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DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY: THE EXPERIENCE OF KENYA AND TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

Equalizing educational opportunity has become a primary stated goal of most African countries. The broad aim of this paper is to analyze what the experience of Kenya and Tanzania can tell us about the extent to which equalization of various types is possible and about the conditions which influence levels of policy achievement. Within this general aim the paper describes the dimensions of regional disparity within the two countries and compares their policies for responding to them. The main part of the paper analyzes the achievement of the two countries in reducing disparities, and attempts to identify problems associated with the implementation of policy and some of the conditions in the two countries influencing relative impact. Finally, the paper draws some conclusions from the analysis for the planning process and speculates on the possible future implications of policy in Kenya and Tanzania.

CONTENTS

DEVELOPMENT POLICY AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY: THE EXPERIENCE OF KENYA AND TANZANIA*

I INTRODUCTION

It is a familiar historical fact that the educational facilities available to the newly independent African nations in the early 1960s were both extremely limited and unequally distributed between geographical areas. While it is relatively easy to account for the inherited pattern of regional disparities it is less easy to understand the causes of their persistence to the present day and to assess the possibilities for planning their reduction.

The historical pattern of regional imbalance in the distribution of educational resources and opportunities originated in the economic mode of colonial development, the location of missionary activity and the pattern of local self-help activity. Education policy in the early years of independence tended to ignore and therefore to reinforce regional disparities. Correcting the imbalance was not at first viewed as a priority because of the absolute shortage of those with educational qualifications and the consequent stress on across-the-board expansion. At the same time the need to fill positions in the expanding administration led to an emphasis on secondary and higher education for those who were already in the system at the time of independence.

In the past five years, however, a number of factors have raised the issue of regional access to education to one of high visibility and official concern. Some of this concern stems from changing world ideas about development in which the equitable distribution of resources and fulfilment of basic needs has replaced growth as the defining characteristic of development. More immediately it reflects growing anxiety about the threat to nationhood posed by the demands of regional and ethnic groups for a relatively greater share of national resources, which are gathering strength at the very time that opportunities for wage employment are closing up.

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As a result, equalizing educational opportunity has now become a primary stated goal of most African countries. Two types of objective are usually implicit in this intention. In the first place the goal is conceived principally in terms of providing access to a basic minimum education for all, by accelerating the supply of educational facilities to previously neglected areas and groups. A second type of objective involves the idea of equal opportunity for all citizens to advance to higher levels of the education system. This is more far reaching in its implications than the idea of a universal minimum in that it cannot be satisfied by a common provision. Instead, it must incorporate acceptable criteria for determining individual access to successive restricted levels of educational opportunity and, by extension, for relevant sub-groups of the national population.[1]

The broad aim of this paper is to analyze what the experience of Kenya and Tanzania can tell us about the extent to which equalization of the two types is possible and about the conditions which influence levels of policy achievement. Within this general aim the paper describes the dimensions of regional disparity within the two countries and compares their policies for responding to them. The main part of the paper analyzes the achievement of the two countries in reducing disparities, and attempts to identify problems associated with the implementation of policy and some of the conditions in the two countries influencing relative impact. Finally, the paper draws some conclusions from the analysis for the planning process and speculates on the possible future implications of policy in Kenya and Tanzania.

The approach is descriptive and the use of data eclectic. Data are drawn from a variety of sources, including studies of the authors, and a wide range of secondary materials. The paper has a sequential aspect in that detail on the nature of educational disparities which is provided for Kenya is not duplicated for Tanzania, whereas slightly more attention is given to policy responses in Tanzania than in Kenya. As well as avoiding duplication, this allocation reflects the relative availability of data for the two countries and the particular interest of Tanzanian policy because of its innovative intentions.

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1. An excellent review of conceptual, methodological and policy issues involved in the study of disparities is contained in Gabriel Carron and Ta Ngoc Chau, Regional Disparities in Educational Development, Paris, IIEP, 1977. See also Mary Jean Bowman, "Education and Opportunity: Some Economic Perspectives", Oxford Review of Education, Vol.1 No.1, 1975.

Two broad assumptions lie behind the descriptive and comparative approach which is employed. The first is the view that because regional disparities are a consequence of a process of societal development the prospects for their alleviation can only be assessed within the context of overall development policy. The basis for this view has been well stated by Weiler and refers to:

> the important degree to which the development of educational systems is conditioned and determined by the state of the social system as a whole, and the fact that educational development and reform is limited to what the existing dynamics of social structure, political power and economic wealth permit.[2]

More particularly, we assume not simply that the pattern of disparities is conditioned by the social context but that the impetus to development policy insofar as it relates to equalization is less an economic objective than a political one which is concerned with the maintenance of inter-regional and inter-ethnic distributions of power. As a pre-requisite for assessing the validity of this assertion and its relevance to planning we need improved descriptions of the way in which educational systems actually operate and interact with their social and political environment.

Secondly, we have chosen a comparative approach out of the conviction that this is an especially useful way of isolating some of the specific contextual characteristics which influence educational policy. The experience of Kenya and Tanzania is particularly instructive and worthy of analysis because both countries are concerned with the problem of historical disparities in educational opportunity and have directed policy towards their alleviation but have done so in different ways and under different conditions. In their intentions and partly in their practice they illustrate radically different planning models and a comparison of their experience illuminates the problems and the possibilities of equalization policy.

A. The Problem of Regional Disparities

Regional inequalities in the distribution of rewards and services occur in varying degrees in all societies. Originating in the pattern of

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2. Hans N. Weiler, "Changing Concepts and Practices of Educational Planning: Implications for Training", paper prepared for IIEP/SIDA seminar on "Changing Needs for Training in Educational Planning and Administration", 27 September-1 October 1976, Paris UNESCO, 1976, p.8.

geographical distribution of resources they become the subject of political demands on governments because those in relatively disadvantaged areas tend to outnumber their more privileged compatriots and aspire to parity with them. What is a universal phenomenon is made particularly acute in Africa by a number of factors which constantly threaten to turn regional differences into a degree of regional disaffection that can threaten national unity.

In the first place, economic disparities tend to coincide with ethnic, linguistic and historical distinctions which find expression in strongly held particularistic loyalties and intensify sentiments of relative deprivation when they exist. Regions, therefore, assume importance not simply as units of administration but because usually they are also units of intense group aspiration. Secondly, the achievement of independence aggravated regional competition while increasing the need for national unity. It aroused mass expectations of improved welfare and aspirations for social equality associated with the rights and services of newly won citizenship but did so at the same time as it removed the necessity for acting in concert against the colonial power.[3] Thirdly, although independence opened up a batch of new opportunities their expansion has been limited by the pace of economic growth and has proved insufficient in relation to the ever increasing number of aspirants for them. The regional competitiveness aroused by this situation was intensified by the form of independence itself which in most African countries consisted of the peaceable takeover of colonial positions and associated life-styles. This ensured that these rewards became the measure of popular aspiration in defiance of economic realities. The very visibility of the fruits of Uhuru obscured awareness of their scarcity and appreciation of possible alternatives.

