture and institutions. The theory tends to analyse the development process as if it is an isolated activity and it analyses Third World countries

in isolation from the family of nations of which they constitute parts. This is the main weakness, not only of the stages theory but also of modernisation theory as a whole.

Culturalism

The cultural-psychological theorists of development argue that there are certain patterns of secular values and orientations shared by people in developed society that are supportive of their development. However, the culturalist modernisers argue that in Third World countries, such values and orientations usually in a form of traditions, social and cultural practices, act as hindrances to development. Therefore, to be developed, Third World societies need to modify their values and orientations to something similar to those of the developed nations.

Almond and Powell (1966) insist, for example, that developed societies (e.g. England or the United States) have maintained a pattern of political and social attitude that is supportive of a stable democratic process which they term "civic culture". It is important to note that this notion of "civic culture" had a significant influence on the social cultural relationship between the advanced industrial nations and post-colonial nations. It follows that, if the Third World countries (e.g. Tanzania) want to be developed, then they must implant the civic culture in their own societies. Thus, it is taken as given that the "democratic system" of the West is the best for the Third World. The pressure exerted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) on Tanzania, to install the Western style multi-party democracy in the 1980, verifies adherence to such a notion.

In a similar vein, McClelland (1970) has argued that there is a particular psychological factor that is responsible for economic growth. He terms it the need for achievement, which is defined as "a desire to do well, not so much for the sake of social recognition or prestige, but to attain an inner feeling of personal accomplishment" (McClelland 1970:75-76). McClelland sees modernisation in terms of the transformation of individuals' attitudes through their assimilation to modern (Western) values and motives.

Thus, to be developed economically, the society must instil the achievement motive in its individual members: the higher the achievement motive people have, the more developed the society will become. McClelland (1970) assumes that the more contacts Third World countries have with Western countries, (for example, educational exchange and cultural diffusion), the easier it will be for Third World people to adopt the traits of high achievement motivation. McClelland (1970) is a reductionist in the

sense that he feels that all human actions can be reduced to one single factor; namely, the achievement motive.

Understanding the culturalist approach to modernisation is relevant to this study because socio-cultural programmes of development, including the Western system of education that has been promoted and maintained in post-colonial nations, reflect such views.

General Features of Modernisation Theory

In general, modernisation theory may be regarded as an ideology because it is heavily loaded with an implicit belief in the superiority of Western socio-economic processes. The major flaw of modernisation theory is its inability to capture the real relations existing among the Third World and the advanced nations within the capitalist world economy. In other words, what modernisation theory misses most, according to Taylor (1979), is the restricted and uneven development of Third World economies resulting from the penetration of the capitalist world system. As Wallerstein (1987) puts it, "we do not live in a modernising world but in a capitalist world. Thus what makes this world tick is not the need for achievement but the need for profit".

From this brief discussion of the three major schools of modernisation theory, some common themes can be summarised. First, the keystone of modernisation theory is the 'blaming the victim' thesis. Modernisation theorists subsequently see underdevelopment or backwardness as an internal problem intrinsic to the Third World countries. Second, modernisation theorists offer a "cookbook" approach to solve the problem of underdevelopment; that is, the transformation of the "traditional" to "modern" Western-industrialised society through the eradication of traditional systems and the installation of "modern" systems such as civic culture, individual achievement or structural differentiation. In these cases the term "development" becomes, as O'Connell (1996:19) puts it, "a shorthand for economic and social progress along Western lines".

Third, the modernisation theorists' view of development is both simplistic and ethnocentric. They regard development as a progressive process starting from one point (traditional society) and ending up at the other end of the continuum (modern Western society). Fourth, modernisation theory is ahistorical because it does not include Third World history of colonial heritage or participation in the capitalist world system.

Fifth, some versions of the theory, particularly the structural-functional model, are dehumanised. It only deals with the system rather than with human beings. Sixth, in terms of its political implications, modernisation theory carries a particular political message in favour of the rulers. Modernisation theorists emphasise law, order and stability and they regard all activities that challenge the established authority as disorder, decay or crisis.

Finally, since modernisation theory is governed by an empiricist epistemology, it always ends up by producing a parochial cause-effect analysis of development, such as McClelland's achievement motive or Almond's structural-functional imperatives. This empiricist conception of knowledge is described by Taylor (1979) as follows:

...empirical reality is held to contain elements which are essential for analysing the phenomenon under investigation, and those which are not. Knowledge is already contained in reality as one of its part, and the task of the theorising subject is to separate or extract this knowledge from the real, by eliminating the inessential aspects of the phenomenon from its essential aspects. Possession of this essential aspect by theorising subject then provides a basis for the theorisation of the phenomenon under question (Taylor 1979:7).

Owing to these common themes, it is not surprising that modernisation theory is criticised as an ideology. Bodenhimer (in So 1990:58) denounces it as the "ideology of developmentalism". Bodenhimer demonstrates that four interrelated presuppositions lay at the root of this ideology, which in turn represent the American ideology: (i) the cumulative notion of knowledge and development, (ii) the preference for stability, (iii) the beliefs in 'the end of ideology' and in pluralism, and (iv) diffusionism.

In general, the problem of modernisation theory is that its proponents never explain their hidden agenda and at the same time protect these agendas under the umbrella of science. Thus, instead of asking the question of how and why the Third World is underdeveloped, modernisation theorists simply presuppose that the Third World is underdeveloped and begin their explanation by asking, "How is it possible to make the Third World become developed?" With this presupposition, modernisation theorists generate a development theory that is best served by their pre-given answer to the problem of Third World underdevelopment; namely, the Western model of development.

In the early 1970s, however, modernisation theory faced challenges from the neo-Marxist schools of thought, particularly the dependency and world systems

perspectives (e.g. Foster-Carter 1973, Hoogvelt 1982, Taylor 1979, Hunt 1970 and Wallerstein 1979), leading to temporary unpopularity and loss of appeal.

However, this does not mean that modernisation theory is dead, as Wallerstein (1979) has implied. On the contrary, despite all the weaknesses, modernisation theory still wields a lot of influence in the political and economic conceptualisation of development in Third World countries. So (1990) demonstrates, for example, that modernisation theory is very much alive in the field of political science in a revised form of public policy analysis based upon such doctrines of political economy as rational choice models in decision-making and policy analysis. Moreover, modernisation theory seems to have staged a comeback as a force to reckon with as it now forms the ideological base for the economic growth model which in turn forms the bench mark upon which the current privatisation policies are based. Thus, modernisation theory is compatible with economic rationalism.

The Economic Growth Model

In its various forms, the economic growth model has successfully dominated development thinking about the Third World since the Second World War (Elliot 1982). Through the economic growth model, the Third World countries were and still are convinced that they should imitate the Western, industrialised path of development. Imbued with the desire for rapid economic development in order to 'catch up' with the developed societies, as well as with the myths of scarcity and overpopulation, the Third World states uncritically adopt this model as a blueprint for their national development.

In the earliest and crudest form of the economic growth model, primacy is given exclusively to economic growth (Hunt 1989). Accordingly, development simply means economic development which can be realised, first, through import-substitution, industrialisation and, later, through export-oriented industrialisation. Emphasis is placed on the growth-rate rather than the pattern of growth and it is measured in such aggregate terms as Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

Since the late 1960s, advocates of the economic growth model began to shift the tone of their development dialogue to growth with distribution, with the hope that the benefits will reach the hands of the poor people in the countryside. This new tone of development dialogue is generally referred to as 'rural development'. It ranges from agricultural development to administrative decentralisation (that is, increased people's participation), basic needs, self-reliance, and poverty eradication in the rural areas. With a glut of capital in the world markets, the Third World countries were encouraged

to take out loans to fund development along these lines. Aid was also supported on the same assumptions. O'Connell (1996:21) argues that, "the stated objectives of aid: poverty reduction, made it commendable to humanitarians and palatable to tax-payers in donor countries." Base on the economic growth model however, "aid was linked with trade, influence, strategic advantage and resource control" (O'Connell 1996:22).

Since the late 1970s, there has been a resurgence of the crude form of the growth model. Accordingly, it is assumed that, once a nation can maintain an acceptably high growth rate in terms of GNP and per capita income, wealth will trickle-down to the entire society (Trainer 1989). At the same time, it is argued that economic growth will upgrade the nation's status from "developing" to "developed". Thus, the model urges the nations to open up their economies for international trade and financing.

However, as many neo-Marxists (e.g. Martin 1993, Mbilinyi 1994, Schvarzer 1991, Mkandawile 1991, Frank 1971) have pointed out, the economic growth model, with its emphasis on industrialisation and export specialisation, accelerates the incorporation of the Third World countries into the capitalist world economy. They argue that this process makes post-colonial countries more dependent on the mercy of the world-market which is, by and large, controlled by the advanced industrialised nations and multi-national corporations.

Schvarzer (1991) argues, for example, that, in societies where structures of production are less advanced, deregulation of the economy, which is strongly supported by the growth model, creates conditions that restrict progress. He notes that:

The generalisation of economic opening has made it possible to observe the development of certain correlated trends, such as reduction of the regulatory capacity of the state, a relative decline in national independence and the subjection of certain processes to the conditioning factors of the world market (Schvarzer 1991:75).

Schvarzer (1991) argues that, for developed countries, the opening of their economies came at a time when their productive capacities were strong enough to effectively compete with their external counterparts. However, Schvarzer (1991) states, further, that:

Other countries, especially the developing countries, were forced to open up their economies under different circumstances, thus starting with financial opening prior to production opening. Consequently the developing countries are facing difficulties in defining exchange rates, interest rates, wage levels and even the rate of production in conjunction with world market conditions or with the policies applied by the major world powers (Schvarzer 1991:76).

Socio-economic issues expressed in the privatisation debate in both Tanzania and New Zealand, which are explicated in this study, indicate the tension between deregulation of the economy in the post-colonial nations and social, economic and political development.

A similar view is expressed by Hoogvelt (1997) who observes that:

Even if structural adjustment programmes have achieved little or nothing from the point of view of national territorial development and the improvement of standards of living of the masses in African countries, the programmes have been a resounding success when measured in terms of the acceleration of the process of globalisation. Structural adjustment has helped to tie the physical economic resources of the African region more tightly into servicing the global system, while at the same time oiling the financial machinery by which wealth can be transported out of Africa and into the global system (Hoogvelt 1997:171).

Thus, rather than promoting socio-economic development, the modernisation theory and the growth model encourage underdevelopment of Third World societies.

The Marxist and Neo-Marxist Approaches (The Socialist Stance)

In contrast to the capitalist stance, the Marxist and Neo-Marxist Approach (socialist stance) hold that the structure of the capitalist society is inherently unjust and, therefore, incapable of genuine development which would have social justice at the core (Elliot 1982). Proponents of the socialist stance insist that wealth and resources in the society need to be redistributed; through the breakdown of the class structures which enable the dominant class to own or control the means of production, distribution and exchange and, therefore, to exercise power over other classes.

With the view that economic growth is accelerated by greater stress on social justice and lack of popular participation in planning and decision making, the approach accepts a "temporary lag" in economic growth (Elliot 1982:17) while wealth and resources are distributed in the society; and while those who have been alienated by the class-based processes of production and distribution are encouraged to fully participate in the new economy.

Marxist and neo-Marxist theorists, therefore, advocate that the capitalist economy be redirected to meet human needs; and this can only be achieved when economic objectives are redefined and achieved through rational planning by those appointed

through responsible democratic processes in which criticism and opposition play an important role and policy makers hold their offices by popular vote. Thus, the approach supports public, state or workers' ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

The dilemma, however, lies in the degree to which market mechanisms need to be retained and the fact that state intervention and control of the economy does not necessarily lead to a non-classed society. As in the case of Britain, New Zealand, and for a short period Tanzania, state ownership may be viewed as capitalism based on a state welfare model.

Other supporters of the socialist stance (e.g. Mao of China, Castro of Cuba) believe that, as a necessary first step towards socialist development, a country must de-link itself from the economic and political structures of capitalism so as to build an independent economy. They acknowledge, however, that the power of capital with its entrenched economic and political interests reinforced by national and international systems, is such that de-linking cannot take place without conflict. Thus, such supporters advocate revolutionary confrontation¹⁶.

However, there are divergent views on how these revolutionary objectives are to be directed. Marx believed (Elliot 1982) that, as capital became more concentrated, so would society become more polarised until, during one of its crises, the working class would successfully overthrow capitalism and establish a socialist society. Lenin (1917) on the other hand advocated that it was not necessary to wait for capitalism to mature before carrying out a successful socialist revolution.¹⁷

The problem with the Leninist approach however, is in how to ensure the participation of the masses who may not share the revolutionary ideology and aspirations (Elliot 1982). Here, Freire's work (1973) on conscientization becomes very important in effecting the peaceful socialist development. In his works, Freire places people at the centre of the development process, rather than structures, economic growth, industrialisation and technology. His methodology of conscientization, employs literacy training as a means of 'unmasking reality' so that the oppressed masses begin to analyse the conditions of oppression and their causes. This perspective gained support,

¹⁶ Nyerere of Tanzania, supported Mao and Castro's arguments of de-linking from the capitalist social political and economic structures but not the revolutionary confrontation.

¹⁷ Lenin's formula for the seizure of power was successfully applied in Russia at the beginning of the century.

especially from those who believed that education could be used as a tool for society reconstruction (e.g. Nyerere of Tanzania).

It is significant to note, however, that conscientization is but one example of the diverse directions taken by the contemporary socialist approach to development. Gorz (1967) argues that the debate between "revolution" and "reform" should be stopped in favour of the strategy of "revolutionary reforms"; that is, proposals which are credible, which respond to immediate needs and which cannot be easily manipulated by capitalism. Socialist feminism (Rowbotham 1973a, Dalla Costa & James 1975), as well as Habermas' (1976)¹⁸ thoughts on the phenomenon of cultural control under capitalism and the need for the politics of culture, have also had profound effect on socialist understanding of socio-political and economic development. The common denominator remains, however, that "the socialist perspective stresses the importance of existential material conditions and social structures accompanying those conditions" (Hunt in Lutz 1990:282).

Important to the ongoing discussion is that it is within the Marxist and neo Marxist approaches that the underdevelopment school as well as the World system model of development have arisen as development theories.

The Underdevelopment School

Although there exists no unified intellectual/theoretical stance, adherents to the underdevelopment school seem to express one common theme that Third World underdevelopment is basically derived from external factors. This constitutes the main stream of neo-Marxist approaches to development theory as opposed to orthodox Marxist approaches, propounded by writers such as Warren.¹⁹ The underdevelopment school argues primarily that the association of Third World states (sometimes referred to as peripheries or satellites) with the advanced industrialised state (sometimes referred to as core or metropolis) leads to the underdevelopment of the former.

¹⁸These works are cited in Elliot (1982)

¹⁹The work of Bill Warren (1973 & 1980) is probably the most well known of any orthodox Marxist in respect to the underdevelopment debate. Indeed Warren seems to have almost single handedly created a school or paradigm of development theory.

Warren argues principally for the progressive character of imperialism. Instead of retarding Third World development, as is widely held by the neo-Marxist underdevelopment school Warren insists that imperialism generates conditions favourable for 'substantial' and 'sustained' capitalist development in the peripheries. In his 1973 article, he narrowly equates capitalist development with industrialisation. And he sees the real obstacles to third world development in the internal factors specific to the respective country.

For example, in his early work, Frank (1969:17-31), one of the leading proponents of the underdevelopment school, lays all the blame for underdevelopment on metropolitan capitalism. In the preface of his work, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* Frank bluntly declares that: "I believe, with Paul Baran, that it is capitalism, both world and national, which produced underdevelopment in the past and which still generates underdevelopment in the present" (Frank 1969:xi). Thus, the common theme of the underdevelopment school is the "*development of underdevelopment*" (Frank (1969:17-31).

The basic debate among members of the underdevelopment school revolves around the sources or determinants of Third World underdevelopment. Some of the suggested processes through which underdevelopment is discerned to have taken place are:

- the transferring of surplus value from periphery to core through unequal exchange in international markets (Emmanuel 1972)²⁰;
- differences in state power between periphery and imperialist core states and the creation of a 'collaborative strata' (Petras 1981);
- the articulation of capitalist and pre-capitalist modes of production and its implications for use of the means of production;
- the appropriation of surplus and the overall shaping of property and class relations (Taylor 1979);
- the systematic reproduction of non-wage forms of labour in the periphery (Wallerstein 1972:233);
- the way in which the global development of capitalism (through the global process of capital accumulation and expansion) shapes class relations (notably class formation, class struggle and class alliances) in the Third World; thus leading to uneven development or underdevelopment (Petras 1981).

Broadly, the neo-Marxist explanations for underdevelopment can be separated into at least five categories, which are:

- those which focus on differences in international exchange;
- those which utilise the concept of the articulation of capitalist modes of production with pre-capitalist modes of production;
- those which focus on the differential processes of class-formation between the core and the periphery;
- those which offer state based explanations for the process of underdevelopment including differential forms of state-building in the core and

²⁰Emmanuel, A. (1972) *Unequal Exchange: A Study of the Imperialism of Trade*, New York: Monthly Review Press, cited in Chase-Dunn (1991:229-231).

the periphery, power blocs and triple alliances, along with the role of the state in capital accumulation; and,

- those explanations which seek to place class struggle and nation states in the context of a world capitalist system driven by an overarching capitalist logic of accumulation and expansion.²¹

The World System Model of Development

From the foregoing overview of the literature, it is obvious that not only does underdevelopment and uneven development exist in the world but also it is an ongoing process which (Wallerstein 1987) started as early as the sixteenth century. However, whether the continuous interaction among different societies of the world is beneficial (as proponents of modernisation theory and Warren suggest)²² or a complete demise to the under developed nations (as suggested by the underdeveloped schools) will depend on the mode of interaction. This requires an examination of the dialectical or reciprocal interaction between external and internal factors. Thus, development and underdevelopment must be viewed through the mediating structures of class (e.g. class alliances and the role of collaborative strata) and the state (the form, activities and apparatus) within the wider framework of the historical specificity of any nation and its place in the evolving capitalist world-system.

In viewing the development or underdevelopment of a specific nation at a point in time within the wider framework of the evolving capitalist world system, it is important to conceptualise the nature of this system and its implications for development and underdevelopment. The fact that the world economic system is capitalist, centred on the capitalist mode of production, necessitates the continued expansion of the system, and of surplus value extraction, to ameliorate the contradictions of capital within the core. Underdevelopment enables capitalism in the core and semi-periphery to pass through anti-systematic movements. It is easy to see that those groups in control of core states and the supra-state apparatus (e.g. Multinational corporations (MNCs)) would face extremely serious challenges if it was not for their ability to utilise surpluses extracted from the periphery. The underdevelopment of periphery areas is, therefore, a necessary process for the continued expansion of the capitalist world system.

²¹ See Chase-Dunn (1991), chapter 11.

²² In the 1980s & early 1990s, indeed some of the Asian Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs), "Tigers" provided very convincing support for Warren's thesis, if one excludes the social and political realities of some of these countries and only focuses on economic indicators. However, the late 1990s seem to attest to a different reality.

Wallerstain (1987) argues, therefore, that it is such a dialectical view of development and underdevelopment within the world capitalist system that may lead to the re-focusing on contemporary issues such as the re-emergence of the modernisationists along with the growth of economic rationalism and the globalisation process.

The Socio-Political Economy Approach to Development

The above discussion, of liberal and neo-liberal (capitalist stance) theories of development as well as Marxist and neo-Marxist (socialist stance) schools of development, indicates some convergence of thoughts in the understanding of development, particularly concerning the economy. Although the capitalist stance emphasises economic growth, while the socialist stance has a political economy approach, they both give a significant position to economic progress at the expense of social progress. While the Marxists and neo-Marxists concern themselves with "socially useful" production, and they would be the first to agree that Third World development is largely inappropriate, recent literature on Third World development gives little attention to what might constitute appropriate development or to promoting it (Trainer 1989). Trainer notes that:

The essential complaint which Dependency theory makes is that normal capitalist growth in the Third World has been blocked. Marxists, on the other hand, believe that the more rapidly capitalism grows the sooner it will self-destruct in revolution. Neither of these theories is interested in what is being invested in or produced, nor in any conception of appropriate development. They do not focus on questions such as, 'What needs developing here?' or 'Are appropriate things being developed here' (Trainer 1989:70).

This indicates that the theories in the socialist stance of development share with the capitalist stance in their conception of development as "indiscriminate economic growth" in terms of increased economic activity, business turnover and producing and consuming. The contention is on the division of labour and the distribution of goods and services (i.e. who produces and who consumes) but not on what is being produced.

Trainer (1989:69) contends that the main objective of "indiscriminate economic growth" is simply "to increase output of anything that those with capital want to produce...There is no concern to identify what most needs producing or developing". Under such circumstances, development that is likely to improve the lives of most of the people in the Third World and the majority of the poor in the developed world (e.g. providing clean water supplies, redistributing land, and increasing subsistence crop production,

improved health and educational services) is superseded by development that is likely to add to the rate of growth of GNP (e.g. plantations of cash crop, car assembly plants, etc.). A good example is that, even during the hey days of socialism and self reliance in Tanzania, cash crop production was given priority over subsistence crops.

It can be argued, therefore, that, by supporting "indiscriminate economic growth", both the socialist and capitalist stance of development converge to form what Trainer (1989) refers to as *conventional theories of development* that are promoting inappropriate development.

The "*socio-political economy approach*", on the other hand, insists on the social usefulness of what is produced; the fair division of labour and distribution of what is produced. In that regard, economic growth has to be consistent with people's needs. While it supports the world system view as propounded by Wallerstein, it also argues that the problems of underdevelopment lie in the inappropriate uses of the resources with which the underdeveloped world is endowed. That is, misuse, rather than the lack of capital, is a major cause of poverty in poor countries; as more capital has been and is still being expropriated, rather than being used in these countries. It has been observed (Trainer 1989, Killick 1995, Hoogvelt 1997, Martin 1993 etc.) that, investors have been raising more funds from poor nations. Trainer (1989:81) reports that "foreign investors raise about 85% of their funds in the Third World". By the same token, Killick observes that the period between 1980 and 1990

...had witnessed a remarkable turn-around in the Funds' [IMF] financial relationships with developing countries, with the swing from being a large net provider of assistance to deficit countries to being a net recipient of return flows (Killick 1995:3).

What is significant is that this out-flowing capital compounds the deficiencies in the needed goods and services. As is explicated later in this study, while the social services in Tanzania are deteriorating to alarming levels, funds enough to run several ministries are sent out of the country each year to service the debt.

The socio-political economy approach also contends that the growing numbers of the poor in the developed world can take little solace in the so called "development" in their own nations. In New Zealand for example, "the 1993 National Health Survey showed

that one in five Pacific Islands person rated their health as "not so good/poor" compared with one in ten for other New Zealanders" (Legge 1996:unpaged)²³

Thus, the socio-political economy approach proposed in this thesis goes beyond the political economy prevalent in the socialist stance not only to include the social aspects of development but also to give first priority to social progress. In other words, economic and political developments have to be measured against what is socially useful to the majority of the people. In that case, social justice becomes an inherent feature of policies that aim at socio-economic and political progress.

Accordingly, the role of education in development should be to develop the whole person with the capacity to contribute to "appropriate development" and social justice.

Thus, the difference between the conventional development theories that support indiscriminate economic growth and the socio-political economy approach that supports "appropriate development" can be observed in how the theories explain the causes of development problems, particularly in the Third World countries such as Tanzania; and the strategies for development that they prescribe. In figure 2:1 the researcher presents the differences between "development" that is based on *conventional theories of development* and appropriate development based on the *socio-political economy approach*.

Figure 2.1 indicates that the socio-political economy approach focuses on the fair and equitable redistribution of the world's resources and the improvement of those sectors that cater for human needs and which benefit the majority of the people. In other words, it emphasises "appropriate development".

In figure 2.1, Trainer's (1989) basic ideas are modified to include the perceptions held by the researcher in the present study.

It is explicated in this thesis, however, that, immediately after independence, most post-colonial countries, such as Tanzania, followed mainly the conventional theories, particularly the modernisation theories. Attempts to 'de-link' from the world capitalist system through progressive policies were frustrated by the continued dependency on the world market and conventional strategies of development such as import substitution. These strategies not only thwarted appropriate development of the people

²³Data obtained from research findings of the New Zealand poverty measurement project which assessed the extent of poverty and the types of people in poverty in New Zealand up to 1993 (Legge 1996).

in the post-colonial countries but also depleted their resources for the benefit of the few, mainly in the western industrially advanced world.

Figure 2.1: Two Types of Development: Development based on conventional theories of development VS Appropriate Development based on socio-political economy approach.

Conventional theories of development	Socio-political economy Approach to development (Appropriate Development)
Development = Indiscriminate Economic Growth adding to GNP	Development = socially useful production even if adding little to GNP
Causes of underdevelopment are within the poor societies -lack of expertise, corruption, difficult climates	Causes of underdevelopment are to be located in the unfair distribution of the world resources through market forces.
Global economy is basically acceptable	Unjust global market system is the immediate cause of maldistribution and deprivation problems.
Very uneven development is acceptable-Development is determined by profit maximisation and market forces.	Equitable development is very important. That is, Development of the sectors benefiting the majority of the people.
The rich nations do not exploit, they facilitate development.	Rich nations facilitate development of things that will benefit mostly themselves and a few in the Third World.
There will be trickle down of wealth and benefits. The solution to problems of poverty and other social needs in both rich and poor countries is to enable the rich to invest more profitably so as to create more jobs, more taxes and eventually more wealth for all	Free enterprise and market oriented policies work for the interests of those who are already rich. Free Enterprise is inefficient in meeting human needs.
The main purpose of education is to impart skills necessary for developing material things.	The main purpose of education is to develop the person as a whole and contribute positively to social justice.

Strict applications of the economic growth model, since the 1980s, have pushed the vision of development for the majority of the people even further. The contemporary policy reforms demanding bigger individual budgets and less income for the majority of

the people is increasingly making it difficult to cater for human social needs. Social justice therefore, is challenged.

It is important to note that social justice is a very important aspect in human development. Thus, this thesis assesses the contribution of contemporary education policy reforms to social justice in Tanzania and New Zealand. In doing so, the thesis seeks to underscore the question of the extent to which these policies contribute to development. It is postulated, however, that, in order to undertake this assessment, a clear understanding of social justice in education is necessary.

Education Policy and Social Justice

In the liberal democratic states, the pursuit of social justice has been one of the most acclaimed purposes for social policy reforms, including educational policy reforms. This has been expressed in terms of principles of justice such as equity, equality, equal educational opportunity and affirmative action. These claims, however, must be treated as problematic, worthy of investigation and deconstruction because they are influenced by socio-economic and political contexts and power relations as well as ideological assumptions about education. As Rizvi and Lingard (1992) suggest, social justice does not have a single essential meaning. They assert that:

Words do not stand for some kind of essential object but have a more open texture; their meaning is to be found in their use in thought and action, in the description, interpretation, organisation and evaluation of behaviour (Rizvi and Lingard 1992:1).

Thus, as contended by Secada (1989a) and Apple (1993), educational concepts are not only subject to severe ideological conflicts but also are constantly defined and re-defined to suit particular purposes. Apple (1989) notes, for example, that references to equity are sometimes made only as an appeal to popular sentiments in order to get adherents and legitimation of policy agendas. In such cases, appeals to equity are just policy rhetoric, aimed at changing the conventional patterns of interpretations; thus advancing group interests without really addressing those arrangements which gave rise to equity concerns in the first place (Troyna and Williams 1986). It is evident in this study, for example, that concerns for equity, which are expressed in Tanzania and New Zealand's education policy reform texts, are followed by policy solutions that are rationalising inequity.

Lack of agreement on the use and meaning of important concepts, such as equity, equality and equal opportunity as targets for social justice, (O'Higgins 1987, Harvey

and Klein 1989, Secada 1989, Apple 1993) is yet another constraint in underscoring social justice.

On the basis of the arguments above, it is important, therefore, to explore the various conceptions of equity, equality, and equal educational opportunity as well as when and how these conceptions can be justified in terms of the pursuit of social justice.

Equality and Equity

To underscore the meaning of equity and equality is a complex task because, while sometimes "equity" and "social justice" are used interchangeably, "equity" is also used interchangeably with "equality". Thus, in this study, an attempt is made to describe the terms rather than define them. It is also important to note that discussion of both equity and equality often involves controversy and disagreement (Harvey and Klein 1989, Grant 1989, Secada 1989, Ashline, et al. 1976). It has been noted, (Secada 1989) however, that, in most cases when equity and equality are used interchangeably, only one meaning is maintained.

The main difference between equality and equity is that while inequity always signifies injustice, inequality does not. Often equality is used to explore quantitative differences between groups. That is, it can describe parity between groups; for example whether the distribution of achievement between two or more groups has the same average. Thus, Grant (1989) contends that the common meaning ascribed to equality is the state of being equal. Here the emphasis is sameness. It is worth noting, however, that, differences are not necessarily a sign of social injustice; nor is "sameness" a sign of a just situation. A good example is that a policy can be justified, if it provides different individuals or groups of individuals with different routes to access, based on the assumption that individual differences and needs affect their ability to take advantage of conventional routes of access. This has to be based on the consideration that alternative routes would curb past and existing inequalities and barriers, privileges and restrictions and lead to more justice. On the other hand, a policy that focuses on providing equal (same) access to everyone may lead to unjust outcomes, if it overlooks whether the individual has the necessary background or ability to take advantage of the available access routes. For example, a policy of "school choice", whereby (for some children) the only choice is the poorly endowed schools, cannot be justified by invoking the notion that, in principle, everyone was offered equal opportunity to choose. Thus, equality (as an appeal to what is just) must look beyond immediate quantitative results to include long term qualitative outcomes as well.

Equal opportunity

Another concept used as an appeal to social justice is equal opportunity. Equal educational opportunity is probably the most referred-to term in the literature on justice in education. Equal educational opportunity is expressed in terms of access, process (participation) and outcome of education. Employing the social historical approach to the discussion of the concept, Coleman (1968) gives an insight on how and why different conceptions of equal educational opportunity are put forward. Coleman (1968) claims that the definition and re-definition of the concept depends on the dominant ideological assumptions relating to the functions of education. He argues that, if there were no social mobility (with implicit inequalities) in society, then the concept of equal educational opportunity would be obsolete.

Coleman's analysis is important in understanding what many analysts (Apple 1993, Secada 1989a, Codd 1993, Grace 1994) have been saying about education and society. The idea is that, although education does not directly create inequalities, through cultural and ideological processes and orientation, it reflects, reproduces and legitimates inequalities. Thus, it is important to ensure that educational policies that adhere to distributive principles of social justice are in place to curb such tendencies.

Affirmative action

Affirmative action is also a useful concept in the consideration of social justice in educational policy reforms. In most cases, affirmative action is discussed when it comes to employment. Thus, it has been contended (Secada 1989) that affirmative action in employment is a non-educational response to unequal representation in the work force. It entails hiring an individual who represents the discriminated-against group, provided that the individual meets the minimum employment requirements. This is relevant to education because the groups that are discriminated against in employment opportunities may need to attain higher levels of educational achievement or be over-represented in specific fields of learning so as to overcome employment discrimination. In such cases, policies that ensure positive discrimination in education opportunity are necessary. We may conclude, therefore, that, although equality of education opportunity does not typically address non-school disparities, social justice in education should be concerned with such state of affairs. In other words, educational policy reforms that purport to pursue social justice should take into consideration the more distantly related external outcomes.

The issue of discrimination seems to be so prominent in the debate as to warrant special attention. In policy documents, different types of "discursive discrimination" may be observed, with different impact on social justice in education. These would include:

- Not mentioning the inequalities or the group of people who are lagging behind or disadvantaged; thus, turning a blind eye to demands from within or beyond the education service for a clear policy commitment to social justice.
- Openly acknowledging the existence of disadvantaged groups as problematic; thus, blaming the victims or providing short term solutions that may end up rationalising the disadvantages. The aims of resultant policies are normally aggregative and procedural. Quotas have been mostly used in this regard. This is useful in as far as it breaks institutional barriers but may culminate into what Tryona and Williams (1986) describe as "discrimination by proxy"; i.e. the assumption that whoever belongs in the identified group is inferior. This kind of discrimination may also lead to "tokenism" whereby efforts to remedy the causes of the problems are postponed or thwarted by creating superficial solutions. A good example would be policies that refrain from assessment or which lower the expected standards for certain categories of students instead of analysing and combating fundamental impediments to students' achievement levels. Such policies not only postpone the problems but also enhance future failures.
- Openly acknowledging (Miller 1976, Rizvi & Lingard 1992) the existence of the disadvantaged groups and taking a collective responsibility for the problems. Policies within this category work not only towards the goal of ending (negative) discrimination but also towards overcoming the results of long term discrimination.

It is important to note, however, that the lack of social justice has material significance, especially for those who are subjected to injustice. As Rizvi (1998) argues:

It needs to be acknowledged, however, that injustice does have a material reality that is readily recognised by those subjected to it. Those who are hungry or poor or homeless or physically impaired do not need abstract definitions in order to be able to recognise their plight or indeed the inequities they might confront. If this is so, then the idea of social justice has practical significance. It needs therefore to be articulated in terms of particular values, which, while not fixed across time and space, nevertheless have to be given specific content in particular struggles for reform (Rizvi 1998:47).

To further develop the above arguments, it is necessary, therefore, to set out some operational specifications of social justice criteria so as to clarify our understanding of

the concept. Although there are various views of social justice, three major categories can be identified. These are *procedural justice* based on the processes or procedures; *distributive justice* that not only entails "just" processes (procedures) but also goes further to include "just" outcomes; and *the social-action based collective responsibility and recognition of specific needs*. A caveat should be made, however, that the distinction between these categories is not made on the conviction that they have nothing to do with each other but, mainly, because the criteria of justice in all areas are not necessarily always the same. That is, often some categories emphasise certain aspects at the expense of others.

In most cases, *procedural justice* would adhere to the aggregative principles while distributive justice leans towards distributive principles. Miller (1976) explains that:

An aggregative principle is one which refers only to the total amount of goods enjoyed by a particular group, whereas a distributive principle refers to the share of those goods which different members of the group have for themselves (Miller 1976:19).

An example of a procedural justice policy statement would be that '*ability not privilege would count. Family background, race or sex will be neither an advantage nor a disadvantage in getting the desirable opportunity*' Such a statement, appealing to meritocracy and seemingly just, may not lead to social justice because it ignores some unearned advantages or disadvantages accrued from family background, race or sex. Holmes (1980) observes, for instance, that:

Achievement is highly dependent on individual's cultural background and native ability so that even absolutely fair equality of opportunity would not significantly change the composition of most western societies (Holmes 1980:414).

It can be argued, therefore, that conditions of disadvantage may curtail the student's overall conditions and ability to compete effectively. In that case, equal competition is used to rationalise unequal outcomes. This thesis cautions, however, that social, cultural, economic and gender differences should not be used as excuses for not catering for educational needs of "at risk" children.

Nozick's (1976) entitlement view of social justice, which falls under procedural justice, postulates that the freedom of individuals to compete must be protected so that "it is the justice of competition, that is, the way competition is carried on, not its result that counts" (Rizvi & Lingard, 1992:7). Thus, based on the principles of individualism, procedural justice may be disguised to produce and validate inequality. This, in part,

serves to explain the inadequacy of procedural justice, especially when it is taken on its own.

It is unfortunate, however, that such a conception of justice appeals to the those in power because it is less disruptive to the status quo since it reproduces the existing class compositions. It is also important to note that procedural justice is consistent with neo-liberalism that insists on fair processes of competition with little regard to outcomes or influencing factors prior to the competition processes. Thus, the concept of a 'level playing field', that is promoted by the New Right economic policy, represents procedural justice but not distributive justice.

Distributive justice on the other hand is tightly connected with the concept of equity, fairness and justice (Secada 1989, Codd 1993, Apple 1993, Bierhoff, Cohen and Greenberg 1986). Building on the relationship between equity and justice which was first stated by Aristotle, Secada (1989) contends that:

Equity gauges the results of action directly against standards of justice, and it is used to decide whether or not what is being done is just,...is our ability to acknowledge that, even though our actions might be in accord with a set of rules, their results may be unjust. Equity goes beyond following those rules (Secada 1989:68-69).

Thus, equity entails more than a set of rules or procedures or processes; it encompasses outcomes.

Rawls' (1971) notion, whereby social justice is regarded as an issue of fairness, focusing on the equity of distribution of resources, falls under this category. Rawls suggests two basic principles in maintaining social justice practices whereby:

each person is to have the most extensive basic liberty compatible with similar liberty for others; and equal distribution of primary social goods...unless unequal distribution is to the advantage of the less favoured (Rawls 1971:6).

This implies that some unequal treatments that aim at redressing social justice imbalance can be justified. However, caution is needed when considering this conception. The criteria for discrimination and the intended outcome should be clear and just in social terms. It is socially unjust, for example, to push the children from lower social economic status into programmes that will curtail their social mobility later in life.

In order to promote social justice, in such cases as the above, the policies would have to promote affirmative action (Miller 1976, Rizvi & Lingard, 1992) that openly

acknowledges the existence of the disadvantaged groups and takes collective responsibility for the problems. It is important for affirmative action policies to ensure that the disadvantaged are not conceptualised as passive recipients of prescribed solutions but as active agents with the capacity to participate fully in changing the directions of their lives.

Thus, educational policies that promote state intervention to ensure equal educational opportunity are important in fostering social justice in education. Therefore, education privatisation policies have to be regarded with caution as these will diminish the state's capacity to intervene in areas relating to equity.

It is important to note that neither of the categories provides sufficient criteria for social justice because the combination of fair procedures, fair outcomes and collective responsibility, is needed in fostering social justice. Thus, educational policies that contribute to social justice should promote fair processes or procedures, fair and just outcomes as well as collective responsibility for improvement of the education that is provided. Further, it has to be acknowledged that education is a social phenomenon which has to cater for the social needs of the society. Thus, equity in education "should be construed as a check on the justice of specific actions that are carried out within the educational arena and the arrangement that result from those actions" (Secada's 1989:69) as well as their implications for the well being of the society as a whole.

It is within this understanding of social justice that this thesis discusses the implications of the contemporary education policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand with a particular emphasis on "children at risk".

Concluding Remarks

From the above discussion, it is clear that there are interconnections amongst education policy, the state and social, political and economic development. Acknowledging that there are various approaches, expressing plausible theories of understanding these concepts, the study postulates that some have more explanatory power than others.

This study supports the view that education policy is an integral part of public policy, at the centre of which lies the state. Understanding education policy reforms, therefore, requires an understanding of the role and functions of the state. The main assumptions about the state under this study are, that:

- The state is not just the government but a whole set of the coercive state apparatuses like the police, military and judiciary, as well as the ideological apparatuses, the main ones of which include education;
- By maintaining the mode of production, the state works to protect and to promote the interests of the dominant class;
- The state does not act in a vacuum; rather it is bound by social, political and economic imperatives which form its context. Thus, education, as part of the state, has to be understood within these historically formulated imperatives.

It is the contention of this thesis that views about the nature of education policy, socio-economic development and the state, influence the envisaged role of education as well as education reforms in the production of socio-economic prosperity. Although there is general agreement that education is important for human progress, there are divergent views of the role that education should play in society.

Based on the liberal and neo-liberal understanding of state and of social and economic development, education is viewed as playing the roles of cognitive and moral socialisation, skills development and certification. In its cognitive and moral socialisation role, education prepare individuals for their role in the division of labour and to encourage social integration and "social responsibility"²⁴. In that regard, education is seen as a tool for enlightenment. Building on human capital theory, the liberals link education to higher levels of productivity. The certification role, on the other hand, helps to promote social differentiation according to merit.

Accordingly, liberals and neo-liberals view educational changes as natural movements towards higher stages of societal development or adaptations required by system imbalances or social needs. This view supports the equilibrium perspective of policy reforms, which stresses the importance of functional integration, harmony, stability and the assumption that all members of the society implicitly agree on the nature of functional necessities (Ginsburg, et. al. 1990).

The Marxist and neo-Marxist understanding, on the other hand, views education as a productive force in socio-economic development whereby, in a classed society, it becomes a tool for class control and class reproduction. It is argued that, through the

²⁴Normally responsibilities are prescribed by those in power and sanctioned by the liberal democratic processes.

notion of social differentiation, ascriptive status is legitimated through academic achievement and social control. However, the neo-Marxist position acknowledges education's emancipatory potential not only for contributing to increased productivity but also for encouraging people to analyse and reflect on their position in the production process. Thus, education is viewed both as a resource and a value. Accordingly, neo-Marxists envisage conflict over control of education in a class-based society. Thus, they support the conflict perspective which states that education reforms occur through conflict and competition among social classes, ethnic, race, religious, gender and other groups whose interests are incompatible; or when contradictions are unsuccessfully mediated (Ginsburg, et. al. 1990).

This study embraces the conflict perspective because it recognises inherent instability in social systems and conflict over values, resources and power. The equilibrium perspective is rejected because it seems to divorce educational reforms from the social, political and economic dynamics; hence, treating policy issues as dysfunctional problems requiring technical solutions. The equilibrium perspective is further rejected because it de-emphasises social heterogeneity and views the state as a neutral mediator of the harmonious interests of all citizens.

Regarding education's contribution to development, the study upholds the view that education policy has to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes that give priority to people. Thus, education should develop the people's capacity not only to produce socially useful materials but also to ensure social justice in the distribution of resources, goods and services.

It is within this theoretical understanding of the relationship between education, the state and socio-economic development, that this thesis examines the genesis and implications of contemporary education privatisation reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand.

Chapter Three

Methodology

Comparative Education Policy Analysis (CEPA) and Discourse Analysis approaches were utilised in designing and carrying out this study. In this chapter, perspectives on comparative education policy analysis (CEPA) and discourse analysis approaches are discussed so as to establish their methodological appropriateness for the study.

Comparative educational Policy Analysis Approach (CEPA)

Comparative education policy analysis draws from two separate disciplines in the social sciences - comparative education and policy analysis. It is important, therefore, to have a clear understanding of the two.

Comparative Education

Literature on comparative education (e.g. Adams 1990, Halls 1990, Raivola 1985) suggests that debate regarding the nature and position of comparative education has existed for a long time. Adams (1990:381) refers to "comparative education with its somewhat non-prestigious lineage and uncertain disciplinary bases" while Halls (1990) contends that "at least half a dozen approaches to comparative education can be identified".

By the same token, Raivola (1985:362) notes that "the investigation of problems associated with research into comparative education dates over 150 years back". Raivola (1985) locates the problems in the misconceptions of the term "comparative/comparison". He contends that literature on comparative education reveals the misconceptions of the methodological meaning of "comparative/comparison". He asserts that:

The methodological concept of "comparison/comparative" is confused with the concept in psychometrics of "comparability," which Good, for example, defines as (follows): "the conditions existing when two measures are expressed in the same units thus making possible direct comparison". Some theorist, meanwhile, have made the mistake of regarding the comparison as an end in itself instead of a method and a logical tool in the solution of research problems (Raivola 1985:362).

Likewise, Olivera (1988), observes that, "except for the desire to share information across frontiers, it is difficult to say what is it that all those claiming interest in comparative education have in common" (Olivera 1988:167). Referring to the papers presented at the World Congresses of Comparative Education in Paris, 1984, and in Rio de Janeiro, 1987, Olivera notes that, although there were a variety of papers, including those papers that do not deal with education at all, the organisers did not feel entitled to refuse any of the papers "since there seem to be no acceptable criteria to define what is and what is not comparative education" (Olivera 1988:68). He contends, however, that the problem is not with the methodology but at the level of 'education' as a field of study. He argues that:

This confusing situation is routinely ascribed to a crisis of methodology. The preceding analysis tend to show, however, that it is not so. The confusion runs much more deeply, at the level of the object to be studied. A comparative discipline, as distinct from the use of comparison in any discipline, is that which applies the comparative approach, not to two or more 'objects', but two or more sets of scientifically obtained knowledge about comparable objects...Thus the roots of confusion will not be found at the level of comparative education; they must be looked for in the field of the 'science of education' as such (Olivera 1988:68).

It is worth noting, however, that the importance of comparative education lies in the fact that it provides an opportunity to grasp knowledge about educational issues in various societies which, in turn, helps in the better understanding of one's own education system²⁵. Building on this wide view, comparative education has broadened its scope and established linkages with other disciplines. Halls (1990:14) notes, for example, that, although comparative education began with its root firmly grounded in the history and philosophy of education, since the late 1960s it has broadened its base and established linkages with many other disciplines. Thus, a multi-discipline approach to comparative education is not only desirable but also pertinent.

Comparative Education: Approaches and Methods

The ongoing discussion suggests that there have been varied views of comparative education. Therefore, various approaches and methods have been used in the discipline. Halls (1990) identifies six approaches which include: the historic-philosophical, the national character, the cultural, the problem solving, the quantitative and the economic approaches.

²⁵The fundamental argument is, as Harold Noah (cited in Halls 1990:13) puts it "we can truly comprehend ourselves only in the context of secure knowledge of other societies".

Halls (1990) observes that the pioneers in the field of comparative education made use of the *historic-philosophical approach* that seeks to discover the driving forces and laws that underpin educational policy and practice. Their approach was mainly descriptive and explanatory and was closely linked to the “national character” approach which views education as a phenomenon of a national state. Thus, it is argued (Halls 1990:31) that comparative education began with its roots firmly grounded in the history and philosophy of education and, in earlier days, the comparisons were of nation states or groups of nation states.

As time passed, however, various types of comparison were tried, including the culturalist approach. The *culturalist approach* extends Bourdieu and Passeron’s definition of culture as “standardised patterns of activity and belief that are learned and manifested by people in their collective life” (Halls 1990:18). Thus, it is argued that a cultural typology must give rise to a similar educational typology as cultural and educational features are linked and they act reciprocally to each other. A comparative education study, therefore, would include the interaction between the dominant political ideology in a society and its education system; or cultural attitudes towards educational conceptions as they affect, and are affected by, the education system.

The *contextual approach*, on the other hand, suggests that comparative analysis must be undertaken within social, economic and political contexts, drawing a distinction between what the education system purports to do and its actual achievement. Halls notes that supporters of this approach contend that, “Comparative research which fails to take the whole social context into account lays itself open to a charge of superficiality” (Halls 1990:32). Taking into consideration such a holistic understanding of the socio-economic and political context, the approach calls upon an interdisciplinary perspective in comparative education studies. Thus, the contextual approach has been described as both pragmatic and eclectic.

The *problem solving approach*, on the other hand, aims at anticipating the outcome of policy; thus, it asks the question of “if...what”. In that regard, it seems to purport that comparative education has a predictive value and can lead to the formulation of laws on educational aspects. Thus, quantification, hypothesis testing and generalisation are the main tenets of the problem solving approach.

With its focus on education and economic growth, the *economic approach*, on the other hand, represents a particular kind of quantification whereby an attempt is made to correlate education achievement of the citizenry with economic development of the respective nation. This approach was very popular in the 1960s, particularly in post-colonial nations. The newly independent post-colonial countries looked both East and West for ideas; thus, calling upon comparative educationists in the industrialised countries for help. Consequently, the decade saw a massive upsurge in what became known as international development education. There was increasing involvement of international as well as regional and supra-national organisations which provided expertise and finance (Halls 1990:13). Burns (in Halls 1990) notes that studies in the economic approach were based on 'the orthodoxy of modernisation' theory, augmented by the human capital theories taken from economics.

However, this approach faltered in the beginning of the 1970s when there was a certain pessimism regarding the economic returns of education investment and ambiguities arose as to whether economic growth caused education or vice versa (Halls 1990, Kelly 1992). The opposition was clearly expressed in comparative studies based on the dependency theory of development. It has been contended (Halls 1990, Adams 1990 and Bensons 1990), however, that since the 1980s, there has been a resurgence of confidence in comparative economic studies, associated with names such as Psacharopoulos of the world Bank. Halls (1990:33) observes that Geourge Psacharopoulos' (1985) "most recent verdict is that the level of investment in education must be "country specific". That is, investment in education must correspond with the economic status of the respective country. Thus, poor nations such as Tanzania are advised to spend less on education. It is worth noting that, after the United States withdrawal from UNESCO, the World Bank has become the principal education sponsoring agency with interest centred on Third World countries (Hall 1990, Kelly 1992). Thus, the World Bank's view of education holds greater significance in the Third world countries' education policies.

Halls (1990) dichotomises the approaches to comparative education into two contending views: the historico-philosophical, the national character and the cultural approaches are categorised as the literary view; while the problem solving and the economic approach are categorised as the scientific view of comparative education.

It is important to note that the approaches in the "literary" category have a tendency of using the qualitative methods while those in the "scientific" category are prone to using

quantitative methods. Quantitative methods insist on observable data and the objectivity of the researcher. Halls notes, however, that recently the quantitative approach has been joined to the process-product research paradigm that suggests that “presage” and “context” variables, separate but interacting, react with process variables, generating “product variables, which can be measured” (Hall 1990:33). The qualitative methods, on the other hand, insist on studying social phenomena in their natural setting; thus, making the social, political and economic contexts an indispensable part of a comparative education study.

However, both the quantifiers and qualifiers find serious flaws in each other’s paradigm. The qualifiers are criticised for being over-descriptive, lacking the neutrality of hard figures and basing their research on overt and unconscious biases that falsify conclusions²⁶. The quantifiers on the other hand are criticised on the ground that research cannot possibly take into account all variables, some of which, in any case, are unmeasurable. Adams (1990) notes, for example, that:

If planning is expected to result in change and not be merely a ritual required for international funding, then it must involve more than statistical testing of hypotheses...understanding what people need and why they behave the way they do is unlikely to be clarified by one more rate of return study (Adams 1990:384).

He further expresses concern with arriving at conclusions through statistical means, without reference to context. He states:

A second concern lies in the easy arrival at conclusions without reference to context. I believe that appropriate and feasible solutions to such problems as rural development, vocationalisation and privatisation, are vitally influenced by national, sub-national and even international factors (Adams 1990:384).

Thus, the understanding of context, which most comparative studies in the “quantitative paradigm” seem to ignore, is a very important aspect in understanding educational issues. However, this does not mean that quantitative data should be completely ignored or eliminated. Quantitative data that support arguments or exemplify explanations are important. Statistics portraying a drop in primary school enrolment in Tanzania, for example, serves to exemplify the extent of the constraints on school enrolments. The holistic contextual analysis of access to primary education in Tanzania, on the other hand, helps in explaining the nature, form and impact of various constraints on schooling.

²⁶Halls (1990:33).

On the basis of the above discussion, it is argued that a broader understanding of comparative education is necessary in order to allow educational issues to be studied and compared within their social, political, economic and educational environment.

Bray & Thomas (1995) broadly define comparative education as:

All studies that inspect the similarities and/or differences between two or more phenomena relating to the transmission of knowledge, skills or attitudes from one person or a group to another (Bray & Thomas 1995:479).

Bray & Thomas' (1995) view, therefore, seems wide enough to encompass the broad field of comparative education. They note that this definition is broad enough to embrace many foci and types of inquiry that would not normally be found in the mainstream comparative education journals. They argue, however, that a wider understanding of comparative education would minimise the unbalanced and incomplete perspectives, as well as localisation that results from studies that are specifically macro or micro in scope.

Bray & Thomas (1995) contend that, since the field of comparative education has chiefly developed from a concern with cross-national comparison, most of the comparative literature has been on countries and world regions; thus, lacking the local dimension; while some of the research has been undesirably localised, resulting from a lack of international dimension. They state:

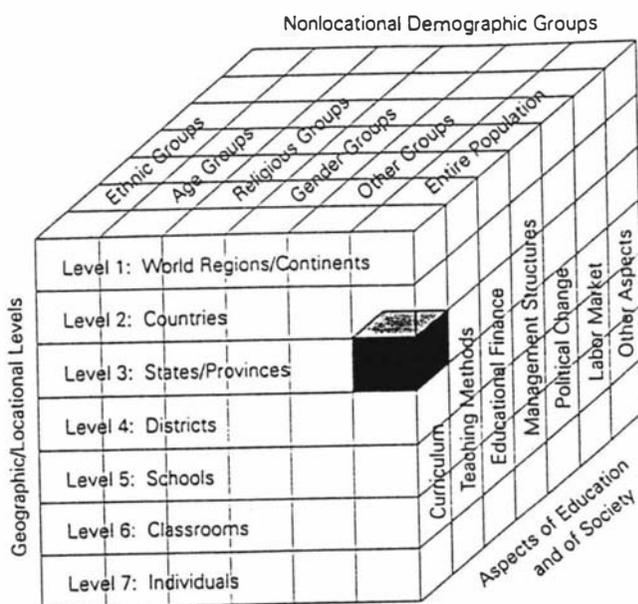
We have noted that the chief focus in comparative education literature has been on countries and world regions, and that this has tended to lead to unbalanced and incomplete perspectives. On the other side of the coin, we have noted that much research in other fields of education has been undesirably localised in focus. In many of these studies, unbalanced and incomplete perspectives have resulted from the lack of an international dimension (Bray & Thomas 1995:472).

They observe, however, that multilevel analysis has increased in recent years; partly, because of increased awareness of its importance and the availability of new tools for research. They suggest an addition of state/provincial, national and world-region to these multilevel analysis studies as most of them remain at individual, classroom, school and, sometimes, district levels.

The Multi-dimensional, Multilevel Approach to Comparative Education

Bray & Thomas (1995) suggest 3 main dimensions in what they term 'multilevel' comparative education study: the geographical/location dimension; the non-locational demographic groupings dimension and the dimension that embraces aspects of education and society. They contend that, most of the time, these three dimensions are present in a comparative study. Figure (3:1) is an illustration of a three-dimensional way of classifying comparative studies as portrayed by Bray, & Thomas (1995).

Figure 3.1: A Framework for Comparative Education Analysis



Source: Bray, B. & Thomas, R. M. (1995) Levels of Comparison in Educational Studies: Different Insight from Different Literature and the Value of Multilevel Analysis, *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 65 No. Fall 1995.

The non-locational demographic groupings dimension includes ethnicity, religion, age, and gender as well as the entire population; while the dimension that embraces aspects of education and society encompasses curriculum, teaching methods, finance, management structure, political change and labour markets. Acknowledging that it is possible to identify other intermediate levels and that, in practice, many studies may embrace two or more tiers,

Bray & Thomas (1995:473-4) identify seven levels in the geographical/location dimension. These include: world regions/continents, countries, states/provinces, schools, classrooms and, finally, individuals.

The discussion on the merits and limitations of each level²⁷ indicates that each level of comparison provides an insight on important aspects on education. Comparative studies at lower levels provide insight on issues such as school effectiveness, disparities in different schools, communities, districts and individuals or groups of individuals. The strength of comparative studies conducted at upper locational levels, (e.g. national/country) on the other hand, lies in the fact that they offer the general frame-work within which to understand the wider context of an educational phenomenon, such as transnational influences and dependencies. Research focusing on higher levels also helps to identify broad economic conditions, political structures, cultural traditions and forms of educational organisation that influence how much of what type of education is provided for different sectors of society (Bray & Thomas 1995).

Bray & Thomas (1995) note, however, that, although multilevel analysis has increasingly been recognised during the last two decades, for certain types of enquiry (e.g. Burnstain 1980, 1988, Cronbach 1976, Goldstein 1987, Raudenbush & Willms 1991) the dominant form of multilevel analysis has been principally confined to the level of the individual, classroom and school levels and mainly in the area of school effectiveness. They observe that some multilevel analysis of school effectiveness (Bosker and Scheerens 1994) mentions the context within which schools operate but give it little attention, while some literature (Raudenbush & Willms 1991)²⁸ includes studies from different countries but "make(s) no direct comparisons across national boundaries and fail(s) to draw out the implication of national level forces" (Bray & Thomas 1995). Bray & Thomas (1995) attribute this gap to different skills of individual researchers and the paradigms of particular types of research. Highly quantitative data, that require computers to perform various kinds of multiple regression on school effectiveness, are less likely to be available at national or world-regional levels. Hence, they assert that, "this is the reason why much cross-national comparative research is qualitative rather than quantitative" (Bray & Thomas 1995). They acknowledge that:

²⁷For an elaborate discussion on the merits and limitations of each level see Bray & Thomas (1995).

²⁸These works are cited in Bray & Thomas (1995).

Such a sophisticated, multilevel, multi-dimensional understanding of phenomenon must be paid for; and in most countries, it has become more difficult than before to secure resources for such research (Bray & Thomas 1995:487).

However, contending that, "the question of multilevel research design is more a matter of paradigm and philosophy than scale", Bray & Thomas (1995) assert that meaningful multilevel research design can be carried out, financial constraint notwithstanding. This present study uses secondary data from various research studies as one of the ways of meeting some challenges of time and financial constraints.

The above discussion indicates that a multi-dimensional and multilevel comparative education analysis is an appropriate approach to understanding educational phenomena, including education policy reforms.

On the basis of the merits discussed above, a multi-dimension comparative approach has been employed in this study. It is envisaged that such an approach is more appropriate for understanding contemporary policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand as it provides opportunities not only to interpret education policy in the respective country over time but also to examine the experiences of other people in other societies.

It has to be noted, however, that this thesis does not impose Bray & Thomas's multilevel/multi-dimensional framework on the study. Rather, the framework has been modified by the researcher to accommodate some aspects important to this study. The framework, as adapted for this study by the researcher, is presented in a graphic form as a three dimensional model in figure 3:2.

Taking the capitalist mode of production as a basic unit of analysis, the study considers transformations in the capitalist mode of production as the first level. The regional/continent level is not included in this study on the grounds that the regional categories may change depending on the criteria used to characterise the region (e.g. there are economic regions, political regions); also some countries in the different continent may have more common characteristics than those in the same continent. The second level, therefore, is of countries/nations. Since New Zealand and Tanzania do not have federal structures, the state/provincial level is unnecessary.

Of worth noting is that, in this study, the locational dimension is both socio-political and geographical. As Figure 3.2 shows, within this dimension, educational policy orientations are analysed at different times of capitalist transformation and in different countries (in this case Tanzania and New Zealand). References to schools and individuals are made only for better explanation or to support the main arguments.

Figure 3.2: Three Dimensional Framework for Comparative Education Policy Analysis

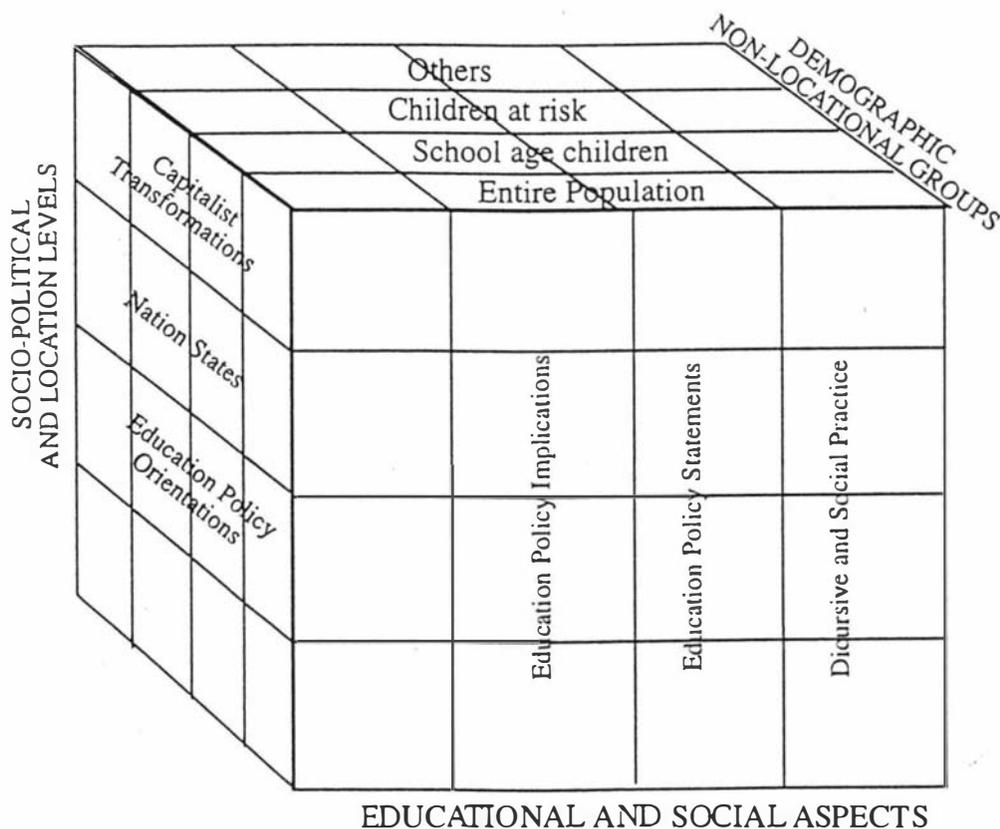


Figure 3.2 is the modified framework considered appropriate for this study.

This approach is considered appropriate for this study because it enables the study to examine the external and internal contexts of education policy. Since categories abstracted from national context tell little of the genesis of educational restructuring, the analysis of the transformation in the capitalist mode of production helps in tracing the historical genesis of the educational privatisation policy. It enables the study to explore how the fractions of capital (national, international and transnational) influence policy changes. For example,

“how has the international capitalist network publicised the ideas of educational privatisation reforms in different societies?” The national level comparison of Tanzania and New Zealand is important not only to avoid false 'universalisation' of findings resulting from one country study (Bray and Thomas 1995) but also to understand better the phenomena of education privatisation policy reforms which are taking place in contemporary education world-wide; and also to explore national influences on education policy. The assumption is that the type and tempo of the process of privatisation may be a result of contextual differences. Reference to a group of communities, schools or individuals is expected to illustrate the implication of educational policies for educational activities and the society.

Regarding non-locational demographic groups, the study considers the entire population within the selected locational level and refers to school age children and "children at risk" as specific demographic categories. A caveat has to be made, however, that the demographic categories referred to in this study are not aggregative/quantitative categories; rather, they are sociological and qualitative²⁹ in nature.

In the thesis educational funding, access and management are aspects of education that are considered, while social justice and educational privatisation policies have been considered as aspects of society.

Policy Analysis

In the previous chapter, various approaches and models or theories of policy are discussed with their merits and flaws. It is argued that education policy is part and parcel of public policy. On the basis of the view that public policy is a set of guidelines to govern the 'body politic' of the public, it is contended that the understanding of how the state works, as well as its powers and control, is important in underscoring public policy, in this case education policy. That is, in order to understand the direction which education policy is taking and why, one has to understand powers of the state and their sources. It is important also to understand what is stated as policy and its impact on the public. Thus, policy analysts need to analyse the policy statements and their implications within the social, political and economic environments.

²⁹In this study, reference to quantitative data is made only when it is deemed necessary for understanding of the argument.

Worth noting, however, is that there are various approaches to policy analysis, which have developed within the main paradigms: the empirical-analytic paradigm, symbolic or interpretive paradigm and critical paradigm (Popkewitz 1984).

Jennings (1987) and Popkewitz (1984) observe that policy analysis as a science developed within the empirical-analytic paradigm that assumes (Popkewitz 1984) that there are general or universal rules to policy making with less regard to specific context or actual circumstances in which policy is formulated. As Jennings (1987) notes:

Policy analysis as science applies these [natural science] tenets of positivism to the practice of policy analysis. For it the policy analyst is the bridge between the growing corpus of objective, empirically confirmed social scientific laws of human behaviour and the world of practical problem solving and policy formation (Jennings 1987:137).

Thus, studies in policy analysis as science tend to be descriptive and they concentrate on *what is* while ignoring or undermining *why it is* or *what ought to be*. These studies, therefore, impose a distinction between facts and values in policy decisions.

The main flaw of the policy as science approach, as many policy analysts (Simeon 1976, Codd 1988, Dale 1993) argue, is that it leads to the conception of policy-making as merely a technical and rational process which in turn, may, remove policies from the social, political and economic contexts within which they are made.

Simeon (1976) contends that policy emerges from the play of economic, social and political forces as manifested in and through institutions and processes. He argues that the study of policy needs to be linked with the more traditional concerns of political science and, in particular, with the three vital elements - power, conflict and ideology. He further notes that:

Policy-making is not by and large, simply a matter of problem solving, or taking some common goal and seeking the 'best' or the most effective 'solution'. It is rather a matter of choice in which resources are limited and in which goals and objectives differ and cannot be easily weighed against each other (Simeon 1976:550).

Thus, the approach of policy analysis as science is inadequate because it ignores the socio-economic and political context within which policy making takes place. This study argues that, although the descriptive and quantitative data are important in understanding policy, they are inadequate as they leave out the rules and values that develop and reinforce what is

aggregated or observed. Policy is not predetermined, logical and unproblematic (Crump 1993); rather, it is complex and it involves diverse and intricate issues.

Another approach to policy analysis is an interpretive approach that sees policy analysts as counsel or advisers to policy makers. Jennings (1987) contends that, in this approach:

The policy analyst should serve as an ethical enabling agent vis-a'-vis the policy maker, one whose responsibility is to provide the policy maker with a perspective that transcends the particularistic perspectives offered by lobbyists and advocates (Jennings 1987:147).

This approach falls into the *symbolic or interpretive paradigm* that focuses on the unique human capacity to invent and use symbols. It emphasises the communicative aspect of a social phenomenon, thus, focusing on the nature of discourse rather than on behaviour (Popkewitz 1984:41). In the same vein, Jennings (1987:148) notes that the interpretive approach maintains that a social scientific explanation of human action should involve the placement of that action in its specific cultural context.

It is contended in this thesis that the focus on the cultural context and *discourse* is important in understanding policy because it provides room for analysing not only the ideological hegemony in the policy process but also the implications and effects that a certain policy has on various members of the society and some societal activities.

However, the interpretive approach is delimited by the fact that it is concerned mainly with aspects of *what is* and *why it is* but not *what ought to be*. The tendency to concentrate on the phenomenon also makes it possible for the studies following the interpretive approach to leave out some of the relevant processes in the wider context.

On the other hand, the critical approach to policy analysis, which is similar to historical analysis of social processes (Popkewitz 1984), has interest in practical discourse. In the critical approach, the policy analyst has to identify the controls (particularly the distributive control) "so as to discover who makes the policy, what is its nature, what does it hope to achieve, why was it proposed at the time and what was not made the subject of policy" (Foster 1981:345 in Popkewitz 1984) as well as to suggest viable policy options.

Following the critical paradigm the policy analyst is able to undertake the study *of policy* and *for policy* (Dale 1993, Codd 1988). Codd (1988) contends that "policy analysis is a

form of enquiry which provides either the information base upon which policy is constructed or the critical examination of existing policy". He further explains (Codd 1988) that:

Analysis *for* policy can take two different forms: (a) *policy advocacy* which has the purpose of making specific policy recommendations; and (b) *information for policy* in which the researcher's task is to provide policy makers with information and data to assist them in the revision or formulation of actual policies.

Codd (1988) shows that analysis of policy can also take two different forms:

(a) *analysis of policy determination and effects*, which examines 'the inputs and transformational processes operating upon the construction of public policy' (Gordon et. al. 1977:28) and also the effects of such policies on various groups; and (b) *analysis of policy content*, which examines the values, assumptions and ideologies underpinning the policy process (Codd 1988:236).

Thus, the critical approach allows the study of education policy to capture the socio-economic as well as the "politicity" nature of education. Here, "politicity" refers to the inherent relationship between education and politics. That is, "education is neither politically neutral nor technically objective" (Torres 1995:163). Subscribing to this notion, Green (1994) contends that:

The professional evaluator and policy researcher can contribute in the context of government, but he or she will contribute to all of these activities only to the extent that they become also politicians and political advisors (Green 1994:unpaged).

A critical approach to policy analysis, therefore, allows the study of education policy to capture not only the socio-economic and political nature of education policy and its effect on society but also to offer suggestions for policy consideration.

It is argued, therefore, that the critical approach to policy analysis is appropriate for this study of education policy reforms, because it is concerned with all aspects of policy. That is, the critical approach is concerned *with what is, why it is and what ought to be*.

By taking a holistic understanding of policy, the critical approach also provides the analyst with opportunities to examine the dominant discourse of the policy statements.

Discourse Analysis Approach

The above discussion indicates that the analysis of policy also includes the analysis of the policy statements which in most cases are found in the policy documents. Different methods can be employed to analyse a policy document; the main ones being discourse analysis and content analysis. However, the critical discourse analysis was considered more pertinent to this study because it can contribute to a better understanding of the socio-economic, political and ideological controls in the education privatisation policy process.

Understanding Discourse

There are different approaches and, consequently, different meanings of the term "discourse". It is contended (Dant 1991) discourse is the material content of utterances exchanged in social context that is given meaning by the intention of utters and treated as meaningful by other participants.

More commonly, discourse is used in linguistics to refer to extended samples of either spoken or written language. This emphasises interaction between the speaker and addressee or between writer and reader (Fairclough 1992) and, therefore, processes of producing and interpreting speech or writing as well as the situational context of language use. In that sense, text is regarded as the written or spoken product of the process of text production. Discourse is also used to refer to different types of language used in different sorts of social situations; legal discourse, classroom discourse and so on.

On the other hand, discourse is also used in social theory and analysis to refer to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practice (Fairclough 1992). Discourses, in this sense, are manifested in particular ways of using language and other symbolic forms, such as visual images; not just to reflect or represent social relations but also to construct and position people in different ways as social subjects (e.g. as teachers or students or parents). Analysis under this perspective focuses on the social effects of discourse.

Discourse can also be ideological and it can serve to sustain relations of power. As Bourdieu (1977) argues, language is not only an instrument of communication or even of knowledge but also an instrument of power. Thus, through language, "one seeks to be understood, believed, obeyed, respected and distinguished depending on their position in

the power hierarchy" (Bourdieu 1977). In the same vein, van Dijk (1985) argues that, although larger problems such as inequality, class differences, sexism, racism, power and dominance, involve more than text and talk, discourses play a crucial role in their ideological formulation, in their communicative reproduction, in the social and political decision procedures and in the institutional management and representation of such issues.

Thus, whereas discourse is within the domain of communication, it goes beyond the realms of language use and grammar to include effects of communication, the social positioning of the communicators and the context within which communication takes place. Analysis of policy statements, for example, would reveal the ideological base of the stated policy.

Approaches to Discourse Analysis

There have been various approaches to, and understandings of, discourse analysis. Fairclough (1992) categorises them into the non-critical and critical approaches, according to the nature of their social orientation to discourse. Consequently, the works of Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), the ethnomethodological work in "conversation analysis", the Labov and Fanshel's (1977) model of therapeutic discourse, and the social psychologist approach to discourse analysis of Potter and Wetherell (1987), are classified as non-critical (Fairclough 1992). These approaches focus on the study of language development and use, *per se*, rather than on the relationship between discourse and larger social formations. Hence, they do not engage in explaining how discourse systematically constructs versions of the social and natural worlds and how discourse positions subjects in relations of power (Luke 1995).

This is a significant omission because, if we take language as a social representation in its own right, then issues of power and ideology become of concern. Thus, the non-critical approaches have been criticised (Fairclough 1992; Luke 1995) for having an undeveloped social orientation to discourse. The importance of these approaches, however, lies in the fact that they stress the constructed nature of written and spoken text. This is important because, in discourse analysis, "language is not viewed as a medium that neutrally transmits and reflects process taking place elsewhere; it is virtually constitutive of social and psychological processes" (Marshall and Wetherell 1989:108-109). That is, rather than being a mere conveyor of social life, language is viewed as social life's essential constructive feature.

Luke (1995) notes that, up to the mid 1980s, the few educational research works that employed discourse analytic theories and methods (e.g., Ochs & Schieffelin, 1983; Schieffelin & Ochs 1986), fall in this non-critical category since they developed from the applications of interaction socio-linguistics which tended to explain texts by reference to rule-governed, learned social interaction and performance. Further, educational research, at the time, was influenced by psycho-linguistics, that explained language production by reference to speakers' internal productive syntactic and semantic capacities. Research was also influenced by the ethnography of communication and ethnomethodology to the study of classroom talk (Luke 1995:8).

The critical approaches to discourse analysis, on the other hand, include critical linguistics developed by a group at the University of East Anglia, discourse analysis developed by Michael Pecheux and his collaborators in France in the 1970s, discourse analysis based on the post-structural analysis of social history and contemporary culture by Michael Foucault, as well as the critical discourse analysis, including the "textually oriented discourse analysis (TODA)", developed by Fairclough (Fairclough 1992, Luke 1995).

Fairclough (1992) contends that critical linguistics tends to focus on the text as product; thus, putting less emphasis upon the process of producing and interpreting texts. He states that:

Critical linguistics also places a one-sided emphasis upon the effects of discourse in the social reproduction of existing social relations and structures, and correspondingly neglect discourse as a domain in which social struggles take place (Fairclough 1992:29).

Working mainly on written political discourse, Pecheux (in Fairclough 1992) attempts to combine a social theory of discourse with a method of text analysis. Building on Althusser's social theory, Pecheux developed the idea of language as a very important material form of ideology (Fairclough 1992). Fairclough (1992) argues that the strength of Pecheux's approach is that it combines Marxist theory of discourse with linguistic methods of text analysis. However, as in critical linguistics, he treats texts as products; thus, giving little attention to the processes of text production and interpretation. Also, the capacity of subjects, to act as agents and even to transform themselves, is neglected.

Foucault's works have made a major contribution to the social theory of discourse, especially in the area of relationship between discourse and power, the discursive construction of social subjects and knowledge and the functioning of discourse in social

change (Codd 1988, Fairclough 1992, Luke 1995). Foucault contends that the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of discourse is the key to the establishment and consolidation of the relations of:

power that permeates the deepest recesses of civil society and provides the material conditions in which individuals are both as subject and objects (Codd 1988:243).

By the same token, it has been noted that some discourses are so powerful that they appear as common sense (Fairclough 1992) and act as a structuring principle of society. These common sense discourses support and perpetuate existing power relations. Thus, people may identify with and accept disconcerting views about them; rather than take the risk of becoming marginalised by resisting the views that appeal to common sense. Students at risk, for example, may identify with, and accept, the view that anyone who attends school has an opportunity to succeed in the examinations and gain access to further education although in reality, for them, that opportunity is not there.

The development of discourse analysis as a method can be partly attributed to Michael Foucault's influence on social sciences and humanities (Fairclough 1992). It has been noted (Codd 1988, Fairclough 1992, Luke 1995), for example, that recent developments in discourse analysis in educational research are based on the post-structural analysis of social history and contemporary culture postulated by Foucault. Luke (1995) contends that this is observed in recent research on women, girls and minority students, whereby the concepts of voice, discourse and subjectivity have become central; in the re-examination of teacher education as a domain, where social cultural discourses compete to construct and position teachers and students; in the discourse analytic studies on the construction of particular areas of school knowledge and curriculum; in textbooks and in face to face classroom interaction; etc. The common feature in these works is that they have attempted to move beyond descriptive research and to use discourse analysis to critique and to challenge dominant institutional practice.

It has been noted, (Luke 1995) however, that many of the Foucauldian works (e.g. Luke 1989, Donald 1992) have been criticised for lacking close analysis of the linguistic or technical features of written or spoken text. Likewise, the ethnographic research and case studies, based on post-structuralist theorisation of discourse, voice and subjectivity, (e.g. Fine 1987; Lather 1991; Singh 1993; Weis 1993; Wexler 1993 in Luke 1995) are criticised for using broad interpretive approaches to analysis and for drawing content-level themes from the

transcripts but failing to show how large scale social discourses are manifested in everyday talk and writing in local sites. On the other hand, many social linguistic and linguistic analyses of texts, are pointed out for paying close attention to language in use but for failing to explicate how discourses evidenced in local contexts have political and ideological consequences (Luke 1995).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Luke (1995) asserts that critical discourse analysis (CDA) can provide a remedy to the above mentioned shortcomings evidenced in the Foucauldian discourse analysis works as well as in the social-linguistic and linguistic analysis of text. He argues that, as a subset of what has come to be known as critical language studies, critical discourse analysis expresses the potential and value of discourse analysis in the sociological analysis of how knowledge, competence and curriculum contribute to the differential production of power and subjectivity (Luke 1995:10-13). In other words, CDA offers a means of elaborating and analysing language within specific contextual constructions. Luke (1980:12) notes that:

Critical discourse analysis shares with sociolinguistics and ethnomethodology the assumption that, language use should be studied in a social context...It also shares the view of educational ethnographers that human subjects engage in the negotiation of knowledge, identity and social relations in every day patterns of institutional life. But it departs from much mainstream research with its focus on how power and identity are legitimated, negotiated, and contested toward political ends...(Luke 1995:12).

The CDA approach also assumes that systematic asymmetries of power between speakers and listeners, between readers and writers, are linked to the production and reproduction of stratified political and economic interests. Thus, it is argued (Luke 1995:12) that dominant discourses in contemporary cultures tend to represent those social formations and power relations that are the product of history, social formation and culture, "as if they were organic, biological and essential necessity". By attempting to interrupt everyday common sense discourse, therefore, critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides a political intervention which may "destabilise authoritative discourses and foreground relations of inequality, domination and subordination" (Luke 1995:12).

Luke (1995) notes that based on the post-structuralist scepticism, CDA tends to question the possibility of developing an undistorted perspective on social reality; one that is free from identifiable class or cultural interest. Luke (1995) cautions, however, that, in the

search for neutrality, there is a danger of all meanings accruing equal plausibility and value; hence, creating the potential for devaluing texts whose intent is to enfranchise marginal voices.

By implication, therefore, Luke is suggesting that the task of a critical discourse analyst is not only to describe and explain the hegemonic functions of discourse but also to attempt to disarticulate and critique texts with the intention of breaking what Fairclough (1992) refers to, as "common-sense consent" to domination. He contends that:

Part of that disarticulation can involve the analysis of whose material interests particular texts and discourse might serve, how that articulation works on readers and listeners, and strategies for reinflecting and rearticulating these discourses in everyday life (Luke 1995:20).

According to Foucault, discourse analysis is not concerned with what sentences are grammatical or possible but with specifying social historically variable discourses - "systems of rules which make it possible for certain statements but not others to occur at particular times places and institutional locations"³⁰. Although Fairclough (1992) contends that this linguistic analysis, to which Foucault is appealing is dated, such analysis seems to provide opportunity to understand the process of text production which is important in the analysis of policy documents.

Discourse Analysis of Education Policy Documents

Luke (1995) argues that discourses develop to serve particular knowledge and beliefs as much as texts develop to serve institutional purposes and projects. Thus, discourses tend to be identified as particular text types or genres. Genres are recognised as being institutionally situated, goal-oriented and conventionalised forms of social action and power.

It is contended, in this thesis, that education policy documents (texts) are a distinct discourse genre susceptible to controls and manipulation. As Codd (1988:243) observes, "in modern societies, although the education system is controlled by the state, it works to maintain the relations of power in the society as a whole". He states further that:

³⁰.Cited in Fairclough (1992).

Policies produced by and for the state are obvious instances in which language serves a political purpose, constructing particular meanings and signs that work to mask social conflict and foster commitment to the notion of a universal public interest. In this way, policy documents produce real social effects through the production and maintenance of consent (Codd 1988:237).

Codd (1988) argues, therefore, that education policy documents are ideological texts that are constructed within historical and political contexts. By the same token, Fox and Miller (1995) claim that:

Where policy is ratified by legislatures penetrable by monied special interests, it is likely that meanings will be captured and policy will be crafted on behalf of the wealthy, the well-organised, and the special interests that fund election campaigns and purchase media time and space. The powerful can ensure that certain classes of people are excluded from the debate, cancelling their opportunity to offer a different interpretation of events (Fox and Miller 1995:10).

Thus, policy documents have to be subjected to critical discourse analysis in order to discern the interests they represent and the mechanisms, devices and strategies they employ to reach their objectives. The analysis of a policy text, therefore, is an attempt to interpret the statements in the document in terms of their "implicit patterns of signification, underlying symbolic structures and contextual determinants of meaning" (Codd 1988:237). In other words, policy text analysis is a deconstruction of a policy document.

As Fox and Miller (1995) further explain, the struggles over policy, in this case, education policy, are:

Struggles for meaning captured in an environment in which no meanings are a priori true or ontologically fixed. Meaning is up for grabs. With meaning up for grabs, the temptation to offer specious attestation is strong. A bit of misrepresentation just might get us what we want...(Fox and Miller 1995:11).

Through critical discourse analysis of policy documents, therefore, not only are the systems that make it possible for some statements and not others to occur at particular points in time to be discerned but also distortions and misrepresentations inherent in policy documents and how they affect interests of varying groups are deconstructed. That is, critical discourse analysis of a policy document systematically exposes how texts operate in favour of particular political interests to sustain relations of power and domination.

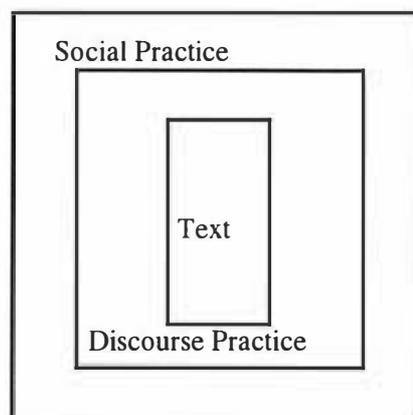
Moreover, CDA enables the policy analyst to examine, as Fairclough (1992) states:

How texts construct reading positions; how the texts tell the reader how, when and where to read; how they stipulate a selective version of the world and of "being" and "doing" in that world; and how they position some readers as inside and outside of, visible and invisible in that world (Fairclough 1992:18).

It has been argued (Codd 1994, Janks 1997) that Fairclough's three dimensional framework of CDA (See figure 3.3) is useful in education policy analysis because not only does it seek to "to integrate or triangulate three forms of analysis - analysis of text; analysis of discursive practices; and analysis of social practice" (Codd 1994:4) but also it "provides multiple points of analytic entry"(Janks 1997:329).

The three dimensions include the text that is a specific category of written or spoken language, the discursive practice which is the process by which the text is produced and the social practice which is the socio-historical conditions that govern these processes (Fairclough 1992, Codd 1994 & Janks 1997).

Figure 3.3: Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Framework



Source: Codd (1994) "Educational Reform and the Contradictory Discourse of Evaluation" in *Evaluation and Research in Education*, Vol. 8 Nos. 1&2, 1994.

Janks (1997) notes that, according to Fairclough, each of these dimensions requires different kinds of analysis. While the text dimension requires text analysis which is mainly the description of the statements in the text, the discursive practice dimension requires

process analysis or interpretation of the processes of document production. This involves the examination of the immediate social, political and ideological milieu within which the text has been produced. The social practice dimension on the other hand requires a social analysis or explanation of the dominant discourse within social historical conditions that govern the process of document production.

Janks contends, however, that, as long as all the dimensions are included and their inter-connection is maintained, the analysis can begin with any of the dimensions. Janks argues that, "it is in the inter-connections that the analyst finds interesting patterns and disjunctions that need to be described, interpreted and explained" (Janks 1997: 329).

The framework is also useful because, by embedding three kinds of analysis, one inside another, it acknowledges the complex nature of policy analysis that is not always linear and tidy (Janks 1997). As Codd (1994) argues, Fairclough's CDA framework is also useful in analysing the discourses of education policy. Such analysis focuses upon processes of text production, distribution and consumption, all of which require reference to particular economic, political and institutional settings within which discourse is generated. Thus, as Codd (1994) observes:

It provides, in particular, a basis for recognition of different discourse types and explains why language is politically important in struggles over education policy (Codd 1994:4).

This is important because, as has been observed, (Foucault 1984:123 in Fairclough 1992), social institutions, including education, are constituted by discourse and discursive relations. Foucault asserts "that any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledge and powers which they carry" Thus, as Codd (1994) further explains, struggles over "which discourse type is to be dominant within social domain of education" are struggles over "which practices are to be ideologically maintained or strengthened" (Codd 1994:4). It is important, therefore, to recognise dominant discourses in education policy and their power base.

It is within the framework of critical discourse analysis that this study proceeds to analyse Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy* (URT 1995) and New Zealand's *Tomorrow's Schools* policy documents. CDA enables the researcher to establish the timing, mandate, objectives, content, and language used in the policy documents. Further, it allows the study

to link the text with the meta-discourses of privatisation and the implications of the espoused policies to state provision of education.

Methodological Framework

The ongoing discussion on methodology indicates that this study has employed a combination of methods (see figures 3.4 & 3.5), which include: comparative education and policy analysis, which form the comparative education policy analysis (CEPA) approach; and critical discourse analysis (CDA). This eclectic approach to the study of education policy reforms is appropriate because each method contributes towards enriching the process of collecting, analysing and discussing data, as well as the organisation of the research report. Figure 3.4 and 3.5 are graphic presentations, developed by the researcher, to illustrate the conceptualisation of the relationships of the multi-methods approach employed in this study.

Comparative education enriches policy analysis because it creates avenues within which aspects of reforms are explained, that transcend national, organisational, institutional and even contemporary times. For instance, a comparative analysis approach made it possible for this study to systematically trace the historical genesis and timing of education privatisation policy reforms in both Tanzania and New Zealand within the wider transformations of capitalism. By employing CEPA, this study captured the conceptual understanding of education policy as part of public policy at the centre of which is the state. Thus, the study not only analyses the education policy under the colonial and post-colonial state in both Tanzania and New Zealand but also observes the similarities and differences that may have influence on education policies in both countries. Through the CEPA approach, similarities and differences between the policy documents in both countries are examined, interpreted and explained.

The application of the CDA on the other hand, enables the study to examine and deconstruct the main education policy reform documents in each country.

Figure 3.4: A Multi-Methods Approach to Policy-Analysis

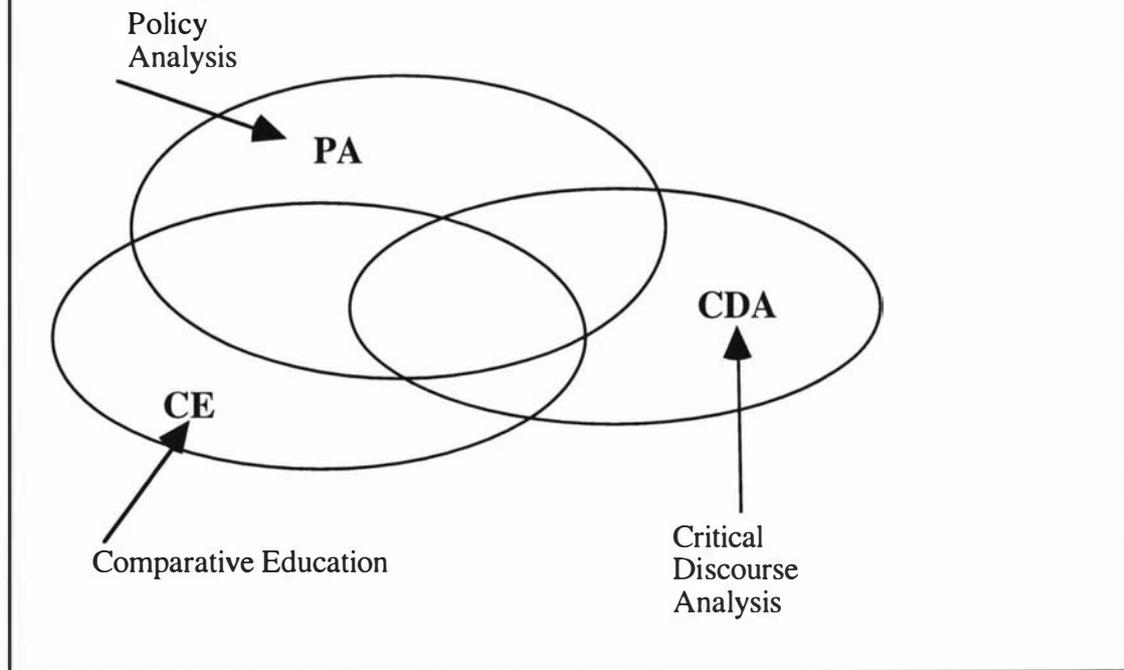
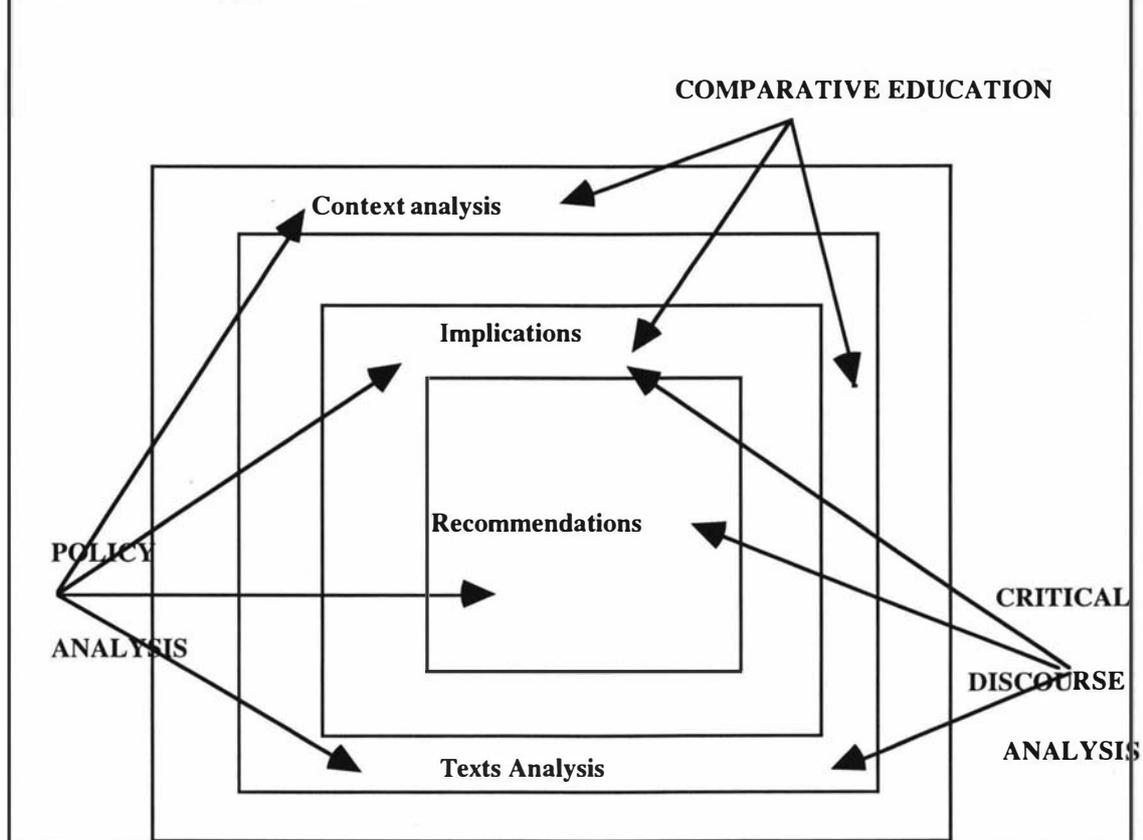


Figure 3.5: Application, of CEPA and CDA in education policy analysis



The decision to use the CDA as one of the methods in the study was greatly influenced by the works of Bourdieu (1977), Foucault (1984), Codd (1988), Fairclough (1992), and Luke (1995) which highlight the role of discourse in supporting the dominant ideology as well as its functioning in social change. Foucault is of the view that "any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledge and powers which they carry" (Foucault 1984:123 in Fairclough 1992) while Bourdieu's (1977) asserts, in the same vein, that language is one very important material form of ideology. Drawing from these notions and Codd's (1988) argument that, education policy documents are ideological texts that need to be deconstructed in order to expose their inherent distortions and misrepresentations, this thesis registers the need for a critical examination of the education privatisation reform documents. Therefore, in this study, the CDA is employed in the examination of the immediate context of the dominant discourse in the education reform texts, the interests it represents and its effects on various groups of people.

