Tanzania

Civil Society Participation and the Governance of Educational Systems in the Context of Sector-Wide Approaches to Basic Education

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Executive Summary

Tanzania is a newly democratic state (1995) with a strong socialist history. The Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party has been in power since independence (1961), originally led by Julius Nyerere who fostered national self-reliance and African socialism. Facing economic crisis in 1985, Nyerere resigned and the CCM made a major shift towards a liberal trade-oriented market and a multi-party democracy. Although formal opposition parties were allowed as of 1995, the CCM has maintained dominance in politics at both the national and local levels. The new CCM leader, Jakaya Kikwete, was elected President of the country in December 2005.

Tanzania ranks a low 164/177 on the Human Development Index 2005, with most of its poverty concentrated in rural areas. In addition to poverty, its main concerns include its dependence on foreign aid (45% of its budget came from donors in 2003); high levels of debt; and a mounting HIV/Aids epidemic. The country has seen a significant level of economic growth since 2002, but this growth has not been in the agricultural sector that supports the majority of Tanzanians. Tanzania's primary gross enrolment ratio rose from 85.4% in 2001 to 109% in 2005 (Khainga et al, 2005). However, the gap in access to primary education is still great for vulnerable and marginalized groups, as well as at the secondary and tertiary levels, where gross enrollment ratios were 5.5% and 0.9% (URT, 2005).

In 2001 Tanzania initiated its Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP). The sector program called for the decentralization of the education system. In contrast to the traditional top-down management by Regional Administrations, the School Councils have now been vested with the responsibility of preparing budgets and school plans, managing funds and salaries and preparing financial reports. The ministries maintain responsibility for policy, standards and monitoring. Although this new arrangement hopes for more parental involvement, this may be thwarted by the composition of the School Councils, which favors representation from party-controlled village council members (Therkildsen, 2000). The ESDP also encourages participation by a greater variety of stakeholders in the policy process, including donors, civil society and private sector representatives. Specific targets for the primary level are set out in the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP). The PEDP has been the main focus for donor funding and coordination for the past five years, although donor support is found throughout the education sub-sectors. Foreign funding accounted for 96.6% of the Development Expenditure (actual) in 2003/04 (Khainga, 2005), which amounts to 55.8% of the Total Expenditure in education. The last available data shows Canada as the lead donor, in coordination with the World Bank, the African Development Bank, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Australia, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the European Council (World Bank, n.d.). Tanzania is one of CIDA's 25 priority countries, and Canada provides budgetary support to PEDP.

In Tanzania, the government has vacillated in the space it is willing to allow autonomous civil society actors and the media. Civil society participation in poverty-reduction and

sector policies (PRSP, ESDP, PEDP, NSGRP etc.) has been highlighted in official policy rhetoric since 2000. Donors, particularly CIDA, SIDA and NOVIB, have been instrumental in supporting both civil society growth (through funding) and voice (through support for policy space). However, the literature is peppered with criticisms that the NGOs are predominantly urban-based and elite-led; and that there has been a marginalization of NGOs with more radical views, opting for those willing to "rubber-stamp" initiatives (Evans & Ngalwea, 2001; Lange et al., 2000; Mercer, 2003; Sumra, 2005). In addition, official legislation requires that NGOs register with the government, and threatens deregistration of NGOs that are deemed too political or that undertake activities outside their stated mandate. In 1997, this allowed for deregistration of a successful women's organization, BAWATA (Tripp, 2000). In 2005, the government threatened to deregister the influential education advocacy NGO, Haki Elimu, for undertaking research and publication regarding Tanzanian schools that it deemed "political." This may have been influenced more by certain Haki Elimu members' sympathies with the opposition party than by the organizations actual research in education.

Civil society organizations in Tanzania are involved in educational service provision and in community based education projects, but there is limited research on this subject. Non-governmental schools (both private and community) have grown rapidly since the 1980s – a third of all secondary schools were run by non-government providers as of 1998 (Chediel et al., 2000); it is unclear how these service providers have been affected by the ESDP. Under decentralization, new school councils have been vested with the responsibility of preparing budgets and managing school funds. However, their capacity to do so has been called into question (Sumra, 2005; Galabawa, 2002). At the community level, participation still predominantly revolves around parental contributions to school construction (Therkildsen, 2000).

Tanzania has one of the most well developed national Education for All NGO coalitions in Africa. TENMET, the Tanzanian Education Network, was formed in 1999. It has grown from an initial membership of 31 organizations to represent 161 civil society groups involved in education in 2005. TENMET is linked to several other well developed NGO networks in Tanzania and played a role in coordinating the education NGO input into the PRSP and NGO led debt relief campaigns. TENMET is also formally connected internationally to GCE, ANCEFA and the CEF. The nine Steering Committee members of TENMET are purposively balanced to represent urban/rural, international/national, and regional actors (TENMET, 2005a; 2005b). In addition to TENMET, Tanzania is host to Haki Elimu, an influential body founded by 13 prominent Tanzanians to advance public engagement in educational policy. The Tanzanian Teachers' Union current involvement in the coalition appears to have been marginal. Furthermore it appears that the TTU has had only limited engagement in the formulation and implementation of the PEDP and has typically engaged government primarily around wage issues (Kuder, 2004; Swai, 2004).

TENMET coalition members have been active in research-based policy alternatives and policy monitoring. In 2001, NGO Maarifa ni Ufunguo published an empirical,

participatory case study on the effects of school fees in Kilimanjaro, which was widely publicized internationally. The research was used by U.S NGOs in their successful bid to have US legislation introduced blocking US governmental support to any World Bank activity that supports user fees. The report contributed to the Tanzanian government's decision to abolish school fees in 2003. Haki Elimu (mentioned above), has been active in monitoring the government's adherence to achieving targets set in the ESDP and PEDP. Maarifa ni Ufungo, the secretariat of TENMET, has been one of the frontrunners in the introduction of civil society budget tracking and monitoring activities to enhance community level oversight of rapidly decentralizing educational services.

Overall, civil society involvement in education is growing, particularly in research and advocacy. This pairing allows for a different model of civil society than previously; one that allows for research-based alternatives and a strong watchdog stance. However, we could find no direct evidence of NGO or civil society monitoring of international donors. Great potential appears to exist for NGO-led activities that support community participation in local school councils and in budget and outcomes monitoring. However, there is a significant lack of research on the interface between the local school councils or non-government schools and the national advocacy NGOs, as represented by Haki Elimu and TENMET.