As a result of these factors, governments are faced with demands for economic and social equality which they are ill-equipped to meet but cannot ignore. The vulnerability of regimes in Africa to regional disaffection is amply and dramatically illustrated in the tumultuous history of the past fifteen years. Today there is hardly one that is not still

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3. A helpful overview of these issues as they relate to Africa is contained in David R. Smock and Kwamena Bentsi-Enchill, The Search for National Integration in Africa pp.3-17 and 93-99. A particularly instructive case study is David B. Abernethy, The Political Dilemma of Popular Education, Stanford University Press, 1969.

striving to create a sense of nationhood and to find a means of distributing limited resources in ways which respond adequately to the regional pressures for equality which pose a constant threat to national integrity.

These political pressures tend to converge on the education system. Schools in most societies are the main channel of social mobility but in Africa they are the almost exclusive means of access to wage paying occupations and elite roles. The dominance of the public sector in employment led to the early reliance on educational qualifications. As the output from the school system has increased and outpaced the positions made available by a less rapidly expanding economy, educational qualifications have become the principal means of screening applicants and the same process has raised the minimum qualification associated with each occupational level.[4]

Because to distribute education at the upper level is to distribute future status, schools are the arena for important political competition and the demand for regional equality is the demand for more schooling. This now familiar process of escalating certification has severe political consequences summarized succinctly by Philip Foster:

> Access to schooling becomes therefore a focus for individual and group conflict, whether it is perceived in terms of a rise in personal rank and monetary rewards or whether it is seen as an instrument through which diverse ethnic or social groupings can achieve an enhancement of their collective status in the emerging social structures of the new states.[5]

Variations in the distribution of educational facilities within African countries are hence a major source of political vulnerability and finding some means of reducing this a continuing preoccupation.

B. Education as a Means for Reducing Regionalism

Looked at from the above perspective the problem facing governing elites is how to maintain national unity and social cohesion which are

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4. Numerous writers have described the process of certificate escalation and its origins. An entertaining and eloquent, if sometimes fanciful, discourse on this topic is contained in Ronald Dore, The Diploma Disease, Education, Qualification and Development, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975.

5. Philip Foster, "Access to Schooling" in Don Adams (ed), Education in National Development, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971, p.15.

threatened by inequalities in the distribution of educational facilities and opportunities. However, as well as being a major part of the problem of regional inequality, education offers some means of solution. There are several distinct ways through which education policy can contribute to the reduction of regional inequality. They have been the subject of extensive theoretical attention and should be briefly summarized here as they constitute the theoretical framework through which we consider the experience of Kenya and Tanzania.[6]

In the first place equality can be sought through the direction of central government resources to ensure that each region has the facilities which provide for a basic common level of primary schooling. Because education is an egalitarian end in itself and is viewed as a fundamental right, the provision of a common basic minimum for all citizens across all regions fulfils expectations about the role of national governments and thereby helps to reduce regionalism. Beyond the provision of a basic minimum for all citizens equality is served by the equitable distribution of facilities for <u>further</u> education. The problem with trying to achieve parity through the provision of common facilities is that such provision tends to be unbalanced through differential levels of regional self-help. Even when the facilities are ostensibly identical across regions a range of factors, which are not easily manipulable, give disproportionate advantage to particular groups resulting in unequal access which is not easily remedied. Thus, because regions differ in their relative ability to make use of proferred facilities parity tends to be sought through regional quotas relating the number who can advance to further education from each region to its proportion of the national population. One problem with such regional quotas is that at least temporarily they require differential standards of access and advancement, and therefore can themselves exacerbate regional tension.

To the extent that common facilities and opportunities are not easily or speedily established by means of compensatory provision, the political vulnerability of governments to regional disaffection is bound up with the question of the extent to which a common national outlook can be superimposed upon regional grievances arising out of regional variation.

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6. Much of the relevant literature is summarized in Philip Foster, "Education and Social Differentiation in Africa: What We Think We Know and What We Ought to Know", paper presented to the Social Science Research Council Conference on Inequality, New York, October 1976.

Two different bases for such a common outlook can be discerned in the working of educational systems.

The first way in which it is expected that schools impart a common national outlook is through political education. Although evidence on the ability of schools to impart a chosen ideology or outlook remains surprisingly scarce, the assumption that this can be done remains strong.[7] The assumption is that schools can be used to secure commitment by students to a set of consensus values, common identity or national ethic which overrides or renders insignificant regional sentiment. Thus when inequalities are perceived or confronted they are made to seem acceptable or irrelevant in relation to a higher order and unifying set of values to which all adhere. To the extent that schools are able to promote such a commitment they can reduce the damaging extremes of regional sentiment.

The second basis on which schools can be used to assuage regional sentiment is through their association with the ideal of equal opportunity. Paradoxically, the close association of educational attainment with social mobility, which is the source of competitive demand for schools, offers through the concept of equal opportunity an ideal which can deflect or reduce the strength of regional content involved in popular demand. The existence of social mobility, providing an opportunity for some individuals to move from disadvantaged to advantaged positions, tends to weaken interest in collective efforts by those who remain. To the extent that upward mobility is a reality for some and is thought to be possible for all, it serves to alleviate some of the incipient antagonisms of the disadvantaged towards the advantaged. The likelihood of such a process operating to reduce regional friction depends upon how widely the ethos of equal opportunity is spread. In the last resort this depends upon a range of intangible factors affecting inter-regional trust, but insofar as it works through education it depends upon the acceptability and perceived validity of the means by which the education system selects individuals for further opportunity. The rationale of the meritocratic ideal is that inequalities--both individual and regional--are more tolerable if everyone believes they have an equal chance to benefit and do not question the criteria by which merit and hence mobility are determined.[8]

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7. This is the political socialization hypothesis. For its application to East Africa see Kenneth Prewitt (ed), Education and Political Values in East Africa, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1971.

8. This now familiar hypothesis is discussed in some detail in relation to income inequalities in David Court, "The Education System as a Response to Inequality in Tanzania and Kenya", The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.14, No.4, 1976.

An entirely different strategy for reducing the strength of regionalism in the popular demand for education involves not tightening the relationship between education and merit selection--as in the previous case--but actually removing or reducing it. The aim here is to reduce the attraction of schooling as a personal or family investment by breaking the link between educational attainment and subsequent opportunity. Considerations of this strategy are more notable in futuristic writings than in evident practice, with the possible exception of Cuba and China, but as we shall show the idea is powerful in Tanzania's intentions. The effectiveness of the strategy depends on efforts on two fronts. The first involves broadening the basis on which selection for valued opportunities takes place, so that the exclusive instrumentality of educational attainment is correspondingly reduced--through supplementation by several other criteria--and hence also the competitive importance attached to education. A second complementary aim is to alter the societal incentive structure by reducing the rewards associated with educational attainment, so that education seems to matter less as a means and more as an end.