Fairclough's framework of the CDA is adapted in this study because it provides for the analysis and discussion not only of the main policy texts but also of the process of text production which is important in understanding policy statements. The analysis of the education policy text production process provided the researcher with an opportunity to examine *why* and *how* certain ideas are included or omitted from the policy text. In other words, the analysis enabled the researcher to go beyond descriptions and explanations of the hegemonic functions of discourse to disarticulation and critique of policy documents.

Thus, this study employs critical discourse analysis to analyse:

- the discursive practice of privatisation, by examining the development of the meta discourse of privatisation and the discourse of privatisation in education;
- the social practice, by examining both the wider and immediate milieu within which the education reform documents were produced and how various interests (e.g. those of multi-national corporations, local business groups, political elites, education professionals, parents, students) are articulated or misrepresented; and
- the main *policy documents* (policy texts), by discussing how the discourse of privatisation contained in policy reform texts is articulated and whose interests are promoted, thwarted or side-tracked.

Both the CDA and CEPA approaches help to guide the discussion of implications of education privatisation policy reforms for the provision of education, particularly to the "children at risk", in Tanzania and New Zealand.

Further, the study approaches educational policy analysis in accordance with the view (Dale 1993, Codd 1988) that the education policy analyst has to go beyond the analysis *of* policy to include the analysis *for* policy. Therefore, the study makes some suggestions for policy interventions in order to improve the provision of education, especially in Tanzania, and it also points out some areas where more research is needed.

The use of multiple methods in this study, therefore, allows the researcher not only to draw insights from different approaches but also to develop arguments that would otherwise not be adequately supported by a single approach. Thus, besides addressing issues of why, what and how the education policy reforms are justified, the study goes further to explore what can be done next, in order to remedy their adverse implications and effects.

PART III

CONTEXT ANALYSIS

Education and the State in the Transformation of Capitalism

The main purpose of this part of the thesis is to explore the historical genesis of contemporary education privatisation policies in Tanzania and New Zealand. It is contended that education policies, like other policies, do not develop in a vacuum; rather, they are conceived and developed within a social, economic and political environment which forms their context. External influences, coupled with internal factors, complement each other to form a complete context within which policies are made, maintained or reformed. While global social, economic and political trends form the external context from which some major national social, political and economic dynamics develop and can be explained, internal dynamics account for the specificity and sometimes the unique characteristics of similar policies. It is argued, in this study, therefore, that contemporary education privatisation policies in Tanzania and New Zealand owe their origins to the capitalist mode of production and the internal dynamics of each respective country. From the assumption that education policy is "part and parcel" of public policy, it is further argued that the nature, position and role of the state is central to the understanding of education policy reforms.

In this part, therefore, the transformation of capitalism and the nature, role and function of the state are analysed, as well as educational policies promoted during distinct capitalist formations. The global and national social political and economic trends, particularly as they relate to socio-economic and political developments in Tanzania and New Zealand, are analysed with the aim of exploring how the mode of production underlying the dominant relations of production, interrelates with the internal environment to create the context that influences the functions of, and policies promulgated by, the state. From the position that the state works to protect and to promote the interests of the dominant class, it is argued that, while the role of the state endures within the mode of production, the functions it performs may vary according to changes within the social economic and political environment. The ensuing discussion and accounts, underscore the circumstances leading to the adoption of education privatisation policies by the state, in both Tanzania and New Zealand, since the 1980s.

Chapter Four

Education Policy and the State Under Industrial Capitalism.

External Context

With the transformation of mercantile capital into industrial capital in 19th century Europe, more raw materials and markets were needed. Thus, owners of industrial capital urged their national states to support their capital accumulation ventures by offering political support and protection. This led to the scramble for areas of influence and eventually into conflicting interests among the capitalist states. To resolve such conflicts, imperial powers divided areas around the world amongst themselves; the partition of Africa in 1884/85 resulted from such ventures.

The result of such “overt” imperialism³¹ was the creation of spheres of influence known as colonies, which were directly administered as departments of the imperial states to support their national industries. While the tropical climate prevalent in most areas was considered to be hostile, allowing a few settlers and colonial administrators to stay, some areas with more amenable climate (such as New Zealand and South Africa) were earmarked for settlement of surplus European population; thus becoming settler colonies. Thus, colonies served as a source of primary raw materials, provided settlement opportunities for surplus population and provided a market for industrial goods.

Under overt imperialism, the imperial spheres, comprising the metropolitan and the colonial states, formed the basic structure for world capitalism; with the pre-capitalist areas of the world forming an important part in the capitalist mode of production. In that case, as it is argued by supporters of the dependency theory (e.g. Frank 1971) and the world system model (e.g. Wallerstein 1987) of socio-economic development, the colonies became extensions of capitalist relations of production from the metropolis to the periphery. The colonial state, like the metropolitan state, acted in the defence of the interests of the capital owners and their bid not only to expropriate resources but also to make profit on investment (Harworth 1994).

³¹Hoogvelt (1997) refers to "overt imperialism" as "formal colonialism".

The function of the colonial state, therefore, was to secure and maintain the position of the colonies in the capitalist relations of production by setting appropriate strategies of accumulation.³² Through colonialism, ownership and control of the means of production in the colonies changed, signifying the change in the relations of production. The imperial powers took over the ownership and control of the means of production and distribution of resources from the colonised people. Through social institutions, such as schooling and religion, imperial powers systematically eroded the socio-cultural base of the colonised people. Thus, under colonialism, pre-colonial social institutions³³ (which aimed at preserving indigenous cultural values and socio-economic relations) were deliberately replaced by colonial social institution so as to secure capitalist relations of production and the position of the colonies in the hierarchy of industrial capitalism. This was the beginning of "the legacy of the international division of labour, of resource bondage and the westernisation of the periphery elites" (Hoogvelt 1997:26).

Local Context: Tanzania

The Colonial State in Tanzania

Discoveries and other anthropological studies suggest that East Africa may have been the site of human origin. Northern Tanzania's famed Olduvai Gorge has provided rich evidence of the area's early history, including fossil remains of some of humanity's earliest ancestors.

By the time the Arab slavers, European explorers and missionaries penetrated the area, some of the ethnic groups (e.g. the Haya, the Nyamwezi, the Ngoni, the Chaga etc.) had well-organised societies and controlled extensive areas with most of the indigenous people engaged in a barter system³⁴ of trading amongst themselves (Kimambo and Temu 1969).

Tanzania's early contact with the outside world was with the Arabs and Eastern traders, around 1000 AD, while the Western contact was established through Portuguese traders' around 1500 AD. This not only opened up the area for plunder but also put Tanzania into the world capitalist framework.

³²For more information on strategies of accumulation see Dale (1991).

³³Pre-capitalist societies had educational systems which they deemed appropriate for their society. These are normally referred to as indigenous or traditional education.

³⁴In the barter system of trading goods are directly exchanged without the use of money.

During the 16th -19th centuries, people plus products (such as cloves, coconut and grains) were exported from Africa to Arab countries (Mbilinyi 1994) as well as Western countries. This occurrence not only deprived the indigenous societies of their physical and human resources but also it interfered with their socio-economic and political development activities. Hundsdorfer (1982:2) notes, for example, that at least half of the population from this area (between the East Coast and Lake Tanganyika) were taken as slaves or killed during the slave raids or perished on their way to slave markets.

With the transformation of capitalism from mercantile capital to industrial capital and the abolition of the slave trade, traders from different European countries, organised under the auspices of trading companies, (e.g. the German East Africa Trading Company) competed for other goods, especially those suitable as raw materials for the industries at home. Thus, Tanzania became part of the scramble for Africa that led to the 1884/85 Berlin conference which culminated in the partition of Africa.

In order to protect the interests of the German East Africa Company which had established trading activities in the area between the Indian Ocean and Lake Tanganyika, the German Imperial State claimed, and was apportioned, the territory which was to be part of German East Africa; thus, formally making Tanganyika (Mainland Tanzania) a German colony, after the 1885 Berlin Conference.

After the slave market was closed, in 1873, the people of Tanzania had to endure yet another difficult period resisting German colonisation and suffering the consequences. It is noted, for example, that:

The colonisers destroyed not only the villages they suspected of harbouring guerrillas, but also the fields and entire harvests, in order to make it impossible for the population to offer further resistance. Thus they depopulated formerly flourishing regions and let fertile cultivated areas revert to bush-land or desert plains (Hinzen and Hundsdorfer 1982:2).

The survivors were forced to live in scattered homesteads hidden in the bush. This, plus other natural calamities such as rinderpest, tsetse flies (Kimambo & Temu 1969, Hyden 1980:40, O'Neill 1990:1) and drought, contributed significantly to people's apathy and political indifference; an attitude that was reinforced by other colonial social institutions, including education.

The German administration encouraged white European agricultural settlement and set aside fertile land for this purpose. Areas, mainly in the southern and western part of the

country, (e.g. Njombe, Kigoma etc.) were designated as labour reserve areas for the European settlements.

Various taxes (such as hut tax, poll tax and school fees) were introduced in order to encourage people to cultivate cash crops and to provide migrant labour. The taxes and fees had to be paid in cash which the indigenous people could not get from anywhere except by working for the colonialists. O'Neill (1990) notes that, due to the relative success of peasant production in contrast to the failure of plantation agriculture supervised by European settlers and the colonial government, the hut tax³⁵ became very important for German colonial administration. Through wage-labour and cash crop production, increasing numbers of peasants entered the monetary economy of the capitalist world. It is argued that, through such activities, the entire population was robbed of the potential for relating and acting together in their own best interests.

The colonial state built the transportation infrastructure, particularly the railways, to the areas producing cotton, coffee and sisal, as well as those designated as labour reserve areas, in order to facilitate the export of cash crops and movements of migrant labour. Thus, during the period of German colonial rule, the central railway line was built from Dar es Salaam (Coast) to Kigoma (Western border) as well as to Mwanza (on Lake Victoria). The Tanga-Moshi line was also built to open up the fertile northern hinterland which produced sisal and coffee.

Asians, particularly Indians, were brought into East Africa by the colonial state as indentured labour for building the transportation infrastructure, especially the railways. After the railways were built, most of the Indians settled in urban areas and engaged in business and other commercial activities, later forming a class of "business bourgeoisie"³⁶.

Through the conversion of colonial areas into imperial territories, wars among the imperial states spread to the colonial areas with the First World War bringing considerable suffering and more set-backs to the people of Tanzania. As O'Neill (1990) notes, during and immediately after the war, food for the troops was forcefully requisitioned, with consequences of subsequent starvation. Many Africans were also killed by diseases such as influenza, diarrhoea, plague, smallpox, and cerebral meningitis, which were spread by troops throughout the country.

³⁵ "Akidas" were Africans educated under the Arab system of education who were hired and used as tax collectors by the Germany government.

³⁶ Shivji (1976) refers to this group of Asian business people in Tanzania as a class of business bourgeoisie.

With the defeat of Germany in the First World War, Tanganyika became a British Mandate Territory under the auspices of the League of Nations. The British colonial state had little interest in any development that did not promise profit, in simple terms. To the British, Tanganyika was more important strategically and in terms of transportation (as it was part of the continuous stretch of land from Sudan to Rhodesia) than in economic terms (O'Neill 1990). Thus, although the British continued to expropriate cash crops, (such as sisal, coffee, tea and sugar) compared to Kenya, capitalist expansion in Tanganyika was limited. After the war, for example, the remaining German settlers were expelled by the British but vacant farms were not immediately occupied and it was not until 1924 that domestic exports were to exceed the 1913 figures. Peasant production was more encouraged than settler farming because it could sustain itself, even during the hard times of economic recession (O'Neill 1990). Likewise, few schools for Africans were established. Those that were established were mainly in the cash-crop growing areas and in towns.

Although the British employed "indirect rule" (a system of 'Native Authorities' or tribal chiefs through which the British colonial rule was mediated), the colonial socio-economic structure was such that the Europeans retained the control of major decision-making in both the public and private sector with the Asians and the Arabs located in the middle while the Africans were kept at the bottom of the social structure. The role of the Asians was to channel the economic surplus from African producers through to the metropolitan bourgeoisie. The colonial racial policies in Tanzania made it impossible for Africans to become wealthy farmers or business people. Such dynamics contributed to a relative lack of industrial development during the period that Tanganyika was under colonial governments.

It is also worth noting that, in the period between 1880 and 1961, Tanzania's economy became more subjugated to external forces through dependence on the export of primary commodities to Europe and cheap migrant labour to South African and Rhodesian mines and the sisal plantation, as well as the importation of technology, manufactured goods and skilled human resources from the industrialised countries (Mbilinyi 1994). This has created the characteristic primary export economy with the ensuing uneven development which is typical of colonial and post-colonial countries.

This phenomenon can be explained as a process of underdevelopment which created the periphery economy in Tanzania; a condition conducive to the development of the core economy of the respective colonial powers. As Rodney (1972) contends; the introduction of plantation economy and commercial agriculture in the colonies led to

regional and social differentiation, with inequalities developing between rural and urban areas. The introduction of wage labour and cash crop for sale in the world market also gave rise to forms of inequality between individuals. Rodney (1972) argues, however that these changes did not lead to any significant technological change, rather, they led to increased structural underdevelopment.

This situation of perpetuated dependence can also be observed from the report of the economic survey mission organised by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), in 1959/60, which argued that the development of Tanganyika could greatly benefit from the continued and expanded inflow of grants and technical assistance and from availability of loans on "soft" terms (World Bank 1961). The local elite did not hesitate to heed this advice when Tanganyika became independent, in 1961; with the subsequent declaration of the Republic status in 1962; and later, in 1964, when it joined with Zanzibar Island (which gained its independence from Britain in 1963) to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

It is argued, therefore, that through colonial relationship, Tanzania became highly dependent in its position within the world economy; the position that has not altered to date. It is important to note that regardless of the change in the name of the colonial power, under both German and British rule, the colonial position of the country remained basically the same. Thus, colonial education policies in Tanzania were developed and effected within this context of colonialism.

Colonial Education Policies in Tanzania

Pre-colonial societies in Tanzania, like other pre-capitalist societies, had educational systems which were deemed appropriate for their needs. Indigenous education was acquired through living and doing, in the pre-colonial Tanzanian societies. While the bulk of the learning was achieved through active engagement in doing what people were learning, most societies, however, also had formal education institutions set up separately for boys and girls at the time of puberty to initiate them into the adult roles of their society (Mbilinyi 1982). Based on the understanding that education has a role of transmitting the accumulated wisdom and knowledge necessary for maintenance and development of the society from one generation to the other, indigenous education was total, free and compulsory. Indigenous education was also ascriptive in the sense that the acquired knowledge, skills and attitudes were used to perform the roles and duties expected of a member in the community (Nyerere 1967).

Tanzania's contact with the outside world brought with it educational systems which sought to replace indigenous education. Arab Moslems and Western Christian Missionaries established educational activities in East Africa before the advent of formal colonialism in the late 19th century. This education was basically aimed at socialising the indigenous people, through the evangelical work, to the prevailing dominant Arab and Western cultures of the time. The fact that the Arab-trained "Akidas"³⁷ were used as interpreters and tax collectors by the Germans, while the areas with greater missionary activities were easily assimilated into the colonial system, verify the significant contribution of education in easing the transition to colonialism.

After formal colonisation, the colonial education system was instituted in Tanzania with education policies and acts reflecting the imperial socio-economic and political relationships. Thus, both the German and British colonial governments established educational systems in the country to enhance their colonial objectives of obtaining local clerks, low cadre officials and subservient producers.

The prime purpose of German colonial government in educating Africans was stated in the official circular issued in 1903 as:

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

Thus, the German government established its own schools and paid grants-in aid to those missionary schools which included the German language in their curricular (Cameron and Dodd 1970).

With a similar vision, the objective of the British colonial education in Tanzania was clarified by the Colonial Education Department in 1924 as follows:

Our objective...is an education system which will provide for African needs and at the same time produce a virile and loyal citizen of the empire...where character, health, industry and proper (sic) appreciation of the dignity of manual labour rank as of first importance...³⁸

³⁷Akidias were coastal people who had acquired literacy skills and could speak Kiswahili, a language that many indigenous people could understand. They were employed by colonial administration as interpreters and tax collectors.

³⁸Quoted in Mlekwa (1989:43)

Subscribing to the same understanding of education as not only a tool of producing labour but also for pacifying the indigenous people into docile colonial workers, D'souza (in Gandye 1978) notes that:

Education was not only 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 19th century (D'souza in Gandye 1978:18).

Government schools, which were established by colonial governments, indicated the perceived functions of education in economic and cultural imperialism³⁹. Consequently, under the German colonial government, schools were related to specific manpower needs, for semi-skilled labourers, teachers, clerks, etc., with courses mounted for specific vocational needs. The schools had a pyramidal structure to inculcate and emphasise the hierarchical nature of the capitalist relations. The central schools were mainly for sons of chiefs and/or wealthy Africans. This feature contributed to the stratification of the African labour-force (Mbilinyi 1982).

One of the characteristics of the British colonial education, on the other hand, was the separate racial school systems, as stipulated in the education ordinance of 1927, and the ten years plan for African education which was launched by the colonial government in 1947. According to the ordinance and the plan, three separate education systems (for Africans, Europeans, Asians and other non-African children respectively) were to be developed and intensified (Mbilinyi 1982) with the form and content of these education systems corresponding to the different positions the racial groups had in the colonial economy.

Thus, education was to ensure that most of the colonised people remained in their villages; guarding against vocational over-production. Given the low level of technology needed for production of the raw materials, it was envisaged that a bare minimum of skills and knowledge was needed to develop a productive worker. As mere producers, with no control over the production relations, it was envisaged that the Africans needed only basic education. Thus, African education was limited to Standard VI until 1937, with limited expansion beyond Standard VII thereafter. Secondary education was considered unnecessary for Africans. It was not until 1929 that the first government secondary school (Standard IX- XII) was opened at Tabora for sons of chiefs and wealthy Africans. As Table 4.1 indicates, in 1956, only 2,409 of the African

³⁹The idea of cultural imperialism is well developed by Carnoy and Levin (1974).

population were enrolled in secondary education. Notably, female students were only 204, a mere 10 percent of the Africans in secondary schools.

Table 4.1: Enrolment in the Education System in Tanzania in 1956

Type of school and grade	Total Enrolment	Number of Girls
Primary school (Std. 1-IV)	336000	10500
Middle School (Std V-VIII)	28000	4900
Secondary School (Std. IX-XII) School	2409	204

Source: Mbilinyi, M. L. (1982:81), 'History of Formal Schooling in Tanzania' in H Hinzen and V. H. Hundsdorfer (Eds.) *Education for Liberation and Development: The Tanzania Experience*, Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education.

It is argued that the difference in the treatment of chiefs and commoners was not a political issue of "Indirect Rule"; rather, it was more of a socio-economic issue of linking the territory to the capitalist economy through maintaining, and at the same time penetrating, the pre-capitalist production. In this manner, the colonial state created a class of compradorial petty bourgeoisie amongst the local leaders which was used in maintaining and exploiting peasant production.

Providing less education to a few Africans can also be explained as a deliberate effort to prolong the country's dependence on the colonial master; especially in the era informed by the modernisation perspective where Western civilisation and culture, imparted through elitist education, was construed as development. The report produced by the mission organised by the IBRD, (World Bank 1961:9) just before Tanzania's independence, not only indicates that desire but also the fact that there was a small body of African elite in Tanzania at the time of independence. The Report observes that:

It is obviously desirable that as many posts as possible should be filled by the qualified Africans. However, it has to be accepted that the number of Africans of the requisite educational standards will remain small for several years to come, even after the most rapid expansion of educational facilities... The hard fact, therefore, is that for many years to come an efficient civil service will be a service highly dependant on expatriate officers (World Bank 1961:9).

Thus, the commission strongly advised Tanganyika to take the offer by the Government of the United Kingdom to take over, for a period of ten years, the cost of inducement pay and allowance of overseas staff in all British territories which were not independent by July 1960; and, in turn, to offer to the expatriates terms and conditions of service which would induce them to stay in the territory (World Bank 1961:10)⁴⁰.

In general, it can be argued that the colonial educational policy development reflected the dominant capitalist values which were protected by the colonial state. This not only validates the neo-Marxist conceptualisation (Ham and Hill 1993) of the colonial state as an extension of capitalist relations of production from the metropolis to the colonial territories but also supports the observation (Carnoy 1974) that:

The class system of education provides the vehicle for one class to "civilize" others and ensure that society remains orderly and safe and that the ruling class stays at the top of the social ladder and retains political power (Carnoy 1974:346).

Through school rituals embodied in "character training", colonial education functioned to produce submissiveness, a sense of inferiority, an orientation towards extrinsic rewards and punishments and an ideological acceptance of capitalist work demands. As Mbilinyi (1982:79) notes, even for those who did not get formal schooling, the education system functioned to reproduce ideological acceptance of the superiority of those who were educated and their 'right' to a superior position in the colonial economy. Thus, colonial education functioned as an ideological agent to the ruling class in the colony and the metropolitan bourgeoisie. Aspirations of some post-colonial elite to date validate its success.

Colonial Education and the Nationalist Movement in Tanzania

Despite the orientation of colonial education, nationalists and progressive bourgeoisie emerged. Whether colonial education unintentionally helped the spread of the ideas of liberty and freedom among the colonised elite or whether the progressive bourgeoisie seized the opportunity to lead the ongoing resistance of the colonised people against colonial domination are subject to debate. What is important is that education was one of the arenas where anti-colonial and nationalist contests took place.

In Tanzania, for example, there are recorded constant struggles between different emerging classes among the Africans and colonialists over the content and the control of

⁴⁰The British Government's offer may be construed as Britain's reluctance to let go of the colonies and USA's reluctance to antagonise its European allies amidst the cold war.

the education system itself. For instance, in 1924, when the British colonial government decided to relieve the chiefs in Bukoba district of all responsibilities for school buildings and maintenance of the student and to establish a vocational curriculum, the chiefs and many of the parents rejected the programme and withdrew their children from school. The main argument was that "they did not send their children to a 'European school' for such instruction" (Mbilinyi 1982:81).

The Africans also complained that, although the middle school leavers could obtain jobs both in government and the small private sector, these schools lacked academic subjects and 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 (Mbilinyi 1982, Gandye 1978). The demand for equal access to education was so poignant that it was one of the basic unifying factors in the nationalist movement for independence.

It is also worth noting that the African elite (the petty bourgeoisie) provided the leadership for the anti-colonial nationalist movement. The replacement of TAA (Tanganyika African Association)⁴¹ with TANU, (Tanganyika African National Union) in 1954, marked the transition from an association of the educated, seeking reform, to a mass political party campaigning for self rule. Julius Nyerere, a secondary school teacher, became the president of the new political party, which skilfully organising the peasants with their grievances over agricultural policies and marketing systems and forged alliances with the trade unions. TANU became the indisputable party of the government; gaining 70 out of 71 seats in the 1960 elections.

Shivji (1976:56-57) contends that the petty bourgeoisie who led the nationalist struggles for "Uhuru" (Freedom) were the creation of "colonialism par excellence" since they came from urban-based occupations; thus, implying that, the colonial education system had created its own grave-diggers in the form of the intelligentsia, teachers and civil servants (O'Neill 1990:9).

It is arguable, in this regard, therefore, that the colonial education system was one of the key factors in creating increased resistance to colonialism and in the growth of a national consciousness. Issues such as segregated schooling, differential provision for different social groups and the imbalance between jobs available and the skills that school leavers had, all contributed to fostering nationalist feeling.

⁴¹TAA was a trade union comprising of African elites.

It should be noted, however, that this argument may be countered by the suggestion that, through education, the colonizers had created allies who inherited and internalised the colonial behaviour as masters and the political culture of the colonial master. While the political culture was consciously handed over and accepted in the form of an independence constitution, the latter is obviated by the acceptance of colonial guidelines, aspirations, conduct and life style. Referring to the nationalist struggles in West Africa, Carnoy (1974) observes that:

In the immediate post-World war II period, France and Britain may have seen schooling as a curse, but in retrospect, European education created "sensible" values of liberty and freedom, ones that were derived from European standards of conduct and were likely to produce a continuing cultural and economic dependency on the ex-colonial countries (Carnoy 1974:143).

He concludes that, compared to the kind of resistance to colonisation put forward by the uneducated, schooling served Britain and France well. This view is evidenced by the function of education in the post colonial state.

Local Context: New Zealand

A similar process of colonialism that took place in Tanzania had also occurred in New Zealand in early 19th Century.

The Colonial State in New Zealand

Before the 19th century, New Zealand was inhabited by the indigenous Maori who were organised on tribal basis governed by their *iwi*⁴² (Easton 1997:189) under a pre-capitalist mode of production (Gordon 1984). New Zealand came into contact with the capitalist mode of production in the 19th century mainly as a result of development in capitalist Europe. Such contact with European industrial capital development resulted in New Zealand becoming a settler colony that served as a source of primary raw materials for British industries, provided settlement for surplus population and provided a market for British industrial goods. In other words, New Zealand became an extension of the British Empire by which the New Zealand colony had to adhere to the social political and economic patterns assigned for it in the imperial structure. It has been noted (Gordon 1984; Easton 1997), for example, that the British settlers did not attempt to adapt to the indigenous people's social structures because they aimed at imposing the British social order on the colony. Indeed, Sutch (1969:45) observes that their vision

⁴² *iwi* is the Maori term for kinship developed along clan lines.

was to develop a sort of "Landed Gentry", using the wealth of the land and resources to produce what the early settlers perceived was the best of British society .

Forged under the heydays of capitalism, however, New Zealand could not become a feudal state. As Prichard (1970:45) observes, much of the colony's land was sold on the streets of London to wealthy businessmen for purely speculative purpose and the mass of emigration was largely implemented by business organisations - the "New Zealand Company" being the largest one.

The New Zealand Company worked on principles noted by Oliver (1960:56 in Gordon 1984) as insisting upon:

a need to maintain a proper balance between land, labour and capital. A labour shortage led to high wages, which reduced the return upon capitalist investment. Labour became scarce when land was sold too cheaply or given away, so that the labouring men could immediately become landowners....To strike the correct balance, the price of land must be kept fairly high; then landless labourers would be glad to take jobs. Jobs would be plentiful, for a good investment would attract capital and capital would create employment.⁴³

It can be argued, therefore, that the growth of the New Zealand colonial state began as a direct result of the perceived need to mediate the competing interests of capital, workers, Maori tribes and interested absent groups (e.g. The British investors who acquired large tracts of land prior to 1840 when the formal colonial state was established).

Thus, Gordon (1984:9) contends that one of the outcomes of that system was the creation of a classed social structure, not just inherited from Britain but formed by indigenous conditions. It is within this classed and exploitative system, that the "Treaty of Waitangi"⁴⁴, a legal basis for the relationship between the settler Europeans and the established indigenous people, was signed between the British Crown and Maori leaders (Gordon 1984, Bedgood 1980).

A caveat has to be made, however, that the New Zealand colonial state was essentially not a neutral body which sifted competing claims and implemented the popular ones. The move made by the imperial state in Britain to establish a colonial state in New Zealand was to ensure that New Zealand was maintained as Britain's sphere of

⁴³Quoted in Gordon (1984:8).

⁴⁴Contestations over the interpretations of the Treat of Waitangi are still live in New Zealand's social political scene.

influence. This supports the view (Gordon 1984, Dale 1981) that, although the capitalist state sifts the competing claims, the added structural imperatives of capitalism insist that the state is not neutral and the perceived needs and interests of capital determine the policies that are adopted.

Economic Trends

The economy of New Zealand was, for a long time (before the 1960s), basically dependent on the export of pastoral products to the United Kingdom, especially sheep meat, wool and dairy products. The improvements in the transport infrastructure, in 1882, enabled a static colonial economy to be transformed into a growing trading economy based on the export of pastoral products, such as meat and dairy products. Johnson (1997) notes that, for 102 years, from 1882 to 1984, pastoral agriculture had an important place in the New Zealand economy because of its major contribution to overseas trade.

With colonialism, most of New Zealand's economic development became attached to the British economy and, like the British state, the New Zealand colonial state worked to protect the interests of British capital (Harworth 1994). As a colony, therefore, New Zealand did not enjoy economic autonomy because she was trapped in the exploitative relations of colonialism. Subscribing to this notion of exploitative colonial economic relations, Kelsey (1997) contends that, "toward the end of the 19th century metropolitan states may have enjoyed a large degree of economic autonomy, but the majority of the world's states at this time were trapped within exploitative and subordinated colonial economic relations" (Kelsey 1997:12). It is argued, therefore, that both the settlers and the indigenous people of the New Zealand colony worked towards industrial development in Europe, particularly in Britain.

Explaining the contribution of the indigenous people, who were mainly forced into rural areas, Bedgood (1980:50) notes that:

With the land wars and the confiscation of Maori land, the Maori people were left living a marginal economic existence. The fact that most rural Maoris still owned their means of production and subsistence (land) meant that they could maintain some degree of self-sufficiency. They could not be classified as poor peasants since the form of land ownership was not individual. Nor can they be termed a rural proletariat because they were not entirely dependent upon wage labour for their means of subsistence. Nevertheless, this category of Maori people was exploited by Pakeha capitalists and petty capitalists, since it acted as a source of cheap labour. Maori people in rural areas could exist in lower wages than could European wage labour because they provided some of their own means of subsistence. They could be employed on casual

basis for lower wages as a form of reserve army of labour holding down the value of labour power (Bedggood 1980:50).

This indicates, that, even though the indigenous people were forced to the rural areas, appropriation of the means of production from them enabled New Zealand settlers to produce raw materials for Britain's industrial development. They also helped to mitigate the growing social disorder caused by industrial developments in Britain. As Bedggood (1980) explains:

Between 1815 and 1859 over five million people left Britain for all parts of the world - about 685000 destined for Australia and New Zealand. Many of these went as assisted emigrants in schemes deliberately promoted by capitalists concerned about the growing threat of political rebellion in Britain and eager for wage labour to exploit in the colonies... The expansion of capitalism into the 'new land' [argued the colonial reformers] would solve the problems of capitalism at home by finding new outlets for surplus capital and labour (Bedggood 1980:21)

Regarding other rural dwellers, including small farmers, Bedggood (1980:51) argues that their "contribution to world capitalist economy was rural only in the sense that livestock eat grass." Moreover, "it was the rural produce that kept British urban workers at work, creating the profits that were in part lent back to the New Zealand Government so that it could build the roads and bridges to get the rural produce to market" (Bedggood 1980:51). It can be concluded, therefore, that the colonisation of New Zealand was part of the capitalist expansion in order to find land, labour and raw materials (Bedggood 1980:21).

The predicament of the rural indigenous people and small farmers is similar to that of the Tanzanian peasants who, while subsisting on their pre-capitalist form of production, produced cash crops and provided (migrant) labour; thus contributing to the development of the capitalist world economy.

Politics and Governance in New Zealand

The political developments of the New Zealand colonial state reflect New Zealand's position as a settler colony as opposed to other colonies where the owners of capital or their representatives could be clearly identified. Soon after 1840, when the first British Governor was appointed, land owners in various provinces started agitating for self government. In 1852, a House of Representatives, with a nominated Legislative Council, was set up to govern New Zealand under a Governor-General. Eligibility for voting was determined by land ownership (men only); hence giving the propertied groups control over the early development of the state in New Zealand. It can be

argued, therefore, that the state apparatus in New Zealand was set up as a means to 'win' the conditions necessary for expansion of the developing British capitalist relations of production.

It is also significant, to note that, the British settlers were in favour of a self governing New Zealand but only "to the extent in which the principles could be reconciled with allegiance to the (British) Crown".⁴⁵ Referring to New Zealand in the 1890s, Ash (1962) asserts that:

Even when they were granted the responsible government advocated by the Canterbury Association and the Colonial Reform Movement in England as well as by their own constitutional associations; the links with the mother country were preserved by limits on the colony's power in imperial matters of constitutional form, foreign commerce, defence and foreign relations; as well as by the ties of kinship and culture (Ash 1962:23).

This indicates that, besides the economic attachment through the settlers, the New Zealand colony was also socially and culturally attached to Britain. During the period of industrial capitalism, colonial education policies in New Zealand were developed within the social, political and economic context discussed above.

Colonial Education Policies in New Zealand

Similar to Tanzania, schools in New Zealand provided an ideological site within which pre-capitalist relations of production were to be discouraged and indigenous people would be assimilated into the capitalist relations of production. Before the coming of the European settlers, the Maori people were organised in the pre-capitalist relations of production, thus, some of their socio-cultural and economic orientations were not conducive for the development of the capitalist social formation. Schools became one of the avenues for introducing, legitimating and developing the capitalist relations of production among Maori. Explaining the role of schools in the destruction of Maori culture, Smith (1986) argues that:

Schools, however, were placed in the heart of Maori communities like a Trojan horse. Their task was to destroy the less visible aspects of Maori life: beliefs, value systems and the spiritual bond that connected people to each other and their environment. They were to be replaced by another set of values, attitudes and behaviours though these were not quite the same as ones being taught to Pakeha children, for Maori children also needed to be educated into their place in a society based on class stratification and exploitation. It was an essential part of the assimilation

⁴⁵Quoted in Gordon (1984:9).

process that Maori people should come to believe in a new natural order of things based on their participation in their own cultural oppression (Smith 1986:3).

Thus, colonial education for the New Zealand indigenous people was not different from that provided to the colonised people elsewhere. It was aimed at making the colonised people less resistant to the oppression and exploitation characterised by the colonial socio-economic relations.

It is important to note that socio-political and economic circumstances obtaining in societies at different times influence the functions of education, hence, contribute to the shift in the educational policies and acts. The unique position of New Zealand as a settler colony, which created a situation of having more “colonisers”⁴⁶ than the colonised, significantly influenced the colonial education policies. It is no wonder that, for quite some time, in New Zealand, only the “native” education (colonial education for indigenous people) was directly under the colonial state. It was not until 1877 (in accordance with the 1877 Education Act) that the New Zealand colonial state assumed the responsibility for provision of primary education for both native and settler children. Building on such observation, it is arguable that the colonial state was confident that the settlers needed less socialisation into the capitalist values than the indigenous people.

It is also important to note that, circumstances such as increasing industrialisation and urbanisation as well as influences extended by the legislation and practices in other Western countries, had more significant impact on the development of colonial education policies and acts in New Zealand, mainly because it was a settler colony.

Shuker (1987) and Mitchell and Singh (1987) note, for example, that the enactment of the 1867 Neglected and Criminal Children Act in New Zealand which, among other things established industrial schools, was prompted by the social economic conditions of the late 19th century "which produced destitute and neglected children, larrikins, street kids and truants (Shuker 1987:77)⁴⁷.

The Neglected and Criminal Children Act defined a neglected child as:

⁴⁶The contention here, is that although most of the settlers were exploited by the same system which created colonies, they were more favoured by the colonial system than the indigenous people. Moreover, whereas the indigenous people felt a loss of ownership, the settlers were gaining some form of ownership. In that regard, settlers are included in the coloniser category.

⁴⁷A similar view is expressed by Mitchell and Singh (1987) that pertaining socio-economic and political factors of the time influenced the provision of special education in New Zealand.

One found begging, wandering the streets with no settled place of abode or means of subsistence, or residing in a brothel or associating with a convicted vagrant, reputed thief, prostitute or habitual drunkard. In addition any child having committed an offence punishable by imprisonment could be sent to an industrial school, if warranted by the child's age and circumstances. Children whose parents testified as being unable to school them could also be sent to an industrial school⁴⁸ (Shuker 1987:77).

Such a definition vindicates the envisaged function of education towards the poor and the criminal in New Zealand's colonial society. It has been argued (Shuker 1987) that the Act was legitimated by the public reaction to the children who did not subscribe to the middle class norms; thus, the concern was not just over the welfare of the children involved but from the perceived threat to social stability and moral standards (Vincent 1985). It is also arguable, however, that the Act was the beginning of the state's recognition of the need to provide education to 'exceptional children' (Mitchell and Singh 1987) as well as a step towards the provision of compulsory education.

The economic needs for skilled labour as well as the socio-political need of providing opportunity through education led to the establishment of compulsory public primary education in New Zealand. Initially, education in the New Zealand colony was a provincial matter, except for the native schools. In 1877, the government of the time passed an Education Act that "sought to establish a system of primary education that would provide the knowledge for every child in the community" (NZ Department of Education 1973:5).

According to the 1877 Act, the government, through a Minister of Education, was responsible for the training of teachers, the inspection of schools and the maintenance of educational standards. Although twelve regional school boards were created, which were to plan and implement their own policy, the education system was centrally controlled with the final decisions on all matters of education resting with the Minister. It has been observed, for example, that "no matter what it may be that the board of the district thinks right to do, the Minister in Wellington may override it by a stroke of a pen" (Gordon 1984:16). It can be argued, therefore, that colonial education in New Zealand aimed at ensuring that the settlers and indigenous people adhered to the educational objectives of the British Empire.

⁴⁸The resemblance of the New Zealand 1867 Neglected and Criminal Children Act to the Code of Social Responsibility that was proposed in mid 1998 is striking. This idea is picked up later in the chapters on the implications of privatisation policies.

It has been contended (NZ Department of Education 1973) that, since the emphasis was on provision of opportunity through education, the national system of primary schools established by the 1877 Education Act was justified by its ability to increase opportunity faster and more effectively than had been possible under the provincial systems. More importantly, the 1877 Education Act signified the New Zealand colonial state's assumption of responsibility for the provision of primary education.

Mitchell and Singh (1987) note that, with industrialisation, increasing demands were made on the education system for a more skilled and socialised work-force; hence, adding more value to performance in schools. Thus, children with various handicaps were clearly noticeable both in terms of their own capacities to meet standards and in their effects on the efficiency of the education of other children in the same classes. Thus, there was pressure to create special education for those who did not exhibit obvious physical and mental handicaps, with a school for backward boys being established at Otekaike, in Otago, in 1908.

Likewise, the introduction of manual labour to the native schools, in 1907, which coincided with agricultural developments in rural England and France, (Harker 1985:95), and the change of emphasis to carpentry, later in the 1930s and 1940s, (Harker and McConnochie 1985) can be said to have been a move to produce the good native farmers and carpenters needed by the production and accumulation process of the time. In order to introduce Maori people to the Western capitalist culture, native schools were state owned, mainly boarding schools, with rules that forbade children to speak their mother tongue at school.

Concluding Remarks

The analysis in this chapter indicates that, colonial states were an important feature of the imperial state structure of industrial capitalism. Education as a social institution also followed the same social economic pattern of colonialism with the education policies aimed at producing semi-skilled and unskilled labour as well as an elite class to work with their Western counterparts to maintain the imperial state. Thus, colonial education aimed at inculcating the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state in industrial capitalism. Hence, the pre-colonial education systems were deliberately destroyed or streamlined so as to make them fit into the new pattern of colonialism. The onslaught on indigenous education in the colonies, therefore, was mainly due to their incompatibility with the new relations of production rather than that they were archaic and obsolete (Smith 1986, Nyerere 1967, Mbilinyi 1982, Kweka 1994).

The colonial education system was basically modelled on the educational pattern of the respective imperial power (in this case Germany and later Britain for Tanzania and for New Zealand) and modified to suit the needs of the colonial administration. Colonial education also encouraged subservient behaviour, segregation, gender inequality, vocationalism and domination. Referring to colonial education, Nyerere (1968: 46-47) observes that:

The education system introduced into Tanzania by the colonialists was modelled on the British system, but with even heavier emphasis on subservient attitudes and on white-collar skills. Inevitably, too, it was based on the assumptions of the colonialist and capitalist society. It emphasized and encouraged the individualistic instincts of mankind, instead of his co-operative instincts. This meant that colonial education induced attitudes of human inequality, and in practice underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field... it was a deliberate effort to change values [of indigenous people] and to replace traditional knowledge by the knowledge from a different society (Nyerere 1968: 46-47) .

It is important to note, however, that the colonial education systems in Tanzania and New Zealand were similar to colonial education systems in colonies (Carnoy 1974, Barrington 1976, Ball 1983). Barrington (1976) for example, notes similarities between New Zealand's colonial education experience with that of African British colonies. This may be attributed to the "adaptation concept" which was embedded in the British colonial education policy (Nyerere 1968, Barrington 1974 & 1988, Ball 1983, Bude 1993, Smith 1986), as well as influences from developments in the education for ex-slaves after the American civil war (Bude 1993, Berman 1972, Mbilinyi 1982).

It is argued, therefore, that colonial education aimed at destroying any culture or history of the colonised people so as to promote their incorporation in the capitalist relations of production.

Chapter Five

Education and the Nation State Under International Finance Capitalism

External context

The most significant economic phenomenon, of the period after the Second World War, was the transformation of capitalism throughout the world from overt imperialism based on industrial capital to covert imperialism based on finance capital. The main characteristics of finance capital were: the "sovereign" national states and the international economic organisations, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF); the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, (IBRD) mostly referred to as the World Bank; the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and United Nations Organisation (UN) with all its agencies. The interaction between these international organisations and the nation states created a cohesive system that not only maintained the capitalist relations of production, during the period after World War II to the 1980s, but has also persistently consolidated the power of the United States of America⁴⁹.

With industrial capitalism transforming into finance capital, the "empire" states together with their colonies became less useful for capital accumulation and control over labour. Further, the antagonism among the world imperial powers which led to the First and the Second World Wars in the early decades of the 20th century made it clear that the imperial states were no longer conducive as a viable strategy for the emerging form of capitalism as they encouraged overt struggles for monopolies. Moreover the participation in the wars, by the colonies, had exposed the colonised people not only to the vulnerability of their colonial masters but also to some of their fighting techniques and strategies; some of which would be useful in their struggles for independence.

On the political scene, the post World War II period was characterised by the weakening of the European imperial powers, the emergency of the USA as both a

⁴⁹This is elaborated further in the chapter on post-colonial states and the globalisation process.

technological and economic capitalist super power⁵⁰ and the out-break of the cold war between the capitalist West led by the USA and the Communist East led by the Soviet Union (Hoogvelt 1997).

Through the post-war arrangements, not only did the imperial powers borrow heavily from the United States of America but also the latter supported the independence of colonial states so that it could also have a share in their markets. Thus, during this phase, the sovereign nation states formed the basic structure of international capitalism where political sovereignty was deemed essential⁵¹. As Hoogvelt (1997) observes:

The post-war settlement had been overwhelmingly state-centric, and this is applied to both advanced and less developed countries. Self-determination and the sovereignty of national states, however large or small, was the overriding principle of international relations, and the touchstone of the United Nations (Hoogvelt 1997:49).

It is argued, however, that the granting of political independence to colonial nations such as Tanganyika⁵² was not to set them free from the web of capitalism but, rather, a change of strategy to ensure that they fitted in the new form of capitalism; namely international finance capital. As more autonomy was granted to the colonies, care was also being taken not to allow them to fall in the hands of the Communist bloc against the capitalist interest of the West. Thus, although politically independent, the post-colonial states were not completely detached from the imperial powers on whom they continued to depend economically. As Mbilinyi (1994) observes, even with independence, the post-colonial countries remained locked into a global economy/society characterised by domination of international finance capital and unequal terms of trade. They continued to export agricultural products to the markets that they didn't, and never will, control. Thus, while shedding the burden of administrative responsibilities, the imperial powers continued to plunder the resources from the post-colonial nations.

This situation of political (flag) independence without economic freedom is what Nyerere (1968) refers to as “ukoloni mambo leo” (neo-colonialism). Referring to the socio-political situation of the neo-colonial era, Hoogvelt argues that:

⁵⁰ It is worthy of noting that the World Wars provided USA with an opportunity to consolidate and develop its industries especially those of armaments.

⁵¹ It is no wonder that the first clause of the charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) is to respect each country's sovereignty.

⁵² In 1964 Tanganyika united with the Islands of Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania.

The Bretton Wood institutions, together with the Truman Doctrine, constituted the system of informal imperialism under the *pax Americana* which was the hallmark of the neo-colonial period and which lasted until about 1970. But it was the very informality and indirectness of the system that gave it an aura of invisibility and that made it so difficult for people to see through (Hoogvelt 1997:34).

At the ideological level, the state, as a political system, was to be seen as an autonomous political institution which was independent from the system of production and class structure.⁵³ The liberal democratic nation states were to be instituted and had to play critical functions in balancing, aggregating, and reconciling conflicting demands. Thus, during this period of international finance capital, the welfare state and state social welfarism were promoted. States were to act as brokers and mediators, facilitating the acceptance of policy compromises. In this view, the welfare state was to manifest the highest level of autonomy of the liberal democratic state in the achievement of the democratic pact (Torres 1995).

Welfare policies were to be defined as government protection of minimum standards of income, nutrition, health, housing and education for the citizens. As Wilensky (1975, 1976) and Popkewitz (1991) observe, under state welfarism, every citizen is assured welfare benefits as a political right rather than as a charity. Under such circumstances, expansion of education was associated with the extension of citizenship rights and welfare policies to the majority of people. As Torres (1995) notes, the striking feature of the welfare state is its interventionist role in the economy, including public spending.

Worth noting, is the point that, under state welfarism, the principles of egalitarianism, co-operation, equal opportunity and unity were promoted along with strong nationalism.

It is within these broader patterns of the world capitalist system, led by international finance capital, that internal dynamics of the nation states interacted to form the context within which the post-colonial states, such as that of Tanzania and New Zealand, performed their functions and fulfilled their role in the capitalist relations of production.

⁵³In the discourse of national sovereignty the state, including the post-colonial state, is portrayed as more powerful than it real is.

Assumptions About Education

Unlike the traditional overt imperialism of the industrial era, covert imperialism of international finance capitalism was promoted through the 'sovereign' states, most of which were formed under the euphoria of national independence from colonialism (Hoogvelt 1997, Torres 1995, Anderson and Windham 1982). Under such circumstances, the ideological social institutions of the state were crucial for the sustainability of capitalist relations and the imperial order. Through education, 'neo-colonialism' was cherished and protected. The post-colonial education, as an integral part of the post-colonial state, was expected to perform the same role of nurturing and protecting the international bourgeoisie as well as the national petty-bourgeoisie. Hence, education policies in the post-colonial state, like their colonial predecessors, were geared towards satisfying labour needs, maintaining order and legitimating the capitalist relations of production as well as the capitalist state (Frank 1971, Carnoy, 1974).

It is contended, therefore, that imperial powers supported the expansion of education in the post-colonial nations because they saw in schooling the continuation of the old colonial imperial power relations. Building on this observation, Carnoy (1974) contends that:

... old style imperialism and colonialism have disappeared and the great empires of the last century are dismantled, but educational systems in the ex-colonies remained largely intact after independence (Carnoy 1974:17).

Largely due to the pressure from the western educated local elites, schools in post-colonial countries very much resembled their metropolitan counterparts in terms of curriculum and structure. Thus, Anderson and Windham (1982) note that:

In many respects, the convergence between metropolitan and local systems has been greater in the post-colonial period in spite of much formal emphasis on a radical break with colonial past (Anderson and Windham 1982:4).

Education was also important in cementing the idea of citizenship which was not only commensurate with the concept of sovereignty but also an important concept in promoting the liberal welfare state appropriate for the operations of international finance capital⁵⁴. It is no wonder, therefore, that international organisations formed

⁵⁴the liberal welfare state contained nationalists sentiments at levels, manageable enough for international finance capital to operate smoothly.

after the Second World War (such as the United Nations Organisation, and its agencies such as UNESCO) promoted the idea of the nation states provision of education, especially at basic levels.

The idea of universal provision of basic education, for example, is embedded in the 1948 United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that "everyone has a right to education and that at least in the elementary and basic stage education shall be free and compulsory." (Malekela 1984:1). Likewise, the desire by the developing countries to strive for and achieve universal primary education (UPE) as a matter of priority (Ishumi 1984) was positively encouraged by UNESCO which convened a number of conferences - in Karachi (1960) for Asian countries, in Addis Ababa (1961) for African countries, in Santiago (1962) for Latin American countries and in Tripoli (1966) for Arab states - and urged the attending countries to set the target dates for achieving Universal Primary Education, (UPE) and, indeed, to work towards this goal (Malekela 1984).

UNESCO (1961:9 in Ishumi 1984) argued that the overriding purpose for Universal Primary Education drive was to broaden understanding so that people may achieve their fullest potential, whether spiritual, intellectual or physical, and that education would have value, even if contributing nothing to economic development. It is further noted, however, that economists have always recognised that increases in the national income are attributable not only to the accumulated physical capital but also to the improvement of human capacity through research, education, inventions and improvement of health; and, therefore, that "expenditure on some form of education is an investment which more than pays for itself even in the narrowest economic terms" (Ishumi 1984).

It was also believed that basic education was the key to modernisation and to a country's social and economic development as people would apply scientific knowledge in the process of production (Malekela 1984:3).

The legitimating role of education, too, cannot be over-emphasised. Explaining why governments were interested in the provision of basic education to their people, Malekela (1984) argues that, beside the belief that it is a universal human right, literacy gives legitimacy to the governments, both at home and abroad. He further contends that the electorate in any civilised community should be educated in order to know their civic responsibility. Thus, education socialises people into participating in their allotted political activities in the political arena; hence, legitimating the state and its activities.

It is worth noting, however, that, although there are mitigating variables that might affect the realisation of equality of opportunity between various groups in society, universal provision of education ensures that differentiation based on educational attainment is minimised.

Moreover, basic education has been used by post-colonial governments to enhance national integration and unity within their countries. It has to be taken into account that, apart from the distraction of the "native" economic systems, the colonial experience eroded organic governing units and, in some cases, even imposed artificial national boundaries. These frontiers, drawn up in Europe in the nineteenth century, survived the de-colonisation process, such that native groups (tribes) were often indiscriminately assembled in new independent countries in the 1960s (Savitt & Bottorf 1995). The post-colonial state, as a custodian of these countries, had to ensure that unity and a sense of nationhood was nurtured.

Thus, the idea of universal primary education (UPE) was supported by post-colonial state leadership in many newly independent states. In 1961, at a UNESCO sponsored conference in Addis Ababa, all attending African states agreed that primary education should have become universal, free and compulsory by 1980.⁵⁵ The target date set by the Santiago conference for Latin American states was 1970 while that set by the Karachi, Addis Ababa and Tripoli Conferences for Asian, and Arab countries was 1980 (Ishumi 1984:9).

After independence, as Anderson and Windham (1982) observe, most of the post-colonial states reiterated the position of their metropolitan counterparts in stressing the role of education as an instrument of economic development. Until the late 1960s, there was an unquestioned assumption that more education of whatever level or type, was somehow conducive for economic progress. A caveat has to be made, however, that, although education is a pre-requisite for economic progress, the argument for education of whatever type and form is insufficient because some types of education may lead into enslavement of the mind and body. Thus, issues of what progress and for whom have to be considered when arguing for the contribution of education to progress.

⁵⁵Malekela (1984) notes however that for various reasons (especially lack of resources) this intent has not been fulfilled in most African countries.

Local Context: Tanzania

The Post-Colonial State in Tanzania

The post-colonial state in Tanzania, like other states in post-colonial countries, was shaped by the developments in the capitalist mode of production after the Second World War that required a new form of colonialism, compatible with finance capital. Unlike the colonial state which served overt imperialism well, within industrial capital, post-colonial states were to serve 'covertly' under the auspices of international finance capital. However, whereas the functions of the post-colonial state were designed differently, the major role of servicing capital did not change. For, while the administrative responsibilities laid squarely on the post-colonial state, the privilege of controlling the economy still remained in the imperialist hands through international finance capital⁵⁶. Thus, when Tanganyika obtained her political independence from Britain in 1961, forming a post-colonial state, it entered a new phase of colonialism that was not fundamentally different from the colonial era.

The Tanzanian post-colonial state, therefore, was expected to perpetuate this situation of serving the demands of international finance capital. Such expectations are indicated by the report of the commission organised by the World Bank (World Bank 1961) which encouraged dependency rather than self-sufficiency and self-reliance. The report states that:

It may be hoped indeed, that the greater Tanganyika's success in making effective use of the limited resources at its disposal, the more it will appear to merit financial and technical assistance from the outside world (World Bank 1961:4).

The commission also encouraged cash crop production and export of primary goods as a valuable strategy for development.

After gaining independence, Tanzania's economy continued to be externally oriented and labour intensive with Tanzanians continuing to produce raw materials (cash-crops) for external market and importing the manufactured goods. Thus, the main function of the state in post-colonial Tanzania was: to legitimate the capitalist mode of production, including the state's part in it; to foster harmonious social conditions, and to develop productive skills. The main function of education, therefore, was to

⁵⁶That is, Tanzania got flag independence which was devoid of economic independence, hence gaining it a position in "Ukoloni mambo leo"(Neo colonialism).

promote the production of a massive, subservient, semi-skilled labour force and a small, complacent elite group.

This role of the post-colonial state in Tanzania, however, was in contradiction with the need for the post-colonial state to reassure the people that it is different from the colonial state; to articulate sovereignty and foster mass legitimacy. These contradictions became evident in Tanzania immediately after independence. Guided by modernisation theories of development, Tanzania (particularly the elite) had to strive to emulate the industrialised countries politically, socially and economically. The new elites who had gained political power at independence, started to demand the privileges "requisite" of a class in power. Since they were politically replacing the colonial power, they wished to replace international finance capital as well.⁵⁷ At the same time, the masses who were basically peasants were demanding a fair share of the promised *Uhuru* (independence) cake; with formal education for their children being part of that cake. These demands, made by both the masses and the elites, however, aimed at encroaching on the process of capital accumulation; thus being antagonistic to the interests of international capital.

With such contradictory demands, the period between independence and the mid 1960s signalled the first real legitimisation crisis that the Tanzanian post-colonial state had to face. This was exemplified by the army mutiny in 1964, the call for rapid Africanisation of civil service, the West Germany aid issue in 1964, Western powers' reaction to Tanzania's declaration of one party democracy in 1965 and the university student unrest in 1966.

The 1964 army mutiny (which among other things demanded rapid Africanisation of the army leadership), although unsuccessful, signified the placidity of the post-colonial state. The Tanzanian Government sought help from the British Navy⁵⁸ who subsequently quashed the mutiny. Meanwhile, during the army mutiny, the leaders of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour (TFL) called for strike action, demanding increased pay and a more rapid process of Africanisation of the civil service.

In 1964, Tanganyika united with Zanzibar to create the new national entity of the United Republic of Tanzania. Zanzibar's new regime's socialist programmes, that had

⁵⁷With this view, the call for rapid Africanisation bore seeds of change only to the faces of the incumbent without extending to structural reforms in the development patterns (relations in production and dominant class hegemony) and strategies.

⁵⁸ O'Neill (1989) contend that Tanzania's post-colonial state suffered humiliation by calling in the former colonial power to help in handling the 1964 army mutiny.

some economic support from China and the German Democratic Republic, were construed by the West as a shift to the left. Thus, Western powers demanded that the Union government should ensure that Zanzibar's socialist programmes were rescinded. Arguing that, as a sovereign state, it had a right to choose its friends, Tanzania refused to comply to this particular demand. In retaliation, the Federal Republic of Germany withdrew defence and social aid to Tanzania⁵⁹.

Tanzania's declaration of a one party state democracy, also brought it into conflict with Western imperial powers. When the single independent Member of Parliament from the opposition joined the ruling party, Tanzania became a "de facto" one party state but, when it declared and established a "de jure" one party state, the Western powers held back aid and private investments which were needed to implement the 1960-3 and 1964-69 national development plans (O'Neill 1990:13)⁶⁰. In the following year, 1966, the university students rallied against participating in the "National Service Scheme" which they claimed was outside what education had prepared them to do.

Thus, Tanzania's post-colonial state was confronted with the contradictory tasks of safeguarding the interests of international capitalism; protecting interests of the emerging national petty bourgeoisie class; as well as fostering its legitimacy amongst the masses. It is these contradictions and struggles that Okoko (1987) refers to as "crises of economic development and national identity", which were encountered by the post-colonial state in the period immediately after Tanzania obtained its independence.

The fact that the responses to these crises and contradictions laid ground for the Tanzanian post-colonial state to choose the socialist path for development cannot be over emphasised. After the mutiny, the Tanganyika army was disbanded and reformed into Tanzanian People's Defence Forces (TPDF) with a new officer corps recruited from the ruling Party's Youth League. After the labour strike, the independent unions were replaced by a single National Union of Tanganyika Workers Associations (NUTA). The withdrawal of aid by several Western countries encouraged more focus on self sufficiency and the eventual declaration of socialism and self-reliance.

⁵⁹The Nkrumah Hall building at the University of Dar es Salaam was one of the projects which Federal Republic of Germany left unfinished.

⁶⁰It is important to note that the respective development plans were drawn by the imperial powers. Thomas (1992) contends that, while the first plan was drawn by the outgoing British administration on recommendations of the World Bank; the second one was formulated by the team of French economists hired by the post-colonial government. He argues that these policies did not reflect the policies of TANU (the ruling party).

Building on these responses, some policy analysts (e.g. Shivji 1976, Okoko 1987, Coulson 1982) argue that economic circumstances, rather than a belief in African socialist tradition⁶¹, formed the theoretical basis for "Ujamaa"- African socialism in Tanzania⁶².

The linking of African socialism to African traditions, however, may be explained as an attempt by the post-colonial states in Africa to disengage themselves from the cold war. Whereas the political petty bourgeoisie were dissatisfied with their position in the capitalist mode of production, they were neither bold enough to overtly support communism nor willing to antagonise capitalism. To distinguish Ujamaa from communism, Nyerere argues at length, for example, that, in the "primitive" African society, the individual was "not a member of a 'commune' some artificial unit of human being (but) a member of a genuine community or a brotherhood" (Okoko 1987:13).

Likewise, the Kenyan Government White Paper on African socialism states that:

African socialism is a term describing an African political and economic system that is positively African, not being imported from any country or being a blue print of any foreign ideology, but capable of incorporating useful and compatible techniques from whatever source⁶³.

The aspiration for change can also be understood as a response not only to the disenchantment of the post-colonial state and its position in the world economy but also to its earlier strategies for development. After independence, Tanzania followed the advice of the modernisers, almost uncritically, as its first and second development plans were constructed by commissions organised by the World Bank (Thomas 1992:224-225, Rweyemamu 1973:48-49).

Tanzania instituted the political system patterned on Western democracy and, with advice from UNESCO, it expanded education based on the manpower requirement approach (MRA) which gave secondary education priority over primary education, so as to alleviate the acute shortage of the low level and high level human resources, and instituted a gradual approach to Africanisation all of which were contrary to the masses' expectations. The masses' expectations included formal education for their

⁶¹ Most of the advocates of African Socialism however assert that socialism has deep roots in the African traditional society.

⁶² Shivji's contention that Indigenous Tanzanian 'Bureaucratic Bourgeoisie' deliberately used "Ujamaa" as a weapon against Asiatic "Business Bourgeoisie" however lacks, supportive evidence.

⁶³ Cited in Okoko (1987:16).

children and rapid Africanisation of positions of power in the civil service. Asserting its sovereignty, especially in issues regarding the African continent and international relations, Tanzania's post-colonial state found itself at logger-heads with international counterparts. All these worked to build up the legitimation and fiscal crises of the mid-sixties in Tanzania.

The Tanzanian leadership situated the basis of the problem within the capitalist relations of production (particularly its position as a periphery nation) and sought for ways of de-linking itself from the system by choosing the socialist path.

Socialism and Self-Reliance and the Post-colonial State in Tanzania

A few years after independence, the post-colonial state in Tanzania attempted to get out of the web of capitalist relations of production, leading to the proclamation of a socialist (Ujamaa) manifesto in 1967; commonly referred to as the Arusha Declaration. The Arusha declaration was a blueprint for building a socialist society base on "Ujamaa" - a form of African Socialism, which views pre-colonial African society as a co-operative, sharing, communitarian society of manifest equality (Nursey-Bray 1980:55)

Thus, the Arusha Declaration of 1967 produced by the Tanzanian ruling party and government, called for the mobilisation of domestic resources for socialist and African self-reliant development programmes based on egalitarian, co-operative and anti-colonial ideals (Iliffe 1969:156).

The overall emphases of the Tanzanian development initiative were to be: rural development, with particular emphasis placed on communal living in villages organised on the principle of Ujamaa; foreign capital to be nationalised; leaders to dispossess themselves of wealth; the people to be educated for development; and the promotion of equality in general. The Arusha Declaration also stipulated an active role of the state in the economy. The main tenet of Tanzania's plan for a self-reliant development was a call for de-linking from the capitalist led world-economy and an attempt to follow a socialist development model without undergoing a socialist revolution.

After the Arusha Declaration, there followed progressive policies which aimed at racial integration, advancement of women, development of a strong national identity and class consciousness among working people as well as the expansion of social services (Mbilinyi 1994).

Two other government papers were published in 1967; namely *Education for Self-Reliance* and *Socialism and Rural Development* which further rendered support for socialist and nationalist self-reliant development⁶⁴

Education and the Post-Colonial State in Tanzania

Post-colonial education in Tanzania developed within the post World War II socio-economic changes world wide, as well as in Tanzania. Apart from the fact that education played an important role in the push for independence, it is still a key issue in the post-colonial state and society. In the post-colonial societies where the capitalist class development is relatively low but with an 'overdeveloped' capitalist state apparatus⁶⁵, the education system plays a more than usual important role. The faction of the petty-bourgeoisie which became the governing faction after independence was predominantly of a salaried nature and as such they depended very much on education to justify their position; unlike the bourgeoisie in developed capitalist societies which reproduces itself mainly through the inheritance of wealth. That is, the petty-bourgeoisie in the post-colonial state, such as Tanzania, reproduces itself partly through the education system (Goulbourne 1979:220).

The internal dynamics, however, contributed to some of the observable progressive efforts that forced education to play a critical role in post-colonial Tanzania. Education has been used not only to legitimate the capturing of the state apparatus by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie but also it has played a key role in shaping a nationalist ideology which has been used to re-define the Tanzanian citizen as being a political and social being who exists in a collective, rather than an economic and individual being. Under such circumstances the education system in post-colonial Tanzania has been full of contradictions and conflicts. Thus, the post-colonial education policies in Tanzania have served not only to legitimate the political order but also they have laid the foundations to challenge that order.

Tanzania, like other post-colonial countries, at independence, was faced with the challenges of national reconstruction and development. Poverty, ignorance and disease were singled out as major hindrances toward progress and prosperity.

⁶⁴ 'The Arusha Declaration', 'Socialism and Rural Development' and 'Education for Self-Reliance' can be found in Nyerere, J. K.. (1968) *Ujamaa-Essays on Socialism*, Dar es Salaam, O.U.P.

⁶⁵ Post colonial states were modelled to fit in the capitalist formation, although the post-colonial nations maintained semi-periphery and periphery positions.

Education was seen as a means by which many of the development problems would be solved and rapid progress achieved.

It was particularly envisaged in Tanzania that, through education, the nation would attain self-reliance and self-sufficiency. In 1961, the government requested UNESCO to examine the feasibility of, and to draw up, viable strategies for expanding the primary, secondary, teacher training and higher education systems. The UNESCO commission recommended the manpower requirement approach (MRA) to educational planning. The commission's recommendations were used as the basis for educational expansion in the country in the sixties and seventies (URT 1984:ii).

In Tanzania, education was also used to legitimate the post-colonial state and to promote unity. Consequently, immediately after independence the racially segregative system of education established during the colonial period was abolished, and the quota system was established in the secondary education selection procedure to redress the regional imbalances.

However, there were no significant changes in the goals and objectives of education, until 1967, when the intent to follow the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) was pronounced. Post-colonial education continued to be an elitist system which divorced the youth from the society in which they lived and engendered the belief that all worthwhile knowledge was acquired from books and "educated" people. Primary schooling was oriented towards the preparation of pupils for secondary education, yet only a few of the primary school leavers would get into secondary schools.⁶⁶ Although most of the primary teachers were Tanzanians,⁶⁷ all teachers tended to take a Western view of Tanzania, including its history and its place in the world economy.

It may be argued that the lack of significant change in the goals and objectives of education immediately after independence is consistent with the view that the post-colonial state performs the capitalist state's traditional role of mediating power to protect the interests of the capitalist class. This situation, however, soon exposed the post-colonial state to the contradictions and conflicts of which education provided a significant arena.

⁶⁶This type of education was considered detrimental to the attitudes required to construct an egalitarian society and therefore incompatible to ESR.

⁶⁷For the first decade after independence most secondary and tertiary level teacher were foreigners.

Following UNESCO's advice, the state took a different focus and emphasised post-primary education. This was part of a modernisation and human-capital style of policy in which the state sought to increase the number of highly-skilled Tanzanians who could manage businesses and the apparatus of the state. This 'modernisation' focus however, was, at odds with the promises of popular participation that the ruling political party (TANU) had promoted during the struggles for independence. The concentration on secondary education meant that those areas that had low participation in education during the colonial era would maintain the same status.

After independence, it became clear that those who had demonstrated little interest in schooling during the colonial period, or those who were left out because they came from colonial designated labour reserve areas, found themselves at a distinct disadvantage within the context of the new polities where schooling was essential for upward mobility in the bureaucratic hierarchy. Consequently, the struggle for a greater share of educational resources became a political factor.

Even in areas where there was rapid expansion of primary schooling, lack of secondary school places for those who had completed primary education became the main problem. The increase in demand for a more general academic secondary schooling than was being provided by the state was based around the fact that it was those students with a general academic education, rather than vocational and technical training, who gained access to university and to better paying jobs (Samoff and Sumra 1994).

The government tried to solve this problem by introducing compulsory manual work, such as gardening, into the primary school syllabus. However, this did not reduce popular pressure for a more general and less vocational post-primary education. The communal farms, apprenticeship programs and workshops encouraged by the government, could not reduce the dissatisfaction among those who had primary education but could not gain jobs of higher status due to their lack of general academic learning. Thus, education became a basis for social stratification and, hence, dissatisfaction with the post-colonial government for many Tanzanians.

Thus, the failure of the post-colonial state to prevent the process of educational related class stratification and to provide an education system that gave equal opportunity to all Tanzanians were amongst other socio-economic factors that contributed to the legitimisation crisis in the late 1960s. This prompted the post-colonial government to alter its education policy along with other public policies in 1967. By then, the Tanzanian leadership had also started to view with suspicion the unquestioned

assumption that more education, of whatever level or type, was somehow conducive to socio-economic progress in post-colonial countries⁶⁸.

It is worth noting, however, that the Tanzanian leadership, particularly Nyerere (Tanzania's first President), had great faith in the role that education could play in the reconstruction of society. Nyerere, for one, believed that, with appropriate orientation, education would liberate the mind and impel students not only to question the oppressive structural elements of the society but also to contribute positively to the equal and just society. When Tanzania declared the intention to build an egalitarian society, therefore, the need to gear educational practice to this ideal was recognised and the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) was announced in that spirit.

Education for Self-Reliance (ESR)

The 1967 Tanzanian socialism blueprint, the Arusha Declaration, was followed by a paper on education written by Nyerere, 'Education for Self-Reliance', which more explicitly identified the role that education was to play in creating a socialist Tanzania. Education was to play an important role in the reconstruction of the post-colonial Tanzanian society with the purpose of ESR being to revolutionise the educational system and to fit it in the needs of the espoused socialist society. In ESR, Nyerere (1968a) states that:

Our education must therefore 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. This means that the education system must emphasise co-operative endeavour, not individual achievement (Nyerere 1968a:273).

Besides promoting egalitarian values and self-reliance, education under ESR was supposed to orient schooling to develop co-operative attitudes, critical thinking and self-confidence and to emphasise unity of manual and mental work (Nyerere 1967). The significance of examinations was to be downgraded, adding productive activities and character assessment as selection criteria for further education. At the primary school level, the idea was to provide pupils with an education that is complete in itself, inculcating a sense of commitment to the community and to the future of Tanzania. Consistent with the egalitarian spirit, school fees at all levels of education were abolished after the Arusha Declaration.

⁶⁸As stated earlier, although education is a prerequisite for socio-economic progress it is important for education to enable the educated to assess the purpose and for whose benefit its progress is geared to. Thus uncritical or "robotic" acquisition of education may contribute to retrogression rather than progress.

In order to implement ESR, the Ministry of Education put forward elaborate educational aims and objectives which were to guide the educational plans and practice in Tanzania. These include:

- To provide Tanzanians with a proper education, that is, knowledge and understanding, important skills and attitudes appropriate and relevant to the national policies of socialism and self-reliance, science, technology and vocational training in order to make it possible for them:
 - i) To analyse and understand the fundamentals of life and social progress, possible threats and set backs to survival and design of strategies for removing those set-backs;
 - ii) To understand and make the best use of the environment and the country's natural resources, without destroying them, in the struggle for survival and development for the benefit of all;
 - iii) To conserve and protect the country's natural heritage for the benefit of future generations;
- To develop in people, self confidence and an enquiring mind in order to enable every citizen to make material and moral contribution to the development of society; to search for, accept and respect truth; to carry scientific investigations, research and make discoveries and inventions; to try out new things and learn, adopt and adapt acceptable theories and practice from others without prejudice...
- To enable students to understand a variety of world social systems, especially that of Tanzania with particular regard to:
 - i) the importance of participating in and taking full responsibility either as an individual or as a member of a group, to make fundamental decisions; taking part in development work and activities and sharing equitably the products of joint efforts...
 - ii) The importance and values of being free people, developing and perpetuating positive attitudes to work and social responsibility; human understanding, equality, justice and respect for all persons.....
- To enable Tanzanians to understand, accept, respect and value their customs and traditions, practices and ethics and to apply these principles in:
 - i) enabling every Tanzanian to free himself from all impediments that retard his development mentally, attitudinally, physically, morally and spiritually (URT 1984:1-3).

It is worth noting that, under the philosophy of ESR, education was viewed as "a public good" with recipients getting it for and on behalf of the entire society. Arguing for the inculcation of egalitarian and co-operative attitudes in education, Nyerere (1974) contend that capitalist education teaches an individual to regard himself as a commodity; whose value is determined by educational qualifications, and the post-colonial state has a duty to change it. He states that; "We have a definite responsibility

to challenge the value of education that produces people who look at themselves as commodities". Nyerere (1968:74) further argues that education "must ensure that the educated know themselves to be an integral part of the nation and recognise the responsibility to give greater service the greater the opportunities they have had"

This argument is not only an attempt to de-commodify education but also it deems education as common property, which individuals receive for and on behalf of other people, to whom they should be obliged to serve.

Nyerere (1967:52) further elaborated that, for education to play its function in the liberation and reconstruction of Tanzanian society, it must prepare young people for the work they will be called upon to do in the society that exists - a rural society where progress depends on agriculture and the efforts of the people in village development. The schools, therefore, had to foster the social goals of living together for the common good and they must stress the concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service; and, in particular, the schools had to counteract the temptation to intellectual arrogance.

Nyerere (1968) therefore insisted:

The education provided by Tanzania for the students of Tanzania must serve the purpose of Tanzania. It must encourage the growth of the socialist values we aspire to. It must encourage the development of a proud, independent, and free citizenry which relies upon itself for its own development, and which knows the advantages and problems of co-operation (Nyerere 1968:74).

In 1969, Act No. 50 was passed by the state to enable it to own and manage education in the country. Thus, all schools (except a few international schools) were nationalised and the curriculum was changed and amended to provide education that would satisfy national needs.

Thus, Education for Self-Reliance set a socialist agenda for education in Tanzania, which included the provision of basic education for all - children as well as adults.

Provision of Basic Education in Tanzania

It was envisaged that the provision of basic education would not only help in enhancing the production capacity but also would enable every Tanzanian to understand the philosophy of socialism and self-reliance. The campaign to eradicate illiteracy in Tanzania, therefore, aimed not only at expanding schooling places for

children, but also at providing literacy programmes for adults. The curriculum, books and other learning materials, as well as adult education methods, were focused on enabling the people to read and to seek more knowledge. Skills and techniques on better production and social development activities appropriate to their environment and to participate fully in the decisions concerning their lives, were to be enhanced. In short, adult literacy programmes in Tanzania were to be functional and liberative.

The official campaign of adult literacy started in 1970 which was declared the adult education year in Tanzania. In order to make the campaign a success, various strategies were employed. The strategies aimed at involving everybody from the party and government leaders to adult learners, school teachers, community groups and even children. Every literate person was urged to teach and every illiterate person was urged to learn literacy skills. At work places, conditions were laid so that a place of work was both for learning and working. The campaign registered success at least in enhancing the literacy level. After the first national literacy test, the results showed a decline in the illiteracy rate from 68% during the census of 1967 to 39% in 1974. By 1986 the level of adult illiteracy in Tanzania had fallen to 9.6% from 68% in 1967. Table 5.1 shows the decrease in illiteracy levels.

Table 5.1: The Percentage of Illiteracy Rate in Tanzania

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1967	55	81	68
1975	34	44	39
1977	22.3	30.3	27
1981	15	27	21
1983	10	20	15
1986	7	12	9.6

Source: URT (1990:121), *Twenty years of Adult Education in Tanzania 1970-1990*, Dare es Salaam. Adult Education Press.

Universal Primary Education (UPE)

In order to translate the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance into action, guidelines and directives were issued from time to time, leading to the proclamation of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1974.

The 1969-1974 Second Five Years Plan stipulated that UPE would be achieved by 1989. However, in November 1974, it was resolved by the National Executive Committee of the ruling party that the government should aim at reaching universal primary education (UPE) in 1977; thus reducing the time envisaged for UPE by 12 years. By then, it is noted (Malekela 1984) that only 48% of the school cohort was attending school.

It is reasonable to argue (Malekela 1984, URT 1989), however, that Tanzania's internal dynamics signified a right time for universal primary education because:

- By 1973, it was clear that although 48.6 of the school cohort were registered, schools had a capacity of 55%. It was therefore quite clear that there was a possibility of implementing UPE programmes much earlier than it was planned.
- Following a considerable success of the villagisation campaigns, the government found itself obliged to implement its promise of providing essential services to villagers, education being one.
- Until 1974, about 75% of Tanzanians were living together in communities organised as either Ujamaa villages, Development Villages or traditional villages. It was obvious that most of the parents would like to enrol their children at a school close to their home and there were no strong reasons for registering some of the children and leaving others in the same village.
- It was also envisaged that Universal Primary Education would also complement campaigns for eradication of illiteracy. Catching the young ones would insure a decrease in adult illiteracy.
- Primary education was to help in the construction of a socialist and self-reliant Tanzanian society by developing egalitarian values (URT 1989:4-5).

Thus, a resolution, commonly referred to as the Musoma Resolution of 1974, was a significant move towards the implementation of the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania. Under the resolution, primary education was not only to be compulsory but also to be free and complete. Rather than being the only objective, preparing children for further education, was to be one among other objectives for primary education, including:

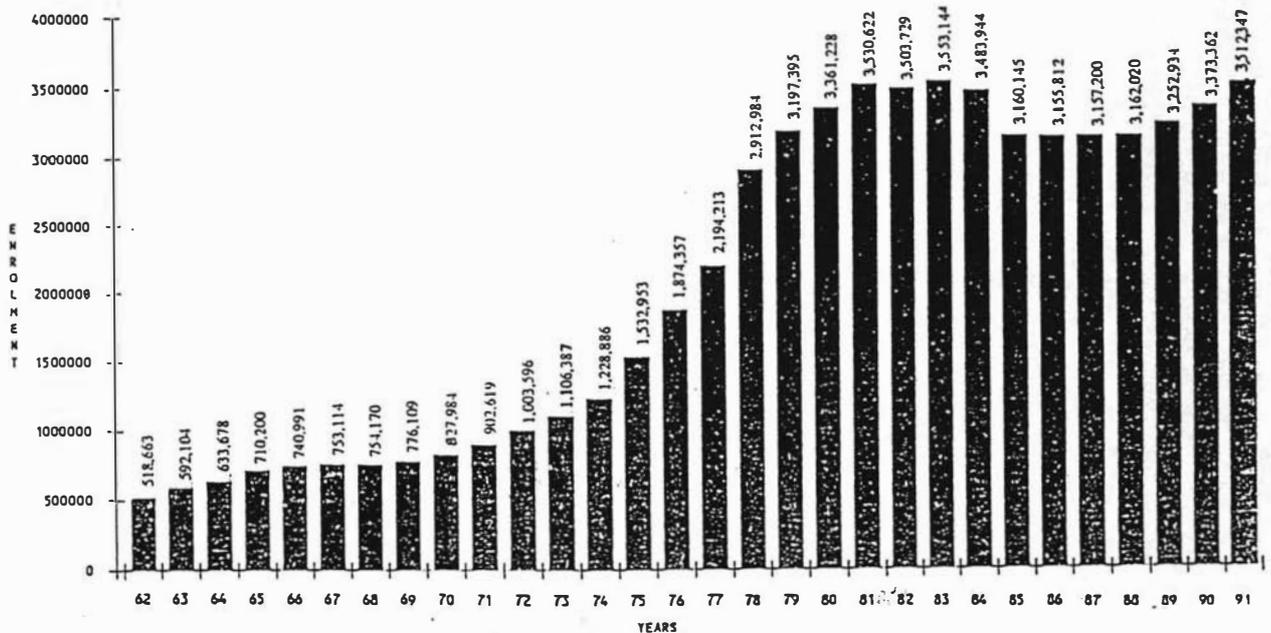
- To change the attitudes and way of thinking of pupils so that they develop a habit of liking, valuing and doing practical work;
- To enable primary schools to be part and parcel of the society;
- To combine theory and practice so that the knowledge and skills they [pupils] acquire in classes should be used in their every day activities in their own environment;
- To enable the pupils develop inquisitive minds in science and research as a way of getting facts;

- To enable schools meet part of education expenses by involving pupils fully in the planning, implementing and evaluating of productive projects and minimising costs;
- To educate the pupils on the importance of co-operative work for the benefit of all (URT 1989:4).

In order to put UPE in effect, the ruling party directed the government to mobilise people, to encourage self-help efforts in construction of schools and teachers' houses, to use local materials, to mobilise older school pupils, primary school leavers and secondary school students to teach lower classes, and to use local craftsmen, peasants and elders to teach (Malekela 1984). Parents were asked to contribute Tshs 20.00 (US \$2.50 by then) towards instructional materials.

Due to these efforts, Tanzania made remarkable strides in increasing the enrolment of school age children at all levels of education (see figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1: Primary School Enrolment Trends in Tanzania 1962 - 1991.



Source: Ministry of Education and Culture (URT) (1992) Basic Education statistics in Tanzania (BEST), Dar es salaam, DUP.

By 1980, Tanzania had achieved 96.6% gross primary school enrolment of all school-age children and the ratio of girls to boys participating in primary education was 1:1 in most parts of the country (URT 1993, Malekela 1984). As figure 5.1 indicates, 1980 - 1984 were the peak of primary school enrolment in Tanzania.

As explained earlier, the idea of universal primary education was not peculiar to Tanzania. What is phenomenal, however, is the timing of its implementation and its orientation. Universal primary education in Tanzania was to be implemented well before the planned time and was to be guided by the principles of socialism and self-reliance.

Local Context - New Zealand

The Post-Colonial State in New Zealand

It is not clear when New Zealand became politically independent because different sources attest to different dates. While some contend that New Zealand became independent by the Statute of Westminster adopted by the British Parliament in 1931 and accepted by New Zealand in 1947, others believe that it attained independence when it became self governing as a Dominion in 1912. Other sources claim that the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi signified New Zealand's independent status. Others, (Gordon 1984, Ash 1962), on the other hand, contend that the Treaty of Waitangi signified Britain's formal colonisation of New Zealand.

What is clear, however, is that even when it became independent, the New Zealand post-colonial state was not completely detached from the imperial power on whom it continued to depend economically and, to a great extent, politically. Post-colonial New Zealand continued to be an exporter of agricultural products whose terms of trade fluctuated from year to year. New Zealand's dependence was such that in a typical year between 1920 and 1950, over 90 percent of exports were wool, meat or dairy, products with over 60 percent of those exports going to Britain (Easton 1997:3). As Harworth (1994) argues, with her crucial export sector imperially owned and following the British political tradition, New Zealand's post-colonial state did not have much room to manoeuvre. Ash (1962) notes that, as well as being a principle supplier of capital, Britain was the 'natural market'. With such a high degree of dependence on the British market for its agricultural products, (Johnson 1997, Harworth 1994) New Zealand's economy was sharply affected by Britain's decision to join the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1973.

It is worth noting, however, that some efforts were expended by the New Zealand post-colonial state to disentangle its economy from total dependency. As early as 1936, the government of the time embarked on a programme of industrialisation and import protection which aimed at diversifying the economy and reducing the dependence on pastoral exports, to a single market⁶⁹. Table 5.2 shows the process of market diversification over the years.

Table 5.2 Export Destination for New Zealand Goods

	1952	1965	1994
Britain	65.6	50.8	6.0
Other 1990 European Community	12.0	17.1	9.5
United States	11.4	12.3	11.3
Australia	1.5	4.7	20.9
Japan	1.5	4.3	14.6
Greater China	*0.0	0.7	7.7
Middle East	*0.0	0.1	3.4
Other Asia	*0.9	1.2	12.8
Oceania	*0.6	1.2	4.0
Latin & Central America	*0.9	1.5	3.8
Canada	2.2	1.4	1.8
Eastern Europe	*1.5	1.0	1.1
Other	2.0	3.7	3.1
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00

*Some exports to area groups may be in 'other'.

Source: Easton, B. (1997:5), *The Commercialisation of New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press.

In 1938, comprehensive import licensing (quotas) were introduced to control imports and to encourage exports (Birks & Chatterjee 1997:273) with more tariffs than quotas being put into place in the 1960s. The government of the time (Labour government) also supported an active export policy in order to generate income to pay for the

⁶⁹However, Britain continued to provide the major market for New Zealand agricultural products until she joined the European Economic Community (EEC).

essential imports required by the industrialisation process. Wooding (1997) notes that, for many years, fiscal incentives and subsidies were used to assist exporters.

Efforts were also made to diversify production. Easton (1997) notes that, between 1966 and 1979, the processes of diversification were spectacular. Farming moved into a wider range of horticultural products; the land was diversified into forestry with plantations established in the 1930s exporting wood, chips, pulp, paper and other wood products; raw iron sands were exported to Japan and inbound tourism was developed. There was also manufacturing diversification and exporting; especially with further processing of the resources.

During the post war-period, New Zealand's economy boomed, especially due to the massive export of wool which was boosted by the Korean War. By 1950, New Zealand's material standard of living was close to the highest in the world, with full employment and substantial labour shortages. Strong domestic demand, based on the good performance in agriculture, permitted import substitution policies to function. It was an opportune time for the state to harmonise labour and capital with the government playing an active role in providing core administrative and social services, including the provision of education through a public system.

Such progress in the economic and social scene concealed New Zealand's relationship with other imperial powers for some time with its post-colonial structural dependency becoming more evident in the 1970s and 1980s. It is within this economic progress that compulsory formal post-primary education was developed in New Zealand.

Compulsory Formal Post-Primary Education in New Zealand

What was happening in the late 1960s and the 1970s at primary level in Tanzania was similar to what had started in the 1930s in New Zealand at post-primary levels. While the New Zealand 1877 Act was only confined to the provision of primary education for all, secondary schools were established by a different Act of Parliament and were allowed to charge fees. By the end of the century, it was clear that the fees imposed by secondary schools were a stumbling block to many children fitted for secondary education but whose parents were unable to pay. Since education was esteemed, this denial of opportunity was expressed as a social ill that needed remedy. Thus, in 1903 secondary school places were introduced to “enable the brightest intellect to be highly educated for the benefit of the rest of the country” (New Zealand Department of Education 1973:6).

Since not all children could benefit from the secondary school places scheme, the search for ways of providing secondary education to all children continued. This crystallised in the Department of Education's statement which established compulsory post primary education, in 1938, after the election of the Labour Government in 1935. It was stated in the annual report of the Department of Education for 1938 that:

The government's objective, broadly expressed, is that every person whatever his level of academic ability, whether he be rich or poor, whether he live in the town or country, has a right as a citizen to a free education of a kind for which he is best fitted and to the fullest extent of his powers. So far is this from being a mere pious platitude that the full acceptance of the principle will involve the orientation of the education system (New Zealand Department of Education 1973:5).

This was the beginning of the New Zealand educational settlement under which, education in New Zealand was deemed a right for every child and the years which children were to attend compulsory post-primary schooling were raised. Emphasising the equality of educational opportunity, the state subsidised most educational activities at all levels (Openshaw 1995).

The apparent success of this settlement coincided with times of economic prosperity which New Zealand enjoyed during the post-war period up to the 1960s. Sutch (1969:258-9) notes that, in post-World War II New Zealand, strong policies of full employment, plus control of the economy, formed the basis for economic growth, whilst state support attained its highest peak in the area of health, education, housing and social welfare. The government's move to promote a broader based manufacturing sector through import substitution policies also added to the demand for skilled labour. On the social side, education was seen as a means for advancement and social mobility.

Under such favourable circumstances, the New Zealand state managed to forge a political unity and to mask class contradictions. At least as far as expansion of education was concerned, both the needs of labour and the needs of capital seemed to be met. The education settlement accrued considerable support from both labour and capital, including international capital. This supports the view (Gordon 1984) that expansionism in state services brings about the appearance of consensus between various facets of the education system; but the reduction in state expenditure, rapidly breaks down this consensus.

It has to be noted, however, that education in New Zealand, as in any other society, did not generate homogeneous intent, meaning and interpretation. Being one of the

major sites in which different groups with distinct political, economic, and cultural visions attempt to define what the socially legitimate means and ends of a society are to be (Apple 1993), education forms an arena through which ideological conflicts in the larger context work themselves out. Thus, the assimilatory nature of formal education, through emphasis on English language and cultural norms in native schools, has been construed as a move to devalue the Maori cultural imperatives. It has been argued, (Harker et. al. 1990) that education in New Zealand had clear overtones of assimilation, social control and occupational placement. Gordon (1984:91-101) observes, for example, that, while (to some) the aim of technical education was to train the hand in conjunction with the eye and the brain, to others technical education was to inculcate the worker with a particular set of ideologies aimed at serving the industry so that industries would be staffed with a disciplined work force.

Thus, it is arguable that, beside the acclaimed crusade of providing opportunity, education and schooling was also manipulative and instrumental in maintaining power relations in New Zealand. This also depicts the inherent contradictions of the capitalist state. The capitalist state (Dale 1981:35, Gordon 1984:12) must preserve and enhance the mode of production which is inherently unequal while at the same time appearing to be working for all groups in the society.