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List of Acronyms

ANCEFA	Africa Network Campaign on Education for All
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi (main political party)
CEF	Commonwealth Education Fund
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CBO	Community Based Organization
EC	European Commission
EFA	Education for All
EFA-GMR	Education for All – Global Monitoring Report
ESDP	Education Sector Development Plan
ETP	Education and Training Policy
GCE	Global Campaign for Education
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrollment Rate
HDR	Human Development Report
HIPC	Highly Indebted Poor Country (IMF designation)
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LGRP	Local Government Reform Program
MOEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
NER	Net Enrollment Rate
NFE	Non-Formal Education
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (i.e. PRSP II
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan (I and II)
PER	Public Expenditure Review
PO-RALG	President's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Plan
SWAp	Sector Wide Approach
TEDP	Tertiary Education Development Plan
TENMET	Tanzanian Education Network
TANGO	Tanzanian Association of NGOs
UPE	Universal Primary Education
URT	United Republic of Tanzania

1. Background

The United Republic of Tanzania is an East African country with a population roughly the size of Canada's. It shares Mt. Kilimanjaro with Kenya; contains the Serengeti and the second largest fresh-water lake in the world; and is known for its generosity with refugees. It is also one of the poorest countries in the world, ranking only 164th out of 177 countries on the Human Development Index 2005 (UNDP HDR, 2005). However, it is most often cited for both its legacy as a socialist state, and its transformation to a democratic, decentralized government with a liberal, trade-oriented economy – all under the direction of the same political party since 1961, the Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM).

The country is well known for its charismatic socialist leader, Julius Nyerere, who led the country from independence in 1961 until 1985, when he resigned in the shadow of an economy in crisis. He was the main author of the Arusha Declaration of 1967, a major milestone in African socialism and self-reliance that transformed the concept of development from 'developing things' to 'developing people.' Compared to the colonial legacy of the Germans (1890 – 1918) and the British (1919 – 1961), this period marked a rapid increase in equity in the country, particularly in the area of education, where Tanzania achieved Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1973 (Buchert, 1994; Kuder, 2004; Swai, 2004).

Despite a positive prospectus, within the context of the widespread financial crises experienced by many African countries in the 1980's, Tanzania could not afford to sustain the gains it had made in the previous decades. Oil and debt crises were exacerbated in Tanzania by huge budget and trade deficits, falling prices in the country's main exports, and an unwanted war with Uganda. The socialist economy continued to fail through the 1980s, despite structural adjustment policies mandated by the IMF. In order to address the crisis, the CCM party embarked on a new path towards capitalism in the mid 1980s, and towards democratic elections in 1995. Reform was high on the agenda of President Mkapa (1995-2005), who focused on corruption, market-led growth, public sector reform, and de-centralization (Mercer, 2003). Sectors such as education were still being decentralized as of 2002. The CCM will likely continue to follow this path under

the new President, Jakaya Kikwete (previously the Finance Minister), elected in December 2005.

Poverty remains one of the main concerns of the country, with over a third of its population living below the basic needs poverty line (United Republic of Tanzania (URT), 2005). Between 1990 and 2003, Tanzania experienced a reversal on the Human Development Index (from 35th to 15th lowest in the world) (UNDP HDR, 2005), highlighting the declining standard of living for its citizens. Like many other African countries, HIV/AIDS is an increasing concern. The government has just formulated its second Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) – called the National Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP), which aims to further harmonize policy frameworks, and tackle related elements such as education and HIV/AIDS. It has set specific targets in the sectors, using an "outcomes-approach". It also plans to stimulate domestic savings and growth to address the shortfall in government funds (URT, 2005).

Another main concern is the country's overwhelming dependence on aid, which carries with it issues of sustainability and national autonomy. A long standing aid-darling of the donor community, Tanzania received US$1.7 billion in ODA in 2003 (UNDP HDR, 2005). This meant that 47% of its budget was financed by donors in 2002/03, and 45% in 2003/04 (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2004). In order to receive significant funds from donors in the 1980s and 1990s, Tanzania altered its education policies to reflect donor priorities, and the education ministry's planning director began to describe his work as "marketing," leading to questions of national autonomy (Samoff, 2003). However, several correctives are in the works, including taking a Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) in education, health, etc., within the greater harmonization of policies under the PRSP and NSGRP. In addition, the country is progressing financially, with ODA decreasing from 27.5% of its GDP in 1990, to only 16.2% in 2003 (UNDP HDR, 2005).

Tanzania's GDP has consistently grown for six years, reaching 6.2% growth in 2002 and 6.7% in 2004 (URT, 2005). This growth is predominantly found in the burgeoning tourism and mining sectors (Treichel, 2005). There has been a significant reduction of poverty in urban areas, such as Dar es Salaam; however, this economic growth has had very little impact on rural areas, which constitute 87% of the poor (UNDP HDR, 2005). As well, the agriculture sector has not benefited from this growth, despite

the fact that it provides livelihood to 82% of Tanzanians (URT, 2005). Exacerbating this, Tanzania remains a highly indebted country, dating back to the early 1980s, although Tanzania has now successfully completed its first round of HIPC.

Despite these economic problems, Tanzania remains a very stable and peaceful society, contrasted with many of its neighbors. Nyerere is credited with creating a "Tanzanian" identity and equity, which helped to negate many overt ethnic or religious tensions (Miguel, 2004). The main identity divide is between Tanzania's mainland and the island of Zanzibar, which joined the country in 1964. In contrast, the mainland consists of mostly native Africans, of which 95% are Bantu of more than 130 tribes. These groups are a third Christian, a third Muslim and a third indigenous beliefs, but religious tensions are rarely mentioned in the literature. Zanzibar, in contrast, is a mix of Arab and native African descendants, although 99% are Muslim. Zanzibar remains semi-autonomous, with separate policies and governance (including a separate education sector) since joining the Republic . Zanzibar has experienced some civil unrest during the elections of 1995, 2000 and 2005, resulting in the death of a candidate and the postponement of the election date this past year (BBC, 2005). However, this is generally seen as a surprise in a country otherwise known for its political and social stability.