In summary, because of its association with social mobility, education is an object of popular demand and political competition. At the same time, educational policy potentially can help to contain the regionalism associated with this demand. While efforts to expand educational opportunity clearly reflect acceptance of education as a fundamental right of citizenship as part of a broad view of development, they also respond to political imperatives associated with the threat of regionalism. It is difficult to understand what is possible in educational planning without taking account of the political context and the role of education as a mediator of destructive regionalism. With this broad framework in mind we can now turn to the specific experience of Kenya and Tanzania and suggest why their different response to a fundamentally similar problem is worthy of comparative attention.

C. Education in the Context of Development Policy in Kenya and Tanzania

Kenya and Tanzania inherited similar problems of regional inequality but have adopted strikingly different responses in trying to deal with their attendant consequences. In this section we will briefly characterize the common problem and summarize intended responses as a background to

the more detailed consideration of both countries which follows.[9]

Although there are important historical differences between Kenya and Tanzania, which are summarized shortly, a major aspect of their colonial inheritance is similar. In both countries the pattern of economic development had been extremely uneven between different areas and was associated with ethnic differentials. Thus, as a consequence of geographical factors and the character of colonial development, the pattern of access to resources and services varied greatly. Furthermore, in each country particular regions dominated representation and opportunities. Perhaps nowhere were these disparities more evident than in the distribution of educational facilities. At the time of Independence, inequalities in access to education were similar in both countries and starkly visible. Formal schooling reached only a minute fraction of the total population in each country and educational facilities and expenditures disproportionately favoured minority groups, urban areas and areas of mission settlement and colonial interest. The post-Independence expansion or formal education in Tanzania and Kenya has witnessed the elimination of some of these inherited tendencies, the intensification of others and the emergence of new ones amidst a more variegated pattern of inequality. Racially segregated systems were quickly abolished but in both countries severe regional differences in educational provision persisted and will be the subject of analysis. In Kenya, for example, primary school enrolment of the relevant age cohort reaches 100 per cent in Central Province as compared with 35 per cent in North Eastern Province, and these figures are mirrored in a comparison of Kilimanjaro and Shinyanga regions in Tanzania. Quantitative indicators of educational opportunity tend to be paralleled by sharp regional differences in the quality of existing schools. Schools with better facilities and teachers are not randomly distributed and tend by and large to be concentrated in or close to towns. The effect of this tends to be compounded by the fact that in both countries until very recently the critical examination which

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9. Recent seminal works on political history include, Colin Leys, Underdevelopment in Kenya, London, Heinemann, 1976, and Cranford Pratt, The Critical Phase in Tanzania 1945-1968, Cambridge University Press, 1976. A useful collection of comparative studies is contained in Joel Barkan and John Okumu, Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania, New York, Praeger, 1978. On education itself recent research studies in Kenya are contained in David Court and Dharam Ghai (eds), Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1974. For Tanzania see the relevant papers in Marjorie Mbilinyi (ed), Who Goes to School in East Africa, University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, 1976.

determines access to secondary education tended to be elitist in its content and orientation and to disproportionately favour those from the better endowed schools and to disadvantage those from rural or poor urban schools. The under-representation of females in the education system of both countries, particularly at the upper levels, conforms to the general regional pattern.[10] Areas of both countries which had the longest association with colonial and mission settlement and have the richest agriculture and the most developed primary school system were disproportionately represented among subsequent opportunities. In both countries independence triggered a vast expansion of demand for education for reasons summarized earlier, which is still continuing. Fuelling this demand has been an individual willingness to devote personal resources to educational facilities which in turn becomes the basis for a claim on government provision. The government response especially in Kenya has been to tolerate and attempt to regularize local initiative thereby further intensifying the demand. The strength of this demand is evident in the prevalence of repeating, the mushroom growth of Harambee secondary schools and the more recent phenomenon of Harambee Institutes of Technology.[11] Although Tanzania chose initially to try and restrain rather than tolerate uncontrolled popular demand for educational expansion this demand has remained strong and is now evident in the rapid growth of private schools and the prominent role of the Tanzania Parents Association in promoting post-primary technical schools.

The general point is clear. Both countries inherited a pattern of educational distribution which disproportionately favoured certain regions and groups and at the same time faced extensive demands for the wider provision of educational opportunity.

This paper deliberately contrasts the similarity of the disparities problem faced by Kenya and Tanzania with the difference in chosen policy

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10. See Marjorie Mbilinyi, The Education of Girls in Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, Institute of Education, 1969, and Audrey Smock, "Women's Education and Roles in Kenya", Working Paper No.316, University of Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, 1977.

11. For an account of the growth of Harambee Secondary Schools see John Anderson, "The Harambee Schools: the Impact of Self-Help", in Richard Jolly (ed), Education in Africa, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1969. The growth of the Provincial Institutes of Technology is described in Martin Godfrey and Cyrus Mutiso, "The Political Economy of Self-Help: Kenya's Harambee Institutes of Technology" in David Court and Dharam Ghai (eds), Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1974.

response. However, it is important to remember that there are also significant differences in the historical heritage from which Kenya and Tanzania had to fashion policy. In the first place Kenya differed economically from Tanzania in that it was the colonial commercial centre for East Africa, had significant European settlement and highly concentrated areas of agricultural development. This brought economic advantage vis a vis its neighbours but also the problem inside the country of inequality arising from relative prosperity restricted to particular areas. Tanzania by contrast, with a few highland exceptions, was more uniformly poor but did not have the same extremes of historical inequality as Kenya. Secondly, Tanzania did not have as harsh and internally divisive a struggle for Independence as Kenya. Thirdly, because Swahili was more widely spoken in Tanzania than Kenya, Tanzania had the advantage of a lingua franca through which national commitment could be naturally promoted. Fourthly, and perhaps most important, the issue of regional disparity is less significant in Tanzania than Kenya. The importance of regional disparities as a source of political conflict is closely related to the degree of ethnic fragmentation. In Kenya regional differences are associated with the residential patterns of a small number of powerful ethnic groups. These differences--e.g. in educational access--provide the impetus for regional conflict because the resident ethnic groups are large enough to be significant political forces. By contrast in Tanzania the degree of ethnic fragmentation is sufficiently great that, while there are one or two influential and privileged minorities, no single group is large enough or powerful enough to aspire to political dominance. Because regional differences are not as closely associated with ethnic differences as in Kenya regionalism is a relatively less explosive issue.

Nevertheless, in spite of the difference in the political significance of the regional issue in the two countries, it remains true that disparities contained within the administrative unit of Region in Tanzania and Province in Kenya continue to contribute a source of division in both countries which cannot be ignored in social and educational policy.