The contradictory interpretations and demands on education, however, were either less overt or seemed less threatening during the era of social and economic prosperity. Gordon (1984) observes that, in the 1960s, the continued economic growth in New Zealand meant that opportunities continued to increase and, hence, to ensure that the basis of schooling remained relatively unquestioned. Thus, even where it was clear that equal access to educational resources did not automatically ensure that opportunity could be maximised by all groups in society, there was no discussion of the viability of the policies underlying schooling practices of the time. Gordon cites the participation and achievement of Maori students as an example of such complacency.

Referring to the 1962 Commission of Education Report, Gordon (1984) argues that, by 1962, it had become clear that Maori, as a group, were faring significantly less well in school than their European counterparts (Pakeha)⁷⁰. Rather than questioning the viability of the policies underlying schooling practices, however, Maori parents were blamed for not encouraging their children to stay longer and to do better in

⁷⁰ New Zealanders of European origins are called Pakeha.

school (Lovegrove 1966:36). With the establishment of the Maori Education Foundation, there was still much optimism that Maori children would do better within the existing schooling system (Gordon 1984:25).

Based on such evidence of contradictions, arguments have been extended (Gordon 1984) that issues of education in New Zealand of the 1980s,

have not been caused by a break down in an otherwise "perfect" system, but by a set of contradictions that have always existed even though dominant theoretical approaches were unable to recognise them (Gordon 1984:18).

Although such arguments are true, it is also worth noting that, under the education settlement, the principles of universalised provision, egalitarianism and collectivism were upheld. Thus, the OECD Report (1983) identified full employment, equality of treatment, multiculturalism, a consensus approach to education, consultation and participation, individual freedom and social justice, as the main values informing the provision and practice of education in New Zealand. Based on such values, the state's espoused commitment to substantial equality of educational opportunity was an important aspect of New Zealand's educational settlement (Dale 1993). This is significant because, with such an understanding, inequalities in the education system were to be construed as violations of social justice (Beeby 1992); hence, the state had an obligation at least to rationalise the inequalities. It is argued, therefore, that ,within the educational settlement, there seemed to exist at least an avenue upon which the citizens' rights to education could be expressed and explored.

Concluding Remarks

It is significant to note that the ventures to improve social services embarked upon by post-colonial states in New Zealand (between the 1930s and 1980s) and Tanzania (between the late 1960s to early 1980s) were within the dominant global economic paradigm of the time; hence, they were supported, to a great extent, by the existing ideological assumptions. Thus, aims of equal education opportunity were not limited to New Zealand or Tanzania; rather, they were part of a movement that spanned most capitalist nations in the post-war period. This was the era of Keynesianism and the Keynesian welfare state.

After the great depression of the 1930s, the eminent economists of the era, in particular, Maynard Keynes, propounded the need to put the state in command by

asserting that the state's ability to organise and plan on a large scale would enable it to produce a wider range of goods and services than the private sector.

The Keynesian state welfare model claimed that governments could intervene in their economies to achieve durable macro-economic outcomes including "full employment" (Wooding 1993). Thus, the model ensured state intervention in the economy to moderate the "boom and slump" cycle and to facilitate capital accumulation (Bedggood 1980:95). In the wake of "the Great Depression" and the two World Wars, both business and organised labour in the advanced capitalist world saw advantages in the Keynesian model of a managed mixed economy with a strong state sector.

As Brett (1988) argues, although the arguments for the Keynesian model were vigorously pushed by the labour dominated democratic parties, they were not rejected by the rightist ones. Thus, a social democratic consensus based on state welfarism was achieved in the developed countries. It is upon this consensus that the transition from the war economy to the boom years of the 1960s was organised and that capitalism was saved from imminent collapse.

In post-colonial nations, including those of Africa, the Keynesian paradigm was most welcome to the nationalist movement and it was presented as a model of reformist socialism which based on domestic state power was in opposition to the predominantly foreign interests which dominated the local economy (Brett 1988:48).

The Keynesian package required the public sector to provide social services, including health and education, which, although sometimes not directly productive for the private sector, are necessary in order to create conditions that allow profitability for the private sector while ameliorating the adverse effects of capital accumulation (Bedggood 1980, Gamble 1983). As Bedggood (1980) contends, state welfarism:

Represented the practical application by a workers' government of the most advanced bourgeois economics of the day - Keynesianism - a set of economic measures designed to ensure the most efficient management of capitalist production. It was efficient not only in the sense that it controlled the devastating social consequences of the boom-slump cycle, but also in the sense that this control was imposed in the interest of the working class by a worker's government on behalf of the capitalist class (Bedggood 1980:95).

Educational planning in the industrial advanced societies played a central role in the conception of the interventionist welfare state that was necessary for controlling the self defeating tendencies of capitalist growth.

Through provision of education and other welfare services, the Keynesian state made capitalist development less harsh and, therefore, more acceptable to the working class which in turn legitimated the capitalist relations of production and the state itself. Expanded education served an economic role by becoming a source of increasing possibilities both for the capitalist to increase accumulation of capital and for labour to enhance employability (Offe 1977 in Torres 1995). Education also served an ideological role, especially when it was seen as a means of providing a form of direct consumption to the working class (Carnoy and Levin 1986).

This thesis contends that an educational settlement is reached when the policies in place are seen to be catering for those roles. In other words, an educational settlement is reached when the provision of education is seen to be catering for the *needs of labour* and the *labour needs*. Here, the *needs of labour* refers to the democratisation of education and other social services to allow labour more choice of occupation and also of social mobility. *Labour needs*, on the other hand, are capital's requirement of productive labour at the minimal cost and optimal returns.

It is further argued that an educational settlement, similar to the Keynesian state welfare model which operated in New Zealand in the period between 1935 and 1970, was reached in Tanzania in the period between the late 1960s and the 1970s.

Under the welfare state system, education was expected to perform important functions in preparing the people for their role in the capitalist division of labour. Building on *human capital theories*, education was linked with higher levels of production; hence, rationalising the allocation of resources to promote education and calculated social mobility. Social mobility was calculated, in that, it was a motivation for labour to gain more skills that would result in a more efficient production process. It was also a process of creating allies to the capitalist class in the form of the elites. Consequently, education played an important role in social integration and social control.

These observations are supported by Torres' (1995) argument that:

The emergence of the post-colonial state, sizeable world-wide economic surplus and the modernisation theories, coupled with the diffusion of human capital theory for educational planning, helped to

fuel educational expansion in the developing world (Torres 1995:277)⁷¹.

This liberal conception of education, however, neglected the political economy of capitalism. Torres (1995:276) observes, for example, that the analysis of schooling in the liberal perspective of the welfare state was supported by an almost complete neglect of the contradictory aspect of the division of labour, including class. Thus, the positive functions of education were analysed to the exclusion of negative ones; including the fact that some dominant ethnic groups or castes within society were taking advantage of positions of wealth, influence and power. Some of these discrepancies, that were under emphasised during state welfarism, have been used by the neo-liberals to make their case against the public education system.

Another important aspect of capitalist state welfarism is that capital is prepared to invest in education (and other social services) only in so far as that investment results in profit. If more investment does not result in further profit, or encroaches on existing profit, then mechanisms are sought to discontinue such investment. It is the duty of the state, as a true defender of capital and mediator of the interest of capital, to ensure that no more tax money (ostensibly from private accumulation) goes to finance unprofitable ventures. Thus, during economic growth, (e.g. the period after the World War II and 1970) education funding by the state is encouraged but, when there is economic recession (e.g. since the late 1970s), education suffers cuts and privatisation becomes central to state policy.

⁷¹Torres (1995) notes that other analysts such as Carnoy 1977, Samoff 1990, Fuller 1991, Russell 1989 also subscribe to similar ideas as an explanation for the educational expansion in the developing countries.

Chapter Six

Post-colonial States and the Globalisation Process

Introduction

In the previous chapter, education policies under international finance capitalism in both New Zealand and Tanzania were explored. It has been argued that policies in both countries have been very much influenced by the change of socio-economic assumptions in the capitalist formation, especially the move to Keynesian state welfarism.

This chapter analyses the nature, position and functions of the post-colonial state in Tanzania and New Zealand within the globalisation process under the assumption that contemporary education privatisation policy reforms, in both countries, are within the framework of the globalisation process. Based on the view that "the process of globalisation, usually associated with the movement of capital and labour, may not be the new phenomenon that it seems" (Torres 1995:311), the study traces the process in the world-wide division of labour after the Second World War, particularly since the 1960s. It is argued that the post-World War II arrangement that had created most "sovereign" nation states was also undermining their sustenance. Thus, conflicting dual processes have been supported by this arrangement. While national identity was strengthened through a social welfare system, (whereby the state subsidised or provided social services such as education, health and housing) on the other hand, the process of globalisation and transnationalisation of identity was promoted through forms of non-state power and authority, as well as labour migration (Held 1991, Torres 1995). As Torres notes:

With globalisation, there is a perceived de-nationalisation of territories defined by the growing power of transnational corporations, interventionism of foreign states, and a pervasive transnational culture through mass media, all of which seem to prevail over peripheral nation-states, domestic capital and local, regional, or national cultures (Torres 1995:311-312).

Such phenomena have led some sociologist (e.g. Held 1991) to define globalisation as:

the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distance localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa (Held 1991:9).

Torres (1995) argues, however, that, if globalisation is deeply undermining the position of nation states, it has also contributed to the reshaping of the social milieu of societies that has promoted state welfare policies. He observes that social diversity has developed hand in hand with the globalisation process. As a corollary, welfare policies including those of education, "were developed, mandated, supervised, and regulated by the modern state and played a major role in the welfare state" (Torres 1995:309) to cater for national solidarity. That is, due to labour immigration, for example, states had to implement policies that would create national solidarity for an increasingly social, cultural, ethnic and economically diverse population.

This indicates that, in the finance capitalist formation, both state welfarism and the globalisation process were concomitantly reinforcing each other. It is important to note, however, that globalisation became more obvious in the 1980s when the privatisation agenda was promoted through market oriented policy reforms. Thus, besides examining the process of globalisation, this chapter also analyses the context of the privatisation debate in both Tanzania and New Zealand as part of the socio-historical context of contemporary education reforms.

External context

Capitalism and the Globalisation Process

In order to understand the phenomenon of globalisation, it is important to analyse the post-World War II social, economic and political arrangement that (as argued earlier) promoted and undermined the nation state. It is argued in this study that the post-World War II arrangement secured the powerful position of USA capital and the international economic, as well as political organisations, which were formed immediately after the war.

Describing the power position of the United States of America after the war, Hoogvelt (1997) observes that:

In exchange for sacrificing American lives in the cause of its European allies, the US demanded a price. That price was a new international economic order under US hegemony...The dying days of the war saw the coming together of all victorious nations in a remarkably swift agreement on the need to manage the world economy through effective international

institutions⁷² and principles under the acknowledged leadership of the US... Barely a couple of years later, tight political and military alliances were woven around the 'free world' economy (NATO) while the cold war with one group of nations not prepared to play ball within the Grand Area became the legitimising force behind the Truman Doctrine (1947) in which the US formally announced its intention to act as a global policeman. (Hoogvelt 1997:33-34).

In the same vein, Goddard et al. (1996) argue that:

At the World War's conclusion, the world turned from what many thought as the "high" politics of warfare and destruction to the economics of rebuilding what had been destroyed. United States finally accepted its leadership role, and, with the aid of international institutions created at Bretton Woods, economic growth exceeded most analysts' expectations (Goddard et. al. 1996:1-2).

However, while national states were busy building and defending their political sovereignty, they were leaving their economies open for penetration by international economic organisations such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, (World Bank) the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). As The Brookings Institution (1995) explains:

After World War II, most national governments began—sometimes unilaterally, more often collaboratively - to lower their separation fences, to make them more permeable, or sometimes even to tear down parts of them, The multilateral negotiations under the auspices of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—for example, the Kennedy Round in 1960s, the Tokyo Round in 1970s, and most recently the protracted negotiations of the Uruguay Round, formally signed only in 1994—stand out as the most prominent examples of fence lowering for trade in goods... After the mid-1980s a large number of developing countries moved unilaterally to reduce border barriers and to pursue outwardly oriented policies (The Brookings Institution 1995:xv).

Meanwhile, these international economic organisations were not only becoming transnational, but also omnipresent and quasi-governmental (Alphonse 1997, Goddard et. al. 1996, Torres 1995, Martin 1992). Thus, it has been observed (Alphonse 1997) that:

These institutions which were created out of the Bretton Wood conference in 1944, as part of the Marshal Plan to oversee the reconstruction of European economy, following the aftermath of the World War II, increasingly became

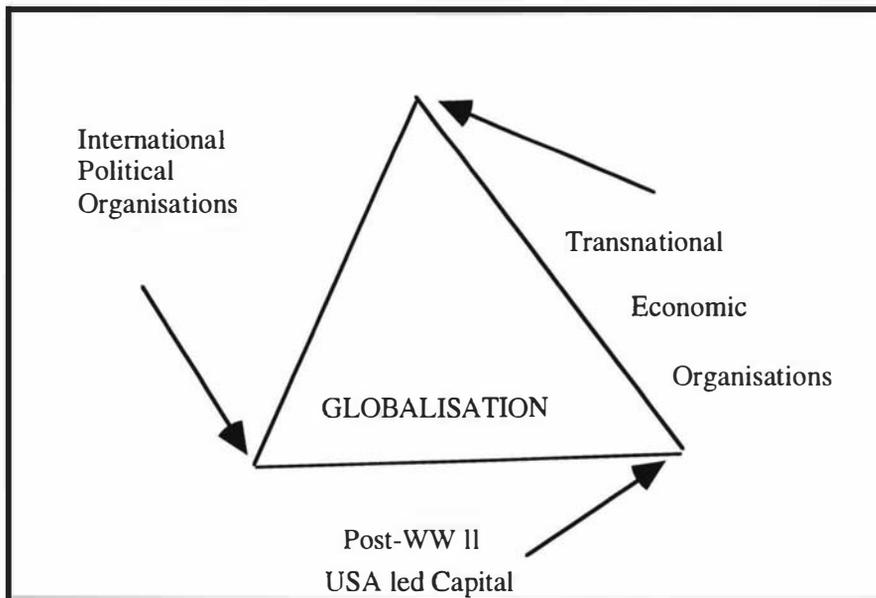
⁷² The international institutions include Bretton Woods institutions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, 1944, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) 1947.

very much involved in the world economy - both developed and developing (Alphonse 1997:10).

The world's political structure was also concomitantly changing with the transformation of the global economy, such that more nations were becoming members of international organisation leading to what Randall and Theobald (1998:239) refer to as the "political globalising trends". Thus, The Brookings Institution (1995:xvi) observes that "the history of membership in international organisations, documents the sharp growth in the number of independent states".

The above observations and arguments indicate that USA led capital and the international economic and political organisations formed through the post World War II arrangement increasingly became more predominant in the world socio-economic and political arena. It is argued in this study that a triumvirate, formed by the convergence of USA led capital, transnational corporations and international social and political organisations, constitutes the power-base of what, in most cases, is referred to as "globalisation" (see figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: The Power Base of Globalisation



The increased influence of USA-led capital (including the military-industrial complex), transnational corporations and international economic organisations (e.g. the World Bank, IMF and GATT that have developed into quasi-governmental organisations), as well as

international socio-political organisations (e.g. UN and its agencies) have developed into overt globalisation.

Explaining the role of international organisations in the formulation and implementation of education policies in developing countries, McNeely (1995) contends that:

Educational ideals and structure in most late developing countries are characteristically in keeping with the policies of international organisations, to the extent that they apparently in many cases result from international organisational requirements and operations. For example, the mandate of UNESCO allows it to formulate norms, draft conventions, collect information, and provide assistance for the development of national education systems... Organisation activities work towards consensus among nation-states by urging them to accept rules and implement standards that it determines. Notably, UNESCO's education programs have played key roles in international interaction and communication and in setting educational policy within nation-states (McNeely 1995:502-503).

Figure 6.1 graphically illustrates the conception of globalisation as it is espoused in this study. The figure indicates that globalisation is a multi-dimensional process comprising the economic, socio-cultural and political dimensions.

Randall and Theobald (1998) contend, that at the economic level globalisation includes the "organisation of production and consumption of goods and services at a global level, with the primary aim of securing maximum return on capital" (Randall and Theobald 1998:235) in that regard the convergence between the USA led capital and international economic organisation including transnational corporations (TNCs) is important for globalisation.

With the world-wide fiscal crisis in the 1970s, mainly due to the oil shock and later oil embargo, many countries that had joined the "peg-and-band Bretton Wood system"⁷³ were experiencing financial difficulties in remaining within the band. Thus, the post-war financial arrangements were contested. The USA responded by internationalising its capital through cutting the ties between the US dollar and gold. (Goddard et. al. 1996:3). The European countries, on the other hand, responded to the fiscal crisis by forming the European Economic Community. It has been argued, therefore (Goddard et. al. 1996), that:

⁷³Goddard et. al.. (1996:3) note that "at the on set of the post -World War II era, the countries that joined the Bretton Wood system pegged their currency to the US dollar and the United States tied the dollar to gold at \$35 per ounce. The value of currencies were then allowed to fluctuate within 1 percent band. One of the jobs of IMF was to monitor this fixed-flexible exchange rate system to ensure compliance with the band."

The death of the Bretton Woods era and the international hostility generated by the oil embargo marked the overt politicization of international economic relations (Goddard et. al. 1996:2).

Goddard et. al. (1996:2-3) further explain that, with the collapse of "peg-and-band" system, many critics called for a floating exchange rate system whereby the currency value is set by the currency market.

Meanwhile, as Hoogvelt (1997) observes:

...international banks who were caught in a monetarist freeze in their core country markets, also encouraged the privatisation of the Third World debt. By the end of the 1970s, commercial lending and public lending had reversed their traditional post-war positions, with commercial lending to Third World now outstripping public lending by a ratio of 3 to 1 (Hoogvelt 1997:163).

It can be argued that this was the beginning of the debt crisis. It is significant to note the observation that:

Most of the outstanding stock of the Third World debt was originally contracted at low and fixed interest rates in the mid 1970s. They were, however, rescheduled in the early-1980s when floating (and rising) interest rates prevailed (Hoogvelt 1997:166).

When the World Bank and IMF were designated the role of debt collectors, therefore, they were to get from the indebted countries several times more than what was initially contracted. Thus, it has been noted that the IMF and World Bank were getting more from the developing country than what they were giving out. The interest rate rescheduling, together with the devaluation of the indebted country's currency, are probably the core cause of the third world debt crisis of the 1980s. No wonder many Third World countries have less to show for the huge amounts of loans they have supposedly borrowed!

The socio-cultural dimension, on the other hand, comprises the social and cultural integration that transcends national boundaries which has mainly resulted from the developments in the communication and information technology and labour migration. Randall and Theobald (1998) argue that through mass communication media, there has developed what some have referred to as the "Coca-Cola-nisation and MacDonal-disation" of the world culture that has in turn facilitated the "culture-ideology of consumerism" (Sklair 1991). Describing the "culture-ideology of consumerism" Sklair contends that:

The culture-ideology of consumerism proclaims, literally, that the meaning of life is to be found in the things we possess. To consume, therefore, is to be fully alive, and to remain fully alive we must continuously consume (Sklair, 1991:41).

Thus, the privatisation agenda which ensures that goods and services have commodity characteristics conducive for consumerism to apply, is a significant aspect of globalisation.

The political dimension, on the other hand, is evident in the increased integration among nation states, hence, political actions regarding various issues being taken at global levels. Here the international political organisations such as the United Nations and its affiliate organs (including UNESCO and UNICEF) play an important part. The weakening of the nation states through deregulation, debt crisis and inability to provide basic needs to their citizenry has also contributed significantly to the political globalisation process.

Globalisation and the Nation State

The on going discussion indicates that, mainly through the globalisation process, the post-World War II arrangement, which seemingly enhanced the nation states, was increasingly making steps towards undermining the nation states' sustenance. However, several factors have contributed to speeding up the process of globalisation. These include: the economic, social and political integration which were aided by advances in technology; the fiscal crisis in the 1970s and the economic recession in the 1980s; and later, the ideological vacuum left by countries formerly in the eastern socialist bloc as they joined the western bloc in a bid to lift their economies from recession.

By the 1970s, the advances in technology had made it possible for goods, capital, and ideas to move with ease around the world and growing numbers of cross-border alliances; transnational enterprises became not only common but also more powerful. Thus, capitalism, was transforming from international finance capitalism to transnational/global capitalism.

With the transformation of capitalism from international finance capitalism to transitional/global capitalism, however, the position of the national states has increasingly become equivocal. As Haworth (1994) contends, the massive internationalisation of

economic activities reinforced by development in communication technology, increasingly challenged the symmetry between the state and economic control.

This contention is also supported by The Brookings Institution (1995) which notes that:

Cross-border economic integration and national political sovereignty have increasingly come into conflict, leading to a growing mismatch between the economic and political structures of the world (The Brookings Institution 1995:xvii).

It is further observed that:

As separation fences have been lowered and technological innovations have shrunk economic distances, a multitude of formally neglected deference among nations' domestic policies have become exposed to international scrutiny (The Brookings Institution 1995:xvii).

The Brookings Institution (1995) argues that these processes have led to tensions between nation states and world integration; tensions which are expressed in "diminished national autonomy", "challenges to political sovereignty" and "cross border spill-overs" (The Brookings Institution 1995:xvii-xxi).

Hence, with the oil crisis of the 1970s and the economic recession of the 1980s, the tension intensified between the transnational powers and the states structures. The existence of state-run economies and the state ownership of the key industrial sectors in many countries were seen as obstructing the integration of world capitalism. Likewise, public interest obligations imposed by state regulations were perceived as not only hampering cost cutting in an economy that was globalising and regionalising into competitive continental blocs⁷⁴ but also interfering with the payment of "national" debt which had reached alarming levels.

Thus, efforts were made by multinational capitalists to address the fiscal crises. Reduced public spending on social services (including health and education), promised short term balance sheet-benefits both through lower tax bills and re-direction of state finance to business subsidies. For transnational banks, faced with the prospect of system collapse

⁷⁴The ideas of de-regulation, globalisation, and the state in the 1980's are more elaborately put by Martin (1993).

because of their 1970s lending policies, it was imperative that states be made to put debt servicing ahead of public services (Martin 1993).

National states were urged to restructure their economies in line with the demands of multinational corporations. The developed nations were strongly persuaded by their trading partners to restructure while the developing nations were presented with structural adjustment policies as conditionalities for receiving aid or loans. Privatisation featured strongly in the structural adjustment rhetoric.

Another important phenomenon of the 1980s was the crumbling of the Eastern socialist governments, especially the USSR. As the International People's Tribunal to judge the Group-7 (seven leading industrial powers), which was held in July 3 - 4, 1993, observes:

The capitalist ethos no longer faces any ideological resistance at the inter-governmental level throughout the south. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the embrace of a privatised market oriented policies by the successor states, and by China, there is no critical voice now being heard in the global corridors of power and no sense of economic alternative. With the Communist collapse had occurred, temporarily at least, the unwarranted discrediting of socialist values and the weakening of labour movements almost everywhere, which had historically served as the main sources of pressure for a more compassionate approach to economic policy. Instead of a dialogue between alternative economic perspectives, there is now a capitalist monologue, with a resulting decline in political leverage to challenge the adverse human effects of market operations. The global market has become the only game in town, and the town is now the planet (International people's Tribunal 1993:129).

The collapse of the socialist bloc not only made the "new right" ideology take the lead but also supplied a weapon with which the "new right" could secure their position and foster their ideological agenda. Besides creating an ideological vacuum, it provided a diversion from the economic problems in the contemporary capitalist system as well as the avenue for criticising the planned economy and the public system in general.

Assuming that internal dynamics of each nation state contribute significantly to shaping policy reforms, the researcher proceeds to analyse the implementation of progressive policies in the 1970 and 1980s and the context of the privatisation debate in Tanzania and in New Zealand. The main argument is that the development and implementation of progressive policies in both countries were caught within dual processes of state welfarism and the globalisation process.

Local Context: Tanzania

State Welfarism and the Globalisation Process in Tanzania: Socio-economic Development Issues

Issues of development in post-colonial countries, especially the so called Third World countries, are complex and sometimes baffling. As Oliga (1996:274-276) argues, whereas these countries are rich, especially in natural endowments, they are correctly referred to as poor nations because the overwhelming majority of the people in these nations are perpetual victims of the problems of meeting the very basic needs of (human) material existence, such as nutrition and housing.

In chapter two, various theories of development are presented; including the modernisation, dependency and the world system theories. These theories, have been put forward to explain this phenomenon of development especially in the Third World countries. In the ensuing discussion, an attempt is made to explain how Tanzania was caught in the vicious circle while attempting to develop from within the capitalist relations of production.⁷⁵

Half a decade after independence, Tanzania correctly assessed the foundation of its problems within the capitalist mode of production, particularly the imperialist legacy and its renewal in a new form of penetration, namely neo-colonialism. Ideological transformation was deemed necessary; hence, education was assigned the important function of taking a leading role in the reconstruction of the Tanzanian society towards a new form of development. Tanzania chose a socialist path, "Ujamaa", to development.

Under Ujamaa, Tanzania's vision of development was basically for the social, political and economic progress of all people in the society. Nyerere (1968) argued, for example, that:

To work for the development of man [sic], must mean the development of that kind of society which serves man, which enhances his well being and preserves his dignity. Thus, the development of peoples involves economic development, social development, and political development...The present condition of men must be unacceptable to all who think of an individual person as a unique creation of a living God. We say man was created in the image of God. I refuse to imagine a God who is poor, ignorant,

⁷⁵It is important to note that the contention here, is not that, this was done either by conspiracy or by deliberate design from the international community or Tanzanian petty-bourgeoisie, but through a process of struggling for survival within finance capitalism.

superstitious, fearful, oppressed, wretched... The development of people, demands that the world shall become one and that social justice shall replace the present oppressions and inequalities (Nyerere 1973:217-217).

Thus, development under Ujamaa was to foster social justice and change the existing oppressive conditions. However, while making some important strides forward, Tanzania did not become socialist and self-reliant. Considering the debt crisis and the structural adjustment policies that have made the social welfare system crumble, Tanzania is perhaps even more dependent on the world-economy now than it was in 1967, at the time of the Arusha Declaration.

Various explanations have been put forward for the failure of Tanzania to achieve the socialist type of development, including those relating to agriculture, industry, ideology, and bureaucracy. Although some of the explanations are plausible, most of them fail to put the leading force (the post-colonial state) into proper perspective or ignore it altogether. In the proceeding discussion, an attempt is made to explain Tanzania's attempt at socialist development in the realm of the nature, role and function of the state, albeit the post-colonial state, in the capitalist mode of production. The main argument is that, given its position as a post-colonial capitalist state caught between neo-colonial exploitation and internal class struggles, Tanzania's development strategies could not lead the country to self-reliance, let alone socialism. In other words, although Tanzania had a strong ideological base, it lacked the appropriate strategy for self-reliance and this led to its philosophy of socialism and self-reliance being captured in the framework of capitalist state welfarism.

Thus, the successes and problems of building a socialist and self-reliant society in Tanzania have to be understood through the analysis of the selected strategies of development and Tanzania's position in the world economy. The contention is that Tanzania's strategies of implementing socialism and self-reliance were so similar to policies promoted by the social welfare states which earned them not only support from international finance capital but also limited their success. The support from finance capitalism induced Tanzania to employ capitalist strategies; hence, setting bases for contradictions between the strategy and the leading ideology.

It is evinced that the continued external orientation of Tanzania's economy has been the result of several factors including; increased foreign influence, patterns of capital

investment in private and public sectors, and the development strategies adopted by the post-colonial government.

a) Increased Foreign Influence

Foreign influence is exerted through various activities, including: trade, foreign aid and external debt.

Trade

Trade is one basic area where the disadvantaged position of post-colonial states is manifest. The lack of diversity in export products and markets, for example, has meant that Tanzania is vulnerable to fluctuations in international market prices. Tanzania depends on the world market for the decision on what to produce and the pricing of her products. Four primary products provide the bulk of the value of domestic exports: coffee, cotton, cloves and sisal which in 1973, together accounted for 57% of Tanzania's exports. In the late 1970s, sisal, coffee, cotton, cashew nuts, tea and tobacco still made up 70% of exports (Nurse-Bray 1980:62). Given the fact that Tanzania has no say over the working of the world market mechanisms, crop pricing has had a particularly devastating effect on her balance of payments.

A long term upwards trend in the price of imported manufactured goods has also been devastating because of Tanzania's high dependence on imported capital equipment and other manufactured items. Tanzania's terms of trade therefore, have been steadily worsening since the first oil-shock in the early 1970s. This has drained the country of foreign exchange reserves to a point where it is forced to pay for many imports on a cash-on-delivery basis or to forego some of its needs. This situation contributed significantly to the fiscal and legitimisation crises of the 1980s. At the heart of the matter, however, is the fact that Tanzania, like most of the post-colonial states, does not participate in setting prices of either what the country sells or buys. This has the net effect of maintaining its disadvantaged position in the global economic order.

Foreign Aid and External Debt

Another obstacle to Tanzania's transition to socialism and de-linking from the capitalist system is its dependence on foreign aid. In times of fiscal crisis, such as during the oil

shocks in the early 1970s, the fall of world grain prices, and the war with Uganda, the Tanzanian state had to look to western capitalist countries for significant amounts of financial aid. Shivji (1976) notes that, in the period between the Arusha Declaration in 1967 and 1973, "Tanzania received almost three times as much foreign aid as in the previous six-year period" (Shivji 1976:160). This trend did not cease in the 1970s and 1980s.

The level of external debt, since the Arusha declaration, also shows increasing levels of dependence rather than self-reliance. Tanzania's international debt was twenty-one times higher in 1977 than it was in 1967 (Mittelman 1991:213) and, in 1974, interest charges alone increased three-fold (Mittelman (1991:225). Hyden (1980:75) notes that, in the area of external debt, Tanzania has been one of the highest borrowers per capita in the world. What perhaps makes this problem more extreme is the fact that the majority of debt servicing and repayment commitments are denominated in foreign currency; thus, worsening Tanzania's foreign-exchange and creating a severe balance of payments crisis.

It has to be noted, however, that this phenomenon of external aid and debt is not peculiar to Tanzania. Given their dependency and unequal position in the world economic order and the urge to develop a "national economy" commensurate with the post-war arrangement of national sovereignty, led many post-colonial states to seek and accept foreign aid and debt" (Hoogvelt 1997:49). Hoogvelt (1997) observes that the Third Worldist view based on the dependency theory of development, in the 1960s and 1970s, culminated in a wave of nationalisation and indigenisation policies in which foreign owned companies and assets were taken over by the state or compulsorily sold to indigenous bourgeoisie. He argues that:

But there was a price to pay....foreign companies required financial compensation to be paid...the financial resources were obtained from international banks eager to find outlets for accumulated Euro-and petrodollars (Hoogvelt 1997:49)⁷⁶.

What is of particular importance here, is that much of this money had specific lending criteria and loan terms attached, which allowed external agencies to direct the spending of the money and, therefore, of development initiatives. The pressure exerted by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (IBRD) to make Tanzania implement the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), in the 1980s, serves to illustrate

⁷⁶This was the beginning of the post-colonial nations' debt crisis of the 1980s.

the extent of their influence⁷⁷. Moreover, the external agencies had fewer obligations for the consequences of the economic development strategies they promoted. Hoogvelt (1997) further notes that:

The changed equity debt composition of foreign controlled enterprises in the Third World [led] to gross inefficiencies (and deepening indebtedness) because of the institutional separation of financial responsibility from operational control. Interest on loan capital constitutes a contractual obligation that needs to be discharged irrespective of the profitability of the enterprise or project for which the obligation was contracted...dividends (return on equity) were no longer the *raison d'être* of the foreign involvement. From the parent company's point of view, the local affiliate or joint venture became quintessentially a trading partner from whom it wished to buy cheap and to sell dear (Hoogvelt 1997:50).

The above observations indicate that some foreign involvement in post-colonial nations not only "corrupted the very policies of development" (Hoogvelt 1997:49) but also created a breeding ground for the post-colonial nations' (including Tanzania) debt crisis of the 1980s.

Development Strategies Adopted by the Post-Colonial Government

The development strategies adopted by the post-colonial government in Tanzania reflects Tanzania's position in the capitalist relations of production which is further evidenced by its policies of agriculture and rural development, investment in private and public sectors and the implementation of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR), after the Arusha declaration.

Agricultural and Rural Development

This thesis argues that Tanzania's agricultural problems are significantly related to the selected strategies for development that reflect Tanzania's neo-colonial position in the capitalist world system.

Tanzania's post-colonial state, led by the political bourgeoisie, recognised the importance of the peasants in Tanzania's economy and sought their collaboration in the process of socialist transformation. Following the Arusha declaration, a policy-document, "Socialism

⁷⁷This is discussed later in the study.

and Rural Development" was produced in September 1967. In this document it is stated that:

The land is the only basis for Tanzania's development; we have no other. Therefore, if our rural life is not based on the principles of socialism our country will not be socialist, regardless of how we organise our industrial sector, and regardless of our commercial and political arrangements. Tanzanian socialism must be based on the land and its workers (Nyerere 1968a:118).

It is worth noting, however, that proclaiming the philosophy of self-reliance is, by itself, not enough for carrying out sustainable self-reliant rural development.

Rural development based on socialism and self-reliance should have focused on the removal of oppressive and exploitative economic and social relations at both local and international levels. In that regard, rural development would have been explicitly political and necessarily involved in the analysis of power relations not only in the community but also the state and the capitalist international system. That is, previously taken for granted assumptions, including increased production for export while neglecting production for local consumption, should have been treated as problematic to appropriate rural development. Such a strategy would have increased critical awareness of both the immediate and the wider society for transformation to take place at both the micro and macro levels. In other words, rural development in Tanzania should have had greater input from the rural people themselves.

It has been noted (Mathryn 1979, Mbilinyi 1994, Kweka 1994), however, that in most cases, people's initiatives were not given appropriate status in the rural development strategy. Mathryn (1979), Mbilinyi (1994), Kweka (1994) argue that, in the implementation of self-reliant projects, people at the grass-root were not empowered to carry out their own liberation in practice.

Following advice from the capitalist international institutions, particularly the World Bank, Tanzania focused on modernisation; hence, employing strategies that were simply a modification of the developmental approaches of the colonial days and transformation approaches of the early post-independence period⁷⁸. The main problem with these

⁷⁸For more information about the developmental and transformational approaches to rural development see (World Bank 1961 and O'Neill 1989).

approaches was that they were attempts to increase rural agricultural production so as to increase foreign exchange earnings without changing the capitalist relations of production. Thus, the Tanzanian peasants' participation in rural development came to be perceived as an instrument for greater cost-effectiveness and economic efficiency (Rahnema, 1992:117-119).

Like the colonial state, the post-colonial state in Tanzania insisted on the export bias of agricultural production. Even after the Arusha Declaration, the agricultural sector continued with raw material production, similar to colonial times. This lack of diversity in export crops and markets, and a relative over-emphasis on cash-crop production such as coffee, cotton, cloves and sisal, meant that Tanzanians continued to produce less of what they needed for local consumption and more of what they could not consume. Thus, in years of severe drought, such as 1973-74, 1975-76 and 1980-81, the government had to import food when there should have still been sufficient domestic production. This placed enormous strain on the government budget and on the nation's foreign exchange reserves.

Although the implementation of socialism and rural development increased the availability of basic needs such as health care, education and income, it excluded a provision for the essential human needs of liberty and freedom. Thus, by not focusing on empowering the masses, the implementation of rural development in Tanzania failed to address the main issue of socialism and self-reliance. That is, both freedom and socio-economic development should go hand in hand.

At times, the approach has also been deceitful and manipulative, as the extension officers have frequently played the role of "extending" knowledge and skills to an "ignorant" clientele, while the government promised the rural population rewards which were either not forthcoming or were too far beyond reach to sustain motivation and performance (Ishumi 1981). Raising the status of agriculture and reducing the gap between the rural and urban life, for example, are among the unfulfilled promises. It has to be noted, however, that the poor conditions of the majority of urban people in Tanzania do not support the neo-classic economic doctrine that suggests a coalition between the state and urban dwellers in Africa against the peasantry who have borne the brunt of urban biased policies (Mkandawile 1991:83).

Tanzania's post-colonial rural development can be seen in the contemporary situation as a policy of modernisation and of increasing agricultural production, rather than a tool for

African socialist development. It is worth noting, however, that, through the socialism and self-reliance rhetoric, the rural population became more aware of their oppressed position and demanded more social rights from the state. As Samoff and Sumra (1994) observe, in the 1970s, was an increased participation of Tanzanians in debates concerning their socio-political life. It is arguable that, in future, the Tanzanian peasantry may attempt to translate the socialist rhetoric into action, so as to emancipate themselves. With the crumbling of social welfare services and the more apparent exploitation processes, the probability for such attempts may increase.

Patterns of Capital Investment in Private and Public Sectors

Industrial development strategies not only explicate problems of development in post-colonial Tanzania but also the contribution of patterns of capital investment to the problems. That is, while foreign capitalist investment helped in the implementation of industrial development projects, the patterns of capital investment compromised their sustainability and their socialist orientation.

Industry, or rather, the lack of it, has been posed by the modernisers (especially the evolutionists such as Rostow (1971)) as a barrier to development in Third World nations, such as Tanzania. The modernisers, correctly, note that what industry Tanzania has, is highly reliant on foreign capital and expertise, often which was imported into Tanzania through the Tanzanian government. By 1975, the industry sector's share of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was only 10%, with much of the industrial development in the areas of import substitution (Okoko 1987). Furthermore, the industrial sector in Tanzania also suffers from a lack of domestic entrepreneurial expertise.

It is be argued, however, that all these industrial problems are a manifestation of a more fundamental problem which is the industrial development strategy followed by the post-colonial state, even after the Arusha declaration. This strategy not only thwarted any hope for indigenous industrial and technological development, but also intensified Tanzania's peripheral position in the capitalist system. Indeed, Tanzania's problems regarding following a socialist path of development while attempting to change its position of dependence on the world-economy from within can be more clearly observed in the industrial development strategy.

By focusing on modernisation and employing the economic growth model which emphasises industrialisation and export specialisation, the post-colonial state in Tanzania has made the country more dependent on the mercy of the world market, which, by and large, is controlled by the advanced industrialised nations and multinational corporations⁷⁹.

In the post-colonial, or what is sometimes termed the "post-independence" period in Tanzania, industrialisation and foreign investment increased. This investment was partially due to government inducement in the early 1960s and, partially, due to attempts by foreign firms to protect their existing export markets and investments. Many foreign companies received generous incentives from the government to set up factories in the early post-independence period. The main incentive was tariff barriers which enabled these factories to get a sure market within the country.

After the Arusha declaration, the post-colonial state in Tanzania attempted to build what it envisaged as a nationally integrated economy, consistent with the objectives of 'Ujamaa'. Nationalisation of some areas of industry and direct state intervention into others was instituted to carry out this objective.

At first, nationalisation was seen as a way to collective ownership of the resources in Tanzania; thus, making foreign investors a bit sceptical. Soon, however, it was clear that nationalisation in Tanzania, like nationalisation in most of Africa, was no more than a symbolic act of completing the process of flag independence. Rather than causing problems to foreign firms, nationalisation enhanced managerial control which kept returns on investment almost at pre-nationalisation levels⁸⁰.

The main government instrument for controlling industry in Tanzania was the National Development Corporation (NDC) which was formed in 1965 through the amalgamation of two earlier bodies - the Tanzania Development Corporation and the Tanganyikan Agricultural Corporation. When the NDC was formed, in 1965, its main objective was to attract private capital rather than promoting a national strategy for industrial development or extending the control of the government over the economy (Okoko 1987:128). This means that, initially, NDC was an instrument for foreign capitalist domination. As Nyerere puts it,

⁷⁹ Neo-Marxists' (e.g. Martin 1993, Mbilinyi 1994, Frank 1971) analysis of the relationship between the growth model and the third world economic dependency testify to this.

⁸⁰ Explaining the irony of nationalisation in Africa, Okoko (1987:130) notes that in Zambia foreign firms gladly queued to be nationalised, perhaps to the amazement of the Zambian Government.

“Private investment in Africa means overwhelming foreign investment. A capitalist economy means a foreign dominated economy. These are facts of the African situation” (cited in Okoko (1987:126).

After the Arusha Declaration of 1967, the NDC was given the task of managing government owned industry which was gained through nationalisation of key industries. Such industries included, grain and tobacco interests, among others. At the peak of its activities, the NDC was controlling about 40 subsidiaries and 25 associate companies.

Without a clearly defined industrial strategy consistent with the socialist objectives in Tanzania, there was no rational criteria for assessing the NDC and other firms’ patterns of investment or the role of foreign partnerships in influencing and structuring the pattern of investment and the industrial sector, in general.

What is clear, however, is that nationalisation alone does not automatically turn the industrial and social relations in the direction of a transition to socialism. Building on this fact, Shivji (1976:79) argues that, rather than working towards de-linking Tanzania’s economy from the capitalist world system, nationalisation has played an important political role in assisting the rise to power of a powerful bureaucratic wing of the petty-bourgeoisie to which he refers as the “bureaucratic-bourgeoisie”. Shivji (1976:79) sees the nationalisation policies of Tanzania as being part of an attempt by the petty-bourgeoisie to curve an economic base for itself in its struggle with what he terms the “commercial-bourgeoisie”. Whether this was deliberate or not, it is clear that, even after the nationalisation measures, Tanzania has been extremely receptive to the involvement of multinational corporations (MNCs), in contravention to the proclaimed socialist ideals.

Of significance, however, is that, during the 1970s, there was progress in terms of the workers’ well-being. Social services, including workers education, were provided. Industries had to establish health centres and to provide free health care for their employees; some industries provided child care facilities and workers’ adult education programmes became a common feature at work places. Workers committees were also established to provide opportunities for collective bargaining while progressive taxation contributed to lessening the gap between local management and the workers.

Problems of Implementing Education for Self-Reliance

Although the implementation of education for self-reliance in Tanzania had a strong ideological base, to a greater extent, it was similar to the education settlements implemented by the welfare states elsewhere. Thus, the structural issues of domination and exploitation inherent in the capitalist societies were not tackled. Consequently, education for self-reliance in Tanzania faced similar problems of trying to facilitate egalitarian social changes within the existing social hierarchies and economic structures and groups.

Like other sectors, provision of education in Tanzania, even after the Arusha declaration, was highly dependent on external support. As a result, the donor agencies have exerted great influence in educational strategies, some of which were contradictory to the philosophy of education for self-reliance. Building on the perspective of development as modernisation, for example, skills development has been promoted more than social transformation (Samoff and Sumra 1994).

According to education for self-reliance, pupils were to be seen as active participants in the school community, sharing responsibility with teachers for determining and meeting their needs. This seemed to be contradictory to the hierarchical social structure of the schools. Partly as a result of this contradiction, there have been confrontations between staff and students. In most cases, teachers and members of the community accused the students of disrespecting authority while the students have criticised the teachers for being colonial-minded and negligent. Further, the steady drop in the relative opportunities of primary school leavers to obtain places in secondary schools, has contributed significantly to the crisis of primary school leavers and to the apathy by the parents who have come to regard sending their children to school as a futile exercise.

The crisis of primary school leavers, has had more impact on the education system. The crisis exposed the inability of the Tanzanian state to cope satisfactorily with the people's rising expectations, developed into a legitimisation crisis, and, hence challenged the educational settlement achieved by the post-colonial state through mass education.

According to the philosophy of education for self-reliance, primary education had to impart useful knowledge, skills and attitudes for rural life where the majority (over 85 percent) of the people live. Research findings (e.g. Ishumi 1984, Kilimwiko 1995), however, reveal a growing trend of rural urban migration among young people.

The study by Ishumi (1984) reported that primary school leavers, or drop-outs, constituted most of the youth (71.4%) who were found idling, or with occasional casual or temporary engagements; petty-vending, solicitation and prostitution; pocket picking "and criminal engagements ranging from smaller dimensions of house breaking and shop-lifting to higher-scale acts of ambushing, and highway car and bus jacking" (Ishumi 1984:25).

Based on such observations, it has been contended (Malekela 1984, Urch 1986) that the broad-ranging objectives and expectations of ESR have remained largely unattained. The curriculum was criticised for having remained rigid and uniform for the whole country and without any community input, irrespective of the country's heterogeneous environment (ILO. 1982, Ishumi 1984, Malekela 1984). Despite the anti-examination bias stated in ESR, primary schools still prepared students for Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE). Malekela (1984) notes that the reputation of a primary school and its teachers is largely determined by the number of pupils who get selected to form 1, following PSLE. Malekela (1984) further argues that the primary school curriculum in Tanzania is geared towards the four percent (4%) of primary school graduates, leaving the others without the basic knowledge, skills and attitudes that are necessary to make them self-reliant within the village or urban setting.

Requiring the rural population to send their children to school and expecting them to remain in the villages, while most of the social amenities are concentrated in urban areas, on the other hand, was construed as a restriction of social mobility. Thus, Urch (1986), argues that:

The Tanzanian dilemma lies in how to balance a dual system of education which economically rewards those with advanced qualifications while asking the rural population to view primary education as terminal (Urch 1986:21).

At the same time, due to a number of fiscal crises that faced the Tanzanian state in the 1970s, funds were not available to continue the education expansion through to the post-primary level. While government primary school enrolment nearly quintupled from 1965 to 1981, enrolment in government secondary schools increased only eighty-one percent. Thus, while at independence more than one-third of the primary school students were selected for government secondary schools, the percentage had fallen to one-tenth by 1970 and two percent by 1982 due to the UPE drive (URT 1986).

In response to the popular demand for secondary education at a time when the state was facing fiscal problems mainly due to the oil shock, the state made a provision for private schools and, from the mid 1970s, a large number of private schools were established in Tanzania. However, these schools tended to be concentrated in more prosperous regions, which created tensions between local and centralised planning. Local elites, along with church officials, effectively utilised the rhetoric of central government policy statements to legitimate their own autonomy and self-reliance in the running of schools. In effect, therefore, private schools and, indeed, the whole education system became the site of a much wider struggle in which the rhetoric of popular participation was used to legitimate an education program that, in fact, increased socio-economic inequalities between regions and between classes.

This was not a deliberate project on the part of the bureaucratic-bourgeoisie, rather, the state lacked sufficient apparatus, trained staff and resources to follow through its policies in the local setting. This meant that there was a high degree of local autonomy in the education system. This autonomy allowed local elites to pursue their own educational projects, some of which were participatory and socialist in nature and others were not. Thus, as education continued to be elitist and to contribute to social stratification, ESR initiatives faced a more fundamental problem of maintaining their ideological base.

In 1974, Tanzania's ruling party issued the Musoma Resolution which, arguably, can be seen as part of a policy to try and protect the legitimacy of the state by attacking student elitism. According to the resolution, students had to spend a compulsory two year stand-down period after secondary school before entry into any post-secondary institution. During this period, students had to be employed or help in their rural communities, after which those who the ruling Party considered appropriate for further education were selected. This policy, however, did not last in the long-term as the two year stand down period was found to be too long for women, who became exempted; then students enrolling in some faculties, especially engineering and some branches of science became exempted and, finally, the policy was scrapped altogether.

Thus, while the post-colonial state in Tanzania appeared to be following more egalitarian and socialist oriented policies, in the 1970s, these policies increasingly faced grave problems. This was due to a number of reasons already outlined, such as the inability of the state to fund a comprehensive secondary and tertiary education system; the popular

demand for a general academic education; the external influences of global economic forces and the continual intervention of local elites into the education system. This last factor, is particularly important, not only for education but also for the wider political structure of Tanzania. While the demand rested on the rhetoric of popular participation, the underlying ideology was increasingly becoming one of class stratification and elitism. The popular demand for increased educational provision soon became obviously individualistic and economically motivated.

It is argued, therefore, that the policies put forward to implement the basic philosophies contained in the Arusha declaration and Education for Self-Reliance were attempts to reject international capitalism at the superstructure levels without rejecting the capitalist mode of production. Consequently, the state had to contend with internal contradictions as well as external pressures. Through trade, foreign aid and external debt, post-colonial Tanzania remained enmeshed in the global capitalist relations of production.

It has to be acknowledged, however, that, with the attempt to implement socialism and self-reliance, Tanzania experienced more social and political development in one decade than they had done in more than half a century. The citizen's notable popular participation in social, political and educational issues in the 1970s (Samoff and Sumra 1994) was the result of the progressive policies of the time. In the 1980s and 1990s, this progress is rescinded by the neo-liberal privatisation policies.

The Context of the Privatisation Debate in Tanzania

In order to understand the nature of the neo-liberal privatisation policies of the 1980s and 1990s, particularly as they relate to Tanzania, it is important to revisit the privatisation debates within their wider and specific contexts.

As stated earlier, in developing countries such as Tanzania, privatisation was introduced through the SAPs in the 1980s, as a recipe for development. The SAPs urged developing countries to follow the global trend to "liberalise" the economy and to privatise public enterprises as well as social services. The World Bank and IMF structural adjustment conditions include: privatisation of public firms (i.e. commercial sectors of the state) through joint ventures or outright sales; making cuts in social expenditure; removal of food subsidies; workers' retrenchment; currency devaluation; and the introduction of user fees for education, health and other services.

Tanzania's post-colonial state, under President J. K. Nyerere, at first resisted the pressure for privatisation. There was heated debate over the rationale of selling public corporations when indigenous entrepreneurs had no money to buy shares. It was also argued that the proposed privatisation conditions would levy cruel taxes on people's lives. Asserting that Tanzania had no knowledge of or experience in privatisation, Nyerere (Kilimwiko, 1994) argued that privatisation is the same as looting public resources and might even put the control of Tanzania's institutions in foreign hands.

In the early 1980s, most of the bilateral and multilateral donors began to reduce financial support in order to press the Tanzanian government to accept the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) of the World Bank/IMF. This had a toll on the country's economy, especially as it combined with the falling crop prices in global markets controlled by transnational corporations (TNCs); rising oil prices; drought and famine in the early 1980s; the war against Idd Amin of Uganda in the late 1970s; as well as debt servicing. There was a drastic reduction in the real incomes and a drop in the standard of living of most Tanzanians. Depicting the situation of the mid-1980s, Jones (1992) notes that:

Nowhere were the problem of debt and recession more acute than in Africa south of the Sahara..In many countries between 1980 and 85, per capita income fell 10 percent, and up to 30 per cent in such countries as Chad, Niger and *Tanzania*. Across the sub-continent, improvement made since independence in health, education and infrastructure were in real danger of being eradicated... (Jones' 1992:171) (*emphasis added*).

The same observation is also made by Underson (in Gayle & Goodrich, 1990) when he contends that the public sector in developing countries was badly hit by the global economic downturn of the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Meanwhile, changes were quickly taking place in the economic and political scene including the stepping down in 1985 of J. K. Nyerere, Tanzania's president since independence. The external pressure continued to mount. Finally, in 1986, Tanzania capitulated to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank and other bilateral Western donors' demands to adopt the SAPs and, hence, to "liberalise" the economy and to privatise social services. In the same year, Tanzania started the implementation of the Economic Recovery Plan (ERP) along World Bank/IMF guide-lines. In 1992, the ruling party and government conceded to demands for political pluralism, leading to multi-party elections in October 1995.

Important to note is that most of these changes were pushed by external agencies rather than the majority of the Tanzanians. The move for political pluralism, for example, was rejected by 85% of the Tanzanians in a referendum⁸¹. However, the post-colonial state had to institute the multi-party political regime and elections as part of the implementation of the SAPs package.

The ERP emphasised the reduction of tariff barriers, incentives for private capital, removal of the farming subsidies and reduction of government spending on social services. These measures had a toll on Tanzania's economy, in general and on education, in particular.

The "liberalisation" measures hit hard the agricultural and the local industrial sectors. The high price of unsubsidised agricultural inputs, the poor financial position of rural co-operatives and the introduction of cash-on delivery policy, all contributed to low yields in farming.

A flood of untaxed imports hurt local industries (e.g. the textile industry which had to compete with cheap imported second-hand clothes) putting thousands of people out of work. Big industries were to be sold off by government, mainly to foreigners because they had more access to financial resources than Tanzanians. It is a normal phenomenon for a number of workers to lose their jobs once the firm is sold. When the Mwadui Diamond Company reached an agreement with De Beers (the diamond dealing giant based in South Africa), for example, all local managers were retired and their positions filled by De Beers personnel (Kilimwiko 1994:unpaged). Under such circumstances, the debate of privatisation entered a second phase with people beginning to question whether it was privatisation or "foreignisation" of the nation's assets. Kilimwiko (1994) noted that even those who supported privatisation in principle became disenchanted with the privatisation processes. Dr. Humphrey Moshi, of the Economic Research Bureau of the University of Dar es Salaam, was quoted, arguing that "privatisation is good but it is wrong to believe that a free market economy will solve all of Tanzania's economic ills without state involvement" (Kilimwiko 1994:unpaged). Dr. Moshi cites examples of Japan and India, where the state is still a dominant player in their national economies although they have a strong private sector.

⁸¹ "The Nyalali Report" (URT 1991).

The emphasis on debt servicing by the SAPs also aggravated the government's fiscal problems. With the debt standing at more than seven billion US dollars in 1994, Tanzania spent 2,425 million US dollars to service the national debt in 1994/95 financial year. In 1996, the president of Tanzania, Benjamin Mkapa, revealed that the amount was sufficient to meet the budget expenditure of seven major government ministries.

This exemplifies Martin's (1993) observation that, by focusing their emphasis on the privatisation and commercialisation of public services, the SAPs lead to a systematic redirecting of public spending from services such as health and education, towards subsidising export businesses and servicing debt. This resulted in a massive flow of resources from the poor to the rich, both within the country and externally. Hence, Martin (1993:10) further contends that, in the 1980s, power shifted from nation states to supra national quasi-state institutions, such as the IMF and the World Bank who exert pressure on economic and social policy. Thus, Martin (1993:10) suggests that: "the relationship can reasonably be termed neo-colonialist".

Under such circumstances, the education sector was not faring any better. As the government's education budget became less and less, the situation of schools deteriorated and the teachers' morale continued to drop. This enhanced disenchantment with the existing education system, created conducive conditions for a change. A more detailed analysis of this induced legitimisation crisis is carried out in this study under the chapter on Tanzania's policy document analysis.

Local Context: New Zealand

The New Zealand State and the Globalisation Process

Due to the economic prosperity and the social welfare system, the post-colonial status of New Zealand was not obvious to the majority of New Zealanders. However, the fiscal problems of the period starting from the 1970s brought changes to the New Zealand's economic, social and political scene. On the economic scene, New Zealand was experiencing a steady decline in terms of trade. Birks and Chatterjee (1997) contend that New Zealand experienced a steady decline in terms of trade, particularly during the period between the mid 1960s to the mid-1980s⁸². This decline was caused by a combination of

⁸²The same trend of decline in terms of trade has also been noted in the OECD (1993) Report.

factors including: Britain's entry into the European Economic Community in 1973 and a slow growth in demand for New Zealand's major primary exports; the impact on import prices of world-wide inflation; and the oil prices rise of the 1970s. It has been noted (OECD 1993:11) that, during this period, New Zealand's per capita income grew at 1.4 per cent compared to 2.9 per cent for the OECD as a whole. Over the same period, the GNP per capita fell from 5th in the world to twentieth. Thus, since the mid-1970s, expenditure on imports grew at a higher rate than earnings from exports, leading to a persistent current account deficit which was financed by overseas borrowing (Roper, et. al. 1993).

What is significant, however, is that these constraints on balance of payments prompted both domestic and trade related policy responses, including a turn to export incentive schemes to boost manufacturing, corporatization and privatisation ventures as well as monetary policies favourable for debt servicing⁸³.

With Britain's entry into the European Economic Community in 1973, New Zealand's farming industry had to diversify both in its range of products and its export markets. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the government sought to support this process through extensive subsidies. Recognising the importance of agriculture to the New Zealand economy the government established important patterns of preferences for the agricultural sector. These included special banking services, government provision of extension and research services, producer controlled market boards and various government-funded income support schemes (Johnson 1997). These solutions did not work for long because, while incomes and output were maintained, the fiscal costs became excessive; creating a rationale for turning to export incentive schemes.

A number of big investment projects in petroleum processing and petro-chemicals, based on domestic gas resources, were also taken up by New Zealand in the early 1980s so as to offset the impact of the second oil crisis. It has been contended (Easton 1997) that these projects were based on the 1950s economic model which emphasised rapid industrialisation through big, capital-intensive, government-promoted industries. The main assumption behind the investments was that, through series of linkages, these industries would pull the rest of the economy into a process of self-generation and growth. Pertinent to this model was the cost-benefit analysis approach which was developed in other Western countries as

⁸³ Duncan & Bollard (1992); Kelsey, J. (1997); and various articles in S. Birks & S. Chatterjee (1997) support the view that constraints on the balance of payment prompted New Zealand governments monetary and trade related responses.

a means of assisting the government to decide which project should go ahead, (including private sector projects which required government assistance). The approach involves calculating the expected costs and benefits of the project, and if benefits exceed costs, then the project gets approval (Easton 1997). Thus, based on the high world energy price in the 1970s and the predictions that it would follow a rising path, the New Zealand National government supported the energy-based projects (mostly referred to as "Think Big" Projects). Easton (1997) observes that the big investment projects were a centre-piece of the National government's 1981 election manifesto. However, the mid-1980s fall in oil prices led to the non-viability of these projects, which contributed to an increase in gross public debt from 45% of GDP in 1973 to 79% in 1987 (Rudd 1993). Thus, in the 1980s, New Zealand experienced economic stagnation, combined with a rise in debt, inflation, and unemployment (Kelsey 1997:24).

As the economic recession grew and the social problems became apparent, the intentions as well as the social gains resulting from distributive and redistributive policies of the welfare state were challenged. Government intervention in the economy as well as in provision of services was criticised for causing low economic growth rates, lack of economic efficiency and stifling of enterprise (Johnson 1997, Kelsey 1997, Easton 1997; and Duncan and Bollard 1992). The cost-benefit approach was also criticised for not being sensitive enough to indicate who the beneficiaries of the projects were and who would bear the losses (Easton 1997).

The New Zealand state responded by introducing programmes for reducing external protection and, subsequently by phasing out some domestic intervention (Easton 1997:8). Foreign exchange dealings were opened up to all reputable comers; restrictions on inland freight transport favouring the railway were dropped; while free trade with Australia was promoted through Closer Economic Relations (CER). However, the government's involvement in the economy through indirect influences and direct regulatory control continued (Birks & Chatterjee 1997, Easton 1997, Kelsey 1997, Duncan and Bollard 1992). Birks & Chatterjee (1997:167) contend that, up to the general election in 1984, the trend was towards more rather than less government control. Thus, the National government was increasingly becoming unpopular to those who thought the fiscal problems were a result of state interventionist policies. Easton (1997:9) states that, "the government, led by the increasingly unpopular Robert Muldoon, gave the impression it was at best reluctant to liberalise, and eager to intervene." Subscribing to the same criticism, the New Zealand Treasury (1984:106) asserted that the Muldoon government

relied heavily on policies that emphasised government intervention in the economy; hence, government policies did not achieve their objectives and frustrated the achievement of higher living standards.

Strategically the Labour Party, as the opposition to the National government, moved to capture the support of those who were against the government's interventionist policies. With no concrete economic policy agenda prior to the elections, the Labour Party seemed to promise different things to people of different interests; a move that helped it to win the 1984 snap elections. Thus, apart from its traditional allies⁸⁴ the Labour Party won over some of the right wing population.

By promoting market oriented policies, however, the Labour Party increasingly moved away from its traditionally espoused socialist principles and disdainfully left its traditional supporters in confusion. Thus, Kelsey (1997) observes that, after 1984, the political choice in New Zealand became increasingly sterile as structural adjustment followed the same neo-liberal course, whichever party was in power.

Another important event that helped to foster the move toward neo-liberal policies was that the outgoing National Prime Minister refused to follow convention and hand over power immediately after losing the July 1984 "snap" elections. This prevented the new Labour Government from devaluing the dollar immediately after the elections and resulted in "a rush of speculators' money out of the country, creating a liquidity crisis and a sense of economic emergency" Kelsey (1997:27). Kelsey (1997) argues that the liquidity crisis opened the way for economic fundamentalists in the Treasury and the Reserve Bank to promote their neo-liberal agenda; in concert with their fellow travellers in the new Labour Government; and supportive individuals and lobby groups in the corporate sector. The package in this agenda included market liberalisation and free trade, a narrow monetarist policy, a deregulated labour market and fiscal restraint. These were policies that were similar to the Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) that were being pushed by the IMF and the World Bank as recipes for economic growth in the developing countries (Kelsey 1997:1).

⁸⁴During its first term in government in 1984 - 1987, the labour party lost some of its traditional allies.

Kelsey (1997) further contends that, with almost religious passion, proponents of neo-liberalism in New Zealand set about redesigning the economic and social structure of New Zealand by driving first the Labour and then the National governments.

Among the changes made by the labour Government were the floating of the exchange rate, removal of the international capital controls, liberalisation of foreign investment and abolition of import licences and reduction of tariffs (Duncan and Bollard 1992, Easton 1997, Birks & Chatterjee 1997). Kelsey (1997) observes that, when the Labour Government gained office, it immediately devalued the currency by 20%, set in place new laws for business competition, dispensed with considerations of employment and consumer well-being and focused on competitive efficiency within the deregulated market place. Through trade agreements such as Closer Economic Relations (CER) with Australia, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and regional forums such as Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC), New Zealand encouraged free trade undertakings among its neighbours.

Monetary policies were introduced which were conducive to debt servicing and free trade rather than the redistribution of the national wealth. With these policies, New Zealand seemed to tax the poor more than the rich; thus, systematically destroying the distributive structures built under state welfarism. The policies included indirect taxation through a universal Goods and Services Tax (GST) which was introduced in 1986, covering all final domestic consumption, including food; as well as the flattening and reduction of personal income taxes along with the corporate tax rate so that the top personal income tax rate was among the lowest in the OECD. These monetary policies culminated in the 1989 Reserve Bank Act, about which Kelsey (1997) notes that:

Previous references in the legislation to production, trade and employment were removed. The bank was insulated from direct political control. Wage restraint and structural unemployment became elements of monetary policy, with the Reserve Bank determined to keep inflation down when the economy eventually returned to positive growth (Kelsey 1997:2).

The labour markets were also progressively opened up; compulsory attribution was withdrawn, unions were required to consolidate to secure recognition and the bargaining progressively shifted from industry to enterprise agreements (Kelsey 1997:2-3).

In the process of economic liberalisation, the importance of agriculture in New Zealand also declined to the level of market forces dictate (Johnson 1997:152). Concessionary farm

development loans were to be terminated and interest rates on government-funded lending was progressively brought into line with market rates. In the agricultural marketing area, the "Supplementary Minimum Prices Scheme" was abolished, with the exception of the Meat Board that was granted support for an extra year. Stabilisation arrangements with the Reserve Bank were also discontinued (Johnson 1997:152). Johnson (1997) contends that:

In effect, these arrangements brought to an end the provision for the stabilisation of farmers' incomes, and individuals were put in a position where they had to make their own arrangements for security in times of falling export prices (Johnson 1997:150).

Thus, the changes which were instituted on agriculture had profound effects on farmers' incomes and security. As Johnson (1997) further argues:

One social cost of the new policy programmes introduced by the government since 1984 has been the increased strain on farmers to make ends meet and determine their own futures in a realistic way (Johnson 1997:152).

In other words, New Zealand farmers were forced to diversify their production activities.

Industries giving support to farming, which made up the total agricultural sector, were also affected by these neo-liberal changes. It has been observed (Johnson 1997) that employment in meat processing fell considerably with a number of works closing; the number of fertiliser plants in operation and aeroplanes flying fertiliser onto the land declining; while some of the traditional firms disappeared and rural service centres declined in population terms.

The changes mentioned above indicate the zeal with which the Labour Government of 1984-1990 had embraced the neo-liberal, structural adjustment policies. The industrial policies, however, seem to indicate that the Labour Government favoured (Easton 1997:13) a centralised system of directing investment over privatisation. This is evident in the Labour Government's rapid move to corporatisation as well as its inconsistencies in implementing some of its enterprise privatisation policies. Duncan and Bollard (1992) note that the 1984 Labour Government was united in their policy of corporatization and encountered little opposition, except from employees likely to be made redundant.

They observe, however, that privatisation was a more contentious issue. There was opposition from workers unions who feared lay-offs after the sales, Maori groups who felt

they might lose resource rights and Treaty claims, and others who were against overseas ownership. Even the Labour Government itself was never completely united, nor completely consistent on privatisation. For the New Zealand Treasury, the important motive was a strong theoretical belief in the need to transfer assets to the private sector in order to address the efficiency shortfalls of the corporatization model while some traditional politicians viewed it as a chance to reduce public debt. In some cases, the intention to sell was announced and then retracted (Duncan and Bollard 1992:38-40).

But those who felt that government trading departments and early statutory corporations had mixed, inconsistent, discretionary and sometimes non-monitorable objectives, strongly challenged state trading activities and advocated that they be replaced by clear, consistent, commercial, measurable ones (Duncan and Bollard 1992). In other words they called for privatisation. These neo-liberal elements won over the Labour Government; hence, the momentum for privatisation was set in pace, to be continued by the National Government in the 1990s. This supports Dale's (1981:9) assertion that not only do governments work towards the long term goals of capitalism but also they attempt to represent the short-term interests of the temporarily dominant coalitions of forces within a social formation.

One of the significant aspects of the corporatisation and privatisation process of the 1980s was the impact it had on the economy and the state financial situation. During this period of economic liberalisation, (Duncan and Bollard 1992) the lay-offs were so large that by, 1989, unemployment in New Zealand rose from 3.5 per cent to 11 per cent. Meanwhile, sizeable increases in prices led to high levels of inflation once the corporatized state enterprises were free to set their prices.

A more noticeable effect, however, came from capital restructuring. Some state enterprises required new capital while many needed their balance sheets to be restructured. These capital injections added stress on the government financial accounts during the period between 1986-1990. Except for an allocation from the sale of Telecom to health and education, most of the revenue from the asset sales were committed to debt retirement. Thus, Duncan and Bollard (1992) assert that:

The financial demands of corporatization exacerbated the structural fiscal deficit in New Zealand. This meant the stabilisation has taken longer to achieve than would otherwise have been the case. This in turn exacerbated the inflows that have contributed to high interest rate and high real exchange rates and the crowd-out effect on the trade sector (Duncan and Bollard 1992:175).

The corporatization and privatisation process of the state owned enterprises was also significant for its contribution as a model for restructuring other areas of public services. Thus, in varied forms, the state enterprises structure was a basis for corporate reorganisation of reform of the New Zealand social sector (Duncan and Bollard 1992). Describing the nature of the reforms, Kelsey (1997) states that:

State expenditure was cut back and bureaucracy reorganised to increase efficiency and introduce entrepreneurial discipline. Government departments were separated into operational and policy units. Operational functions were run along business lines and frequently contracted out to private enterprise...Managerial autonomy was monitored through output-based reporting requirements in the Public Finance Act 1989. Policy work was increasingly contracted out to a flourishing industry of consultants and management firms. Private sector labour laws were applied to the rapidly diminishing permanent public sector staff (Kelsey 1997:4).

Meanwhile (in the 1970s and 1980s), the tide on the social scene was also changing. The rise of unemployment and increase in the ageing population demanded more expenditure on social services, which added to the fiscal problems caused by debt servicing and price fluctuations for agricultural products. Although the rate of unemployment in New Zealand was not very high compared to other countries, it was particularly difficult for New Zealanders since it rose rapidly from virtually zero in 1966 to 130,000 (about 6%) in 1984 and 11 per cent in 1989.

With the economic recessions of the 1970s and 80s, state expenditure on social welfare was questioned as it appeared to interfere with the already fragile accumulation process. Soon the privatisation debate caught up with educational services. Thus, the New Zealand educational settlement based on the Keynesian model started to face challenges. It is within these challenges to public education and state welfarism, in general, that education privatisation policy reforms were promoted. The analysis of the educational privatisation debate and the education policy reforms is carried out in the part on policy documents analysis.

Concluding Remarks

The preceding discussion has analysed the historical antecedents of education privatisation policies in Tanzania and New Zealand. It has traced the development towards contemporary education privatisation policies within the dynamics of the transformation of capitalism,

particularly the positioning of the state in the structure of international capitalism. The underlying explanation is that the role of the capitalist state is to maintain the class structure inherent in the capitalist mode of production for the benefit of the dominant class - the bourgeoisie; thus, within a particular capitalist formation, the nature, function and positioning of the state is modelled accordingly. Thus, public policy including education policy which are produced and promoted by the state, reflect the role, nature, position and functions of the state in the social formation.

Acknowledging that the colonial and the post-colonial states, both Tanzania and New Zealand were, and still are, capitalist states with the role of reproducing the bourgeoisie dominated socio-economic and political order, an account has been given of the changes in the socio-economic and political scene in the two countries, as well as the main ideological assumptions about education over time.

The contradictions and conflict situations (particularly those evident in education) have also been explored; hence, exposing the political struggles inherent in each society.

In exploring the role of global capital in shaping contemporary privatisation policies, it has been argued that, since World War II, there has been a concerted effort to merge the international economic organisations, the international socio-political organisations and USA-led capital, culminating into globalisation. Finally, it is contended that education privatisation policies, both in New Zealand and in Tanzania, are products of the changes in the capitalist mode of production at the global level as well as internal socio-economic and political dynamics of the two countries. In the following chapters, the major policy documents, as well their production processes, are analysed; thus moving the focus from context to policy documents.

PART IV

POLICY DOCUMENT ANALYSIS

The Discourse of Privatisation in Contemporary Education Policy Documents in Tanzania and New Zealand.

In the previous part of this study, it was argued that the position of the state (particularly the colonial and post-colonial state) in the capitalist mode of production, has been shifting according to the transformation of capitalism, especially the nature of the dominant form of capital involved. Similarly, it was suggested, education policies have been shifting according to the capitalist formation and the position of the state within the external (world capitalist system) and the internal (nation/country) socio-political and economic dynamics. In this part, it is further argued that a particular discourse compatible with the transformation is developed to promote the positioning of the state and the market order that it upholds. By the same token, it is argued that the discourse of privatisation has developed within the globalisation process to support and promote the global finance capitalism formation and the nature, function and positioning of the state within that formation. It is argued, therefore, that, as a corollary, the education policy documents that are produced in the global capitalist formation are couched within the privatisation discourse.

In concurrence with the view that the policy text is constructed within a particular institutionalised discourse, (Codd 1988, Fairclough 1995, Luke 1995), in this part of the thesis, the discourse of privatisation in contemporary education policy documents in Tanzania and New Zealand, is analysed; the processes of production of the policy documents are explored; and the policy documents themselves are deconstructed.

While particular attention is paid to Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy*, and New Zealand's *Tomorrow's Schools* policy, the policy documents that were produced prior to these policies are discussed not only to provide more insights to the production process of the policy text but also to provide the *discursive practice* (that is, the immediate context of the policy document) which is an essential part of the critical discourse analysis (CDA) framework applied in this study (See Figure 3:3). This is based on the understanding that, before a policy document is produced, there

are forces in the socio-economic and political environment that delineate possibilities and limit options that can be considered (Crump 1993). It is also worth noting that it is through the production of the policy statements contained in these documents, and the debate to challenge or support the conceptions constructed in them, that the privatisation agenda overtook the education sector.

Thus, the following chapters analyse the discourse of privatisation in Tanzania and New Zealand's contemporary education policy reforms documents. These documents include;

for Tanzania:

- *Educational Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion* (World Bank document, 1987);⁸⁵
- *The Report of the Task Force on the Tanzania Education System for the 21st Century* (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993)⁸⁶ and;
- *The Education and Training Policy* (TZ-ETP, 1995)⁸⁷

for New Zealand:

- *Government Management: Brief to the Incoming Government Vol. II: Education Issues* (NZ-Treasury document, 1987)⁸⁸;
- *Administering for excellence: The Report of the Task force to Review Education Administration* (NZ-Picot Report, 1988)⁸⁹; and
- *Tomorrow's Schools* (NZ-TS, 1988)⁹⁰.

In chapter 10, a comparative analysis of both Tanzania and New Zealand policy documents is conducted so as to establish the influences of the discourse of privatisation in contemporary education policy reforms and some of their implications.

The intention in this part is to provide evidence that the discourse of privatisation constructed in the policy documents is not only providing legitimating argument for educational privatisation but also it is providing a platform from which to discredit existing educational policies and to propose new directions. Attempts are made to determine the main actors and their interests as well as to deconstruct the discourse of privatisation so as to establish implications of the proposed policies to some aspects of education including: access, funding and control.

⁸⁵World Bank (1987).

⁸⁶URT (1993).

⁸⁷URT (1995).

⁸⁸New Zealand Treasury (1987).

⁸⁹New Zealand Task force to Review Education Administration (1988).

⁹⁰New Zealand Ministry of Education (1988).

Chapter 7

The Privatisation Discourse

The role of discourse in supporting the dominant ideology, as well as its functioning in social change, has been emphasised in the literature on ideology and discourse (Bourdieu 1977; Codd 1988; Fairclough 1992, 1995 and Luke 1995). Bourdieu (1977) asserts that language is one very important material form of ideology. He explains that, through language, people seek to be understood, believed, obeyed, respected and distinguished depending on their position in the power hierarchy. Foucault (in Codd 1988) on the other hand, contends that knowledge is a product of power; thus, the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of discourse is the key to the establishment and consolidation of the relations of power. Building on this view, Codd (1988) argues that the power that is exercised through discourse is very strong as it has greater possibilities of being internalised. He states that:

The power that is exercised through discourse is a form of power which permeates the deepest recesses of civil society and provides the material conditions in which individuals are produced both as subject and as objects (Codd 1988:243).

Accordingly, Foucault (in Fairclough 1992) further argues that social institutions, including education, are constituted by discourse and discursive relations. Fairclough (1995) argues, however, that discourses have dialectical relationships with power relations. That is, discourses are capable of being supportive and constitutive of the power relations. He states that:

Viewing language use as a social practice implies, first, that it is a mode of action (Austin, 1962); Levinson, 1983) and, secondly, that it is always a socially and historically situated mode of action, in a dialectical relationship with other facets of 'the social' (its 'social context') - it is socially shaped, but it is also socially shaping, or constitutive. Language use is always simultaneously constitutive of (i) social identities, (ii) social relations and (iii) systems of knowledge and belief - though with different degrees of salience in different cases (Fairclough 1995:131).

Thus, as Codd (1988) observes, a policy document is an ideological text that has been constructed within an historical and a political context. It can be argued, therefore, that the language in the Tanzania and New Zealand education policy reform documents, reflects the socio-political and economic contexts within which the documents are constructed; as well as constituting that context to support the intended

changes. The discourse analysis of a policy text, therefore, is an attempt to disarticulate and critique texts with the intention of breaking what Fairclough (1992) has referred to as "common-sense consent". Thus, through discourse analysis of the education policy documents, distortions and misrepresentations inherent in policy documents and how they affect interests of varying groups (Codd, 1988) can be disentangled.

The purpose of this section, (text analysis) therefore, is to analyse the discourse in the contemporary education policy reform documents in Tanzania and New Zealand; particularly Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy* (TZ-ETP, 1995) and New Zealand's *Tomorrow Schools* (NZ-TS, 1988) not in isolation, but as part of the meta-discourse of privatisation. It seeks to underscore the timing, mandate, objectives, content, and language used in the document as well as the nature and reasons why some issues were included or excluded.

The Meta-discourse of Privatisation

With the transformation from finance capitalism to transnational capitalism, there has also occurred a shift of economic paradigm from Keynesian state welfarism to neo-liberal market economy. As Bertram (1993) argues, the Keynesian state welfarism package remained attractive as long as there was economic prosperity and low unemployment. In the advent of the uncertain economic situation of the 1970s important defections were evident, especially from financiers and large industrial firms (e.g. international banks and investors), eager to take their chances in a less regulated market environment.

The discourse of privatisation, coined in the language and tradition of free market economics such as free trade, competition, individual achievement, diverse migration and privatisation of social services, developed to provide legitimacy to global/transnational capitalism. In other words, through the transformation of capitalism, from finance capitalism to transnational capitalism, the discourse of privatisation has developed to foster, maintain and rationalise the market forces ideology. These trends are consistent with the observation (Fisher 1991) that privatisation is not only a policy but also an ideology articulated by the economists and free choice theorists to convince governments that the public sector ought to be reduced.

Privatisation is promoted as a way of restoring competition by breaking up public sector monopolies. Thus, far from being the wasteful mechanism depicted in much of the radical literature, we now find, in the "New Right" literature, that it is only

through the competitive market that neutral, non-political but binding procedures can be created which exclude the lazy and inefficient and enforce the best practices and the adoption of new technologies (Bedggood 1980).

Occasionally, the argument shifts from the economic terrain to the political, asserting that privatisation frees the economy from harmful political/governmental interference and leaves its operation to the apolitical market; that the government has no business in business; and that privatisation is part of the democratisation process!

On the socio-political scene, as Apple (1991) argues, the basic aim of the "New Right" ideology is to ensure the primacy of property rights over person rights. The difference between the property right and person right is defined by Gintis (in Apple 1991) as follows:

A property right vests in individuals the power to enter into social relationship on the basis and extent of their property. This may include economic right of unrestricted use, free contract, and voluntary exchange; political rights of participation and influence; and cultural rights of access to social means for the transmission of knowledge and reproduction and transformation of consciousness. A person right vests in an individuals the power to enter into these social relationships on the basis of simple membership in the social collectivity. Thus, person rights involve equal treatment of citizens, freedom of expression and movement, equal access to participation in decision-making in social institutions, and reciprocity in relations of power and authority (Apple 1991:6)⁹¹.

Apple (1991) notes that the tendency to enhance person rights has progressively gained ground during the period between the end of World War II and the 1980s. He contends that this tendency is evident in increased right of suffrage and association; state supported services in areas of health, education, and social security; consumer protection laws; lifeline utility guarantees; occupational safety and health regulations, and the extension of the norms of democracy and reciprocity and mutual participation in most areas of social life and at times in the work place.

Apple cynically observes, however, that:

Gains made by women and men in employment, health and safety, welfare programs, affirmative action, legal rights and education must be rescinded since they are "too expensive" both economically and ideologically (Apple 1991:7)

⁹¹These ideas are expanded in Bowles and Gintis (1986).

Apple (1991) further asserts that not only are fiscal resources scarce but also the claim that people must be convinced that person rights come first is simply wrong or outmoded, given current "realities". He states that:

Thus intense pressure must be brought to bear through legislation, persuasion, administrative rules, and ideological manoeuvring to create the conditions right wing groups believe are necessary to meet these requirements (Apple 1991:7).

This is uncannily consistent with Codd and Gordon's (1991) observation that the "New-Right" proponents contend that:

Because individualism and liberty are fundamental values for the new right, the growth of government is necessarily evil. What is required, therefore, are strong constitutional arrangements for limiting government activity and strong juridical arrangements to protect agents within the free market from the effects of an unconstrained pursuit of self interest. In other words, what is required is a minimal state but a strong government (Codd and Gordon 1991:22).

Thus, in much of the literature on privatisation, the public sector is depicted as the source of evils, including incompetent and corrupt management, mediocre services, high unit costs, etc. Referring to New Zealand, Bedggood (1980) notes that:

For the conservatives the Welfare State represents excessive state intervention in the market...it produces a class of welfare scroungers, bludgers, dole bums, whose need to sell their labour power to the capitalist has been replaced by the subsistence handout. The problem as the conservatives see it is clearly that of workers' parties interfering in the normal market forces, preventing the allocation of economic resources by the market, slowing down growth, creating the social problems of unemployment, poverty, and a non-productive parasitic class running the state. The Welfare State creates poverty by attempting to moderate the natural market forces of the capitalist economy (Bedggood 1980:121).

Privatisation discourse, therefore, is an onslaught on state regulation of the economy and state welfarism as well as a promotion of market oriented socio-economic policies.

The Privatisation Discourse in Education

It is worth noting that state expenditure on social services, including education, is tolerated by capital as long as it guarantees more profit. In other words, capital is prepared to invest in education so long as it ensures the reproduction of required labour at minimum costs and optimum returns. Thus, as Dale (1991) observes, it is

particularly at times of major crises of accumulation, which set up the vibration throughout the state apparatuses, that the intrinsic mutual contradictions of various demands on education become clear.

Thus, it is argued in this study that, during the times of economic recession of the 1980s, not only was the state expenditure on social welfare questioned as it interfered with the already fragile accumulation process but also education systems were reformed so as to make them consistent with the neo-liberal market ideology. Hence, a resurgence of education privatisation policies, as well as the development of the discourse of privatisation to make these reforms appear credible and acceptable, was witnessed.

Throughout the 1980s, there were concerted attacks on public education systems, based on the assumption (strongly defended by supporters of education privatisation, such as Tooley (1994) and Coulson (1994) that public schools were failing because they were public. These attacks, often conveyed through the popular press, were effected in various ways, including influencing the interpretation of national education conditions and creating uncertainties regarding the quality of education that was provided.

Supporters of the privatisation agenda blamed schools for many of society's ills of the time; instilling fears in the citizenry of nation states that their educational levels were falling and, hence their nations would not have comparative advantage over other nations in the technologically advancing global economic system. Nations were told that they were at risk because their schools and teachers had failed them. Schools were criticised for not teaching enough knowledge and thinking skills, as well as not preparing young people for jobs. As an economic tool, education was accused not only of its failure to deliver a competent work-force but also for creating inequalities in society (Covaleskie 1994).

There were calls for new thinking about education that would remove it from the public and locate it in the private market sphere. The idea that the private gains in education out-weighed the public gains was forcefully brought to the fore by the proponents of privatisation. It was argued (Coulson 1994, NZ Treasury 1987) that education is a private and personal good which can be properly distributed through the market. Arguments were put forward by supporters of privatisation policies, citing research on unequal outcomes of public education expenditure. Ironically, instead of looking for ways of alleviating these inequalities they sought to rationalise them by privatisation policies. Schools were to be turned into market institutions with children

left to the market forces that would ensure that all their needs are provided. In other words, education should be commodified and, thus, become absorbed into market processes of exchange.

Amidst challenges on education, the business community felt it necessary to lecture educators on efficiency, effectiveness and productivity in educational institutions, based on economic parameters. Thus, it has been observed (Fisher, 1991) that, in the 1980s, the interests of capital have been offered direct opportunity to establish education policies and to control educational experiences. The common approach has been to define the characteristics of the successful, enterprising, business leader or entrepreneur and then to explore the ways in which schools and their leaders could emulate them.

As a result of this onslaught on the public education systems educators were forced to be on the defensive; explaining that education is a public good and that the difficulties facing educational institutions are manifestations of the nature of the contemporary world (Berliner 1993; Covaleskie 1994).

Critics of the education privatisation move argued that, rather than being a “private good”, as privateers seemed to suggest, education was a public good that has an important socio-cultural and political role to play in society. Making a case for education as a public good, Grace (1990) argues that:

Education can be regarded as a public good in so far as it facilitates the development of the personality, competence, and confidence of all citizens and of their creative and intellectual possibilities. Education can be regarded as a public good in so far as it seeks to develop in all citizens a moral and ethical sense, a social and fraternal responsibility for others, and a disposition to act in rational and co-operative ways... Insofar as education provides conditions (at least in the cultural sphere) for making democracy possible, it has an immediate claim to the status of public good (Grace 1990:34).

Some educators, thus, noted and explained that the onslaught on public education systems was an ideological manoeuvre by those who were against public schooling because of their own selfish interests.

Berliner (1993), for one, argued that some of the school reform efforts were thinly disguised elitist attempts to get rid of public education, to protect the privileges which such individuals have already bestowed on their children. Referring to USA, he noted that the reforms the privateers offer, including higher standards, a tougher curriculum, more tests, with no increase in spending, will insure that the children of affluent

parents will succeed even more than they do today while children of deprived parents attending under-resourced schools will be even more disadvantaged⁹².

Critics of privatisation, most of whom are educators, (e.g. Fisher 1991, Grace 1990, 1994, Codd 1991, Snook 1995, Berliner 1993, Covaleskie 1994) also explained that education reforms put forward by privateers were to be rejected on the ground that privatisation in education will increase the division of the societies into segmented private entities as greater disparities in schooling would contribute to greater disparities between the privileged and the disadvantaged. Berliner (1993) noted that:

At least some of the criticism of the schools comes from an elite that is against public schooling... There have always been those who never could believe in the intelligence of the common person, or they never wanted to share the advantages of education with common people (Berliner 1993:unpaged).

Invoking remarks made by the late historian of education, Lawrence Cremin, on the issue, Berliner (1993) further explained that:

Social groups possessing a relatively rare and highly valued commodity that establishes their superiority over other social groups are reluctant to see that commodity more widely distributed. Wide distribution becomes tantamount to devaluation...⁹³.

The educators further argued that, beside reducing public spending on education and promising short term balance sheet benefits, education was also seen as an un-captured area for private investment. Thus, the privateers wanted education to be a commodity so as to be part of the market to be captured by those who are able to pay for it as well as contribute directly to capital accumulation.

It is worth noting, however, that the more the educators were on the defensive, the more they moved into the terrain of the privatisation discourse and its supporters. Thus, they were forced to use the same terminology in their counter arguments; thereby making it easier for the privateers to gain ground.

As Bines (1995) observes:

The growing literature on reforms of public services does reflect a considerable consensus as to the main foci and features of this

⁹²The plight of children in under-resourced schools is well documented and analysed by Jonathan Kozol (1991) in his book titled: *Savage Inequalities*.

⁹³Quoted in Berliner (1993) from Cremin (1989:11).

restructuring. These can be summarised as: the establishment of quasi-markets based on consumerism, competition, privatisation and a diversity of provision and providers; consumer-based funding systems based largely on per capita use of individual service unit level... (Bines 1995:157).

Cognisant of the ideological role of education, the proponents of privatisation have been keen at ensuring that education systems are practically consistent with privatisation; thus assigning it a role in the development of the privatisation discourse. Thus competition, individual achievement, private ownership and so on, are propounded as "appropriate" virtues to be inculcated by the contemporary education system.

It is within this discourse of privatisation that education reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand were debated and promoted; eventually leading to the production of the education policy reform blue-prints in both countries.

Chapter 8

Analysis of Tanzania Education Policy Reform Documents

Text Production Process

The production process of education privatisation documents in Tanzania revolves around the responses of the Tanzanian state to the fiscal and legitimisation crises of the 1980s and 1990s. Thus, the following discussion of the policy text production process is situated within the dynamism of cogent and tangible threats which the Tanzanian post-colonial state was facing from both outside and within the country. The combination of fiscal and legitimisation crises signified disenchantment with social services systems; which eventually culminated into desires for "change", however variously defined. It is within these expressions of desires for change, that the discourse of privatisation, backed by global finance capital "captured" the hegemonic power to dictate the direction of education policy in Tanzania. In order to understand the discourse of Tanzania's education policy reform text therefore, it is instructive to underscore the struggles within the discursive practices surrounding Tanzania's education system in the 1980s and 1990s.

As explained earlier, in the section on the context of the privatisation debate, Tanzania was induced to adopt the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) through the suspension of many of the bilateral and multilateral agreements, including foreign aid and loans. These external pressures, combined with other internal factors, developed into a fiscal crisis in the late 1970s. By the mid 1980s, the privatisation agenda had caught up with education in Tanzania⁹⁴.

With the looming fiscal crisis, the Tanzania government spent less and less on education. The central government budget allocation to the Ministry of Education and Culture dropped from 20% immediately after independence (Nyerere 1967) to 11.7% in 1980/81, to 5.8% in 1985/86, 4% in 1991/92 and down to 3.3% in the 1993/94 fiscal year. This trend is clearly illustrated in table 8.1.

⁹⁴Also refer to section on the context of the privatisation debate in Tanzania, Page 165-167, in this thesis.

Table 8.1: Central Government Budget Allocation to the Ministry of Education and Culture (Recurrent) in million shs. 1980/1981/ - 1993/1994

Year	Total budget	Ministry of Education Allocation	Percent
1980/81	14895	1737.7	11.7
1981/82	18316.1	2258.6	12.3
1982/83	18993	2524	13.3
1983/84	21460.9	2502.6	11.7
1984/85	27438.4	1795.5	6.5
1985/86	39764.4	2321.2	5.8
1986/87	53300.6	4227.2	7.9
1987/88	77667.9	4168.2	5.4
1988/89	118672	5659.3	4.8
1989/90	144248.7	8322	5.8
1990/91	160000	10153.7	6.3
1991/92	195708	8507	4.3
1992/93	272006	9468.0	3.5
1993/94	337283	11187.7	3.3

Source: URT (1995:41) Basic Educational Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) 1990-94, Dar es Salaam, Ministry of Education and Culture.