Table 1: Tanzania Basic Statistics

GDP 2003	$10.3 billion US
GDP per capita 2003	$287 US
ODA 2003	$1,669.3 million US
ODA as % of GDP 2003	16.2%
Net foreign investment inflows (% of GDP) 2003	2.4%
% of population on less than $2/day, 1990-2003	38.4%
% of population below nation poverty line; 1990-2003	36.8%
% undernourished 2000-2002	44%

Total population 2003	36.9 million
Urban population 2003	35.4%
Population under 15 yr. old, 2003	43.2%
Fertility rate 2000-2005	5.1
Infant mortality rate 2000-2005	99.8 / 1000
HIV prevalence % in adults 2003	8.8 (56% female)
Children orphaned by AIDS	980,000

Source: UNDP HDR, 2005; EFA-GMR, 2006.

2. Education Policy Landscape

Education, particularly primary education, is currently one of the most highlighted achievements of the current government. Through the implementation of the Primary Education Development Plan 2002-2006 (PEDP), there has been significant improvement in most education indicators. The primary education GER has risen from 77.6% in 1990 to 85.4% in 2001, reaching 109% in 2005 (URT, 2005; Khainga et al., 2005) Simply the abolishment of user fees in 2001 led to 1.6 million more children in schools (UNDP HDR, 2005).

Despite these achievements, major challenges in quality, enrolment, basic resources and administration remain for the Tanzanian education system:

- **Enrolment in primary schools** continues to be an issue for children with **disabilities, orphans and other vulnerable children**. Education also varies **regionally**, where NER in Kilimanjaro was 100% in 2004, but only 68% in Tabora.(HakiElimu, 2005 - taken from government reports)

- The **transition to secondary and tertiary education** is low, with a GER at 5.5% and 0.9% respectively, compared to a primary education rate of over 80% (WB, 2002). One can argue the efficacy of primary education given such low access to continuing education (*See* Vavrus, 2004).

- Although **gender parity** is present at the primary level, girls enrollment slowly and consistently slips for secondary and tertiary education (HakiElimu, 2005 – taken from government reports)

- The number of teachers has not kept pace with enrolment, and subsequently **teacher to pupil ratios** range from 1:47 to 1:87 across regions (HakiElimu, 2005 – taken from government reports)

- **Resources have not kept pace**, with only 29% of desks and 40% of latrines available in 2004. Although there is a pupil to book target of 1:1 set for 2006, the ratio currently stands at 1:5 (HakiElimu, 2005 - taken from government reports).

- The **quality of education** is questionable, compounded by not enough well-trained teachers, and a lack of child-friendly, gender-sensitive academically sound methodologies. (HakiElimu, 2005 - taken from government reports).

- **HIV-AIDS** is also affecting teachers and children, and there is insufficient education on the subject. Vavrus (2004) highlights the lack of education on "condom-use", and also suggests that secondary school fees sometimes exacerbate the problem, for example when girls are required to have sex with their sponsors in order to obtain the funds to go to secondary or tertiary schools.

- A full **capitation grant** of US$10 per child, that was supposed to help parents and schools buy basic school supplies, experienced **"leakage"** of up to 40% between the central government and the receiving school (HakiElimu, 2005 - taken from government reports).

Table 2: Education Statistics

Enrolment and Participation Rates	2001	2005
Pre-primary NER (%)		25.7
Primary NER (%)	65.5*	94.8*
Secondary NER (%)	4.6 (2000) WB	10.1*
Pre-primary GER (%)	27.7*	29.1*
Primary GER (%)	84.0*	109.9*
Secondary GER (%)	5.5 (2000) WB	11.7*
Tertiary GER (%)	0.9 (2002) WB	
Primary Private Sector Enrollment Share	0.4 (2002) WB	
Secondary Private Sector Enrollment Share	53.1 (1995) WB	
Internal Efficiency		
Primary completion rate (%)	57.7 (2002) WB	
Drop-out rate	30.7% (2000) WB	20.5%*
Pupils reaching grade 5 (% of cohort)	82 (2002) WB	*
Primary Repetition rate (%)	2.4 (2002) WB	0.1%-14.1%*
Secondary Repetition rate (%)	1.5 (2002) WB	
School life expectancy (years)	6.5 (2002) WB	
Progression to secondary level (%)	18.8 (2002) WB	10.1%*
Teacher to Pupil Ratio - (primary)	1:53 (2002) WB	1:45*
Regional Variation in Teacher to Pupil Ratio		1:44 Kilimanjaro* 1:87 Shinyanga *.
Vulnerable Population Attendance in Primary Schools		
Children with disabilities	0.1% in 2000 (URT 2005)	
Orphans and most vulnerable	2% in 2000 (URT, 2005)	

Source: *Khainga et al., 2005; (WB) World Bank, 2005; URT, 2005.

To find solutions to these issues, however, one must look to the more complex policy context of Tanzania's education system, where issues such as schools fees and funding, privatization, decentralization, and policy harmonization play a large role.

School fees, and the question of government funding for the education system, have long been debated in Tanzania. Following independence, the state abolished all school fees, leading to Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1973. With the government's inability to fund the sector due to financial crisis in the early 1980s, user fees or "cost-sharing" were re-introduced in 1984, and were hotly debated until 2001. In that year, the education NGO, Maarifa ni Ufunguo (2001), published a case study on the

negative and inequitable effects of user fees in Kilimanjaro, which allowed Tanzanian civil society and the international community to coalesce and put pressure on the government to abolish user fees. The government did so in 2003, in tandem with establishing targets for its poverty reduction goals (Kuder, 2004; Ngowi, 2003).

The tension between centralization and decentralization in the provision of schools by the government or private interests has always been present in Tanzania. Before independence, the few schools were run by either faith-based organizations or the colonial governments in need of a local civil service, resulting in a decentralized and elitist system. In order to create more equity and a socialist system, the newly independent state took over all private schools and abolished school fees. Under Nyerere, free mandatory primary and adult literacy programs were implemented on a mass scale, leading to the aforementioned achievement of UPE. This centralization, however, proved unaffordable, and the CCM again allowed private secondary schools in the mid-1970s, followed by private primary schools in the mid-1990s (Kuder, 2004; Lange et al., 2000). By 1997, more than a third of all schools were run by non-government providers (Lange et al., 2000). Although characterized as "non-government," and often called "Education Trust Funds," the schools were often created as profit-making initiatives, such as through "voluntary contributions" in addition to basic tuition fees (Chediel et al, 2000, p. 19).