Kenya and Tanzania have, on the surface at least, adopted very different strategies for the alleviation of regional and individual disparities. At the heart of social policy in Tanzania is a direct attempt to reduce disparities between regions through the re-distribution of resources. This has been part of a broader policy of social transformation emphasizing the goals of socialism, rural development and self-reliance. It has aimed at the elimination, or at least reduction, of the outstanding disparities

in wealth between individuals and regions.[12]

Education policy is part of this broad long-term programme of political and social transformation. It is expected to contribute comprehensively to the achievement of this programme in a number of ways which will be examined in subsequent sections. The main aim has been to create a system which structurally is geared to mass rather than elite needs.[13] Following from this are a series of definitive objectives: the aim of making each stage a complete preparation for life rather than a step for further training; the inclusion of productive work as an integral part of the curriculum; the encouragement of measures which make schools self-supporting for their recurrent costs; an emphasis on practical and technical content; the supplementation of academic examinations by a broad range of assessment criteria; and the inclusion of general political education. Each of these elements is part of the specific purpose of building a new political consciousness involving the understanding and internalization of a range of common attributes which cut across regional sentiments and together form the basis of Tanzanian citizenship. Among the most important of these values are a belief in service to society, in the value of productive labour, and in cooperative rather than individualistic behaviour and forms of production.[14]

Kenya's strategy for minimizing the regional discontent attendant upon the kind of disparity which it harbours has been less concerned with a direct and comprehensive attempt at the regional distribution of resources such as has been attempted in Tanzania. The centralization of political authority and the co-option of regional leadership has been coupled with some attempts at the re-allocation of resources and services, but more

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12. Tanzania's social policy is expressed in a variety of documents and most notably in The Arusha Declaration, Dar es Salaam 1967, Julius K. Nyerere Socialism and Rural Development, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer 1967 and Julius K. Nyerere Decentralization, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1972. A frank appraisal of Tanzania's developmental progress and experience in the past ten years is contained in Julius K. Nyerere, The Arusha Declaration, Ten Years After, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1977.

13. The two central documents are Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1967 and "The Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance" (The Musoma Resolutions), reprinted in Papers in Education and Development, No.3, University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, December 1976.

14. See Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance, Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1967.

important has been the goal of growth itself as a regional equalizer.[15] The official expectation is not simply that growth ultimately expands opportunities for all through the creation of new jobs in the national wage economy, but that this involves the spread of an ethos of opportunity with a homogenizing impact which superimposes itself across regional variation. National unity is both a cause and a consequence of this process and hence the constant message of perambulating ministers in Kenya extols the virtues of stability and unity as the basis of the economic expansion on which the well-being of all citizens depends. The main educational corollary of this rationale is the creation of a structure in which occupational access and income mobility are tied to a national certification system which solidifies and publicizes the national opportunity structure to which all are summoned to relate.

Educational policy differs in principal essentials from that of Tanzania. Whereas Tanzania emphasizes mass basic education and tries to treat each stage as terminal, the Kenyan concept is of a broad web of expanding opportunity for all to proceed to further levels. The Tanzanian aim to incorporate productive work as an integral part of the curriculum finds no reflection in Kenyan schools. Similarly, while Kenyan schools are expected in some unspecified manner to contribute to national unity there is virtually no explicit political education. In contrast to Tanzania's attempt to downplay examinations, Kenya is placing ever increasing emphasis upon academic qualifications as the touchstone of merit and opportunity.

Current worldwide re-appraisals of educational planning models stress centralization, participation and local relevance as the critical dimensions and contrast the 'bottom up' with the 'top down' approach.[16] While it is misleading to cast Tanzania and Kenya as polar extremes on a continuum of this sort, official policy statements in the two countries do imply very different conceptions of educational planning. Kenyan policy stresses national needs in trained manpower, centralized control, economic objectives and quantitative approaches, and assumes a continuation of the present structure of education. It views problems and disparities as a

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15. The main statements of Kenya's development strategy are contained in Republic of Kenya, Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965, African Socialism, and Sessional Paper No.10 of 1973, On Employment, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1965, 1973.

16. These approaches are usefully reviewed in David R. Evans, "Responsive Educational Planning: Myth or Reality?", Paris, UNESCO, 1976.

malfunctioning of the system which can be relieved by alterations in curriculum content, expansion at both ends of the educational hierarchy, and by the more equitable manipulation of resources and opportunities. Educational policy in Tanzania by contrast is stressing mass and hence local needs as the object of policy, decentralized control and participatory planning, a broad range of economic and non-economic purposes and qualitative approaches to research. There is a willingness to view disparities as a consequence not of malfunctioning but of the inadequacies of the structure itself. Thus the search for improvement goes beyond the equitable manipulation of resources within the existing structure towards improvements which both reduce disparities and lead to a new logic of commonality in which remaining disparities seem less important than before.

We have emphasized the instructive potential of a comparison between Kenya and Tanzania. At the same time it should be evident from what has just been said that there are limitations to such comparison. The extent of difference between the two countries in their economic history, political philosophy, educational policy and degree of ethnic fragmentation makes it difficult to decide the most relevant basis for comparison. It is clearly not sufficient to use conventional criteria of academic attainment when the express objective in one case is to alter those criteria. In the same way the breadth of societal transformation which education in Tanzania is expected to assist, and the long-term timetable, makes any assessment seem premature or partial and, in particular, makes it difficult to separate out the independent role of education in what is happening. At the same time the sheer eloquence with which educational ideas have been expressed and amplified in Tanzania exerts an inherent fascination which tends to deter analysis and arouses in its place extremes of either passionate advocacy or scornful disparagement. For some hard-nosed analysis seems almost sacrilegious in face of the purity of the stated ideals while for others instant despair or contempt is inspired as soon as the gap between practice and intention reveals itself. A more practical obstacle is presented by the task of finding data in a sufficiently similar form to permit comparison.

However, these specific limitations to a comparison of Kenya and Tanzania do not invalidate the utility of the approach. The differences between the two countries in both policy conception and planning model are striking but both countries have an overriding common objective which provides an ultimate basis for comparison. The objective is that of fashioning an integrated polity which can provide a framework for meaningful

national development. Given that regional inequalities and role differentiation are deeply entrenched in both places--because of the colonial legacy, the growth of modern occupations and the compounding influence of ethnic differentials--education policy in both countries aims to secure a measure of popular acceptance of inequality by fostering a particular type of mass awareness. In Tanzania it is the common consciousness of national citizenship, while in Kenya it is acceptance of the meritocratic ideal. It is a matter of no small interest to consider whether these strategies are in any way able to minimize the threat to national development posed by manifest regional inequality.

Thus our purpose in this paper is not to seek a definitive judgement on two countries but rather to juxtapose two interesting and distinctive approaches to a similar problem. The hope is that this will distinguish some of the significant elements within the different approaches, will permit the identification of obstacles and dilemmas which both face and will suggest implications for the planning process.