The budget constraints had a toll on the basic resources needed for the implementation of policies developed within the philosophy of education for self

reliance (ESR). For example, universal primary education (UPE), that was declared in 1974, faced severe human, financial, plant and material constraints. As Malekela (1984) points out: "Problems associated with UPE included the qualitative and quantitative lack of school facilities, teaching materials and equipment, shortage of teachers, classrooms, latrines, teacher houses, exercise books, chalk and pencils" (Malekela 1984:13).

However, beside the external pressure, the education settlement in Tanzania was also challenged by events, such as: lack of basic resources; decline in morale among the teachers due to the fall in the social status of teachers and the teaching profession; the crisis of the primary school leavers which was evident in youth unemployment; and a demand for more secondary education places. These not only exposed the fiscal crisis which the Tanzanian state was experiencing but also developed into a legitimization crisis.

The decline of morale among the teachers, due to the belief that they had suffered a reversal in social status, was a setback in the implementation of ESR, particularly UPE. The factors which Tanzanian teachers (particularly primary school teachers) perceived to have contributed to a decline in respect by parents and other members of the community included: the relative decline in the teachers' standard of living; the substantial increase of the number of teachers in the country; and rampant youth unemployment that is normally referred to as the "primary school leavers crisis" (Morrison 1983, Mbilinyi 1983, Ishumi 1984). Morrison (1983) explains that:

The post-Arusha years have not brought any substantial improvement in the lots of teachers. In fact, they now have to work a good deal harder, taking additional responsibilities for agriculture, political education and adult literacy classes. Meanwhile, primary school teachers have remained among the lowest paid of public employees (Morrison 1983:8).

The problem of increased number of teachers with varied qualifications has mainly been located in the teacher training crash programme that was instituted in the 1970s. In order to satisfy the demand for teachers, an interim strategy was adopted in the form of a village based teacher training programme which was technically called the "Distance Teacher Training programme". Within three years (1978-80), 35,000 teachers were produced (Ishumi 1984:30). This teacher training scheme, however, has been criticised (Ishumi 1984, Malekela 1984) as a deliberate trade-off of quality for quantity.

The steady drop in the relative opportunities of primary school leavers to obtain either employment or places in secondary school also added to the disenchantment with the existing education system. Although the numbers were increasing in nominal terms, the percentage of primary school leavers selected for secondary education was dropping (see Table 8.2).

Meanwhile, the World Bank (1982) contended that the problems facing Tanzania were an indication that quantitative expansion might have had an adverse effect on the quality of education in schools as learning processes are influenced by inputs such as class sizes and qualifications of teachers, especially in developing countries. Such a contention, seemingly simple and logical, had enough force to spark off parents' worries on the quality of education which their children were receiving.

It is important to note that the World Bank's contention is based on the belief that the nation's provision of education must be consistent with its economic status. The idea has been forcefully put forward by proponents of the economic approach to education, such as George Psacharopoulos and Maureen Woodhall (Hall 1990). It is worth noting, moreover, that the same ideas about educational 'inputs' are contradicted by the World Bank (1987) when they no longer seem to fit into the privatisation agenda, as elaborated later in this chapter.

It can be argued, therefore, that, by the 1980s, the situation in Tanzania was a fertile ground for considering some changes in the existing education system.

As an indication that in the early 1980s there was still some confidence in the existing education system, the government took steps to address the problems and undertake reform. A presidential commission was formed, headed by Hon. Jackson Makweta, an MP who later became the Education Minister. The task of the commission was to examine the existing system of education in the country, to study the problems facing it, and to make suggestions for viable solutions. In 1982, the commission produced a report titled: *Education System in Tanzania: Towards the Year 2000* (URT 1984)", commonly referred to as "*the Makweta Report*". Although the recommendations contained in the report aimed at making the existing education system offer more or better services, rather than overhauling them altogether, the *TZ-Makweta Report* exposed the need for changes in Tanzania's education system.

Table 8.2: Tanzania Primary Education Leavers and Form One Selection. 1963-1994.

YEAR	STD VI/VIII LEAVERS	PUBLIC	%	PRIVATE	%	TOTAL	%
1963	17042	4972	29.2	0	0.0	4972	29.2
1964	20348	5302	26.1	458	2.3	5760	28.3
1965	29367	5942	20.2	2329	7.9	8271	28.2
1966	41083	6377	15.5	2591	6.3	8968	21.8
1967	47981	6635	13.8	2610	5.4	9245	19.3
1968	58872	6989	11.9	2511	4.3	9500	16.1
1969	60545	7149	11.8	3021	5.0	10170	16.8
1970	64630	7350	11.4	3254	5.0	10604	16.4
1971	70922	7780	11.0	3667	5.2	11447	16.1
1972	87777	7956	9.1	4379	5.0	12335	14.1
1973	106203	8165	7.7	4964	4.7	13129	12.4
1974	119350	8472	7.1	5114	4.3	13586	11.4
1975	137559	8680	6.3	5786	4.2	14466	10.5
1976	156114	8659	5.5	6590	4.2	15249	9.8
1977	169106	8706	5.1	7165	4.2	15871	9.4
1978	185293	8720	4.7	8467	4.6	17187	9.3
1979	193612	8908	4.6	6677	3.4	15585	8.0
1980	212446	8913	4.2	7095	3.3	16008	7.5
1981	357816	9178	2.6	7988	2.2	17166	4.8
1982	419829	9241	2.2	8469	2.0	17710	4.2
1983	454604	9899	2.2	9606	2.1	19505	4.3
1984	649560	10077	1.6	11745	1.8	21822	3.4
1985	429194	10881	2.5	12625	2.9	23506	5.5
1986	380096	11721	3.1	15709	4.1	27430	7.2
1987	380758	14626	3.8	18007	4.7	32633	8.6
1988	347978	15675	4.5	20789	6.0	36464	10.5
1989	267744	18551	6.9	23585	8.8	42136	15.7
1990	306656	19673	6.4	27554	9.0	47227	15.4
1991	383427	19282	5.0	29027	7.6	48309	12.6
1992	346514	19193	5.5	25703	7.4	44896	13.0
1993	363404	21531	5.9	26965	7.4	48496	13.3
1994	370534	24321	6.6				

Source: URT (1995:11) Basic Educational Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) 1990-94, Dar es Salaam, TZ
Ministry of Education and Culture.

It is significant that the recommendations in the report gave more emphasis to the technical and budgetary aspects of education. Referring to the recommendations contained in the 'Makweta Report', Samoff & Sumra (1994) maintain that:

[They] reflect a mid point between the strong assertion of local initiative in the late 60s and the localisation of the external advice in the 1990s. These recommendations were presented in terms of the (academic) quality of education, its costs, and its training roles rather than in terms of socialist reconstruction, or redistribution, or equality (Samoff & Sumra 1994:13)

It is important to note, however, that the *TZ-Makweta Report* was accessible to many Tanzanians and there were public debates on its recommendations. A Kiswahili version of the recommendations, which was mostly referred to as "*Mapendekezo ya Tume Ya Makweta*" (Recommendations of the Makweta Report), was produced.

Samoff & Sumra (1994:13) categorise the debates on the *Makweta Report* into two strands: namely, the technical-administrative orientation that viewed development as a technical process; and the socio-political orientation which regarded "development as at its core, a political process and that emphasised politicisation, mobilisation, and to some extent socialism." For two years, the ruling party's National Executive Committee delayed the adoption of the proposed new policies and rejected some of them (Samoff & Sumra 1994, Thomas 1992).

Eventually, the technical-administrative orientation won over the socio-political orientation. Insisting that the philosophy of education for self-reliance was still the foundation upon which Tanzania's education should be based, the Tanzanian Government, in 1984, set strategies for implementation of most of the recommendations in *TZ-Makweta Report*.

Mkutano Mkuu wa Elimu unasisitiza kwamba msingi sahihi wa elimu nchini Tanzania ni falsafa ya Elimu ya kujitegemea (TZ Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni 1984).

Translation: *The education General Meeting emphasises that the correct foundation for education in Tanzania is the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance (TZ Ministry of Education and Culture 1984).*

Thus, most of the recommendations in the *TZ-Makweta Report* were implemented by the government. These included:

- The establishment of the Teacher Commission (TSC);
- The establishment of the Tanzania Professional Teachers' Association;

- The introduction of new curriculum packages at primary, secondary and teacher education levels;
- The establishment of the Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA); the Muhimbili University College of Health science (MUCHS) and the Open University of Tanzania (OUT);
- The establishment of the Faculty of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam;
- The formulation of a National Policy for Science and Technology;
- The introduction of pre-primary teacher education programme;
- The expansion of Secondary Education (TZ-ETP, 1995: vi).

The implementation of these recommendations, however, fell short of satisfying the global winds of change which required nation states to seek ways to develop and adopt policies aimed at streamlining the provision of educational services in line with the dictates of the market forces. Thus, the external pressure on the education system in Tanzania still persisted.

When Tanzania agreed to implement the structural adjustment programs in 1986, the external pressure for more radical changes in the education system (mainly from the International Monetary Fund and World Bank) became more prominent and the fiscal situation became worse. As Samoff and Sumra (1994) note:

By the late 1980s, however, the most influential voices were once again increasingly foreign, embedded in the resumed negotiations with international agencies and a series of structural adjustment programs. So pervasive and persistent is their influence, some senior Tanzanian educators argue, that Tanzania's education agenda has been "hijacked" (Samoff and Sumra 1994:9).

Meanwhile, the economic situation was becoming worse as not only did Tanzania start to suffer the pinches of debt servicing⁹⁵ but also the promised external loan in a form of Structural Enhancement Facility (SEF) was not to arrive for more than a decade. In its country report to UNESCO, Tanzania stated:

Since the beginning of the 1980s, Tanzania has faced a series of severe economic problems - falling production, shortage of foreign exchange, fiscal deficits, high rates of inflation, declining real per capita income, transportation bottle-necks, growing debt-servicing obligations, sustained deterioration in terms of trade and intermittent draughts (URT 1990:1).

Under such circumstances, the education sector was not faring any better. For example, in the fiscal years 1987/89 - 1990/1991, the estimated total education

⁹⁵ As noted earlier in this thesis the money spent for debt servicing in 1994 was enough to run seven Tanzania Government Ministries.

expenditure, as a percentage of government expenditure on debt servicing, lay between 15.9% to 12.3%. (see table 8.3). Table 8.3 shows comparative government expenditure on education as a percentage of expenditure on debt servicing between 1987 and 1991.

Table 8.3 Estimated Spending on Education and Debt Service 1987/88 - 1990/91 (TSh '000, 000 and %)

Year	1987/88	1988/89	1989/90	1990/91
Total Ed. Ex. as % of Govt total Ex-CF	12.3%	13.5%	15.9%	15.6%

CF = Consolidated Fund Services

Ex. = expenditure

Ed. = education

Source: Samoff J. & Sumra S. (1994: 20) "Financial crisis, Structural Adjustment and Education Policy", Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, 4 -7 April.

Faced with fiscal problems, the government's education budget was constrained. As the government's education budget became less and less, the situation of schools deteriorated and the teachers' morale continued to drop (Nyerere 1985, Malekela 1984, Thomas 1992).

By 1990, there was a general feeling that the standards of education were falling although there were varied opinions on the causes (UNESCO 1989, Thomas 1992, Samoff & Sumra 1994). The UNESCO Report on Education in Tanzania noted that not only had the enrolment dropped but also the quality of schooling had "deteriorated to such an extent that there were fears that the system had started to turn out illiterates" (UNESCO 1989:10). Describing the classroom situation in Tanzania, it is stated:

It is not uncommon to find a teacher in front of 80-100 pupils who are sitting on a dirt floor in a room without a roof, trying to convey oral limited knowledge he has, and the pupils trying to take notes on a piece of wrinkled paper, using as a writing board the back of the pupil in front of them. There is no teacher guide for the teacher and no textbooks for the children (UNESCO 1989:15).

In similar vein, Samoff & Sumra (1994) observe that:

The 1980s were a period of stress for Tanzania on many fronts. Most dramatically, after recurring economic crises a country still heavily dependent on imports had very little foreign exchange with which to purchase them... The infrastructure deteriorated. The potholes in the roads were matched by the leaking school and hospital roofs, crumbling bridges, and decaying telephone cables. Education and training programs - areas where there had earlier been striking success - were severely affected. Although by the 1980s nearly all young Tanzanians were enrolled in primary schools, their classrooms had far more pupils than desks, or books; many of their teachers had limited training and even less equipment, and the education quality was widely perceived to be declining as rapidly as the physical plant (Samoff & Sumra 1994:1-2).

On their part, the Tanzanian elite groups, tried to arrest the situation obtaining in the school system by arranging paid extra tuition for their children. The teachers welcomed the tuition arrangements as a supplement to their low and unreliable salaries. After all, with liberalisation, job moonlighting was no longer frowned upon. The government, based on the egalitarian legacy, condemned the paid extra tuition system, alleging that it was not only creating inequalities among the students but also that it was a form of corruption (Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni 1991). The Tanzania Ministry of Education (1991) states that:

Ufundishaji wa vipindi vya Ziada "tuition" unatokana na msukumo wa wazazi wenye uwezo na walio tayari kulipia mafundisho, unaleta ubaguzi, unajenga tabaka baina ya wanafunzi na ni aina ya rushwa (TZ Wizara ya Elimu na Utamaduni 1991:5).

Translation: *The "tuition" encouraged by the parents who are able and willing to pay is promoting discrimination and inequalities amongst students and it is also a form of corruption (Ministry of Education 1991:5).*

Supporters of privatisation on the other hand seized the opportunity to lay the blame squarely on the public school system *per se* and they demanded more marketisation of the education system.

It can be argued that those who could not afford the tuition fees for their children were in a desperate situation. Thus, the Tanzania post-colonial state could have lost the

support of the masses, which could have led to an immanent collapse of the national unity that was forged through expansion of education.

At the same time, the participation in primary education, which had evolved into mass demand for secondary education, was mounting. With the fiscal problems, the demand exceeded the state's ability to expand secondary education. Nyerere (1985) observes that:

Meaningful educational expansion is thus precluded by ever increasing financial constraints. Indeed, despite all our efforts, there has been a decrease rather than the needed increase in real expenditures on education during the last four years. As a result, even existing school equipment and modern buildings are deteriorating through want of spare parts and maintenance (Nyerere 1985:52).

In the same vein, the World Bank public expenditure review also noted that:

The funding difficulties of secondary and higher education are due mainly to the deterioration of revenues, the pressure on the sector allocations exerted by debt servicing and rising enrolments (World Bank, in Samoff and Sumra 1994:22).

Ironically, as Samoff & Sumra (1994:22) observe, the external agencies and their consultants insisted that Tanzanian educators must find ways to reduce expenses and several spending reduction strategies were adopted. Most of these strategies are within the neo-liberal economic and social policies. As a corollary, they are aimed at reducing the state's participation in the provision of education and they are less redistributive⁹⁶.

In 1984, in the context of the Economic Recovery Plan (ERP) and on the advice of the World Bank and IMF, secondary school fees were reintroduced. More day secondary schools were opened, especially in urban areas so as to make families responsible for the cost associated with housing and feeding their children, as well as supervising their leisure time. The state encouraged the establishment of private secondary schools and a large number of these began operations. By 1990, there were more students in private secondary schools than their government counterparts.

As Table 8.2 indicates, students' enrolments in private secondary schools were expanding more rapidly than those of public secondary schools. It is shown in table

⁹⁶ A more detailed assessment of these strategies is undertaken later in the chapter on policy implications.

8.2, for example, that, in 1990, the percentage of primary school leavers selected for secondary education was 9.3% for private schools and 6.5% for public schools.

It is worth noting, however, that, not only did these private schools tend to be concentrated in the more prosperous regions but also the poor peasants and workers could not afford them. Thus, it has been argued (Samoff & Sumra 1994) that:

The challenge for Tanzania has been to balance the demand for expanded schooling with the need to fund other sectors and at the same time to reduce the inequalities (especially regional disparities) inherited from the European rule (Samoff & Sumra 1994:20).

As time went on, with the introduction of user fees on almost every social service, most of the salaried elite, including the teachers, could not afford to send their children to reputable private secondary schools. Thus, the support of the elite for the post-colonial state in Tanzania has been debilitated.

It can be argued, therefore, that, by the early 1990s, countless parents could no longer afford to send their children to school. Hence, the Tanzanian state was faced with a legitimisation crisis. Many of these impoverished school "drop-outs" trekked to cities and towns in search of jobs. Hence, with rampant unemployment in towns and cities, most of these young people ended up in the streets. Kilimwiko (1994) captures the plight of street children when he asserts that:

"Wamachinga" or "children in the dark" can also be loosely translated as a "no-people group"...The children of hungry villagers, whose crops have been hit by drought or who have no money to buy even seeds, frequently head for the big centres, where they join the ranks of the unemployed, scrounging on the streets and often being forced to turn to prostitution. It's called "going commercial"-- taking to the streets in an attempt to survive (Kilimwiko 1994:unpaged).

This situation added problems on the already fragile accumulation process because, as more and more young people continued to trek to the cities, the productive rural areas were eroded of potential producers. Thus, the post-colonial state in Tanzania was increasingly failing to harness labour for production.

Meanwhile the external pressure for education privatisation was mounting, mainly under the auspices of IMF and the World Bank. As Brock-Utne (1993) observes:

In spite of the fact that the World Bank is a lending institution and not an aid agency, it has come to play a decisive influence on deciding educational policy to be followed by African countries (Brock-Utne 1993:55).

This influence ranges from co-ordinating policies of bilateral donors (e.g. NORAD and SIDA), to shaping themes like the 1990 Jomtien "Education for All" Conference and to producing policy documents like the 1987 World Bank document (Brock-Utne 1993:55) .

The 1987 World Bank document, *"Educational Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Adjustment, Revitalization and expansion"* (World Bank, 1987) proposed the education policy framework that should be adopted by countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, including Tanzania. As revealed by Jones (1992):

The Educational Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion ...displayed with stark clarity Bank priorities for global educational development, which usually were expressed either subtly in public or forcefully in relative privacy of loan negotiations (Jones 1992:172).

The World Bank document praises the market economy as a recipe for both the productive sector and the social service sector. Consequently, it gives good grades to countries whose states adhere to and have started to practice the same principles and bad grades to countries that are still committed to the ideals that social services should be provided for all people no matter in which region they live or what income they get (Brock-Utne, 1993). Countries are urged to institute privatisation policies rapidly as a condition for getting international aid. It is stated in the document that:

Countries which have demonstrated their willingness to address policy issues should have access to increased, longer term and more flexibly offered international aid (World Bank document, 1987: xii).

For countries such as Tanzania, whose educational development budgets depend on foreign aid and loans, this was an outright threat and something had to be done. In 1990, Tanzania appointed a Task Force, chaired by the Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Dar-es Salaam, with a mandate to review the existing education system and to come up with 'a blue-print' to guide Tanzania's education for the future. It has been argued (Samoff and Sumra 1994) that, although it seemed like a national initiative, the Task Force was not expected to differ significantly from the neo-liberal agenda. As Samoff and Sumra (1994) claim:

Its membership includes several of the Tanzanian scholars who were part of the January 1991, World Bank mission. Informal discussions suggest that most, perhaps all of the commission members understand the contemporary situation in essentially the same terms as the World Bank does. From a common perspective, general approach and

methodological orientation, they will reach similar, though probably not identical findings (Samoff and Sumra 1995:36).

The approach of the Task Force was to analyse previous reports on education, including those produced by UNESCO, the World Bank and other donor agencies; the "*Priority Africa*" document; as well as the proceedings of several conferences and writings. Summaries of the analysis were presented at workshops of eminent participants, mainly representing government ministries, educational institutions and organisations, non governmental and religious organisations and representatives of donor agencies. A final report, *Tanzania Education System for the 21st Century* (TZ-Task Force Report) was produced in 1993.

The findings and recommendations of the *TZ-Task Force Report* evolve around the existing problems in the education system and the reduction of the role of the state in the provision of education. The recommendations of the task force vindicate Rubagumya's (1991) observations that the conditionalities (including liberalisation of the economy, devaluation of currency and cut in public spending) by which Tanzania has to adhere, in order to get loans from the IMF, have led the government to shift emphasis from socialist rhetoric to pragmatic management of the economy.

The *TZ-Task Force Report* is inaccessible by the general public. Not only is it written in the English language but also no public debate has ever been organised to discuss the final report. This signifies a loss of democratic participation by the majority of the Tanzanians who speak mainly Kiswahili and who have, to date, not been invited to discuss the document that is likely to affect their lives and those of future generations.

However, the *TZ-Task Force Report* has been a valuable government working document in Tanzania's educational reforms. Most of the recommendations in the "Task-Force Report" have been implemented, including; students shouldering their transport costs and payment of tuition fees in public secondary schools and a substantial contribution of parents in primary education. As Galabawa (1992) points out, research reports have shown that some parents are making significant contributions to primary schools through inputs of money, labour or kind in order to ensure the financial viability of primary schools. Galabawa (1992) states:

Semboja and Therkildsen (1989) indicate that in 1987, self-help through village council alone contributed about 63 per cent in Iringa district and 69 per cent in Njombe district in primary education. Parents in Dar es Salaam have been able to contribute a total amount of TShs 18,180,836 for furniture, construction and building and stationery in 1990/91.

A survey made by Maduki, Kisenge and Sayi (1992) at Mwenge primary School in Dar es Salaam shows that parents' contribution in the school is quite significant (Galabawa 1992:16).

Payment of tuition fees in government secondary schools has been gradually introduced. Moreover, it is acknowledged that Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy* (TZ-ETP) is based on the *TZ-Task Force Report*. The *TZ-ETP* states that:

The Report of this Task Force, *the Tanzania Education System for the 21st Century*, was submitted to the Government in November 1992. Recommendations of this Report have been taken into consideration in the formulation of the *Tanzania Education and Training policy* (TZ-ETP, 1995: Vii-viii).

It is within these circumstances that the policy document, *Tanzania Education and Training Policy*, (TZ-ETP) was produced. This document is significant because it has been presented as a blueprint or white paper to guide the provision of education in Tanzania.

Evidence of Privatisation Discourse in Tanzania's Current Education Reform Documents

An observation of the context of the privatisation debate in Tanzania reveals the pressure exerted by the transnational economic organisations (i.e. World Bank/International Monetary Fund (IMF)) to ensure that national states (e.g. Tanzania) adhere to neo-liberal economic principles. Consequently, the educational policy documents (i.e. *Educational Policies for Sub-Saharan Africa: Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion* (World Bank document, 1987), the *Task Force Report on Tanzania Education System for the 21st Century* (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993), and the *Tanzania Education and Training Policy* (TZ-ETP, 1995) produced within this context, exhibit the influence of the privatisation discourse. It is argued, in this thesis, that the statements in these documents are couched in terms that blame the public education system and which prescribe privatisation of education services as the rational and inevitable route that will deliver better outcomes. Thus, the discourse of privatisation in these documents distorts the interpretation of educational conditions, prescribes the processes of provision and defines educational outcomes towards market economy perspectives.

Interpretation of Educational Conditions

What is portrayed in the reform documents as educational conditions is very much influenced by the discourse of privatisation. Thus, the problems are portrayed as emanating from internal contextual and systems inefficiencies as well as the state involvement in service provision. Building on the neo-liberal view of education as a private good, the discourse in the documents apports the greater part of the blame for educational problems to the public system. In the analysis of the conditions of education in Tanzania, the reform documents also concentrate on what is observable and measurable.

Apportioning the Blame for Educational Problems

While the World Bank group admit that the crisis in the educational sector is due, in part, to the larger economic crisis in Africa, their explanation for the crisis depicts what Brock-Utne (1993) describes as "blaming the victim". The *World Bank document* indicates that the problem arises from, "Africa's explosive population growth; mounting fiscal austerity and tenuous political and administrative institutions" (World Bank document, 1987: ix -x); all of which are supposedly factors internal to the respective nation; thus, transporting the blame from the international to the national level.

Such a statement seems to overlook the part played by the international socio-economic relations in Africa's educational process. However, as it is explained in the context part of this thesis, throughout the capitalist era, the wider international socio-economic and political developments have significantly contributed to the shaping of the education process in Africa.

The *World Bank document* also exhibits deliberate omissions as selective reporting is employed to foster only what is in the interest of the World Bank group. It has been observed by Brock-Utne, (1993) for example, that:

No mention is for instance made of the deterioration of terms of trade, the rise in the interest rates, the wrong technical choices encouraged by donor agencies or the lack of high level training and education for development and independence. No mention is made of the fact that the many devaluations enforced on the African countries by World Bank/International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditionalities along with the enforced policy of cutting down on public expenditure, has led to a situation where all educational trimmings have been taken away (Brock-Utne 1993:60).

All these factors, which are omitted from consideration by the *World Bank document*, have contributed significantly to the state of education in African countries, including Tanzania. As the study on education policy formation in Africa (Evan 1994) has noted in reference to Tanzania:

The nation's reliance on the World Bank and its development strategy, both at the time of independence and in recent years, promoted policies that contrast with the intervening years of efforts towards self-reliance (Evan 1994:18).

Another significant international issue that is omitted from the *World Bank document* is the issue of debt servicing. Debt servicing has adverse budgetary impact on education. As indicated above (Table 8.3), in Tanzania, the educational budget is only a fraction of the expenditure on debt servicing. In the mid 1980s, Nyerere had the following to say:

Our national per capita income is now 26 per cent lower than it was in 1980 as a result of the continually worsening terms of trade, the years of drought, the war we were forced to fight when Iddi Amin's troops invaded Tanzania, the international economic recession, plus a reduction on our own productive capacity following the import strangulation of our modern sector. Meaningful educational expansion is thus precluded by ever-increasing financial constraints (Nyerere 1985:52).

All such statements support the view that factors contributing to educational problems in Tanzania were not totally internal, as they are portrayed by the *World Bank document*.

The *TZ-Task Force Report*, on the other hand, almost reiterates the neo-liberal views that the education system in Tanzania is failing because it is a public system. This is evident in some of the statements in the Report as well as in the recommendations contained in the document. Regarding financing of education, for example, the report states that:

The major issue in educational financing is that the system is under-financed. Because the education sector depended almost entirely on government funding for almost thirty years, the national exchequer is too heavily burdened. This situation calls for cost recovery measures... (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:69).

The *TZ-Task Force Report* does not analyse the issues that have made the national exchequer have less finance available for education (see sections on the context of

privatisation debate in Tanzania and on policy document production process in this study). Like the *World Bank*, the *TZ-Task Force Report* reduces the wide socio-economic issues of education to a managerial problem. It seems to suggest that there are "finances out there" which would automatically be available once the system is changed so that the government is not involved in education. In its enthusiasm to emphasise the neo-liberal view, that education is a private good with the potential for individual economic returns, the *TZ-Task Force* overlooks the fact that, even if they wanted, the majority of the Tanzanians do not have private finance to invest on anything, including education.

Envisioning an education system that would produce "job creators" rather than job seekers" (Task Force Report, 1993:2, 31), the Report seems to suggest that the existing education system had created a mismatch between education and the world of work.

Based on a technical view of educational issues, the *TZ-Task Force Report* also looks at education in isolation from other factors within the society. It does not analyse other socio-economic issues that affect education and it seems to believe that changes in the curriculum, management and mode of delivery of education are enough to improve the condition of education in Tanzania.

It is also important to note that, the *TZ-Task Force Report* not only paints a future that is different from that which the Tanzanians have cherished and worked, for at least a decade, but also it (tacitly) challenges the foundations of education in Tanzania. It states that:

In reviewing educational curricula for the 21st century, concepts such as relevance, applicability, inquiry, education and work, critical thinking and etc. contained in the country's broad education philosophy, must be redefined to match the imperatives of the next century. This redefinition is also important to educators in establishing a common understanding of how education is to be conceptualised and practised (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:31).

Such a statement not only creates doubt about the existing interpretation of the policy direction but also the education system that is based on that interpretation. The statement also challenges the appropriateness of the prevailing philosophy of education (ESR) in the envisaged future. It can be argued that the discourse here is used to conjure up a better future that does not require the past philosophy.

It is worth noting, however, that, apart from creating doubt over the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania, the *TZ-Task Force Report* does not overtly criticise the philosophy. In some instances, the report seems to promote the basic principles of ESR, such as equitable distribution of resources (p.6), critical thinking and inquiry (p.4) and self-reliance (p.27). It can be argued, therefore, that the onslaught on the philosophy of ESR is more of a strategy to create doubt so that the public would consider and accept the proposed changes towards education privatisation.

Assertions are apparent in the *TZ-ETP* document that the problems inherent in education in Tanzania are a result of a public system. Although the *TZ-ETP* commends the steps of meeting all the cost of providing social services, including education that the Tanzania Government has covered since independence so as to improve living conditions and standards and hence social economic development of the whole nation, *TZ-ETP* portrays the government involvement as problematic while the move towards privatisation is portrayed as a remedy. The *TZ-ETP* states:

However, since the 1970s the country has experienced serious economic problems which led to the deterioration of the economy at the turn of the 1980s.

In addressing these economic problems, the government re-examined its development policies of the 1960s. The current socio-economic development policy and its strategy of Economic Recovery Programmes first introduced in 1986 are a result of the institutional changes that have been introduced in order to resuscitate the national economy. Given its limited domestic resource base the government now advocates:

- increased role of the private sector, thereby broadening the participation base in the economy;
- continued liberalisation of trade and other systems;
- provision of essential resources to priority areas;
- increased investment in infrastructure and social development sectors, especially health and education;
- the reduction of subsidies and introduction of cost recovery and cost sharing measures where applicable (*TZ-ETP*, 1995:x-xi).

Like the *World Bank document* and the *TZ-Task Force Report*, the *TZ-ETP* does not mention the pressure exerted by the transnational economic organisations or the impact of the implementation of structural adjustment programmes (e.g. ERP) on education.

The mechanism for 'resuscitating' the nation's economy seems to apportion the blame for problems to the lack of a strong private sector. The mechanisms include:

Increased role of the private sector, thereby broadening the participation base in the economy;

Continued liberalisation of trade and other systems... (TZ-ETP, 1995:xi).

The use of the terms such as "*liberalisation*" and "*broadening participation*" suggests the efficacy of privatisation in setting free and democratising education which was otherwise bound and restricted by state involvement through the public system.

Concentration on the Observable and Quantifiable

The reform documents' concentration on observable and quantifiable characteristics of education reflects the influence of market exchange whereby the measurable, or those things that can be aggregated, are emphasised.

In the *World Bank document*, the quality of education in Africa is defined in terms of adequate books and supplies and the raising of test scores while it down-plays the educational aspects (e.g. opportunity and access to educational provisions). Insisting on economic rationalisation, it states that:

The safest investment in educational quality in most countries is to make sure that there are adequate books and supplies. These are effective in raising test scores, and almost, invariably, have been under invested in relative to teachers....

The following kind of investment are unlikely to have any noticeable affect on primary school quality despite their potentially high cost: reducing class size, providing primary teachers with more than general secondary school education, providing teachers with more than minimal exposure of pedagogical theory (World Bank document, 1987:57).

The pedagogical usefulness and correctness of such assertions is, at best, debatable. At worst, however, this is a recipe for educational disaster. Although physical plant and instructional materials are important, the role of a teacher in the learning process, cannot be over emphasised, especially in Africa where access to information, let alone relevant information is difficult. Moreover, studies on the effect of teacher training on the school environment and pupil performance (e.g. World Bank 1978⁹⁷, Morrison 1983, Malekela 1984) indicate that teacher education, motivation and morale make a difference in educational achievement.

⁹⁷Cited in Brock-Utne (1993:67).

As Brock-Utne (1993) observes, even in advanced countries the teacher is important in the learning process, although information is abundant and there are various sources of information, including computers, television programmes, radio, magazines and newspapers. She further argues that:

An inventive teacher with proper and challenging teacher training may be able to bring about more learning with just the simplest and home-made instructional tools, using mostly the immediate surroundings than a more mediocre and poorly trained teacher would be even with the most advanced self-instructional material (Brock-Utne 1993:67).

Literature on the implementation of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in Tanzania (Malekela 1984, Evan 1994, Samoff & Sumra 1994) cites inadequately trained teachers and overcrowded classes as some of the major problems.

Like the *World Bank document*, the *TZ-Task Force Report* also concentrates on the observable, mostly technical issues. The situation analysis of the problems pertaining to education in Tanzania in the 1980s and early 1990s in the *TZ-Task Force Report* for example, is basically on observable or quantifiable characteristics. The Task Force report identifies the main problems or issues in Tanzania's education system as: falling rolls in primary schools, from 96% in 1983 to 70% in 1992; low transition from primary to secondary, barely 15 % of those completing primary education; primary school leavers problems; as well as unsatisfactory teaching and learning environment. The list of issues is attached as Appendix c.

Thus, although the *TZ-Task Force Report* correctly depicts the condition of education in Tanzania, it does not engage in a broad based analysis of the causes of the problems and it provides procedural solutions which are sometimes simplistic. For example, the *TZ-Task Force Report's* suggestion, for combating district disparities in achievement, is that:

Regional and gender quota system need to be maintained. However they must be assisted by national appropriate cut-off points and remedial intervention programmes aimed at correcting the causes of disparities. If appropriate numbers of Standard VII candidates are to attain pre-set standard cut-off point in each district, District Education Officers will have to be competent and aggressive officers who will not hesitate to initiate intervention programmes, especially in schools where performance is traditionally poor (TZ-Task Force Report 1993:88).

The above suggestions indicate that the disparity in achievement is a technical and managerial problem which can be rectified by technical and managerial interventions.

This does not seem to take into consideration the reality that problems of district educational disparities are rooted in wider issues such as economics, culture and history. It has to be realised that, although the initiative of educational leadership is important in improving educational achievement, it is only one part of the equation.

Marketisation of Education as a Panacea

In a bid to portray privatisation and marketisation as a panacea to educational problems, the reform documents end up supplying technocratic or simplistic solutions with budgetary focus to complex structural problems⁹⁸.

The World Bank and IMF's view that the market economy will solve the problems of education in Africa is clearly expressed in the *World Bank document*. It is argued in the document, for example, that:

As structural adjustment of African economies are achieved and liberalisation is institutionalised, markets will work better (World Bank document, 1987:113).

This statement signifies the faith in the potential of the "invisible hand" of the market to guarantee overall improvement and satisfaction. Thus, 'liberalisation', which, in this case, is a synonym for privatisation, is an essential mechanism through which the hidden hand of the market can be effected. The argument in the *World Bank document*, therefore, is that market oriented policies are a prerequisite for improvement.

With the focus on budgetary concerns, the *World Bank document* offers simplistic monetary solutions to a fundamental issue, such as gender inequity in education. It proposes that:

Governments can reduce the private costs of girls' education relative to boys' by, for example, providing girls with free books and instructional materials, charging them lower tuition fees, or recovering less of the cost of boarding and welfare services from girls' families than from boys' (World Bank document, 1987:85).

Such a solution not only overlooks the complex nature of the gender problems but also seems to reduce the gender inequity problem in education into a monetary problem. The *World Bank document*, for example, does not consider that, in most African countries, there have been historically fewer school places for girls than those

⁹⁸Whether this is deliberate or sheer oversight is debatable.

for boys and that the position and role of a girl child in various communities sometimes delimits her educational chances (Brashaw 1997). The World Bank proposal also ignores issues of irrelevance and incompatibility as well as gender insensitivity which are embedded in the school curriculum and instruction (Mbilinyi et. al. 1991).

Based on similar concerns, the *TZ-Task Force Report* provides solutions to the gender inequity problems in Tanzania that are similar to those of the World Bank. The *TZ-Task Force Report* suggests that:

More secondary schools for girls should be established so as to match, those catering for boys. If secondary school places for girls are to be increased, the policy of making all the schools currently being established, co-educational, should be continued (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:88).

At face value, this is a plausible piece of advice, as it would contribute positively to the provision of education for girls through adding more educational places. However, it is simplistic because not only does it seem to reduce the gender issues of education to what is observable and quantifiable but also it ignores inequity issues of co-education and day schools. Samoff and Sumra (1994:23) have observed, for example, that the day school arrangement is likely to favour urban children over rural residents and would make it difficult to equalise secondary school access throughout the country.

The reform documents not only support privatisation of education but also they depict privatisation policies as inevitable steps to redeem the education system. As a corollary, the documents do not hesitate to promote privatisation policies which they acknowledge might have an adverse impact on cherished ideals such as equity and democratic participation.

Thus, while acknowledging their adverse impact, the *World Bank document* advocates privatisation and cost-sharing policies as a remedy to most of the educational problems in Africa. It insists that the introduction of tuition fees, having parents pay for instructional material and students paying for their own living expenses, are the "inevitable" steps that have to be taken. It is stated in the *World Bank document* that:

It is probably inevitable that parents' contribution to the cost of primary education, and particularly secondary education, will increase, despite very real concerns about the impact of this on overall equity and efficiency (World Bank document, 1987:95).

It can be argued that, based on such unequivocal support for privatisation of education provision, the social contextualisation of educational policies which is expressed in the World Bank document is an attempt to ensure that a particular country, (e.g. Tanzania) fits its national policies within the wider global socio-economic structure.

Likewise, with the emphasis on the reduction of the financial burden to the state, the *TZ-Task Force Report* seems to support educational privatisation, regardless of the social cost. For example, the *TZ-Task Force Report*, mentions that the recommended reforms would raise equality issues but it does not discuss these issues further, nor does it offer possible remedies or alternatives.

The *TZ-Task Force Report* also suggests market oriented policies as remedies to the education problems in Tanzania. Stressing user-pay, market oriented efficiency and accountability, the *TZ-Task Force Report* recommends that:

Unit costs especially at secondary, tertiary and university levels should be reduced by restructuring planning and management and by students and or parents shouldering catering and transport cost;

Financing education should move towards more community, parent and private participation, rather than depending on the government (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:89).

Here, the *TZ-Task Force Report* seems to overlook the fact that governments get their revenue from the citizens who are also members of the community (and some of them are parents). It may be argued that, by contributing to government revenue, individuals are already paying for the government financed education. The categorisation of financing education, either by the government, the community or parents, could be seen as a move to stress the idea that education is a private good which must be financed privately, either at the community or individual level⁹⁹.

The *TZ-Task Force Report* (1993:89) also recommends that "*students should be encouraged to borrow against their future earnings*" Such a suggestion, put forward at a time when unemployment amongst graduates is increasing, is either unrealistic or an attempt to postpone the problem. The process of seeking to borrow against indeterminate future earnings may prove to be more problematic in future because the unemployed graduates will also be debtors. This would not only restrict the graduates' earning power but also their initiative in "*job creation*" as the educational debt would render them non-credit worthy.

⁹⁹ A detailed discussion of education as a public good is presented later in the section on New Zealand education reform documents and in the comparative policy analysis section.

More important, however, is the implication that students borrowing against their future earnings signifies that schooling or studying is a private business in which people may choose to, or not choose to invest.

The *TZ-Task Force Report* also promotes efficiency through financial rationalisation with little regard to the effects it might have on other aspects. It suggests, for example, that:

Teachers' salaries can be increased by re-allocating resources from other items like visits, conferences and catering. Reduction of support staff especially at university level or subcontracting provision of some services would be another way of recovering some funds for re-allocation (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:89).

In this regard, it can be argued that, like the *World Bank document*, the *TZ-Task Force Report* down-plays educational aspects (e.g. educational visits and conferences) in the process of cost rationalisation. By suggesting subcontracting as the means of reducing cost, the *TZ-Task Force Report* seems to believe that marketisation of services is more cost effective. It is worth noting, however, that, in most cases, contracting out services, only makes it easier to move public funds into private hands; for, if services are rendered, the bill has to be paid. It can be argued, therefore, that the suggested subcontracting of the services does not reduce costs but makes it easier to shift the responsibility for those services from the public to individuals. Consequently, the next point in the report is that students and/or parents should shoulder catering and transport costs.

The *TZ-Task Force Report's* neo-liberal view of education is also evident in its future vision that would require education to facilitate the changes towards privatisation. For instance, the *TZ-Task Force Report* states in the preamble that:

The state will, essentially, be responsible for promoting entrepreneurship, by creating an enabling economic and social environment, capable of sustaining a dynamic and expanding private sector base. The promotion of entrepreneurship will depend on the extent to which education and government policies encourage managerial and business skills, reinforced by technological input as well as technical knowledge (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:2).

In this statement the *TZ-Task Force Report* also seems to subscribe to the myth that post-colonial Tanzania is an equal partner in multinational/transnational trade agreements. Consequently, the report does not even mention issues of investment or the international political economy and how they affect the future vision for Tanzania.

In Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy* document, (TZ-ETP, 1995) the support for privatisation and marketisation of education is evident in every section. The policy supports user-pays, the devolution of management and vocationalisation of the curriculum, all of which are tenets of neo-liberal market economy ideology. The document states, for example, that:

From the foregoing shift of emphasis, the broad policies of education and training as detailed in this document include, enhancement of partnership in the provision of education and training, through the deliberate efforts of encouraging private agencies to participate in the provision of education, to establish and manage schools and other educational institutions at all levels (TZ-ETP, 1995:xii-xiii).

The *TZ-ETP* document also states that:

Broadening of financial base for education and training, through more effective control of government spending, cost sharing and liberalisation strategies....Streamlining of the management structure of education, by placing more authority and responsibility on school, local communities, districts and regions;...Facilitating the growth of the culture of education for job creation and self employment through increased availability of opportunities for vocational education and training (TZ-ETP, 1995:xii-xiii)

These statements to suggest that societal problems, including unemployment, could be solved by the privatisation of education.

By clearly articulating the aims and objectives of education and training, (See Appendix B) which are broad and whole encompassing from pre-school to higher education to teacher education as well as to non-formal and informal education, the *TZ-ETP* creates a rationale and legitimacy for the policy reforms contained in the document.

Not only are most of the aims and objectives similar to those of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) but also they are so broad that people with different interests may interpret them differently. This may be construed as a bid to accrue adherence of people with varied interests. Some of the aims stated in the *TZ-ETP*, for example, are:

To guide and promote the development and improvement of personalities of the citizens of Tanzania, their human resources and effective utilisation of these resources in *bringing about individual and national development...*

To develop and promote self-confidence and an enquiring mind, an understanding and respect for human dignity and human rights and a

readiness to work hard *for personal self -advancement and rational improvement* (TZ-ETP, 1995:1) (*emphasis added*).

A closer look at the general aims and objectives stated in *TZ-ETP*, however, reveals an omission of distributive aspects and commitment to collective responsibilities. Whenever development is mentioned, the reference is to the individual and the nation.

The above statements of aims and objectives exhibit the commitment to individualism and market perspective of the nation as an aggregation of individuals, as opposed to the egalitarian approach which insists on society as a united entity. The significance of the different perspectives of the nation is that, while the united perspective would work towards removing the obstacles to unity (e.g. inequalities in production and distribution), the individualised perspective would work towards individual achievement, even if this would curtail the achievement of a collective unity.

The *TZ-ETP* policy document also employs market metaphors in reference to educational aspects with educational leaders, for example, are being referred to as educational *managers* and the education sector as an *area of investment*. This may also be interpreted as a respect for market orientation in education, since the managers were ordinarily found in business and private production enterprises¹⁰⁰

Contradictions and Internal Inconsistencies

The intention of this section is to analyse the policies contained in Tanzania's educational reform documents in terms of their internal logic and theoretical justification. As Codd (1992) argues, examining the assumptions behind the discourse contained in the documents that have preceded or accompanied the policies and exposing their internal contradictions enables us "to evaluate the policies themselves in terms of their likely or potential social effect" (Codd 1992:13).

The contradictions in the World Bank document (1987), for instance, indicate that it was a tool to pave the way for the socio-economic and political structures which are strategically compatible to a neo-liberal market economy. While it is acknowledged, for example, that Africa needs experts from industrialised countries because they have not developed the necessary high skilled labour, the World Bank group recommends

¹⁰⁰The insistence on entrepreneurship signifies a shift of education towards the market realm where it can be sold and purchased like any other private good. The discussion of these perspectives of education is provided in the comparative policy documents analysis chapter.

reduction in higher education training; hence, perpetuating Africa's dependence on expatriates and foreign firms.

The World Bank group also downplays the importance of building a publishing capacity in Africa. The *World Bank document* states that:

Difficult issues will have to be confronted: what pedagogical material to develop locally and what to purchase from abroad, the trade offs between higher cost local printing and least cost printing elsewhere...usually outside Africa (World Bank document, 1987:3).

This seems to imply that education in Africa should provide a ready market to the already established publishing companies from abroad. It may also be argued that, with the focus on structural adjustment which would turn the world into one big market, the World Bank group overlooked the contradictions in its recommendations. On the other hand, it could be construed that, since the recommendations were part of the IMF/World Bank conditionalities, the respective nations would have no choice but to take them as part of the SAPs package, despite their inherent contradictions.

It is important to note that, with the glaring gains that have been accrued through the progressive policies followed by Tanzania in the 1960s and 1970s, it is difficult to argue for wholesale privatisation. Thus, in some instances, the Tanzanian documents exhibit contradictory statements or ambivalence. This can be observed in the inconsistencies and contradictions inherent in the statements contained in the *TZ-Task Force Report* and the *TZ-ETP* documents.

As a case in point, while insisting that the government should shed some of the burden of financing education, the *TZ-Task Force Report* simply recommends that:

Access and equality should be promoted more effectively by ensuring that each school and institution has the required teaching inputs provided (Task Force Report, 1993:88).

Likewise, while in its "Access and Equity in Education" section (page 80) the *TZ-Task Force Report* acknowledges that it has been difficult for some parents to contribute to education due to economic problems, it still recommends privatisation of education. The *TZ-Task Force Report* states that:

Privatisation/liberalisation of education provision has widened regional variations thus increasing inequality. Only areas of greater resource capacity and greater initiative take advantage of available opportunities (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:80) .

However, notwithstanding this observation, the *TZ-Task Force Report*, recommends, on the same issue, that:

The provision of pre-school for all implies that government will have to encourage private agencies to run institutions for this purpose (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:87).

These inconsistent and at times contradictory statements indicate the ambivalence surrounding privatisation of education not only to the TZ-Task Force but also to the Tanzanians, in general. On the other hand, it may be construed as a deliberate move to create confusion amongst the citizens so that they will support the changes without having a holistic understanding of their implications. This would result in different groups of people supporting reforms for different purposes and expectations.

The ways the ideas of centralisation and decentralisation are portrayed in the *TZ-Task Force Report* also indicate inconsistencies and contradictions. While advocating decentralisation, some of the recommendations seem to promote centralisation.

For instance, the report states that:

Local Education Authorities, comprising representatives of all interested educational bodies at regional and district levels, should be established and made responsible for planning and management of education at every level in each area (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:85).

The Report also recommends that:

There should be a devolution of powers and decentralisation of authority to relevant levels (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:47).

These statements, and others like them, indicate the *TZ-Task Force's* commitment to decentralisation and devolution of power to the local levels. However, on structure, power and decision making, it states that:

The education officers at regional and district levels should be moved away from the RDD and DED. They should be placed administratively and professionally under the Ministry of education and culture. The REO should be responsible and answerable to the Ministry headquarters while the DED should be accountable to the REO. The number of key desk officers required to assist the REO and DEO should also be streamlined to match the need (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:47-48).

The type of structure and control described in the statement above indicates a preference for a centralised, hierarchical structure of control with more power vested in the Ministry of Education.

Such inconsistencies, however, expose the *TZ-Task Force's* conceptualisation of decentralisation that is based on market efficiency and accountability. The idea is to bring the bureaucracy (and, hence, central control) closer to the grass root through delegation of responsibility without requisite power.

Similar to the *World Bank document* and the *TZ-Task Force Report*, the *TZ-ETP* reiterates the egalitarian principles and it purports to foster equity by increasing access to education. It states, inter alia, that its broad policies will aim at: "increasing access to education, by focusing on the equity issue with respect to women, disadvantaged groups and areas in the country" (TZ-ETP, 1995:18).

Ironically, the policies that are propounded in the document do not seem to foster social justice even to the mentioned groups. On the basis of principles of competition and individual achievement, the policy document directs the government to phase out the quota system which was instituted to correct the regional imbalances. It argues that,

...inherent in the quota system has been the tendency to push up children with low achievement levels while at the same time denying access to *the more deserving ones* (TZ-ETP, 1995:21) (emphasis added).

It can be argued that the "*deserving ones*" are those who can compete and win by using whatever advantage they have. Thus, the policies seem to rationalise inequality by introducing free competition instead of analysing the causes for the failure of the quota system to promote the desired equity. Such a commitment to competition, supports Apple's (1993:19) assertion that the notion of introducing free competition among students assumes that, extending the capitalist market place to school, "will somehow compensate for the decades of economic and educational neglect experienced by the communities in which these [under-achieving] schools are found" (Apple 1993:19).

Thus, this thesis is in agreement with the argument (Apple 1993) that, in the privatisation discourse, equality has become redefined such that no longer is it seen to be linked to past group repression and disadvantage. Apple explains that:

The current emphasis on "excellence" (a word with multiple meaning and social uses) has shifted educational discourse so that under achievement once again increasingly is seen as largely the fault of the student. Student failure, which was at least partly interpreted as the fault of severe deficient education policies and practice, is now being seen as a result of what might be called biological and economic market-place (Apple 1993:19).

Although throughout the *TZ-ETP* document the commitment to equity and provision of education (at least at Basic level) is proclaimed, statements in the financing of education and training section indicates that education will be for those who are able to pay. The *TZ-ETP* document states that:

Financing education and training shall be shared between government, communities, parents and end-users;..Provision of education and training shall be included as area of investment in the Investment Promotion Act;...School and tuition fees, in both government and non-government education and training institutions shall be based on the actual unit cost of providing education and training at each level (*TZ-ETP*, 1995:116 -117).

It is argued here that, under such conditions, some children will be denied the opportunity to participate in education, especially, considering the low income of most Tanzanians.

In general, the privatisation discourse in the documents that seek to effect Tanzania's contemporary educational policy reforms aims at commodifying education and making it available for those able to pay. It also seeks to ensure that Tanzania fits its national policies into the wider global socio-economic structure. By implication, these policy reforms can be equated to colonial policies which aimed at providing the mass of colonial people with a bare minimum of education in order for them to remain as "disciplined" raw material producers. The in-depth analysis of the implications of the privatisation policies for various interests and groups of people is carried out later in the sections on the implications of privatisation policies.

Chapter 9

Analysis of New Zealand Education Policy Reform Documents

The Policy Documents Production Process.

With the changes in the social structure, in technology and the economy as well as the higher rates of unemployment, the New Zealand state witnessed worsening legitimization crises in the 1970s. As the legitimization crises worsened, the debate on social services provision became an underlying concern in the many social issues facing New Zealand at that time. There were differing views regarding the state and individual responsibilities (New Zealand Department of Education 1983:21).

As noted in the report prepared by the Department of Education for the OECD examiners:

The limits of the government in providing services to the community is an underlying concern in many social issues. On the one hand, demands continue to be made for extensions of government responsibility, especially in the fields of health, education, and welfare. On the other hand, there is a widely held view that New Zealand must become more self-reliant and more prepared to take risks, and that many matters which have come to be seen as the province of state-supported activity undertaken in the public interest should be left to the personal initiative of individuals (New Zealand Department of Education 1983:21).

Meanwhile, the contradictions within the education settlement in New Zealand became apparent with gender, ethnic and class inequalities being voiced. It has been noted, for example (Openshaw 1995), that research studies, especially after the 1970s, indicated that the post-primary school experience of many working class, female and Maori children had led to equivocal results. Such studies questioned the post-war educational settlement and asserted that, in the capitalist society, there is a relationship between educational process in terms of outcome and class, race and gender. Freeman-Moir (1981) notes, for example, that:

The idea that there is a range of job opportunities if school leavers would go out and look is little short of fantastic when related to three other considerations. First, the likelihood that the labour market in New Zealand is segmented by race such that minority groups in this country enter a market in which jobs are 'race-typed', segregated by racism and

the institutional arrangements of the market itself. Second, the fact that jobs are content differentiated (e.g. being a freezing worker is different from being a shop employee) overlooks the way in which they are similarly related to capital. Members of minority groups have little option beyond being employed in unskilled and semi-skilled work or being unemployed. Third, an economic crisis and its attendant unemployment hits minority groups and the powerless faster and harder (Freeman-Moir 1981:19).

Thus, with the rise in unemployment, the fit between education and labour employability was also challenged. As the literature on education produced in the early 1980s (e.g. Freeman-Moir 1981, 1981a & 1982, Nash 1983 & 1985, Renwick 1981) indicates, as the unproblematic transition from school to work was breaking down so was the consensus on the usefulness and relevance of schooling to society and the economy.

While Renwick (1981)¹⁰¹ maintained that the relationships between education and work are fundamentally important in an advanced capitalist economy (Gordon 1989:121), Freeman-Moir (1981:19) noted that technological change has led to progressive de-skilling of basic manual work so that less, and not more, education is necessary for young people. Building on the view that the role of the state is to provide the basis for capital accumulation and legitimation for capitalist mode of production, Freeman-Moir argued that, in 1970s and 1980s New Zealand, the socio-economic reproduction function of schooling was more emphasised. Thus, Gordon (1989) observes that, according to Freeman-Moir, "the importance of schooling for work lies fundamentally in inculcating a set of individualistic ideologies that 'will accept without question as natural as 'the way the world is', that's life isn't it?" (Gordon 1989:121)¹⁰².

Concentrating on the relationship between the civil society and capital, Nash (1983:16) argued on the other hand, that, "schooling is crucial in the social reproduction of the majority sector of the middle class and offers the most certain avenue of mobility for working class individuals" (Nash 1983:16)¹⁰³.

Thus, with the rise of socio-economic problems, there were uncertainties in the perception of the role and functions of education in New Zealand; hence contributing to the legitimation crisis. In turn, this set a landmark for the breakdown of the

¹⁰¹Renwick was New Zealand Director-General of education at the time.

¹⁰²Gordon's observations are based on arguments in Freeman-Moir (1981a:21).

¹⁰³Cited in Gordon (1989:123).

educational settlement forged under the welfare state in the 1930s and 1940s. Comparing the events in New Zealand and those in Britain, Gordon (1989) notes that: "Schools in New Zealand, too, have come under attack from both the state itself and also private groups such as the Employers Federation, for not adequately preparing the young people for work" (Gordon 1989:119).

This supports the argument (Gordon 1984) that, with worsening economic recessions, certain contradictions that pervade a schooling system became increasingly evident, making schooling appear far less egalitarian than was previously assumed; while the government "cut backs" in various aspects of education raised questions about the state's commitment to education. Thus, Gordon (1984) attributes a strong move towards the use of conflict theories of society, particularly Marxism, to explain schooling practice in New Zealand, as observed in the writings of the time (e.g. the works of Codd, 1983; Shaker, 1981, 1983; Gordon, 1984; Harker 1984)¹⁰⁴.

Various reports produced during this period also indicated that all was not well in the New Zealand education system. In 1977, the Johnson Report, "Growing, Sharing, Learning: The Report of the Committee on Health and Social Education," was published. Although the role for schools in health and social issues, suggested in this report, were not implemented because of opposition to some of the details of those recommendations, the publication stimulated some degree of public rethinking about education (Wilson, 1991).

In 1978, a "Report of the Committee on the Registration and Discipline of Teachers" (1978) presented to the New Zealand Government, revealed some parental frustrations with the processes for dealing with incompetent teachers. Wilson (1991:42) notes that, although the Committee's recommendations were not implemented because of teacher opposition to some of the provisions, the report was significant because it addressed the nature of teaching as a profession.

In the 1980s, not only were the social roles of education and the teaching profession under scrutiny but also the curriculum came into the limelight. In 1983, the Director General of Education, established a working party to review the core curriculum of New Zealand schools. The group produced a core curriculum in the form of a discussion paper in November 1983. Although this paper was not released to the public, it was presented as a working paper to the government. The National (conservative) Government Minister of Education, who preferred the schools to focus

¹⁰⁴These works are cited in Gordon (1984:25).

on the 'basics' and to use examinations to assess learning, opposed most of the ideas contained in the working paper. Claiming that the members of the working party were liberals, he selected a small group of 'leading educators' with whom he worked on redrafting the '*Core Curriculum*' document which was issued in March 1984 (Wilson 1991). This became the controversial *Core Curriculum for New Zealand Schools*.

The new core curriculum drew considerable opposition from liberals and teacher unions who also invoked the unfulfilled National Government promise to prepare a comprehensive staffing schedule for schools, based on meeting the needs of the students in the 1980s¹⁰⁵.

It is worth noting, however that, although the recommendations of the re-drafted core curriculum were not implemented, they were used by the opposition during the campaign for the 'snap' election in July 1984; thus, putting education at the centre of public debate.

By 1984, the economic crisis had worsened; hence, exacerbating the fiscal problems. Faced with the fiscal crisis, the New Zealand state (like any other state facing similar situations) had to take steps to resolve the fiscal problem on behalf of capital (Rudd 1993:226-245). These steps included restructuring the economy and redefining the state's functions, in which process the functions of the Treasury became elevated. It is within these circumstances of growing fiscal and economic crises and the growing power of the New Zealand Treasury that the July 1984 elections were held; bringing the Labour Party into office.

The new Labour Minister of Education undertook to review the *Core Curriculum* established by his predecessor, by forming a Curriculum Review Committee in November 1984. After nearly two years of extensive consultation among schools and communities, a *Curriculum Review* document was released in April 1987. With the basic assumption of education as a public good, the review had a strong emphasis on school and community based planning of the curriculum within guide-lines approved by the state (Codd 1990:194). The *Curriculum Review* states, for example, that one of the public concerns which were taken into consideration is that:

The curriculum for any particular school should be developed through the consultation between the school and community, but should be

¹⁰⁵Wilson (1990: 41) asserts that the recommendations of the Report on the Secondary Staffing Working Party (1983) had been adopted selectively the New Zealand Government because the cost of full implementation was too great at the time when the National Government was attempting to reduce state expenditure on account of the second oil shock.

based upon national guidelines....Responsibility be placed on all involved - students, teachers, administrators, parents and community - to ensure that each school's curriculum is not deficient in any of the principles and aspects of learning (NZ-Curriculum Review 1987:8-9).

Thus, the *Curriculum Review* seemed to extend more power to the community; a concept that has been used in many cases to appeal for public support for devolution reforms. However, the *Curriculum Review* was challenged by the neo-liberals; particularly, the New Zealand Treasury. On the basis of cost driven views, the New Zealand Treasury strongly opposed the recommendations of the *Curriculum Review* for what it termed "liberal and costly" proposals (Codd 1990:194).

The New Zealand Treasury argued that The *Curriculum Review* could not be an adequate blueprint for the development of school education because it:

Holds unstated and narrow assumptions as to the nature and sources of education; overlooks issues as to: community and educational values and benefits; the relationship between education and the economy, and the nature of government assistance; [and] doesn't tackle issues of management and consumer choice¹⁰⁶.

As the debate over the *Core Curriculum* continued, it soon became clear that the neo-liberal arguments were gaining ground over the welfare democratic approaches.

Meanwhile, in 1986, issues of registration and discipline of teachers were examined by a parliamentary bi-partisan Select Committee. *The Report on the Inquiry into the Quality of Teaching*¹⁰⁷ was produced in the same year. Macpherson & Raab (1988) contend, that, at the same time this report was produced, the Treasury, the State Services Commission and the New Zealand Government forged an alliance against the Department of Education. Although the recommendations of the report were not implemented, they were used by the opposition during the campaign for the general election.

In August 1987, the Labour Party was re-elected into office. However, a new Minister of Education was appointed. The status of the education portfolio was also raised, with the new Minister being also Prime Minister. In its briefing paper to the new government, *Government Management: Brief to the Incoming Government Vol. II:*

¹⁰⁶ This was stated in the letter from the Treasury to the Finance Minister and quoted in Codd 1990:194.

¹⁰⁷ The Report on the Inquiry into the quality of Teaching (1986) is referred to in Wilson (1990).

Education Issues (NZ-Treasury 1987), the Treasury promoted and defended neo-liberal intentions to redirect education towards the free market values.

It is within this context that the Task Force to Review Educational Administration in New Zealand was appointed. It is argued that the Task Force sought to provide legitimacy for restructuring the education sector in line with the Treasury's monetarist policies that sought to effectively reduce the New Zealand government's expenditure on education. The *Report of the Task Force to Review Education Administration: Administering for excellence (NZ-Picot Report)* was produced in 1988. The *NZ-Picot Report* was critical of the bureaucratic nature of the education system which led to what, in its view, was described as 'provider capture' of the service. It suggested the removal of all intervening tiers of educational administration between the central government and the school; hence, devolving decisions to the levels of the education system at which they, arguably, had greatest relevance. This was to become the New Zealand Government's Green Paper of education reforms. It has been noted (Dale 1993, Wilson 1991, Codd and Gordon 1991) that the report was biased towards the Treasury monetarist and technocratic, "neo-liberal view" of the condition of education and the role of the state in its provision.

The New Zealand Government promoted the *NZ-Picot Report*, claiming that its major proposals were both necessary and beneficial to New Zealand society. They allowed very little time (about ten weeks) for public debate. Based on the recommendations contained in the *NZ-Picot Report, Tomorrow's School" (NZ-TS, 1988)*, a policy statement to guide the educational reforms in primary and secondary education in New Zealand, was produced. In the introduction to the *Tomorrow's Schools* policy, the features (upon which the reforms of educational administration in New Zealand were based) are described as:

- Institutions will be the basic "building block" of education administration, with control over their educational resources - to use as they determine, within overall guidelines for education set by the state.
- The running of the institutions will be a partnership between the professionals and the particular community in which it is located. The mechanism for such partnership will be the board of trustees.
- Each institution will set its own objectives, within the overall national guidelines for education set by the state. These objectives will reflect the particular needs of the community in which the institution is located, and will be clearly sets out in a "charter" drawn between the community and the institution, and the institution and the state.

- Institutions will be accountable, through a nationally established review and audit agency, for government funds spent on education and for meeting the objectives set out in their charters. This agency will carry out regular reviews of every institution.
- Institutions will be free to purchase services from a range of suppliers.
- Community education forums will be set up to act as a place of debate and a voice for all those who wish to air their concerns - whether students, parents, teachers, managers or education administrators.
- A Ministry of Education will be established to provide policy advice to the Minister, to administer property, and to handle financial flows and operational activities.
- An independent Parent Advocacy Council will be established. This council will promote the interests of parents generally and will, in particular, provide assistance to the parents who are dissatisfied with existing arrangements to the extent that they wish to set up their own school¹⁰⁸.
- Groups of parents representing at least 21 children will be able to withdraw from existing arrangement and set up their own institution, provided that they meet the national guidelines for education¹⁰⁹ (NZ-TS, 988:1-2).

These key features signify that *Tomorrow's Schools* policy set in motion policies which aimed at integrating business practices in education. The process, it can be argued, was made easier with the Prime Minister of the time, Mr. David Lange doubling as the Minister responsible for the Education Portfolio. Thus, the reforms of education involved applying the wider state sector restructuring to education and displacing the educational settlement forged in the 1930s. *Tomorrow's Schools* policy has been described by some policy analysts (e.g. Codd 1990; Lauder 1990; Grace 1990) as being the most major educational reforms ever experienced in New Zealand in the present century.

Evidence of Privatisation Discourse in New Zealand's Recent Education Policy Reform Documents.

The analysis of the policy discourse falls under four main themes, namely: the de-legitimisation of education as a public good; management and market-place metaphors (the use of management and market place language and concepts); the

¹⁰⁸ It is worth noting that the aspects which would have provided an opportunity for parents to participate in making major decisions (the independent advisory council) was soon abolished.

¹⁰⁹ This was also abolished.

association of a public system with fiscal and legitimisation crises; and the prescription of the "free market" as the panacea.

a) De-legitimisation of Education as a Public Good

In the early 1980s, the tradition of regarding education as a public good, mediated through a publicly provided service in New Zealand, (Grace 1990:27) started to face challenges from those embracing the neo-liberal monetarist ideology (the New Right). On the basis of the New Right principles of privatisation, competition and individualism, several agencies, including the New Zealand Treasury, the National Party, the media and the Business Round Table, criticised the philosophical and ideological foundations of the educational settlement forged under state welfarism. These agencies employed the discourse of privatisation to position and direct education to their prescribed destination by claiming that education was a commodity in the market place, like any other commodity and that many of the educational benefits are subject to individual capture rather than being contributory to the social or public good (Grace 1990:27). These assertions are evident in the policy documents; namely, the *NZ-Treasury document* (1987), the *NZ-Picot Report* (1988) and *Tomorrow's Schools* (1988).

It is argued in this study that, in the *NZ-Treasury document*, the New Zealand Treasury attempted to control the direction of education policy reforms by employing the discourse of privatisation; thus, seeking to "de-legitimise" the public good association of education at a conceptual level.

In its briefing paper to the in-coming Labour Party Government, which was re-elected into office in August 1987, the New Zealand Treasury advocated radical changes in education, whose new Minister was also the Prime Minister. Claiming that the education budget was so big that it warranted rigorous economic analysis, and blaming New Zealand scholars for not extending interest and concern for the economics of education, the *New Zealand Treasury* set the grounds to break the notion of education as a public good. The *NZ-Treasury* notes that:

The pervasive nature of education, the enormous resources employed by the system and the high degree of involvement in it by New Zealanders mean that education does not stand in isolation from the society in which it takes place...Given their volume, the productivity of resources employed by the system is of crucial importance to society (NZ-Treasury document 1987:3).

Prior to this statement, the NZ Treasury argues that:

Education can be analysed in a similar way to any other service in terms of interaction and exchange in the face of uncertainty, information, costs, scarcity, interdependence and opportunism. The section on education in chapter 3 of the first volume of the Treasury's post-election brief is couched in those terms. Generally we would consider that such an approach is an analytically robust method which would generate useful insights (NZ-Treasury document 1987:2).

It is relevant to note at this point that there is very little research in New Zealand into the economics of education (NZ-Treasury document 1987:8).

The discourse in the above statements not only puts education in the economic sphere but also introduces the cost driven views of education. It can also be construed as a move by the New Zealand Treasury to set its defences to the anticipated opposition from New Zealand scholars by attacking their (scholars) previous works for being less rigorous and for ignoring important issues.

It is worth noting that some of the New Zealand scholars who have put up strong opposition to the New Zealand Treasury's education privatisation agenda acknowledge that "education research in New Zealand has neglected policy research and the economics of education" (Grace 1990:37). Grace (1990) argues for an approach to the economics of education that is different from that of the New Zealand Treasury. He contends that:

The first priority is for more policy-related research and for more research which is historically and comparatively informed into the various sub-fields of the economics of education. We need intelligent and sensitive research into the crucial issues which these important sub-fields address. The economics of education, in New Zealand at any rate, cannot be left to the crude reductionism of New Right ideology (Grace 1990:39).

Grace's (1990:39) arguments indicate that the studies on education policy and the economics of education should be holistic and not 'economistic', as the New Zealand Treasury advocated.

Emphasising the private perspective of education, however, the New Zealand Treasury rejected the notion of parents' (as community members) participation as was outlined in the *Curriculum Review*, (1987) claiming that it was inefficient because it sought consensus. Referring to the OECD Reviewers Report (1983), the *NZ-Treasury* pinpoints consensus as an obstacle to efficiency since "consensus building takes time"; thus, contributing to slowness in decision making. The New Zealand Treasury states that:

The OECD examiners remarked on a sense of anxiety about the slowness of policy and decision making at a time of rapid change in demands on a system...Also, consensus has been a key element in decision making and consensus building takes time (NZ-Treasury document 1987:3).

On the other hand, however, the New Zealand Treasury supports parents' participation under a decentralised management system. Arguing against state intervention and for more parental involvement, the New Zealand Treasury states that:

State intervention may reduce parental responsibility and hence increase dependence on subsidised institutional provision, thus furthering the agency problem (NZ-Treasury document 1987:273).

Here, the meaning of parents' participation in the educational process is altered to reflect the ideological thrust of the New Zealand Treasury; with parents being convinced and encouraged to participate as individual consumers rather than as members of the community working towards meeting collective ends.

Building on the notions of individualism and self-interest, the discourse in the *NZ-Treasury document* creates a scenario of distrust of the existing public service to contribute towards public good. It states:

On maximising social benefits, state intervention runs the risk that the benefits will in fact be captured by particular groups of individuals or providers, thus the cost becomes public but the benefits remain private (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:273).

The above statement can be construed as the New Zealand Treasury's attempt to stimulate the "structural disintegration process" so as to destroy the political support for the public system. It can be argued, therefore, that, by creating doubt on who benefits from public investment in education, the Treasury is setting ground for an ideological contestation over the assumption that education is a public good. This is supported by Codd's (1992:12) observation that, "it is within the context of material conditions that the neo-liberal and neo-conservative assaults on the corporatist structures of welfarism have gained popular support".

This ideological thrust is also evident by the way the *NZ-Treasury document* uses the neo-liberal economic parameters to describe education. The document explains that: "Education shares characteristics of other commodities traded in the market place (NZ-Treasury document" 1987:33).

Thus, the Treasury argues that education (particularly higher education)¹¹⁰ needs to be taken as a private good and should be paid for by the individual who receives it.¹¹¹

The document further states that:

The government provides education and training services and information about these services, it subsidises the consumers of its services and the services of other providers and it regulates the production of these services (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:1).

By referring to the education workforce as providers and receivers of the education services as consumers, the *NZ-Treasury document* implies that the existing government involvement in education is an interference in a business concern. It is worth noting here that the view of education, as comparable to a business concern, held far reaching implications for the education reforms, particularly the process of educational privatisation. The Government, therefore, would have the right to take similar steps as business people would do in their business concerns. By the same token, the Government would have the right to sell its “education business” and subcontract some of the aspects or contract out altogether. It would even take “calculated risk” on education without being answerable to the public.

It can be argued, therefore, that the de-legitimisation of education as a public good is the process of opening up education for marketisation. Thus, with the view of education as a business concern, the *NZ-Treasury document* states that there is no good reason why the Government should be directly involved in the provision of education. It states that:

The Second common feature is that the dominant form of state intervention is direct provision of educational services. There is, in fact, no *a priori* reason why government intervention should take this form. Substantial government assistance could, if considered desirable, be delivered through non-government institutions (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:9).

This suggestion can be seen not only as a move to distance government from education, even when financially contributing to it, but also as a process of encouraging contracting out and other ways of inviting private business into providing

¹¹⁰New Zealand Treasury supports a limited role for the state in the provision of compulsory education for reasons that are analysed later in the comparative document analysis section.

¹¹¹The observation that the Treasury document argued against the existing understanding that education is a public good in New Zealand has also been made by other policy analysts e.g. Grace (1990), Codd (1990), Lauder (1990), Evans and Davies (1990).

education services¹¹². This also de-legitimises education as a public good because, as a business concern, education would have moved into the private sphere.

In spelling out its conception of education, the New Zealand Treasury states that:

Education is not a 'public good' in a technical sense used by economists. It is never free as there is always an opportunity cost to the provider; it may not be paid for directly by the consumers but it is paid for by the rest of the community (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:271).

In the above statement, the *New Zealand Treasury* employs the economic discourse to prevent counter arguments, not only from the public who may not be sure of where they belong in the “rest of the community” that is paying but also from non-economist scholars. It may be argued, that the Treasury used the discourse for intimidation of those scholars who, not wanting to expose their “ignorance” in economics, would refrain from challenging the position of the New Zealand Treasury’s assumption that “education was not a public good”.

It is worth noting, however, that this did not prevent some New Zealand educationists and policy analysts such as Grace (1990, 1994), Codd (1988, 1990, 1992), Gordon (1989, 1992, 1994) and Lauder (1990) from taking up the challenge. Gerald Grace (1990, 1994) argues, for example that, even in the economic sphere, “education stands as a public good”. He contends that:

Economists appear to have a continuum with pure public goods (which require state intervention) at one end and private goods (which are a concern of the market) at the other. A considerable debate exists within economics as to the location of various goods and services on this continuum. The second is that in the case of the issue of externalities where ‘there are likely to be benefits to the community or society at large of educated populous in terms of social cohesion, law and order and economic growth’ then economic theory suggests that education and schooling could be referred to as an [impure] public good (Grace 1994:134).

It is worth noting that the New Zealand Treasury document left no doubt that the wider state sector restructuring would apply to education. Hence, in effect, it would replace the educational settlement forged in the 1930s and 1940s.

Within this context, the Task Force to Review Educational Administration in New Zealand (headed by Brian Picot, a businessman) was appointed to provide legitimacy

¹¹² More discussion on contracting out is presented later in this study.

for restructuring the education sector in line with Treasury's monetarist policies. The Task Force produced a report, *Administering for Excellence*, commonly referred to, as the "Picot Report" (*NZ-Picot Report*) in 1988. The *NZ-Picot Report* suggests the removal of all intervening tiers of educational administration between the central government and the school; hence, devolving decisions to the levels of the education system at which they have greatest relevance (Dale 1993, Wilson 1991, Codd and Gordon 1991).

The discourse in the *NZ-Picot Report* also contributes to the de-legitimisation of education as a public good. Although the *NZ-Picot Report* appears to be subtle about the move to privatisation, particularly because some of its recommendations seem to suggest collective participation of the parents, it clearly advocates a view of education that is different from the then existing "public good" view. It is worth noting, for example, that the way in which the 'school charter' is presented it leaves room for various interpretations, including the version that the charter is a form of a "contract". The report also indicates a strong commitment to change at a time when the direction of change clearly known to be on the agenda was privatisation. Further, the *NZ-Picot Report* offers no challenge to the *NZ-Treasury* view of education as a private good. These points seem to indicate *NZ-Picot Report's* position and active contribution towards the de-legitimisation of the conception of education as a public good in New Zealand.

Depicting the need for radical reforms, where the idea is not to make the existing system work better by 'tinkering' with it but to overhaul it altogether, the *NZ-Picot Report* states that:

Tinkering with the system will not be efficient to achieve the improvements now required. In our view the time has come for quite a radical change (*NZ-Picot Report*, 1988:36).

Thus, although indirectly, the *NZ-Picot Report* (like the Treasury document) was set to persuade the public that the "public good" tradition of education was no longer appropriate and that radical reforms in New Zealand's education system were not only desirable but also feasible and inevitable.

In many ways *NZ-TS* policy reaffirms the reforms proposed in the *NZ-Picot Report*. Introducing *NZ-TS* policy, the Minister of Education, states that:

Tomorrow's Schools sets out the policy position the government has reached following its consideration of the implications of such far-

reaching reform. Much of it is an affirmation of the Picot proposals (NZ-TS, 1988:iv).

Thus, *NZ-TS*, policy, like the *NZ-Treasury document* and the *NZ-Picot Report*, substitutes the liberal democratic assumptions about education with consumer democratic assumptions. It is observed (Sexton 1990), for example, that the boards of trustees for the schools, proposed in *NZ-Picot Report* and followed through in *Tomorrow's Schools* policy, are not any different from any board of non-executive directors of a company. Sexton (1990) states that:

I am content to accept the term 'trustees' but it seems to me that they do the same task as if they were called governors. Their role is one of overall policy making and ultimate responsibility and it seems to me fair to equate the board of trustees of a school to that of non-executive directors of a company, with similar duties and responsibilities (Sexton 1990:20).

Under such circumstances, in the reform process, decentralisation becomes delegation of responsibilities for easier central control rather than devolution of power to the grassroots. Thus, it has been noted (Codd 1990; Codd and Gordon 1991, Sexton 1990, Smelt 1998) that devolution of power was one of the areas where some of the original ideas of the *NZ-Picot Report* were not incorporated. Sexton (1990) notes, for example, that:

The whole charter exercise has not, in practice, been a joint exercise between the government and the boards. The national guidelines and objectives referred to in the report are, in fact, the charter. Contrary to Picot's assertion, the initial preparation of the charter did not turn out to be a time-consuming exercise, at least if the boards duly followed the prescribed approach. The job was done for them before they were even allowed to think about it (Sexton 1990:25).

By the same token, Smelt (1998) argues that the original vision of the reforms encountered problems because of varied interests of stakeholders in the system. He contends that:

The implementation of the reforms has not pursued some of the original vision in terms of salaries, property, inter-school co-operation, parent power or zoning. There is some tension between different pillars of reforms, in particular between voice and choice. There are unavoidable tension between the interests of various stakeholders in the school system. The crown itself has several different interests or stakes and, thus, competing objectives to pursue (Smelt 1998:ix).

Ironically, in such statements, there is still an element of blaming the state rather than the whole idea of privatising education.

b) Management and Market-place Metaphors

The term "metaphor" is used here not as a mere linguistic device used for the figurative embellishment of otherwise straightforward language but as a fundamental way of signifying and structuring conceptual systems as part of everyday discourse. It connotes reconstructed knowledge resulting from structuring knowledge of one domain (the target) by mapping onto it concepts and relations from an existing domain (the source) that is already familiar (Travers 1996). Kuhn (1993 in Travers, M. D. (1996:unpaged) observes that:

'Metaphor' refers to all those processes in which the juxtaposition either of terms or of concrete examples calls forth a network of similarities which help to determine the way in which language attaches to the world (Kuhn 1993:539, in Travers 1996:unpaged).

Travers (1996) contends that metaphors play a fundamental role in the establishment of new, previously unstructured domains and that they are so pervasive that they are sometimes hard to see.

In this case, it is argued that, in the New Zealand education reform documents, the metaphors of market place and production management are readily applied to education which was previously held to be a social service. That is, the points of reference as well as the framing of arguments in these documents are done in ways that direct the reader's mind to see schools as private business or production organisations rather than as social service institutions. Using the market place language and metaphors, the policy documents define the problems in the education system and employ market place solutions for them.

By applying market place concepts (such as '*value for money*,' '*the marginal cost*', '*inputs*' '*outputs*' and '*production functions*') that are normally used in the assessment of an enterprise, to the assessment of the New Zealand education system, the *NZ-Treasury document* introduces new thinking about education. Thus, the reader of the *NZ-Treasury document* is made to think of the education system in the same category as a business entity. This, in turn, leads the reader to focus on business parameters in assessing education and, hence, other values are de-emphasised or ignored.

Suggesting that the production function analysis approach can be applied to education, and is feasible, the *NZ-Treasury document* states that:

Notwithstanding conceptual and analytical problems it is important, not least because of the quantum of resources employed, to undertake research into education production functions. Regrettably, there appears to have been little undertaken in New Zealand (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:7).

Thus, the New Zealand Treasury aims at creating a space for the language and discourse of economics to be used in the study and implementation of education policies.

The use of market place metaphors is also evident in both the *NZ-Picot Report* and the *NZ-TS*. The concept of the school charter, as it is used in the *NZ-Picot Report* and later in *Tomorrow's Schools* policy, for example, is clear evidence of how management and market-place metaphors have been used in the education reform documents. Both *NZ-TS* and the *NZ-Picot Report* state that:

The charter of each institution will be approved [nationally] by the minister, on the recommendation of the ministry. It then becomes a contract between the state and the institution, and between the institution and its community (NZ-Picot Report 1988:46 & NZ-TS 1988:4)¹¹³.

As Codd and Gordon (1991) contend, the school charter is a key element in the restructuring of educational administration under *Tomorrow's Schools* policy. However, the concept of institutional charter is problematic as it can be interpreted in various ways. Codd and Gordon (1991) contend that:

When it was proposed as a central concept in the Picot Report, many saw it as signifying the mechanism through which a devolution of state power would be achieved. It seemed to give concrete meaning to the abstract notion of 'partnership' between government and community (Codd and Gordon 1991:21).

In that regard, the charter was expected to create greater flexibility and responsiveness at local level, while also producing a structure through which some decisions can be more effectively co-ordinated at the centre (Codd & Gordon 1991). However, this interpretation did not last long. As Gordon and Codd (1991) note:

This expectation was sustained throughout the early stages of the implementation of *Tomorrow's Schools*... Gradually, however, as the reform proceeded, the charter came to signify the power and control of the state (Codd & Gordon 1991:21).

¹¹³The same statement appears in both Picot Report and Tomorrow's Schools ad verbatim.

In that case, the concept of charter in the policy statement can also be interpreted as a contract, since it seems to create a contractual relationship between the central agents of the State and the trustees of individual schools. Thus, the school charter, like any other business contract, defines in legal terms the relationship between the Government and the school boards of trustee, the boundaries between the two and the nature of power relations between them. The school charter also creates the same relationship between the board of trustees and the community.

Codd & Gordon (1991) argue that, in that case, the charter becomes a contract involving three discrete parties and this creates legal complexities in policy implementation. Regarding issues of implementation of the school charter, Smelt (1998) also observes that:

Contracts between the Crown and each school board have proved one-way rather than two-way, and have become rather standardised and formalised (Smelt 1998:ix).

Thus, the school charter concept could be interpreted as a business contract or managerial device for ensuring accountability (Codd and Gordon 1991). Important to our discussion, at this juncture, is that, through the concept of school charter, the business metaphor of 'contract' is introduced in the education domain, pulling even the educationist to discuss education as if it were a business enterprise.

Contracting out is yet another management metaphor evident in the *NZ-Picot Report* and *NZ-TS*, especially in reference to the part that the Ministry of Education should play in the provision of education. The process of "contracting out" is evident through the creation of agencies such as: Review and Audit Agency (later changed into the Education Review Office), Parent Advisory Council, National Education Qualifications Authority & Board of Studies as private bodies that could provide administrative services to educational institutions, rather than the State.

The *NZ-Picot Report* suggests that:

To avoid confusion of roles and to keep policy free of self-interest, the ministry will have no part in the provision of education services. The ministry will be managed by one chief executive and will have three units. These are for policy formulation, for policy implementation and for property services (NZ-Picot Report, 1988:xiii).

NZ-TS also states that:

A Ministry of Education will be established to provide policy advice to the Minister on all aspects of education, and to oversee the implementation of national policies approved by the Minister. It will not be a direct provider of education services, although it will contract other agencies and individuals to provide certain services (NZ-TS, 1988:19).

The above statements mean that the state would contract out educational services rather than provide them directly. It is worth noting that this conception of "contracting out" rests on the assumption that there are few theoretical differences existing between the public and private sector goods and services and how they can be supplied (Murphy 1996). This assumption is built on the neo-liberal claim that the state is not suited for production but can supply producers in terms of agencies (Sava 1987, in Murphy 1996). "Contracting out" is also used in business as a means of reducing bureaucracy.

Another form of "contracting out" which is evident in the policy documents is the state's *bulk grant* to educational institutions. The *NZ-Picot Report* suggests that:

All budgeting and allocation of funds will be done by the board within the bulk grant.. The bulk grant will have two distinct components: one based on salaries, and one based on all other expenditure (NZ-Picot Report 1988:49).

The NZ Picot Report provides the bulk grant formulae in the appendix.

In a similar tone, *Tomorrow's Schools* refers to the bulk grant in several instances, examples of which include:

Funding for all institution's activities will be calculated on the basis of nationally determined formulae. This funding will be sent directly to institutions as a bulk grant - with the exception of teachers' pay which will be disbursed through separate payroll procedure...Final responsibility for how funding is allocated will lie with the board...(p.6-7).

All funding will come to institutions as a bulk grant. This bulk grant will have two distinct components - teaching salaries and operational activities...(p. 12).

While the bulk grant has two distinct components, the board will have some discretion in the use of these funds (p.13).

The board will be responsible for preparation and audit of the institution's accounts (p. 7).

The board will be able to borrow money commercially if they so desire. Because of this, it may be necessary to create a general liability - held to a specific limit of the bulk grant funds - as security for lenders (P.7).

The significance of the above statements, as examples of contracting out, is that they build a situation whereby the school boards of trustees are presented as private agencies to ensure responsibility for production. Clarkson (1989 in Murphy 1996:32) contends that:

The use of grants and subsidies is another method for fostering the privatisation of public services. Under this approach, government provides financial or in-kind contributions to private organisations or individuals to encourage them to provide a service (Clarkson 1989:146)

The goal is to make the "private" sector (in this case the School Boards of Trustees) more responsive to the public goals through a manipulation of incentives which are thought to govern market behaviour (Murphy 1996:32)

Another market place metaphor evident in the policy reform documents is the concept of *choice*. The notion of choice is one of the principal tenets of market rationalism which connotes that free choice in a market place guarantees satisfaction to both parties to a transaction - the consumer and the provider. It also implies the possibility of the consumer to look elsewhere if satisfaction is not met. This conceptualisation of choice is evident in both the *NZ-Picot Report* and the *NZ-TS* policy documents.

The *NZ-Picot Report* states that:

In our view too little emphasis has been given in the past to choice within the system - not only to the possibility of parents and students exercising choice in the school and programmes they will take up or enrol their children in, but also to the possibility of choice for those working in the system.There is, to say the least, an absence of ability to look elsewhere or even to test whether what is being provided is up to standard (NZ-Picot Report, 1988:29).

The *NZ-Picot Report* further states that:

Choice will involve providing a wider range of options both for consumers and for learning institutions....Consumers need to be able to directly influence their learning institution by having a say in the running of it or being able to turn to acceptable alternatives (NZ-Picot Report, 1988:4).

Tomorrow's Schools, on the other hand, provides avenues through which choice and competition can be exercised. It states that:

An independent Parent Advocacy Council will be established. This council will promote the interests of parents generally and will, in particular, provide assistance and support to parents who are dissatisfied with existing arrangements to the extent that they wish to set up their own school¹¹⁴.

Groups of parents representing at least 21 children will be able to withdraw from existing arrangements and set their own institution, provided they meet the national guidelines for education (NZ-TS, 1988:2).

Tomorrow's Schools also offers that:

Maori parents - as other parents - will be able to educate their children at home or establish their own institutions if the system is not sufficiently responsive to their need (NZ-TS, 1988:26)

The provisions for "Home-Based Schooling" and the option for "Withdrawal from Existing Arrangements", also describe other avenues for choice which would be open to parents who feel that their needs are not met by the public education system.

It can be argued, however, that the concept of choice, as presented in the *NZ-Picot Report* and *Tomorrow's Schools*, signifies the neo-liberal perspective of "freedom of choice" to be exercised by the individual within the market. Thus, parents and students are defined as customers (clients) exercising their choice over the educational commodity while schools and the educational work-force are producers who have to compete within the market and seek to sell their service in order to survive.

The documents also present the conception of "choice" as "exit". This conception of choice is one of the important characteristics of market rationalism; i.e. "dissatisfaction with the market is expressed primarily as exit and not voice"¹¹⁵. Reynold and Sokro (1996) contend that, "in the market place dissatisfaction is not really worked out by negotiation and compromise. When one party is dissatisfied with the outcomes of the transaction, further transactions do not occur" (Reynold and Sokro 1996:6). The avenues of choice promoted in *NZ-TS* policy seem to suggest that this market place conception of choice is one of the answers to educational problems.

¹¹⁴ This agency was later abolished.

¹¹⁵ The distinction between voice and exit is explained later in the comparative documents analysis section.

It is also worth noting that the reform policy provides choice to those who can make arrangements within the national guidelines, including meeting the criteria for compulsory education. The choice for those dissatisfied by the arrangement but with limited means (financial, social or political) for making other arrangements, such as starting their own school or home-based schooling, may be truancy or dropping-out, which can be described as the extreme conception of choice as exit.

c) Association of the Public System with Fiscal and Legitimation Crises

The discourse of privatisation is used to express the neo-liberals' assessment of the education system; thus, blaming the public system for all the existing problems in education and the society in general, namely, the fiscal and legitimation crises as discussed in the previous section on New Zealand's policy documents' production processes.

The *NZ-Treasury document* is critical of the public system of education because of what it terms as:

the slowness of policy and decision making at a time of rapid change in demands on the system (NZ-Treasury document 1987:3).

The *NZ-Treasury document* further details that:

To some degree, this may reflect the difficulty in changing what is essentially a uniform, national system: any changes seem to affect all relevant institutions not just a few innovative institutions at the margin (NZ-Treasury document 1987:3).

It continues to argue that "consensus has been a key element in policy making and consensus building takes time". The document elaborates that:

A third reason for the relatively slow pace of change has been that the groups most politically active on education policy ...have by and large, considered that current structural and financing arrangements are generally satisfactory and do not require substantial change (NZ-Treasury document 1987:3)

In these statements, we observe the education system being blamed for being slow and resistant to change and for being non-competitive and inefficient. The responsibility for this slowness is laid squarely on the public system which is portrayed as too centralised, too democratic, and too rigid for its own good.

By the assertion that it is difficult to change "*a uniform national system*", the document seems to suggest that a centralised public system has to carry the blame for rigidity and slowness to adopt new ideas and innovations. By alluding to the *difficulties and slowness of consensus building*, the document seems to suggest that there is little benefit or value to be accrued from a democratic process of decision-making. This suggests an overriding concern for efficiency ahead of considerations of other norms and values. Further, the assertion (that the groups that are politically active on educational policy concede that the current structural and financial arrangements do not require change) suggests that the document considers the educational personnel to be rigid and resistant to change.

The above assertions bespeak of the tension between the Treasury and the existing public education system and its agents. The policy documents also hold the public education system responsible for a major legitimisation crisis. The New Zealand Treasury, for example, blames the system for the existing inequalities in the society and for providing education that is not internationally competitive.