Although some private schools have excellent facilities, issues highlighted in the literature include paraprofessional teachers, poorly resourced schools, and a gap in access to education for marginalized students. As a result, the government has now set more uniform standards for all schools through its Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP, 2001). To date, however, there is no research on the effect that the change in government policy (such as the PEDP) will have on non-government schools, or how they are coping with this change. This will be a particularly salient issue at the secondary level, where the private sector (i.e. non-government sector), encompassed 53.1% of total secondary enrollment in 1995 (compared to less than 1% at the primary level in 2002) (World Bank, 2005).

Decentralization has also recently occurred in the area of implementation and monitoring, with a clear focus on local level management, administration and training (Kuder, 2004). The education sector on the mainland (Zanzibar has its own structures) is

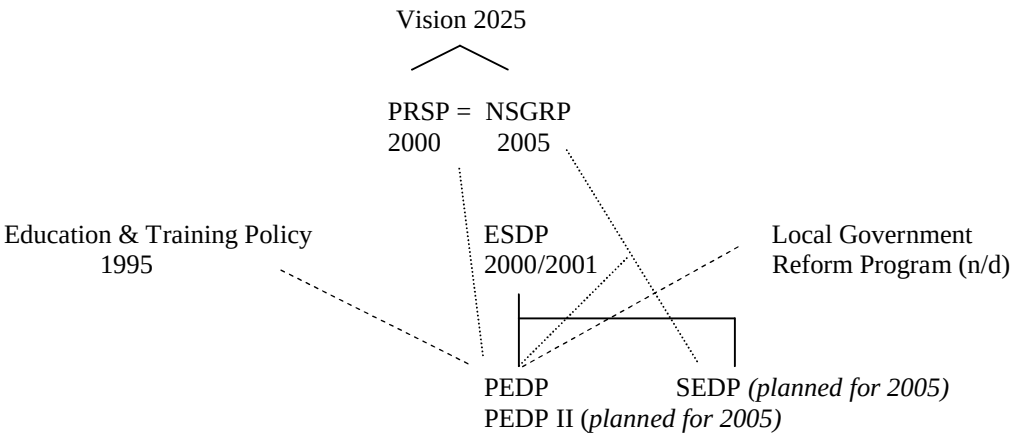
jointly managed through the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) and the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education. However, in 1999 the government shifted responsibility for primary education delivery to local councils, under the Local Government Reform Program (LGRP) (Rylander, 2003). In contrast to the traditional top-down management by the Regional Administrations, the School Councils have now been vested with the responsibility of preparing budgets and school plans, managing funds and salaries, and preparing financial reports. The President's Office – Regional Administration and Local Government (PO-RALG) is to be responsible for the coordination of policy implementation, standards and monitoring. The new arrangement hopes for more parental involvement, and is aimed at empowering the community and creating more accountability (MOEC, 2001).

The results of this initiative are not yet clear, but there are concerns raised about the capacity of these local councils to carry out budget creation and management, as well as the transparency in the transfer of funds from the central government to each school (Lange, 2005; Galabawa et al., 2002). Parents' actual involvement in the School Councils may also be thwarted by the composition of the Councils, which favors representation from party-controlled village council members (i.e. CCM party representatives at the local level) (Therkildsen, 2000).

In contrast to the above decentralization, there has been increasing cohesiveness, harmonization and coordination of education policy since 1995 (Kuder, 2004). Although Tanzania had very cohesive education plans in the 1960s and 1970s, the absence of any national education plan in the 1980s and early 1990s was notable. One reason given for this is that the government at the time was more concerned with the priorities of the donors (in order to get the most aid), than with providing a cohesive sector policy (Samoff, 2003). However, starting in 1995 the government began to develop a plan for the education sector through its 'Education and Training Policy' (ETP) (URT, 1995), which predominantly treated education as a human resource issue. It was in this year that the government started advocating for a sector-wide approach (ahead of the donors), which culminated in the creation of the Education Sector Development Plan (ESDP) in 2001. The equity-focused ESDP addresses all aspects of education's role, from early childhood to adult education.

The ESDP reflects the shift in Tanzania's focus to poverty issues, as found in the PRSP of 2000. The ESDP is harmonized with the PRSP, which is in line with the Tanzanian Assistance Strategy (guiding donors), the Country Assistance Strategy. All policy documents are being harmonized towards Tanzania's *Vision 2025*, encapsulating its long term development goals and processes. The Education Sector Development Plan (ESDP, 2001) is supposed to encompass pre-primary, primary, secondary and adult education; however so far it has only resulted in the implementation of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP, 2002-2006). The second PEDP is currently being developed (helped with funding through CIDA), and a Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP) is planned. The implemented PEDP is also contained within the larger framework of the Education and Training Policy (ETP, 1995) and the Local Government Reform Program (URT, 2002).

Tanzania's Education & Poverty Policy Landscape



Also *planned* (n/d) under ESDP:
- Tertiary Education Development Plan (TEDP)
- National strategy for teacher education
- National strategy for NFE – which would a) revive adult education, & b) address children considered too old to register in Gr. 1 (i.e. 8 & 9 year olds).

Terminology:
PRSP – Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
NSGRP - National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (i.e. PRSP II)
ESDP – Education Sector Development Plan
PEDP – Primary Education Development Plan
SEDP – Secondary Education Development Plan
TEDP – Tertiary Education Development Plan
NFE – Non-Formal Education

Chart 1.

Donors have been active in the policy dialogue of the ESDP and the PEDP since their inception. Although aid to the education sector has varied over the years, (from 1% to 14%), the proportion of aid to the primary education sub-sector has increased since 2000 (OECD, 2005). The donors' aim is to operate in "coordination" with the education ministry, although there have been numerous questions raised on what this "coordination" entails. Canada was the lead coordinator for the Donor Secretariat (EFA-FTI, n.d.), however as of 2003, the "lead agency" concept has been changed to a more collaborative process to ensure that the coordinator's statements reflect all donors in the education sector (Rylander, 2003). The PEDP has received support in the forms of: a) pooled funding from Canada, the EC, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden; and b) direct budgetary support from Sweden and the World Bank. The LGRP is financed through a Common Basket Fund with contributions from Denmark, the EC, Finland, Ireland, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, the UK, and the UNDP ("Aid Harmonization," n.d.). Due to internal constraints preventing them from providing budget support, Germany, Japan, Unicef, UNESCO, and the World Food Programme directly support projects, which strive to be consistent and mainstreamed to the PEDP (Rylander, 2003). Support changes from year to year, but over the past six years, other donors involved in basic education have included the African Development Bank, Austria, Australia, Belgium, Italy, New Zealand, and Spain (OECD, 2005).