II KENYA: THE POLITICS OF EXPANSION

A. The Historical Origins of Regional Inequality

An outline of the historical development of education in Kenya is essential for understanding the origins of the present regional inequalities. At the time of Independence in 1963, Kenya inherited an educational system which had been influenced by three distinct but inter-related social forces originating in the colonial situation. These forces determined the unequal distribution of educational resources and opportunities which were clearly observable in the early 1960s.[17]

The first social force shaping education during the colonial period was racialism, and the inequality in provision of education among the races was manifested in many ways. For example, the provision of secondary schools on the eve of Independence in 1963 reflected a racial pattern which was characteristic of the colonial mode of development. The secondary schools were concentrated in the areas near white settlements and urban centres. In 1963 about 30 per cent of all the secondary schools in the country were in the urban areas, and these mainly catered for the Asian and European communities. These communities formed about 3 per cent of the

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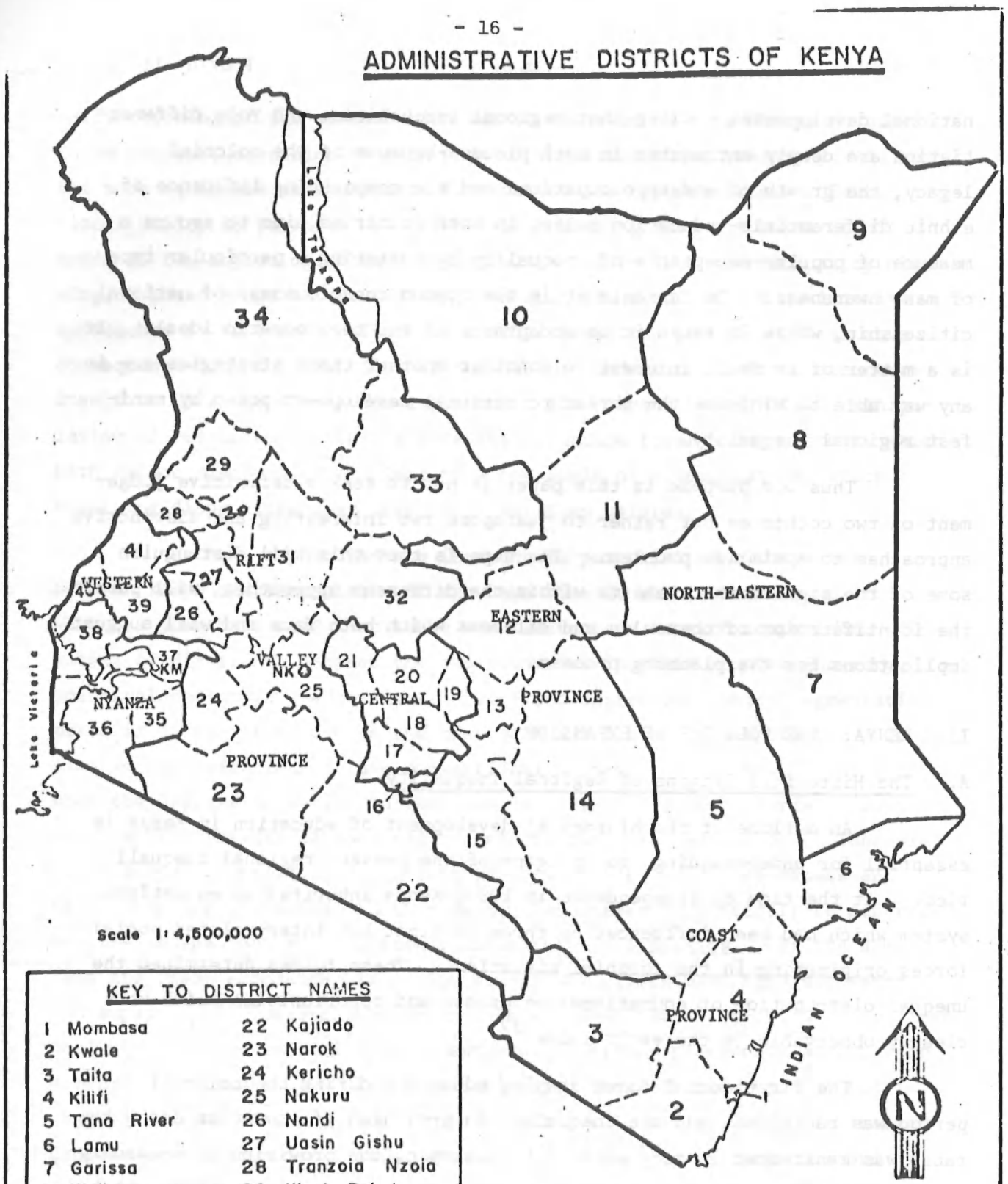
17. A succinct history of Kenyan education which stresses issues of regional disparity is contained in James R. Sheffield, Education in Kenya, New York, Teachers College Press, 1973.

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS OF KENYA



KEY TO DISTRICT NAMES

1	Mombasa	22	Kajiado
2	Kwale	23	Narok
3	Taita	24	Kericho
4	Kilifi	25	Nakuru
5	Tana River	26	Nandi
6	Lamu	27	Uasin Gishu
7	Garissa	28	Tranzoia Nzoia
8	Wajir	29	West Pokot
9	Mandera	30	Elgeyo Marakwet
10	Marsabit	31	Baringo
11	Isiolo	32	Laikipia
12	Meru	33	Samburu
13	Embu	34	Turkana
14	Kitui	35	Kisii
15	Machakos	36	S. Nyanza
16	Nairobi	37	Kisumu
17	Kiambu	38	Siaya
18	Muranga	39	Kakamega
19	Kirinyaga	40	Busia
20	Nyeri	41	Bungoma
21	Nyandarua		

LEGEND

- KM Kisumu Town
- NK Nakuru ,,
- Provincial Boundary.....
- District Boundary.....

total Kenyan population, but about 30 per cent of the secondary schools throughout the country were for them. The expenditure on education reflected this same pattern of unequal educational provision.[18]

The second social force which shaped the pattern of African educational development was the impact of Christian evangelism which followed closely the impact of colonial penetration. With the completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway, most of the missionaries moved into the hinterlands of Kenya. The main missionary settlements were already inland by 1914, in the present Central, Nyanza and Western Provinces of Kenya. In Central Province these settlements were mainly in Kiambu and Nyeri districts, while a few were established in Muranga district. The districts in Western Kenya where missionaries were especially active were Kakamega in Western Province and Siaya, Kisumu and Kisii in Nyanza Province. Some of these districts in Western Kenya, as in Central Province, which had early contact with missionaries have contributed a large proportion of the elite of modern Kenya. The contribution of the Christian missions in the field of education was strengthened by the fact that the colonial state to a large extent relied on the missionary groups for the development of African education. Hence most of the colonial revenue for African education was channeled through missionary organizations. Although further missionary settlements were founded after the First World War, and the colonial state opened a few African government schools, the early pattern of concentration remained fundamentally unaltered.

The African response to this Western cultural invasion, in the form of Christianity and education, was the third force in the development of education in Kenya. This response differed from one place to another and took many forms. In some areas it manifested itself in the form of independent churches, particularly in Western Kenya, while in Central Province the African response to missionary control took the form of an educational revolt in the 1930s and the establishment of independent schools. The Kikuyu Independent School Association established schools in Nyeri and Murang'a districts, while the Kikuyu Karing'a Association was active in South Kiambu, Rift Valley and some parts of Nyanza Province.[19]

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18. In 1926 per pupil expenditure was the equivalent in $US of 34.4 for Africans, 37 for Asians and 180.5 for Europeans, James R. Sheffield, Education in Kenya.