The *NZ-Treasury document* argues that the public education system could not achieve the desirable egalitarian objectives. The document cites international and New Zealand research which demonstrate that publicly provided education systems have largely reproduced existing social divisions of class, race and gender. It states that:

Major inequalities persist; individuals are not equal when they come to the state provided system and they are not equal when they take leave. Some research evidence suggest that such education make very little if any difference to the relative position of most groups (NZ-Treasury document 1987:39).

The *NZ-Treasury document* further observes that:

Emphasis on greater equity of outcomes is a feature in the recent report of the Education and Science Select Committee. At one level, this is, of course, an admirable egalitarian objective...But at a different level, this emphasis on needs may reflect more pragmatic concerns. Firstly it may reflect the widespread concern at the failure of the state school system to meet the needs of certain groups as evidenced by high drop-out rates, truancy and lack of preparation for the world of work. It may also reflect concern at middle and upper class Pakeha 'capture' of much educational assistance and the consequent concern to redress the distributive balance in favour of the lower income, often non-Pakeha, individuals and groups. The third possible element behind the 'need based' approach is simply the fiscal cost of a non-targeted approach to the provision of educational assistance (NZ-Treasury document 1987:5-6).

The message in the above statement seems to suggest that the New Zealand state government is justified to look to new ways of administering and funding school systems since the public system has failed to reduce inequalities, despite the massive funding of the public system during the 1970s and early 1980s.

Ironically, The *NZ-Treasury document* does not dwell much on these plausible concerns. Instead, more energy is expended on the fiscal problems of providing education, insisting on education costs and emphasising the importance of analysing the costs and benefits of various levels and forms of government intervention in education. The *NZ-Treasury document* states that:

At any one time it is a matter of careful assessment whether greater investment in education or greater emphasis on macro-economic objectives (for example debt reduction) is the better long-term investment for society as a whole (NZ-Treasury document 1987:6).

Referring to the research done in the USA on the economics of education, the *NZ-Treasury document* appeals to a cost benefit analysis of education in New Zealand.

Basing its claims on some selected research findings, the New Zealand Treasury argues that educational aspects such as increased educational resources, smaller classes and longer teacher training are not cost effective and, therefore, they are less important. The document states that:

The outcome does, at very least, strongly challenge the common mechanistic assumption that, increased expenditure per child, smaller classes, longer teacher training and such like, lead automatically to improved student performance. In fact, it suggests that much of substantial additional investment in recent years may have little, if any, positive return and that the resources could have been much better employed elsewhere (NZ-Treasury document 1987:8).

The above statements depict the reformers' conviction that an education system which is less costly to the state would solve the state's fiscal problems.

The *NZ-Treasury document*, however, strategically omits educational research on equity issues (e.g. the research by Bernstein 1973, Nash 1983) that does not support the New Zealand Treasury's allegations against the public education system. Grace (1990) claims that this omission of education research with evidence against the New Zealand Treasury arguments is strategic omission and selective reporting.

The public system is also castigated by the New Zealand Treasury for providing education that is not internationally competitive. The *NZ-Treasury document* argues that the inefficiencies in the education system have resulted in a mismatch between the skills produced by the schools and those required by the labour market. It claims that:

The demand on the education system to fit and refit people for work are increasing enormously. Ironically at the same time, rising unemployment, often linked to technological change, lead many to see the system as also having to prepare people for non-work, that is, unemployment and leisure... With rapid technological change, exposure to the competitive realities of the international market and rising unemployment, training for work will, as already suggested, be seen as a more important objective than it was, say, in the confident days of the early 1960s (NZ-Treasury document 1987:4-5).

These arguments suggest, amongst other things, that the public system that existed was oblivious to existing national and international realities.

In general, the New Zealand Treasury's attack on the public system lies in what has been explained by Lauder et. al. (1988) as a claim, that increased expenditure on education does not lead to improvement in learning; that improved educational attainment doesn't necessarily lead to economic growth; and, that increased educational expenditure does not lead to equality of educational opportunity.

Following the footsteps of the Treasury, the *NZ-Picot Report* also starts by criticising the then existing New Zealand educational administrative system. Appealing to the "free market" conception that bureaucracy is inherently and fundamentally bad, the report claims that the public education bureaucracy is largely self-serving and that most of the rules and procedures governing the allocation and use of resources exist only to frustrate or prevent decision making at the level of individual institutions. The *Picot Report* states that public education in New Zealand is:

Over-centralised and overly complex; lacks information, choice and efficient management practice; and promotes feeling of powerlessness. Such a system disables, rather than enables (NZ-Picot Report, 1988:41).

Hence, the *NZ-Picot Report* prescribes what it refers to as a simple, flexible and efficient system that is responsive to its clients' demands as a desirable alternative. In its executive summary, the *NZ-Picot Report* states that:

An effective administrative system must be as simple as possible and decisions should be made as close as possible to where they are carried

out. ...decisions must be made in a co-ordinated way in a structure in which decision makers have control over the available resources and are then held accountable to for what is achieved. Finally, the structure should be open to scrutiny and should promote responsiveness to the client demands (NZ-Picot Report, 1988:xi).

The above statement is strongly persuasive to different people with different interests because it is so vague that it is subject to different interpretations¹¹⁶. Whereas some could interpret it as a reaffirmation of the general thrust of government reform, preserving a judicious balance between central control and local autonomy; for others, it could mean a reasserting of parent power over the teachers. It could also mean just a mechanism to change teacher behaviour in individual instances. In his research findings, Wilson (1990) indicates that even the members of the Task Force who prepared the *NZ-Picot Report* had different understandings of the passage quoted above. However the persistence of the discourse proclaiming that the privatisation reforms are for the better is clear. The statement seems to suggest that the students and their parents' demands, (client demands) which were supposedly neglected in the public system, should be met under the reforms.

The language in the *Tomorrow's Schools* Policy document is also couched in such a way as to create in the public mind the impression that the crises in education are caused by inefficiency and waste within the education system and that the market-oriented reforms are the natural saviour of not only the education system but also society in general. Releasing *Tomorrow's Schools* policy, the Minister of Education argued that:

Our children will not receive the education to which they are entitled unless our administration is effective. ...The government is certain that the reform it proposes will result in more immediate delivery of the resources to schools, more parental and community involvement, and greater teacher responsibility. It will lead to improved learning opportunities for the children of this country (NZ-TS, 1988:iii-iv).

By referring to the importance of effective administration, the Minister appeals to the "common sense" of the public by suggesting that the definition of effective management contained in the policy reforms is universally correct. Those who support the proposed reforms, therefore, are supporting effective management of schools as opposed to those supporting the old, 'inefficient and ineffective system'.

¹¹⁶Wilson, K. J. (1990), *The Picot Report and the Legitimation of education Policy*, M.Ed. Admin. Thesis. Massey University, Palmerston North.

The passage also appears to indicate that all resources needed by the schools were available and it is only the existing system that was preventing them from being immediately delivered to the schools; thus, deflecting the fiscal crisis into a technical problem of delivery. By stressing parental power and more teacher responsibility, *NZ-TS* policy also seems to suggest that direct accountability between the consumer, (parent) and providers, (teachers) which is created by the reforms, is the secret to the renewal of education.

In general, the attack against the public education system is constructed to persuade the public that the existing publicly provided service is deficient in many respects and that the government's existing role in education is likely to be counter-productive to its declared commitments to social equity (Grace 1990:27) The discourse of *Tomorrow's Schools* policy, like that of the *Treasury document* and the *Picot Report*, exhibits the neo-liberals' political and ideological need to achieve control over education in the interest of what was expressed as cost efficiency, better management and high education standards¹¹⁷. Thus, the *Tomorrow's Schools* document advances a neo-liberal offensive for control over management, curriculum, pedagogy and the educational work force in primary and secondary education, aimed at convincing the public that "free market" is the answer to existing problems.

d) Market Forces as a Prescriptive Panacea

The New Zealand education reform documents exhibit great faith in the ability of market forces to solve the state's social and economic problems. The discourse conveys a conviction that the "free market" is the panacea. In the *NZ-Treasury document*, the *NZ-Picot Report* and *NZ-TS* the principles of universalised provision, egalitarianism and collectivism are replaced by the market rationalism principles of individualism, competition, consumer choice and cost efficiency. They suggest that the market approach to education should be supported so as to guarantee high standards through choice, accountability, decentralisation and control.

(i) Choice

As explained earlier, the type of choice that is expressed in the policy reform documents is market place choice. The textual evidence shows that the New Zealand

¹¹⁷The same the same arguments have been used by the Neo-liberals as a political force behind reforms of the 1980 elsewhere (e.g. Tanzania, USA, UK. Australia).

educational reform documents argue that there are benefits to be accrued from enhanced opportunities of choice under educational privatisation.

The *NZ-Treasury document* states that:

In sum, government intervention is liable to reduce freedom of choice and thereby curtail the sphere of responsibility of its citizen and weaken the self-steering ability inherent in society to reach optimal solutions through the mass of individual actions pursuing free choice without any formal consensus (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:41).

The above statement implies the market's ability to "sort out" societal problems. It is very similar to Adam Smith's "invisible hand of the market" that unobtrusively regulates peoples' actions for their own good. Thus, in the statement, the New Zealand Treasury portrays a conviction that, through free choice and competition in the educational market place, individual achievement would be guaranteed.

With a similar outlook and conviction, the *NZ-Picot Report*, after outlining the problems in the existing public education administrative structure; promises a better alternative in the market oriented school system. It states that:

Choice will involve providing a wider range of options both for consumers and for learning institutions. We detect a widespread concern that the delivery of education is failing in significant ways, and we see the creation of more choice in the system as a way of ensuring greater efficiency and equity. Consumers need to be able to directly influence their learning institutions by having a say in the running of it or by being able to turn to acceptable alternatives (NZ-Picot Report, 1988:4).

The above statement seems to suggest that, an administrative structure that is supposedly consumer-led as opposed to the provider-led, public system, would remove flaws from the education system. In this statement, the *NZ-Picot Report* asserts that the proposed market oriented education system will instil "efficiency", "equity" and "parental control" because it provides choice to the consumers. This verifies what Lauder (1990:6) refers to as the "New Right" view of "state institutions as monopolies which are held to be inefficient precisely because they are not subject to competition. The antidote for state monopoly is, therefore, to privatise as much of the state as is possible".

Thus, choice is promoted as an answer to the existing educational problems as if all problems were a result of lack of choice. Apart from that, the constraints that limit the choices for both individuals and institutions are not taken into consideration. For

example, the report does not resolve the contradiction between local choice and central control of the curriculum. The *NZ-Picot Report* states that:

Local decision making should be within the national objectives, which are an expression of the national interests as opposed to purely local interests. National objectives, however, should be broad based, should be clearly expressed as objectives rather than prescriptions, and should allow for the inclusion of local interests, skills and resources where these are not contrary to the national interests. These objectives would cover matters of curriculum, financial management, and social goals (NZ-Picot Report 1988:42).

This could mean a set of management practices approved by the reforms would operate. It could also mean that, if institutions expected funding from the government, they have to be accountable for it; thus, invoking the notion that, "who pays the piper calls the tune". For instance, one of the members of the Task Force has been quoted by Wilson, (1991:151) to have understood the above statement to mean that: "If the government is putting funding into schools it must be expecting some public interest or national interest that needs to be reflected in the way that funding is used, otherwise it wouldn't be doing it".

The limits to choice are also evident in the *Tomorrow's Schools* policy that provides opportunities to parents and communities to choose the curricular suitable for them, within prescribed parameters. *Tomorrow's Schools* states that:

There will be a set of national curriculum objectives established within the national guidelines for education. Optional elements possible within the national objectives will be determined by the community and the institution working together, and will be expressed in the institution's charter. Parents and the community will also have some part to play in the establishment of the national curriculum objectives, through consultation via community education forums (NZ-TS, 1988:35).

These seemingly radical and generous provisions¹¹⁸, however, do not go as far as empowering the parents and the community. The opportunities provided are to be exercised within the parameters set by the national curriculum objectives, constrained by financial allocations and considerable scrutiny; and monitored and controlled by the central government. *Tomorrow's Schools* policy clearly states that the institutions and the board's performance will be formally reviewed by a Review and Audit Agency (later ERO) every two years (NZ-TS, 1988:4).

¹¹⁸ Evans and Davies (1990:64) contend that the opportunities provided to parents to influence curriculum by *Tomorrow's Schools* are radical and generous compared to Britain's ERA treatment of curricular, content and assessment.

Moreover, the Parents Advocacy Council and the Community Forums, described in the document, were later abolished. It is worth noting that, in some ways, the provision for the Parents Advocacy Council, runs counter to the market choice ideology; as it would have been an avenue where parents would participate collectively rather than the individual participation promoted by the market model.

All these constraints, and others discussed in the preceding chapters, curtail the community and parental choice promoted by the documents. In general, the 'free-choice' that is very much portrayed in the *NZ-Picot Report* and reiterated in *Tomorrow's Schools* policy is not as free and available as it seems. In that regard, 'choice' appears to be a concept designed and used to appeal to the public sentiments so as to win support for educational privatisation policies.

(ii) *Decentralisation of Management and Control*

Marketplace decentralisation and control processes are also advanced as a means for reforming the education system; thus, making schools the focus of management. Both the *NZ-Picot Report* and *Tomorrow's Schools* advocate that the funding and management responsibilities are to be delegated to the schools through a school-site management system. Thus, *NZ-Picot Report* states that:

A decision should be made at that level of the system that is most affected by it and has the best information about its consequences...So, for instance, the overall allocation of funds to institutions would be made centrally, but each institution should have control over how to spend its funds.

To enable them to exercise responsibility and meet objectives, individuals must have control over the resources they require. Funding should be delivered as directly as possible to those who use the funds (NZ-Picot Report, 1988:42)

In the same vein, *Tomorrow's Schools* policy states that:

The basic unit of education administration will be the individual school or early childhood centre. Each institution will be under the overall policy control of a board of trustees - but the day-to-day control of the institution and the implementation of the policy will be the responsibility of the principal. The principal will also be the professional leader of the institution and will be responsible to the board (NZ-TS, 1988:3).

The board of trustees is the legal employer of the teachers (NZ-TS, 1988:5).

Funding for all institution's activities will be calculated on the basis of nationally determined formulae. This funding will be sent directly to institutions as a bulk grant...Final responsibility for how funding is allocated will lie with the board. The board will approve the budgets that have been prepared by the principal and staff (NZ-TS, 1988:6-7).

At a glance, the move to school-based management seems to be based on the principle of parent and community empowerment; thus indicating clear recognition by the government "to forge a new relation with parents and communities and to provide more effective and responsive schooling" (Grace 1990).

However, the move to school-based management depicts a close resemblance with management and business methods which rests on a belief in achieving greater effectiveness through financial delegation. Bowe et. al. (1992:24) observe that: "the delegation argument contends that those actively engaged in delivering the service to the client are best placed to decide how to use those resources effectively and efficiently".

This observation seems to support the argument by Codd (1995) and Gordon (1992) that, in the restructuring of education in New Zealand, the community model of devolution has been displaced by the market model of decentralisation and control. It can be argued, therefore, that under the banner of giving power to the parents, the education reform policies in New Zealand advocate market place decentralisation, which uphold competition as the mechanism through which educational standards could be raised¹¹⁹.

It may be argued, however, that market place decentralisation may result in just changing the form and content of education in accordance with that of the market demands and making schools more responsive to the markets rather than the community. Grace (1990) argues, for example, that a diffuse collection of Boards of Trustees, established under *Tomorrow's Schools* policy throughout New Zealand, is unlikely to constitute a power bloc that the Treasury would have to deal with in future struggles over education policy and resources. Thus, rather than empowering the community, the privatisation reforms simply move the power and controls of the state closer to the community while eroding the mechanisms through which communities could resist state power and control. The community is left with responsibilities without control. The process of separating responsibilities from control works well in production and business concerns. Whether this separation works well in education is discussed under the comparative document analysis section of this study.

¹¹⁹More about education and marketplace competition in the section on the effects of the reforms.

(iii) *Accountability*

In New Zealand, accountability has been a central concept in the process of state restructuring and changes in institutional administration, including schools (Evans and Davies 1990:60). In the 1980s, educational institutions were criticised for being self-serving and engaging in practices which were contrary to public interest; hence, becoming insensitive to the groups they were supposed to serve - the parents and the students. Lack of accountability in educational institutions was cited, in the *NZ-Treasury document* and the *NZ-Picot Report*, as one of the major problematic issues. The major criticisms were that the public education system in New Zealand was producer-led and dominated, and that, it adhered to poor standards and dubious liberal approaches to the curriculum.

The *NZ-Treasury document* identified teachers as the location of blame for society's economic and social problems by what it calls "a lack of accountability by the providers of education to the consumer" (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:25).

Although the *NZ-Picot Report* exonerates the educational professionals by referring to the high degree of professionalism displayed by the teachers and administrators in the New Zealand system (*NZ-Picot Report*, 1988:22), it asserts that lack of accountability was a major problem in the educational administrative structure that existed earlier (*NZ-Picot Report*, 1988:31).

The gist of the matter is that the *NZ-Treasury document* and the *NZ-Picot Report* promote the idea that problems in New Zealand's education system could be resolved or better managed if the schools and those who teach in them were more accountable.

Based on the belief that education and business are sufficiently comparable, both the *NZ-Treasury document* and the *NZ-Picot Report* suggest that educational institutions could use accountability procedures similar to those used in business and production enterprises; thus, taking the suggestions from the *NZ-Treasury* and the *NZ-Picot Report*, *Tomorrow's Schools* embraces the managerial techniques of modern business to build an accountability protocol for schools. The most obvious managerial accountability technique suggested by the Picot Report and later incorporated in *Tomorrow's Schools* is the institution's charter.

(iv) *The Sale of assets* also signifies the faith in the ability of free market, evident in the educational reform documents. The *NZ-Picot Report* indicates concern over the

complexity and magnitude of education property in New Zealand; valued between 4 and 11 billion dollars. In its recommendations, the report suggests that a comprehensive package of incentives for education property disposal needs to be developed. In this regard, the report urges the Ministry's property unit to arrange for the disposal of excess educational assets with "all proceeds from property sales... retained in the education system" (NZ-Picot Report, 1988:76).

Similarly, in the *Tomorrow's Schools* policy, it is stated that:

To promote the better use of the education system's property assets, an incentives package for institutions will be devised by the Ministry of education's property division.

Businesses, property and other assets owned by the Crown may be sold off to potential purchasers. Education Board and surplus departmental assets may be sold to former education board employees, departmental staff and others who may wish to own these assets as a base for providing services to institutions (NZ-TS, 1988:27-28).

This is a clear statement of privatisation. It is important to note here that the sale of property, portrayed in simple and straight forward terms, constitutes a process of property liquidation for cash value; while, at the same time, spurring a process of private sector development. The process involves the removal of assets from their collective realm to private ownership with the promise that, in turn, they would provide services to educational institutions more reliably and more efficiently (Lieberman 1989). Arguing in favour of asset sales and leaseback arrangement for public property, Lieberman (1989) asserts that:

If a private sector company seeking to earn profits, owns a facility, we can expect much greater sensitivity to entrepreneurial opportunities. In contrast if ownership is invested in a political body as is the case now, facility utilisation will be governed by a different set of incentives and a political, not an economic, calculus (Lieberman 1989:83).

Thus, the argument that the free market is more efficient is reflected in the advocacy for relinquishing of educational assets to private operators who are motivated by profit making opportunities. However, this monetary approach to the provision of educational services fails to take into consideration the status of the school in the community and the plight of members of the community who may not be able to purchase those services.

In general, the above discussion indicates the evidence of the privatisation discourse apparent in New Zealand's contemporary policy reform documents. The discourse has

been used to de-legitimise the previous ideological base of the public education system in New Zealand; hence, substituting the liberal democratic assumptions about education with consumer democracy. The privatisation discourse has also been used to question the effectiveness and efficiency of the education system prevailing under state welfarism through presentation of deficiencies in the system. The major criticisms lodged against the public education system in New Zealand were that it was producer led and dominated and that it adhered to poor standards and dubious liberal approaches to the curriculum. Thus, the basic ideological thrust of the New Zealand Reform documents is to de-legitimise the view of education as a "public good" and to apply market place and business metaphors to education; hence, creating the perception that the education system is like any other site of private goods production. The policy statements blame the public education system for all the educational and some societal problems, while offering market oriented policies as a panacea for the existing problems. Thus, prevalent in the reform documents is the discourse of privatisation that promotes the prominence of market forces in the social, economic and political activities.

Chapter Ten

Comparative Policy Document Analysis

With specific emphasis on Tanzania and New Zealand, this study has examined the resurgence of the dominance of market forces (economic rationalism) over the restructuring of economic and social activities in the 1980s. It has been shown that, following the global trends in the 1980s, New Zealand and Tanzania started restructuring their economies and societies. In New Zealand the first phase of restructuring was in terms of economic liberalisation which included the abolition of subsidies, the deregulation of finance industry and the floating of the dollar. These steps were closely followed by the restructuring of the 'core' public sector (i.e. state trading organisations) through corporatisation and privatisation. Privatisation in New Zealand was later extended to social services, including education. Similarly, Tanzania at the same time, was under pressure to restructure its economic and social activities towards neo-liberal ideals which culminated in its capitulation to implement the International Monetary Fund-led, Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), with their attendant conditionalities. Externalities emanating from SAPs resulted in the deterioration of social services, contributing to the people's disenchantment with the existing public systems of provision. Thus, by the late 1980s, the privatisation reforms in both New Zealand and Tanzania had extended to the social services, including the provision of education. Meanwhile, the privatisation discourse that was promoted portrayed the view that market oriented changes were not only inevitable but also desirable.

It is within this context of flux that current education policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand were conceived and promoted with the blueprints (i.e. policy documents), *Tomorrow's Schools* (1988) in New Zealand and *Education and Training Policy* (1995) in Tanzania, being produced to guide them.

Embracing a dialectic view of discourse, which maintains that discourse shapes and is shaped by the society (Fairclough 1992:3-4), this study has analysed the discourse of privatisation that is embedded in contemporary education policy reform documents specific to Tanzania and to New Zealand.

However, as noted earlier in the methodology section, privatisation in education policy reforms is not a phenomenon isolated to Tanzania or New Zealand; it is broad and has been

introduced in various nations in the world. Thus, it is envisaged that a comparative analysis of the discourse of the policy reform documents provide not only more insights on the phenomenon but also a common base upon which issues relating to privatisation policies can be explored and underscored. In the following analysis, therefore, the researcher compares the discourses in the policy reform statements, locates similarities and differences in policy texts and comments on the timing and the various interests represented in the texts. The discussion is also focused on the examination of the ways in which various educational issues such as access, funding, as well as management and control are addressed by the reform documents in both Tanzania and New Zealand.

The purpose of this comparative analysis is to illuminate the issues that would not have been made clear by a single text or texts from one nation (either Tanzania or New Zealand). Through a comparative critical discourse analysis, the role and influences of international organisations, such as the World Bank and the Organisation of Economic Community Development (OECD), in the education reform process are examined; and changes in the social practice, particularly how the discourse of privatisation has been used to build the rationale for education privatisation, are determined. Market solutions to contemporary education problems are analysed, in so far as they have pushed education and its associated institutions closer to the market realm and created quasi-markets. The aim is to understand the ideological assumptions underpinning these market oriented policies and their implications for education and society in general, so as to set a solid base for a forward movement in the provision of education.

External Influences

As the preceding analyses of the processes of policy documents production indicate, Tanzania's White Paper for policy reform, *Education and Training Policy* (TZ-ETP, 1995) was produced in 1995, more than a decade after the privatisation reforms had started in practice. In New Zealand, however, the education reform document, *Tomorrow's Schools* (NZ-TS, 1988), preceded the implementation of the reforms. The difference in the timing of the production of the policy documents can be argued to have resulted from the level of external influence over each nation. Being a Third World nation, Tanzania's privatisation policies were part of the conditionalities for getting international aid and loans. Under such conditions, Tanzania's educational privatisation process is more connected with the general economic Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) advocated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (Campbell & Loxley 1989 and Samoff & Sumra 1994). The

consequences of both the resistance to the implementation of the SAPs, in early 1980s and the subsequent succumbing to the pressure to implement them, in the mid-1980s, culminated in the deterioration of the social services. In turn, this contributed towards the public's disenchantment with the social services, including education. Through consistent systematic destruction of public service systems, the privatisation agenda contributed to a state of insecurity and, hence, to the general attitude of "the survival of the fittest" in Tanzania. Thus, it can be argued that the privatisation agenda that started as an external pressure, by the 1990s, had been gradually localised through induced fiscal and legitimisation crises.

With increasing insecurity and struggles to survive, there were cleavages within the Tanzanian political, professional and aspiring business elites. This is evident in the *TZ-Task Force Report*, especially regarding the professionals. It is stated in the report, for example, that:

The main objective in this regard is for schools and training institutions to provide the required number of adequately qualified engineers, scientists, agriculturists, managerial personnel, entrepreneurs, economists, accountants, doctors, technicians, craftsmen, teachers and other social workers. But also in order that technology may facilitate the restructuring of the economy as well as propelling its growth, it will have to be integrated in the country's socio-economic programmes. The brain drain is less likely to continue if the employment opportunities and conditions are sufficiently attractive and secure (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:4).

This statement indicates the high level of insecurity that existed in the Tanzanian salaried elite since the 1980s. Not only had the working conditions deteriorated due to lack of resources but also the social burden was growing. The nominal rise in salaries was seriously undermined by user-pay policies on various services, including health and education, as well as monetary devaluation and runaway inflation.

In the struggle for survival, some of the Tanzanian elite were ready to betray the system that created them. They either left the country to look for better remuneration and working conditions or arranged private tuition for their children or sent their children out of the country, even for primary education (Muganda 1996, Sumaye 1998). Such moves that tended to undermine the public system even further prompted some observers (Mbilinyi 1994) to blame the Tanzanian elites for being either "forgetful" or "hypocrites". As noted earlier in the context analysis section, the petty-bourgeoisie class in Tanzania is mainly comprised of the political and professional elite, most of whom have benefited from the

public social systems, particularly from public education. Thus, one would have expected them to work towards the betterment of the system rather than to destroy it. It may be argued, however, that, while the socio-economic and political conditions of the 1960s and 70s were conducive for the production and expansion of the elite class in post-colonial countries such as Tanzania, the uncertainties of the 1980s, reinforced by the pressures from the external agencies such as the IMF and the World Bank, threatened the elite's ability to survive and reproduce itself. Thus, noting the shift in the "hegemonic power" which was increasingly becoming overtly external and global (Samoff and Sumra 1994), some Tanzanian elite groups responded by yielding to the global pressure and supporting the privatisation agenda.

In this regard, it can be argued that some Tanzanian elite reflect characteristics of what Aronowitz and Giroux (1995) have termed "hegemonic intellectuals". Aronowitz and Giroux (1995) contend that:

Hegemonic intellectuals do more than surrender to forms of academic and political incorporation, or hide behind spurious claims to objectivism; they self-consciously define themselves through the forms of moral and intellectual leadership they provide for dominant groups and classes. This stratum of intellectuals provide various functions of the dominant classes within a homogeneity and awareness of their economic, political and ethical functions. The interests that define the conditions as well as the nature of their work are tied to the preservation of the existing order. Such intellectuals have to be found on the consulting list of major foundations, on the faculties of major universities, as managers of the culture industry, and in spirit, at least, in teaching and administrative positions at various levels of schooling (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985:39).

The promise of more recognition for technocrats, implicit in the privatisation agenda in Tanzania, may have also signalled possibilities of survival to some elite groups, especially the professionals.

New Zealand, on the other hand, seems to have followed the privatisation agenda voluntarily with the constraints on the balance of payments in the late 1970s prompting both domestic and trade related policy responses. Of significance, however, these responses, which include: market liberalisation and free trade, limited government, a narrow monetarist policy, a deregulated labour market and fiscal restraint, were similar to structural adjustment policies imposed by the IMF and World Bank on developing countries. Referring to New Zealand, Kelsey (1997) asserts:

This radical exercise in structural adjustment was not implemented by a 'third world' government as a condition of securing credit from the international financial institutions, but was unilaterally undertaken by a democratically elected government within advanced capitalist economy (Kelsey 1997:1).

It would be incorrect, however, to maintain that the privatisation agenda in New Zealand was totally a domestic (local) programme because here, too, the external influence, had a significant impact on the country's socio-economic policies, particularly, through the meta-discourse of privatisation which portrayed privatisation as the inevitable, sensible and feasible way to go under the contemporary socio-economic situation (Hazledine 1998:10).

A close look at the 1982 OECD review¹²⁰ (1983), for example, reveals that New Zealand was systematically convinced to secure its "competitive position" in the advanced technological and information age by instituting privatisation reforms alongside other OECD countries. Although the OECD reviewers noted many good things about the existing education system in New Zealand, on a number of issues the Review ended with a note of caution, disapproval or outright cynicism. Consultation and consensus building in decision making, based on the egalitarian and democratic approach to education, for example, were said to be slow, tedious and costly. The OECD Review (1983) states, for example, that:

Any of the choices that society makes from among the possibilities open to it involves costs of one kind or another. It is for the society itself to consider whether the balance of cost and benefits is optimal in relation to its political and social objectives... (p. 10).

New Zealand is a plural society, with a plurality of educational purpose and aspiration. Such pluralism is itself a value. The costs it generates are usually worth paying. Policies are less clear-cut, agreement is harder to achieve, decision-making is slower, there is more implementation slippage and results are harder to evaluate than in systems with simpler political and ideological structures and less open traditions (OECD 1983:13).

The OECD Review, further, states that:

We acknowledge the sense of anxiety about the slowness and uncertainties of policy and decision-making reflected in sections of the background report (OECD 1983:14).

Such statements seem to suggest the existence of antagonism between political and social objectives, on the one hand, and economic objectives on the other. It can be stretched

¹²⁰OECD (1983), *Reviews of National Policies for education*, Paris, OECD, PP. 10-24.

further to mean that the commitment to political and social objectives (albeit supportive of participatory decision-making processes) may be contributing to fiscal stress. There is a tone of cynicism which questions whether the cost of the "inefficiencies" in the system are worth paying.

Moreover, the New Zealand Treasury (1987:3) makes reference to the OECD examiners' observation of anxiety about slowness of policy and decision-making, five years later, to support its argument that collective participation is an inefficient form of decision making.

The OECD Review also maintained that New Zealand's vision of equality is unachievable. The Review states that "complete equality of provision can never be achieved" (OECD Review 1983:11). At a glance, this may seem a statement of the obvious. However, since the OECD group decided to include the statement in the review, its importance cannot be over emphasised. It can be construed as a statement intended to convince the New Zealanders that striving for equality is not only a waste of time and, probably, resources but also that, it is like living an impossible dream.

The idea of equality as a myth is also reiterated by the New Zealand Treasury. Drawing from the research indicating that there were inequalities in the public system, the New Zealand Treasury advocated that the public system should be abandoned since it was not redressing inequalities despite the costs involved. The *NZ-Treasury document* states that:

The OECD has commented that, in spite of greatly increased government expenditures on formal education, educational inequalities may have been widening in many advanced countries and that the declared aim of greater equality appears sometimes to have been a pretext for attracting bigger resources to formal education (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:280).

The OECD reviewers of the New Zealand education system also argue that:

We can offer no easy answer to a problem that besets societies such as New Zealand that are trying to make rapid adaptation to the demands of a changing world, without sacrificing the benefits of democratic freedom and participatory modes of government (OECD 1983:14).

This statement raises uncertainties and doubt on whether New Zealand was making adequate commitment to change. It suggests the sacrifice of democratic freedom and participatory modes of governance for a better future since, by not making those sacrifices,

New Zealand was deemed as being exceptional and indifferent to what was happening in the developed world.

It can be argued, therefore, that the OECD examiners' review was an external benchmark for educational policy reforms in New Zealand. The review had an impact at least on expressing how education provision in New Zealand was perceived by New Zealand's trading partners.

Apart from the influences exerted formally, New Zealand was also influenced by what was happening in other advanced industrial countries. This influence is observable in the similarities of the statements in New Zealand's reform text and other earlier literature that engineered and supported education privatisation elsewhere, particularly in the United States. It has been noted (Munro 1989), for example, that most of the management and teacher conditions recommendations found in *NZ-TS* are also included in the United States' "A Nation at Risk"¹²¹, a report produced by the USA National Commission on Excellence in Education which was formed in 1981 to investigate the 'poor educational performance' that was blamed for USA's "relatively poor economic performance in comparison with that of Japan" (Munro 1989:8).

Similar observations of external influences can be made in relation to education reforms in developing countries such as Tanzania. Although the *World Bank document* (1987) does not address specific countries in the African Sub-Saharan region, has significant impact because the proposed changes were conditionalities placed on these countries for obtaining aid or loans. Thus, unlike the OECD examiners, the World Bank group gives directives rather than mere suggestions.

It can be argued, therefore, that the difference in the external pressure between countries is mainly observed in the manner in which it was exerted rather than the intended goals of extending the privatisation agenda to education. Whereas New Zealand was advised to privatise, Tanzania's privatisation reforms were a result of the direct application of external pressure. However, the main objectives were the same - to make the respective societies change from egalitarianism to market-oriented policies; from public provision to privatisation, along with the changing functions of the state. In other words, the objective was to widen the scope of the market in the distribution of social services.

¹²¹National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983) "A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reforms" Washington US Department of Education.

Preparation, Timing and Debate on the Green Papers

Tanzania's 1993 *Task Force Report* and New Zealand's 1988 *Picot Report* constitute green papers for the contemporary education policies in the two countries. It is argued in this thesis that, although there are differences due to historical backgrounds and socio-economic contexts, significant similarities between the papers can also be observed.

The different educational circumstances in Tanzania and New Zealand are evident in how the documents (green papers) portray the problems of educational control. Although in New Zealand the system of central funding had operated through a single government (central department of education), there was more professional autonomy as well as consensus amongst New Zealand educational administrators, teachers and the education work force in general. This was perceived as a form of "provider-capture" and as a threat to individual freedom (of parents and students). It was also seen to be time consuming and, hence, inefficient. Educational problems were seen to emanate from the education work force, as "providers" who had captured and monopolised the service for their own self interests (NZ-Treasury 1987; NZ-Picot Report 1988). As Codd (1990) observes, the terms of reference for the Task Force that produced the *Picot Report* "set an agenda in which two concepts were to be central: devolution and efficiency. All matters relating to curriculum or the nature of teaching and learning were excluded" (Codd 1990:195).

The Tanzanian situation, on the other hand, was slightly different, as the mechanisms for consensus building brought in by education for self reliance (ESR) were perceived as encroaching on the professional freedom of educators and in conflict with the hierarchical school structure that persisted despite ESR (Mbilinyi 1983).

It is important to note, however, that, in both *NZ-Picot Report* and *TZ-Task Force Report*, not only does the concept of efficiency feature prominently but also that, in both Tanzania and New Zealand, inefficiencies were associated with the existing public systems. It is stated in Tanzania's *Task Force Report*, for example, that the system was reviewed in order to change:

education management systems and structures so as to evolve a harmonious package of communication and power relationship in order to facilitate the managerial *efficiency* and effectiveness needed to implement planned changes (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:7).

The *TZ-Task Force Report* states further that it sought to propose "effective and efficient systems for financing and expenditure" (P. 7).

Likewise, references to efficiency or the lack of it are evident throughout the *NZ-Picot Report*. The section on 'Analysis of the Existing System', (*NZ-Picot Report*, 1988:22-37), for example, portrays a lack of efficiency and administrative effectiveness in the New Zealand public system. Consequently, it states that:

Our analysis in Chapter Three identifies a number of significant flaws in the existing administrative system: it is overcentralised and overly complex, lacks information, choice and efficient management practices; and promotes feeling of powerlessness. Such a system disables, rather than enables (*NZ-Picot Report*, 1988:41) .

The manner in which both green papers were availed for public debate in both countries presents another set of similarities. As argued earlier in this study, in Tanzania the *Task Force Report* was inaccessible to most Tanzanians since not only was the report written in the language foreign to most Tanzanians but also the report was not subjected to public debate. Similarly, it has been noted (Codd, 1990; Evans and Davies, 1990) that, in New Zealand, not only was a short time allowed for submissions and debate on the proposals by the *Picot Report* but also dissent was not heeded. Evans and Davies (1990) contend that:

The Report of a government sponsored 'Picot Task Force' was released for public consumption on 10 May 1988. Despite substantial opposition (and a level of response in a form of letters to the government,..) by August most of its proposals had become embodied largely unaltered in the policy document *Tomorrow's Schools* ready for implementation in October 1989 (Evans and Davies 1990:56).

Evans and Davies (1990) argue, however, that more public debate would not have changed what they refer to as ideological and political measures at a time of fiscal problems. Regarding New Zealand Labour Government's socialist orientation, they maintain that, "ideological purity counts for little when the fiscal waters are required to run shallow or dangerously low" (Evans and Davies 1990:57). This supports the argument (Codd 1990:197) that, in the capitalist mode of production, the institutions of the state tend to support the capitalist interest because they are dependent upon capital accumulation for their continued existence. The same argument can be extended and applied to the situation in Tanzania, where the government complied to the pressures to reform, liberalise and

privatise; despite the socialist ideology of the ruling party - the CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi).

Reform Texts and the Rationale for Privatisation of Education.

Apart from stating the reform policies, the policy reform texts have to convince the people that the stated reforms are important, necessary and feasible. Thus, the discourse in the texts is couched in such a way as to create the rationale for privatisation that will encourage and secure popular support.

The basic rationale for privatisation of education put forward by the neo-liberal reformers is that there are more private gains from education than public gains; thus, it is argued that education is a "private good" rather than a "public good". Thus, the documents that pioneered the privatisation agenda into education (*e.g. the World Bank document*, (1987), *the OECD Review* (1983) and *the NZ Treasury document* (1987)) portray a move to delegitimise education as a public good. The New Zealand *Treasury document* (1987), for example, categorically states that:

Education is not in fact a 'public good'...education shares the main characteristics of other commodities traded in the market place (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:32&33).

It is worth noting, also that, although it is not explicitly stated in the green papers (*NZ-Picot Report* and *TZ-Task Force Report*) and white papers, (*NZ-TS* and *TZ-ETP*) delegitimation of education as a public good is implicit in most of the policies stipulated in these papers. For example, although the *NZ-Picot Report's* recommendation that communities be involved in the education process through devolution of power may suggest some belief that education is a public good, the proposed radical changes, which include the market type of choice, seem to push education towards the private sphere. A similar observation can be made regarding *NZ-TS*, particularly the provision for the short lived "Community Education Forums" which, if they were maintained in the system, would have provided an avenue for a collective voice; while other provisions suggest support for individualistic behaviour.

The implied "private good" characteristics of education are also evident in Tanzania's reform documents. While the provision to maintain universal primary education in Tanzania, as stipulated in *TZ-ETP*, indicate Tanzania's acknowledgement of education as a

public good, the insistence on user-pay policies indicates a belief that there is more private than public benefit in education. Likewise, the suggestion in the *TZ-Task Force Report* of various mechanisms, including providing food for children at school so as to ensure their participation in learning, seem to support the public responsibility for educating the young. However, the recommendation that students, especially at tertiary level, should borrow against their future earnings, suggests the view of education as an enterprise in which individual students or their parents can invest with expectations of private returns.

The contradictions and ambivalence portrayed in the texts may be explained as a lack of complete conviction that education is a private good but promoting the idea so as to create the basis upon which to set the privatisation agenda in education. The contradictions in the reform documents, especially their support of compulsory education at low levels, can also be explained within the neo-liberal ideology as resulting from the cost and benefit analysis of education at different levels. It may be argued that the cost of not educating children at basic levels may prove to be higher in terms of reduced productive capacity or increased crime levels than the support for basic education. In this case, public expenses that would ensure that every child gets basic education could be deemed cost-efficient. As the New Zealand Treasury states:

However, to the extent that the social benefit exceed those to the individual - for example the possible spill-over benefits of democracy to the disadvantaged, or of valuing others' dignity in reducing crime against potential victim groups, - then the parent, in maximising his or her own child's benefit may invest less than necessary to maximise the net social benefit. Hence, there may be a case for government intervention aimed at enlarging the numbers who are able to reach the minimum standards of competency in the area of public benefit concerned (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:98).

This statement testifies to the New Zealand Treasury's view of the role of the state in areas of social policy. It promotes state intervention only to protect individual property rights (Apple 1991:6). In that regard, public expenditure on education is extended so as to protect the individuals whose investment may be affected by externalities emanating from the uneducated children¹²² rather than promoting collective responsibility for education. Such a view is in line with the neo-liberal ideology that defines a minimal role of the state in social policy.

¹²² This argument is picked up later in this thesis in the discussion on targeting.

Some of the New Zealand Treasury's claims against public education seem to suggest turning back the clock to the 19th century imperial policies. It states, for example, that:

In addition to costs within the educational sphere of government intervention, there are side-effects outside education. For instance, the provision of state subsidised education will reduce the costs to parents of child rearing, hence encouraging child bearing and affecting the birth rate (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:41).

Given New Zealand's low population, such statements may be interpreted as an agenda for keeping New Zealand as a reserve area for the settlement of surplus population from elsewhere.

In the reform documents, the public system is seen to have failed to contribute to economic productivity. The public education system is blamed for not adequately preparing the students for the world of work. It is indicated in the *Tanzania Task Force Report* (1993), for instance, that the system was producing "job seekers" rather than the needed "job creators". Likewise, the *NZ-Treasury document* indicates that the inefficiencies in the public education system have resulted in a mismatch between the graduates' skills and those required by the labour market (*NZ-Treasury document, 1987:5*). Thus, the privatisation reforms are expected to produce a labour-force that is well prepared for the contemporary labour market.

Privatisation is also portrayed as an alternative to the failed egalitarian vision of the public system. The *NZ-Treasury document, (1987:5-6)* for instance, registers concern for inequalities, claiming that inequalities amongst ethnic and social economic groups still exist despite the money spent on education. It suggested that, since the public system has failed to eliminate inequalities, the government was justified to seek a new system based on different principles - that of the market rather than egalitarian fundamentals.

In the Tanzanian documents, on the other hand, the public system is blamed for not removing the inequalities, despite efforts made through progressive policies such as the "quota" system for secondary school admission. It is claimed, both in the *TZ-Task Force Report* and *TZ-ETP*, that the quota system, which was introduced in Tanzania as an attempt to reduce regional imbalances, has failed to achieve equity. While the *TZ-Task Force* recommends that the quota system be maintained and suggests some technical steps to

make it more effective, the *TZ-ETP* suggests that it should be abolished as it was giving advantage to the undeserving ones.¹²³

It is important to note that neither the *NZ-Treasury document* nor the *TZ-Task Force Report* and the *TZ-ETP* dwell much on this plausible concern for egalitarian objectives; they prefer to deal with these issues at symptomatic levels (see issues of targeting in the section on the effects of policy) or they are acknowledged as inevitable sacrifices (World Bank document, 1987 and *TZ-Task Force Report*, 1993).

A similar observation is made by Munro (1989) regarding the treatment of the "learner" in the New Zealand documents where the learners are portrayed as the focus of the reform in the green paper (*NZ-Picot Report*) but seem to have vanished in the *Tomorrow's Schools* policy text (the white paper) where the focus is on the management measures instead. Munro contends that:

In "Tomorrow's Schools" the learner has virtually vanished. Indeed so too have students and children, except where they are "home-based", "disabled", or referenced in the charter...Students or learners are no longer the focus. Instead we find a classic statement of autocratic management by objectives, reminiscent of the largely discredited Performance-Based Teacher Education movement in the USA in the early 1970s (Munro 1989:5).

This indicates the level of commitment to create a legitimisation rationale for privatisation reforms. All avenues to justify the move are explored even if they are not to be followed later, after accruing the support for the reforms. This supports the observation (Apple 1993) that sometimes the concept of equity or equality is used as rhetoric in order to gain popular support for the reforms without actually addressing those arrangements that gave rise to equity concerns in the first place.

It can be argued that de-legitimising education as a public good, as well as discrediting the public system, was aimed at creating a distrust of public systems amongst the citizens so as to gain their support for the replacement of the state's redistributive role with the allocative role of the market (Codd 1992). This culminates into what Offe (1987:528) refers to as, "a structural 'disintegration process' through which individuals become deeply distrustful of social policies as public good" (Codd 1992:17).

¹²³ The discussion of who are the "deserving" and "undeserving" ones is presented later in the implication section.

Thus, it has been argued (Codd 1992), that producing a culture of mistrust is a central element of the structural disintegration process. The bid to produce the culture of mistrust is evident in the educational reform documents.

For instance, in blaming the New Zealand state for failure to regulate the educational system leading to the problem of "provider capture", the *NZ-Picot Report* states that:

A highly centralised system is particularly vulnerable to the influence of pressure group politics...Thus the pattern of educational decision making becomes that of pressure group politics at the centre, rather than mutual co-operation of professionals and consumers locally...The groups representing providers are better organised and better financed than those representing consumers: inevitably the former have been better placed to play a role in policy making at the centre. ...The more centralised the system, the more important it is to have muscle at the centre. Those who have not, become disadvantaged...In addition, policy advisors and administrators in the Department of Education are themselves providers...Within this perspective, it is difficult for policy advisors to maintain a detached stance: there is a tendency for them to become significantly influenced by the interests of teachers and to lose sight of the interests of learners (Picot Report, 1988:23-24).

Such statements which indicate a mistrust of professionals and educational personnel, in general, are prominent in the *NZ-Picot Report*. Analysing the *NZ-Picot Report*, Codd (1990) notes, for example, that:

The Picot Report begins with a highly critical description of the education system, endorsing the popular belief that all bureaucracy is inherently and fundamentally bad. The report presents a cynical and highly negative image of the system which is alleged to be inflexible, unresponsive, and weighed down with unnecessary rules and regulations. Suggesting that the bureaucracy is self-serving...(Codd 1990:202).

Thus, through the rhetoric of "provider capture", the *NZ-Picot Task Force* built the rationale for its proposed devolution of power. Moreover, the rhetoric was reinforced by *NZ-TS* which suggested that the privatisation of education was a move to remove the alleged inefficiencies and wastage in the public system.

Thus, according to the New Zealand documents, privatisation is intended to free education from the providers, particularly the education professionals, and pass it over to the market place that will properly regulate the system. It appears that, by placing schools in the position of competitive enterprises bidding for parental custom, the form and standard of

education will reflect the public will; thus, regulating the education system. It can be argued, therefore, that the discourse of privatisation in the New Zealand education reform documents attempts to convince the people that education privatisation will guarantee their control over the "self-serving" education providers.

It is worth noting, however, that, ten years after the reforms, it has been observed (Codd 1998a) that the reforms have led to what Codd refers to as "the abandonment of trust" amongst members of public education institutions in New Zealand. Codd (1998a) argues that this 'abandonment of trust' originates not from the people themselves "as moral agents" but from policies that are governing and structuring social practices. He contends that:

Thus, it is not that people have chosen to abandon their trust in each other, but rather, that many of the policies that frame and focus their educational practices have been predicated on the assumption that people are primarily motivated by self-interest and therefore cannot be trusted to serve the common good. This assumption is found not only in the educational policies of the past decade, but in most other areas of state policy (Codd 1998a:1-2).

Likewise, the legal ambiguities surrounding the school charter, and subsequent changes made to the charter framework during implementation of the policy, have greatly diluted the devolution of power that was in the initial interpretation of the NZ Picot Report (Codd and Gordon 1991). Codd and Gordon (1991) observe that:

The school charter is a key element in the restructuring of educational administration under the 'Tomorrow's Schools' policy. It was initially described as a contract between the community and the institution, and between the institution and the state. It was also to be a statement of educational mission and a device for ensuring accountability. During the implementation of policy a number of significant changes were made to the charter framework (Codd and Gordon 1991:21).

The definition and redefinition of "school charter" has led to the shift in the role of state "from provider and manager of public education to legal arbiter of consumer rights" (McLean, in Codd and Gordon 1991:23) without reduction in the actual power of the state (Codd and Gordon 1991:3).

Similarly, in the Tanzanian documents, the legitimisation crisis of the public system is also stated as a rationale for reforms. However, unlike New Zealand where the educational professionals are identified as part of the legitimisation problem, the Tanzanian documents

portray the legitimisation crisis to have developed from too much political and external control and the de-professionalisation of the education work-force. The main intent of Tanzania's Task Force, for example, was to produce:

A comprehensive blue print, endorsed by the government...to guide our education system. A vacuum existed, which left room for the education system to be guided by the whims of individuals as well as internal and external agencies (TZ-Task Force Report, 1988:i).

By the same token, the *TZ-ETP* expresses the lack of an education policy in Tanzania. It states that:

Tanzania has not had a comprehensive education and training policy. The programmes and practices of education and training in the past have been based on and guided by short and long term development plans (TZ-ETP, P. xiii).

Thus, in the Tanzanian documents, privatisation is envisaged as freeing education from the politicians and the ideologues by giving an upper hand to the professionals and technocrats.

The Tanzanian documents clearly support the argument that privatisation is an attempt by the state to unburden itself of economic responsibility for education at a time of mounting financial stringency. In this regard, the documents are almost apologetic for the suggested steps to dismantle the public education system. It is stated in the *TZ-ETP*, for example, that:

In its urgent desire to prepare the people for their effective role in bringing about this development, the government met all the costs of providing essential social services, including education. However, since the 1970s, the country has experienced serious economic problems which led to the deterioration of the economy at the turn of the 1980s.

In addressing these economic problems, the government re-examined its development plans and policies of the 1960s. The current socio-economic development policy and its strategy of Economic Recovery Programmes first introduced in 1986 are a result of the institutional changes that have been introduced in order to resuscitate the national economy. Given its limited domestic resource base, the government now advocates:

- increased role of the private sector, thereby broadening the participation base in the economy...
- the reduction of subsidies and the introduction of cost recovery and cost sharing (TZ-ETP, 1995:x).

Evidently, privatisation is rationalised in the text on the understanding that reforms would provide solutions to the existing fiscal crisis. Unlike the *World Bank document* which insists on the local mismanagement of the resources, the Tanzanian documents express the budgetary burden on the state as a problem resulting from the meagre resources available to the government in the face of increased educational demands.

In the New Zealand documents, on the other hand, although the fiscal crisis is acknowledged, it is not stated as an outright force behind the educational reforms. It is pointed out in the *NZ-Treasury document*, for example, that:

In recent years, a number of pressures on the state system have become discernible. There are not just pressures for more and better of the same (such pressures always exist), but for different types of education service and, in some respects, a different kind of education structure (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:15).

From the *Picot Report*, also, one gets the impression that education administration in New Zealand needed streamlining to make better use of its resources.

The policy documents in both Tanzania and New Zealand also suggest that privatisation would direct and adapt education according to the changing times and socio-economic demands. It is stated in the *TZ-Task Force Report* that:

The relationship between education and development depends to a degree on the extent to which the education provided is relevant...Moreover, 'relevance' must be understood in the context of the phenomenon of change.... education must be related not only to the present needs and aspiration of society, but also to those of the future, if it has to have any meaning at all and if it has to stand the test of time (TZ-Task Force Report, 1993:1).

In his foreword to *TZ-ETP*, Tanzania's Minister for Education and Culture also states that:

Evidence exists to show a very high correlation between investment in education and the creation of national wealth. Despite the rapid expansion of education over the last three decades in Tanzania, human resources remain highly underdeveloped. Too few of the working population have adequate knowledge and skills needed to meet the demands of rapid economic development (TZ-ETP, Foreword).

In a similar vein, it is stated in the New Zealand Treasury document that:

The educational system moulds, and is moulded by, the society around it. The pressures on it are cultural, social, economic and political. It is linked in a complex way to the process of economic and social development and high expectations are placed on it...Difficulties occur when change in society is very rapid and when policy changes depend on national consensus (NZ-Treasury document, 1987:3-4).

It can be argued that the above statements also indicate that education is too important to be omitted from the economic changes. Thus, privatisation of education would make it consistent with the contemporary changes in economic trends. This involves an integration of the discourse of education policy with economic policy.

It is not the intention of this thesis to contend that the fiscal and legitimisation problems emanating from the social economic imperatives of the 1980s, or the ethnic, gender and social economic inequalities that existed within the public systems of provision, are not important issues. It is argued, however, that the commitment to the neo-liberal privatisation agenda obscured other alternatives for improvement.

Commitment to the privatisation agenda can be observed in the omissions of some important educational issues, selective reporting and the market oriented solutions offered as policy reforms. Neither in the *World Bank document* nor in the *TZ-ETP*, for example, is the impact of the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) discussed. Although the *TZ-Task Force Report* points out the external agencies as part of the problem, it does not go further to explain the essence and manifestations of these problems. Instead, it reiterates similar ideas (e.g. cost sharing) put forward by the same agencies. The tacit support for foreign agencies by the Tanzanian professional elite has been explained (Samoff and Sumra 1994, and Broke-Utne 1993) as the mechanism employed for survival at a time when "the voice" had increasingly become foreign. Samoff and Sumra (1994) contend that:

By the 1980s, the most influential voices were increasingly foreign... Expectations about what can be funded do influence what is proposed and what is attempted (Samoff and Sumra, 1994:10-12).

By the same token, Brock-Utne (1993:97-98) notes that some of her Tanzanian colleagues complained that it was difficult for the local elite to show dissent to transnational financial organisations for fear of losing financial support for their future research activities. She further argues that: "It is not easy for an African intellectual who is unable to live from his regular university wage to write from an African perspective if this perspective is not what the donors want" (Brock-Utne, 1993:99). These observations may also serve to explain the

basis for the class alliance between the petty-bourgeoisie, in most of the post-colonial nations such as Tanzania, and international capital.

In the New Zealand policy texts, on the other hand, trends of omissions are exhibited in terms of selective reporting. Grace (1990) observes that, in building the rationale for privatisation in New Zealand, the *Treasury document* has omitted educational research that does not support the Treasury allegations against the public education system. He asserts that:

The strategic omission in the Treasury's account of educational research on the equity issue is carefully to avoid the *major* conclusion which researchers into class, race, and gender inequalities in education have repeatedly come to, namely that structured inequalities in the wider society continually work against the objectives of even the most egalitarian educational systems. In other words the significance of the socio-economic and political context is subject to ideological exclusion, and Bernstein's recognition that 'Education cannot compensate for society' and Roy Nash's recognition that 'Schools Can't Make Jobs' are marginalised (Grace 1990:38).

Another serious omission is the lack of the socio-historical analysis of education in post-colonial countries which, in turn, has led to the reform documents' discursive discrimination against some groups of people in the society.

Discursive discrimination, particularly by exclusion of the educationally disadvantaged groups or blaming the victim, is also evident in both New Zealand's and Tanzania's reform texts. As noted earlier, the speed and the process for consultation with which the reform took place contributed to the exclusion of some people. Invoking Ellison (1994), Irwin (1998) observes in the case of New Zealand, for example, that:

...not all sectors of the community have had the resources to respond, to this process. Further, the major issue for Maori, when they have responded, is that their input has not led to radical change for Maori based on Maori world views. At issue, then, is the degree to which genuine consultation over the reforms has occurred (Irwin 1998:165).

Consequently, Irwin (1998:166) argues that "no radical analysis of Maori education or needs was part of the output or outcome of this restructuring process" of the education administrative system in New Zealand.

Likewise, it has been noted that, in Tanzania, the consultation process was mainly confined to the elite with the majority of Tanzanians being excluded by the use of the English

language which is alien to them and the absence of a forum for public debate on the reform issues and process.

It can be argued, therefore, that the reform processes, in both Tanzania and New Zealand, have been inhibitive to groups of people most disadvantaged by the education systems since its inception in these societies.

Another example of discursive discrimination that is evident in education policy reform documents in Tanzania and New Zealand is the positioning of some groups of people as the "other" in the education process. It is stated in NZ-TS for example that:

Maori parents - as other parents - will be able to educate their children at home or establish their institutions if the system is not sufficiently responsive to their needs (NZ-TS.1988:26).

In the statement above, Maori parents are excluded and constructed as the "other" in the New Zealand education equation. Such exclusion of the indigenous people may be located in the colonial legacy (Irwin 1998:61; Hickling-Hudson 1998:329) that created native schools for the indigenous people.

It is worth noting that, while in former settler colonies where class stratification is intersected by race, discursive discrimination may be easily discernible along racial lines. In other seemingly homogenous post-colonial societies, such as Tanzania, discursive discrimination by exclusion is evident along class and socio-cultural lines.

In that regard, some groups of people who are disadvantaged in the main-stream education system, through either 'exclusion' or the position allocated to them through colonial and post-colonial education and other social, political and economic policies, are portrayed as a 'backlog' or an "excess baggage" that the education system has to carry along.

It has been noted (Irwin 1998:167), for example, that Maori organisational structures, such as the *iwi*, were not made part of the New Zealand Task Force that produced the NZ-Picot Report. In this regard, the *NZ-Picot Report* did not address the issues surrounding Maori education adequately (Smith 1988:4, Irwin 1998:167). More important is that the exclusion of Maori educational issues is described as a norm rather than an isolated incident. Irwin argues that: "Maori education had long been one of the perennial thorny educational issues permanently relegated to the too-hard basket" (Irwin 1998:167).

In Tanzania's education policy documents, discursive discrimination is evident in the presentation of the life-style of some groups of people as problematic with an implicit urge for the state to dictate how such people should be accommodated in the mainstream education system. The *TZ-ETP* states that:

Despite all effort to make education accessible, certain groups of individuals and communities in society have not had equitable access to education. Some have not had access to this right due to their *style of living*, for example hunters, gatherers, fishermen and pastoralists...Therefore: *Government shall promote and facilitate access to education to disadvantaged social and cultural groups* (TZ-ETP, 1995:18) (*emphasis in the original*).

In this statement, the people whose life-style and culture do not conform to mainstream education arrangements are openly acknowledged as problematic groups, that are creating a backlog to the education system. In that regard, no provision is made for the respective groups of people to 'voice' their perspective of the nature and form of education they would consider appropriate for themselves. This, in turn, leads to policies that attempt to fit the people in the education system rather than to make education policies fit with the people's needs. Under this approach, the people themselves are held as passive agents with no say on the education system prescribed for them by the state through the reform processes.

The implication of such discursive discrimination is that it blames the victims for contributing to the problem, and leads to providing short term procedural solutions that end up rationalising the disadvantages or "discrimination by proxy".

Policy Reform Texts and Market Place Solutions

After identifying the problem areas in the existing systems and convincingly arguing for the need for change, the reform documents suggest the market place policies as solutions. The following is a comparative analysis of the policy solutions put forward by both Tanzania and New Zealand education policy reform documents, particularly in areas of funding, management and access to education. It is important to note that the main objective of the reform texts is to ensure that the processes of educational provision are directed by the privatisation agenda; thus, the language is poised in ways that would make educational privatisation reforms more acceptable. Thus, apart from identifying the market solutions

put forward by the reform texts, the following discussion attempts to deconstruct the imbedded discourse of privatisation; hence, exposing some of the effects of the advocated policies.

Educational Funding and the Reduction of State Support to Education.

In all the reform texts, privatisation of financial means for purchasing or gaining access to quality education is promoted as reducing state support for education. However, the reduction of state support, especially in terms of resources, appears to be more explicit in Tanzania's documents than in those of New Zealand. In the New Zealand documents, especially the *NZ-Picot Report* and *NZ-TS*, the reduction of government involvement in education is portrayed as just an issue of rearranging the resourcing processes. However, as the following discussion indicates, privatisation signifies a process of the state shedding some of its fiscal and legitimation responsibilities.

The market oriented educational funding policies that are offered by the reform texts as solutions to the educational problems of the 1980s, include: "user-pay"; encouragement of the establishment of private schools; "contracting out" and sell-off of educational assets.

The "user-pay" policies that are stipulated in Tanzania's reforms include: the re-introduction of school fees and direct costs in primary and secondary schools and the re-establishment of private schools. In New Zealand, the indication for user-pay policies include voluntary school fees and fund raising activities carried out by schools and their communities. "Contracting out" policies, on the other hand, include policies of school contracts and bulk-funding as expressed in the *NZ-Picot Report* and *NZ-TS*. In Tanzania, the sell-off of educational assets is embedded in the investment incentives scheme as stipulated in the *TZ-ETP*; while in New Zealand, it is stipulated in *NZ-TS* as education asset sale and in the "contracting out" of educational services.

With the market view that education is a commodity, the amount of which can be purchased, depending on the individual's preference and ability to pay, fees were re-introduced in Tanzania's public schools. Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy* states that:

School and tuition fees, in both government and non-government education and training institutions shall be based on the actual unit cost of providing education and training at each level (*TZ-ETP*, 1995:116).

Thus, schools are expected to be financially self-sustaining through their student rolls. The school fees policy, however, creates a situation of inequity in terms of access to education. School fees policy is an obstacle to educational participation for many peasants' and workers' children in Tanzania. The 1997 secondary school fees (*UHURU 1997*) of Tsh. 60,000:00 (US \$100:00) is equivalent to Tanzania's national annual per capita income. What choice is there for one to spend the whole year's income on school fees for one child over other demands on that income? Thus, the re-introduction of school fees in public schools signifies that education is open for those children whose parents can afford direct payment. Ironically, through participation in economic activities and their share of the national debt, (which impact on other aspects of life) everybody still contributes to education. It has been noted (Samoff & Sumra 1994:19), for example, that, besides the shift to marketisation of education, the government remains the largest source of funding. But, with education declared a private good purchased through fees, those who get it are under no obligation to use it for the benefit of other members of the society while the poor have no right to claim benefits from that education. This gives rise to a situation where some people get privilege without responsibility while others hold responsibility without rights.

Another area of user-pay policy introduced by reforms in Tanzania is that relating to private schools. It is stipulated in the *TZ-ETP* that:

Government shall provide incentives to individuals, communities and NGOs to establish and develop pre-primary, primary, secondary, vocational, teacher education, and tertiary and higher education institutions...The provision of education and training shall be included as an area of investment in the Investment Promotion Act (TZ-ETP, 1995:91).

With such backing, fees and other contributions in some private schools have been hiked to levels that are beyond the means of most Tanzanians. Table 10:1 shows the annual fees for some private schools in Tanzania.

Table 10.1: Fees for Some Private Schools in Tanzania - 1998

Name of the School	Type of School	1998 School Fees
Shaban Robert	secondary school	Tsh. 100,000.00
Kifungiro	“	“
Mazinde	“	“
Kilimanjaro Academy	“	200,000.00
Mzizima	“	100,000.00 -500,000.00
International School of Tanganyika	“	600,000.00
Dar independent Primary School	Primary School	100,000.00-400,000.00
English Medium Academy	“	“
Laureate Primary School	“	“

1\$ US = 600 Tshs (1997 exchange rates.

Source: Correspondence with some Tanzanian parents and educators.

As shown in Table 10:1, fees for private schools in Tanzania range from US \$200.00 to \$1,200.00. Such school fees and other attendant contributions in private schools are prohibitive for most Tanzanians.

It is important to note that, during the post independence period, particularly after the Arusha declaration, most resources were nationalised including land; hence, these resources are collectively owned by all Tanzanians. Likewise, through "self-help" programmes, most Tanzanians, rich or poor, invested in schools, mainly in kind, by supplying labour and locally available materials. It is debatable whether the majority of the people who cannot afford to send their children to school will benefit from turning public schools into private ones. Thus, it may be argued that selling-off the schools to private entities, without appropriate compensation to the people, is tantamount to robbing them of their resources and investment. Eventually, the move for the establishment of private schools under market oriented policy reforms may also signify an income and benefit redistribution from the poor to the rich.

Similar effects of user-pay policies can be identified with respect to New Zealand where *voluntary school fees* and other contributions from communities are introduced to “top up” government funding of schools. It has been noted in New Zealand, for example, (Cassie 1997) that some extra teachers and teacher aides are paid by the schools from revenues obtained from fund-raising activities. This supports the observation (Apple 1986) that parental choice measures are a move to “export” the responsibility for any educational crisis into the domain of individuals which, in most cases, is done by increasing the financial responsibility of the parents.

A more important observation is that wealthy communities manage to raise the quality and quantity of their children's education while poor communities, who cannot raise enough funds, can only manage with less facilities and support, which may lead to low quality education. This observation is also supported by the studies conducted in New Zealand after the reforms had been instituted. In the report on the study of Boards of Trustees in Canterbury schools, Gordon (1994) indicates that: “Schools in poor areas are getting poorer, while schools in wealthy areas are able to maintain, if not improve, their funding position” (Gordon 1994:113).

Thus, the impact of the voluntary school fees is such that, whereas students are not sent out of school because their parents cannot contribute, non-contribution reduces the financial base for resourcing schools and this leads to the deterioration of educational facilities. Another issue emanating from this type of user-pay is that the parents from the low socio-economic status are increasingly having virtually no say on their children's education. It is only logical that a parent asking to be excused from paying the required voluntary levy, for example, will have less confidence to question the kind of education programme to which his/her child is subjected. This leads to some parents (particularly those from lower socio-economic groups) to experience the lack of both “choice” and “voice”.

Another form of market oriented funding policy is “bulk funding” of schools. *NZ-TS* clearly indicates that the New Zealand state would “contract out” educational services rather than provide them directly. The school charter create a contractual relationship between the central agents of the state and individual school boards of trustees, that are presented as

private agents. One of the responsibilities of school boards of trustees, as expressed in the *Tomorrow's School* policy, is to manage bulk grants provided by the government¹²⁴.

It is worth noting that this policy move is based on the assumption that there are few theoretical differences existing between public and private sector goods and services and how they can be supplied. It also rests on the belief, inherent in the public choice theory, that voluntary or private agencies are more efficient than government agencies. Thus, bulk funding makes it necessary and easier for education services to be “contracted out” to the private sector while the school acquires private corporation characteristics, with the school board of trustees as a corporate board and the principal as a chief executive officer.

This not only signifies a separation of funding from provision (Murphy 1996:32) but also indicates a move to make the “private” sector more responsive to public goals through a manipulation of incentives thought to govern market behaviour. The implication of such moves is the promotion of what is private and marketable at the expense of what is educational and for the public good. The elevated role of the media in influencing public reaction to educational issues and market ploys used to promote and advertise schools are some of the examples of the shift towards what is marketable. It can also be argued that, in their fund-seeking activities, some schools may misplace educational purposes and priorities.

The neo-liberal view of the “free market” being more efficient is reflected in the advocacy for the relinquishing of educational assets to private operators who are motivated by profit making opportunities. The process, which involves the removal of assets from their collective realm to private ownership, promises that, in turn, private operators would provide services to educational institutions more reliably and efficiently (Lieberman 1989). It is stated in *NZ-TS*, for instance, that:

Education Board and surplus departmental assets may be sold to former education board employees, departmental staff and others who may wish to own these assets as a base for providing services to institutions (NZ-TS, 1988:27-28).

¹²⁴It is worth noting however that up to the time of this study, only a few schools (about 18%) in New Zealand are fully bulk funded, due to resistance from the teachers (through their unions). In most schools only operational budgets are bulk funded, with teachers salaries paid centrally.

This monetarist approach to the provision of educational services, however, fails to take into consideration the status of the school in the community and the plight of members of the community who may not be able to purchase those services.

The relevance of the above observations to the contemporary situation cannot be over emphasised, especially when one considers the current reports on jobs lost or expected to be lost due to business closures, mergers or bankruptcy or sell-off, as well as the drop in prices of the primary goods in the world market. Such reports signal uncertainties in family incomes and even the community structures which may make communities and children, who were not conventionally at risk, join the "at risk group" due to changes in their social and economic status.

It has been noted in New Zealand, for example, (Gordon 1995) that:

Increased tension at home, unalleviated health problems, inadequate food, lack of money for clothing and the inability to meet costs, such as examination fee for school certificate, are only a few of the common problems cited by a number of New Zealand studies that have investigated the effects of increasing poverty, especially as a result of the 1990 benefit cuts (Gordon 1995:10).

A similar observation can be made regarding Tanzania's current situation as it struggles with issues of structural adjustment and debt servicing. However, unlike the situation in New Zealand, the privatisation policies in Tanzania have more drastic effects, to the extent of determining whether the child will get any formal education at all. The demands of SAPs have meant that many parents can no longer afford to send their children to school. It is argued, therefore, that, with the marketisation of education, the privilege of getting education in Tanzania is increasingly reserved for those who are able to pay. The resentment of such a phenomenon amongst Tanzanians cannot be over emphasised. As Kilimwiko (1994) observes, the lament by a primary school teacher that, "It is depressing to see brilliant children dropping out of school simply because their parents cannot afford school fees¹²⁵" is a common expression among Tanzanians.

It is argued in this study, therefore, that market oriented educational funding policies not only restrict attempts to redistribute the available finite resources equitably but also have the potential for hindering collective responsibility and fostering unequal outcomes.

¹²⁵Quote in Kilimwiko (1994:Unpaged).

Market oriented funding policies may also lead to schools being used as avenues for inculcating neo-liberal values uncritically; thus, developing a generation of self-centred, monetarist individuals who prioritise personal interests and budgetary concerns, regardless of their social repercussions. Such indoctrination seems also to have been extended from individuals to the realm of nations. The World Bank's patronising policy regarding production of instructional materials for developing countries seems to be a case in point of such indoctrination. It is stated in the *World Bank document* that:

Difficult issues will have to be confronted: what pedagogical materials to develop locally and what to purchase from abroad, the trade-offs between higher cost local printing and least cost printing elsewhere...usually outside Africa (World Bank document, 1987:137).

Such a statement signifies that developing countries, especially those in Africa, should continue to provide the market to the already established printing and publishing corporations because they are cheaper in monetary terms; at the expense of stagnating local capacity and contributing to further unemployment of their nationals.

Another manifestation of uncritical commitment to privatisation policies is the tendency to examine the technical aspects at the implementation level and to continue supporting the same fundamentals; even when things seem to be going astray, rather than questioning the market oriented policies and structural arrangements emanating from them¹²⁶.

Market Oriented Management and Control Policies

Market oriented management and control is expressed in decentralisation combined with central control as well as market place competition and accountability policies.

As noted by Codd (1995), decentralisation and central control have different ideological bases. While decentralisation connotes the delegation of responsibility for some management decisions to the lower levels, with ultimate power and authority remaining at the national level, centralisation “involves an increase in the power and authority of central agencies of the state” (Codd 1995:1). However, the education reform documents seem to promote both privatisation in terms of decentralisation of educational management and

¹²⁶National and international discourse around the current Asian Economic crisis attests to the view that everything and every body else is to blame except the market policies and proponents.

centralisation through central agencies. Thus, the restructuring of education, since the 1980s, has promoted policies of decentralisation but with some strong components of centralisation in the state's regulatory and contractual functions; thus, making decentralisation and centralisation of education two sides of the same coin (Codd 1995).

Hargreaves and Reynolds (1989) argue that it is because the promoters of privatisation policies also recognise the limits of the market, that they want the state to be in control by regulating the mode of competition. These writers contend, therefore, that, through central control, the state sets the terms of market competition.

Building on an the assumption of mistrust, especially of the professionals or providers of education (Codd 1998) who are allegedly self-serving individuals, market place decentralisation and control processes were advanced as the means for enhancing the effectiveness and accountability of the education system (*NZ-Picot Report, 1988:22*). This was to be achieved by making schools the focus of management; establishing agencies of control; promoting competition between educational institutions; reducing participation of teachers and professional educators in the policy making process; and implementing managerialist performance management and appraisal systems (Codd 1998:7-9).

According to *NZ-TS*, the funding and management responsibilities are to be delegated to the schools through a school-site management system. The policy states that:

The basic unit of education administration will be the individual school or early childhood centre. Each institution will be under the overall policy control of a board of trustees – but the day-to-day control of the institution and the implementation of the policy will be the responsibility of the principal. The principal will also be the professional leader of the institution and will be responsible to the board (*NZ-TS,1988:3*).

The discussion is similar to that within Tanzania's *TZ-ETP* document which is based on the belief that the existing system did not empower educational managers at lower levels, as well as the communities and parents, to exercise autonomy in decision making. The *TZ-ETP* states that:

Ministries responsible for education and training shall devolve their responsibilities of management and administration of education and training to lower organs and communities (*TZ-ETP, 1995:26*).

It is further stated in the document that:

All education and training institutions shall have school or college committees/boards. Boards and committees of education and training institutions shall be responsible for management, development, planning, discipline and finance of institutions under their jurisdiction (TZ-ETP, 1995:99).

The moves to school-based management depict a close resemblance with management and business practice which rests on a belief in achieving greater effectiveness through financial delegation (Bowe et. al. 1992:24). The delegation argument contends that those actively engaged in delivering the service to the client are best placed to decide how to use those resources effectively and efficiently.

It may be argued, however, that market place decentralisation may result in just changing the form and content of education in accordance with that of the market demands and making schools more responsive to the markets rather than the community. Grace (1990) explicates, for example, how difficult it is for a diffuse collection of Boards of Trustees to constitute a power bloc, to confront the government in struggles over education policy and resources. Thus, rather than empowering the community, the privatisation reforms simply move the power of the state closer to the community while eroding the mechanisms through which communities would contradict state control.

It can also be argued that school site management not only signifies transfer of the legitimisation crisis from the central government to the local communities (Codd 1995, Gordon 1992, Snook 1995, Grace 1990, Codd et al 1990) but also calls into question the society's collective responsibility and commitment to educating its children. Under the school-based management arrangement, unpleasant activities (such as administering cuts in funding), are done by the trustees at each school site; hence; discontent would be directed at local trustees rather than the government. Simply stated, school based management creates a lacuna in the state's political accountability for education services.

However, through central agencies, the state maintains strong control over education. Such agencies in Tanzania, include: the Inspectorate; the Teachers Service Commission; various organs that co-ordinate education at different levels and the Advisory Council to be established by the government Ministries responsible for education, as stipulated in TZ-

ETP (1995:98-100)¹²⁷. In New Zealand, the central agencies for education control include: the Education Review Office (ERO); the New Zealand Qualification Authority (NZQA); Teacher Registration Board and the Ministry of Education, as provided for in *NZ-TS*¹²⁸. Thus, school based management, as a form of decentralisation of education, produces a structure in which political demands and economic costs can be more effectively controlled (Codd 1990) centrally. It can be argued, therefore, that school based-management gives the state the power to control the educative process but, with less obligation for provision.

Based on the belief that education and business are sufficiently comparable, both *NZ-TS* and *TZ-ETP* embrace the managerial techniques of modern business to build an accountability regime for schools. In New Zealand, the most obvious managerial accountability technique incorporated in *NZ-TS* (1988:3-4) is the institution's charter which become a focal point upon which accountability is based, depending on how much the intended outcomes have been achieved during the reporting period to the central agencies; namely, the Education Review Office (ERO) and/or the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA). In Tanzania, on the other hand, the *TZ-ETP* vests the responsibilities for design, development, dissemination, monitoring and evaluation of pre-primary, primary, secondary and teacher education curriculum with the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) while assessment is the responsibility of the National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA). Like the NZQA and ERO both the TIE and the NECTA are semi-autonomous, central state agencies.

The school-based management model is similar to the production site management where outcomes are readily quantifiable and measurable. Referring to the institution's charter, Dale (1993:253) observes that formal requirements are more than ever confined to managerial and audit matters. Pre-occupation with measurable outcomes in education, however, may well lead to condoning major educational goals which quite often are neither measurable nor quantifiable. The two acclaimed central purposes of the NZQA, as stipulated in the 1990 Education Amendment Act, which testify to such tendencies are, "to establish a qualification framework built on defined standards; and to ensure the quality of delivery of these standards on the framework", (NZQA 1993 in Codd 1995:2). Such aims have led the NZQA to follow a technocratic model of the educative process; hence, setting

¹²⁷Section 4 of Tanzania's Education and Training Policy (pp. 23 -32 and pp. 98-100) are dedicated to Management and Administration of Education Training (see also Appendix B).

¹²⁸Tomorrow's Schools' has two sections dedicated to management and control, namely "Administration at the local level" (pp. 3-17) and "Agencies at the Centre" (pp. 19-23).

unit standards which, as Codd (1995) observes, give priority to criteria of efficiency and effectiveness and treat other values as unproblematic or simply as given. Under such circumstances, market oriented education management may lead to the segmentation of knowledge and may work against integrated teaching¹²⁹.

Another negative effect of such control is that it encourages segmentation and differentiation within the school system. To keep an upper position in the assessment league table, some schools may resort to inflexible structures and schedules based more on history and inertia than on student or family needs¹³⁰. Thus, the categorisation of students for special needs streams may also become a process through which students are consigned and confined into those streams with no possibility of ever rejoining the mainstream without “jeopardising” achievement targets for the school. The problem of students in these programmes not achieving to their potential as a result of such categorisation need not arise, or is ignored, not only because under the market regime inequity is not an issue for consideration but also because these under-achieving children are never taken into account when assessing school success.

With similar sentiments about the situation in the USA, Hixson and Tinzmann (1990:unpaged) observe that, although schools enrol far more racial, linguistic and cultural minorities as well as students who are poor, or who have handicapping conditions, more than ever before, the education of too many of these students is characterised by low expectations and differential treatment. They assert that “the doors to schools have been opened, but hanging above those doors are signs that say: ‘Enter at your own risk’. You may not belong here”.

Building on the principle of competition, school-based management rationalises inequality within a particular view of educational opportunity. Whereas schools, as providers, have to compete for clients in order to sustain budget and staffing, standards are introduced and monitored centrally. This encourages negative competition amongst schools and teachers. Consequently, it undermines not only professional accountability and the collegiality that allows practitioners to make decisions about how to meet the educational needs of individual students (Darling-Hammond 1991) but also it undermines any constructive approach to teaching and learning. That is, the market oriented management policies

¹²⁹New Zealand Education Review, September 13-19 1996.

¹³⁰An in-depth research study on various techniques employed by schools in their struggle to keep or get an upper position in the assessment league table would be helpful.

promoted by the reform texts contribute to making the educational workforce accountable only for following standard procedures. This process may not only lead to pushing low-scoring students out of the school-count, and eventually out of school, but also results in diluting education to the minimum requirements of market accountability. By encouraging negative competition amongst teachers and schools, such policies make teachers less caring and less able to provide opportunities for students to participate and contribute to their learning.

Market-oriented school management may also lead some schools to let go the mature and experienced teachers and employ young and inexperienced ones so as to balance the books because the inexperienced teachers at the beginning of their careers would be financially cheaper. This may not only create imbalances in education delivery but also it may have an adverse impact on the teaching profession. It is contended that professional insecurity may deter initiatives for professional development or even discourage new teachers from joining the profession. This may consequently create teacher shortages¹³¹. Referring to the shortage of teachers in New Zealand in 1997, Sullivan (1998) observes that:

It is clear that the fluctuation in population and poor government projections are not sufficient to account for such shortfall in the number of teachers. These figures alone are testimony to a probable decline in teachers' job satisfaction and are arguably also an indication of loss of morale amongst teachers (Sullivan 1998:138).

Similar observations have been made in reference to teachers in Tanzania. In its "In-Service Teacher Education" (INSET): sub-Master Plan and Programmes, Tanzania's Ministry of Education and Culture (1998) points out that: "hostile teaching and learning environment might not encourage effective and efficient teaching and learning even if INSET programmes were to be offered for all teachers" (TZ Ministry of Education and Culture, 1998:8).

The above discussion also indicates that competition and central control lead to an assessment-led curriculum. One implication of an assessment-led curriculum is that it creates anxieties amongst schools, students and their parents. Consequently, in New

¹³¹This could be a possible consequence of bulk-funding teachers' salaries and teachers in New Zealand have consistently advanced this argument, through their unions, in their vigorous opposition to the bulk funding policies.

Zealand, there has been a reported increase in paid extra private tuition.¹³² In Tanzania, on the other hand, the issue of paid extra private tuition has become an endemic national education concern. Thus, those who cannot afford after-school private tuition are again disadvantaged. This defeats the core of the neo-liberal's "level play-ground" as opportunities for learning are increasingly dependent on purchasing power.

Market Oriented Access Policies

Access policies are closely connected with funding and management or administration of education. Market oriented educational management policies, for example, contribute to inequality of access to adequately resourced schools. With the decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania, for instance, greater disparities have emerged in the development of education in different communities, depending on the economic revenue base, enrolments, type of district (whether rural or urban) and the social economic status of the members of the community.

A recent research study, conducted in Dodoma Rural District and Morogoro Municipal Council in Tanzania (Andrea 1996), indicates that, although primary education in both districts is still poor and inefficient, by comparison, the situation is worse in Dodoma Rural District than in Morogoro municipality. Andrea (1996:3) argues that this disparity reflects the poor incomes of the residents of Dodoma Rural District and their inability to contribute directly to schools.

Referring to the research conducted by Semboja and Therkildsen (1989), Galabawa (1992) observes that local authorities have limited possibilities of generating their own resources because of the inelastic sources of revenue as well as lack of access to loans due to little credit worthiness. It can be argued, therefore, that decentralisation may contribute to the deterioration of education provision in some communities.

In another research study, conducted in several regions and districts in Tanzania, it was noted (Galabawa 1992) that, even within the same regions and districts, there are polarisation and inequity among schools. Galabawa (1992:15) observes that there is an alarming polarisation between schools in traditionally wealthy urban centres and those in their rural counterparts in the same region.

¹³² The *Sunday Star Times* News Paper, 22nd September, 1998 indicated that paid extra tuition was increasing in New Zealand.

Given the meagre resources at the disposal of some districts, those district councils give high priorities to other sectors or allocate nothing to primary education. Galabawa (1992) notes that, while some councils in Lindi Region gave low priority to education, (focusing mainly on water, roads and health) the Bukoba Town Council and Mwanza Municipality did not allocate anything to education in 1991/92.

Decentralisation may also contribute towards thwarting future aspirations of children in the communities with insufficient resources. Studies (Ishumi 1984, Urch 1986) have indicated that most primary school students aspire to continue with secondary education or training which would assure them good income. Thus, when they do not "pass" the primary leaving examination they suffer a stigma of failure in life.

Regarding school-based management policies in New Zealand, it has been observed (Gordon 1995) that, since school funding depends mostly on the pupils they attract, those schools with stagnant or falling rolls are caught in a vicious circle. With less funding, they have little room for improvement; hence, they tend to appear at the bottom end of the league table of examination results and they do not attract more students. Consequently, schools with falling rolls get less funding.

Reporting on the study of "rich" and "poor" schools in New Zealand, Gordon (1994) confirms this observation by stating that:

..the direct linkage of roll numbers to school funding and school staffing prevents most schools with falling rolls from acting to improve their market position, because the factors that cause the decline in roll numbers are outside the control of the schools (Gordon 1994:122).

By extension, therefore, those students completing their education cycle in the poor communities do so with a sense of failure and this may contribute to discouraging other children in their communities from enrolling and attending, as well as taking the school seriously. Moreover, the school system would be helping to persuade children from disadvantaged communities that they are academic failures, uneducable and untrainable; thus socialising them into accepting their current disadvantaged position for themselves and for future generations¹³³.

¹³³This is explicated in the next chapter through the discussion of the plight of some Maori and Pacific Island students in New Zealand.

Other examples of market oriented access policies include de-zoning and school choice policies which are stipulated, particularly in the New Zealand policy texts. Embedded in these policies is the notion of 'choice' which maintains that "free choice" in a market place guarantees satisfaction to both parties to a transaction - the consumer and the provider. It also implies the possibility of the consumer looking elsewhere if satisfaction is not met; that is, dissatisfaction is not really resolved by negotiation and compromise. When one party is dissatisfied with the outcomes of the transaction, further transactions do not occur. As Reynold and Sokro (1996:6) contend, "dissatisfaction with the market is expressed primarily as 'exit' and not 'voice'".

A similar situation may occur in the educational setting where "exit" is expressed as "choice". School-based management and de-zoning policies were meant to encourage parents to exercise their consumer power in the new education market place through choosing schools for their children. *NZ-TS* (1988:37) policy provides for parents to withdraw their children from existing institutions to establish separate school or to provide home-based schooling if the particular educational needs of their children cannot be met locally.

The impression one gets is that all parents have the ability in terms of "know how" and resources to take advantage of such provisions. In reality, however, there are several impediments to parental choice. Factors affect school choice include: geographical location, family income, employment, educational background, ethnicity, and perceived attitudes and aspirations of other children attending the same school. Thus, as Gordon (1995) argues, school choice should be conceptualised within the other choices (or non-choices) that families have to make.

It is also important to note that the market based "school choice" does not create avenues whereby parents would contribute positively towards the improvement of their local schools and the schooling system, in general. Instead, it thwarts their "voice" by creating an escape valve (through the "exit" option) regardless of whether they are able to use it or not. This may not only alienate parents and their children from the school system but also it

may inculcate the “quitting culture”¹³⁴ among the youngsters which may contribute to their desperate and sometimes self-damaging actions when faced with challenging situations¹³⁵.

An Overview

As explained earlier, privatisation is an ideology; thus, privatisation policies tend to be "structural policies" rather than "conjunctural" and they should be treated as such. Differentiating structural policies from conjunctural policies, Codd (1992), following the work of Offe (1985), contends that: "whereas 'conjunctural' policies intervene in order to satisfy demands or anticipate developments, 'structural' policies aim to shape and channel demands so as to make them satisfiable" (Codd 1992:18).

Codd's (1992) argument that the contemporary education reforms in New Zealand have all the essential features of 'structural' policy, equally applies to Tanzania's current education policy reforms. Figure (10:1) explicates the key features of the 'structural' and 'conjunctural' policies, in general.

The demands for secondary education in Tanzania, for example, have been channelled to the individuals, such that parents would blame themselves for not being able to pay for their children's education rather than blame the state for not expanding secondary school places. Likewise, the decentralisation of education channels the responsibility of educating the children to their immediate communities so that their demands (for resources, for example) are localised. Meanwhile, the "outputs" are centrally managed through bodies such as the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) and National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA). Elements of politicisation are also evident. The unity between mental work and manual work, which was fostered in the pre-reform policies, for example, is re-defined as skills training. In general, the provision of education in Tanzania has been re-structured to accommodate the privatisation agenda; especially in financing education and the overhaul of the public education system.

¹³⁴ In this thesis a “quitting culture” means the attitude of running away from the challenges of life rather than dealing with them and trying to sort them out.

¹³⁵ The implication of market oriented choice policies to children at risk are discussed in the next chapter.

Figure 10.1: Two Types of State Policy

	CONJUNCTURAL POLICY	STRUCTURAL POLICY
POLITICAL STRATEGY	satisfy demands	shape and channel demands to make them satisfiable
ECONOMIC STRATEGY	manage input- order priorities	manage output & keep supply constant
SYSTEM EFFECTS	policy join on existing systems	policy 'restructures' existing systems
SOCIETAL EFFECTS	increased state intervention	increased politicisation.

Source: Codd J. (1992:19) "Contractualism, Contestability and Choice: Capturing the Language of Educational Reform in New Zealand" Paper Presented at the AARE/NZARE Joint Conference, Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria, 22-26 November 1992.

From the above discussion of the education policy reform texts, it is evident that school policies, based on market competition and decentralisation of resource base and market choice, restrict attempts at fair redistribution of available finite educational resources. By introducing an "assessment led" curriculum, the state displaces the discourse of equality of opportunity by quality and standards; hence, gaining control over curriculum but, with less responsibility for implementation. It can be argued, therefore, that the market oriented education policies are creating environments which are producing more "children at risk"¹³⁶ and increasing disparities among communities, as well as alienating the parents and their children from the school system. In the next chapter, the implications of market oriented policy solutions are discussed, with particular focus on "children at risk"

¹³⁶ "children at risk" refers to school aged children who are denied equal access to educational opportunities, those who have tendencies to leave school at the first opportunity and those whose educational achievement is hindered by social and environmental factors.

PART V

Implications of Contemporary Education Policy Reforms: The Case of "Children at Risk"

It has been observed in reference to New Zealand and Tanzania (Muganda 1998, Peters 1995, Snook 1995, Samoff & Sumra 1994, Codd 1993, Grace 1990) that, with the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, the principles of universalised provision, egalitarianism and collectivism have been replaced by market rationalism based on the assumptions of individualism, competition, consumer choice, cost efficiency and professional mistrust (Codd 1998). Thus, although education cannot exist as a "pure" market, the policy assumptions and practices of the 1980s and 1990s have put education closer to the market realm. Contemporary education and its associated institutions, therefore, have been made quasi-markets. The major claim has been that the market approach to education would solve the problems of the time.

Based on the understanding that the market panacea espoused by the policy responses to the crises of the 1980s and 90s obscures the relationship between education and social justice, it is argued, in this thesis, that marketisation of education may put more children "at risk". Education marketisation is significantly contributing to some children's under-achievement at school and creating greater possibilities for some children dropping out or missing schooling; thus, lowering their eventual occupational status and income. In addition, this situation may contribute to greater social costs and enhanced risk to communities, nations and ironically, the market itself.

This part of the thesis, provides an analysis of the implications of market oriented policy solutions, with a particular focus on children "at risk" in Tanzania and New Zealand.