Table 3: ODA/OA to Tanzania from DAC countries

year	ODA to Basic Education USD (000)	ODA to Education USD (000)	Total ODA USD (000)	% of Total ODA allocated to Education	Basic Education ODA as % of Education ODA
1990	51	6515	661533	1%	1%
1992	21598	77092	755824	10%	28%
1994	no data	5267	335374	2%	no data
1996	325	11905	382240	3%	3%
1998	23944	42517	777801	5%	56%
2000	3900	19566	799325	2%	20%
2002	130229	155325	1074866	14%	84%
2004	62988	81332	1072116	8%	77%

Source: DAC-CRS (2005) Table 2 – CRS/Aid Activities – All Commitments– Aggregates: 1990-2004.

The key actors in the creation of education policy have also expanded, from a government only approach pre-1980, to donor-driven initiatives in the 1990s, to current consultation between the education ministry, donors and civil society. Starting in 2005, private sector actors will also be invited

to the policy table (URT, 2005). Civil society and the private sector are increasingly assuming stakeholder roles in education policy, from no mention of their participation in the ETP (1995), to a whole section outlining their importance in 'participation' in policy formation, implementation, and monitoring in the NSGRP (2005). The civil society groups have come together under the Tanzanian Education Network (TENMET), which aims to be involved in all education policy discussion.

3. Civil Society in Tanzania

Civil society in Tanzania is large although weak. In 1995, there were over 800 registered NGOs in the country, 75% whom had registered after 1990; in 2000, this number had risen to 2900 (Mercer, 2003). However, it is commonly held that only 500 NGOs are actually operational in the country, with the rest being "brief-case" NGOs (on paper only).

Tanzania's weak civil society can be attributed to a few factors, such as: a) civil society organizations' relatively new existence, b) the current government regulation of the non-government sector and c) as a result of a top-down participatory approach, whereby external actors have been one of the main impetuses of civil society participation (Evans & Ngwalea, 2001). Historically, a growing civil society was a major factor in the independence of Tanzania. Nyerere's socialist party, the CCM, started as a workers union (TANU) that brought together multiple groups to advocate for independence. However, from 1961 to the mid-1980s, the socialist government saw itself capable of representing all groups, and thereby co-opted unions and other civil society organizations into the Party. Other groups were disbanded and civil society organizations outside the state virtually vanished for twenty years. The political and economic liberalization in the 1980s and '90s led to a burgeoning of new civil society actors, significantly encouraged by an influx of funding from outside donors (Lange et al, 2000).

A weak civil society is also connected to government control of the sector through policy and threat of de-registration. After five years of discussion, the government's new policy on NGOs finally came out in 2000, stating that NGOs are "non-political", (as opposed to "non-partisan" in previous drafts). The aim of the new policy was to clear up registration confusion, consolidate procedures and create a new institutional framework for collaboration (Lange et al, 2000). However, NGOs can be deregistered if they undertake activities that do not comply with the objectives stated in their applications, or if their actions are too "political." This has raised concerns in the academic and NGO community of the ability to advocate or associate freely (Tripp, 2000; Lange et al, 2000; Nshala, 1997). The most famous case was in 1997, when a successful women's organization, BAWATA, was deregistered for being too political. This summer the issue was raised again when HakiElimu, one of the most prominent education NGOs in the country, was banned from "undertaking and publishing any articles/studies regarding any Tanzania schools" (MOEC, Circular No. 5 quoted in Haki Elimu, 2005, October 25; Civicus, 2005, October 13).

In contrast to this regulation of civil society space, Tanzania's PRSP and related sector policy documents (including education) speak of creating space for civil society participation in the policy process (*See* PRSP 2000, NSGRP 2005, PEDP 2001). Roles accorded to civil society include "planning, implementing and monitoring activities," conducting "policy analysis and advocacy", "advocating for accountability of its members and government to the people", "shar[ing] information" and "mobilizing and enhancing community participation." Despite this positive rhetoric, actual NGO participation has been criticized, particularly in the PRSP process. Mercer (2003), Igoe (2004), Kuder (2004), and Evans & Ngalwea (2001) all mention that civil society participation in the PRSP was due to outside pressure from donors. The government, which had traditionally seen itself as the sole authority on deciding policy, was reluctant to give up this role. Although present, the types of NGOs represented in policy were also criticized for being predominantly urban-based, professionalized and elite-led; thus suggesting the exclusion of other organizations. Criticisms have been made about the marginalization of NGOs with more radical views, and the opting for NGOs willing to "rubber-stamp" the initiative (Evans & Ngalwea, 2001).

Outside the policy arena, there are also definite concerns raised about the autonomy of NGOs programs and their dependence on foreign funding. For example, Vavrus (2004) has suggested that many NGOs in Tanzania that deal with gender have defined the issue of girls education more according to international discursive terms than to reflect the actual situation of gender disparity in Tanzania. By focusing on hot international topics, such as gender disparity in primary enrollments – which is not an important issue in Tanzania - they ensure financial support for their programs. Her work shows how the gap in education between boys and girls, which is increasingly apparent at Tanzania's secondary and tertiary levels, is more likely due to economic factors than to cultural ones – a fact that is not readily brought to light under the current international framing of the issue.

All NGOs in Tanzania must now register with the government as societies, trusts or not-for-profit companies. The Tanzanian directory of NGOs includes the classifications of diverse types of NGOs from District Development Trusts to women's groups to educational organizations. Coalitions of NGOs have also arisen in Tanzania since the late 1990s, although the oldest, and most encompassing, was founded in 1988 by 22 NGOs. The Tanzanian Association of NGOs, TANGO, has grown to represent more than 500 NGOs. New coalition groups have also formed, including FemAct, the TCDD (Tanzania Coalition on Debt and Development) and TENMET (Tanzania Education Network).

Successful NGOs are predominantly elite-led, urban-based, professionalized, and externally funded, including groups such as: Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC), the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT), Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) and the Journalists Environmental Association of Tanzania (JET), (*See* Mercer, 2003). Outside the urban area, Gibbon (2001) has mentioned the modern presence of traditional civil society groups in rural northern-Tanzania, and particularly Community Development Groups (CDGs) of 10-20 members, District Development Trusts (DDTs), and blood and age-based groups. Their influence, however, has been largely restricted to the local sphere, and at times is parochial. There is very little research on the work or the effects of these traditional groups, particularly in the area of education.