19. See John Anderson, The Struggle for the School, Nairobi, Longman, 1970.

A further channel for African initiative in the field of education was opened in 1924 when the colonial government established local government administration in which African people were to be represented. The Africans seized the opportunity offered by the establishment of the Local Native Councils to tax themselves to finance education and to open up new elementary schools. This policy of entrusting local authorities with the responsibility for financing and developing primary education had two potential consequences for the emergence of educational inequalities. The relatively rich districts could raise more money through taxation and thereby pay for more schools and teachers, while the poor areas had to struggle to maintain the few schools they had. Secondly, the local authorities channeled their educational funds through the existing missionary and independent school organizations. This meant that the areas where there was strong pressure for education and where an organizational base already existed benefitted more than those areas without missionary or local organizational structures. This policy of entrusting local authorities with the responsibility for financing and promoting primary education continued into the 1950s with the establishment of African District Councils and into the 1960s when county councils were established and it continued to have the same inequitable effect.

The existence of three systems of education for the different racial groups in colonial Kenya, the missionary activities and African response and initiatives in education must be seen in the context of the racial division of labour in the colonial economy and in the emergence of the uneven development of ethnic communities and regions. The development of the settler enclave and the urban commercial centres, as the core of the colonial economy, had a profound impact on the uneven spatial development of the country which was manifested in the unequal regional development of education.

These political and socio-economic forces just described shaped the development of education and the pattern of inequalities which have persisted during fifteen years of independence. There are substantial disparities both between and within Provinces with regard to the proportion of the primary age group actually in school, the distribution of secondary school places, the opportunity to continue with further education and so forth. To these main dimensions of regional disparity we now turn.

TABLE 1. Enrolment in Primary School 1965-1976 as a Percentage of the Projected School Age Population (6-13)

	1965 Enrolment	Percentage of population aged 6-13 %	1971 Enrolment	Percentage of population aged 6-13 %	1976 Enrolment	Percentage of population aged 6-13 %
Provinces						
Central	238,001	68	371,913	90	571,583	116
Coast	57,523	33	87,845	43	160,156	67
Eastern	199,107	52	315,454	71	543,222	103
N. Eastern	912	2	4,668	9	7,507	9
Nyanza	162,229	36	248,990	47	550,580	87
Rift Valley	161,272	35	228,797	43	530,646	83
Western	146,679	51	200,708	61	446,185	113
Nairobi	45,096	57	67,523	72	84,738	76
Kenya	1,010,889	45	1,525,498	59	2,894,617	93

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1965 and 1971.
Kenya Statistical Digest, Vol.X No.3, September 1972.
Social Perspectives, Vol.2 No.5, October 1977.

B. Provincial and District Disparities in Primary Education

The outstanding feature of Kenyan education since Independence has been the rate of expansion. As Table 1 shows, primary school enrolment tripled between 1965 and 1975 and now stands at almost three million. The great leap forward occurred in 1974 when fees for the first four years of school were abolished and enrolment in some provinces almost doubled in consequence over the previous year. The percentage columns give an inflated picture of actual national enrolment. This results from two main factors. It is generally agreed now that the original basis for the population projections used in the calculation were substantially understated. More important is the prevalence of incorrect reporting of ages of pupils. Parents tend to overstate the ages of young children in order to secure their early entry to primary school, but later will tend to understate the ages of older children in order to offset the effect of repeating which is widespread in the upper classes of primary school. Figures for repeating are known to far exceed official returns and also to vary by region because of the tendency

of pupils to repeat in a different school or district from that of their first sitting. However, no national figure of relative repeater rates for districts is available because the data are by definition very elusive. Data from three areas--Rift Valley, Vihiga and Nyeri--suggest that as many as 35 per cent of any given Standard 7 cohort repeats the examination the following year and that the average amount of time spent in primary school is at least 8.5 years rather than the ostensible seven.[20]

1. Enrolment. The important issue for present purposes is that national figures on access to primary education hide sizeable provincial differences. Central Province is enrolling over 100 per cent of the age cohort with Coast, Rift Valley and North Eastern Provinces lagging well behind. Furthermore, as Table 2 shows, disparities are substantial within as well as between provinces. On the basis of the data presented in Table 2 we can divide the country into three groups according to the proportion of school age population in school. The first group consists of twenty districts with an enrolment ratio above the national average. These are: all districts in Central and Western Province; Taita Taveta and Lamu in Coast Province, Embu, Machakos and Kitui in Eastern Province; Laikipia, Nandi and TransNzoia in Rift Valley Province and Kisii, Siaya and Kisumu in Nyanza Province. Districts in this most privileged category are of two main historical types--those which made up the former African "reserves" and those created from the former White Highlands. The former African reserve districts are Kiambu, Murang'a, Nyeri, Embu, Taita Taveta, Bungoma and Kakamega. These are some of the districts that experienced land expropriation in the early days of colonization and provided most of the labour force that was utilized in the development of the enclave. In the 1950s and the 1960s, the population became extensively involved in commodity production--coffee, tea, milk, sugar cane and maize. Land consolidation and registration started in the first four districts in 1956 and in the last two in 1963. Land reform has been crucial for the extension of credit and agricultural technical services to smallholder commodity producers.

As has been mentioned, these were among the districts in the colonial period which positively and enthusiastically welcomed western education, and through the local authorities taxed themselves heavily to build

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20. See Kenneth King, "Primary Schools in Kenya: Some Critical Constraints on their Effectiveness", Joyce Moock, "Pragmatism and the Primary School: the Case of a Non-Rural Village", and Tony Somerset, "Who Goes to Secondary School? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in Secondary School Selection", all in Court and Ghai, Education, Society and Development.

TABLE 2. The Proportion of School Age Children (6-13) enrolled in Primary School by District 1971 and 1975

	District	No. of Children in School as a Proportion of projected 6-13 school age population 1971-1975	
		1971 %	1975 %
Provinces			
Central	Kiambu	99	112
	Kirinyaga	67	107
	Murang'a	95	124
	Nyandarua	80	112
	Nyeri	97	120
Coast	Kilifi	31	56
	Kwale	33	68
	Lamu	29	101
	Taita Taveta	71	99
	Tana River	41	61
	Mombasa	58	65
Eastern	Embu	67	107
	Isiolo	52	59
	Kitui	56	96
	Marsabit	31	38
	Machakos	89	129
	Meru	62	92
North Eastern	Garissa	15	16
	Mandera	5	8
	Wajir	8	11
Nyanza	Kisii	52	114
	Kisumu	48	99
	Siaya	57	100
	South Nyanza	36	80
Rift Valley	Baringo	38	90
	Nakuru	48	91
	Laikipia	71	120
	Narok	26	50
	Kajiado	45	69
	Kericho	41	73
	Samburu	16	21
	E/Marakwet	39	85
	Nandi	51	102
	Uasin Gishu	39	76
	West Pokot	25	54
	TransNzoia	49	99
	Turkana	5	11
Western	Bungoma	63	113
	Busia	49	102
	Kakamega	62	116
Nairobi		72	77

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report 1971 and 1975.
Kenya Statistical Digest.

an extensive primary school system. In the post-colonial period, this interest has continued and past advantages have been consolidated into further development in education at all levels. These are economically and politically powerful districts in the country and have utilized their positions to maintain leadership in education. Migrations from these districts in the last 15 years into other rural districts and urban centres in search of better opportunities have been relatively higher than in other districts.