It is important to note that, in this thesis, the term "children at risk" is used in reference to those school aged children who are denied equitable access to educational opportunities; those who have tendencies to leave school at the first opportunity and those whose educational achievement is hindered by social and environmental factors. Admittedly, this definition excludes some children referred to in the bulk of literature on "children at risk". For instance, it excludes children with physical or mental disabilities who are included in the definition of "children at risk" in the New Zealand context (Fergusson, Horwood and Linskey 1994, Batten and Russell 1993). The decision to narrow down the terms of reference of "children at risk" to children who are denied opportunity and access to education was reached after a careful consideration of the scope of this study which is to explicate policy and organisational arrangements that, it is argued, are creating impediments for some children to participate fully in education. Under such considerations, children who would require special arrangements even in the most equitable policies (e.g. those who are disabled physiologically or mentally) are not relevant to this study.

Chapter Eleven

Market Oriented Education Policies and the "Children at Risk"

Focusing on social justice and access, in this chapter, the ideological assumptions upon which market oriented educational policies are based are analysed and the effects of the policies on the education of "children at risk" are discussed. While acknowledging that neither market oriented education policies nor "children at risk" are isolated phenomena of certain countries, contemporary educational policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand are used as specific instances to explicate more general claims, with some reference to events and policies in other countries included to aid in clarifying and elaborating certain issues.

The main argument put forward is that, based on the market assumptions, education is held as a commodity and schools are seen as commodity production sites whereby outcomes are readily quantifiable and measurable. Markets, generally, imply that one has a choice to buy or not to buy; with the motto being: "Satisfaction Guaranteed or Your Money Back"¹³⁷. Consequently, issues relating to "children at risk" are either relegated as non-issues or they are accorded symptomatic and piecemeal approaches which advocate for programmes that aim at state control of the "children at risk" rather than helping them to become active and equal members of their community.¹³⁸

In the following discussion, the researcher considers various definitions and approaches to "children at risk" and analyses how some contemporary market oriented education policies subscribe to certain definitions and approaches as well as the implications of these policies for the provision of education to "children at risk".

Problems of Terminology, Identification and Approaches to "Children at Risk"

The term "children at risk", is used in this study with the recognition that different societies refer to these children variously. For example, terms such as: "watoto wa mitaani" (street kids) in Tanzania and Kenya; "wamachinga" ("children of the dark") in

¹³⁷ It would be interesting to know how one would take back the purchased "mis-education" for refund.

¹³⁸ Community here means a cohesive group of people sharing the same environment, and willingly and collectively working towards betterment of their lives.

Tanzania; "chokora" (pick pockets) in Kenya; "truants" in New Zealand; disadvantaged children in North America and Europe; "students at risk" in USA; "out of school children" and other terms, all of which refer to children who face disproportionate disadvantages compared to the rest of society.

Apart from various societies using different terminology to describe these children, there are also different perceptions and connotations of who they are and what they are called. Some consider these terms derogatory, suggesting that there is something inherently wrong with these children and blaming them for problems which are structural and organisational and, hence, are beyond these children's capabilities to overcome. It may be argued, on the other hand, that these children live in our societies and it is important to have a term of reference so that problems relating to them are highlighted, acknowledged and solutions for them sought. Thus, it has been observed (Hixson and Tinzmman 1990) that the analysis of who the "children at risk" are, in educational terms, is complex because it involves not only describing who they are and their situations but also why they are at risk. Hixson and Tinzmman (1990) argue that:

the process of defining who is "at risk" and why, is highly controversial because it reveals continuing ideological and philosophical divisions among educators, policy makers, and the general public about the role and responsibility of schools, families, and students themselves (Hixson and Tinzmman 1990:unpaged).

Consequently, there have been various approaches to understanding the "children at risk" backed by differing ideological and philosophical assumptions on education and society, in general. In this thesis, approaches identified by Hixson and Tinzmman (1990) are considered because they cover a wider range of children in this category. Referring to what they call "at risk students", Hixson and Tinzmman (1990) identify four perspectives to which they refer as approaches; namely: the predictive, descriptive, unilateral and school factors approaches.

The predictive approach is based on the conditions of the students, their families and their communities. Hixson and Tinzmman (1990) contend that:

Students who have certain kinds of conditions such as living with one parent, being a member of a minority group, have limited English proficiency, and so on, are defined as at risk because statistically students in these categories are more likely to be among the lowest achieving groups or to drop out of school altogether (Hixson and Tinzmman 1990:unpaged).

Hixson and Tinzmann (1990) argue that the predictive approach has been in use for a long time. They observe that, historically, in western countries, "at-risk" students were primarily those whose appearance, language, culture, values, communities, and family structures did not match those of the dominant white culture that schools were designed to serve. "These students--primarily minorities, the poor, and non-English speaking immigrants--were considered culturally or educationally disadvantaged or deprived" (Hixson and Tinzmann 1990:unpaged).

Similar observations can be made in the decile ranking of schools in New Zealand. It has been stated (ERO 1998), for example. that:

For administrative purposes the Ministry of Education has ranked each state school into decile (percent) groupings. These groups are made on the basis of census data for households with school aged children in the areas: from which the school draws students, together with ethnic data from school roles returns. Factors taken into account in determining decile rankings are house hold income, parental education qualifications and occupation, household crowding, income support and ethnicity.

Schools described as *Decile 1* draw their students from areas of greatest socio-economic disadvantage; those in *Decile 10*, from areas of least economic disadvantage (ERO 1998:4) (*emphasis in the original text*).

In New Zealand, and a few other post-colonial countries, only visible minorities are ordinarily included in this predictive category. In Tanzania, and many other post-colonial countries, the category may apply to the majority of the population. This, in part, emanates from colonial and post-colonial education policies that have insisted on educational organisations that were predominantly different from indigenous people's cultural base, including the medium of instruction in schools that was normally their second or third language. Drawing from such understanding, in societies where the culture of the majority is not the western culture (that schools were designed to serve), the predictive approach would include almost every child in the "at risk" list. However, based on the social class and levels of cultural assimilation and state policies, students who qualify for, or escape from joining the at risk list in the predictive category, sometimes defy cultural heritage, ethnicity or racial delimitation.

The predictive perspective leads into a *predictive approach* to issues of children identified as 'at risk'. According to Hixson and Tinzmann (1990) the *predictive approach* has the advantage of being "relatively straight forward and uses information already available from schools or other agencies and provides room for an early intervention" (Hixson and Tinzmann 1990:unpaged). It has been noted in New Zealand for example, that the "*effective decile 1 schools* meet their legal obligation to identify

and address barriers to learning and provide equal education opportunities for all" (ERO 1998:22) (*emphasis added*). It is observed that the mechanisms include providing programmes for developing language skills, basic welfare to students (e.g. lunches and clothes), procedures to combat truancy and meeting the "learning needs of the high proportion of the students who are Maori" (ERO 1998:22-31). In a similar vein, Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy* (1995) states that:

Government shall promote and facilitate access to education to disadvantaged social and cultural groups (TZ-ETP 1995:18).

This indicates a recognition of those who are already predicted to be socially and culturally disadvantaged and the willingness of the state to facilitate their 'access' to education.

However, the predictive approach is problematic because, as Richardson & Colfer (1990 in Hixson and Tinzmann 1990) observe, this early categorisation of students often results in lowering teachers' expectations of the students' achievement potential. In that regard, the predictive approach also has the tendency of making inaccurate assumptions about the child's potential, based on historical, family and living situations. Such an approach often places students in the position of being blamed for poor school performance on the basis of characteristics over which they have no control. It has been noted (Richardson & Colfer 1990) that, as large numbers of students with the above mentioned characteristics were not achieving at minimally acceptable levels, it seemed natural and certainly easy to define the problem as arising from deficiencies in the students themselves.

Thus, interventions are aimed at controlling and assimilating the children in this category to the school system. Consequently, schooling becomes an assimilation process. The colonial education regulations which forbade school children to speak their mother tongue would fit in this category. A good example is the New Zealand native schools that were specifically for Maori children, which, in the 1930s and 1940s, forbade Maori children from speaking Maori in the school vicinity (Smith 1986).

A similar approach can be observed in TZ-ETP (1995:19) whose list of the disadvantaged include those who have been hindered by their life-style and culture from taking advantage of the educational opportunities extended by the government in the past.

It is argued, therefore, that the predictive approach has a tendency to overlook some fundamental conflicts between structural and organisational aspects of the education system and social-cultural aspects of contemporary societies. Further, the predictive understanding of "children at risk" may also create moral panic and, hence, lead to responses that focus on managing the crisis rather than helping the children involved.

New Zealand's 1867 *Neglected and Criminal Children Act* can be cited as an example of a predictive approach with the state responding to the moral panic resulting from public reaction to the children who did not subscribe to the middle class norms. Thus, it has been argued (Shuker 1987) that the industrial schools that were established to provide education for neglected and criminal children "constituted a form of control which was legitimated through the definition of these children as deviants" (Shuker 1987). In that regard, it seems, that what was "at risk" was not the children but, rather, the society that felt at risk because of these children. The response, therefore, was to apportion blame to the children and their families and, hence, legitimise regulations for control.

Ironically, this 19th century New Zealand government response to criminal children bears striking similarities with the treatment of "out of school and street children" in Tanzania, as well as with some aspects of the Code of Social Responsibility proposed by the New Zealand government in 1998¹³⁹. It is stated in TZ-ETP, for example, that:

Since 1974, the government of Tanzania has been committed to the provision of Universal Primary Education (UPE). This commitment was to be realised in 1977. However, this objective has not been met due to several bottlenecks such as: poverty, truancy, negative parental attitudes towards education and lack of appreciation of long term personal economic benefits of education. In addition, the provisions of Education Act No 25 of 1978 requiring compulsory enrolment and continuous attendance have not been enforced effectively,¹⁴⁰ on both parents and school children. Therefore: *Government shall ensure that all primary school age children are enrolled and in full attendance* (TZ-ETP, 1995:37) (*emphasis in the original text*).

The key concepts in this statement are "compulsory enrolment" and "attendance", which indicate that attention is more on controlling the children rather than any commitment to their education. Similarly, with regard to the *Code of Social and Family Responsibility* which was proposed by the New Zealand government in 1998, the Education Policy

¹³⁹Issues of Street children in Tanzania, and New Zealand's proposed Code of Social responsibility are discussed later in this chapter.

¹⁴⁰The provisions of education Act No 25 of 1978 requiring compulsory enrolment and continuous attendance, also describes the forms of punishment for parents and children who do not adhere to the enrolment and attendance regulations.

Response Group (1998) argued that the thrust of the government was on the supposed deviant behaviour of some of its citizens and subjects, with rhetoric far exceeding "legislation and the actual commitment of resources where they are most needed"(MUCE Policy Response Group (1998:23).

As it is argued elsewhere in this study, education policies that insist on individualism and market competition contribute significantly to this type of "risk" which is based on the predictive approaches.

Another perspective of "children at risk" is the *descriptive approach*, according to which, students who are already performing poorly or failing in school are at-risk because they have not been able to successfully take advantage of the "regular" school program and will likely fall further behind or drop out. Thus, this approach reflects a monitoring/intervention strategy (Hixson and Tinzmman 1990).

However, this approach is also problematic because it identifies the student as at risk after school-related problems have occurred; thus, limiting the chances of early intervention. Even when there is early identification, the negative labelling may affect the student's morale and motivation for advancement. As Hixson and Tinzmman (1990) observe:

The typical intervention involves ancillary programs that (a) do not promote changes in the "regular" program, (b) intensify the impact of negative labelling and isolation of less successful students from important peer role models and support systems, and (c) tend to slow down student progress and thereby exacerbate the degree to which students fall behind and further diminish their belief that they will ever "catch up" (Hixson and Tinzmman 1990:unpaged).

Outcome oriented education policies that encourage competition amongst schools (e.g. examination results league tables) and teachers (e.g. performance management schemes (PMS) may contribute to a descriptive approach to "children at risk".

The *unilateral perspective*, on the other hand, proclaims that, with the increase in the number and complexity of problems faced by today's youth, all students are at risk in one way or another. Hixson and Tinzmman (1990) argue that:

On the one hand, this approach is attractive because first, it addresses egalitarian ideals and values and second, it allays the fears of many parents, educators, and policy makers that disproportionate attention is being paid to poorly performing students at the expense of both the most gifted and the average students (Hixson and Tinzmman 1990:unpaged).

Tanzania's policy statement regarding 'screening for talented children' subscribes to this perspective.

It is debatable whether the unilateral perspective of "children at risk" can encourage egalitarian universal provision of educational resources, since it lacks recognition of extending more assistance according to needs. As Hixson and Tinzmann (1990) caution:

Although the logic of unilateral perspective is seductive, it ignores the urgent need to focus attention on those students for whom structural and organisational impediments in the current model of schooling have most often and most consistently resulted in unacceptable levels of academic and intellectual development, whether the students finish school or not (Hixson and Tinzmann 1990:unpaged).

They further argue that:

We must be mindful of the axioms that to treat people equally does not mean that they should be treated the same, and that in most arenas of life, we focus our attention and resources on those areas in which there are the greatest problems and need (Hixson and Tinzmann 1990:unpaged).

Thus, if not applied with caution, the unilateral perspective may insist on entitlement justice while negating fair distribution according to need. Contemporary policies, such as the proposal to phase out the "quota system" in Tanzania, bulk funding and school-based management in New Zealand, may also contribute to this perspective¹⁴¹.

School-based management policies, for example, lead to the tendency to consider individual schools in isolation from the context within which they are located. This has negative implications for "children at risk" because it presupposes that each school is on the same level play ground, regardless of the context of the community within which they are located. As Gordon (1995) argues, if schools are considered in isolation from the context within which they are located and must work, it is fairly easy to transform the socio-political problems of inequality in school achievement into a technical problem of school governance and management.

The school factors perspective is another perspective for understanding "children at risk". Hixson and Tinzmann (1990) contend that, recently, especially in the United States, the tendency to blame school failure simply on characteristics of the students,

¹⁴¹The impact of the respective policies on provision of education to children at risk is analysed later in this chapter.

their communities or their families has diminished or is at least less overt. They point out that there is an emerging body of research, such as that of Richardson & Colfer (1990), which looks at school factors as potential causes of "at-riskness".

The school characteristics that have been identified as hindering the academic achievement of many students include:

- inflexible schedules;
- narrow curricula;
- a priority focus on basic/lower-order skills;
- inappropriate, limited, and rigid instructional strategies;
- inappropriate texts and other instructional materials;
- over-reliance on standardised tests to make instructional and curricular decisions;
- tracking and isolated pull-out programs;
- and teacher and administrators' beliefs and attitudes toward both students and their parents (Hixson and Tinzmann 1990).

It may be argued that the New Zealand Education Review Office (ERO) tends to take the school factor approach. It is stated in one of ERO's (1998) reports, for example, that:

The Education Review Office regularly reviews all schools in New Zealand and is in a unique position to assess the degree to which policies and practices in individual schools are contributing to student achievement. From its observations within schools, ERO has developed the strong view that schools can and do make a difference to student achievement (ERO 1998:36).

Thus, since its inception, in accordance to *Tomorrow's School* policy, one of ERO's major activities has been to inspect schools, to give good grades to some, lower grades to others or even to recommend for some schools to be closed. In-depth studies on how ERO carries out its supervisory role would be able to explicate some of the ERO's evaluation techniques. At this juncture, it suffices to note ERO's commitment to the national standard tests. ERO (1998) contends that:

However, in this study the actual achievement of the students in decile 1 schools is invisible. This means that the impact of high performing trustees, principals and teachers on the learning of their students is also invisible. This is not because the impact does not exist but simply because at present there is no way of knowing about the progress and achievement of individual students in terms of national standards (ERO 1998:37).

While a closer look at factors within schools that are affecting children's learning may lead to identifying some specific school related issues that put some children at risk, it may be argued that a 'Polaroid snapshot' of winners and losers may aggravate rather than lessen the problems associated with "children at risk".

The limitation of the school factors perspective is that it overlooks the economic, social and political structures which are important to understanding "children at risk" but are beyond the jurisdiction of the school system. Thus, the school factors approach constantly blames schools as the cause rather than as a symptom of socio-economic problems (Britain's National Commission on Education 1996:5).

The market-driven school choice policies that subject schools to market pressures so that they can improve their performance also subscribe to a school factors perspective.

The above discussion shows that each of the perspectives can be helpful in some aspects but limited in others. This could be because each approach seem to emphasise some factors while ignoring others. It is worth noting that the education process is affected by factors which are both within and outside the school environment. A range of factors can promote or hinder the students' progress in the education process: e.g. the social and academic organisation of the school; the personal and background characteristics/circumstances of students and their families; the community contexts within which students, families, and schools exist; and the relationship of each of these factors to the others (Natriello et. al. 1990, Richardson & Colfer 1990)¹⁴².

In an attempt to explain how material and social deprivation translate to lower attainment, for example, Britain's "National Commission on Education" (1996) examined some inter-related factors that contribute to educational disadvantage of the poor. The Commission came to the conclusion that the inter-relation of poverty factors contribute to disadvantages which, in turn, limit educational opportunities and reduce the ability of children to benefit from schooling. Moreover, the Commission contends that these characteristics not only accumulate but also they reinforce each other so that their collective impact is even greater than the sum of the individual factors.

It is worth noting, however, that the weaknesses or strengths of each perspective do not make it either entirely wrong or correct. What is missing in each perspective is a holistic understanding of "children at risk" as well as the inherent tendency to apportion blame

¹⁴²In Hixson and Tinzmann (1990: Unpaged).

for the "riskness" of some children in society to either the school, the student or families.

Drawing from the above considerations, in this thesis, therefore, "children at-risk" in educational terms are understood to be those school aged children who are denied equitable access to educational opportunities; those who have tendencies to leave school at the first opportunity and those whose educational achievement is hindered by social and environmental factors. The study also embraces Richardson and Colfer's (1990) view that:

The responsibility for the at-risk status of a child, therefore, does not reside in one individual - be it the child, mother, or teacher - or in one institution - the school. Society creates schools in certain ways to meet its goals and expectations, thus creating environments in which certain children are at risk. The solution to the at-riskness of children and youth, then lies with us all (Richardson and Colfer's 1990:110 in Hixson and Tinzmann 1990:unpaged).

It has to be realised, however, that such a view, noble as it is, needs socio-economic policies that can give direction to the theory and practice of education towards that end.

It is important, therefore, to understand "children at risk" in broader socio-economic and ideological developments within the production, consumption and reproduction context, particularly those contributing to educational disadvantages; with a view of setting the basis for confronting all aspects that put "children at risk".

In other words, therefore, any solution for problems of "children at risk" must be conjointly found at the educational as well as the economic and social policy levels. By the same token, it is the researcher's understanding that the state has the responsibility to ensure that appropriate policies and practices are in place to curb the tendencies to create "children at risk", as well as to ensure the provision of education to those who are already "at risk".

Building upon the view that marketisation of education based on neo-liberal ideological assumptions contribute negatively to social justice in education, in the following analysis, the researcher attempts to explicate how market oriented education policies, under the auspices of neo-liberal agenda, are contributing to the problem of "children at risk" in Tanzania and New Zealand.

Market Oriented Policies and Access to Education

Based on the conviction that, in order to contribute to social justice, access to education has to go beyond enrolment and attendance to include the type of instruction, who is accountable for whom and for what, as well as the status of schooling in the society (Muganda 1997, Darling-Hammond, 1991), a holistic approach to access to education with all its complexity is considered within this study.

As stated earlier, moves to market rationalism that are embedded in contemporary education reform policies have not only impacted on the whole philosophy of providing education but also have serious implications for the education of "children at risk". These policies hinder or limit avenues for 'at risk' children to get the benefits of education. In the following analysis some market oriented contemporary education policies in Tanzania and New Zealand are examined, their underpinning neo-liberal ideology is identified and their effects on issues of "children at risk" are explored.

Implications of Individualism, Market Competition and Outcome Oriented Education Policies

Illustrative cases of market oriented policies that are based on individualism and market competition that have effects on "children at risk" considered in this analysis include: the phasing out of the quota system of selecting secondary students in Tanzania; de-zoning and school choice in New Zealand; and, certain forms of special education.

Based on neo-liberal assumptions of individualism and market competition, contemporary education policy reforms in Tanzania advocate phasing out of the "quota system" of selecting students into public secondary schools¹⁴³. It is argued that the quota system which was introduced to ensure district and gender parities gives opportunity to underachieving children while denying access to the more "deserving ones". In advocating the phasing out of the quota system, Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy*' states that:

Inherent in the quota system has been its tendency to push up children with low achievement levels while at the same time denying access to the more deserving ones (TZ-ETP:21).

The policy statement goes on to recommend that the quota system, therefore, shall be phased out. In its stipulation, the policy statement seems to suggest that there is

¹⁴³Secondary education in Tanzania is not compulsory.

something inherently wrong with the children to whom the quota system, as a form of affirmative action, was extended. Such an attitude not only contributes towards putting more children in traditionally disadvantaged sectors at risk but also has a tendency of apportioning blame to the victims. Rather than finding out why the children from some sectors are not achieving to the expected levels, the children are condemned as "the undeserving ones" with the attention directed to the already advantaged, in the name of fair competition.

It can also be argued that the way of phasing out the quota system of secondary education placement does not provide opportunity for a reasonable dialogue between the Tanzanian government and those directly affected. Further, it limits avenues for building the necessary capacity and possibilities of sorting out the problem of under-achievement in the affected sectors. By localising and even individualising the problem, the policy as stated in the TZ-ETP, condones the fundamental structural causes of under-achievement; thus, leaving the children in the affected sectors to remain in the "at risk" situations, with more queuing to join the list.

Moreover, it can be surmised that the policy of phasing out the quota system in Tanzania seems to embrace the outcome view of education, rather than the holistic consideration that include: resourcing, processes and outcomes. Thus, rather than suggesting ways to improve the performance of the so-called "undeserving ones", the policy seeks to eliminate them from the public secondary schooling processes, so as to enable the education system to boast of "better outcomes".

Similarly, the effects of the focus on outcomes in education can be observed in the implementation of special education streaming in New Zealand, if categorisation of the children into special education programmes is done for the purpose of improving the performance records and 'efficiency' of the mainstream education system rather than helping the children who are categorised (Codd 1987:75).

Efforts to eliminate the "children at risk" from the system, so as to boost the outcomes of the system, may create a state of bleakness of expectation that would result in thwarting the aspirations of these children and, thus, discouraging them from striving for progress, not only in school but also in life.

Studies (Ishumi 1984, Urch 1986) have indicated for example, that most primary school students in Tanzania aspire to continue with secondary education which would assure them good income. Thus, when they do not "pass" the primary leaving examination, they suffer a stigma of failure in life.

The New Zealand assisted entry scheme into private schools also serves as another example of access policies that contribute to the problem of "children at risk". In 1995, the New Zealand government announced the 'assisted entry scheme' "by which 480 children from poorer families would be given a chance to attend private schools at government expense" (Snook 1995:6). Referring to the scheme, Snook (1995) argues that targeting educational assistance to those who are "poor" in economic terms usually misses the point because research has shown that it is children with "cultural capital" (e.g. children of parents with higher education and professional jobs) who benefit from such schemes. Moreover, he contends that:

As a result of schemes like this, highly motivated students are siphoned off to the private sector reinforcing its "successful record" and depriving the state sector of those who might provide higher levels of aspiration for other students (Snook 1995:7).

The assisted entry scheme may be construed by some children and parents as an admission by the government that private schools are better than public schools and, hence, either to try to get into private school or to grudgingly stay in the public school system. This may adversely affect the motivation levels of some students in public schools as well as contributing towards undermining the morale and image of public schools, in general.

It is argued in this thesis, therefore, that education policies based on individualism and market competition can enhance the already existing individual advantages, curtail distribution of resources according to needs and foster inequality. Hence, such policies contribute negatively to social justice in education since social justice is considered only in terms of entitlement and legal rights rather than fairness.

Such a conceptualisation of social justice could have adverse affects on "children at risk" because, as Brown (1985) asserts, the entitlement conceptualisation of justice signifies that:

Those born fortunate should remain so, protected by the inviolability of their rights and entitlement; those born unfortunate shall remain unfortunate and shall have a good chance of passing on their ill-fortunes to their children (Brown 1985:213).

As a corollary, those who, for whatever reason, cannot compete are not worth consideration. It also verifies the contention (Reynold and Sokro 1996) that, in market relations, one is expected to pursue one's personal advantages and not disadvantages,

with the key element being competition and differential treatment, according to one's ability. Thus, the appeal for society to recognise the children's social, economic and even physical disadvantages, and to take concerted steps to minimise them, is construed as a promotion of "dependency culture" as opposed to the "enterprise culture" that is compatible with market exchange relations. Peters (1991) argues that:

Central to the notion of the "enterprise culture" is the importance of reconstructing education so that it will deliver the necessary research, skills and attitude required for the nation (New Zealand) to compete in the increasingly competitive international economy (Peters 1991:34).

The implication of this would be that provision of support for "children at risk", so as to offer them opportunities to participate in all that the school has to offer, is a waste of both time and resources that could be used by those who already have comparative competitive advantage.

In that regard, education access policies based on market competition under-emphasise the need for co-operation and collective responsibility in society.

It is significant to note that this is not an aberrant phenomenon of education policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand. Referring to the British education situation, Wolpe and Donald (1983) argue that the neo-conservatives' catch word is "excellence", which, carries with it the implications that those who for some reason do not attain the requisite "excellence" levels, can justifiably be neglected, or relegated to inferior form of education.

Children at Risk and Market Choice Education Policies

Supported by the discourse of privatisation, which claimed that "choice in public service" will promote efficiency, equity and democracy, market oriented choice policies took root in New Zealand. It is stated in the NZ-Picot Report, for example, that:

Choice will involve providing a wider range of options both for consumers and for learning institutions. Consumers need to be able to directly influence their learning institution by having a say in the running of it or by being able to turn to acceptable alternatives (NZ-Picot Report 1988:4).

Later, de-zoning and school choice provisions were included in *Tomorrow's Schools* Policy. It has been noted (Codd 1994) that, at the beginning, the idea of choice in the education system accrued considerable public support. Codd (1994) notes that:

It would appear that the promotion of school choice has had strong public support, even from within those groups who, on the available evidence, would be most likely to be disadvantaged by such policies (Codd 1994:1).

However, embedded in the rhetoric of empowerment, freedom, accountability and democracy, etc., to be promoted by school choice, a particular relationship between the individual and the state was developing (Martin 1993:48); reflecting the ideological underpinning of market choice that was promoted by supporters of privatisation.

It has been observed (Martin 1993, Codd 1993, Devine 1997) that the notion of choice in public services is based on the "public choice theory" developed by Buchanan and Tullock on their idea of human nature. Briefly, "public choice theory" insists that human beings are rational, *homo economicus*, who always seek to maximise their own individual advantage and are capable of making rational choices. Thus, government regulations that limit individual choices impinge on the individual's freedom. Therefore, the market model, which would promote a self regulating system, that in turn will ensure individual freedom, improved services and satisfaction to all involved, should replace state structures. The aim was to minimise the interference with individual freedom and the market by the state (Martin 1993); and the market is taken as the best vehicle to secure those objectives (Murphy 1996).

However, as the reality of the market based school choice unfolded, it became clear that not only were choices limited by the parameters prescribed by the respective policy provisions (Codd 1994, Irwin 1998) but also the negative implications linked with choice including: inequality, unfairness, consumer pressure, unfair competition for financial resources as well as limiting both public spending and the scope of public responsibility. School choice policies also lead into "reducing the state's role as a principle provider of education" (Codd 1993:161).

These negative implications of market choice, based on public choice theory, have an adverse effect on social justice in education, particularly as it relates to "children at risk". Not only does the choice that is promoted overlook other impediments to choice (such as social class, access to information, scarcity of time and finances etc.) but also the fact that, in competition, there are always "winners" and "losers" and the loser does not effectively accrue the cherished self-interest.

Thus, one of the important flaws in the application of public choice theory to education provision is that it creates an avenue for social injustice. As Jonathan argues, through market choice policies:

It is probable that some schools will get better and others worse, with those parents who are most informed and articulate influencing and obtaining the 'best buy' for their children, thus giving further twist to the spiral of cumulative advantage which results when the state is rolled back to enable 'free and fair' competition between individuals or groups who have quite different starting points in the social race (Jonathan 1989:323).

Under such circumstances, the education one gets is judged by how much the parent is able and willing to invest. With the increasing gap between the rich and poor aggravated by policy reforms in other sectors (Gordon 1995:1), more children are likely to get a low bargain. Hence, the disadvantaged continue to be disadvantaged while others get the advantage of unearned privilege. Thus, it has been argued (Codd 1993a) that:

Policies which increase the discretionary power of educational consumers, give priority to individual liberty over social justice (Codd 1993a:163).

These unlimited powers of choice subscribe to what has been referred to (Codd 1994) as "*negative freedom*". Drawing the concept from Berlin, Codd (1994) explains that:

Negative freedom is a condition in which a person or group is or should be free to do or be whatever they are able to do or be without interference by others...In an ideal market, for example, consumers have *negative freedom* when they are not prevented, by someone else, including the state, from choosing what they want to purchase (Codd 1994:3).

Codd (1994:3) argues that this *negative freedom*, upon which market choice education policies such as removal of zoning regulations in New Zealand are based, "works against social justice because it advances the freedom of some at the cost of the freedom of others".

By promoting the notion of "exit" and not "voice" in the education system, school choice policies subscribe to *negative freedom*. Thus, those students who drop out of the school system may be seen to have exercised their choice prerogative, and the school system from which these children drop-out would be under no obligation to try and retain them (in most cases they may have been the clients who were disrupting the smooth running of their business). In this regard, not only are the respective students and their parents denied opportunity to "voice" their concerns about school but also it obscures the need to focus attention on structural and organisational impediments in the current model of schooling. In other words, policies that promote "exit as choice" deny

the students, their communities and, probably, the society as a whole, the opportunity to exercise *positive freedom*. Explaining *positive freedom*, Codd notes that:

[It is] the freedom of a person to be able to choose on the basis of reasons and conscious purposes that are their own and are not constrained or limited by influences (internal or external) over which they have no control (Codd 1994:3).

Thus, contending that "education is not something we can choose not to have from the position of not having it", Codd (1994:4) argues that " educational choice based upon a notion of *positive freedom* is central to the maintenance of social justice and it should be promoted, therefore, within educational policies committed to that goal".

However, the combination of market choice together with individualism inherent in contemporary education policies, seem to exempt the individuals from contributing and attempting to redress the injustice and unfairness in society by providing choice as a mechanism for opting out of such responsibilities. In Tanzania, for example, by sending their children to other schools within or outside the country, most economically able parents increasingly have less interest in the improvement of public or other schools in their locality. Moreover, the principle of individualism in educational markets encourages parents and their children to participate as individual consumers rather than as members of the community working towards meeting collective ends. Such practices not only have adverse impact on children at risk but also have the potential of adding more children to the 'children at risk' list. One wonders how a child or a parent, as a consumer, would claim and get refund for mis-education or the missed educational opportunity.

Further, it has been argued (Gordon 1995) that there are several ways in which growing material inequalities impact upon school choice. Gordon (1995), observes that:

The central one mentioned in most of the choice research, is increased geographical polarisation. That is, where people live is increasingly determined by their income and work status, and schools tend to reflect the area in which they are located (Gordon 1995:11).

Important to this discussion, however, is the evidence that, as a result of school choice in New Zealand, there has developed a hierarchy of schools with the most popular schools located in the wealthy areas and the least popular schools in the least wealthy ones. It has been noted (Gordon 1995) that schools in the wealthiest areas tend to become full, whilst those in the poorest areas suffer from falling rolls. Ironically, it is

these under-funded schools, in poor communities, who also have to deal with various social welfare related problems. Gordon (1995) notes that:

There are indications that the kind of "social welfare problems" which schools are having to deal with are both growing in number and increasingly concentrated into certain schools in particular those in poor urban areas which are also suffering from stagnant and falling rolls (Gordon 1995:1).

The implication of school choice policies for the "children at risk" is that such arrangements have possibilities of widening levels of education opportunities and can easily discriminate against schools serving disadvantaged communities; with the consequence of putting the children in these communities and, their future generations "at risk". Thus, inequity in education, therefore, facilitates inequalities in the society by maintaining the status quo; which means reproducing existing social differentiation and structure.

The descriptions of rich and poor schools in New Zealand (Gordon 1994, ERO 1998) verify this argument. Gordon (1994) notes that:

The rich schools in (this) study have a high proportion of middle class Pakeha families, a low rate of single parenthood, low unemployment, few or no Maori or Pacific Island people but often a high Asian population. A key characteristic is stability of population; the turnover of students is very low.

The picture of poorer schools is very different. In some of the schools more than half the families exist on social welfare benefits, and those in work are always on semi or unskilled Jobs. Maori and Pacific Island populations are much higher, as is the number in single-parent families. One clear characteristic, especially in primary schools, is the transient nature of the population:.. (Gordon 1994:114).

The description of rich and poorer schools above is similar to the descriptions of schools in decile 10 (rich) and decile 1 (poor) schools as graded by the Ministry of Education. Thus, children in the communities where poor schools are located may easily fit in the 'at risk' category that is identified in the predictive perspective of children at risk. It can be argued, therefore, that school choice policies have aggravated the risk situation of these children.

Market oriented choice may also imply that schools which are not financially independent will constantly respond to transitory and populist demands at the expense of setting or exploring long term strategies for improvement that would be beneficial to the students and their community.

Likewise, schools would strive to develop what the "paying" consumer wants, regardless of whether it contributes to injustice or moral outrage. Gordon (1994:115) notes, for example, that "Maori and Pacific Island communities were heavily under-represented on the boards of "poor" schools even though they make a significant population of these schools". Thus, in poor schools, there seems to be a conflict between community representation and experiences required by the "efficient" board of trustees. Consequently, such arrangements may undermine the "voice" of the community. In that regard, school factors induced and supported by state policies would contribute towards the "riskness" of children in the poor communities.

Policies Based on Budgetary Restraint and Market Efficiency

Market rationalisation policies are characterised by the monetarist conceptualisation of services which promotes targeting as being more cost-effective than universal provision. As van de Walle & Nead (1995) observe, amidst the pressure to reduce public expenditure, the monetarist argument claims that targeting allows governments to provide for the special needs of the targeted groups more effectively and at lower costs. Thus, the market oriented reforms signify a shift from universal provision to targeting whose implications to provision of education include categorisation; whereby "at risk" children are identified so as to cater for their special needs.

While the move to cater for specific needs of "children at risk" is appealing, literature on special education, however, expresses scepticism with some of the functions of categorisation, as well as the processes through which categories are created. Cautioning that categories may have contradictory functions, Codd (1987) contends that:

On the one hand, categories may be used to provide a justifactory argument for differential treatment, while on the other, they may serve to legitimate the social arrangements by which the differential treatment is maintained in order to improve the efficiency of the system. In the former it is argued that because a child has X or Y characteristics, there can be no equality of opportunity for that child unless a special education programme is adapted to those characteristics. Here, the category is justified on ethical grounds. But in the latter, the categorisation of the child may be little more than the administrative mechanism for the efficient use of existing educational provisions (Codd 1987:75).

Thus the child who is categorised for differential treatment so as to improve the efficiency of the system is likely to experience the adverse effects of the *descriptive approach* to issues of "children at risk," including stigmatisation and a sense of despair.

It is also important to note that, with contemporary policies encouraging individualistic behaviour, the tendency to support others is decreasing. Referring to research studies carried out in USA and Canada, Hixson and Tinzmann (1990:unpaged) have indicated change in the public's interest and willingness to support schools for "other people's" children or for services for the increasing number of youth with various social, personal, emotional, or for that matter, educational-related needs.

This is not an isolated situation in Canada and USA; it is true elsewhere, in developed as well as developing nations. Some incidence statistics relating to the plight of children who are "at risk" are alarming. These include how the disadvantaged children are perceived and treated in some countries. The Daily Nation (Friday 17 April, 1998) news paper in Kenya reported, for example, that Nairobi Police top official, Joseph Kaguthi's plan to get the city rid of street children include:

... asking the people of Nairobi not to give money or food to the street children. He is convinced that if they are not given money or food, they will stop begging and should they resort to mugging, then police will be there to deal with them¹⁴⁴.

By the same token, a senior social welfare official in Tanzania was quoted lamenting that street children in Tanzania were, "Often picked up (by the police) just because they are dirty and on the streets" (Kilimwiko 1995). Verifying similar happenings in Tanzania, Tanzania's Chief Justice, Francis Nyalali, was quoted saying that the plight of the children is a result of the low priority they are accorded by the authorities. "Tanzania has not yet reached the point of no return in the manner we deal with children, but we must act now before it is too late," he declares (Kilimwiko 1995).

Tanzania's Minister of Education and Culture, Mr. Juma Kapuya was recently reported as saying that he is worried about the child labour situation in Tanzania which has become worse since 1980. The minister expressed fears that children were among the more than 90 victims who were buried alive, in early April 1998, in mine pits in Mererani in the northern region of Arusha.¹⁴⁵ Although child labour has been widely criticised in Tanzania, a number of small-scale miners prefer to employ children. Teenage boys who are more flexible and efficient in passing complicated narrow passages in mine-pits, nicknamed "snake boys", are employed to do jobs in these hazardous conditions.

¹⁴⁴The Daily Nation Newspaper (Friday 17 April, 1998).

¹⁴⁵in the EASTERN AFRICAN NEWS (April 27, 1998).

All the above mentioned incidents indicate that the plight of the "children at risk" is becoming worse and that the market oriented policies which are minimising their chances of getting education do not make it any easier. Inspecting an anti-child labour march, Tanzania's Minister of Education and Culture appealed to international agencies dealing with children's rights to provide educational development aid for developing countries¹⁴⁶.

Another problem relating to targeting is that, since poverty is seen as a transient status, it is difficult to organise strong lobbies focused on it. As Levin & Riffel (1994) argue,

It is hard to envisage a movement based on pride in being poor. Indeed, poverty is still frequently viewed as a condition to be ashamed of, and which is one's own fault. Not only does this view limit political work around the issue, it also limits the respect or sympathy with which lobbying efforts will be met. The poor also tend to lack the resources to organise (Levin & Riffel 1994:unpaged).

The authors contend that, for all these reasons, poverty is an issue that is largely forgotten in education policy-making.

A similar observation can be made about New Zealand. The reference to effective decile 1 schools, and the suggestion of using a standard test to identify a few students who are doing well in these "poor" schools, may be construed as an indication that "poverty" is not a recognised category within the New Zealand system.

The effect of non-recognition of socio-economic issues, like poverty, is that it may lead to unilateral approaches to problems of children at risk; and, hence, to a tendency to ignore social and economic policies that are affecting access to equitable education.

Further, as Sen (1995) points out, the main problem of targeting also lies in the fact that it does not at all suggest that recipients are active people, functioning on their own, acting and doing things. The image is one of passive receivers rather than active agents. If we extend this image to the situations of "children at risk", it is more likely that the tendency would be to try to assimilate or make them adaptive to the existing school environment without paying attention to those aspects of the education system, or the school, that put them in the disadvantaged position.

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

The fact that Tanzania's *Education and Training Policy* identifies hunters, gatherers, fishermen and pastoralists, as groups of people who are disadvantaged because of their style of living, signifies the tendency of blaming the victim; with the consequence of trying to assimilate them to the mainstream schooling system, which may not be appropriate to their social, economic or cultural base.

It has also to be noted that sometimes administrative and social costs incurred in the processes of targeting may outweigh the benefits; with time and resources spent on attempting to identify the at-risk children with precision (van de Walle & Nead 1995). Strict application of rules and measures to eliminate the "undeserving" may result in the error of dealing with those who qualify rather than those with real needs. Some people might provide inaccurate or false information so as to qualify for the benefit. Thus, in most cases, it is only those who know where, how or who to ask for help, benefit from targeting.

Another issue related to targeting based on market rationalism is that the identification of those who qualify depends heavily on factors that are measurable or observable. Thus, there are some families or communities that may not be easily identified for targeting although their children are at risk. For instance, there are sound theoretical reasons to believe that individual decisions are influenced by the present view of their future. As Gambetta (1987) observes:

Events like a mortgage to be nearly paid up, an expected career advancement or, on the other hand, the risk of being made redundant could respectively enhance or depress the expected income and - through such expectation - the chances of sending children to school for longer periods (Gambetta 1987:109).

Thus, the measure of income that does not include these expectations is incomplete and is likely to exclude some of the "children at risk"¹⁴⁷.

The rural areas may also be vulnerable, due to lack of a social infrastructure and the relative isolation of the communities. Rationalisation of services may lead to some rural schools being closed down; thus, making children from those areas suffer travel fatigue which may adversely affect their progress or even their attendance.

¹⁴⁷ An in-depth study on the effects on education, of current reported and un-reported jobs lost or expected to be lost due to business closures, mergers or bankruptcy and retrenchment exercises carried out in the name of organisational efficiency may give an insight on the extent of the problem in Tanzania and New Zealand.

It has also to be noted that out-of-pocket expenses for books, uniforms, transportation, foregone labour earnings and other expenses, are likely to deter school attendance to children from low-income families. This phenomenon, is more rampant, but by no means confined to developing nations¹⁴⁸.

Moreover, with targeting, government becomes a charitable organisation rather than a responsible organism of the society. The targeted citizens, therefore, cannot claim the service as a right and governments can withdraw the services at will.

By emphasising budgetary concerns, market oriented policies also put undue emphasis on budgetary issues at the expense of setting strategies for improvement. "Cost sharing" programmes vindicate such budgetary tendencies. In Tanzania's policy reform documents, for example, the proposed "cost sharing" programmes aim at reducing the unit costs of education to the state, especially at secondary and tertiary a levels. The suggested "cost sharing" programmes include: students and or their parents shouldering catering and transport costs; moving the financing of education towards greater community, parent and private participation; and encouraging students to borrow against their future expected earnings. Of significance is that such programmes do not seem to take into consideration the income levels of most Tanzanians. Consequently, as appendix D indicates, those who can not afford the cost have to drop out of the school system. Similar observations can be made regarding the New Zealand Tertiary Students Loan Scheme (Lauder 1990).

A further consideration is that targeting seems to group children according to "their deficiencies". Thus, it can be construed as a form of tracking which segregates and compacts the problems of the already disadvantaged students. It may also stigmatise the targeted children, their schools and their communities.

It has also to be noted that targeting, as a descriptive approach to issues of "children at risk", is mainly an intervention into an already problematic situation. Thus, there is a greater chance of using more resources on emergency situations, rather than long term planned programmes that could pre-empt such emergencies.

¹⁴⁸Referring to the situation in New Zealand in the 1990s Gordon (1995:10) contends that: "A number of New Zealand studies have investigated the effects of increasing poverty, especially as a result of the 1990 benefit cuts. Increased tension at home, unalleviated health problems, inadequate food, no money for clothing and the inability to meet costs such as examination fee for school certificate are only a few of the common problems".

Concluding Remarks

The foregoing discussion has indicated that the current market oriented education policy reforms call into question society's collective responsibility and commitment to its children, rationalises the inequality in educational opportunity and mystifies parental choice and community empowerment. Under the current arrangements, there is a possibility of the government becoming a charitable organisation to the children rather than a responsible agent for the development and protection of all the citizens. Consequently, market oriented education policies are creating environments which are increasingly producing "at risk children", disparities among communities as well as alienating the parents and their children from the school system.

The cost of denied opportunity to the youngsters, however, has a propensity to spread beyond the children, their families or communities to the society and even the market itself. Students who are suspended, dropping out of school or getting low quality education in under-resourced schools, as well as those who cannot face-up the challenges of life, are at risk of becoming social derelicts. The New Zealand Youth Law Office¹⁴⁹ has noted, for example, that "suspensions are likely to cause young people to get into trouble, fall behind in school work and develop negative attitudes to school, with suspended students experiencing anger, depression and feeling "stink and unwanted" (Education Review 1997:1).

Studies on urban youth and youngsters in Eastern Africa indicate similar tendencies (Ishumi 1984, Kilimwiko 1994) only with more dire consequences. Describing the plight of the children of the poor in Tanzania, Kilimwiko (1994) observes that many impoverished school drop-outs are used as child labour or have just taken to the streets of cities and towns where they join the ranks of the unemployed, scrounging on the streets and often being forced to turn to prostitution, pick pocketing and other crimes.

Under such conditions, they not only contribute to social disharmony but also it is difficult for the society to harness the productive potential of these youngsters. It can also be argued that the youngsters without requisite skills have little hope for decent incomes to make them worth-while consumers; which, in turn, limits the development and expansion of the market.

The above observations indicate that growing social disparity breeds tensions that in turn, interfere with the harmony and stability necessary for the smooth functioning of

¹⁴⁹The report is based on case studies.

the market. The relevance of such observations to our contemporary societies cannot be over-emphasised. From the popular media (television, news-papers, etc.), both in Tanzania and in New Zealand, it is apparent that there is growing concern about the increase in juvenile crime, teenage suicide and truancy. Further, government officials and politicians are reported as increasingly voicing concern about the changing morality, increasing crime-rate and social insecurity¹⁵⁰.

It is contended, in this thesis, that the challenge is to establish practices that stimulate all students to learn while ensuring that the diverse needs of students at greatest risk are met in non-disesteeming ways. It is argued that there is a need to underscore that neither the nostalgic “good old days” nor the “brave new world” of the market panacea is leading the contemporary societies to appropriate alternatives. While governments make sober searches for alternative solutions, they need to acknowledge the impact the policy reforms that started in the 1980s, have had on the provision of education and on social justice for all children.

¹⁵⁰The East African News of September, 1997, reported the Deputy Minister for Labour and Youth Development, in Tanzania, lamenting the moral decay among the youth and appealing for public support to remedy the situation. The former President, Julius Nyerere was also quoted saying that the rate of crimes which include rape and child molestation cases was deplorable.

PART VI

Chapter Twelve

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis has attempted to conceptualise and explain the education policy changes that have occurred in Tanzania and New Zealand since the 1980s. It has analysed socio-economic and discursive influences as well as circumstances surrounding contemporary education privatisation policy reforms in both countries. Further, it has examined the implications of education privatisation policies for the state in the provision of education and for social justice in the society, particularly as it relates to "children at risk".

This study has been guided by lines of inquiry which were broad in scope at the beginning (see p.5) but became more focused and specific as the major arguments of the study were developed.

Inquiries relating to the major economic and political changes in Tanzania and New Zealand since the era of industrial capitalism and the impact of these changes on education policies in both countries entailed analysis of the processes of capital accumulation and legitimation in different capitalist formations and their influences on national education policies. In explicating the key policy documents and the part they played in the educational policy process, the analysis has focused on the changes in the orientation of education policy in Tanzania and New Zealand in different capitalist formations.

Inquiries on the similarities and differences in education policy reforms of Tanzania and New Zealand, on the other hand, have guided the researcher to select the comparative education policy analysis approach (CEPA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a dual methodology for this study.

Analysis of the ideological assumptions underlying education policy in both countries, provides evidence of the influence of the discourse of privatisation on contemporary education policy reforms. Highlighting the major effects of increasing privatisation in both countries, the implications of contemporary policy reforms for the provision of education are discussed using "children at risk" as a case in point. It is argued, on the basis of available empirical evidence that the implementation of privatisation policies has had an adverse effect on social justice in both Tanzania and New Zealand.

This concluding part of the study, presents the summary, conclusions, policy recommendations and suggestions for further studies in the light of what has been presented in this thesis.

Summary and Conclusions

In the course of this study, the researcher has developed a number of arguments regarding contemporary education policy reforms, based on both theoretical arguments and existing realities of the inter-relationship between education policy and the state, socio-economic development, as well as social justice and children at risk.

This section presents a summary and conclusions, drawn from the study on: the socio-historical context of contemporary education policy reforms; the influences of the discourse of privatisation on current education reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand; the implications of market oriented policies for social justice in education; as well as the methodology employed in this study.

Education Policy Reforms and the Processes of Capital Accumulation and Legitimation

This thesis upholds the view that education policies are developed within a social, political and economic environment and that they are connected to the dynamics of socio-economic formations. Thus, processes of capital accumulation and legitimation, of both economic and political structures, are important in understanding education policy reforms.

In the attempt to underscore contemporary education privatisation policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand, this study has placed both of them in the context of the capitalist mode of production. Tracing their socio-historical genesis, the thesis has examined the changes in the education policy orientations within the transformations of capitalism over time, particularly, as they relate to the nature, position and functions of the capitalist state in each formation. In the context sections, therefore, the relationship between the state and education, as well as the economic, social and ideological functions of education in different capitalist formations, are explicated and analysed. Although the study focuses on Tanzania and New Zealand, the wider context (the world capitalist system) is also explored, particularly as it relates to the respective countries.

The thesis argues that the functions and nature of provision of education in both Tanzania and New Zealand have been changing in response to the transformations within the

capitalist world system, particularly the form of capital involved; and, hence, the nature and position of the state (see figure 12:1).

Figure 12.1: Education, the State and the Transformation of Capitalism

CAPITALIST TRANSFORMATIONS	Industrial Capitalism (19th Century - World War II)	Finance Capitalism (World War II - 1980s)	Global finance Capitalism (1980s on)
SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS	Laissez-affair competition, Empire building -acquisition of colonies.	Breakdown of the empires, Proliferation of national states, Keynesian state welfarism, the rise of international economic and political organisations, Cold war.	Consolidation of economic organisation in Quasi- governmental Transnational organisations that compromised the sovereignty of national states, end of the cold war, market rationalism & priority to debt servicing.
NATURE OF THE STATE	Imperial + Colonial states	National Welfare state	Contractual state
CHARACTERISTICS OF EDUCATION PROVIDED	<p>Education was a form of economic and social control.</p> <p>The form and content of the education systems corresponded to the different positions of groups of people in the economy.</p> <p>It encouraged subservient behaviour, segregation, gender inequality, vocationalism and domination of the weak by the strong especially in the economic field.</p>	<p>Education was viewed as "a public good"</p> <p>Emphasis on Universal Provision of education</p> <p>Attempts to redress the imbalances across social & economic groups.</p> <p>Encouraged co-operative attitudes, critical thinking, self-confidence and the unity between manual and mental work. There was an of educational distribution across races, sexes, religions and regions.</p>	<p>Education is viewed as a "private good"</p> <p>Provision is based on cost efficiency; market competition, individualism and professional mistrust.</p> <p>It encourages individualism, competition, consumer choice, inequity and vocationalism.</p>

As figure 12:1 indicates, during the formation of industrial capitalism, the socio-economic relations were characterised by laissez-faire competition, empire building and acquisition of colonies. The industrial capitalism formation was served by the empire states, including their colonies. Thus, it is argued that the colonial state in pre-independence Tanzania and nineteenth century New Zealand, like the metropolitan empire states, supported and

defended the interests of capital in their endeavours to expropriate resources and make profit on investments.

In the colonies, indigenous education systems were destroyed, together with the pre-capitalist forms of relations of production, so as to incorporate the indigenous people in the capitalist mode of production. Thus, although with different colonial status, the colonial state in both Tanzania and New Zealand established a few western-type schools which promoted the needs and values of industrial, capitalist socio-economic relations.

The form and content of the colonial education systems corresponded to the positions held by different groups in the socio-economic relations. Given the low level of technology needed for the production of raw materials, it was envisaged that a bare minimum of skills and knowledge was needed to develop a productive worker. Thus, in Tanzania, for example, secondary education was considered unnecessary for the indigenous Africans. Similar observations have been made in reference to the colonial education of Maori in New Zealand. The introduction of manual labour to the New Zealand native schools in 1907 (Harker 1985:95), and the change of emphasis to carpentry later in the 1930s and 1940s, can be said to have been a move to produce good native farmers and carpenters needed by the production and accumulation processes of the time.

Thus, it is argued in this study that education under industrial capitalism was a form of economic and social control (Vincent 1985; Shuker 1987; Mbilinyi 1982; Nyerere 1968), and that the education policies of the time encouraged subservient behaviour, segregation, gender inequality, vocationalism and domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field (Nyerere 1968).

As figure 12.1 shows, the period between the second World War and 1980 was the era of international finance capitalism formation. This period is characterised by the breakdown of the empires, the proliferation of national states, the rise of the international economic and political organisations and the cold war between the USA-led Western capitalist bloc and the Eastern Socialist bloc led by USSR.

Unlike the industrial capitalist formation, the basic structure of international finance capitalism was formed by "sovereign" nation states, most of which were former colonies that were given political independence so that they could fit in the new, international finance capitalism formation. Under such circumstances, the post-colonial states in Tanzania and

New Zealand continued to serve similar roles of nurturing and protecting the international bourgeoisie as well as the national petty-bourgeoisie. Therefore, education policies promoted by the post-colonial states were geared towards satisfying the labour needs, maintaining and legitimating the capitalist relations of production as well as the state itself.

It is also noted that this period coincides with the Keynesian welfare state era. The Keynesian package required the public sector to provide services (e.g. health, education and other social services) which, although sometimes not directly productive for the private sector, are necessary in order to create conditions that allow profitability, while ameliorating the adverse effects of capital accumulation. Through the provision of education and other welfare services, the Keynesian welfare state makes capitalist development less harsh and, therefore, more acceptable to the working class which, in turn, legitimates the capitalist relations of production and the state itself. In the post-colonial nations, therefore, mass education, at least at the basic levels, was crucial for the sustainability of capitalist relations and the new imperial order characterised by covert imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Thus, under international finance capitalism, personal rights in the spirit of citizenship and nationhood were promoted over property rights¹⁵¹, with education perceived as "a public good". In Tanzania, for example, individuals were expected to receive formal education for and on behalf of all members of the society, whom they were obliged to serve (Nyerere 1974).

It is noted that, in both Tanzania (after independence in 1960s to 1980) and New Zealand, (since the 1930s and 1980s) the state was held responsible for the provision of education for all the citizens through the public education system. It is within this socio-economic context that progressive policies such as Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania and Universal Post-Primary Education in New Zealand were developed and implemented. The emphasis was on universal provision, at least of basic education, and attempts were made to redress the imbalances across social, economic, and geographic locations. Education encouraged co-operative attitudes, critical thinking, self-confidence and unity between mental and manual work.

¹⁵¹The notion of "personal rights" as opposed to "property rights" is clearly described in Bowles and Gintis (1986).

It is argued, however, that alongside the welfare state was the growing globalisation process which was manifest in the internationalisation of labour, through technological advances in communication, labour migration, international (later transnational) investments, as well as privatisation and nationalisation of debt (Hoogvelt 1997). Aided by the fiscal crises within a number of nation states in the late 1970s, the globalisation process matured and became overt. As capitalism was transforming from international finance capitalism to global capitalism, the vulnerability of nation states, even in the developed countries such as New Zealand, also became more obvious.

Under global/transnational capitalism, the tension between the transnational capitalists' powers and the state structures grew (Martin 1993, Haworth 1994, Hoogvelt 1997, Samoff and Sumra 1994) and the national states' position of relative independence became equivocal (Haworth 1994). The tendency has been towards creating a contractual state with more central powers but less responsibility (Codd and Gordon 1991; Martin 1993; Murphy 1996).

The onslaught on the nature, position and functions of the nation state in the global capitalist formation inevitably challenged the state's ideological institutions, including education.

This study notes, for example, that advances in technology have challenged the functions and position of education in the production process. Thus, with technological advancement making production less labour intensive, education has become increasingly seen as over-producing an unproductive and over-consumptive labour sector. The neo-liberals (e.g. Psachoropoulos 1985) have proposed that levels of investment in education should be "country specific"; that is, educational investment should be directly linked to the economic status and activities of the respective nation. This implies that economically weak nations have to lower their educational expectations and thus, develop weak education systems. Consequently, developing countries, such as Tanzania, are forced to cut back expenditure and expansion on education, especially tertiary education. In the economically advanced nations, such as New Zealand, there are calls upon education to make recourse to meritocracy and vocationalism - i.e. towards modern-day apprenticeship.

The weakening of the nation states through deregulation and debt crisis has resulted in the states' inability to provide basic needs and services to their citizenry. It is argued, in this

study, that the implementation of structural reforms led to externalities that intensified economic and social uncertainties which have spread to education.

In New Zealand, for example, with the rise in unemployment, the fit between education and labour employability was challenged. As the unproblematic transition from school to work was breaking down, so was consensus on the usefulness and relevance of schooling to society and the economy (Gordon 1989). This contributed to the wider legitimisation crisis of the state. Similarly, at the same time, externalities emanating from the IMF-led SAPs in Tanzania, resulted in the deterioration of social services, contributing to the people's disenchantment and challenge to the existing public systems of provision, including the public education system. The insistence on market rationalism and the prioritising of debt servicing, have limited the Tanzanian state's ability to provide education; hence, increasingly undermining the role of education in the manufacture of the state's legitimacy.

It is argued, therefore, that education privatisation policy reforms were instituted to guide education towards fulfilling its functions in the global capitalist formation. Faced with fiscal and legitimisation crises, states, backed by the neo-liberal ideology, have responded by seeking what Dale (1989) refers to as "sense legitimisation"¹⁵², through redefining important assumptions about education and education provision. Thus, in the global capitalism formation, education is to be viewed as a "private good" and provision has to be based on cost-efficiency, market competition, consumer choice, unequal distribution and vocationalism. The discourse of privatisation has played a crucial role in developing and supporting the new definitions.

Education is also urged to orient labour towards its new status and direction of facilitating what Sklair (1991:41) calls the "culture-ideology of consumerism"¹⁵³. In order for consumerism to apply, the goods or services have to have commodity characteristics. Thus, the privatisation agenda of social services, such as education and their institutions, supports and is supported by this "culture-ideology of consumerism" which is manifest in the discourse of privatisation. This study has found it important, therefore, to critically analyse the education policy reform documents, particularly the discourse of privatisation, within which the policy statements are couched and presented.

¹⁵²"Sense legitimisation" is achieved by providing a different meaning of what is demanded, leading to the state absolving itself of the responsibility to provide what is demanded.

¹⁵³ The notion of "culture-ideology of consumerism" is elaborated in chapter six of this thesis.

This study concludes, therefore, that neo-liberalism (market rationalism) that has developed within global finance capitalism is the ideological base for contemporary education privatisation policy reforms.

Discursive Influences on Policy Reforms: Privatisation Discourse and Contemporary Education Reforms

This study supports the argument (Apple 1993) that education is one of the major sites in which different groups with distinct political, economic and cultural interests attempt to define and redefine what are to be the socially legitimated means and ends of society. At any particular space and time, therefore, the most powerful groups in society control and dictate the direction which education should follow. Cognisant of this role of education, the dominant class has always been motivated towards ensuring that education systems are particularly consistent with the dominant ideology.

Through its contribution towards development, support and maintenance of the dominant ideology, discourse plays a key role in the establishment and consolidation of power relationships (Fairclough 1992; Luke 1995; Bourdieu 1977). Thus, education (as one of the state's social institutions) is constituted by discourse and discursive relations (Codd 1988), with education policies constructed within an institutionalised discourse (Codd 1988; Luke 1995). Consequently, education policy documents form a distinct discourse genre, susceptible to controls and manipulation. As Codd (1988) observes, policy documents are ideological texts that are constructed within historical, social, economic and political contexts. This thesis argues, therefore, that policy documents are an important aspect of policy which need to be critically analysed in order to understand policy reforms.

It is noted, in this study, that the discourse of privatisation features strongly in the neo-liberal calls for structural adjustment. Thus, the researcher has critically analysed and discussed the discourse of privatisation in Tanzania's and New Zealand's policy reform documents and their implications for the state's provision of education and social justice in education.

Backed by global capital, in the 1980s, the discourse of privatisation acquired hegemonic power to influence the interpretation of educational conditions, to direct the processes of educational provision and to define educational outcomes; thus, making the educational privatisation reforms more credible and acceptable (Muganda 1996). This thesis argues that

the discourse of privatisation was employed by the neo-liberals to fight the battle over "common sense" understanding of education and educational institutions. It is noted that, unlike the discourse of the Keynesian era that focused on the market failures and egalitarian values, the neo-liberal discourse of privatisation focuses on the government failure and the individualistic human nature based on the economic growth model and public choice theory.

With some difference in the extent of expression and manifestation, the discourse of privatisation, in Tanzania's and New Zealand's education reform documents, delegitimises education as a public good and blames the public education systems for educational, economic and social problems. The discourse of privatisation further applies the market metaphors to the conceptualisation of educational issues and promotes market solutions as a panacea to contemporary educational and socio-economic problems.

Asserting that education is a commodity, like any other, and that many of the educational benefits are subject to individual capture rather than contributing to social or public good¹⁵⁴, the policy reform documents argue that the state is not the appropriate agency to provide education. Insisting on monetarist rationality, the New Zealand Treasury document (1987), for example, indicates that public schools are spending a lot of public money without adequate returns. The New Zealand Treasury also blames the school system for creating a mismatch between education and the world of work. In a similar vein, the Tanzania Task Force Report (1993) blames the Tanzania education system for producing "job seekers" instead of "job creators". In both cases, the public education system is also blamed for creating inequity and injustice in education.

By applying market metaphors (e.g. input, output, contracts, consumer, market choice, etc.) to describe educational aspects, the discourse of privatisation brings education and its conceptualisation closer to the market understanding and practices. In the process, the discourse of privatisation portrays the public school system as bad because it is public; thus, implying that what is private is inevitably good.

Evident in both Tanzania and New Zealand reform texts are the neo-liberal suggestions that marketisation of education is the key to the educational problems of the 1980s and 1990s. Following neo-liberal economic theories, the proposed education policies are based on the

¹⁵⁴The argument of private returns to education is rallied, especially towards tertiary education in New Zealand and post primary and higher education in Tanzania.

principles of market rationalism. It has been observed, in reference to New Zealand (Codd 1993, 1998; Gordon 1994) and Tanzania (Samoff & Sumra 1994) that, with the reforms of the 1980s and 1990s, the universalised provision based on principles of egalitarianism and collectivism have been replaced by market rationalism based on the principles of individualism and competition. Thus, although education cannot exist as a pure market, there are policy assumptions and practices based on the privatisation agenda that put education closer to the market realm; making it and its institutions quasi-markets. Examples of the proposed market oriented policies include mechanisms, such as, cost-cutting schemes, school choice and school market competition policies, contracting out and sell-off of educational assets, privatisation of school and the opening up of educational institutions for private investment.

It is significant that the privatisation discourse portrays these market oriented policies as inevitable and desirable. Based on public choice theory, for example, the discourse of privatisation claims that all rational people maximise their personal benefits. Logically, members of the education workforce, comprising teachers and state bureaucrats, use education institutions to enhance their own selfish interests. Due to lack of choice (the argument goes), in the public education structure, children and their parents are "captured consumers", hence, leading to what is termed as "provider capture". Market rationalism, therefore, proposes that education systems should be open to the market, so as to make education institutions serve like "super markets" in order to guarantee the consumers' (students and parents) choice, and to curb the "provider capture" tendencies. It is worth noting that these arguments are more explicitly stated in the New Zealand reform documents, especially the NZ-Picot Report and the NZ-Treasury documents while they are merely implicit in the Tanzanian reform documents. Consequently, New Zealand's *Tomorrow's Schools* policy provides for exit-as an expression of choice. The notion of "exit as choice" connotes a market model of choice whereby the consumer who is dissatisfied with the transactions is free to take his/her business elsewhere. School-based management, de-zoning and bulk funding, are some of the policies promoting this notion of choice in New Zealand's system of education. All of these policies aim at subjecting schools to market competition regulations, with the claim of making them more responsive to the students, the parents and their communities. In that regard, the discourse of privatisation creates the impression that, through competition, the market would ensure fairness and justice.

Cost-cutting schemes, such as the introduction of school fees in Tanzania, voluntary parental contributions in both New Zealand and Tanzania, and encouraging the establishment of private schools, are some of the proposed mechanisms for making the education systems more efficient and effective.

However, this thesis has argued and explicated that the proposed market oriented policies are not as "cosy and rosy" as they are portrayed by the privatisation discourse. In reality, these policies have negative impact on state provision of education and they have adverse implications for social justice in education.

Implications of Education Privatisation Policies.

This thesis contends that the adverse implications of market oriented policies permeate the provision of education, communities, society and even the market itself. It is argued that the market oriented education privatisation policy reforms are prone to creating tension between education and social justice. Taking the "children at risk" as a case in point, the researcher has argued that the marketisation of education significantly contributes to some children's lower achievement in school, greater possibilities of dropping out and lower occupational status and income. In turn, this not only places children "at risk" but also it contributes to greater social costs and enhanced risk to communities, nations and, ironically, the market itself.

Through creating an organisational culture that is hierarchical, competitive, individualistic and assessment oriented (Gordon and Pearce 1993), the market oriented policies undermine collective responsibility. By supporting a weak state and reconstructing the citizen into a consumer, the discourse of privatisation makes it possible to overlook some serious structural social issues such as class, race, ethnicity and gender. As Ball (1994) observes, the "consumer" is declassed, deraced and degendered. This study argues that market oriented education policies are increasing social inequalities and disparities in both Tanzania and New Zealand.

It has been argued, in this study, that market choice educational policies that insist on "exit" as an expression of "choice" are against promotion of democracy in education, as exit becomes one of the mechanisms of silencing those who would have voiced their discontent. In that regard, democracy is redefined and, therefore, denied. By displacing the need for quality education to that of consumer choice, such policies work towards creating

"sense legitimation" for the state. Supported by sense legitimation, the state becomes less responsible for provision of education and other services to all its citizens. It is contended that the consequence of an unresponsive state is the creation of barriers to some children's full participation in education.

Market choice educational policies may also lead to blaming the victims of the system by accusing them of not being rational consumers. Moreover, to some citizens, there are more structural impediments to choice; which make choice more apparent than real. For example, those who lack adequate financial resources cannot attend the school that they may "choose" to attend.

Methodology

A combination of approaches and methods have been employed in this study, including comparative education policy analysis (CEPA) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) (see figure 3.4 & 3.5 on page 88 of this study). Based on the processes and findings of this study, the researcher concludes that a multi-method approach to the study of education policy reforms can yield more inferences and insights than would be possible through using a single approach.

The Pertinence of CEPA

The comparative education policy analysis (CEPA) approach has enabled the study to explore, reveal and explain the differences and similarities between historical and current education policy experiences of both Tanzania and New Zealand.

CEPA is a combination of two major approaches based in two different disciplines: policy analysis and comparative education. The policy analysis (PA) aspect of the CEPA approach has assisted the researcher to identify the problems, to demarcate the scope of the study and to organise the research tasks. The comparative aspect, on the other hand, has helped in gaining the understanding and explaining contemporary policy reforms within broad, specific and diverse contexts. The multi-level and multi dimensional framework to comparative policy analysis (see figure 3.2) has been found beneficial in the understanding of education policy reforms in different settings. Employing a multi-level and multi-dimensional frame-work has enabled this study to analyse and compare education policy

reforms across the different times, policy documents and socio-economic and political settings obtaining in Tanzania and New Zealand.

The study shows that, while there are differences in the historical and current educational experiences in Tanzania and New Zealand, there are also historical and current similarities. It is noted, for example, that, while educational privatisation reforms were effected in both New Zealand and Tanzania since the 1980s, the mode of external influence, the timing of the reforms and means of adoption were different. While New Zealand was advised by trading partners to privatise, Tanzania's privatisation reforms were a result of the direct application of external pressure. Thus, whereas in New Zealand the government has been instrumental in instituting the privatisation policy, in Tanzania the external pressure has been more influential. As a corollary, in New Zealand, the policy reform document (*Tomorrow's Schools*, 1988) was produced before the implementation of the reforms; while, in Tanzania, the implementation of privatisation policies started about fifteen years before the official education policy reform document (*Tanzania Education and Training Policy*, 1995) was produced. However, it is evident in this study that the main objectives of education reforms in both countries are the same, in that they aim at making the respective societies change from welfare-oriented to market oriented policies; from public provision to privatisation, along with a reduction in the functions of the state. In other words, the common objective is to enhance the scope of the market in the distribution of social services.

Another indication of similarities and differences have been observed within the policies that are promoted in current reforms. Issues of school choice, for example, are more debated in New Zealand, while in Tanzania, choice seems to be a non-issue. In the Tanzanian policy reform documents, the word 'choice' does not appear. However, the choices or non-choices implicit in the current market oriented educational policies (e.g. decentralisation of school funding and management) have similar or even greater effects in Tanzania. The reality of school choice is that poor children are chosen by poor schools, which either they can afford or that are within their communities which are poor. It is also evident in both Tanzania and New Zealand that, in a market-model guided by competition and market choice, endowed schools would not easily admit children who are disadvantaged in any form.

The consequences of market oriented education policies in both societies are the increasing numbers of "children at risk". However, whereas in New Zealand there is evidence

through research (Gordon 1994 , ERO reports) that there is a notable correlation between ethnicity and the students at risk, such evidence is not currently available in Tanzania. However, there is a greater ratio of "out of school" children in Tanzania (about 30% of the primary school cohort in 1998)¹⁵⁵ than in New Zealand.

A caveat has to be made, however, that, in order to consider a great range of issues, a comparative analysis of policy has to ensure that both the specifics of each nation and the parallels that cut across respective nations are recognised and given due attention. It has been observed in this study, for example, that the local context of the state also influences the process of the formulation and implementation of education policies. This observation is supported by the findings in this study that, while there have been similar general trends of education policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand, each country has responded in some specific ways. It is evident in this study, for example, that in the period between the late sixties and 1970s, Tanzania experienced state welfarism similar to what New Zealand was experiencing during the period after the second World War up to the 1970s. However, Tanzania was organised under a single party political system, was one of the poorest countries in the world and was almost racially homogeneous; while New Zealand was organised under a multi-party political system, with very high levels of standard of living and the country was racially heterogeneous. This contextual diversity of these nations accounts for the differences inherent in similar policies of universal primary education (UPE) for Tanzania and compulsory post primary education for New Zealand. Thus, the examination of national, historical and socio-economic contexts was found to be important for understanding education policy reforms.

The Relevance of CDA

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was found to be helpful in analysing education policy documents. The thesis upholds the view that education policy documents are ideologically constructed statements that represent interests of certain groups in the struggle for power over education and the social, economic and political environment of the society. Thus, CDA assisted the researcher to explicate the declared and latent meanings and interests embedded in the policy statements. According to CDA, the study of policy has to go beyond exposing the meanings of the policy discourse in order to explore the implications of the proposed policy. Thus, in keeping with the CDA approach to policy analysis, this

¹⁵⁵Sumaye (1998).

study has explored the implications of market oriented policies for social justice in education and the state's provision of education in both Tanzania and New Zealand.

Application of Theories in Policy Analysis

The use of grand theories in qualitative research is debatable. While some argue that it is a way of bringing what may be termed as a scientific superiority complex where it is not required (Becker 1993), others see it as unavoidable (Marks 1996, Wiersma 1995), since theory is required to guide the researcher in conceptualising the problem. Others, however, find the use of theory in qualitative research to be a mixed blessing (Henstrand 1993) because, while theories help in the organisation of the study, using theory presents an additional aspect for the researcher to consider in the course of the study.

In this study, the researcher found the understanding and employing of various theories to be useful in exploring, analysing and explaining education policy reform issues. As a comparative study, theories have provided some common avenues through which specific data from Tanzania and New Zealand could be incorporated in a comparative whole while maintaining their diversity.

This study utilised various theories, including theories of the state, theories of development, models of education policy as well as theoretical understandings of social justice and children at risk. These theories provided the conceptual framework within which education policy reforms and their implications for provision of education in Tanzania and New Zealand have been analysed and explained.

From the consideration of various theories of the state, it was found that Marxist and neo-Marxist theories of the state offered greater explanatory capacity for the study in understanding the position and functions of the state, particularly the colonial and post-colonial state, within the various capitalist formations. These theories were also found to offer more elaborate explanations of the role and function of education within the state machinery. Guided by the Marxist and neo-Marxist theories of the state, this study traced the socio historical genesis of contemporary education reforms, within the transformation of capitalism, in relation to Tanzania and New Zealand.

Research findings have indicated, however, that the relationship between the capitalist state and the mode of production is so complex and dynamic that sometimes the state may seem

to perform functions that are counter-productive to the dominant class. It is significant to note, however, that, while the functions which the capitalist state performs may vary according to changes within the social, economic and political environment, the role of the state - that of protecting and promoting the interests of the dominant class - endures within the mode of production. Consequently, the role of education has been to develop the productive forces, as well as to nurture and maintain existing relations of production. Thus, performing the dual tasks of ensuring the reproduction of social classes and simultaneously creating legitimacy for the state.

It has been shown in this study, for example, that the relatively harmonious relationship between labour and capital, during the era of Keynesian state welfarism, coincided with economic prosperity in New Zealand. However, with the economic uncertainties of the 1980s, which threatened capital accumulation and profitability, the New Zealand state supported the neo-liberal policies of privatisation and reduction of public expenditure on education. This change of state policy is seen as a case in point in verifying that the fundamental role of the capitalist state is to protect the interest of the dominant capitalist class and the education policies that it promotes serve those same interests.

Theories of Development

The consideration of various theories of development has assisted the researcher to explore what may constitute "appropriate development" and *what ought to be* the role of education in the process of development. The *socio-political economy approach* to development proposed in this thesis goes beyond the political economy approach to development (prevalent in the socialist stance) not only to include the social aspects of development but also to give first priority to what is socially useful to the majority of the people. In that case, social justice has to be an inherent feature of policies (including education policy) that aim at social, economic and political progress.

Social justice

The theoretical understanding of social justice in education, has helped in assessing the implications of contemporary education policy reforms, particularly for children at risk. It is argued in this study that the market oriented education policies promoted by the contemporary reforms have created a tension between education and social justice. As a corollary, these policies have created educational environments that are increasingly

producing “at risk children”, creating disparities among communities as well as alienating the parents and their children from the school system.

The thesis argues that considering varied theories of the state, socio-economic development, education policy and social justice, is important in understanding policy reforms. It is indicated in this study, for example, that, despite criticisms directed against them, modernisation theories and the economic growth model of social economic development have been used by policy makers in the development of education policies in post-colonial nations such as Tanzania and New Zealand.

Thus, this thesis endorses Bradshaw's (1997) contention that, "it is not enough to know popular theories, instead it is necessary to know both the theory and the context in which it might be applied" (1997:1). As pointed out by Mazrui "Theories come and go, but realities often stay the same" (Ali Mazrui in Bradshaw 1997).

General Conclusions

In general, this thesis has concluded that:

- Processes of capital accumulation and legitimation of both economic and political structures are important in understanding education policy reforms. The thesis upholds the view that the capitalist state plays a significant role in ensuring capital accumulation, and normalising capitalist relations of production. As a social institution of the state, therefore, education plays a role of enhancing capital accumulation and legitimating the production relations, including the position of the state in the capitalist socio-economic formation. Thus, education policy is part and parcel of the state's social policy. It is observed, however, that the rights and capacity of the nation states to determine their national education policy is limited by both global and internal social, economic and political dynamics of the socio-economic formation.
- The analysis of the historical context, particularly the changes in the position and functions of the state is significant in the study of education policy reforms. The thesis has observed, for example, that the onslaught on indigenous education in the colonies was mainly due to their incompatibility with the relations of production in the industrial capitalism formation, rather than that they were archaic and obsolete. Thus, the move to restore indigenous education (e.g. demands for restoration of Maori language and

culture in New Zealand education), in contemporary times, is a collective move to recapture what was lost then, rather than an individualistic move based on economic rationalism and public choice theory. Likewise, the transformation of international finance capitalism to global capitalism formation in the 1980s, has created a fertile ground for market oriented policies, including educational privatisation. It is argued that, by the 1980s, global capitalism demanded a new order of neo-liberalism to ensure its survival through the economic uncertainties of the 1980s.

- Economic rationalism, that has developed within global finance capitalism, is the ideological base within which contemporary education privatisation policy reforms are developed and legitimised. The aim of economic rationalism is to reduce the size and scope of the state, and to privilege market forces in regulating the provision of social services including education. Thus, education privatisation policies aim at promoting and facilitating the commodification and marketisation of education.
- The discourse of privatisation has developed within the globalisation process to support and promote global finance capitalism and the nature, function and positioning of the state in the formation. Thus, it is observed in this thesis that the discourse of privatisation has been instrumental in the development of contemporary education policy reforms in Tanzania and New Zealand; and the respective education policy reform documents are couched within this supportive discourse.
- Education privatisation policies have adverse implications for the state's provision of education to its citizens, hence, creating tension between education and social justice. The thesis argues that the marketisation of education significantly contributes to some children's under-achievement in school and increases the possibility of dropping out; as well as lowering their eventual occupational status and income. In turn, this may not only put children at risk but also the approach contributes to greater social costs and increased risk to communities, nations and, ironically, the market itself. The thesis observes, for example, that contemporary market education policies may exacerbate existing as well as latent problems of "children at risk."
- Comparative education policy analysis (CEPA) is a useful approach in the understanding of broader and specific issues of education policy. The approach is also useful in underscoring policy issues across nations (e.g. Tanzania and New Zealand)

that have different socio-economic and technological development backgrounds, as well as different demographic, political and cultural characteristics.

- Critical discourse analysis (CDA) enables the researcher to analyse the embedded meanings of policy statements and their implications for various groups of people in society as well as to explore viable policy alternatives.

Suggestions for Policy Interventions and Areas for Further Research

This thesis has noted that in contemporary times education is facing challenges regarding access, funding, control and provision in general. It has also observed that the market oriented education policy reforms are increasingly contributing to social disparity, desperation and despair to some members of society, hence, have adverse implications for the development of societies. The thesis argues, therefore, that there is a need to search for viable policy interventions. A caveat is made, however, that neither the nostalgic “good old days” of the pre-reform era nor the “brave new world” of the market panacea would lead to appropriate policy alternatives. While sober searches for alternative solutions are being made, there is need for governments to acknowledge the impact that contemporary policy reforms, that started in the 1980s, have had on the provision of education in both national and global context.

While it is not the intention of this thesis to offer prescriptions of alternatives to be followed, some suggestions of avenues that can be explored in search of alternative education policies are proffered. In this section of the study, therefore, the researcher proposes policy interventions that may assist in alleviating the adverse effects of education privatisation reforms, particularly in Tanzania, and identifies some areas that need further research.

Suggestions for Policy Interventions

Building on the assumption that education should aim at contributing positively to social justice, it is argued that it is important for policy to advocate for the type and purpose of education that would develop humane values and practices, improve academic outcomes,

support critical thinking, as well as enhance skills and economic productivity, all of which are not only appropriate today but also contribute to the future development of the society.

In this brief summation, the suggestions for policy interventions focus on the broad education policy issues which became apparent during the course of this study. These issues include: the scope and perspective of education policy, the role of the state, learning from others, the role of the elite in policy development, schools and communities, access to education as well as funding and budgetary allocations.

Scope and Perspective of Education Policy

The emancipation of education, from current adverse trends, requires both ideological and practical confrontations. It is argued, therefore, that it is important, to place national education policy development into an appropriate perspective through revisiting some assumptions about the ideological base of the policy and its implications for society.

Although the economic aspects of education are important and need to be considered in the policy making process, they are limited in scope and perspective. The social and political aspects of education, on the other hand, are equally important for developing sustainable educational policies. However, as this study has shown, current education privatisation reforms are centred on economic growth and individualism which, in turn, are based on the neo-liberal ideology. Thus, education policy-making processes need to take into consideration the neo-liberal ideological force behind the current globalisation as well as the assumptions that the neo-liberal ideology holds for people's social, economic and political development.

It is important to realise that economic growth for growth's sake, with little regard for the overall well-being of the people, is dangerous for the future of the people and their societies since it can compromise the cohesion and sustenance of the society. It is argued that postponing strategies that enhance social justice in society in the name of international competitiveness, or in order to increase the nation's eligibility for more debt, is more likely to cause cleavages in society, requiring more resources and time to repair. It is contended, likewise, that putting a price tag on the nature and form of education a child gets, subscribes to a short-term economic solution that may have long-term social and, ultimately, economic costs.

It is suggested, therefore, that policies of education privatisation based on the norms of market efficiency and competition need to be viewed with caution and their adverse implications for the majority of the people must be curtailed before they escalate.

The Role of the State

The promotion of policies that aim at apportioning blame to individuals for education problems is undesirable and misleading, since it ignores other state policies that contribute to educational problems. Moreover, education is one of the institutions that are part of and provide legitimacy to the state. Understanding educational policy, therefore, suggests the need to understand the nature of the state and the particular role which the state plays in mediating the provision, access and governance of education.

The extent to which education decisions become centralised or decentralised, for example, has implications for the role of the state in educational policy. Likewise, the provision of education for the disadvantaged members of society very much depends on the role the state plays, or is prepared to play, in the provision of education as part of the basic human rights for its citizens. If any civic agency has to be held accountable for fostering access to education in the nation, then that agency must be the state. Thus, understanding educational policy within the realm of understanding the role, nature and functions of the state, is deemed an important and necessary recommendation from this study.

It is suggested, therefore, that avenues need to be explored and developed for the state to be held accountable and answerable for maintaining equity in access to education and for guaranteeing quality education. This might imply strengthening the various aspects and processes of representative democracy.

Learning From Others

It has been noted in this study that the process of educational policy development, at times, draws inputs from external sources, either through comparative studies, the analysis of literature or advice from external experts. It is the contention in this thesis, however, that learning from other people's experiences should go hand-in-hand with a clear conception of how these experiences can, and should, be adapted to fit the specific national context within which policy is developed, rather than being uncritically transported to another

environment. Learning from the experience of others should complement and not substitute for grassroots research and needs analysis.

In that regard, therefore, grassroots research is fundamental, in order to find ways for integrating and adapting external experiences and research findings to local educational contexts and needs.

The Role of Elites in Policy Development

It has been argued, in this study, that education policies are not just technical phenomena, as they encompass the social, political and economic aspects of the society. Thus, the invaluable contribution of elites (e.g. groups of experts, task force groups, donor agencies) in education policy development, need to consult with and complement initiatives from the members of the society who are the main stake-holders of education. A pilot study of a few schools and communities should not be deemed to be enough basis upon which to formulate policy that affects the entire nation.

It is suggested, therefore, that democratic opportunities need to be availed for ensuring grassroots participation in the decision making processes in education policy development. Thus, it is recommended that research results, programme materials, and relevant reports should be translated and presented at various educational forums, in the language and manner that allows the majority of the people not only to understand what they contain, but also to fully and freely participate in relevant debates.

Schools and Communities

In order to promote social justice, schools need to be understood as more than commodity production sites where outcomes are readily quantifiable and measurable. Thus, policy interventions need to ensure that they do not make schools work towards providing a narrow-based education that is geared principally to passing examinations at the expense of striving to produce educated and socially well developed human beings. Appropriate education needs to develop habits of inquiry and critique amongst learners and not merely to create mute, compliant workers.

Alternative education policies also need to promote collaboration and collective responsibility within the education workforce and among educational institutions and their

communities. Avenues through which parents and other members can contribute positively to the development of schools have to be created; rather than relying on “exit” as the only expression of dissatisfaction.

Access to Education

The complexity of access to education needs to be explored and addressed. In order to contribute to social justice, access to education has to go beyond enrolment and attendance to include the type of instruction, who is accountable to whom, and for what, as well as the status of schooling in the society.

It is important, therefore, that the search for alternative educational policy responses to contemporary educational problems should consider all aspects of schooling, including: funding and organisational strategies, curriculum, instruction, assessment, staff development as well as factors outside the school that influence students' "readiness to learn." Thus, factors such as motivation of the education workforce, professional accountability, equity through learning and teaching strategies and gender equity, need to be given priority in education policies.

Motivation of the education workforce

The education workforce is very important in the process of education policy making, implementation and evaluation. The significant status and dignity of teachers needs to be restored. Some of the ways this might happen would include making schools conducive workplaces, remunerating teachers adequately, providing adequate pre-service training and appropriate staff development as well as developing adequate and competent educational leaders.

Professional accountability

Policy interventions have to aim at promoting professional accountability and collegiality which allows practitioners to make decisions about how to meet the educational needs of individual students (Darling-Hammond, 1991). That is, educational policies have to refrain from making the educational workforce accountable only for following standard procedures

because this may not only lead to pushing low-scoring students out of the school count, and eventually out of school, but also to diluting education to the minimum requirements of market accountability.

Teaching and learning strategies

Learning and teaching strategies need to be explored, such as explicit goals for closing the achievement gap, increasing quality instructional time, particularly in individualised or small group settings, and providing students with opportunities to learn from each other (through co-operative learning strategies). The contributions of these strategies, to increased expectations of both the students and their teachers and facilitating accelerated academic gains for students, need to be put into proper perspective.

Thus, research studies on the provision of extra-tuition for children who need it, but who have no means of paying for it privately, need to be conducted and their findings used to establish appropriate policies and practice.

Equity Issues

Equity issues, specific to access to education by traditionally disadvantaged sectors of society, as well as by potentially disadvantaged groups, need to be taken into consideration in policy formulations. The gender related aspects of equity issues, for example, need to be particularly explored since female children are more vulnerable and, therefore, are likely to be more at risk than their male counterparts, particularly, in a country like Tanzania. It is recommended that research findings that are available in this area should be taken into consideration in any policy development process. Further, studies in this area must be conducted continuously and regularly to form a basis for sound and informed input in the policy formulation process.

Funding and budgetary allocations

Finally, issues of budgetary allocation to education and funding strategies need to be addressed with great care. The roles of parents, local communities and the private sector in funding education needs to be approached in ways that do not lead indirectly to closing doors to education for some children, especially those from poor communities. Issues of

poor children attending poor schools have adverse implications for the future of those children and, eventually for society in general. Thus, such issues are to be analysed and viable solutions need to be urgently sought.

Further, it is suggested that issues of targeting need to be addressed within the specific national context. Whereas targeting may be an appropriate policy strategy in some societies, it is less appropriate in a poor society, such as Tanzania, where the majority of the people live in dire need for survival. In a country such as Tanzania, provision has to be universalised.

Rather than leaving the poor to fend for themselves and letting the rich to care of only their own interests, mechanisms have to be sought to facilitate fair distribution of what is available. To start with, there is need for transparency regarding the real earnings of schools from school fees, donations, parental pledges and contributions. This will not only give a clear picture of what is actually spent on education but also it will give insight into some of the financial mechanisms employed by some affluent schools to refuse enrolment to students from poor families.

Secondly, a percentage of the earnings from the affluent schools should be contributed to a “National Fund” for education to assist children from poor families who cannot afford to pay for education. The earnings and expenditure of the “Fund” should be publicly audited with public consultation on the earnings and dispensation of the funds.

The major challenge is to develop policies and establish practices that ensure that the school cohort has access to quality schooling, that stimulates all students to learn, while ensuring that the diverse needs of students are adequately taken into consideration and students at greatest risk are helped in non-stigmatising ways. The responsibility of education for the children in the society is a collective responsibility of all members of society and their institutions. Thus, it is the collective responsibility of all citizens to ensure that appropriate education policies are in place that promote fair and equitable redistribution of educational resources as well as fair processes and procedures for education financing of all the children. National governments ought to take responsibility for guaranteeing the provision of quality education to all citizens.

Suggestions for Further Studies

In view of the foregoing discussion, the author suggests that some areas require further research in order to explore some of the complexities involved in education policy development and implementation. It is therefore suggested that:

1) Research needs to be undertaken into the avenues and impediments for the development of appropriate ways through which public participation in education policy development can be enhanced.

2) In-depth studies of issues relating to “children at risk” need to be undertaken to ensure that policies that can properly address these issues are in place.

3) Issues specific to gender equity in access to education need to be continuously researched and their findings incorporated in education policy formulations.

4) Policy implementation programmes, such as Tanzania’s recently launched education Sector Development Programme (SDP), need to be regularly assessed and monitored to ensure that their effects are known by the members of the public and steps to alleviate adverse effects are taken at appropriate points in time.

5) Further work on comparative and critical policy analysis needs to be done so as to provide broader and clearer understanding of educational policies and to be able to benefit from comparative studies of education in various nations of the world.

In reviewing studies on education policy analysis, the researcher noted an apparent dearth of comparative policy analysis studies and a virtual absence of comparative education policy studies that cut across socio-economic blocs or that are international in focus. In the course of this study, the researcher explored a range of diverse and similar education policy reform issues in Tanzania and New Zealand, despite the nations' socio-economic differences. The researcher was also encouraged by the increased clarity of the issues which occurred through exploring similar or different issues in another setting. It is the researcher's hope, therefore, that this study will stimulate more interest in comparative and critical policy analysis across nations and socio-economic blocs. Such studies would enrich the understanding of broad issues of policy as well as illuminate specific issues in national, local and institutional contexts.

APPENDIX A**T**omorrow's
Schools

The Reform of
Education Administration
in New Zealand

August 1988

I know of no safe depository of the ultimate power of the society but the people themselves and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion.

Thomas Jefferson

Ki aku whakaaro ma te iwi ano e pupuri te mana tuturu mo nga ahuatanga whakahaere kei roto i a ratou, mehemea hoki ki o tatou whakaaro e he ana ta ratou whakahaere, kua e raupatutia te mana kei a ratou, engari awhinatia ratou kia mohio ai, kia tika ai, nga whakahaere.