Lange et al. (2000) suggest that urban NGOs focus on advocacy, while rural NGOs concentrate on service delivery. This observation is borne up by looking at the oldest coalition, TANGO, which states that its main activities are capacity building, lobbying and advocacy, and which tends to deal more with the urban based groups. However, this trend has not carried over into the education sector, where TENMET (Tanzanian Education Network) has consciously tried to create a balance of NGOs reflecting various regions, sizes and local/international affiliations. That being said, the very explicitness of this balance suggests that TEN/MET previously had challenges with this issue.

4. Civil Society and Education

Civil society in the education sector is increasingly organized and vocal. Civil society actors in education are constrained by the same factors as civil society as a whole, including: a) the dominance of international NGOs and NGOs that are urban and/or elite-based, and b) questions of autonomy from donor influence and government control. However, the NGOs in the education sector appear to be proactively addressing these concerns.

The NGO involvement in education is diverse, ranging from community schools, to international NGOs, to local environmental NGOs to HIVAIDS and gender groups. One area where the literature documents particularly strong impact is in policy negotiation, implementation and monitoring (*See* Kuder, 2004; Galabawa, 2001;2003; Maarifa ni Ufunguo, 2000;2003; Haki Elimu 2005, July; CEF, 2003). Over the last ten years, NGOs have become increasingly engaged in policy negotiations, moving from having no voice in the ETP (1995), to stakeholder roles in the PEDP (2000), and forecasted to have greater roles in the upcoming PEDP II in 2005/06. Member organizations of the Tanzanian Education Network (TENMET) have played a role in both education and poverty policy, including the ESDP, the PER, the PRSP, and the PEDP. Monitoring has been undertaken through large school mapping exercises (Galabawa, 2001; 2003). However, budget tracking of schools by local communities and NGOs is in its infancy (de Graff, 2005). Non-governmental schools (both private and community schools), have grown rapidly since 1990, raising questions of quality and equitable access (Chediel et al. 2000). Advocacy and capacity building are high upon the agendas of most NGOs.

The Tanzanian Education Network (TENMET) appears to be one of the most effective national Education for All NGO coalitions in Africa in the areas of research-based advocacy. The umbrella organization was founded in 1999 by 39 NGOs, and has grown to represent 161 national NGOs and CBOs, international NGOs and district networks. It aims to support local communities carry out advocacy work in education with an informed collective voice to influence policies. It is internationally affiliated with the Africa Network Campaign on Education for All (ANCEFA), the Commonwealth Education Fund (CEF) and the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), and is connected to other NGO networks in Tanzania, such as the Tanzania Coalition on Debt and Development, FemAct and TANGO. Its Steering Committee is purposefully balanced between local and international NGOs, coming from both urban and rural areas, and representing different districts in the country (TENMET website). The Steering Committee consists of: Maarifa ni Ufunguo from

Arusha (Secretariat); Save the Children, HakiElimu, OXFAM, and ICD from Dar es Salaam; LUDEA from Ruvuma; Kivulini from Mwanza; and Maadili Centre from Moshi. ActionAid was originally elected, but stepped down after the AGM, to be replaced by CARE International based in Dar es Salaam.

TENMET coalition members have been active in research-based policy alternatives and policy monitoring. Two of them, Maarifa ni Ufunguo and HakiElimu are highlighted below.

Maarifa ni Ufunguo, the Secretariat of TENMET, has had considerable impact on the education sector in Tanzania. In 2000, they produced a famous case study examining the effect of cost sharing in education in Kilimanjaro (one of the best off areas of Tanzania) (Maarifa ni Ufunguo, 2000; Kuder, 2004; CEF, 2003). Using participatory fieldwork done by smaller NGOs, the report showed that user fees (a.k.a. cost sharing) were having a detrimental affect on poor households, and were unsuccessful in either generating adequate revenue for schools or promoting accountability to those who paid. The report had wide publicity internationally, and affected the Dakar Education for All proceedings of 2000, the World Bank position on user fees and the Tanzanian government's commitment to abolishing fees under the first PRSP. Formed in 1998, their current work centers on lobbying, advocacy and capacity building, with the goal of "equitable accessible, affordable good quality education," which both promotes social integration, and involves citizens in addressing poverty (Maarifa ni Ufunguo, n.d.). In addition to being the Secretariat of TENMET, they are also the Secretariat of the Arusha Education Network (AEN), and coordinate the Education NGO input into the PRSP and the Debt Relief project. They also do local capacity building of community based groups and networks, such as the school councils. They have been recognized as a representative of both Tanzanian and African Education NGOs by the World Bank and USAID.

HakiElimu, one of Tanzania's prominent education advocacy NGOs, has also found itself in the international limelight this past year. As previously mentioned, the Education Ministry recently banned the organization from "undertaking and publishing any articles/studies regarding Tanzanian schools" (MOEC, Circular No. 5 quoted in Haki Elimu, 2005, October 25; Civicus, 2005, October 13), after HakiElimu published a report called "Three years of PEDP Implementation: The Government assesses its own progress" (2005, July), which brought together the findings from six official government reports. Although the report noted the considerable strides made by the government, it also found many areas in need of improvement, which in turn angered the government. This was likely compounded by the influence the government thought the report would have on national elections this past fall. HakiElimu's current predicament is of considerable interest, as it relates to the questions of

freedom of association and autonomy – not only from government intervention, but also tied to the influence of international pressures.

HakiElimu was founded in 2001 by thirteen prominent Tanzanians, in light of the increasing failure of the education sector due to what they saw as "a lack of political will" by the government and international agencies. Its programs in community governance, public engagement and policy analysis and advocacy are funded primarily through the Ford Foundation, as well as the Development Cooperation Ireland, NOVIB-Oxfam Netherlands, and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) (Haki Elimu, n.d.). This international support has likely influenced the organization in several ways. First, it may have influenced the discourse that HakiElimu uses, as their numerous reports' rhetoric adhere to the general international rhetoric on development, even though their voice appears to be a Tanzanian voice. International connections also may have resulted in the international community of NGOs being more vocal about their disapproval of the government's action when HakiElimu was threatened by the MOEC. Although the situation has not been resolved, these connections have meant that any further action the government takes against the organization will be closely monitored internationally.