The districts in the former White Highlands were created as a result of land reforms consequent upon the attainment of Independence. These are Nyandarua, Laikipia, Nakuru, Uasin Gishu and TransNzoia. The population in these districts is composed of former squatters and labourers, and the new settlers. The new settlers have come mainly from the districts in Central and Western provinces with long established traditions of involvement in education and the money economy. A large proportion of the Africans who bought farms in these areas are on the average better educated. They are frequently among those who had privileged access to educational facilities in the colonial period.

A third category of districts which have high rates of participation of school-age population in primary schools were not physically close to the white enclave but had contact with mission groups and the colonial economy. For example, Kisii and Meru were the first African districts in Kenya to be allowed to grow coffee in the 1930s, and until the early 1960s accounted for most of the peasant coffee production. Masaku district was fully involved in the colonial economy by 1925 and the development of education through missionary groups and Local Native Councils was thereafter much emphasized.

In contrast to these high participation districts there are thirteen districts listed in Table 1 which have less than two-thirds of their school-age population enrolled in school. These are the agricultural districts of Coast Province--Kilifi, Kwale and Tana River--all three districts in North Eastern Province and Kajiado, Narok, West Pokot, Samburu and Turkana in Rift Valley Province. In the case of the Coast, resistance to missionary evangelism and the prevalence of non-recorded Koranic schools explain the figures. The other low participation districts are in arid and semi-arid parts of the country and have in the past been mainly involved in a pastoral economy.

Between the extreme categories is a third category which is most interesting for the fact that it contains three of the four main urban

centres of Kenya, i.e. Nairobi, Mombasa and Nakuru. The relatively low figures of primary school enrolment for these centres are explained by two factors. In the first place while participation is universal among high and medium income groups, it may well be very low among the urban poor and unemployed. The rising urban squatter settlements in these towns points to this likelihood. At the same time part of the explanation is contained in the practice whereby children are frequently registered in the father's place of urban work but are at some stage sent back to school in their rural area where frequently the mother resides.

A second group of districts in this medium participation category contains Baringo, Kajiado and TransNzoia. In the colonial period these three areas were relatively deprived of education but in the past ten years education has developed steadily. The momentum for educational growth has come mainly from the population which has migrated into these districts from Central and Western provinces, with the result that these districts have had the highest rate of growth in primary education in the country. In drawing attention to the surprisingly low rates of primary enrolment in the urban centres we need to recall that the urban population as a whole has a relatively high level of educational attainment. The concentration of employment opportunities in Nairobi and Mombasa means that these two centres in particular tend to monopolize educated manpower. While awaiting the results of the 1979 census in Kenya we can only guess at how great this concentration is and how other areas fare in this most critical dimension of educational disparity.

2. The Distribution of Qualified Teachers. The qualification level of the teaching force is one important index of the quality of educational provision. In 1972 there were 42,000 professionally qualified teachers amounting to 77 per cent of the total teaching force in primary schools. The distribution of these teachers between rural districts and urban centres shows 14 districts had slightly more than their equal share of professionally qualified teachers. Twelve districts had equal share of qualified teachers and 17 districts had less than their share. On the whole, the regional distribution of qualified teachers is equitable.

However, the urban areas are clearly favoured over the rural districts. The urban centres of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu had over 94 per cent of their teaching force professionally qualified. The rural districts had an average of about 75 per cent of their teachers qualified. A further advantage of urban centres in 1972 was that about 65 per cent of

the urban teaching force had secondary education or more. Except for 10 rural districts--Kiambu, Kirinyaga, Nyeri, Embu, Kisumu, Siaya, TransNzoia, Bungoma, Busia and Kakamega--where the qualified teachers made up more than 80 per cent of the teaching force, the other rural districts had between 20 to 45 per cent unqualified primary school teachers. The bulk of the qualified teachers in these districts were, however, those who had less than secondary education before entering the teaching profession.

While the rural areas have been losing qualified teachers, urban centres such as Nairobi have been gaining them not only because the better facilities in the city attract qualified African teachers but also because the large European and Asian communities provide a reservoir of much-needed staff. The Nairobi Education Department has also been recruiting specialist teachers for some subjects from overseas countries. However, the significance of teacher quality lies in its impact upon examination performance and here the important dimension is less the distribution by region than the distribution by type of school which is discussed in a subsequent section.

3. The Allocation of Financial Resources. Another important aspect of resource allocation is the distribution of available funds for education among the different districts, urban centres and social groups.

Until the passing of the Local Government (Transfer of Functions) Act of 1969, the county and municipal councils had substantial responsibilities for the financing and development of primary education. These responsibilities were shifted to central government because the policy of local authorities financing education had caused many problems, one of which was the inability of many county councils to carry out a balanced and smooth development of elementary education. Rural primary education is now controlled by the District Education Boards (DEBs) which were established in June 1971 among other things to administer education funds and to prepare plans for promotion and development of elementary education in their respective areas. The municipalities continued to be responsible for financing and promoting education in urban centres, but their independence in this area has been limited by lack of funds and by the fact that the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), established in 1967, is the employer of almost all teachers who fall under the jurisdiction of educational authorities in the municipalities.

Central Government has direct responsibility for rural primary education through its central administration and supervision and through its operation of the Kenya Schools Equipment Scheme which supplies school

equipment. This scheme could potentially equalize the expenditures on school equipment all over the country. The funds allocated to this scheme, to the District Education Boards and to the Teachers Service Commission make up the major public expenditures on rural primary education. Further public funds are spent on primary education by the municipalities.

Teachers' salaries account for over 70 per cent of the expenditure on primary education. The regional distribution of funds for teachers' salaries depends on the distribution of teachers and their qualifications and length of service. Thus it follows that the urban areas and the rural districts which have more highly qualified and longer service teachers also receive more funds in teachers' salaries. Analysis of the regional distribution of allocation of teachers' salaries in 39 rural districts and qualified teachers in 1972 showed a high correlation ($r = 0.925$). The mean expenditure per pupil per district was Shillings 202.25 with a standard deviation of 83.77. This indicates that there is very low variation between districts in allocation of funds for teachers' salaries. As we pointed out earlier, qualified teachers are relatively evenly distributed between the rural districts.