The Education of Our Children— Your Chance to be Involved

In our children lies our future. The education they receive shapes them individually and as members of a larger society.

Our children will not receive the education to which they are entitled unless our administration of education is effective.

That is why the Government has given priority to administrative reform in education.

When the report of the Picoe taskforce, *Administering For Excellence*, was released on 10 May, I acknowledged the broad merits of the model it proposed. It seemed to me to be a good mixture of responsiveness, flexibility and accountability. It placed decision making as close as possible to the point of implementation. The members of the taskforce which devised that model—Brian Picoe, Peter Ramsay, Margaret Rosemergy, Colin Wise and Whetu Wereta—cannot be thanked sufficiently for the care and thoughtfulness which marked their work.

The Government sought a response to the report both from the general public and educationalists. The Associate Minister of Education and other colleagues joined me in conducting a series

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TOMORROW'S SCHOOLS

of inquiries throughout the country. More than 20,000 responses to the report have been studied.

The need for reform was generally accepted.

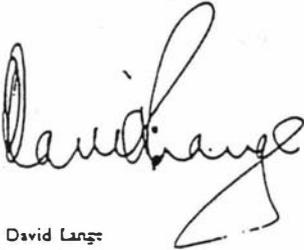
Tomorrow's Schools sets out the policy position the Government has reached following its consideration of the implications of such far-reaching reform. Much of it is an affirmation of the Picket proposals. There are some additions of detail. In some areas the Government has chosen to depart from the taskforce's recommendations.

The booklet concentrates upon primary and secondary education. Two other working parties are considering early childhood care and education and post-compulsory education and training. Their reports will be released separately.

The Government is certain that the reform it proposes will result in more immediate delivery of resources to schools, more parental and community involvement, and greater teacher responsibility. It will lead to improved learning opportunities for the children of this country. The reformed administration will be sufficiently flexible and responsive to meet the particular needs of Maori education.

The revitalised education administration outlined in this document will do justice not only to the many able people who work in education but also, and critically, to our children and young people.

This is one of the most important proposals for education reform ever announced by any New Zealand Government. I commend its careful study.



David Lange

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Introduction

Tomorrow's Schools outlines the most thoroughgoing changes to the administration of education in our history. In a system as complex as education, not every last detail of how the new system will operate can be established at this stage. *Tomorrow's Schools* is a statement of the Government's intent—an Implementation Unit and an Officials Committee reporting to the Cabinet Social Equity Committee will investigate specific structures, issues and operational requirements. In addition, the Government is about to receive and consider the reports of two working groups: one, on early childhood care and education; the other, on post-compulsory education and training.

The reform of education administration is based on the following principal features:

- 1 Institutions will be the basic "building block" of education administration, with control over their educational resources—to use as they determine, within overall guidelines for education set by the state.
- 2 The running of the institution will be a partnership between the professionals and the particular community in which it is located. The mechanism for such a partnership will be a board of trustees.
- 3 Each institution will set its own objectives, within the overall national guidelines set by the state. These objectives will reflect the particular needs of the community in which the institution is located, and will be clearly set out in a "charter" drawn up by the institution. This charter will act as a contract between the community and the institution, and the institution and the state.
- 4 Institutions will be accountable, through a nationally established Review and Audit Agency, for the government funds spent on education and for meeting the objectives set out in their charters. This agency will carry out regular reviews of every institution.

TOMORROW'S SCHOOLS

- ¶ Institutions will be free to purchase services from a range of suppliers.
- ¶ Community education forums will be set up to act as a place of debate and a voice for all those who wish to air their concerns—whether students, parents, teachers, managers or education administrators.
- ¶ A Ministry of Education will be established to provide policy advice to the Minister, to administer property, and to handle financial flows and operational activities.
- ¶ An independent Parent Advocacy Council will be established. This council will promote the interests of parents generally and will, in particular, provide assistance and support to parents who are dissatisfied with existing arrangements to the extent that they wish to set up their own school.
- ¶ Groups of parents representing at least 21 children will be able to withdraw from existing arrangements and set up their own institution, provided that they meet the national guidelines for education.

The next six sections in *Tomorrow's Schools* more fully spell out what will happen under the new system of education administration.

1. Administration at the Local Level

1.0.1 The basic unit of education administration will be the individual school or early childhood centre. Each institution will be under the overall policy control of a board of trustees—but the day-to-day control of the institution and the implementation of the policy will be the responsibility of the principal. The principal will also be the professional leader of the institution and will be responsible to the board.

1.1 The Board of Trustees

1.1.1 Institutions will have a board of trustees responsible for the broad policy objectives and the efficient and effective running of the school. The board will be expected to be responsive to community educational needs and to set programmes and courses to meet them, within national guidelines. (See section 3.3: National Guidelines for Education.)

1.1.2 Individual institutions may each have their own boards, or they may share a common board with other institutions if the Ministry of Education (which is responsible for recommending charter approval to the Minister) is satisfied that a common charter serves the interests of all involved.

1.1.3 The role of the board of trustees will differ in detail between early childhood centres and schools. However, the broad responsibilities will be the same.

The Charter

1.1.4 In collaboration with the principal, the staff, and the community, the board will be responsible for the preparation of the institution's charter within the overall national guidelines for education. The charter will define the purposes of the institution and the intended outcomes for students. It will also define the ways in which programmes will be designed to take account of:

- ¶ the particular interests of students and potential students
- ¶ the special skills and qualifications of the staff

the resources of the community

the particular wishes of the institution's community.

1.1.5 The Department of Education will establish a liaison group to help boards develop their first charter.

1.1.6 While the board is responsible for the overall preparation of the charter, the details will be determined by the community and the institution's teaching staff working together. The charter will include not only the overall objectives of the institution, but also the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values to be learned in the institution, and the standards to be achieved within the national guidelines. Both the community and the institution have a major part to play in determining these.

1.1.7 The charter of each institution will be approved by the Minister, on the recommendation of the ministry. It then becomes a contract between the state and the institution, and between the institution and its community. Charters will be reviewed from time to time, as local circumstances or national guidelines change.

1.1.8 Following the development and approval of the institution's charter, the principal and staff determine how the curriculum objectives in it are to be achieved. In doing this, the principal and staff will work within national objectives for curriculum.

Accountability

1.1.9 The board of trustees will be required to report regularly to its community on the objectives of the institution's charter, and on how well they are being achieved. It will also be expected to ensure that the community is informed regularly of the educational achievements of the institution as a whole. The institution's—and the board's—performance will be formally reviewed by the central Review and Audit Agency. There will be two years between the completion of one review and the beginning of the next.

1.1.10 The review of early childhood centres will be less formal than for schools. The precise arrangements for this are being looked at by the Working Group on Early Childhood Care and Education.

1.1.11 The board will request a review by the Review and Audit Agency in cases of public concern or disquiet about the institution's performance.

1.1.12 No trustee will be liable for "loss in good faith"—but trustees will be individually liable for fraud or wrongdoing.

1.1.13 The national guidelines will include a code of conduct for boards—including the due processes to be followed in matters of dispute.

Responsibility for Staff

1.1.14 The board of trustees will be the legal employer of teaching and support staff, and so will be responsible for staffing matters.

1.1.15 The board will appoint the principal, and will approve the appointment of basic-scale teaching staff and non-academic support staff on the recommendation of the principal. For appointment to teaching staff above the basic scale, the board will approve recommendations made by a staffing committee. This staffing committee will consist of the principal, the chairperson of the board, and a teacher from another school (to be selected by the board). The board may wish to increase numbers on interview panels to ensure appropriate representation from the community. In appointing the principal, the board may also wish to seek advice from another board, or from a principal or teacher at another institution.

1.1.16 The board will advertise all teaching positions nationally.

1.1.17 The board will adopt equal-employment-opportunities principles generally in appointment procedures; and this will be audited by the Review and Audit Agency as part of its regular review.

1.1.18 The board will comply with the terms and conditions of all (teaching and non-teaching) awards and salary scales. As well, the principles of the State Sector Act 1988 will apply to all staff employed by boards of trustees.

1.1.19 Boards may wish to obtain assistance in meeting their responsibilities as employers—for instance, from the Employers' Federation—or they may wish to "buy in" advice from commercial agencies (including education service centres).

1.1.20 The board of trustees is the legal employer of teachers and as such will be responsible for instituting procedures of teacher appraisal and discipline. However, any changes to existing procedures will have to be established in the appropriate awards.

1.1.21 The board will be responsible for approving leave for staff, and will reimburse teachers' day-to-day expense claims.

1.1.22 The board will be responsible for approving a staff development programme on the advice of the principal. The funding for

staff development programmes will come from the institution's bulk grant.

1.1.23 For more detail on teaching positions, see section 1.2.

Responsibility for Property

1.1.24 Wherever the Crown owns education property, responsibility for maintenance and capital works will be split between the board of trustees and the ministry's property unit. Where the Crown does not own the property—for instance in integrated schools and other specific cases—the existing legal contract will determine responsibility for maintenance and capital works.

1.1.25 Where the Crown owns property, the board of trustees will be responsible for all maintenance that can be expected to occur within a ten-year cycle. This will include both major and minor maintenance—such as the painting of school buildings; cleaning and caretaking; maintenance of grounds; plumbing, carpentry and electrical repairs; and the supply, maintenance and replacement of equipment, furniture and stores. Provision for this will be made in each year's bulk grant, and the board will be expected to budget for maintenance over a ten-year cycle.

1.1.26 The bulk grant will take into account the differing maintenance requirements of different institutions—especially at the time of the changeover.

1.1.27 Where the Crown owns the property, capital works will be the responsibility of the ministry's property unit. In all situations, the precise responsibilities of both parties will be set out in an occupancy agreement, which will be open to public inspection. This agreement will include the right of the board of trustees to approve final plans for any capital works.

1.1.28 The ministry will pay for repair of damage caused by major vandalism, fire, flood and earthquake. Decisions on what repairs are to be done in such cases will be made by the board and the ministry working together.

Responsibility for Budgets

1.1.29 Funding for all an institution's activities will be calculated on the basis of nationally determined formulae. This funding will be sent directly to institutions as a bulk grant—with the exception of teachers' pay which will be disbursed through separate payroll

procedures (see paragraphs 1.4.1–1.4.2). Final responsibility for how funding is allocated will lie with the board: the board will approve budgets that have been prepared by the principal and staff. If necessary, these budgets will also be prepared with professional help. (For more detail on budgets and bulk grants, see section 1.3 : Funding.)

1.1.30 The board will be responsible for the preparation and audit of the institution's accounts. The board will also send an annual set of accounts—which have been either audited or certified by an accountant—to the Review and Audit Agency.

1.1.31 The board will be able to borrow money commercially if they so desire. Because of this, it may be necessary to create a general liability—held to a specified limit of the bulk grant funds—as security for lenders. This will be further investigated by the Implementation Unit.

Administrative Services

1.1.32 The board will be able to hire administrative services as it requires. In some cases, education service centres may be able to provide full administrative services for boards. But boards will be free to obtain support and services from whatever sources they find satisfactory.

Composition of the Board

1.1.33 Each board of trustees at primary and secondary level will consist of:

- ¶ five members nominated and elected by the "parents" of students
- ¶ the principal
- ¶ one member elected by the staff from among their number
- ¶ one member elected by the student body, in the case of secondary schools, and by the pupils of Forms 1 and above in the case of schools with both primary and secondary students
- ¶ two members nominated by the proprietor, in the case of integrated schools
- ¶ such other co-opted members as the board of trustees thinks fit (up to a maximum number of 4), to ensure that the board properly reflects the composition of its community, or to ensure that particular expertise is represented and available to the

board. No more than one of these co-opted members will be a teacher employed by the board.

1.1.34 The term "parents" will include any person who is the immediate caregiver of a student.

1.1.35 The members nominated and elected by "parents" will be "parents" themselves. In the case of intermediate schools and early childhood centres, "parents" can include those whose children will attend the institution within the coming year, or whose children have attended within the previous year.

1.1.36 No principal, teacher or student will be chairperson of the board.

1.1.37 Apart from the teacher representative, no other employee of the board will be eligible for election to the board.

1.1.38 The student representative will be free to withdraw from board meetings at any time if their presence is likely to compromise them. Boards will also need to be aware that in some cultures it is unacceptable for young people to work alongside those in authority.

1.1.39 All board members have the same powers and responsibilities—whether co-opted or elected.

1.1.40 Principals will use their vote in accordance with a code of conduct which will be included in the national guidelines.

1.1.41 Boards will encourage a fair representation from their community—specially from women, Maori, Pacific Island and working class parents in communities where this is appropriate.

Election and Co-option to the Board

1.1.42 Responsibility for informing the community about the board of trustees' election process will lie with the principal.

1.1.43 Elections to primary and secondary schools' boards will be held every two years.

1.1.44 To ensure board continuity, only 50 per cent of trustees will be re-elected at any one time.

1.1.45 Co-opted members will serve for a specific term to be determined by the individual board.

Attendance at Meetings

1.1.46 Board members will be paid fees to compensate for any substantial financial disadvantage incurred in being a board member. A scale of (maximum) fees for this will be established, to guide boards. Fees will be awarded at the discretion of the board itself—and will be used to compensate for lost income, and for childcare, travel and other costs.

1.1.47 The Government will examine the possibility of requiring employers to give up to 6 days' unpaid leave each year to employees who are board members, to enable them to participate fully in board business.

1.2 Teaching Positions within Institutions

1.2.1 As outlined in paragraphs 1.1.14–1.1.22, the board will be the legal employer of staff: it will appoint the principal; approve appointments of basic-scale teaching staff on the recommendation of the principal; and approve appointments of staff above the basic scale on the recommendation of a staffing committee. The board will determine starting salaries (within the appropriate salary scales).

1.2.2 Appointment of the *principal* will be on a contract within a salary range established nationally. The term of the contract will be negotiated between the board of trustees and the principal.

1.2.3 The appointment of certain *senior teachers* (the top senior teacher in primary schools; the top 2 teachers in secondary schools) will be on contract within a salary range established nationally. The term of the contract will be negotiated between the board and the teacher involved.

1.2.4 Appointment of *teachers* will be as employees within salary scales established nationally. A starting salary offered may be lower or higher than the salary received in the teacher's former position. A teacher's salary will not be lowered after she or he is appointed, unless this is permitted in the terms and conditions of the relevant award.

1.2.5 The rights of proprietors of integrated schools and other possible "schools of special character" (see section 3.6: The Position of "Special Character" Schools) to specify certain requirements for staff will be further considered by the Implementation Unit in consultation with interested parties.

1.2.6 The priority-rights scheme, and the primary service procedure whereby certain positions are reserved for teacher-training graduates, will be abolished.

1.2.7 The removal expenses of transferring teachers will continue to be generally funded. All other costs—including the cost of interviewing applicants—will be funded by the institution.

1.2.8 Boards will observe the principles of equal employment opportunities in appointment procedures. This will be monitored by the Review and Audit Agency as part of its regular review.

1.2.9 Positions will be advertised nationally.

1.2.10 The board will be responsible for approving leave for staff, and will reimburse teachers' day-to-day expense claims.

1.2.11 Positions to be known as "teachers of outstanding merit"—which encompasses the concept of "lead" teachers—will be built into salary structures, to provide teachers with an incentive to remain as classroom teachers rather than seeking senior positions. To be considered a "teacher of outstanding merit", a teacher will usually need to have completed a minimum of 10 years' service and attained a suitable standard of teaching performance. Teachers considered suitable for recognition will be recommended by their board of trustees and principal, but the final judgment will be made by the Review and Audit Agency. The recognition as a teacher of outstanding merit will no longer apply once the teacher concerned takes up a senior position. The overall numbers of teachers of outstanding merit will be limited, but there will be no limit to the number of such teachers on a particular institution's staff.

1.2.12 Maximum and minimum staff:student ratios will be set in the national guidelines for education.

1.2.13 Schools will make their own arrangements for employing relieving teachers. Some relieving teachers, however, will be paid through the ministry, and not from the institution's teaching salaries grant (for more detail see paragraph 1.3.3).

1.2.14 Allowances paid to associate teachers and tutor teachers will be funded through teachers colleges, and not through the institution's own funding.

The Role of the Principal and Staff

1.2.15 The principal is and will be the professional leader of the institution. Principals will be responsible for:

¶ the preparatory work on an institution's charter (in consultation with staff and community and with assistance, if required, from the ministry)

¶ the allocation of duties and detailed objectives amongst staff

¶ the development of performance objectives and measures to assess that performance

¶ recommending the registration of beginning teachers (see section 3.4 : Teacher Training)

¶ ensuring that individual families are informed of the educational progress and achievements of their children.

1.2.16 Principals will be expected to work in a collaborative relationship with their staff, but will have the final responsibility for making decisions. (The board will be responsible for approving the institution's staff development programme—which will be funded through the institution's bulk grant.)

1.2.17 The role of teachers in their institution will not change dramatically. They will, however, have a more direct relationship with their employer (the board of trustees) and will be expected to participate in decisions made about budgets and about their own use of the institution's resources.

1.2.18 Institutions will be able to "buy in" any extra administrative support they may require. Allowance will be made for this in the bulk grant.

1.2.19 The Government will consider ways in which principals and other teachers taking on new responsibilities can be given training, information and support. This will be referred to the Implementation Unit.

Awards and Salary Scale Negotiations

1.2.20 Awards and salary scales for all teachers will be negotiated nationally.

1.2.21 The State Services Commission will act on behalf of employers in award and salary negotiations, and will consult with employers' representatives in doing this—as required by the State Sector Act 1988.

1.2.22 There will be no unified salary scale for teachers introduced at this stage.

Teacher Appraisal and Discipline

1.2.23 The board of trustees is the legal employer of teachers and as such will be responsible for instituting procedures of teacher appraisal and discipline. However, any changes to existing procedures will have to be established in the appropriate awards.

1.3 Funding

1.3.1 All funding will come to institutions as a bulk grant. This bulk grant will have two distinct components—teaching salaries and operational activities—and each will be based on its own separate funding formula. The formulae will be sensitive to the varying needs of different institutions in different areas, and will be weighted for equity considerations and the particular costs of running rural schools. The formulae will be publicly available for scrutiny.

1.3.2 The teaching salaries grant that the institution receives will have been calculated by the ministry as follows: a national staff roll for each school (including prescribed limits on the numbers of senior-scale staff) is decided according to a nationally determined formula; weightings are calculated to take account of an institution's individual needs; and this is combined with nationally negotiated pay scales to give the salaries grant for a particular institution. The board can then decide the numbers of teachers (within given maximum and minimum staffing ratios) and at what step in the national salary scale they start.

1.3.3 The teaching salaries grant will not cover payment for relieving teachers in circumstances where the relief is necessary because of sick leave and certain government-approved study or sports leave-on-pay. These payments will be made through the ministry. Similarly, the teaching salaries grant will not cover allowances for associate or tutor teachers: these will be funded through teachers colleges. (The teaching salaries grant will, however, cover payment for relieving teachers who replace staff undertaking staff development training.)

1.3.4 The operational activities grant—to cover administration, ancillary support, maintenance, and the non-salary aspects of teaching—will have been calculated on the basis of a separate nationally determined formula. This grant will not be broken down into

specific categories of expenditure: the board of the individual institution itself will decide these expenditures. For example, the institution may decide—given the objectives and teaching programme in its charter—that a priority is replacing furniture, or providing computers in every classroom. It will seek quotations and will make decisions on the basis of the prices received. There will be no compulsion to use any particular agencies.

1.3.5 While the bulk grant has two distinct components, the board will have some discretion in the use of these funds. It will have, for instance, some leeway in the numbers of teachers it will hire, and at what rate in the salary scale it will do so. The board may decide that an extra teacher is a priority, and may use funds from the operational activities grant to create another teaching position—or to subsidise two part-time positions. Similarly, it may decide that, given the objectives set out in its charter, it should forgo a teacher position and instead use funds to buy a computer or other high-technology teaching aids.

1.3.6 The funding formula will be adjusted whenever new policies are to be implemented in institutions. This will also apply to existing policies which are not yet fully implemented throughout institutions—such as reading recovery.

1.3.7 The funding of special programmes and facilities for students with handicapping conditions will be the responsibility of the ministry.

1.3.8 Institutions will know in advance the money available to them over a given school year and will budget and allocate funds accordingly.

1.3.9 Boards of trustees will also be able to borrow money commercially (see 1.1.31).

1.3.10 Schools will not use fundraising income to augment staff salaries or staffing positions.

1.4 Payroll & School Transport Services

Payroll Services

1.4.1 For the first two years of the new structure, payroll services will be the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. During this period, the ministry may contract out payroll services to units or

organisations which have the appropriate expertise. Any contracting out arrangements will continue to use existing payroll staff.

1.4.2 At the end of two years, the ministry will review the operation of the payroll services and may make use of a range of options for providing these services.

1.4.3 Administering existing contracts for school transport will become a responsibility of the Ministry of Education. As contracts come up for renewal, the contractual responsibility will pass to the institution. Where suitable local arrangements exist, school transport services can be provided by associated boards of trustees, education service centres or other suppliers.

1.5 Education Service Centres

1.5.1 Education service centres will be one source of administrative services to institutions.

1.5.2 The range of services provided by education service centres will depend on the needs of the institutions, but could include: administrative support, assistance with budgets and pricing; accounting services; arranging school or other transport; providing management advice.

1.5.3 Institutions will be free to choose whether to use the education service centres or to buy services elsewhere. In some instances, education service centres may be able to provide full administrative support to those boards which require it.

1.6 Community Education Forums

1.6.1 Each individual institution will be responsive—through its charter—to its particular community. As well, communities will be able to express their views through community education forums. These community education forums will be informal and advisory arrangements set up on the initiative of the community, and will act as the official voice of the community on educational matters. Amongst other activities, they could:

- ¶ identify and gather together the views—both professional and consumer—of all education sectors on issues of importance
- ¶ identify and gather together views within sectors
- ¶ discuss and if possible settle local conflicts of interest

- ¶ discuss policy initiatives proposed by the ministry and provide feedback on these
- ¶ discuss broad educational issues such as new national-guidelines proposals, changes to national examination prescriptions and requirements, and the formulating of proposals to task forces.

1.6.2 Convenors will be selected by the Minister from a list of people put forward by each community and will be people in whom the community has confidence. There may be more than one convener for each community forum.

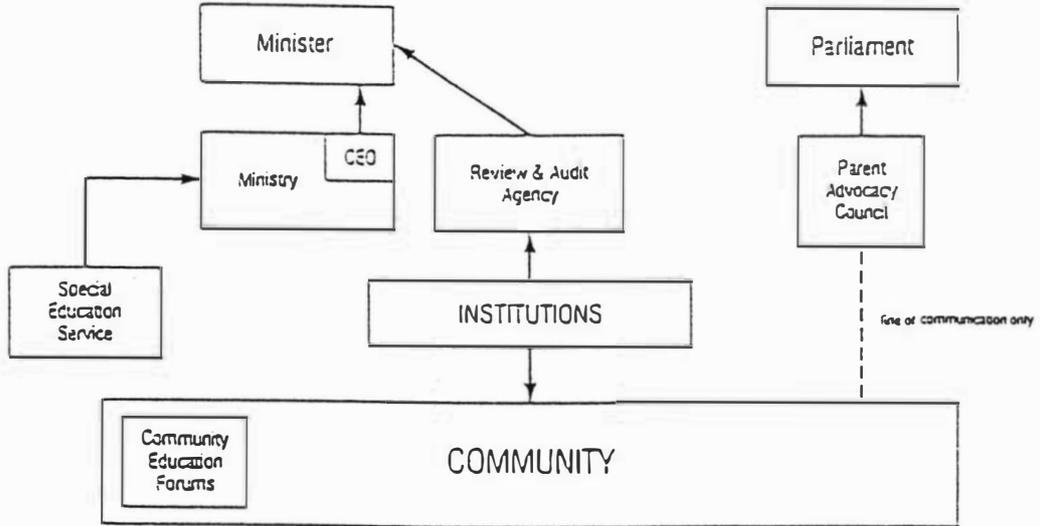
1.6.3 Convenors will be appointed for a limited period of time as specified by the Minister. The Ministry of Education will be responsible for drawing up terms of reference for forum convenors.

1.6.4 Convenors will call forum meetings when requested to do so by an individual or group within the community, or by the ministry.

1.6.5 Funding will be available to obtain secretarial services and to meet communication expenses.

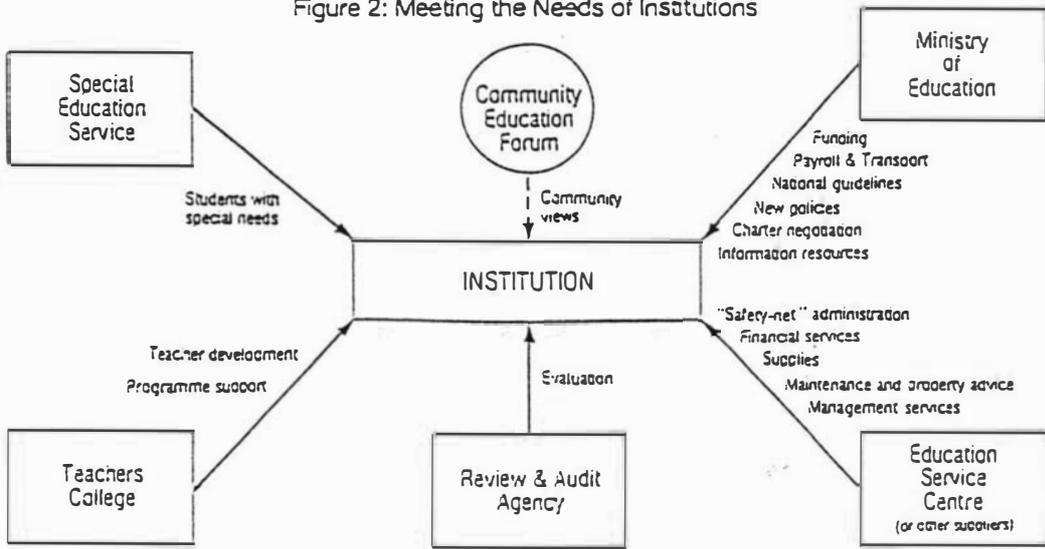
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Figure 1: Lines of Accountability



FOLLOWING 3 SCHEMES

Figure 2: Meeting the Needs of Institutions



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FINAL LEVEL

2. *Agencies at the Centre*

2.0.1 The principal education agencies at the centre will be a Ministry of Education, a Review and Audit Agency, and a Parent Advocacy Council. There will also be a Teachers Registration Board.

2.1 *Ministry of Education*

2.1.1 A Ministry of Education will be established to provide policy advice to the Minister on all aspects of education, and to oversee the implementation of national policies approved by the Minister. It will not be a direct provider of education services, although it will contract other agencies and individuals to provide certain services.

2.1.2 The ministry will be accountable, through a chief executive officer, to the Minister.

2.1.3 The ministry will have at least three units—for policy advice, property, and operational activities. Further detail on the structure of the ministry will be decided by the ministry's top management (its chief executive officer and unit managers), working within a strategic plan for the ministry. This strategic plan is yet to be developed by the Implementation Unit: it will reflect the Government's goals for education and will take into account the five principles outlined below.

2.1.4 The structure of the ministry will take into account the following principles:

- ¶ a minimum of management layers
- ¶ structures based on functions
- ¶ a fair representation of all levels of education
- ¶ the employment of staff responsible for ensuring equality of educational opportunity
- ¶ a good information base for informing policy, property and operations decisions.

2.1.5 The ministry itself will decide whether it wishes to establish a local presence in some districts. Any district or regional bodies

established by the ministry will not act as a "control" between individual institutions and the ministry.

2.1.6 The classification of unit managers' positions will be determined by the State Services Commission.

2.1.7 All ministry positions will be advertised and equal-employment-opportunities principles will apply in all appointment procedures. The principles of the State Sector Act 1988 will also apply to all staff.

2.1.8 The ministry will include, amongst its functions:

- ¶ the establishment of national guidelines for education
- ¶ responsibility for setting national curriculum objectives which will form part of the national guidelines for education (curriculum activities, however, will be undertaken by contractual arrangements with the ministry as required)
- ¶ recommending approval of charters to the Minister (and advice to institutions on preparation of initial charters if requested)
- ¶ the ownership of educational property and responsibility for capital works
- ¶ funding of all institutions
- ¶ responsibility for payments in cases of major vandalism, fire, flood and earthquake damage.

2.1.9 The National Library will be independent of the ministry (see section 4.11 : National Library); and the Visual Production Unit, the Audio Production Unit and the School Publications branch of the department will be brought together as one business unit outside the ministry (see section 4.10).

2.2 Education Policy Advice

2.2.1 As the need arises, the Minister will establish specific task forces to assist with policy development for limited periods of time. There will be no permanent independent body established to formulate policy.

2.3 Review and Audit Agency

2.3.1 An independent body—the Review and Audit Agency—will be established to ensure that institutions are accountable for the government funds they spend and for meeting the objectives set out in their charter. The Review and Audit Agency will also comment

on the performance of other elements in the system—the Special Education Service's supply of services to institutions; the teachers colleges' supply of general advisory services to institutions; and the ministry's provision of policy advice and overseeing of policy implementation (as it affects the performance of institutions).

2.3.2 The Review and Audit Agency will itself be accountable, through a chief executive officer, to the Minister.

2.3.3 The Review and Audit Agency will review institutions through multi-disciplinary teams with expertise in curriculum, financial and management support, equal employment opportunities, and equal educational opportunity. Each team will also have on it a community representative, and a principal co-opted from another institution.

2.3.4 There will be regular reviews on a two-yearly basis: there will be two years between the completion of one review and the beginning of the next.

2.3.5 The regular reviews will be a co-operative endeavour, aimed at helping boards to meet their objectives and review their own performance. After an initial visit—which would include input from the community—the review team will produce a report which identifies strengths and weaknesses of the institution and its administration, and makes recommendations for improvements. The institution will have an opportunity to comment on the report and make changes in its teaching and management. A second visit will be made one term later. A subsequent, detailed report from this review will make recommendations for any changes deemed necessary. If the report sets out serious deficiencies in the management of the institution or in the achievements of its students, notice will be given of a third review six months later. This further review could lead to the dismissal of the trustees, if the deficiencies have not been dealt with in ways that produce significant improvement.

2.3.6 Boards of trustees will send an annual set of accounts—which have been either audited or certified by an accountant—to the Review and Audit Agency.

2.3.7 There will be provision for special reviews, which will be undertaken on the initiative of the Minister, the Review and Audit Agency, or the board of trustees itself, in cases where there is public disquiet or concern about an institution's performance. This special review will determine the facts of the matter, and it could result in

either: a requirement for the board to take specific action; the dismissal of the board and a new board being elected; or the dismissal of the board and a statutory manager being appointed in its place until such time as a new board is elected.

2.3.8 Reports on both regular reviews and special reviews will be made public.

2.3.9 During 1989, the Review and Audit Agency's chief executive officer will develop a strategic plan—including the methodologies to be used in the reviews of different types of institutions, and the structure of the Review and Audit Agency itself. (The question of the agency's presence at local, district or regional level will also be decided by its chief executive officer.)

2.3.10 The Review and Audit Agency will be responsible for granting exemption from enrolment and attendance at school. Home-based schooling will be monitored in its effectiveness by the Review and Audit Agency (see section 3.4 : Home-Based Schooling).

2.3.11 The Review and Audit Agency will make the final decision on designating "teachers of outstanding merit", on the recommendation of the principal and the board of that teacher's institution.

2.3.12 Those conducting reviews will not have any other function. In particular, they will not take on responsibility for advice and guidance to institutions, apart from any recommendation they wish to make in their reports and through their review process.

2.4 *Parent Advocacy Council*

2.4.1 An independent Parent Advocacy Council will be established, to promote the interests of parents at all levels of education.

2.4.2 The role of the Parent Advocacy Council will be one of "last resort". As such, it will be limited in its functions. These will be:

- ¶ to disseminate information about the education system and the rights and obligations of those in it
- ¶ to help groups and individuals whose needs are not being met or listened to elsewhere in the system—for instance, at the local institution or community education forum levels

- ¶ to assist parents who wish to educate their children at home, or who wish to set up a separate school

- ¶ to represent and promote the interests of parents generally.

The council will not become involved in complaints about the day-to-day running of institutions.

2.4.3 The Parent Advocacy Council will be accountable directly to Parliament, and will report to Parliament on an annual basis.

2.4.4 The council's members will be appointed by the Minister. A membership that reflects New Zealand's general population—in terms of its ethnic, gender and income composition—will be encouraged.

2.5 *National Education Qualifications Authority & the Board of Studies*

2.5.1 The Government will consider the roles and functions of these bodies when it has received the report of the Working Group on Post-Compulsory Education and Training.

2.6 *Teachers Registration Board*

2.6.1 A Teachers Registration Board will be established. This will be a small independent body, responsible for determining the conditions and requirements under which teachers will be able to be registered as teachers. It will also be responsible for approving registration of teachers, and for maintaining a register of teachers. Recommendation for registration of a beginning teacher will come from the principal of the institution(s) where the teacher has worked over a given qualifying period. Other non-registered teachers will be able to seek registration themselves. (For more details on teacher registration see paragraphs 3.4.4–3.4.6 in section 3.4 : Teacher Training.)

2.6.2 The Teachers Registration Board will also decide if a teacher's name is to be removed from the register, and will determine the conditions under which this could occur.

2.6.3 The Teachers Registration Board will be representative of employing bodies and teachers, and will be funded by the teachers themselves.

3. *National Issues Impinging at Local Level*

3.0.1 Equity issues, Maori interests, national guidelines for education, teacher training, and sale of assets are national issues that have implications at a local level.

3.1 *Equity Issues*

3.1.1 Equity objectives will underpin all policy related to the reform of education administration. These equity objectives will be:

- ¶ to ensure that a new system of education administration promotes and progressively achieves greater equity for women, Maori, Pacific Island, other groups with minority status; and for working class, rural and disabled students, teachers and communities
- ¶ to ensure that equity issues are integrated into all aspects of changes in education administration and not treated as an optional extra
- ¶ to acknowledge that the present system of education administration includes some features which promote equity and which should not be lost as a result of changes
- ¶ to recognise that equity is best achieved through systems which combine enabling legislation with awareness and education
- ¶ to ensure that the systems which are put in place enable the monitoring of progress towards equity goals.

3.1.2 The Ministry of Education, the Review and Audit Agency, and the individual boards of trustees will be bound by the equal-employment-opportunities requirements set down in the State Sector Act 1988. Compliance with these requirements will be audited by the Review and Audit Agency as part of its regular review of institutions.

3.1.3 The Ministry of Education will employ staff responsible for ensuring equality of educational opportunity.

3.1.4 The national guidelines for education will include a section on the objectives and strategies for equal-employment and equal-educational opportunities.

3.2 *Maori Interests*

3.2.1 Opportunities will be made available to parents who wish to have their children learn or be educated in the Maori language.

3.2.2 The whanau will be able to have access to and participate in education. This will be possible through individuals within the whanau being eligible for election to the board of trustees, and also through the close partnership envisaged between the community and the institutions—especially when the charter is being negotiated; when the board reports to the community (see paragraph 1.1.9 in section 1.1 : Board of Trustees); and when the institution is formally reviewed by the Review and Audit Agency.

3.2.3 Maori parents—as other parents—will be able to educate their children at home or establish their own institutions if the system is not sufficiently responsive to their needs (see section 5.4 : Home-Based Schooling and section 5.5 : Withdrawal from Existing Arrangements).

3.2.4 The interests of Maori education will be represented throughout each of the agencies at the centre.

3.3 *National Guidelines for Education*

3.3.1 There will be national guidelines for education. These will be the means of setting, maintaining and developing national standards of achievement in education, and will be an expression of matters of national interest. The national guidelines will set the parameters within which each individual institution will work.

3.3.2 Each institution's charter will be based on the national guidelines. Individual variations within the national guidelines will reflect the particular needs of the institution's community.

3.3.3 The national guidelines will include:

- ¶ an expression of the principles of equity as the underpinning of education administration
- ¶ national curriculum objectives
- ¶ a code of conduct for boards of trustees
- ¶ a code of conduct for principals.

3.4 *Teacher Training*

3.4.1 The Government will determine the number of teacher trainees it will fund. However, teachers' colleges will be able to take additional trainees if they can find other sources of funding for them.

3.4.2 Staff development programmes will be approved by the institution's board of trustees and funded from the institution's bulk grant.

3.4.3 Allowances for associate teachers and tutor teachers working in individual institutions will be funded through teachers colleges, not through the institution's own funding.

3.4.4 A system of teacher registration will be set up, through a national Teachers Registration Board (see also section 2.6). Beginning teachers will be eligible for registration after a given period of classroom teaching. Teachers without formal qualifications (but who have appropriate non-formal qualifications) will also be eligible for registration.

3.4.5 Principals will be responsible for recommending registration of a beginning teacher to the Teachers Registration Board. Other teachers will be able to seek registration themselves.

3.4.6 A review system for teachers who are declined recommendation or registration, or who have their name removed from the register, will be considered by the Officials' Working Group on Occupational Regulation. This working group will also consider the question of whether or not the registration of teachers should be compulsory.

3.5 *Sale of Assets*

3.5.1 As mentioned in paragraphs 1.1.24 to 1.1.27, the Crown will own those education properties it owns now. Funds from the sale of surplus educational institution property will be used by the Ministry of Education's property unit for further property improvements at institutions. Where donated or confiscated land—or land subject to Waitangi Tribunal claims—is to be sold, satisfactory arrangements will be made with the donors or original owners.

3.5.2 To promote the better use of the education system's property assets, an incentives package for institutions will be devised by the Ministry of Education's property division.

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3.5.3 Businesses, property and other assets owned by the Crown may be sold off to potential purchasers. Education Board and surplus departmental assets may be sold to former education board employees, departmental staff and others who may wish to own these assets as a base for providing services to institutions.

3.5.4 A register will be set up for assets that are likely to be sold off, identifying these assets as closely as possible with particular services. This register will form the basis of any negotiations between the Crown and potential purchasers.

3.5.5 Any priority or assistance that may be given to former education board or departmental staff in buying education system's assets or businesses will be negotiated during redeployment and redundancy discussions with the unions involved.

4. *Special Teaching Groups & Resources*

4.0.1 The new system will alter how special teaching groups and resources are organised. This section sets out the major changes.

4.1 *General Advisory Services*

4.1.1 General advisers will be attached to teachers colleges. Each college will clearly set out the level and types of general advisory services available to institutions in its catchment area.

4.1.2 After an initial two years, general advisory services will be reviewed by the ministry with a view to moving to full cost recovery. Under full cost recovery, funding would go directly to institutions' bulk grants, and institutions would buy services as they required.

4.1.3 Some general advisers will—from time to time—be employed under contract to the ministry, to support particular curriculum initiatives. These contracts will be for specified periods.

4.1.4 A review of teachers colleges will be undertaken in 1991, to rationalise the basis of employment for lecturers and advisers.

4.2 *Special Education Advisers*

4.2.1 Special education advisers—psychologists, visiting teachers, speech-language therapists, and advisers for the education of handicapped, deaf and visually impaired students—will be employed in the Special Education Service. This will be a free-standing self-administering body, which will be contracted by the ministry to provide services to institutions. The contract with the ministry will be negotiated annually.

4.2.2 District agencies will be set up at the discretion of the general manager of the service. Individual agencies will supply services on the basis of general guidelines agreed to in the contract with the ministry, and in accordance with an agreement reached with schools in their area.

4.2.3 Special education teachers who are itinerant specialists involved with individual children will either be attached to host institutions (and funded under contractual arrangements with the ministry) or be employed by the Special Education Service.

4.2.4 Institutions will be able to use services provided by agencies or individuals other than the Special Education Service.

4.2.5 Individual parents will be able to use the Special Education Service. The time allocated to parent assistance will be negotiated in the contract with the ministry.

4.2.6 The managers of district agencies will appoint their own staff under normal awards and agreements. As well as employing special education advisers, they will be able to hire the specialist skills of those such as occupational therapists, family counsellors and sexual abuse counsellors.

4.2.7 Eighty per cent of funding for special education advisers and associated costs will be allocated to the Special Education Service. The remaining 20 per cent will be included in the bulk grant to institutions for use in purchasing specific services, identified by the institution's teachers. After an initial two years institutions will be able to receive up to 100 per cent of their special education funding to use in buying services from either the Special Education Service or other suppliers.

4.2.8 The Special Education Service will not be monitored directly but its supply of services will be monitored through the Review and Audit Agency's review procedures for individual institutions.

4.2.9 Policy advice on special education will be provided by the ministry.

4.3 *Early Childhood Advisers*

4.3.1 The Government will consider the position of early childhood advisers when it has received the report of the Working Group on Early Childhood Care and Education.

4.4 *Education Officers in Museums, Zoos & Art Galleries*

4.4.1 Funding for these education officers will be provided directly to their museum, art gallery and zoo controlling authority.

The controlling authority will also become the education officer's employer, and so conditions of employment and salary scales will need to be re-negotiated.

4.5 *Correspondence School*

4.5.1 The Correspondence School will be under the control of a board of trustees who, together with the principal, will carry out the same functions as a board of trustees for any other primary or secondary school. Staff responsibilities and conditions of employment will be on the same basis as other primary and secondary schools.

4.5.2 Some of the funding for the Correspondence School will be through a bulk grant. The Correspondence School will also charge other institutions a tuition fee in those cases where a student is enrolled at an institution and is also receiving tuition from the Correspondence School.

4.5.3 Other agencies will be able to offer correspondence or distance education.

4.6 *Special Schools & Other Learning Units*

4.6.1 Special schools will be run in the same way as other state schools, except that they will have their own separate funding formula.

4.6.2 The final form of the institutional arrangements for classes arranged for children in hospital, in Department of Social Welfare homes and in health camps will be considered in more detail by the Implementation Unit. There will be further consultation with the schools or units to decide whether they are to be schools with their own charters or are to be attached to host institutions.

4.6.3 Arrangements for multicultural resource centres and the placement of "New Settlers" programmes will be further considered by the Implementation Unit.

4.7 *Units Associated with Institutions*

4.7.1 Activity centres attached to secondary schools will continue—under the charter of their host institution, whose bulk grant will be weighted to take account of this. At the time of the first Review and Audit Agency review, the community will be invited to

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give their views on whether, and in what form, the activity centre will be provided in the future.

4.7.2 Manual training centres will be attached to a host institution, and will operate under its charter. The host institution will charge other institutions who use the centre, for the cost of classes.

4.7.3 Work experience classes and transition units for young people at risk of unemployment on leaving school will continue, under the charter of a host institution. Funding will be provided through the host institution, whose bulk grant would be weighted accordingly.

4.7.4 Special classes for children who have significant learning impairments through intellectual and physical handicaps will continue. An institution with such a class or unit will receive specially tagged funding through its bulk grant. The institution's charter will include provision for the class(es) or unit(s).

4.8 REAP

4.8.1 The Rural Education Activities Programme (REAP) will be reviewed in 1990 to investigate whether resources should be distributed on a more equitable basis.

4.9 Teachers Centres & Education Centres

4.9.1 The nine fully funded teachers/education centres that currently exist will be attached to teachers colleges. They will continue to be fully funded by the government for two years from the changeover date. At the end of this transition period these centres—and other resource centres that are partially funded by the government—will operate on a full cost-recovery basis, as part of teachers colleges' training programmes. (As a result, their funding will instead go to institutions as part of the institution's bulk grant.)

4.10 Visual Production Unit, Audio Production Unit & School Publications

4.10.1 The Visual Production Unit, the Audio Production Unit and School Publications will be brought together as a single business unit outside the ministry.

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4.10.2 For its first 18 months, this enterprise will be fully funded. A modest cost-recovery target will be set for the 1991/92 financial year.

4.10.3 The Treasury will investigate an appropriate structure for this enterprise.

4.11 National Library

4.11.1 The National Library will be funded independently of Vote: Education.

4.11.2 The management of National Film Library will be transferred to the National Library. The School Library Service will continue under the management of the National Library.

4.11.3 All library education services will be funded on the same basis, and will have the same systems of cost recovery as the National Library.

4.12 Education Gazette

4.12.1 The position of the *Education Gazette*—which will lose its monopoly over advertisements for teaching positions in institutions—will be further considered by the Implementation Unit.

5. *Practical Issues of Schooling*

5.0.1 Under the new system, a number of practical issues of schooling will be affected. This section explains the main implications.

5.1 *Compulsory Schooling*

5.1.1 The current legislative provisions for compulsory schooling will remain unchanged and education will be compulsory between the ages of 6 and 15. From 1 October 1989, however, responsibility for ensuring that students attend school will pass to a school's board of trustees.

5.1.2 Deciding who is responsible for the suspension and expulsion of students will be considered further by the Officials Committee.

5.2 *Curriculum Decisions*

5.2.1 There will be a set of national curriculum objectives established within the national guidelines for education. Optional elements possible within the national objectives will be determined by the community and the institution working together, and will be expressed in the institution's charter. Parents and the community will also have a part to play in the establishment of the national curriculum objectives, through consultation via community education forums.

5.3 *Enrolment Schemes*

5.3.1 There will be an enrolment scheme for secondary schools available for use in communities which need to regulate the catchment areas for schools. This scheme could also apply to primary schools where required.

5.3.2 The purpose of the enrolment scheme will be to ensure that students can attend a state school reasonably convenient to their

home, to give parents maximum choice, and to make the best use of existing school plant. The enrolment scheme will work as follows:

- ¶ a maximum roll will be set for every school as part of its charter negotiations with the ministry—available accommodation will be a significant, but not the sole factor, in deciding on the maximum-roll figure
- ¶ within the total maximum roll, a threshold roll to accommodate "home-zone" pupils will be established
- ¶ all pupils living within the home zone will be guaranteed enrolment
- ¶ the ministry will negotiate the home zone for a school and will establish its threshold limit
- ¶ where a school still has unfilled places after enrolling home-zone pupils and where there are more out-of-zone applicants than there are places available, these will be filled by ballot
- ¶ once students have been admitted to a school their brothers and sisters can also attend that school, on the same basis as home-zone pupils
- ¶ there will be provision to review the home-zone area, and the maximum-roll and threshold-roll numbers, and to vary them if necessary.

5.3.3 The details of this scheme will be further considered by the Government.

5.3.4 Enrolments to integrated schools will continue to be controlled through a maximum roll.

5.4 Home-Based Schooling

5.4.1 Parents will continue to be able to educate their children at home, provided that a standard of education similar to that available in an institution is maintained.

5.4.2 Exemption from enrolment at school and subsequent attendance will be granted by the Review and Audit Agency.

5.4.3 A standard charter for home-based schooling will be used as a basis for negotiations between the parent(s) who wish to educate their child at home, and the Review and Audit Agency. This charter will allow the agency to monitor the student's educational progress, and so ensure that it is regular and comparable to that provided by institutions.

5.4.4 Children being taught at home will have the right to enrol in Correspondence School courses. Their parent(s) will receive a home-based schooling allowance based on that currently given to the parents of Correspondence School students.

5.5 Withdrawal from Existing Arrangements

5.5.1 Groups of parents will be able to withdraw from an existing institution and set up a separate one if the particular educational needs of their children cannot be met locally.

5.5.2 The parents will have to represent at least 21 students and, once their charter is approved, the new institution will be funded by the state in the same way as other institutions.

5.5.3 The Parent Advocacy Council will assist parents in negotiating with the Ministry of Education to establish a new institution and to have its charter approved. The setting up of a new institution will be a last resort, and its charter must be consistent with national guidelines.

5.5.4 The new institution may be set up in buildings within an existing institution, or in an entirely separate location.

5.6 The Position of "Special-Character" Schools

5.6.1 The definition of "special-character" schools (which currently covers integrated schools only) will be extended to include kaupapa Maori schools, bilingual schools and others where the Minister decides a "special character" exists—such as schools established under the withdrawal or "exiting" provisions of the new system. Single-sex schools, however, will remain a separate category of general schools.

5.6.2 Special-character schools will have their own charter and board of trustees and, in most administrative respects, will resemble other institutions.

5.6.3 The Government will further consider the position of integrated schools, in consultation with the interested parties.

5.6.4 Private schools will largely be unaffected by the Government's reforms of education administration.

TOMORROW'S SCHOOLS

5.7 Community Schools

5.7.1 Community schools are a new concept which combines elements of early childhood education, compulsory schooling and community education within the one institution. Negotiations will be held between the Ministry of Education and institutions wishing to become community schools over:

- ¶ the age group catered for
- ¶ the size of the maximum roll
- ¶ the extent of the school's home zone.

5.8 Out-of-School Classes

5.8.1 Funding for out-of-school classes will be transferred to institutions as part of their bulk grant.

5.8.2 The Implementation Unit will consider whether this funding is to be distributed to a wider range of institutions than it is at present.

5.9 Evening Classes

5.9.1 The Government will consider arrangements for non-formal evening education classes when it has received the report of the Working Group on Post-Compulsory Education and Training.

6. Making the Change

6.0.1 The changeover to the new system of education administration will take place on 1 October 1989. The new system will bring about marked changes in structures and organisations. To ensure a smooth transition from the old to the new, considerable planning has gone into the process of implementation.

6.0.2 Mention has already been made of the Implementation Unit. This unit (directed by the chief executive officer of the Department of Education) will have working to it several key working groups, each responsible for reporting on matters that need to be considered as the new system takes shape. A separate Officials Committee (chaired by the State Services Commission) will have responsibility for overseeing matters connected with the new non-ministry agencies at the centre. As mentioned in the Introduction, these two bodies will consider the detail and any further implications of decisions the Government has already made. They will report to the Cabinet in time for any proposals to be included in the 1989 budget round.

6.0.3 Because much of the detail is yet to be resolved, it is essential that everyone involved is properly informed of what is happening and how and when it is going to happen.

6.1 Assistance to Institutions and Boards

6.1.1 The Department of Education will establish a group of liaison staff who will visit institutions and assist with charter development and management advice when required. School inspectors and other appropriate officers of the department and other agencies will be selected to assist the liaison staff with this work for a specified period during the transition. This liaison function will cease after approval of the charter.

6.1.2 Where institutions feel unable to manage their own affairs during the first two years of the new arrangements, the ministry will provide "safety-net" assistance through contracts with other agencies. This assistance will be a temporary measure only, and will be paid for out of the institution's bulk grant. The ministry will call for

tenders over a specified geographical area, to provide services to institutions who are experiencing administrative difficulties.

6.1.3 Resource materials and training packages will be produced to help boards, institutions and their communities to prepare for the change.

6.2 *Assistance to Education Board and Departmental Staff*

6.2.1 Full information on the relevant changes will be given to all staff at an early stage.

6.2.2 Staff will be made aware of the possibilities and options available to them. The services of trained and committed staff will be retained until they are required in the new structures; those whose services are no longer retained in the education system will be provided with assistance—within existing or yet-to-be-negotiated agreements—to find a job elsewhere.

6.2.3 Education board and departmental staff will be offered help in setting themselves up as education service centres or in marketing their services as individuals. Redeployment and redundancy negotiations will include the sale of assets to former staff where this is appropriate. (Matters connected with this will be further considered by the Implementation Unit.)

6.3 *The Transfer of Responsibilities*

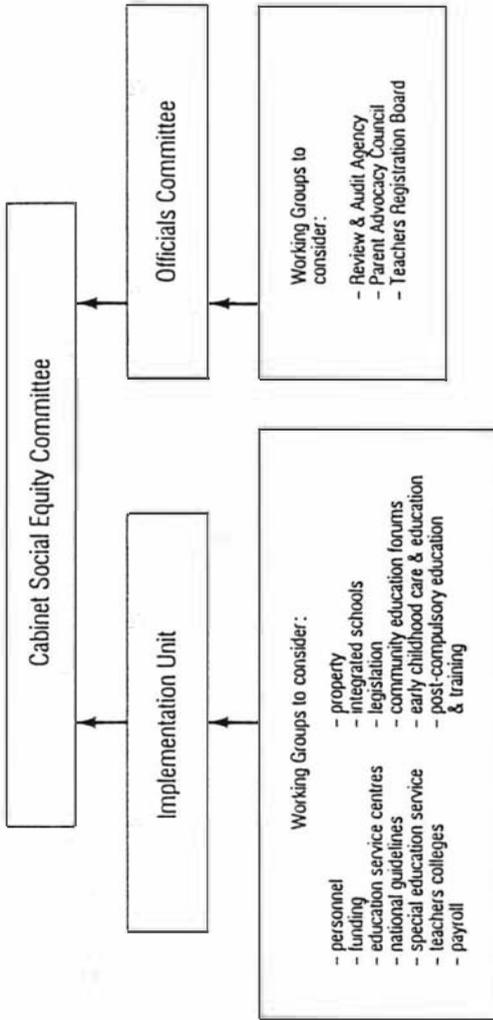
6.3.1 Until 1 October 1989, administrative functions will continue to be performed by those organisations which perform them now. At the date of the changeover they will pass to the new agencies. In particular:

- ¶ Boards of trustees will have responsibilities for the running of institutions from 1 October 1989. Bulk grants will commence at the beginning of the 1990 school year.
- ¶ Staffing entitlements for the 1990 year will be done by education boards; thereafter, responsibility will pass to the ministry (who will indirectly establish staffing entitlements in that they will be responsible for funding formulae and the national guidelines).
- ¶ Staffing appointments in all primary schools, for vacancies to be taken up at the beginning of the third term of 1989, will be

made by the education boards. The boards will ensure that schools begin the third term fully staffed. Thereafter, responsibility for filling vacancies will pass to the boards of trustees.

- ¶ From 1 October 1989, all education employees will have new employers; as well, some will move to contract positions. The arrangements for this move will be further considered by the Implementation Unit.
- ¶ Cash grants, and the equipping and furnishing of institutions, will be done in the usual way for the whole of the 1989 school year. Thereafter, institutions will make their own arrangements and funding will be provided through the bulk grant.
- ¶ Maintenance projects that were either in progress or approved as at 1 October 1989 will remain the responsibility of existing agencies until each project is completed and paid for under the terms of its contract. Thereafter, responsibility passes to the individual institution's board of trustees.
- ¶ All capital works that were either in progress or approved as at 1 October 1989 will be taken over by the ministry's property unit.
- ¶ Other transfers of responsibilities—for instance, between school inspectors and the Review and Audit Agency—will be considered in more detail by the Implementation Unit.

Figure 3: Implementing the Changes



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APPENDIX B

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
AND CULTURE

EDUCATION
AND
TRAINING POLICY

FOREWORD

A good system of education in any country must be effective on two fronts: on the quantitative level, to ensure access to education and equity in the distribution and allocation of resources to various segments of the society, and on the qualitative level, to ensure that the country produces the skills needed for rapid social and economic development. Evidence exists to show a very high correlation between investment in education and the creation of national wealth. Despite the rapid expansion of the education system over the last three decades in Tanzania, human resources remain seriously underdeveloped. Too few of the working population have adequate knowledge and skills needed to meet the demand of rapid economic development. The potential impact of new technologies in agriculture cannot be realized without skilled farmers. The shortage of scientists, engineers, teachers, doctors, nurses and other high level skilled personnel in agriculture and industry deprives the country the ability of adapting and developing new technologies and skills, based on in-country research and applying the results to the local production of goods and services.

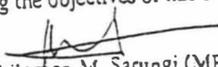
The new Government macro policy which emphasizes, inter alia, increased role of the private sector; continued liberalization of the economy; provision of essential resources to priority areas; increased investment in infrastructure and social sectors and the introduction of cost sharing measures, necessitated a review and restructuring of the education system. This Education and Training Policy takes into account various reviews, reports and recommendations regarding our education system, both internal and external, and is a guide to the future development and provision of education and training in this country as we move towards the 21st Century. The Policy intends to:

- decentralize education and training by empowering regions, districts, communities and educational institutions to manage and administer education and training;
- improve the quality of education and training through strengthening in-service teacher training programmes; the supply of teaching and learning materials; rehabilitation of

school/college physical facilities; teacher trainers' programmes; research in education and training, and streamlining the curriculum, examinations and certification;

- expand the provision of education and training through liberalization of the provision of education and training, and the promotion and strengthening of formal and non-formal, distance and out-of-school education programmes;
- promote science and technology through intensification of vocational education and training; rationalization of tertiary institutions, including the establishment of polytechnics; strengthening science and technical education, and development of formal and non-formal programmes for the training of technologist;
- promote access and equity through making access to basic education available to all citizens as a basic right; encouraging equitable distribution of educational institutions and resources; expanding and improving girls' education; screening for talented, gifted and disabled children so that they are given appropriate education and training, and developing programmes to ensure access to education to disadvantaged groups;
- broaden the base for the financing of education and training through cost sharing measures involving individuals, communities, NGOs, parents and end - users, and through the inclusion of education as an area of investment in the Investment Promotion Act.

I would like to take this opportunity to call upon communities, parents, local government authorities, individuals, NGOs and donor agencies to collaborate with the Government in realizing the objectives of this Policy.


Prof. Philemon M. Sarungi (MP)
MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
February, 1995
Dares Salaam.

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PREAMBLE

Historical Background

Education is a process by which the individual acquires knowledge and skills necessary for appreciating and adapting to the environment and the ever-changing social, political and economic conditions of society and as a means by which one can realize one's full potential. In Tanzania, traditional education emphasized principles of good citizenship, acquisition of life skills and the perpetuation of valued customs and traditions. During the German and English colonial periods, education provided was restricted to a few individuals earmarked to service colonial interests. Immediately after independence in 1961, the government passed the Education Act of 1962 to regulate the provision of education. This Act repealed and replaced the 1927 Education Ordinance and was intended to:

- abolish racial discrimination in the provision of education;
- streamline the curriculum, examinations as well as the administration and financing of education to provide for uniformity;
- promote Kiswahili as a national language by making Kiswahili and English media of instruction in schools;
- make local authorities and communities responsible for the construction of primary schools and provision of primary education;

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- establish a Unified Teaching Service for all teachers.

Despite these new policy measures, there were no significant changes in the goals and objectives of education until in 1967 when the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) was introduced to guide the planning and practice of education.

The philosophy of ESR was a sequel of the Arusha Declaration and it underscored the weaknesses of the education system then. This philosophy emphasized the need for curriculum reform in order to integrate theory with the acquisition of practical life skills. It also urged linkage of education plans and practices with national socio-economic development and the world of work.

Between 1967 and 1978, the government took several steps and enacted several laws in order to legalize actions taken as a result of the Arusha Declaration and ESR. These laws and steps included the Education Acts of 1969 and 1978; the Decentralization Programme of 1972; the National Examinations Council Act No. 21 of 1973; Universal Primary Education (UPE) and the Musoma Resolution in 1974; the Institute of Adult Education Act No. 12 of 1975 and the Institute of Education Act No. 13 of 1975.

Specifically, the following changes were effected in the education and school system:

- Reforms in the school curricula in order to meet national needs.

- More emphasis was given to the provision of primary education by introducing UPE.
- Post-Primary Technical Centers (PPTCs) were introduced.
- Teacher training programmes were expanded.
- Multi-purpose Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) were introduced as part of post-primary training programmes.
- Abolition of Foreign Examinations and the introduction of National Examinations in the Formal school system.
- Formalisation of Continuous Assessment at secondary and teacher education levels in the examination system.
- Work was made an integral part of education.
- Primary and secondary education were made terminal and relevant to the needs of the country.
- Diversification of secondary schools (Forms 1-4).
- Adult literacy and education were given more prominence and financial support.
- Voluntary Agency schools were nationalized.

- Local Education Authorities were formed to run and manage primary schools.
- A National Advisory Council on Education was established.
- School Boards and Committees were established for secondary schools/teachers colleges and primary schools respectively.
- Both public and private schools were required to be registered.
- All certificated, licenced and non-licenced teachers were required to be registered.
- Tanzania nationals were appointed to head all secondary schools, except for a few girls' secondary schools.
- Direct entry for Form 6 leavers to tertiary and higher education and training institutions was abolished.

The Education Act No. 25 of 1978 was passed to legalize education changes that were introduced between 1967 and 1978 following the implementation of ESR. Changes legalized by the Act included:

- The establishment of a centralized administration of schools gave powers to the Minister of Education to promote National Education: an Educational

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- Making mandatory the registration and licencing of teachers.
- The establishment of Regional and District Appeals Boards.
- Empowering the Commissioner of National Education to approve fees for public and private schools.
- Empowering the Minister for Education to prohibit the use of certain books in schools.
- Empowering the Minister for National Education to make regulations for the better carrying out of the provisions and objectives of the Act.

In 1981, a Presidential Commission on Education was appointed to review the existing system of education and propose necessary changes to be realised by the country towards the year 2000. The Commission submitted its Report in March, 1982 and most of its Recommendations have been implemented by the Government. The most significant ones were:

- The establishment of the Teachers' Service Commission (TSC).
- The establishment of the Tanzania Professional Teachers' Association.
- The introduction of new curriculum packages at primary, secondary and teacher education levels.

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Advisory Council was created; the post of the Commissioner of National Education established and every Local Authority was made a Local Education Authority.

- Instituting restrictions on the establishment of schools by requiring owners of schools to get approval of the Commissioner of National Education and to have all public and private school registered.
- The establishment of school categories into: National Schools (i.e. all public schools, other than primary schools or adult education centres, managed by a Local Authority; all Folk Development Colleges and all Colleges of National Education), and Regional Schools (i.e. all primary schools and all adult education centres with the former falling under the direct control of the Commissioner of National Education).
- Making primary school enrollment and attendance compulsory for children of ages 7 to 13 years.
- The centralisation of school curricula and syllabi.
- The establishment of School Boards and Committees.
- The establishment of the Inspectorate Department in the Ministry of National Education.

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- The establishment of the Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA); the Muhimbili University College of Health Sciences (MUCHS) and the Open University of Tanzania (OUT).
- The establishment of the Faculty of Education (FOE) at the University of Dar es Salaam.
- The formulation of a National Policy for Science and Technology.
- The introduction of pre-primary teacher education programme.
- The expansion of secondary education.

In 1990, the Government constituted a National Task Force on Education to review the existing education system and recommend a suitable Education System for the 21st Century. The Terms of Reference (TOR) for the Task Force were to:

- assess the critical problems which are inherent in the education sector;
- propose, in terms of policy, planning and administration, an appropriate system which will facilitate increased efficiency and effectiveness;
- propose appropriate implementation strategies.

The Report of this Task Force, The Tanzania Education System for the 21st Century, was submitted to the Govern-

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ment in November, 1992. Recommendations of this Report have been taken into consideration in the formulation of the Tanzania Education and Training Policy (TETP). All the changes in education between 1961 to-date were aimed at improving the quality of education and strengthening the link between education provided at all levels and social and economic development of Tanzania.

Education and Training

Education is the process of initiating and preparing man through training, in his environment, to play active roles in society. It provides desirable and worthwhile broad and in depth modes of thought, skills, attitudes and understanding needed for the full development of the human thinking and actions. Education makes man aware of his own potentials and responsibility to change and improve his own condition and that of his society; it embodies within it science and technology.

Science and technology as an aspect of education, is one of man's many experiences, ways of life and of doing things, in the relentless effort to understand, manage and harness the environment. Science and technology is valued in society for its practical achievements, material benefits and logical and systematic methods of explaining and doing things. The application of scientific and technological knowledge helps to raise the level of human welfare, development and happiness.

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improved and more efficient social services, such as provision of clean and safe water, health and education, will be the aspiration of every citizen. But in a society, in need of development, set goals of education might not be easily achieved without a concomitant macro policy to give direction to all development plans and actions.

Macro Policy Setting

Tanzania has persistently stressed that socio-economic development is only meaningful if it encompasses the needs, expectations and roles of all the individual beneficiaries of the results of development efforts in the whole society. On account of this, the country's development policy has always aimed at combating poverty, ignorance and disease. Right from independence, it was realised that the elimination of these bottlenecks of development would lead to improved living conditions and standards and hence to social and economic development of the whole nation. In its urgent desire to prepare the people for their effective roles in bringing about this development, the government met all the costs of providing essential social services, including education. However, since the 1970s, the country has experienced serious economic problems which led to the deterioration of the economy at the turn of the 1980s.

In addressing these economic problems, the government re-examined its development plans and policies of the 1960s. The current socio-economic development policy and its Strategy of Economic Recovery Programmes first introduced in 1986 are a result of the institutional changes that have been introduced

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Education and Development

The relationship between education and development depends on the extent to which the kind of education provided and its methods can meet the expectations of the individual and the needs of society. The guiding philosophy of all development efforts in Tanzania is the achievement of self-reliance. Concurrently, the overall purpose of the social, economic and political activity will continue to be man, that is, all the citizens of Tanzania, irrespective of their colour, sex or other backgrounds. This means that for Tanzania's development, the people will continue to depend mainly on themselves and their own resources and efforts, that is, their land, energies and readiness to work hard. Therefore, Tanzania aspires and is committed to continue following the people-centered development and improvement strategy and in doing so, to concentrate on equitable and sustainable development. The people's future higher standard of living, in peace, unity, mutual understanding and cooperation, lies in the satisfaction of the basic needs of food, shelter, clean and safe water, environment as well as better performance in agriculture and industry.

The people hope to benefit from improved livestock production, judicious exploitation of natural resources, expansion of industries and raised quality of industrial products. Significant moves will be expected in the expansion and further improvement of commerce and trade, increased use of alternative and sustainable energy sources, efficient transport and communication systems, and better management and conservation of the environment. Expanded self and wage employment opportunities will be the main hope for young people. Similarly,

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in order to resuscitate the national economy. Given its limited domestic resource base, the government now advocates:

- increased role of the private sector, thereby broadening the participation base in the economy;
- continued liberalization of trade and other systems;
- provision of essential resources to priority areas;
- increased investment in infrastructure and social development sectors, especially health and education;
- the reduction of subsidies, and the introduction of cost recovery and cost sharing measures where applicable.

The Context of the Education Sector Policy

The macro policies already stated revolve around issues of rationalization of investment, liberalization, entrepreneurship, self-reliance, enhancement and integration of development efforts. Most of these policies reflect a shift from the policy emphases of the 1960s to the early 1980s, which placed strong reliance on government control of the economy and the public sector. It is this shift of emphasis which has also influenced the form and direction of most of the education and training policies contained in this document. An equally important aspect of the context in which this policy document has been prepared is its wide coverage. The educational policies for

ministries which deal with formal and non-formal education and training have been accommodated. From the foregoing shift of emphasis, the broad policies of education and training as detailed in this document are as follows:

- Enhancement of partnership in the provision of education and training, through the deliberate efforts of encouraging private agencies to participate in the provision of education, to establish and manage schools and other educational institutions at all levels.
- Identification of critical priority areas to concentrate on, for the purpose of creating an enabling environment for private agencies to participate in the provision of education, such as, the training of more and better teachers.
- Broadening of the financial base for education and training, through more effective control of government spending, cost sharing and liberalization strategies.
- Streamlining of the management structure of education, by placing more authority and responsibility on schools, local communities, districts and regions.

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structures, plans and practices; to ensure access, equity and quality at all levels; as well as proper and efficient mechanisms for management, administration and financing of education and training

In the light of this aspiration, the following basic policies focusing on issues of establishment of schools and expansion of education and training opportunities: access and equity; curriculum, examinations and certification; teacher education; tertiary and higher education and training; educational financing, and management and administration are proposed with the aim of guiding Formal, Non-Formal, Vocational, Tertiary and Higher Education and Training, as well as, the promotion of Science and Technology in the country.

- Emphasizing the provision of quality education, through curriculum review, improved teacher management and introduction and use of appropriate performance and assessment strategies.
- Strengthening the integration of formal and non-formal education relationship, by instituting points knowledge comparability and inter-mobility within the two sub-sectors of education.
- Increasing access to education, by focusing on the equity issue with respect to women, disadvantaged groups and areas in the country.
- Facilitating the growth of the culture of education-for-job-creation and self employment through increased availability of opportunities for vocational education and training.

The Need for an Education and Training Policy

Tanzania has not had a comprehensive education and training policy. The programmes and practices of education and training in the past have been based on and guided by short and long term development plans. Existing educational plans and programmes have emphasized the needs and demands of formal education and vocational training, with little or no regard to the need of integrating these plans and between these plans and those of non-formal education and training.

Government now sees the importance of an education and training policy to guide, synchronize and harmonize all

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Chapter I

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

1.1 General Aims

The general aims and objectives of education and training in Tanzania are:

- to guide and promote the development and improvement of the personalities of the citizens of Tanzania, their human resources and effective utilization of those resources in bringing about individual and national development;
- to promote the acquisition and appreciation of culture, customs and traditions of the peoples of Tanzania;
- to promote the acquisition and appropriate use of literary, social, scientific, vocational, technological, professional and other forms of knowledge, skills and understanding for the development and improvement of the condition of man and society;
- to develop and promote self-confidence and an inquiring mind, an understanding and respect for human dignity and human rights and a readiness to work hard for personal self-advancement and national improvement;

- to enable and to expand the scope of acquisition, improvement and upgrading of mental, practical, productive and other life skills needed to meet the changing needs of industry and the economy;
- to enable every citizen to understand the fundamentals of the National Constitution as well as the enshrined human and civic rights, obligations and responsibilities;
- to promote the love and respect for work, self and wage employment and improved performance in the production and service sectors;
- to inculcate principles of the national ethic and integrity, national and international cooperation, peace and justice through the study, understanding and adherence to the provisions of the National Constitution and other international basic charters;
- to enable a rational use, management and conservation of the environment.

1.2 Specific Aims and Objectives

1.2.1 Pre-Primary Education

Infants and young children (0 - 6 years old) are cared for and receive initial education both at home and in the few existing day-care centres, kindergartens, nursery and other pre-schools located mostly in urban areas. While taking cognizance of the fact that pre-school education is very important,

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- to mould the character of the child and enable him/her to acquire acceptable norms of social conduct and behaviour;
- to help the child acquire, appreciate, respect and develop pride in the family, his or her cultural backgrounds, moral values, customs and traditions as well as national ethic, identity and pride;
- to provide the child with opportunities to acquire and develop communication, numerical and manipulative skills;
- to prepare the child for primary school education.

1.2.2 Primary Education

The main delivery system for the basic education of children, outside the family, is primary schooling. The major objective of pre-school and primary education is to lay the socio-cultural foundations which ethically and morally characterize the Tanzanian citizen and nation. It prepares every citizen to continue on the unending journey of lifelong education, training and learning processes. Primary school education is fundamental to the strengthening of higher levels of education, laying strong foundations in scientific and technological literacy and capacity and thus a means to self-reliant personal and national development.

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it does not appear economically feasible to formalize and systematize the entire pre-school education for this age group.

Government, however, recognizes that the early years of life are critical for the development of a child's mental and other potentials and, in particular, its personality development and formation. Infants and children are normally very active, learn by imitation, emulation and are ever eager to try out things and in so doing constantly discover their environment.

Government, therefore, considers that with the involvement and cooperation of parents, local communities and non-governmental agencies, possibilities abound for the systematization and formalization of pre-primary education for the 5 - 6 year old children. However, both pre-school centres and pre-primary schools will be used, among other functions, to identify children with special learning abilities or difficulties and take appropriate corrective measures.

The aims and objectives of pre-primary education are:

- to encourage and promote the overall personality development of the child, that is, his or her physical, mental, moral and social characteristics and capabilities;
- to identify children with abnormal patterns of development or educational potentials and devise special programmes for them;

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The following are the aims and objectives of primary education:

- to enable every child to understand and appreciate his or her human person, to acquire, value, respect and enrich our common cultural background and moral values, social customs and traditions as well as national unity, identity, ethic and pride;
- to provide opportunity and enable every child to acquire, appreciate and effectively use Kiswahili and to respect the language as a symbol of national unity, identity and pride;
- to enable every child to understand the fundamentals of the National Constitution as well as the enshrined human and civic rights, obligations and responsibilities of every citizen;
- to enable every child to acquire basic learning tools of literacy, communication, numeracy and problem solving as well as basic learning content of integrated relevant knowledge, skills and attitudes needed for survival and development to full capacity;
- to provide the child with the foundations of self-initiative, self-advancement and self-confidence;
- to prepare the child for second level education (i.e. secondary, vocational, technical and continuing education);
- to prepare the child to enter the world of work.

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1.2.3 Secondary Education

Secondary education refers to post-primary formal education offered to persons who will have successfully completed seven years of primary education and have met the requisite entry requirements.

The aims and objectives of secondary education are:

- to consolidate and broaden the scope of baseline ideas, knowledge, skills and principles acquired and developed at the primary education level;
- to enhance further development and appreciation of national unity, identity and ethic, personal integrity, respect for and readiness to work, human rights, cultural and moral values, customs, traditions and civic responsibilities and obligations;
- to promote the development of competency in linguistic ability and effective use of communication skills in Kiswahili and in at least one foreign language;
- to provide opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and understanding in prescribed or selected fields of study;
- to prepare students for tertiary and higher education, vocational, technical and professional training;

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- to enable both teacher trainees and serving teachers and tutors to acquire organizational, leadership and management skills in education and training.

1.2.5 Tertiary Education and Training

Tertiary and higher education and training encompasses all post-Ordinary Level secondary education leading to awards of certificates, diplomas and degrees.

The aims and objectives of tertiary and higher education and training are:

- to enable people with the requisite baseline qualifications to access and benefit from opportunities of higher levels of intellectual, professional and managerial skills;
- to prepare middle and high level professional human resource for service in the different sectors of the economy;
- to provide opportunities for intellectual, scientific and technological excellence and high level performance;
- to prepare the students to join the world of work.

1.2.6 Vocational and Technical Education and Training

Currently, there are limited places for vocational, technical, secondary and higher education available to young people and adults. There is need to prepare more young people to access to available job opportunities and to create work and employ themselves on a self-reliance basis. On the other hand, there is need for adults to have access to vocational education and training.

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- to inculcate a sense and ability for self-study, self-confidence and self-advancement in new frontiers of science and technology, academic and occupational knowledge, and skills;
- to prepare the student to join the world of work.

1.2.4 Teacher Education and Training

The teacher is the most important actor in education and training. The teacher organizes and guides students in their learning experiences and interaction with the content of the curriculum and promotes, at all times, student initiatives and readiness for their own learning.

The aims and objectives of teacher education and training are:

- to impart to teacher trainees theories and principles of education, psychology, guidance and counselling;
- to impart to teacher trainees principles and skills of pedagogy, creativity and innovation;
- to promote an understanding of the foundations of the school curriculum;
- to sharpen the teacher trainees, teachers' and tutors' knowledge and mastery of selected subjects, skills and technologies;
- to impart skills and techniques of research, assessment and evaluation in education;

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The aims and objectives of vocational educational and training are:

- to produce trained and skilled youth and adults who will provide the needed labour for improved performance in industry and other economic and social service sectors;
- to provide young and adult persons with opportunities to acquire skills in production, service, entrepreneurship and business management;
- to enable the productive and service sectors to train and develop their human resources.

1.2.7 Non-Formal Education and Training

Non-formal education and training serves a variety of learning needs of different groups of youth and adults in the population. The basic learning needs of young and adult persons are diverse and may be met through various delivery systems, such as informal education, the different stages of adult literacy, evening schools, libraries, correspondence, radio, television and other forms of media and distance education.

The aims and objectives of non-formal education and training are:

- to enable adults and young people to acquire sustainable writing, reading, communication, numeracy and other desirable and immediate useful learning tools;

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- to promote the acquisition and application of learning content such as knowledge, skills, values and attitudes relevant for the enhancement and improvement of life;
- to promote the appreciation and understanding of national unity and identity, ethic, customs, traditions and values of the nation;
- to enable those outside the formal school system to improve the quality of their life through a variety of relevant educational and training programmes;
- to enable people to acquire higher levels of education through part-time studies.

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system, that is, Formal, Vocational and Professional, and the Non-Formal.

2.3 Formal Education and Training System

This system is predominantly academic, ranging from primary to university level. Over the years, there have been changes in the formal education system dictated by exigencies operating at the time. A number of studies, coupled with previous experiences, have shown that a change from the existing structure of 7-4-2-3+ to 6-3-2-3 or 8-4-4 would not necessarily strengthen education, and would require substantial additional financial resources. The 7-4-2-3+ system will remain unchanged, but in addition two years of pre-primary education will be introduced. Therefore:

2.3.1 The Structure of the Formal Education and Training System shall be 2-7-4-2-3+ (that is, 2 years of pre-primary education, 7 years of primary education, 4 years of secondary Ordinary Level, 2 years of secondary Advanced Level and a minimum of 3 years of university education.

Pre-Primary Education

While taking cognizance of the importance of pre-school education (0-6 years), it would not be economically feasible to formalize and systematise the entire education spectrum of this age group. The nursery, day care centres, kindergarten, etc. for ages 0-4 years will continue to be not part of the formal education and training system. However, possibilities abound for the systematization and formalization of pre-primary education for children of ages 5-6 years. The pre-primary school cycle will last for two years with no examinations for promotion purposes. Therefore, in order

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Chapter 2

SYSTEM AND STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

2.1 Introduction

The term 'system' refers to organized components that constitute a whole. In this regard, the Tanzania Education and Training System comprises a structure and sequence of education and training levels through both the formal and non-formal sub-systems. It also consists of institutions and organizations that support or render useful services to the System. The system has internal rationalization and organization of programmes and resources, especially, human, financial and time, in order to realize the set goals.

2.2 The System

Education and Training in Tanzania is undertaken by all the ministries but the main ones for formal and non-formal education are the Ministry of Education and Culture; the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education and the Prime Minister's Office (Department of Regional Administration and Local Government). The other ministries are involved in sector-specific professional education and training. In addition, formal and non-formal education is provided by communities, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and individuals with the coordination of central government ministries. Invariably, these ministries and agencies carry out the delivery of education and training at institutions and centres established for the purpose. There are three channels constituting the education and training

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to broaden the provision of education and to systematize pre-primary education:

2.3.2 Government shall promote pre-school education for children aged 0 - 6 years. This education shall ensure maintenance of our cultural values.

2.3.3 Pre-Primary school education for children aged between 5 and 6 years shall be formalized and integrated in the Formal School System.

Primary Education

This is a seven year education cycle. It will continue to be compulsory in enrollment and attendance. At the end of this cycle, pupils can go on with secondary education, vocational training or enter the world of work. Therefore:

2.3.4 Primary education shall continue to be of seven years duration and compulsory in enrollment and attendance.

Secondary Education

Secondary education is sub-divided into Ordinary Level (Forms 1 to 4) and Advanced Level (Forms 5 and 6). The Ordinary Level will last for four years while Advanced Level will last for two years. Students who complete Ordinary Level secondary education can go on to the next stage of Advanced Level secondary education, vocational training, professional training or the world of work, while those who complete Advanced Level secondary education join either tertiary and higher education and training institutions or join the world of work. Therefore:

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2.3.5 Secondary education shall continue to be four years for Ordinary Level and two years for Advanced Level.

Vocational Education and Training

This type of education and training is associated with acquisition of skills for wage employment, self-employment or further vocational and professional advancement. It covers the commercial, technical, work-study programmes and apprentice training programmes undertaken by ministries, NGOs and private organizations. Currently, there are limited places for this type of education. The most prominent vocational education and training institutions include National Vocational Training Centres, Folk Development Colleges, Technical Secondary Schools and Private Vocational Schools and Centres. Admission requirements to formal and non-formal vocational education and training courses ranges from primary school leavers to anybody with a subsequent level of education wishing to acquire requisite skills for his/her employment or self-advancement.

2.3.6 Government shall liberalise and give incentives for the promotion of Vocational Education and Training.

Trade Schools

Due to the great need for craft level skills to cater for the expanding production and service industry and as a means of creating job opportunities for employment and self-employment, trade schools need to be re-introduced in the education system. These post-primary schools will offer crafts courses such as tailoring, masonry, painting, carpentry etc., which will last for four continuous years ending

with an award of Trade Test Certificate Grade I. Successful students can join the world of work or continue with further professional training. Therefore:

2.3.7 Government shall re-introduce Trade Schools in the education system and promote their establishment.

Polytechnics

In order to have enough manpower required for industrial and economic growth, training for technicians and professional cadre is needed. Most of the existing vocational and professional training institutions, which among others, include Rwegarullila Water Resources Institute, Bank of Tanzania Training Institute, National Bank of Commerce College, Institute of Tax Administration, High Precision Technology Centre, College of Business Education, Institute of Rural Development, Post Office Staff College, Bandari Training Institute, Mbegani Fisheries Institute, National Institute of Transport, and the Ministry of Agriculture Training Institutes (MATIs), have excess capacities both in physical and human resources, which are underutilized. A shift from the single skills focus to a multi-skill (polytechnic) approach will be cost-effective and more responsive to national needs. These polytechnics will provide further training for secondary school leavers and others with requisite entry qualifications. Therefore:

2.3.8 Government shall introduce and formalize the establishment of Polytechnics in the education system.

Non-Formal Education and Training

Non-Formal Education can be generalised as Out-of-School Education as distinguished from Formal Education which is In-School Education. However, either type may include at certain stages some aspects of the other. The non-formal education and training caters for the informal and adult education. The latter includes Literacy, Post-literacy, Continuing Education, and Open University. Essentially, in non-formal education, it is the student who sets the pace for his/her studies and there is no stipulation of the duration for promotion or completion. The results of examinations taken at various stages would be used for promotion from one stage to another. The Informal aspect of the non-formal education and training is as old as man himself. It is this aspect of training that has contributed to the mainstay and existence of man and has contributed greatly to formal education. Therefore:

2.3.9 Non-formal education and training shall be recognised, promoted, strengthened, coordinated and integrated with formal education and training system.

Chapter 3

ACCESS AND EQUITY IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING

3.1 Introduction

Access to education refers to the opportunities available to the target population to participate in that education, whereas equity refers to the fairness in the distribution and allocation of educational resources to various segments of the society. In examining access and equity in education, issues of establishment and ownership of schools/colleges; enrollment and selection; provision of educational resources and the environment in which education is delivered are paramount. Analysis of government efforts to improve education from 1961 to-date, suggests that the focus of educational policies has been on the distribution and equalization of education opportunities through the expansion of the system at all levels. In the 1990s and beyond, there is need to re-examine issues of access and equity in education within the context of a changed socio-economic and political environment. In education, the emphasis now is on the improvement of the quality of education and training provided domestically, the expansion of education and training opportunities to meet the ever increasing demand for these services, and the control of the increase of the average per capita education cost and increased resource flows to the sector.

3.2 Access to Education

For the last three decades, central government planning has guided the provision of public social services, including education. This also meant that policies that guaranteed

access to education without regard to sex, colour, ethnicity, creed or economic status were enforced fairly and effectively. The current trend is for central planning to accommodate the liberalisation and privatisation of the provision of public services, including education. This in turn may result in the denial of the right to basic education to some citizens. Therefore, in order to control this possibility:

- 3.2.1 Government shall guarantee access to pre-primary and primary education, and adult literacy to all citizens as a basic right.
- 3.2.2 Government shall promote and ensure equitable distribution of educational institutions.

Disadvantaged Groups

Despite all efforts to make education accessible, certain groups of individuals and communities in society have not had equitable access to education. Some have not had access to this right due to their style of living, for example, hunters, gatherers, fishermen and pastoralists; others on account of marginalisation, e.g. orphans and street children, still others on account of their physical and mental disabilities, such as, the blind, the deaf, the crippled and the mentally retarded. Therefore:

- 3.2.3 Government shall promote and facilitate access to education to disadvantaged social and cultural groups.

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- 3.2.8 Government shall establish special educational financial support schemes for girls and women in education and training institutions.
- 3.2.9 Adult education programmes shall be designed to encourage and promote the enrollment and attendance of women.
- 3.2.10. The school curriculum shall be reviewed in order to strengthen and encourage participation and achievement of girls in mathematics and science subjects.
- 3.2.11. Education and school systems shall eliminate gender stereotyping through the curricula, textbooks and classroom practices.
- 3.2.12 Special in-service training programmes shall be designed and implemented for women teachers.
- 3.2.13 Government shall encourage the construction of hostel/boarding accommodation for girls in day secondary schools.

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Girls' Education

The participation rates of women have risen from 47.1% in 1981 to 49.1% in 1992 at the primary school level, at the 'O' level from 31.6% in 1981 to 44.7% in 1992, and at the 'A' level, the rise was from 22.3% in 1991 to 24.3% in 1992. The slow growth of the participation rates of women at these various levels may be attributed to cultural preferences for educating male children, high drop-out rates due to early marriages and pregnancies and relatively low performance levels by girls in class and during final examinations when compared to boys. Therefore, in order to raise the participation rates of women, the following policies will be implemented:

- 3.2.4 Primary education shall be universal and compulsory to all children at the age of 7 years until they complete this cycle of education.
- 3.2.5 The establishment of co-educational and girls' secondary schools shall be promoted and encouraged.
- 3.2.6 Government shall not deboard existing girls' government boarding secondary schools.
- 3.2.7 Government shall establish girls' day streams in existing government secondary schools in communities where girls' secondary education is severely adversely affected.

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The Quota System

In societies where merit alone does not ensure equity, other methods must be used in order to redress the imbalance caused by the resort to merit alone in selection. Over the years, efforts have been made to increase the number of schools and institutions of learning to ensure fair access to education. These efforts have resulted in greater numbers of children from all sectors of society enrolling and attending schools. Along with these efforts, the quota system for selecting students into public secondary schools was introduced and is used to ensure district and gender parities. However, inherent in the quota system has been its tendency to push up children with low achievement levels while at the same time denying access to the more deserving ones. Since the quota system was intended to solve temporary problems of inequity in education created by historical developments, and with the liberalisation of the establishment of secondary schools, the quota system has outlived its original purpose. Therefore:

- 3.2.14 The Quota System shall be phased out.

Screening for Talented Children

There is evidence that some children have special talents. There is evidence also that some children are exceptionally gifted and that this is manifested at different ages: quite early for some, late for others and very late for a few more. It is known that Tanzanian schools and most school systems in the world are not designed to accommodate and assist such children. Yet, it is a desirable educational practice to tap and nurture such talents for the benefit of the children themselves and the society. Therefore:

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- 3.2.15 Government shall evolve a machinery to identify and develop gifted and talented children.

Provision of Resources

It is not possible to ensure access and equity in education without at the same time ensuring the availability and equitable distribution of resources. Critical resources, in this regard, include teachers, teaching and learning materials, school equipment and other facilities as well as adequate financial resources. Therefore:

- 3.2.16 Government shall ensure that adequate resources are made available and provided to enhance access and equity in education.

School Feeding and Health Programmes

Students can concentrate on their studies only if they are both healthy and well fed. Studies have shown a strong correlation between performance and achievement on the one hand and good health and feeding systems on the other. The maxim, "A sound mind in a sound body", is true to-day as it has always been in the past. Therefore:

- 3.2.17 Government shall promote school and college feeding and health programmes.

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of these organs, the government still needs to be advised at the broader national level on matters pertaining to education and training. In order to promote and coordinate integration of education and training:

- 4.2.1 Government shall establish an Advisory Council, to coordinate and harmonise the provision of education and training in the country.

Vocational Education and Training

In Tanzania, vocational education and training has for a long time been understood by many people in a very narrow sense to only mean provision and acquisition of technical skills and disregard other forms of skills acquisition. Yet, the main objective of vocational education and training is the provision and acquisition of a wider range of employable skills, which lead to enhanced productivity in the economy, and improved life earnings and welfare of people in all walks of life. Currently, vocational education and training is offered by various ministries, parastatal organizations, NGOs and individuals. There is need to guide, harmonize and coordinate this type of education. Therefore:

- 2.2 Government shall establish a Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA), to coordinate and harmonise vocational and technical education and training.

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MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

4.1 Introduction

The provision of quality education and training is the ultimate goal of any education system. This goal, however, cannot be achieved without a well established and effective management and administrative machinery. Currently, the management of education and training is undertaken by several ministries, parastatal organizations and NGOs. The various legislations empowering ministries and institutions to shoulder the responsibilities of education and training, have little relationship with the National Education Act No. 25 of 1978. This Act needs to be reviewed in order for it to integrate other categories of education and training, including management, administration and finance.

4.2 Education and Training Coordination

At present, there exists no national institutional mechanism to promote coordination and allocation of resources, utilization of existing education and training facilities or harmonisation of training programmes and awards. In this policy document, Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA) is recognized as a coordinating organ of vocational education and training and other organs have been created to coordinate tertiary and higher education and training. However, the existence and creation of these bodies does not deny individual ministries the right to coordinate their respective sectoral education and training programmes. In spite

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Tertiary and Higher Education and Training

Tertiary levels of education and training are managed and administered by different ministries and organisations. The provision of tertiary education and training is loosely coordinated. In order to minimize duplication and maximize the use of existing scarce resources in this sector, it is necessary to have national coordination of tertiary and higher education and training. Therefore:

- 4.2.3 Government shall establish organs to coordinate tertiary and higher education and training.

Formal and Non-Formal Education

The provision and management of formal school education and adult education, has hitherto been the monopoly of the government. The envisaged liberalisation, expansion and the qualitative improvements at the pre-primary, primary, secondary and teacher education levels and adult education, requires greater coordination now than ever before. Therefore:

- 4.2.4 Provision of basic, secondary and teacher education shall be coordinated by the ministries responsible for these types of education.