Surprisingly, the Tanzania Teachers Union has been relatively disconnected from the Education sector NGOs and the government. Maarifa ni Ufunguo briefly mentions the union's cooperation at the Global Week of Action in 2000, but leaves no hint of co-activity since then. The union is noticeably absent from the TENMET Steering Committee. Unlike the NGOs, it did not participate in the PEDP negotiations in 2001 - until the PEDP was already approved and in its dissemination phase. This was partially due to the government's inability to see their contribution in areas other than "teachers' conditions of employment" (Kuder, 2004, p. 122), and the union's own restructuring and moving problems that resulted in general disorganization (Swai, 2004). However, in the recent debate over HakiElimu, it surprisingly supported the government's position, not HakiElimu's (Kigwangallah, 2005). This was in direct contrast to the position taken by the other NGOs involved in education, who came up in strong support of HakiElimu. Despite its past performance, there appears to be welcome space for the union's involvement in the civil society's role in advocacy and policy formation.

Table 4: Prominent CSOs with a Stake in Education

Type	NGO Name / Information	Affiliation Source
International NGOs		
	Save the Children (Dar es Salaam)	TENMET Steering Committee
	CARE International	TENMET Steering Committee
	Action Aid (Dar es Salaam)	past TENMET Steering Committee, replaced by CARE Int'l
	OXFAM (Dar es Salaam)	TENMET Steering Committee
	FAWE – Tanzania	Sponsored Reports on NFE, by Mushi
	CARITAS	Joint Review PEDP, 2004
	World Vision Tanzania	Joint Review PEDP, 2004
	CODE Canada	www.codecan.org/
	Aga Khan Education Services	www.akdn.org/agency/akes.html
National Level CSOs		
Education NGO Network		
	TENMET – Tanzanian Education Network (with over 160 members) *(NETWORK)*	Ancefa, CEF, GCE, TCDD
Education NGO		
	Maarifa ni Ufunguo (Arusha)	Secretariat - TENMET Steering Committee
	HakiElimu – Friends of Education (Dar es Salaam)	TENMET Steering Committee
	LUDEA (Ruvuma)	TENMET Steering Committee
	Kivulini (Mwanza)	TENMET Steering Committee
	Maadili Centre (Moshi)	TENMET Steering Committee
	KWIECO Kilimanjaro Women's Information and Education Corporation	Tripp, 2000
	ICD – (Dar es Salaam)	TENMET Steering Committee
Church/faith based		
	o 154 Christian NGO Schools (1/3 located in Kilimanjaro)	Lange, 2000
Parliamentarian Groups		
	o Not Found	
Media groups		
	TAMWA Tanzania Media Women Association	
Women's Organizations		
	FEMACT Feminist Activism *(NETWORK)*	HakiElimu, Tripp, 2000
	FAWE – Tanzania (Branch of Int'l Org)	
	TAMWA (see media)	
	KWIECO (see Education)	Tripp, 2000
	TGNP Tanzania Gender Networking Program	
	TGNP Gender Budget Initiative	
Child rights organizations		
	TAMWA (see media)	
Anti-poverty organizations		
	NGO Policy Forum *(NETWORK)*	HakiElimu
	TCDD (Tanzania Coalition on Debt and Development) *(NETWORK)*	- interactions with TENMET
	Hakikazi Catalyst	
	REPOA Research on Poverty Alleviation	
Unions		
	Tanzanian Teacher's Union	Swai, 2004, Kuder, 2004.
Research Networks		
	ESRF Economic and Social Research Foundation	HakiElimu
	REPOA Research on Poverty Alleviation (see Anti-poverty)	
	o Several academics involved in research with CSOs, including:	
	A. Kiondo	
	Andrew Mushi	FAWE
	Suleman Sumra (wrote HakiElimu's report)	HakiElimu
	Justinian Galawaba (CSO implementation of school mapping)	

Table 4: Prominent CSOs with a Stake in Education

Type	NGO Name / Information	Affiliation	Source
Service Delivery Organizations			
	o Private Schools operated 1/3 of all schools in 1997 (Including NGOs, Education Trust Funds, etc.)		Lange et al. 2000
	o some District Development Trusts (DDTs) involved in running schools		Gibbon, 2001
	o Non-Formal Education (NFE) programs including		
	inter alia – NFE program		Mushi et al., 2002
	Family Planning Association of Tanzania (UMATI) – NFE program		Mushi et al., 2002
	Child in the Sun - NFE program		Mushi et al., 2002
	DogoDogo Centre - NFE program		Mushi et al., 2002
	Kuleana - NFE program		Mushi et al., 2002
	ACCESS - Appropriate Cost-Effective Centre for education – NFE program		Mushi et al., 2002
District or local government level community based organizations			
	District Development Trusts (DDTs) involved in running schools		Gibbon, 2001
Community based organizations (parents, community schools)			
	PTA in Kilimanjaro active (Gibbon, 2001)		
	Community Development Groups (CDGs) of 10-20 members		Gibbon, 2001
NGO NETWORK			
	TANGO Tanzania Association of NGOs – with 500 members, oldest and largest *NETWORK*		
OTHER PROMINENT NGOs (may/not work in education)			
	BAWATA – National Women's Council - was banned in 1997		Nshala, 1997; Tripp, 2000
	PLAN International		
	Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC)		Mercer, 2003
	Media Council of Tanzania (MCT)		Mercer, 2003
	Journalists Environmental Association of Tanzania (JET)		Mercer, 2003
'TRADITIONAL' CIVIL SOCIETY GROUPS (may/not work in education)			
	Community Development Groups of 10-20 members (CDG)		Gibbon, 2001
	District Development Trusts (DDTs)		Gibbon, 2001
	Blood-based groups		Gibbon, 2001
	Age-based groups		

5. Final Thoughts

Civil society and education researchers in Tanzania benefit by having a plethora of past research to draw upon. Despite this, there are major gaps within the research itself, especially in light of the new sector wide approach in education; the decentralization to school councils taken by the government; and the seemingly contentious relations between government and civil society organizations. Significant questions also remain about the actual shape of civil society beyond NGOs, as well as the actual interactions between NGO actors within the TENMET network. However, the previous research offers a fuller picture of the initiatives and goals of civil society organizations in education, from which future work can usefully draw. What follows is a summary of the findings of this work, as well as a look at the various gaps in research that remain.

Innovations

One innovation that has been well documented is Maarifa ni Ufunguo's participatory fieldwork on the effect of user fees. This is one example of civil society affecting the education system, as opposed to being affected by the system; as well as having an international impact. Maarifa ni Ufunguo's follow up study, published in 2003, talks about the need for more school/community level involvement, particularly in holding the government accountable at the local level. However, remaining unknown and/or undocumented are how widely disseminated this study was and the effects it may have had.

HakiElimu has also had an effect on the international community through its ban by the MOEC in 2005. In response to this ban, several prominent internet-based networks have put out a call-to-action in support of HakiElimu. These networks included Civicus, AWID, and the GCE, and has resulted in the information being passed on to other sub-networks, such as the Irish GCE members, or the members related to the Canadian CCIC. It is unknown whether this pressure from international civil society will impact the Tanzanian government's actions, but it is worth keeping a researcher's eye on.

A further innovation may be the decentralization of the education system by the Tanzanian government, and the involvement of school councils and community groups in budget tracking and school operations. Based on the idea of participation of all citizens, this policy allows for a possible thickening and increased action in civil society. However, this must be balanced by the capacity and skills of these groups. As yet, there is little research on the effects of this decentralization.

General Characteristics and Gaps of Civil Society in Education

Primary education has been the main focus of the TENMET coalition, even though secondary GER remains at the extremely low level of 5.5 per cent. Is this because the network is catering more to the international rhetoric which focuses mostly on primary education through the Millennium Development Goals? Vavrus (2004) mentions that the gender and education NGOs have presented the problem of gender discrimination as a cultural one (following international rhetoric), which in turn has blinded them to the contributing economic factors. Is there a similar pattern occurring in basic education? Do the major NGO voices bring to light the actual constraints within the Tanzanian educational context?

Research on the education system and NGOs has focused almost exclusively on government policy formation, through either case studies aimed at changing the policies, or on the successful implementation of policies in specific areas (such as NFE or the PEDP). There is no comprehensive research on education NGOs work outside government policy formation, although a few case studies on specific NGOs do exist. Do the advocacy-NGOs effectively monitor the policies? Do community groups have the capacity or interest to monitor the education policies and hold the government accountable? How are schools that are run by community groups or NGOs affected by the Education SWAp?

The scope of civil society engagement in education, in terms of numbers and level of activity, has been rapidly increasing since the (symbolic) defeat of Tanzanian socialism in 1985. However, research has focused almost exclusively on NGOs, ignoring groups falling outside the western-based definition of NGO. Although it is clear that they participate in the education arena, there is a paucity of research on 'traditional' or 'African' civil society groups involvement in education, including community groups, clan based groups, age-based groups and District Development Trusts.

Geographically, research has also been mostly confined to examining the mainland Tanzania's situation. This leaves a gap in knowledge about civil society and education in Zanzibar.

The increasing number of advocacy and policy-related NGOs has been accompanied by more effective coalitions and more networking, although the scope of networking is unknown. TENMET, for example, has slowly developed a more prominent role at the government's policy table. It seems to have dense communication within its Steering Committee members. Does it effectively communicate with its other 150 members, particularly non-advocacy groups, such as service providers of NFE and community schools? How so? It is unknown how cohesive the TENMET coalition members are. Do

they represent one coherent view of Tanzania, or many factional views? Does the Tanzania Teachers Union have a role to play in the education network?

CSOs Interactions with the Government, Donors, Businesses and Grassroots Groups

The actual relationship between education NGOs and the government is highly contested. Spaces for civil society's participation in education policy appear to have been created on the insistence of external donors and international NGOs who provide funding for educational activities. These donors and NGOs in turn have pressured the government to have civil society participation in governance as well as sought out NGO voices. The government's current NGO policy and registration is supposed to support NGO engagement, but has been criticized as being used by the government to control the NGO sector en masse (Tripp, 2000). This can be seen in the government's disbanding of BAWATA in 1997, and threats to HakiElimu in 2005. Given the wording of the latest NSGRP (2005), it is possible that civil society is now seen as a norm by the government in the development process, and that their voice will be heard more easily in the future in policy formation. However, one can expect that the government will not be receptive to the NGOs role as watchdog. There is a clear opportunity for research to explore why these contentious relations exist, and how they affect (and are affected by) the new aid and education policies.

Education NGOs actual relationship with donors is unknown, mostly based on the conjectures of researchers. Little research exists on the actual patterns or perspectives of NGOs in this regard. Many academics note the possibility of the donors controlling or at least influencing the NGO agenda, either explicitly or implicitly. On the other hand, donors have clearly been a positive influence in terms of finance, as well as encouraging the government to include civil society in policy processes.

Education NGOs interactions with business, media and parliamentarians remains an unstudied area, although there are suggestions that these groups are active participants in the education landscape. For example, the CEF has plans to engage businesses in Tanzania between 2005 and 2007. Just as forming a positive working relationship with governments and NGOs was considered a "new thing" a few years ago, this area offers a potentially new phenomena to examine.

NGOs are often held up as legitimate policy actors because of their connection to the local civil society, in particular grassroots and marginalized communities. Ironically, the same NGOs are also criticized for being elite-led and urban-based. Although many members of the TENMET Steering Committee refer to having local participation, there is almost no research on these relations or activities.

Capacity building of local school councils or smaller NGOs is one of the professed activities of the major advocacy NGOs in TENMET. However, there is no research on the effectiveness of this capacity building. Are the smaller NGOs beginning to be more involved in policy monitoring or advocacy? Is civil society growing in number and diversity as a result, or is the strength of civil society only found in the power that the few major NGOs already hold?

Effects of new education system on education civil society groups

The Tanzanian education system has changed enormously over the last 20 years, allowing for more participation in numerous ways by civil society groups. Participation has increased in the service provision of primary and secondary education by NGOs; in the actual monitoring of school budgets by school councils and local groups; in the space allowed civil society in the formation of education and poverty policy; and in the advocacy and lobbying for educational rights by NGOs and community groups. However, whether or not increased participation has resulted in either greater effectiveness or greater contentious relations, for example, remains unknown. In sum, the expansion of participation has led to a very diverse group of civil society actors in education, most of which remain unexamined, especially in their relationship to the decentralization of the education system and the SWAps.

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