4.3 Decentralization of Management

Powers and decision-making in the management and administration of education and training have remained heavily concentrated at the ministerial level. Attempts to involve

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regions, districts and communities in the management and administration of educational institutions in their areas of jurisdiction are wanting, yet effective management of education and training necessitates community involvement. Even in sub-sectors where management in education and training has been decentralized, the existing system does not empower education managers at lower levels to exercise autonomy in decision making. Therefore:

- 4.3.1 Ministries responsible for education and training shall devolve their responsibilities of management and administration of education and training to lower organs and communities.

Register of Educational Institutions

In a decentralized education management system, it is imperative to have a register of educational institutions. Registration of these institutions is intended to ensure that educational institutions are established according to laid down regulations and adherence to stipulated standards. In addition, a register of educational institutions would facilitate rational planning and allocation of resources. Therefore:

- 4.3.2 Ministries responsible for education and training shall maintain and up-date a register of government and non-government education and training institutions under their jurisdiction.

- 4.3.4 Education and Training Boards shall be established for every region, district, town, municipal and city council and shall be responsible for the management of all levels of education and training in their areas of jurisdiction.

Boards of Education Institutions

Management and administration of education and training institutions, including primary schools, has to a large extent rested in the hands of the heads of those institutions. This system has excluded community participation and involvement in the management of schools. It is necessary to rectify this system by strengthening institutional Boards/Committees so that institutional heads become directly answerable to their Boards/Committees. In addition, parents are invaluable allies to the teachers. Where there is a good teacher-parent relationship, the development of the pupils is enhanced. The success of such education and training institutions is as much the concern of parents and communities as the teachers. Therefore:

- 4.3.5 All education and training institutions shall have school or college committees/boards.
- 4.3.6 Boards and Committees of education and training institutions shall be responsible for management, development planning, discipline and finance of institutions under their jurisdiction.

Land for educational purposes

Education and training institutions need adequate land, an atmosphere of peace and tranquillity and safe neighbourhoods in order to ensure and enhance the provision of quality education. Furthermore, they need adequate land for current needs and for future expansion and development. Individuals, public and private organisations and the community in general, have tended to encroach on land earmarked, allocated and demarcated for education and training institutions and purposes. This problem is further compounded in government education and training institutions because the present land laws do not allow the issuance of land titles to government institutions. In order to safeguard land belonging to education and training institutions from encroachment:

- 4.3.3 Government shall issue rights of occupancy and land title deeds to both government and non-government owned education and training institutions.

Education and Training Boards

Recently, there has been a rapid expansion of secondary schools and other education and training institutions in the country. It is important to establish a comprehensive management and administrative system at the region, district, community and institutional levels. Therefore:

Status and Powers of Education Managers

Sound management and administration techniques are essential for an effective functioning of the education and training system and its institutions. Education managers and administrators at the national, regional, district and institutional levels should be experienced, highly qualified academically and professionally, and have skills in educational management and administration. Therefore:

- 4.3.7 All education managers at national, regional, district and post-primary formal education and training institutions shall have a university degree, professional training in education and management, as well as appropriate experience. Education managers at Ward and primary school levels shall have a Certificate or Diploma in education, as well as professional training in educational management and administration from a recognized institution.

Powers and Responsibilities

The Education Act No. 25 of 1978 does not establish the posts nor define the roles of regional and district education managers in the ministry responsible for basic, secondary and teacher education. Currently, Regional and District Education Officers (REOs and DEOs) are managers of education and training in their respective areas. Their performance is constrained by lack of defined powers and status, inadequate financial resources and facilities. In view of the added responsibilities advocated in this policy document and the proposed decentralization of

management and administration of education, it is necessary that REOs and DEOs have powers to oversee and control the financial resources generated and channelled into the region or district, and on matters pertaining to education and training in their areas of jurisdiction. Therefore:

- 4.3.8 All education managers at national, regional, district and institutional levels shall be responsible for the coordination of the planning, provision, management, administration and quality control of formal, informal and non-formal education and training in their areas of jurisdiction.
- 4.3.9 The posts of Regional and District Education Officers shall be elevated. These officers shall have over-all responsibility over the implementation of formal, informal and non-formal education and training policies in their respective areas of jurisdiction.

School Inspection

School inspection is vital as a means of monitoring the delivery of education, adherence to the stipulated curriculum and set standards, and ensuring efficiency and quality in education. The efficiency and effective delivery of education under the decentralized and liberalized education system, requires closer monitoring of schools as well as horizontal feed-back mechanisms between the inspectors and education agencies, managers and administrators at zonal, regional and district levels. School inspection has not been as effective as expected due to inadequate compe-

tent personnel, shortage or lack of transport, offices and office equipment, housing, and the ability of the inspectors to take appropriate and immediate corrective measures where necessary. Therefore:

- 4.3.10 The Inspectorate shall be strengthened and adequately resourced to monitor the provision of education.

4.4 Service and Working Conditions of Teachers

One of the most important factors that determine the quality of education and training is the quality of its teaching force. Job satisfaction and the ability of teachers to perform well professionally are key factors in the maintenance of the quality of education. In Tanzania, teachers have experienced low and irregular salary payments, lack of proper housing, inadequate teaching facilities, low status accorded to them and limited opportunities for professional development. Although there have been commendable improvements in some of these areas as a result of steps taken by the government to alleviate the plight of teachers and the teaching profession, a lot more can be done to enhance the professional and individual welfare of teachers. Therefore:

- 4.4.1 The Teachers' Service Commission (TSC) shall be responsible for maintaining and controlling the Unified Service of all teachers to which they shall all belong.
- 4.4.2 Governments shall ensure better terms of service and working conditions for all teachers.

- 4.4.3 All school teachers shall ensure that they are registered and licenced to teach in Tanzania schools.
- 4.4.4 All owners and managers of schools and colleges of education shall ensure that their teachers have professional qualifications and are registered and licensed to teach.

CHAPTER 5

FORMAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

5.1 Introduction

The present 7-4-2-3+ structure of formal school education in Tanzania comprises 7 years of primary education, 4 years of Ordinary Level secondary education and 2 years of Advanced Level secondary education, followed by a minimum of 3 years of University education. This structure does not provide for a formalised pre-primary education. However, apart from this structure of formal schooling, there exist other channels that characterise post-primary and post-secondary education and training. In this document, the introduction of formal pre-primary education in the school system is advocated. The new structure shall therefore be 2-7-4-2-3+, that is, there will be two years of pre-primary school education before the primary school level.

5.2 Pre-Primary Education

Formalisation of Pre-primary Education

The non-formalisation of pre-primary education in Tanzania has, apart from denying children opportunities to prepare for primary education, resulted in adverse effects on the delivery, quality, effectiveness and efficiency of education in general. However, the government sees the need for a policy on pre-primary education which has hitherto been lacking. Therefore:

- 5.2.1 Pre-primary school education for children of ages 5 to 6 shall be formalised and promoted in the formal education system.

Establishment of Pre-Primary Schools

The Ministry of Education and Culture, together with other ministries, public and private institutions, will handle pre-school education of children between 0 - 6 years. Currently, there are only 175 centres. Total enrollment is not documented as the administration of these centres is not effectively coordinated. As we enter the 21st Century, "Education for All" will entail expansionary measures to meet pre-school and primary enrollments. This expansion will have to be undertaken while at the same time ensuring that quality is maintained. Both quantitative and qualitative considerations will demand a lot of inputs and resources, which the Government alone cannot shoulder without appreciable support and contribution from parents and NGOs interested in offering pre-school education. Therefore:

- 5.2.2 Government shall promote, give incentives and liberalize the establishment and management of pre-primary schools.

Medium of Instruction

Pre-primary education will serve the preparatory function for smooth continuation into primary education. It will also promote the development of communication skills of children. These twin functions and others, require a strong base in language development and use which children will need in subsequent levels of schooling. Children at this level of education will have to be taught in a language which is commonly used in Tanzania. Therefore:

- 5.2.3 The medium of instruction in pre-primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject.

Pre-Primary School Teachers

The lack of a clear policy on pre-school education has also resulted, among others, in having pre-primary schools which have both trained and untrained teachers, with the latter being the majority. A few of the trained teachers have Grade C, B or A Certificates, while the majority have a three to six months training in centres run by non-governmental organisations. Given the Government intention to formalize pre-primary education, efficient delivery of this education will require qualified and competent teachers to ensure quality. The supply of these teachers will have to be matched appropriately with the demands necessitated by liberalization and expansion measures of pre-primary enrollments. To this extent:

- 5.2.4 Government shall facilitate proper training, availability and development of a competent cadre of teachers for pre-primary schools.

5.3 Primary Education

Primary School education consists of 7 years of basic education after pre-primary. This education is universal and compulsory to all school age going children in Tanzania. The primary school cycle begins with Standard One (Std. I) on entry, and ends with Standard Seven (Std. VII) in the final year. The main objective of primary education is to lay the

socio-cultural foundations which ethically and morally characterize a nation. This education is intended to enable every child to acquire broad and integrated knowledge, skills and understanding needed for survival, conservation of the environment and life-long education.

Universal Primary Education

Enrollment data and projections at the primary school level indicate that in 1992 about 740,000 children aged 7 years were in Std. I. This figure represents 88% of 7 year olds. It is projected that by the year 2000, about 912,000 of the school going age children would be enrolled in Std. I. This figure represents 95% of children aged 7 years. These data suggest that "Education for All", as endorsed by all countries at the Jomtien Conference in 1990, cannot be efficiently and effectively implemented unless radical measures are taken to regulate on age entry and full attendance. Therefore:

- 5.3.1 Primary education shall be universal and compulsory to all children from the age of 7 years until they complete this cycle of education.

Establishment of Primary schools

Tanzania will continue to reinforce the provision of "Education for All" as a basic human right. This implies expansion in enrollments while maintaining quality, both of which require substantial resources. In order to meet the envisaged demands on increased school inputs and resources, measures will have to be taken to reduce dependence on Government in the establishment, financing and management of primary schools. Therefore:

- 5.3.2 The establishment, ownership and management of primary schools shall be liberalized.

Enrollment and Attendance

Since 1974, the Government of Tanzania has been committed to the provision of Universal Primary Education (UPE). This commitment was to be realized by the year 1977 however, this objective has not been met due to mainly several: bottlenecks such as poverty, truancy, negative parental attitudes towards education and lack of appreciation of long term personal economic benefits of education. In addition, the provisions of Education Act No 25 of 1978 requiring compulsory enrollment and continuous attendance have not been enforced effectively, on both parents and school children. Therefore:

- 5.3.3 Government shall ensure that all primary school age children are enrolled and in full attendance.

School Infrastructure and Facilities

At present, the school environment at primary school level is very poor and non-conducive to learning. Pupils attend classes in poorly constructed and ill equipped schools. It is estimated that 70% of the 10,400 primary schools are in a state of disrepair, and therefore need urgent rehabilitation. Furthermore essential school facilities such as instructional materials are in seriously in short supply. In order to redress this situation:

- 5.3.4 Government shall set and establish standard infrastructure and facilities for primary schools such as desks, educational equipment, libraries, and instructional materials necessary for effective delivery of and acquisition of good quality education.

School and Instructional Materials

In addition to poor school environment, most primary schools have few or lack completely instructional materials. In most primary schools, there is an acute shortage of exercise books, textbooks and teachers' guides. More attention will be directed towards the production and distribution of instructional materials. Furthermore, local production and supply of instructional materials of the required standards will be encouraged. Therefore:

5.3.5 Owners of pre-primary and primary schools shall be responsible for the provision of adequate instructional and school materials approved for use in schools.

Teacher Qualifications

Parallel to the general expansion of primary school enrollment through UPE, there has been a great increase in the number of primary school teachers from 28,783 in 1974 to 98,174 in 1992. About 30% (29,830) of these teachers are Grade A (Form 4 plus 2 years of teacher education) and 70% (68,344) are Grade C/B (Std. VII plus 2 years of teacher education) teachers. Most Grade C/B teachers have neither a satisfactory knowledge base in academic subjects nor an adequate professional training. Although the commitment to teaching of Grade C/B teachers, especially in the rural areas, has been commendable, there exists the necessity to raise the level of primary school education through the deployment of more academically and professionally qualified teachers. Therefore:

5.3.6 Minimum qualification for a primary school teacher shall be possession of a valid Grade A Teacher Education Certificate.

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ments, the new environment has necessitated new modalities for expansion, ownership and management of secondary schools. In order to meet the challenges of this social demand for education beyond the primary level, the following policies will guide the future provision of secondary education:

5.4.1 Government shall ensure that the expansion of existing secondary schools and new secondary schools adheres to set government plans for the expansion of secondary education.

5.4.2 Urban, district, town, municipal and city councils and authorities, NGOs, communities, individuals and public institutions shall be encouraged and given incentives to establish, own, manage and administer at least one secondary school in each Ward (Kata) in their areas of jurisdiction.

School Infrastructure and Facilities

The social demand for secondary education has of late been characterised by the rapid increase of government and non-government secondary schools in many regions and districts. Most of these schools have been established and registered because of political pressures or in competition among groups of parents, NGOs or local leaderships at the regional and district levels. Very often, certificates for registration have been granted without first meeting the set minimum infrastructure requirements for a secondary school as provided in the Guidelines for establishing such schools. This has resulted in sub-standard school infrastructure and a decline in the quality of secondary education. Therefore:

Medium of Instruction

At primary school level, full development of language skills is vital for a fuller understanding and mastery of knowledge and skills implied in the primary school curriculum. Children at this level of education will continue to be taught in a language which is commonly used in Tanzania. Therefore:

5.3.7 The medium of instruction in primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject.

5.4 Secondary Education

Secondary school education refers to that full programme of education provided in accordance with Government approved curricula and availed to students who will have completed primary education. In Tanzania, formal secondary school education consists of two sequential cycles. The first cycle is a four-year Ordinary Level (O-Level) secondary education, while the second cycle is a two-year programme of Advanced Level (A-Level) secondary education. The O-Level cycle begins with Form 1 and ends with Form 4, while A-level has Form 5 and Form 6. One of the main objectives of secondary education is to provide opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, skills and understanding in prescribed or selected subjects of study so as to prepare students to join institutions of vocational and professional training, tertiary and higher education.

Expansion of Secondary Education

The implementation of UPE has created unprecedented social demand for secondary education. Whereas the focus in planning the expansion of secondary education was previously pegged on centrally planned national manpower require-

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5.4.3 Owners and managers of all secondary schools shall ensure that standard infrastructure, facilities, equipment and instructional materials necessary for effective and optimum teaching and learning are of good quality, available in adequate quantities and are regularly maintained.

Teacher Qualifications

Qualification of teachers and their ability to perform well in the classroom is a key factor in improving the quality of education. At secondary school level, Government schools are taught by diploma and graduate teachers. Diploma teachers are expected to teach in Forms 1 - 2, while graduate teachers normally teach in Forms 3 - 6. The situation in non-government secondary schools is yet to conform to this standard. Most non-government secondary schools are staffed by untrained and under-qualified teachers, mainly individuals who have completed Form 6 and failed to qualify for further education and training. The management of such schools is violating Government regulations on the staffing of secondary schools. As a result, most non-government schools turn out students who have no exposure to the expected level and quality education as mandated in the secondary school curriculum. In order to ensure parity and equity in all secondary schools:

5.4.4 The minimum qualification for a secondary school teacher in both government and non-government schools shall be possession of a valid diploma in education obtained from a recognized institution.

Teacher Training and Retention

The gross teacher output from Teachers Colleges and the Faculty of Education at the University of Dar es Salaam is approximately 15,000 teachers per year. At secondary level, our secondary schools have a low student-teacher ratio (STR) of 17:1, compared to an average of 23:1 in sub-Saharan Africa. These ratios indicate an apparent under-utilization of most of our secondary school teachers. Computed at STR of 28:1, there was a surplus of secondary school teachers of not less than 1,254 in 1992. Despite this apparent surplus, real figures show an acute shortage of teachers in rural secondary schools and for technical subjects, the sciences, mathematics, English and geography. Attrition rate for science and technical teachers is high because these teachers have academic qualifications which are in great demand in the private sector and parastatal organisations, where fringe benefits and remuneration are higher than in secondary schools. In order to arrest this attrition:

- 5.4.5 Owners and managers of secondary schools shall train, have access to and ensure the availability of well trained teachers, conducive and attractive working conditions, and further development and improvement of teachers.

Books and Library Services

In most secondary schools, there is an acute shortage of text books. For example, one textbook is being shared among 10 students. Newly established public and private secondary schools are worse off in terms of textbooks, reference books and supplementary readers. In addition, most of these schools do not have libraries at all, and those which have, such libraries are not adequately stocked with books. In short, school library services need to be improved and emphasized. Hence:

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the basis of a pre-set national standard cut-off point of performance in the National Primary School Leaving Examination.

Selection to Form 5

Criteria for selection of students into Form 5 has hitherto been different in government and non-government secondary schools. In public secondary schools, a student is selected on the basis of good performance in the subjects comprising the A-Level subject combination over and above, attaining at least three credits in the Certificate of Secondary Education Examination (C.S.E.E). In the case of most non-government secondary schools, there is no strict adherence to these Guidelines. This non-uniformity in the selection procedures constitutes a major problem of quality in education at the Advanced secondary school level. More so when minimum admission requirements to institutions of higher learning such as universities is possession of appropriate credits at O-Level. In order to ensure the quality of entrants at this level:

- 5.4.8 Selection and enrollment in Advanced Level secondary education shall be based on prescribed performance levels in the relevant A-Level subject combinations after attainment of appropriate credits in the Certificate of Secondary Education Examination.

Medium of Instruction

Currently, English is the medium of instruction at secondary school level and most instructional media and pedagogical materials available at this level are also written in English. This situation is likely to remain so for a long time in the foreseeable future. In this policy document, it has been proposed that English be taught as a subject from Std. I. It is, therefore,

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- 5.4.6 Every secondary school shall have a library, adequate stock of books and well trained and competent library personnel.

Selection to Form 1

Selection and enrollment of primary school leavers into secondary schools has for a long time been regulated by the quota system for government secondary schools. In non-government secondary schools, selection examinations administered by individual schools to their own applicants and the ability of parents to pay fees is the norm. Although the quota system has been used for a long time now as a means of equitable selection of primary school leavers into secondary schools, there is ample evidence that the system has allowed into secondary schools low achievers in some districts while high achievers in other districts are left unselected. To some extent, this system has had a negative effect on the quality of secondary education in the country. In addition to this, the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE), which is used as the major device for selection, varies across the country. Moreover, the operation of the quota system utilizes different cut-off points on the PSLE which also differ from district to district. In view of the plan by Government to expand both government and non-government secondary schools in both urban and rural areas, a high percentage of primary school leavers will have more access to secondary education than was the case before. In order to improve the quality of education and to ensure quality of entrants to secondary education, a common criterion for selecting students into Form 1 secondary education need to be adopted. Therefore:

- 5.4.7 Selection and enrollment in O-Level government and non-government secondary schools shall be made on

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expected that at the end of seven years of primary education, pupils will have acquired and developed adequate mastery of this language, both spoken and written, to cope with the English language proficiency demands at secondary, post-secondary levels and the world of work. Therefore:

- 5.4.9 The medium of instruction for secondary education shall continue to be English except for the teaching of other approved languages and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject up to Ordinary Level.

5.5 Ministerial Placement of Teacher Education

Teacher education and training programmes aim at producing and supplying qualified teachers to the total school system. In principle, pre-primary and primary schools deploy teachers with Certificates in Teacher Education while secondary schools are usually staffed by teachers with either a Diploma in Education or a University Degree in or with a bias in Education. In most school systems, teacher education programmes are placed under tertiary and higher education. In Tanzania, this has not been the case due to historical and experiential reasons. In order to ensure and plan for the adequate preparation and supply of teachers for pre-primary, primary and secondary schools:

- 5.5.1 Government teachers colleges offering courses leading to Certificate in Teacher Education or Diploma in Teacher Education shall continue to fall under the ministry responsible for primary and secondary education. Teacher education courses leading to a degree in education shall be designed and offered by institutions of higher education and training.

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Teachers for Special Needs in Education

Children with special needs in education, apart from other disadvantages, also suffer from inadequate access to education. For those who are in school, they experience a serious lack of qualified and competent teachers. Most courses offered to teacher trainees rarely take into account the needs of the ever increasing population of such children. Greater attention on both the trainees and the trainers has been limited to the interest and requirements of normal children. In order to redress this situation, efforts need to be taken to tune admission criteria to a diversity of students. Therefore:

- 5.5.2 Admission into courses offered in teacher education institutions shall take into account the necessity for teachers of children with special needs in education.

Establishment of Teachers Colleges and Teacher Supply

The quality of teachers, an improvement of the teaching and learning environments, the availability or supply of requisite good quality resources and materials, as well as the introduction of more attractive terms of service, remuneration and incentive packages for teachers will, to a large extent, determine the extent to which education can attract and retain good quality teachers in the future. The desire to formalize pre-primary education, to universalize primary education and to meet the social demand for expanded provision of a good quality secondary education, has brought with it the urgent need for training more teachers. It is imperative, therefore, that this demand for more qualified and competent teachers be matched with a parallel expansion of teacher education and teacher improvement programmes. The shortage of teachers

with qualifications in various grades runs across the entire school system. At primary level, acute shortages are experienced mainly in rural areas. At secondary level, similar shortages exist for the sciences, mathematics, technical subjects and in rural secondary schools. Unfortunately, with the expansion in enrolments at both primary and secondary levels, the Government is not able to establish and provide new colleges with requisite resources.

- 5.5.3 The establishment and ownership of teachers colleges shall be liberalized to meet the increasing demand for qualified teachers for pre-primary, primary, secondary, vocational and technical education levels.

College Infrastructure and Facilities

Although the Government intends to liberalize the establishment, ownership, management and administration of teachers colleges, the monitoring of the adequacy of standards in the design of buildings and the infrastructure requirements of these colleges will remain the prerogative. Therefore:

- 5.5.4 Owners and managers of teachers colleges shall ensure the availability and access of standard infrastructure facilities, equipment, libraries, instructional materials and well trained tutors needed for optimum and effective pedagogical and professional development and improvement of teachers.

Tutor Qualifications

For a long time most of the teachers colleges are staffed by

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no special training to teach at teachers colleges. This situation has to change in order to create a competent cadre of tutors to prepare teachers for primary schools, secondary schools and teachers colleges. Therefore:

- 5.5.5 Minimum qualification for tutors at certificate and diploma level teachers' courses shall be the possession of a valid university degree, with the necessary relevant professional qualifications and specialization.
- 5.5.6 Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) shall establish facilities and programmes for training and further professional development of tutors of teachers colleges.

Entry Qualifications to Teachers Colleges

At both primary and secondary levels, teachers' quality and professional competence is vital for the efficiency of primary and secondary education. In order to improve the quality and competence of primary and secondary school teachers, it is necessary for the Government to raise the entry qualifications of prospective teacher trainees. These trainees should also be required to specialize in specified subjects for their own professional development and future self-advancement. Therefore:

- 5.5.7 Minimum admission requirement for the teacher education certificate course shall be Division III of the Certificate of Secondary Education Examination while for the diploma teacher certificate course, minimum entry qualification shall be Division III in the Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination.

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Medium of Instruction

Communication skills among students and teachers at all levels of education need to be emphasized. Teacher preparation programmes should also take cognizance of this important requirement. Thus, the media of instruction in the teachers education institutions will relate to the medium of instruction for the education level of students for whom the teacher is preparing to teach. Therefore:

- 5.5.8 Medium of instruction for teacher education at certificate level shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject while for diploma and degree level teacher education and training, English shall be used ~~only~~ for foreign language teaching, which will be the relevant language itself and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject.

Training in Counselling and Career Guidance

Teacher education in general will have to be expanded so that it produces teachers to match demands at all levels of education, i.e. pre-primary, primary, secondary, tertiary and higher education. In order to ensure academic quality, improvements will also need to be made in the training programmes offering subject specialization. In order to achieve this counselling and career guidance will constitute an essential component of students' interest and motivation at all levels of the education system. It will characterize overall school management and administration. Therefore:

- 5.5.9 Counselling and career guidance shall be compulsory subjects for all teacher trainees.

Training and Retraining

Teacher professional development constitutes an important element for quality and efficiency in education. Teachers need to be exposed regularly to new methodologies and approaches of teaching consonant with the ever changing environment. The teaching effectiveness of every serving teacher will thus need to be developed through planned and known schedules of in-service training programmes. Therefore:

- 5.5.10 In-service training and re-training shall be compulsory in order to ensure teacher quality and professionalism.

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The Teaching of Languages

Language is the most important communication tool for accessing cognitive skills, knowledge, technologies, attitudes and values. Language teaching will continue to be an essential aspect of education. The focus will be on Kiswahili and English. Mastery of Kiswahili consolidates Tanzanian culture while the English language will access Tanzanians to knowledge, understanding, science and technology, and communication with other countries. Kiswahili and English will be compulsory subjects at the primary and secondary school levels. It will also be necessary for all teachers to have mastery and ability to effectively communicate in the two languages. Other languages may be offered as optional subjects. Therefore:

- 6.2.2 The teaching of Kiswahili, English and other foreign languages shall be promoted in the whole education and training system.
- 6.2.3 Kiswahili and English shall be compulsory subjects for all students from pre-primary to Ordinary Level secondary education. Training in communication skills through English and Kiswahili shall permeate the whole education and training system.

Science and Technology

In order to survive, man has to interact with the environment through the application of science and technology. The school has an important role to play in imparting knowledge and skills of science and technology. In the school curriculum, emphasis will be on the teaching of mathematics, science and technical subjects, including computer studies in order to promote tech-

Chapter 6

SCHOOL CURRICULA, EXAMINATIONS AND CERTIFICATION

6.1 Introduction

Any school system must have a curriculum. A curriculum encompasses four major dimensions: the aims and objectives dimension, in which the purpose of the curriculum is specified; the subject matter dimension, in which the content is spelt out; the activities dimension, in which the various types of teaching and learning processes are given, and the assessment dimension, in which the techniques by which attainment is measured are provided. School curricula are developed and implemented in order to realize the stated general and specific aims and objectives of education and training at various levels. Currently formal and centralized school curricula exist at the various levels of education except the pre-primary level.

6.2 School Curriculum

The formal school curriculum will focus on the teaching of languages, science and technology, humanities and life skills. The emphasis in these broad fields will permeate throughout the pre-primary, primary, secondary and teacher education levels. Therefore:

- 6.2.1 Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) shall be responsible for pre-primary, primary, secondary school and teacher education curriculum design, development, dissemination, monitoring and evaluation.

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nological and scientific development. The teaching of these subjects will permeate and cut across all other subjects in the formal school curriculum. Science and technology is crucial in socio-economic development and even more so in underdeveloped countries like Tanzania. The development and promotion of science and technology will require intra, inter and extra-ministerial cooperation. Realizing this fact, the National Commission of Science and Technology (COSTECH) has been established for the purpose of promoting and coordinating science and technology in the country. In order to direct efforts towards this aspiration, therefore:

- 6.2.4 Science and technology shall be essential components of education and training in the whole education and training system.

Humanities

Humanities help to form the citizen and promote understanding of the self, society and its culture, civic rights and obligations, government, international peace and understanding, and the environment. Specific subjects falling in this group of studies include history, geography, general, social and environmental studies, civics, economics, commerce, accountancy, music, plastic and performing arts, games and sports. These subjects will characterize the school curriculum at all levels. Therefore:

- 6.2.5 The teaching of humanities shall be promoted in the whole education and training system.
- 6.2.6 The teaching of civics and social studies shall be compulsory from pre-primary school to Ordinary

Level secondary education and their components shall permeate the whole education and training system.

Life Skills

Every human being needs some basic life skills in order to survive. Such skills fall into five broad categories of environmental skills, personal health skills, job creation skills, social or community skills and family skills. Some of these skills are obtained through the informal and non-formal education and training systems. Therefore, the school curriculum will include such skills as carpentry, crop and livestock husbandry, pottery making, smithing, masonry, painting, home economics, and technical skills among others. Hence:

6.2.7 The curriculum at all levels of education and training shall emphasize and promote the merger of theory and practice and the general application of knowledge.

Pre-Primary Education Curriculum

At pre-primary education level, there has been a number of agencies developing curriculum for their own schools without central coordination. If this practice is allowed to continue, it will be difficult to ascertain curriculum balance, continuity, maintenance of national standards and achievement of the objectives of pre-primary education. It is, therefore, necessary to have central coordination and control in content selection, organization, implementation and monitoring of the pre-primary education curriculum. In order to realize this objective:

6.2.8 Tanzania Institute of Education shall design and develop national curriculum guidelines for pre-primary education.

Primary Education Curriculum

The primary school curriculum has been revised since 1992 leading to the reduction of compulsory subjects from thirteen to seven. These are Kiswahili, English, mathematics, social studies, science, life skills and religious instructions. In addition, the curriculum is expected to balance the requirements of the majority of children, who do not proceed to secondary education, with the requirements of those few who proceed to secondary education. In order to ensure the realisation of the objectives of primary education:

6.2.9 Tanzania Institute of Education shall design, develop, monitor, review, and update the primary school curriculum.

The Teaching of English and Kiswahili

In Tanzania, English language and Kiswahili are used for official and commercial business, with English dominating in international commerce and business. In recognition of this fact, English and Kiswahili are taught as compulsory subjects from Std.III to Form 4. However, it has become increasingly apparent that the levels of student and teacher knowledge and proficiency in English and Kiswahili in the education system need to be improved. It is therefore felt that children be introduced to these languages as early as possible in their school life. Hence:

6.2.10 English and Kiswahili languages shall be taught as compulsory subjects from pre-primary school

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to Ordinary Level secondary education.

Secondary Education Curriculum

At the secondary education level, the curriculum is mostly subject-centred and does not respond easily to the ever-changing socio-economic development. Frequent additions of new content to the curriculum overloads its content. In addition, secondary education does not adequately meet the learning needs of students and their career choices. Students are placed prematurely into vocational programmes which might not meet their future career preferences. Besides, the instructional process does not enable students to master both vocational and cognitive skills at the end of the cycle, thus rendering them incapable of undertaking self and direct employment in the formal and informal sector. In order to promote the realisation of secondary education objectives:

6.2.11 Tanzania Institute of Education shall:

- a) continue to design, develop, review update and monitor the implementation of secondary school curriculum;
- b) merge theory and practice in the Ordinary Level secondary school curriculum.

Teacher Education Curriculum

The training of certificate and diploma level teachers has primarily been the responsibility of the Government. The initiative to liberalize the establishment, ownership, administration and financing of teachers colleges will continue to require a centralised curriculum, its coordination and monitor-

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ing. Therefore:

6.2.12 Teacher education curricula for all certificate and diploma level courses shall be designed, developed, monitored and evaluated by the Tanzania Institute of Education.

Block Teaching Practice

Due to inadequate transport facilities and financial resources, the essential practical training components of Single Lesson Teaching Practice (SLTP), Demonstration Lessons and Block Teaching Practice (BTP), have not been adequately implemented. This situation has led to the production of inadequately trained teachers. In order to redress this trend:

6.2.13 Block Teaching Practice shall be mandatory to every teacher trainee and adequate financial provision shall be made by owners and managers of teachers colleges for the full duration of the prescribed practice teaching period.

Teachers Resource Centres

Teachers Resource Centres (TRCs) are crucial growth poles for teachers' academic and professional development and improvement. TRCs promote teacher innovation and improvisation in methods of teaching, preparation of teacher-made instructional materials and aids, and facilitate the exchange of professional ideas and experiences. Therefore:

6.2.14 The establishment, development and use of Teachers Resource Centres shall be promoted.

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6.3 Examinations and Certification

Examinations are intended to monitor, evaluate and reinforce the realization of set aims and objectives of education and curricula. They are also used to monitor the proper implementation of the curricula, and to measure student progress and achievement for certification and selection for further education, training and employment.

National Examinations

At each level of education, a variety of teacher-made tests and examinations are offered to suit various specific educational purposes. Most of these tests are administered for formative evaluation while others are for summative evaluation. Within the primary school cycle, there are at present two official examinations which are conducted on a large scale, at the end of Std. IV and Std. VII. The Std. IV examination is conducted regionally to identify pupils' mastery of the 3Rs and the results thereof are used to make decisions for promotion or repetition. The Std VII examination is a Primary School Leaving Examination, marking completion of the primary education cycle and it is used for selection of students into secondary education.

Similarly, within the secondary school cycle, there are three official examinations conducted on a large scale. The Form 2 Examination is essentially used for diagnostic purpose and for Continuous Assessment in the O-Level secondary education. The Form 4 and Form 6 examination mark the completion of the secondary education cycles. The results of these two examinations are also used for selection of students for further formal education, training and direct employment. Since all these examinations are administered on a large scale and in order to maintain their quality, it is essential to control

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- 6.3.3 The National Examinations Council of Tanzania shall be responsible for the design, regulation, conduct and administration of National Standard VII, Form 4, Form 6, and Teacher Education Certificate and Diploma Examinations.

Certification at Secondary Education Level

Since 1976, assessment of academic work for students completing formal secondary school education has comprised two components: Continuous Assessment (CA), which carries a weight of 50%, and Final written Examination (FE), which also carries a weight of 50%. Concurrently, private candidates' academic performance has been evaluated solely on the basis of written examinations. This system of certification shall continue. Therefore:

- 6.3.4 The basis for certification of Form 4 and Form 6 graduates shall be continuous assessment and the results of final written examinations. Private candidates shall be certified on the basis of results of final written examinations only.

Certification at Teacher Education Level

Teacher education aims at ensuring and promoting professional competence. Final assessment at this level is by cumulative results in final written examination and terminal tests for the theoretical part of the training. Practical training is only assessed through SLTP and BTP, and the results of this assessment are used as a partial basis for certificate and diploma awards. In order to ensure the prominence of practical training methods in teacher education:

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their design, conduct, administration and the use of their results. In view of this, the following policies will guide regionally, zonally and nationally administered examinations:

- 6.3.1 There shall be centralized examinations at the end of Standard VII, Form 4, Form 6, and Teacher Education Certificate and Diploma courses.
- 6.3.2 Standard VII, Form 4 and Form 6 examinations shall mark completion of primary and secondary education cycles and the results of these examinations shall be used for selection of students for further formal education and training, and also for certification

The National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA)

Dealing with examinations which are developed and conducted on a large scale in general, and national examinations in particular, is a very sensitive and delicate undertaking. Examinations affect people and touch on their lives, and it is difficult to completely free them from criticisms that are directed at their design and development; conduct and administration; marking and processing of results; grading and award and release of results. Considering these demands, it is obvious that efficiency in handling national examinations will require a special type of human resource and institution. The type of human resource required must be highly qualified and academically competent; skilled in specific work areas and disciplines; and of a high degree of integrity. Equally important is the need for a competent institutional framework and equipment within which this human resource can operate effectively. Therefore:

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- 6.3.5 The basis for certification of teacher trainees shall be continuous assessment, Block Teaching Practice and final written examinations.

Examination Results

Releasing examinations results to candidates and the public in general, is a fulfillment of transparency and accountability requirement on the part of the examining institutions. Apart from diffusing tension and anxiety that prevails among students, teachers and parents alike, examinations results also act as a feedback mechanism to the overall functioning or dysfunctioning of the education process. On the other hand, certified examination results are normally used by employers and institutions of further education and training as one of the criteria for selecting applicants to relevant posts and training opportunities. In order to foster public confidence in examinations and certification:

- 6.3.6 Results of Primary School Leaving, Form IV, Form VI and Teacher Education National Examinations shall be certified and made public in an appropriate form.

Examination Cycles

The administration of examinations involves many people, particularly during the period of sitting and marking. For this reason, sufficient notice should always be given to candidates, teachers and supervisors in order to provide adequate time for planning, preparation and efficient conduct and processing of the examinations. Similarly, designing and developing the examinations, as well as printing and distributing them to various centers requires ample time. For efficient management of various pre-examination and post-

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examination activities:

- 6.3.7 All National Examinations within the formal school system shall be conducted at specified regular cycles.

Foreign Examinations

Since 1971, Tanzania has been conducting her own national examinations. Examinations of the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate were first replaced by those of the East African Examinations Council and thereafter the current Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) and Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education (ASCE). The City and Guilds of London Institute examinations were replaced by the National Technical Examinations. The Royal Society of Arts (RSA) examinations were replaced by the National Business Examinations (NABE). However, there are still certain other foreign examinations which have remained open to either non-nationals or nationals. These examinations need to be coordinated and supervised by one central agency. Therefore:

- 6.3.8 National Examinations Council shall be the sole body which shall permit, administer and supervise foreign examinations in Tanzania.

Certification

In order to guarantee authenticity in examination and certification, there is need for regulating matriculation and equivalencies of certificates gained by certain individuals from other school systems. With regard to local certificates, control for authenticity and against possible forgery must be exercised and monitored. Therefore:

- 6.4.1 Educational Research and Evaluation Units shall be strengthened and adequately resourced.
- 6.4.2 Government shall establish, maintain and resource a National Documentation and Dissemination Centre for Education.

6.5 Library Services

A library is a collection of books, journals, films, recordings and other literary and audio visual materials documented and stored for retrieval and use by the public and authorized persons for reading, listening and viewing. Libraries promote readership and enlightenment and sustain literacy. As a teaching and learning resource, the library is crucial for accessing information, knowledge and skills. A good library service is characterized by the presence of appropriate infrastructure and facilities, equipment, books, trained and competent personnel, and adequate financing for recurrent expenditure.

In Tanzania, the national institution responsible for the provision of library services is the Tanzania Library Services Board (TLS). This institution is responsible for the planning, establishment and maintenance of public libraries. Since its inception, TLS has established its own network of libraries up to the regional level, promoted the stocking of school and college libraries, undertaken the training of library personnel and has served as Tanzania's national depository for all publications. But with the rapid expansion of education, rising level of literacy and the subsequent demand for more library and reading materials, the TLS has not been able to satisfy public demand for its services at district, village and community levels. The TLS has not been able to render its services effec-

- 6.3.9 Certification for Formal School Education Examinations and the establishment of Equivalencies shall be done by the National Examinations Council of Tanzania.

Certification at Institutions of Tertiary and Higher Education and Training
There are other professional bodies and authorities in the country which have legal and professional powers for issuing certificates and certifying specific professional examinations results. Therefore:

- 6.3.10 Statutory institutions such as universities, tertiary and other institutions of higher learning, shall be responsible for the certification of candidates under their jurisdiction.

6.4 Educational Research and Evaluation.

The need for educational research and evaluation as a means of appraising performance is unquestionable. Better policy directions need to be backed-up by research findings. There exist Research and Evaluation Units both at the headquarters of the Ministry of Education and Culture and in the various parastatal organisations under it. However, the volume of research conducted within them is inadequate. Furthermore, researches undertaken are neither action-oriented nor policy-focused. The staff in most of the existing units is both quantitatively and qualitatively inadequate. There is also lack of continuity due to frequent staff turnover. Though most of the research personnel in these units have post graduate qualifications, the majority of them have had little training in educational research and evaluation methods. Therefore:

ively, efficiently and extensively due to underfinancing, non availability of up to date reading materials, lack of essential facilities, understaffing, inadequacy of trained and competent personnel, weak external and internal institutional linkages and generally an undeveloped reading culture. In order to address these problems, to promote a reading culture and the provision of good library service:

- 6.5.1 The Tanzania Library Services Board (TLS) shall plan, promote, establish, equip, manage, maintain and develop public, school and other institutional libraries.

Chapter 7

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

7.1 Introduction

Vocational Education and Training (VET) is designed to prepare, update or retrain artisans for employment or self-employment at the semi-skilled or skilled level, in any branch of economic activity. This kind of education and training may be provided on-the-job or off-the-job or a combination of the two.

When dealing with vocational education and training, two positions are contrasted. On the one hand is the situation where the Government provides the institutions with staff, equipment, etc., and plans for an annual output of the required number of trained personnel in so many specific skills areas. On the other hand, is the situation whereby industry itself trains and re-trains all those it needs to maintain and increase its production. In the first approach, which in fact is the traditional approach, a lot of resources are required to finance and equip the institutions as well as train the required personnel. With regard to the second position, industries consider the training received from vocational schools as inadequate and the skills taught as irrelevant to their current state of technology. It is apparent, therefore, that the solution lies in a partnership approach which requires the development of the capacity of industry to provide on-the-job training and enterprise-based programmes for

skills development. This means that careful attention has to be paid to the interaction needed between the workers and industries and that cohesion is established through close co-operation between the vocational schools, the employers and workers.

Vocational education and training can be divided into:

- (a) **Informal vocational training programmes:** These are normally carried out in out-of-school settings.
- (b) **Apprenticeship training programmes:** These are normally arranged between school terms or are carried out by industries themselves for their employees.
- (c) **Skills upgrading programmes:** These cater mainly for those already employed but who would like to upgrade their skills.
- (d) **Technical and commercial programmes:** These are normally carried out in schools with intermittent apprenticeship attachments.

After almost a decade or more of economic stagnation, new economic and industrial policies have created an environment for rapid industrial development. This trend is, however, not matched by an increased supply of properly trained and motivated human resource with technical skills. The transformation from an agrarian to an industrial infrastructure demands a drastic expansion of the vocational and technological education. It is important, therefore, that in addition to learning general cognitive skills, efforts be made

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to ensure that as many Tanzanians as possible develop and acquire specific job-related skills and positive attitudes towards work of all kinds.

7.2 Apprenticeship Training

Traditional apprenticeship can have a positive effect on employment and earnings especially in remote and infrastructurally poorly provided areas. Apprenticeship is cost effective mainly because it has greater efficiency in promoting the acquisition of skills on-the-job. Learning by doing under actual, production conditions is more effective than formal training in institutions. Apprenticeship training ensures sound mastery of skills as trainees spend relatively limited periods of time in formal instruction. Thus, during most of their apprenticeship, trainees are so productively employed that both direct training costs and income foregone (opportunity costs) are generally much lower than at alternative training institutions. Despite being cost effective, apprenticeship is not availed to trainees by employers because the existing Apprenticeship Regulations provide for minimum wage levels which few employers are willing to pay. Similarly, sizable income differentials between apprentices and non-certified semi-skilled workers act as a major deterrent in employing artisans. Therefore, in order to expand apprenticeship channels:

- 7.2.1 Traditional expertise, experts and the apprenticeship system shall be recognised and promoted as a component of the vocational education and training system.
- 7.2.2 Employers shall adopt a wider apprenticeship modular training scheme as a means of provid-

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ing training opportunities for a much larger proportion of the labour force.

Admission to Vocational Courses

Most of the 25,000 young persons who enroll for various vocational training courses are primary school leavers. Many of them do not have interest and lack information on career choices and guidance. In many cases, they do not express their desire for this training nor do they receive any counselling prior to enrollment. In order to inform and educate young people and adults alike on career choices and training opportunities available:

- 7.2.3 VETA shall prepare and make available career guidance information on vocational education and training.
- 7.2.4 Pupils in the formal school system shall be counselled on the viability and importance of vocational education and training.

The Curriculum

The curriculum for vocational education and training is as varied as the courses themselves. There is a wide range of programmes to suit the level of the student's previous knowledge and the needs of key employment sectors. Most of the existing vocational education and training curricula lack aspects of managerial and entrepreneurship skills. In order to avoid a mismatch between the curriculum content and the needs for self and wage employment, the vocational training curricula need to be reviewed in order to include aspects of entrepreneurship and management skills. Therefore:

7.2.5 Entrepreneurial skills training shall be an integral part of all vocational education and training programmes.

7.2.6 Occupational curricula for all vocational education and training courses shall be designed and developed by VETA in collaboration with Tanzania Institute of Education.

Vocational Examinations and Certification

Examinations in vocational education and training are as many and varied as the trades to be examined and the level of the courses. The design, conduct and administration of these examinations fall under several statutory institutions like the National Examinations Council of Tanzania, the National Vocational Training Division and the training institutions themselves. The examination results and certificates awarded do not show the trainees' performance in respective subject areas. As such, the certificates do not sufficiently meet the information needs of the users. There is, therefore, a need to review and coordinate all activities pertaining to vocational examinations and certification. For this reason:

7.2.7 All vocational examinations and certification shall be coordinated, harmonised and synchronized by VETA, and certificates shall show performance levels in respective subjects.

Teachers of Vocational Education and Training

The current acute shortage of trained teachers for vocational education and training is caused by several factors such as low pay and status of the profession, poor conditions of service and relatively better conditions for skilled artisans in industry.

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and Culture and other VTCs established and managed by various NGOs, parastatals and individuals. While the objectives for establishing these institutions were similar, the entry requirements, the courses offered, the curriculum, certification and management are not harmonised. They all suffer from a shortage of teachers and equipment. Similarly, they all have excess physical capacity, which, if properly utilized, could admit many more primary and secondary school leavers than they are able to take at present. In order to maximise the use of existing capacity, there is need for synchronization of the various trade courses offered. Therefore:

7.3.1 FDCs shall be encouraged to increasingly offer vocational education and training.

7.3.2 Post-primary technical centres shall be transformed into vocational education and training centres.

7.3.3 All vocational education and training centres shall be registered and approved by VETA.

7.3.4 All vocational education and training centres shall be upgraded and improved to meet national standards as set by VETA.

7.4 Trade Schools

As part of the diversification of secondary education, a technical secondary education programme was introduced, in the early 1970s, covering 15 secondary schools. In addition to this programme, other 10 secondary schools were to be converted into full technical secondary schools. Of these 10, eight are already converted and functioning. The curriculum

Generally, teachers for vocational education and training are not trained in teacher training institutions. The current practice is to recruit artisans proficient in a given craft to teach students pursuing that course. The recently established Morogoro Vocational Teachers College, besides having a low annual intake of trainees, specialises in training teachers for technical craft courses only. Therefore:

7.2.8 Government shall build and establish more vocational teacher education institutions.

7.2.9 Government shall liberalize the establishment and ownership of vocational teacher education institutions.

7.2.10 The entry qualification for vocational teacher trainees shall be possession of appropriate qualification in the relevant trade and profession.

7.3 Capacity Utilization for Vocational Education and Training

Currently, only 15% of the primary school leavers continue to secondary education level. Since the remaining 85% of the primary school leavers and those leaving the formal education system in subsequent stages constitute a very valuable productive age group, this cannot be ignored. Provision needs to be made for this group to utilize the existing facilities at various institutions and centres offering a variety of vocational education and training courses. At present, we have in the country a number of Vocational Training Centres (VTCs), under the Ministry of Labour and Youth Development; Folk Development Colleges (FDCs), under the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children; Post-Primary Technical Centres (PPTCs) under the Ministry of Education

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of this programme include three broad choices of Mechanical Engineering, Civil Engineering and Electrical Engineering. These schools were expected to achieve two complementary objectives - firstly, equipping pupils with a broad range of academic and technical knowledge in order for them to be able to go for further education, and secondly equipping them with practical skills which would enable them to take up direct employment as technicians in industry. Experience has shown that at the end of Form 4, about 75% of graduates from these technical secondary schools proceed to further education and training. Further evidence from the performance of those who proceed to technical colleges shows that the previous training which the students had received in technical secondary schools was adequate. However, the second objective of turning out students who can take up direct employment as technician in industry has not been realised. Since the provision of technical competencies is one of the major national priorities, it is imperative that this objective be realised differently. There is need to re-introduce a 4 year post primary - technical education programme in the school system. Therefore:

7.4.1 Trade schools shall be re-introduced in the school system.

7.5 Polytechnics

Most of the existing tertiary institutions are underutilized. A shift from the single skill focus to a polytechnic approach will be more cost-effective and responsive to national needs. With the rapid expansion of secondary education, the increasing numbers of Form 4 and Form 6 graduates can pursue profitably vocational education and training through polytechnics. Therefore:

7.5.1 Polytechnic institutions shall be introduced in the school system.

Chapter 8

TERTIARY AND HIGHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

8.1 Introduction

Tertiary and higher education is the third level of education after secondary education. Tertiary and higher education institutions offer professional training and award certificates, diplomas, advanced diplomas and degrees. Tertiary and higher education institutions have differing legal status, administrative and management structures. Most of the tertiary and higher institutions in Tanzania are owned by Government Ministries though others like Nyegezi Social Institute are privately owned. Some institutions have statutory and autonomous powers, e.g. universities, the Institute of Finance Management (IFM), the Ardhi Institute and the National Institute of Transport (NIT). Others are managed as part of central ministries like the Dar es Salaam Technical College, the Rwegarulila Water Resources Institute and the Institute of Management and Training of Education Personnel (MANTEP). On the other hand, the Kidatu Technical Institute, the Posts and Telecommunications Staff College and Bandari College run as units of parent companies, with relevant companies making the major decisions. In their present forms, these institutions are poorly coordinated at the national and inter-ministerial levels though some co-ordination and control exist in such areas as staff development and recruitment, resourcing, curriculum and certification at the ministerial levels.

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The primary objective of tertiary and higher education and training is to impart and promote higher levels of learning, scientific and technological knowledge, and development of capacities for research. In addition, these institutions are also responsible for professional training. Tertiary institutions train, prepare and produce middle level professional cadres while higher education institutions produce high level human resource. In addition to teaching, tertiary and higher education and training institutions undertake research and consultancies.

8.2 Establishment of Institutions

Currently, tertiary education and training institutions in Tanzania are mainly owned and managed by government ministries and public institutions/corporations. Some institutions are privately owned, though the majority in this category of institutions are for business and general management. To date, Tanzania does not have private universities or a clear policy on the establishment and management of institutions of higher learning. In the wake of liberalization, increased demand for middle and high level manpower and the social demand for higher education, there is a need for Tanzania to have a definite policy on the expansion of this type of education and training. Therefore:

- 8.2.1 The establishment and ownership of tertiary and higher education and training institutions shall be liberalized.

Curriculum and Certification

Curriculum and certification in institutions of tertiary and higher education and training has not been uniform. Statutory institutions, such as universities, design and develop their own programmes and course outlines. Furthermore, such

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institutions issue diplomas advanced diplomas and degrees to their graduates. The other tertiary institutions, such as teachers' colleges, nursing schools, and Ministry of Agriculture training institutions have centrally designed and developed curricula. Certification in these courses is done by the relevant parent ministries except for teacher education where certification is done by an authorised agency, the National Examinations Council of Tanzania, on behalf of the ministry responsible for teacher education. Although this system is functioning satisfactorily, there is a need to establish quality control measures, particularly in view of the liberalization of the establishment, ownership and management of such institutions. Hence:

- 8.2.2 Tertiary and higher education and training institutions shall design and develop their own curricula which shall be validated by VETA and other appropriate organs.
- 8.2.3 Tertiary and higher education and training institutions shall conduct and administer examinations and award appropriate certificates, diplomas and degrees as provided for in their respective Acts.

Research and Development

The crucial role of research and development in institutions of tertiary and higher education and training is recognised by all nations both developed and developing. Furthermore, it is becoming increasingly clear that research and development is not only an important indicator of a country's level of development but also it enhances its competitiveness and position in the world economy. Institutions of tertiary and higher education and training in Tanzania must, therefore, spearhead

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and assume a major role in promoting national socio-economic well being through Research and Development.

Most tertiary institutions are located in the rural areas and are sector-specific. Research at these centres aims at improving the social well being of the people by undertaking research relevant to areas and communities where these institutions are located. Ideally, researches undertaken in such localities aim at producing results which are ploughed back and disseminated to the communities for improvement of their socio-economic activities. Universities, on the other hand, undertake research in an effort to enrich and expand frontiers of knowledge. But while pursuing this objective, the results of their researches will also need to be ploughed back into industry and the community at large. Therefore:

- 8.2.4** Research and Development shall constitute essential components and activities of all institutions of tertiary and higher education and training.

Students Welfare

Currently, the funding of tertiary education and training in public institutions is mainly undertaken by the state with insignificant contributions from parents, students and institutions themselves. This has resulted in, among others, inadequate resources, low enrollments, high unit costs, institutional inefficiency, student unrest, non-accountability and laxity. In this situation, tertiary and higher education and training has not been implemented as programmed; students have been expelled and readmitted intermittently; students backlogs in admission have been the norm, and in general, the welfare of students of tertiary and higher education institu-

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South and between the South - South countries. Tanzania is committed to bridging this gap through international cooperation by information sharing, exchange of professionals, students and publications. For these reasons:

- 8.2.8** International cooperation in matters of education and training shall be encouraged and promoted.

tions has been in jeopardy, both at the universities and at institutions of tertiary education and training, and in the anticipated world of work. Therefore:

- 8.2.5** Special financial facilities shall be established to enable students in tertiary and higher education and training institutions to contribute towards their own education and training.

Expansion and Strengthening

Existing enrollments at institutions of tertiary and higher education and training currently stand at approximately 1,500 for universities and 21,535 for tertiary institutions. The university figures are among the lowest in the Eastern and Southern African sub-region. Therefore:

- 8.2.6** Enrollment at universities and other institutions of higher education and training shall be increased.
- 8.2.7** Programmes and courses offered at tertiary and higher education and training institutions shall be reviewed, streamlined and rationalised for cost-effectiveness.

International Cooperation

The policies that have been advocated for tertiary and higher education and training cannot be implemented in isolation and in disregard of the presence and availability of a corpus of knowledge, skills and expertise in other countries. There exists an inevitable knowledge gap between one country and another, and between countries of the North and those of the

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Chapter 9

NON - FORMAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

9.1 Introduction

Non-formal education refers to an organised educational activity outside the established formal education system, whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity that is intended to serve identifiable clientele and learning objectives. In Tanzania, non-formal education is viewed in two broad categories: Informal Education and Adult Education. The two forms are not mutually exclusive, in fact, they complement each other. In the context of non-formal education, training refers to any transfer of knowledge, skills or attitudes which are organised to prepare people for productive activities, or to change their working behaviour. Perceived this way, training is part and parcel of informal education.

9.2 Informal Education

Informal education is the lifelong cultural process whereby every individual acquires values, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influence and resources in his or her social, cultural and physical environment. In Tanzania, this type of education includes, among other things, initiation rites, craft and skills apprenticeship, such as fishing, pottery-making, smithing, basketry, and sculpturing; crop and animal husbandry, and the creation and performance of folk music and dance. The products that this education generates become, in turn, part of the culture of the society.

9.3 Adult Education

Adult Education in Tanzania concerns itself primarily with the provision of literacy in the 3R and efforts to sustain it. Existing adult education programmes are confined to Basic and Post-Literacy, Functional Literacy (acquisition of life skills) and Continuing Education. Continuing Education is supported by a variety of programmes including Correspondence Education, Self-Study and Extra-mural programmes. Non-Formal Education can be generalised as Out-of-School Education as distinguished from Formal Education which is In-School Education. However, either type may include, at certain stages, some aspects of the other.

9.4 Objectives of Non-Formal Education

Due to its very nature, the objectives of informal education are diffuse, because it is a lifelong cultural education process. The general aims of informal education are:

- to sustain and further develop cultural identity through the transmission of cultural values, attitudes, and customs of a society including activities which express, enrich and transform them. These activities range from grass-roots endeavours and undertakings to specialized cultural forms;
- to sustain and develop indigenous technologies;
- to provide on-the-job skills training;
- to reinforce the cultural base of society and harmonise transition to modernisation.

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fore, since informational education is an essential part of education:

9.5.1 The Culture Sector shall be an integral part of the Government system and structure.

Culture and Development

The purpose of development is to enhance the socio-economic status of man. Development, therefore, must be culture sensitive for it to be sustainable and able to draw on the large reserve of creativity and traditional knowledge and skills that exist in society. Consequently, it is important that adequate resources be devoted to promoting cultural activities at the grass roots level and encourage the growth of professionalism in the cultural field. Therefore:

9.5.2 National development plans, programmes and projects shall ensure that viable cultural norms and values are maintained, promoted and sustained.

9.6 Basic Literacy and Post-Literacy

Basic literacy and post-literacy programmes were started in Tanzania well before independence. These programmes were institutionalized in the education system in early 1970s and successfully implemented up to the mid 1980s. Thereafter, public enthusiasm and official support towards adult literacy started to wane off. This lack of official support, resulted in the allocation of inadequate financial, material and human resources, leading to low enrollments and attendance in these programmes. In order to sustain permanent literacy achieved through formal education and adult education programmes and to ensure the achievement of universal adult literacy, renewed efforts must be directed at revamping adult education programmes. Therefore:

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The importance of adult education lies in its positive relationship between the learning process, enhanced productivity and socio-economic development. In addition, it reinforces both informal and formal education. The objectives of adult education are:

- to eradicate illiteracy, sustain post-literacy and numeracy;
- to promote the acquisition and development of basic knowledge and functional skills relevant to personal development and life in the community;
- to lay foundations for life-long education;
- to ensure the realisation of the basic human right of "Education-for-All" and to complement formal education.

Compared to informal education, adult education is structured and formalised because it is normally given within specific environments and media.

9.5 Cultural Heritage

Cultural values are learned and transmitted largely through informal education. Lack of commitment to culture and concern with cultural values in socio-economic development produces social reactions, varying from apathy to hostility. People must be involved as active participants in planning for their social and economic development, and development strategies have to be consistent with their fundamental socio-cultural traits. Only then can the enthusiasm and creative potential of the people be mobilised and harnessed. There-

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9.6.1 Basic literacy, post literacy and functional literacy programmes shall constitute essential components of the education system.

9.6.2 Universal adult literacy shall be accessible to all adults.

Functional Literacy

Functional literacy aims at establishing systematic links between adult education and everyday activities of participants by providing functional skills relevant to the personal development and life in the community of the neo-literates. The main thrust is to enable adult learners apply the new knowledge and skills acquired to solve their basic economic, social and cultural problems; prepare adult learners for a more effective participation in the development of their villages, districts, regions and the nation as a whole. However, existing functional literacy programmes have not been very successful and effective, for they have not addressed adequately the socio-economic problems of the target populations. Therefore:

9.6.3 Functional literacy programmes shall be designed and developed in response to the socio-economic needs of the neo-literates.

Continuing Education

Continuing education is pursued by people who for various reasons, have had no opportunity, to continue with formal school education. In Tanzania, the Institute of Adult Education has been one of the main planners and providers of continuing education through evening classes, self study, correspondence courses and other various distance education programmes. However, although these programmes

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have met with problems, such as poor radio reception and poor transport and communication system, they have greatly helped to promote self advancement and complement formal education. Therefore:

9.6.4 Continuing education shall be an integral part of the education system.

Curriculum for Literacy Programmes

Informal education, by its very nature, does not have and is not expected to have a curriculum. Apprentices learn by observing and doing until such time the master craftsman/craftswoman is satisfied that the apprentice is competent and can be on his/her own. Such craftsmen/craftswomen usually have not only the anticipated skills, but also a sense of responsibility for their work and a more pronounced feeling for quality. Functional literacy and post-literacy curricula are currently being developed by the institution responsible for adult education. The functional literacy programme has two curricula, the Old and the New, which are used concurrently. The New curriculum covers agriculture, animal husbandry, home economics, health and crafts. The implementation of the new, more relevant curriculum, has been found to be expensive, therefore it has not been extensively used. The majority of adult learning centres use the Old curriculum, which covers agriculture, health, mathematics, animal husbandry, home economics and crafts (tin-smithing, carpentry and masonry). The old curriculum was developed in the early 1970's and has not been reviewed to date to reflect the current socio-economic needs of the learners.

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9.6.7 Government shall provide an enabling environment for the production, distribution and availability of instructional and learning materials, equipment and libraries for adult and continuing education.

Assessment and Certification

Between 1975 and 1992, the Ministry of Education and Culture undertook assessments on achievement levels in basic and post-literacy adult education through national tests. However, these national tests have been exclusively for the purpose of establishing the level of literacy achieved, with a view to measuring progress towards the eradication of illiteracy at national level. The results of these tests were neither used to help improve literacy levels of individual neo-literates nor to improve the national literacy levels themselves. In order to ensure and monitor Universal Adult Literacy:

9.6.8 National literacy tests shall be conducted every three years by the institution responsible for adult education, and the results thereof shall be used to improve national literacy levels.

Centres of Adult Learning

Since the 1970s, primary schools have continued to be centres of adult learning. In other places, religious centres, secondary schools, teachers' colleges and other educational institutions have been used for similar purposes. But, most of the institutions have had no proper facilities necessary for conducting adult education programmes. This situation has greatly affected the quality of adult education offered. In order to allow for greater participation in and access to adult

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Bearing in mind the importance of adult literacy for the socio-economic development of individuals, communities and the nation as a whole, there is need for the design, development and monitoring of a centralised community based functional literacy and post-literacy curricula. Therefore:

9.6.5 The Institute of Adult Education (IAE) shall design, develop, make available and monitor curricula for literacy, post-literacy, and functional literacy.

Curriculum for Continuing Education

Continuing education is almost wholly restricted to the preparation of individuals for examinations and certification in the formal education system and other professional courses. These courses and examinations are based on curricula which already exist and have been developed by relevant institutions. Since these programmes are tailored to specific individual and professional needs:

9.6.6 Continuing education programmes shall use curricula designed and developed by relevant institutions.

Instructional Materials

Adult education is not adequately supplied with instructional and learning materials and equipment. A similar situation also exists in continuing education programmes. Furthermore, the existing radio studio and printing machines at the IAE need rehabilitation. There is need to improve the quality, efficiency and the delivery of adult and continuing education. Therefore:

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education programmes:

9.6.9 All education institutions in the country shall be designated Centres of Adult Learning.

Adult Education Teachers

Existing teacher education programmes have no provision for the training of teachers specifically for adult education. The Institute of Adult Education offers certificate, diploma and advanced diploma courses in adult education. Successful trainees become adult education co-ordinators at the regional, district and ward levels. The existing stock of functional literacy teachers, most of whom are primary school teachers, are not adequately trained to handle adult classes. Therefore:-

9.6.10 The ministry responsible for teacher education shall provide for the training of a specific cadre of adult education teachers and tutors.

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Chapter 10

FINANCING EDUCATION AND TRAINING

10.1 Introduction

Before Independence, the colonial government, in collaboration with NGOs provided some social services including education. After independence the government committed itself to providing free education at all levels as a social service. However, it increasingly became apparent that the government did not have enough resources to continue financing free education, hence the re-introduction of school fees and direct costs in primary and secondary schools and subsequent liberalization of the establishment and management of schools.

10.2 Cost Sharing

In spite of the above measures, the education sector is still underfinanced and it relies heavily on Government financing and donor support. The share of the national budget excluding debt servicing allocated to education since the mid 1980s averages 12 percent, which is lower than that of the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, real per capital expenditure on education has been declining as evidenced by deterioration in school quality and performance. This situation calls for a more effective financing plan in which emphasis is re-directed more at cost sharing and cost recovery measures with NGOs, private organizations, individuals and communities. Priorities in planning, programming and provision of education and training services will have to be linked with the utilization, rationalization and maximization of the country's available resources in order to ensure sustainability. Internal and external support will continue to be solicited and used mainly to complement

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retained for use by the relevant education and training institutions themselves.

Funds Generated by Education and Training Institutions
Currently, some education and training institutions in the country have established income generating activities in order to raise additional institutional funds. These incomes greatly help to finance operational and running costs of such institutions. Therefore:

- 10.2.8 Education and training institutions shall be encouraged to engage in income generating activities including consultancies.
- 10.2.9 Goods and services procured by education and training institutions shall be commercially sold.

Unit Cost of Education and Training

The unit cost for primary education in Tanzania is low. It is about half that of other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. While the unit cost is low for primary education, the expenditures in secondary, tertiary and higher education are about four to five times higher per student when compared with similar figures in neighbouring countries. The main reasons for such high unit costs include:

- (a) Small sizes of the different post-primary education systems;
- (b) Low student-teacher ratio at secondary, tertiary and university education levels for example, at the University of Dar es Salaam the average is three students per instructor;

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government efforts in those areas which are of critical importance to the sector: Therefore:

- 10.2.1 Financing education and training shall be shared between Government, communities, parents and end-users.
- 10.2.2 Government shall provide incentives to individuals, communities and NGOs to establish and develop pre-primary, primary, secondary, vocational, teacher education, and tertiary and higher education institutions.
- 10.2.3 The provision of education and training shall be included as an area of investment in the Investment Promotion Act.
- 10.2.4 Government shall give incentives to local design, production, procurement and distribution of education equipment and materials.
- 10.2.5 School and tuition fees, in both Government and non-government education and training institutions, shall be based on the actual unit cost of providing education and training at each level.
- 10.2.6 School and tuition fees for non-government education and training institutions shall be proposed by the respective owners and managers of these institutions and approved by Government.
- 10.2.7 School and tuition fees shall be collected and

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- (c) Over employment of support staff in tertiary and higher education institutions where the average is about one member of staff per student.

Therefore:

- 10.2.10 The Unit cost of education and training shall be rationalized.

Budgetary Allocation

The share of the budget to education over the period 1984 to 1993 has been very low in real terms due to inflation, devaluation and rising enrollments. This under financing of education and training has resulted in poor delivery of education and training services as exemplified by the deterioration of school infrastructure, lack of teaching and learning materials, low motivation of teachers and undue dependency on foreign assistance. Therefore:

- 10.2.11 Government budgetary allocation to education and training shall be enhanced
- 10.2.12 District, Urban, Municipal and City councils shall institute a tax rate to finance basic education and training.

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CHAPTER 11

SUMMARY OF POLICY STATEMENTS

2.0 SYSTEM AND STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 2.1 The Structure of the Formal Education and Training System shall be 2-7-4-2-3+ (that is, 2 years of pre-primary education, 7 years of primary education, 4 years of secondary Ordinary Level, 2 years of secondary Advanced Level and a minimum of 3 years of university education.)
- 2.2 Government shall promote pre-school education for children aged 0-6 years. This education shall ensure maintenance of our cultural values.
- 2.3 Pre-primary school education for children aged between 5 and 6 years shall be formalized and integrated in the Formal School System.
- 2.4 Primary education shall continue to be of seven years duration and compulsory in enrollment and attendance.
- 2.5 Secondary education shall continue to be four years for Ordinary Level and two years for Advanced Level.
- 2.6 Government shall liberalize and give incentives for the promotion of Vocational Education and Training.

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3.0 ACCESS AND EQUITY IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 3.1 Government shall guarantee access to pre-primary and primary education, and adult literacy to all citizens as a basic right.
- 3.2 Government shall promote and ensure equitable distribution of education institutions.
- 3.3 Government shall promote and facilitate access to education to disadvantaged social and cultural groups.
- 3.4 Primary education shall be universal and compulsory to all children at the age of 7 years until they complete this cycle of education.
- 3.5 The establishment of co-educational and girls secondary schools shall be promoted and encouraged.
- 3.6 Government shall not deboard existing girls' government boarding secondary schools.
- 3.7 Government shall establish girls' day streams in existing government secondary schools in communities where girls' secondary education is severely adversely affected.
- 3.8 Government shall establish special educational financial support schemes for girls and women in education and training institutions.

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- 2.7 Government shall re-introduce Trade Schools in the education system and promote their establishment.
- 2.8 Government shall introduce and formalize the establishment of Polytechnics in the education system.
- 2.9 Non-Formal Education and Training shall be recognized, promoted, strengthened, co-ordinated and integrated with Formal Education and Training System.

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- 3.9 Adult education programmes shall be designed to encourage and promote the enrollment and attendance of women.
- 3.10 The school curriculum shall be reviewed in order to strengthen and encourage participation and achievement of girls in mathematics and science subjects.
- 3.11 Education and school systems shall eliminate gender stereotyping through the curricula, textbooks and classroom practices.
- 3.12 Special in-service training programmes shall be designed and implemented for women teachers.
- 3.13 Government shall encourage the construction of hostel/boarding accommodation for girls in day secondary schools.
- 3.14 The Quota System shall be phased out.
- 3.15 Government shall evolve a machinery to identify and develop gifted and talented children.
- 3.16 Government shall ensure that adequate resources are made available and provided to enhance access and equity in education.
- 3.17 Government shall promote school and college feeding and health programmes.

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4.0 MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 4.1 Government shall establish an Advisory Council, to coordinate and harmonise the provision of education and training in the country.
- 4.2 Government shall establish a Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA), to coordinate and harmonise vocational and technical education and training.
- 4.3 Government shall establish organs, to coordinate and harmonise tertiary and higher education and training.
- 4.4 Provision of basic, secondary and teacher education shall be coordinated by the ministries responsible for these types of education.
- 4.5 Ministries responsible for education and training shall devolve their responsibilities of management and administration of education and training to lower organs and communities.
- 4.6 Ministries responsible for education and training shall maintain and up-date a register of government and non-government educational institutions under their jurisdiction.

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and non-formal education and training in their areas of jurisdiction.

- 4.13 The posts of Regional and District Education Officers shall be elevated. These officers shall have over all responsibility over the implementation of formal, informal and non-formal education and training policies in their respective areas of jurisdiction.
- 4.14 The Inspectorate shall be strengthened and adequately resourced to monitor the provision of education.
- 4.15 The Teachers' Service Commission (TSC), shall be responsible for maintaining and controlling the Unified Service of all teachers to which they shall all belong.
- 4.16 Government shall ensure better terms of service and working conditions for all teachers.
- 4.17 All school teachers shall ensure that they are registered and licenced to teach in Tanzania schools.
- 4.18 All owners and managers of schools and colleges of education shall ensure that their teachers have professional qualifications and are registered and licenced to teach.

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- 4.7 Government shall issue rights of occupancy and land titles to both government and non-government education and training institutions.
- 4.8 Education and Training Boards (ETBs) shall be established for every region, district, town, municipal and city council and shall be responsible for the management of all levels of formal education and training in their areas of jurisdiction.
- 4.9 All education and training institutions shall have school or college committees/boards.
- 4.10 Boards and Committees of education and training institutions shall be responsible for management, development, planning, discipline and finance of institutions under their jurisdiction.
- 4.11 All education managers at national, regional, district and post-primary formal education and training institutions shall have a university degree, professional training in education and management, as well as appropriate experience. Education managers at Ward and primary school levels shall have a Certificate or Diploma in education, as well as professional training in educational management and administration from a recognised institution.
- 4.12 All education managers at national, regional, district and institutional levels shall be responsible for the coordination of the planning, provision, management, administration and quality control of formal, informal

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5.0 FORMAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 5.1 Pre-primary school education for children of ages 5 to 6 shall be formalized and promoted in the Formal Education System.
- 5.2 Government shall promote, give incentives and liberalize the establishment and management of pre-primary schools.
- 5.3 The Medium of Instruction in pre-primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject.
- 5.4 Government shall facilitate proper training, availability and development of a competent cadre of teachers for pre-primary schools.
- 5.5 Primary education shall be universal and compulsory to all children from the age of 7 years until they complete this cycle of education.
- 5.6 The establishment, ownership and management of primary schools shall be liberalized.
- 5.7 Government shall ensure that all primary school age children are enrolled in school and in full attendance.
- 5.8 Government shall set and establish standard infrastructure and facilities for primary schools, such as desks, educational equipment, libraries and instructional

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materials necessary for effective delivery and acquisition of good quality education.

- 5.9 Owners of pre-primary and primary schools shall be responsible for the provision of adequate instructional and school materials approved for use in schools.
- 5.10 Minimum qualifications for a primary school teacher shall be possession of a valid Grade A Teacher Education Certificate.
- 5.11 The medium of instruction in primary schools shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject from std.1
- 5.12 Government shall ensure that the expansion of existing secondary schools and the establishment of new secondary schools adheres to set government plans for the expansion of secondary education.
- 5.13 Urban, district, town, municipal and city councils and authorities, communities, NGOs, individuals and public institutions shall be encouraged and given incentives to establish, own, manage and administer at least one secondary school in each Ward (Kata) in their areas of jurisdiction.
- 5.14 Owners and managers of all secondary schools shall ensure that standard infrastructure, facilities, equipment and instructional materials necessary for effective and optimum teaching and learning are of good quality, available in adequate quantities and are regularly

- 5.15 The minimum qualification for a secondary school teacher in both government and non-government schools shall be possession of a valid diploma in education obtained from a recognized institution.
- 5.16 Owners and managers of secondary schools shall train, have access to and ensure the availability of well trained teachers, conducive and attractive working conditions, and further professional development and improvement of teachers in their schools.
- 5.17 Every secondary school shall have a library, adequate stock of books and well trained and competent library personnel.
- 5.18 Selection and enrollment in O-Level government and non-government secondary schools shall be made on the basis of a pre-set national standard cut-off point of performance in the National Primary School Leaving Examination.
- 5.19 Selection and enrollment in Advanced Level secondary education shall be based on prescribed performance levels in the relevant A-Level subject combinations after attainment of appropriate credits in the Certificate of Secondary Education Examination.
- 5.20 The medium of instruction of secondary education shall continue to be English except for the teaching of other approved languages, and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject up to Ordinary Level.

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- 5.21 Government teachers' colleges offering courses leading to Certificate in Teacher Education or Diploma in Teacher Education shall continue to fall under the ministry responsible for primary and secondary education. Teacher education courses leading to a degree in education shall be designed and offered by institutions of higher education and training.
- 5.22 Admission into courses offered in teacher education institutions shall take into account the necessity for teachers of children with special needs in education.
- 5.23 The establishment and ownership of teachers' colleges shall be liberalized to meet the increasing demand for qualified teachers for pre-primary, primary, secondary, vocational and technical education levels.
- 5.24 Owners and managers of teachers' colleges shall ensure the availability and access of standard infrastructure, facilities, equipment, libraries, instructional materials and well trained tutors needed for optimum and effective pedagogical and professional development and improvement of teachers.
- 5.25 Minimum qualification for tutors at certificate and diploma level teachers' courses shall be the possession of a valid University degree, with the necessary relevant professional qualification and specialization.
- 5.26 Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) shall establish facilities and programmes for training and further professional development of tutors of teachers' colleges.

- 5.27 Minimum admission requirements for the teacher education certificate course shall be Division III of the Certificate of Secondary Education Examination, while for the diploma teacher certificate course, minimum entry qualification shall be Division III in the Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination.
- 5.28 The medium of instruction for teacher education at certificate level shall be Kiswahili, and English shall be a compulsory subject while for diploma and degree level teacher education and training, English shall be used, except for foreign language teaching, which will be in the relevant language itself, and Kiswahili shall be a compulsory subject.
- 5.29 Counselling and career guidance shall be compulsory subjects for all teacher trainees.
- 5.30 In-service training and re-training shall be compulsory in order to ensure teacher quality and professionalism.

6.0 SCHOOL CURRICULA, EXAMINATIONS AND CERTIFICATION

- 6.1 Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE), shall be responsible for pre-primary, primary, secondary and teacher education curriculum design, development, dissemination, monitoring and evaluation.
- 6.2 The teaching of Kiswahili, English and other foreign languages shall be promoted in the whole education and training system.
- 6.3 Kiswahili and English shall be compulsory subjects for all students from pre-primary to Ordinary Level secondary education. Training in communication skills through English and Kiswahili shall permeate the whole education and training system.
- 6.4 Science and Technology shall be essential components of education and training in the whole education and training system.
- 6.5 The teaching of humanities shall be promoted in the whole education and training system.
- 6.6 The teaching of civics and social studies shall be compulsory from pre-primary school to Ordinary Level secondary education and their components shall permeate the whole education and training system.
- 6.7 The curriculum at all levels of education and training shall emphasize and promote the merger of theory and practice and the general applications of knowledge.
- 6.8 Tanzania Institute of Education shall design, and develop national curriculum guidelines for pre-primary education.
- 6.9 Tanzania Institute of Education shall design, develop, monitor, review, and update the primary school curriculum.
- 6.10 English and Kiswahili languages shall be taught as compulsory subjects from pre-primary school to Ordinary Level secondary education.
- 6.11 Tanzania Institute of Education shall:
- a) continue to design, develop, review, update and monitor the implementation of secondary school curriculum.
 - b) merge theory and practice in the Ordinary Level secondary school curriculum.
- 6.12 Teacher education curricula for all certificate and diploma level courses shall be designed, developed, monitored and evaluated by the Tanzania Institute of Education.
- 6.13 Block Teaching Practice shall be mandatory to every teacher trainee and adequate financial provision shall be made by owners and managers of teachers colleges for

the full duration of the prescribed practice teaching period.

- 6.14 The establishment, development and use of Teachers' Resource Centres shall be promoted.
- 6.15 There shall be centralized examinations at the end of Standard VII, Form 4, Form 6, and Teacher Education Certificate and Diploma courses.
- 6.16 Standard VII, Form 4 and Form 6 examinations shall mark completion of primary and secondary education cycles and the results of these examinations shall be used for selection of students for further formal education and training, and also for certification.
- 6.17 The National Examinations Council of Tanzania shall be responsible for the design, regulation, conduct and administration of National Standard VII, Form 4, Form 6, and Teacher Education Certificate and Diploma Examinations.
- 6.18 The basis for certification of Form 4 and Form 6 graduates shall be continuous assessment and the results of final written examinations. Private candidates shall be certified on the basis of results of final written examinations only.
- 6.19 The basis for certification of teacher trainees shall be continuous assessment, Block Teaching Practice and final written examinations.

- 6.20 Results of Primary School Leaving, Form 4, Form 6, and Teacher Education National Examinations shall be certified and made public in an appropriate form.
- 6.21 All National examinations within the formal school system shall be conducted at specified regular cycles.
- 6.22 The National Examinations Council of Tanzania shall be the sole body which shall permit, administer and supervised foreign examinations in Tanzania.
- 6.23 Certification for Formal School Education Examinations and the establishment of Equivalences shall be done by the National Examinations Council of Tanzania.
- 6.24 Statutory institutions, such as universities, tertiary and other institutions of higher learning, shall be responsible the certifications of candidates under their jurisdiction.
- 6.25 Educational Research and Evaluation Units shall be strengthened and adequately resourced.
- 6.26 Government shall establish, maintain and resource a National Documentation and Dissemination Centre for Education.
- 6.27 Tanzania Library Service Board (TLS) shall plan, promote, establish, equip, manage, maintain, and develop public, school and other institutional libraries.

7.0 VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 7.1 Traditional expertise, experts and the apprenticeship system shall be recognised and promoted as a component of the vocational education and training system.
- 7.2 Employers shall adopt a wider apprenticeship modular training scheme as a means of providing training opportunities for a much larger proportion of the labour force.
- 7.3 VETA shall prepare and make available career guidance information on vocational education and training.
- 7.4 Pupils in the formal school system shall be counselled on the importance and viability of vocational education and training.
- 7.5 Entrepreneurial skills training shall be an integral part of all vocational education and training programmes.
- 7.6 Occupational curricula for all vocational education and training courses shall be designed and developed by VETA in collaboration with Tanzania Institute of Education.
- 7.7 All vocational examinations and certification shall be coordinated, harmonised and synchronised by VETA, and certificates shall show performance levels in respective subjects.
- 7.8 Government shall build and establish more vocational teacher education institutions.
- 7.9 Government shall liberalize the establishment and ownership of vocational teacher education institutions.
- 7.10 The entry qualification for vocational teacher trainees shall be the possession of appropriate qualifications in the relevant trade and profession.
- 7.11 FDCs shall be encouraged to increasingly offer vocational education and training.
- 7.12 Post-primary technical centres shall be transformed into vocational education and training centres.
- 7.13 All vocational education and training centres shall be registered and approved by VETA.
- 7.14 All vocational education and training centres shall be upgraded and improved to meet national standards as set by VETA.
- 7.15 Trade schools shall be re-introduced in the school system.
- 7.16 Polytechnic institutions shall be introduced in the school system.

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8.0 TERTIARY EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 8.1 The establishment and ownership of tertiary education and training institutions shall be liberalized.
- 8.2 Tertiary and higher education and training institutions shall design and develop their own curricula which shall be validated by VETA and other appropriate organs.
- 8.3 Tertiary and higher education and training institutions shall conduct and administer examinations and award appropriate certificates, diplomas and degrees as provided for in their respective Acts.
- 8.4 Research and Development shall constitute essential components and activities of all institutions of tertiary and higher education and training.
- 8.5 Special financial facilities shall be established to enable students in tertiary and higher education and training institutions to contribute towards their own education and training.
- 8.6 Enrollment at universities and other institutions of higher education and training shall be increased.
- 8.7 Programmes and courses offered at tertiary education and training institutions shall be reviewed, streamlined and rationalised for cost-effectiveness.

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- 8.8 International cooperation in matters of education and training shall be encouraged and promoted.

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9.0 NON-FORMAL EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 9.1 The Culture Sector shall be an integral part of the Government system and structure.
- 9.2 National development plans, programmes and projects shall ensure that viable cultural norms and values are maintained, promoted and sustained.
- 9.3 Basic literacy, post-literacy and functional literacy programmes shall constitute essential components of the education system.
- 9.4 Universal adult literacy shall be accessible to all adults.
- 9.5 Functional literacy programmes shall be designed and developed in response to the socio-economic needs of the neo-literates.
- 9.6 Continuing education shall be an integral part of the education system.
- 9.7 The Institute of Adult Education (IAE), shall design, develop, make available and monitor curricula for literacy, post-literacy, and functional literacy.
- 9.8 Continuing education programmes shall use curricula designed and developed by relevant institutions.

- 9.9 Government shall provide an enabling environment for the production, distribution and availability of instructional and learning materials, equipment and libraries for adult and continuing education.
- 9.10 National literacy tests shall be conducted every three years by the institution responsible for adult education, and the results thereof shall be used to improve national literacy levels.
- 9.11 All education institutions in the country shall be designated Centres of Adult Learning.
- 9.12 The Ministry responsible for teacher education shall provide for the training of a specific cadre of adult education teachers and tutors.

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10.0 FINANCING EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 10.1 Financing education and training shall be shared between Government, communities, parents and end-users.
- 10.2 Government shall provide incentives to individuals, communities and NGOs to establish and develop pre-primary, primary, secondary, vocational, teacher education, and tertiary and higher education and training institutions.
- 10.3 The provision of education and training shall be included as a area of investment in the Investment Promotion Act.
- 10.4 Government shall give incentives to local design, production, procurement and distribution of education equipment and materials.
- 10.5 School and tuition fees, in both Government and non-government education and training institutions, shall be based on the actual unit cost of providing education and training at each level.
- 10.6 School and tuition fees for non-government education and training institutions shall be proposed by the respective owners and managers of these institutions and approved by Government.

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- 10.7 School and tuition fees shall be collected and retained for use by the relevant education and training institutions themselves.
- 10.8 Education and training institutions shall be encouraged to engage in income-generating activities, including consultancies.
- 10.9 Goods and services produced by education and training institutions shall be commercially sold.
- 10.10 The unit cost of education and training shall be rationalized.
- 10.11 Government budgetary allocation to education and training shall be enhanced.
- 10.12 District, Urban, Municipal and City Councils shall institute a tax rate to finance basic education and training.

LIST OF ISSUES IDENTIFIED BY THE TZ TASK FORCE (1993)

19. In the process of examining the various reviews and summaries on education in Tanzania, the Task Force found that school enrolments had more than tripled since independence (1961) at all levels. There has been an attempt to apply a work-oriented curriculum, especially at post-primary levels as well as to adopt an equitable distribution of education across regions and between sexes. Despite these gains, the education system still suffers from a great number of contradictions detailed below:

- (a) Gross primary school enrolment has gradually declined from 96 percent (1983) to 70 percent (1992) besides being exacerbated by high attrition rates of 10-15 percent. Higher level classes in some regions virtually go unsubscribed.
- (b) The illiteracy rate which by 1984 was only 10 percent, has gradually risen to the region of 20-30 percent (1992).
- (c) The number of Standard VII leavers proceeding to Form I (both public and private) though it has risen to 40,000, represents barely 15 percent of those completing primary education. This is the lowest figure in sub-Saharan Africa.
- (e) The quality of primary school academic performance is most unsatisfactory. Only 15 percent of the candidates, especially in urban areas, manage to score 50 percent in Standard VII Examinations.
- (f) The physical learning environment leaves much to be desired, with classrooms in a state of pathetic disrepair; and exacerbated by acute shortages of desks, textbooks and other essential teaching materials.
- (g) The curriculum, especially at the lower levels of schooling, tries to teach too many subjects and is not flexible and relatable enough to meet the various needs of school leavers.
- (h) Teachers are demoralized because they are dissatisfied with their working conditions being, on average, poorly remunerated compared with other professions. A significant number are underqualified and untrained, especially in private secondary schools.
- (i) Although about half of the 'O' level secondary school student population pursue sciences, the number remains inadequate, considering the increasing scientific and technological needs of the 21st century. Moreover, the performance of schools in these disciplines is still relatively poor, mainly as a result of inadequate teaching materials and equipment. Some teachers are poorly trained and non-innovative.
- (j) Tertiary and higher education has been provided for the needs of the public sector, but it has been supply, rather than demand-driven. It has also been restricted to a few students thus making it elitist and highly expensive in terms of unit costs. The problem has been exacerbated by low staff-student ratios due to low student intake. Limited financial means and frequent budget cuts have resulted in under resourcing at institutions of higher learning.
- (k) Management systems, structures and integration processes among those agencies providing education-cum-training are not clearly defined. This limits accountability and responsibility and has serious implications for managerial efficiency and effectiveness.
- (l) Education still suffers from an inequitable distribution with many remote rural areas of the country being disadvantaged in terms of resources. Moreover, the quota system does not narrow the differences between the number of achievers or between disadvantaged and advantaged areas, or between the sexes.
- (m) The education sector is funded almost entirely by the Government, which meets two-thirds of the funding. Worse still, this funding itself is almost entirely dependent on foreign assistance, especially with regards the development budget.

APPENDIX D

IMPLICATIONS OF PRIVATISATION POLICIES IN TANZANIA

Tanzania faces food shortages, yet it may not qualify for help with loan repayments, writes Charlotte Denny

Where debt makes school a luxury not all can afford

ANGELUS MTEGO is in his final year at Lusala primary school in the Ludewa district of southern Tanzania. Children start their education later here and, like most of his leaving class, Angelus is aged 15, although he is no bigger than the average British 10-year-old.

His main ambition in life is to move on to the local government secondary school by passing an exam. Last year only 10 out of 70 in the year group were accepted.

But for Angelus, the biggest hurdle is the cost of education. His father is too poor to pay his primary school fees of 3,000 Tanzanian shillings per year (about \$5), let alone the \$100-a-year fees for a secondary school education.

Schools used to be free in Tanzania but in 1993, at the instigation of the International Monetary Fund, the government introduced education and health fees to cut its huge budget deficit.

Government finances are under pressure because of Tanzania's foreign debt. It owes \$3 billion to its international creditors — \$266 for every man, woman and child in the country. The government must spend nine times as much on debt repayments as on basic health care

and four times as much on debt as on primary education.

Since the government was forced to cut back on spending, school buildings have fallen into disrepair and there are shortages of equipment. A recent Oxfam report estimated that, on average, there was one desk per seven pupils, and each textbook was shared by four children. Classes of more than 50 pupils are not uncommon.

At Lusala school the children are comparatively lucky. The parents built the school themselves in the days when the government still provided free roofs. There are seven classrooms for 450 pupils, and almost every child has a desk.

But the introduction of fees has made the school unaffordable for some. The headmaster, Matano Nguwila, estimates that one in four children in his area are not in school because their parents cannot afford the fees. Some pupils attend school even though their parents cannot pay. The school cultivates and sells its own coffee crop to cover the shortfall.

Others like Angelus pay their own way. Since the age of 12 he has supported himself by working on his own tiny field. He now pays his own school fees and those of his brother, and buys exercise books and pens.

Last year he made a profit of around 10,000 shillings (\$15) from his bean crop. After paying two sets of school fees he had just 4,000 shillings left to feed and clothe himself. His school uniform is torn and he goes barefoot.

The government hopes that some of the pressures on its budget will be relieved soon through the World Bank's Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative.

The main lenders — Western governments and international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF — have agreed to write off up to 30 per cent of the loans for developing countries with unsustainable debts.

Tanzania should be the next in line for relief under the HIPC initiative



Angelus Mtego pays his \$5 primary school fees by growing beans must find \$100 a year to attend secondary school PHOTO: PETER J.

— provided its debts still meet the definition of "unsustainable" stipulated by the IMF and World Bank.

Their criteria are strictly financial. If a country spends more than 20-25 per cent of its export earnings on servicing debt, it qualifies for relief. Tanzania would have qualified three years ago, but it has since had several years of strong export growth.

Christopher Mwakasege, executive director of the Tanzania Social and Economic Trust which campaigns on the issue, is concerned that his country will miss out.

According to Mr Mwakasege, the economic figures don't reflect the reality of life for ordinary families, who are facing their third bad harvest in a row. Household production

is not included in national accounts so the fact that famine is looming parts of Tanzania is not reflected in estimates of GDP growth.

The World Food Programme estimates that 40 per cent of the population face food shortages and is planning a mass feeding camp in Tanzanian primary schools.

Debt relief alone cannot remove poverty but it is a necessary step, says Simon Levine, Christian Aid's programme officer for Tanzania. "Tanzania will never be able to provide any kind of reasonable living conditions for its citizens without debt relief," he says. "Tanzania's poverty... isn't about a sudden catastrophe like Hurricane Mitch, people being slowly ground down



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