A notable equalization measure is the allocation of substantial funds to backward and educationally deprived districts for the maintenance of primary boarding schools. In the financial year 1973/74 for example 4.3 million shillings were allocated to 22 districts in Coast, Eastern, North Eastern and Rift Valley Provinces. Some of these educationally backward districts with a total enrolment of about 32,000 pupils also benefitted from the remission of fees before it was instituted on a national basis for the first four years in 1974. These policies seem to stem from two factors. First, they recognize that the people in these districts received less attention in educational development in the colonial period and must therefore receive increased attention if they are to catch up with the rest of the country. Secondly, they are a response to the poverty of the people in these districts which means that if they were left on their own to develop their primary education as other rural communities are required to do, they could not possibly break out of their relative backwardness. The provision of boarding school facilities is also a specific attempt to deal with the problem of provision of education among the pastoral communities. In recent years these areas have also been penetrated by people from the developed districts who have settled on some of the high potential lands in these districts. Furthermore, the movement of children

from the more developed districts to these educationally backward districts is a common phenomenon so that public funds expended on education in a particular district may not just benefit the children of that district. Theoretically, there may be nothing wrong with school children moving from one district to another, especially since national integration is one of the educational goals, but problems occur when this mobility is in one direction only and when it tends to deprive communities of educational opportunities within their own districts.

4. Private Expenditure on Education. Consideration of the distribution of expenditures on education by individuals is an important complement to the discussion of the distribution of public funds, although there are obvious limitations to such discussion because private expenditure is not usually documented systematically and is difficult to estimate. Before the announcement of "free" primary education for the first four years, peasants had to spend about 60 shillings a year out of an average annual income of approximately 1,200 shillings. The burden still remains although the expenditures are no longer termed fees. In addition to the school fees for classes five and six--which both rural and urban parents are required to pay--the peasantry is further required to pay for the building of staff houses, classrooms, maintenance of the school buildings and the cost of other facilities which are needed in primary schools. The parents in the urban areas are not required to pay for the initial building of staff houses and classrooms. The rural communities meet these expenses with little help from outside so that a school-building committee exists for every rural primary school. Although this kind of self-help activity is widespread in the country and is making a major contribution to education, it does not receive a great deal of publicity.

It is not surprising that some rural families do not send all their children to school even when facilities are available. Sometimes parents are also forced to withdraw their children from school due to lack of fees. When a family has to make a decision on who is to be educated, girls are the first to be left out and the first to be withdrawn from school when funds are short. Education in rural communities also occasionally suffers from natural disasters such as droughts or crop failures, and the arid and semi-arid parts of Coast, Eastern, North Eastern and Rift Valley provinces are often affected in this way. The low enrolment figures in these areas may be partially attributed to rural poverty which is made worse by occasional droughts.

C. Disparities within Districts and Urban Centres

In addition to differences between districts and urban centres it is important to point out that there are sizeable disparities within each rural district or urban centre in the way that educational opportunities are shared. Intra-district differences in the distribution of education take two main dimensions. First there are differences between areas within the district which follow the pattern of economic activities dominant in each area and frequently take ethnic characteristics. An example of these kinds of differences are to be found in a district like Baringo where internal disparities are well defined between Eastern, Kabarnet and Eldama Ravine divisions. These internal differences also take ethnic characteristics in a district such as this which is inhabited by four ethnic groups. In a district such as Kiambu, which is inhabited by one ethnic group, internal differences do not assume ethnic proportions.

The second dimension of within-district difference is that between social groups. In the rural communities the differences are mainly between the "progressive" farmers on the one hand and poorer farmers and rural labourers on the other. The differences are attributable mainly to inequalities in land ownership, the uneven adoption of agricultural innovations, and to unequal access to credit for commodity production and to other Government services. Peasants who have successfully adopted agricultural innovations have been able to raise their incomes substantially and have therefore been better placed to pay for their children's education than the poorer peasants and labourers. Some research on rural development in different parts of the country has provided insights into this process through analysis of individual household decision-making.[21] However, the process is most clearly visible in towns because of the concentration there of an urban elite and distinct differences in income and life-style and we will illustrate it mainly by data from Nairobi.

The kinds of group difference in access and enrolment which have been referred to are compounded by differences in the quality of education to which different groups have access. These differences between social

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21. See, for example, Michael Cowen, "Differentiation in a Kenya Location", Paper No.16, East African Universities Social Science Council, Annual Conference, Nairobi, 1972, Diana Hunt, "Income Distribution in Meru Households", University of Nairobi, Institute for Development Studies, Occasional Paper No.20, 1974, and Judith Heyer, "Achievements, Problems and Prospects in the Agricultural Sector", in Judith Heyer, Joseph Maitha and William Senga (eds), Agricultural Development in Kenya, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1976.

groups in the urban centres are provided for in the educational system by differentiation of schools at all levels. In Nairobi and other major urban centres the public primary schools are divided into three main categories of A, B, and C with an additional category of "Assisted" schools which are operated by voluntary agencies and receive partial assistance from public funds. In addition there are private schools which cater to both citizens and non-citizens but these do not receive public funds. The classification of schools supported from public sources, with which we are concerned here, corresponds to the virtually segregated categories of the colonial period. Thus the categories A, B and C refer to schools which in the colonial period were attended by Europeans, Indians and Africans respectively. Although racial exclusiveness no longer applies, these school types retain a differential quality in terms of fees charged, facilities available, qualifications of teachers and above all in their relative performance in the primary school leaving examination--the CPE--which determines access to secondary school places and hence subsequent opportunity. Although virtually all pupils in all public primary schools are now African, access to the different types is governed by ability to pay the requisite fees and competence in English which many of the Schedule C schools now test with a small exam or ensure by forming their own pre-primary wings. Because access to the better schools is restricted, competition for entry intense and English Language critical, many parents now send their children to pre-primary schools in an effort to improve their competitive advantage and chance of entry to Schedule C primary schools. Fees at these nursery schools go as high as Shs 3,500 per year--i.e. substantially more than the cost of primary school itself and the effect of this is essentially to restrict access to Schedule C schools to children of high income families.

The quality differences between the types of school can be illustrated by reference to the distribution of teachers, relative performance on the CPE examination and ability to provide access to Government secondary schools. Although some of the data refer to the period five years ago the pattern has not altered while the numbers have greatly increased.

Although teacher qualifications are not the only measure of the quality of education, they are important. In 1972, as Table 3 shows, 32 per cent of teachers in C schools were graduates as compared to 9 per cent in D (assisted) schools, a mere 1 per cent in B schools and virtually none at all in A schools. This pattern was also observable in the distribution of secondary school grade one teachers. The pattern is, naturally reversed for the case of the less educated teachers--primary teachers of

TABLE 3. The Distribution of Primary School Teachers in Nairobi, 1972

Teacher Qualification	Category of schools A	B	C	D	Total	
	%	%	%	%	%	
Graduate	0.1	1.2	32.3	9.1	3.4	(72)
Secondary teacher 1	4.1	14.4	26.0	8.4	7.6	(159)
Primary teacher 1	18.8	46.8	35.4	49.6	28.5	(593)
Primary teacher 2	28.0	19.6	3.1	10.5	22.8	(474)
Primary teacher 3	44.2	16.5	1.6	8.4	32.4	(674)
Other	4.8	1.5	1.6	14.0	5.3	(111)
Total	100.0 (1,343)	100.0 (327)	100.0 (127)	100.0 (286)	100.0	(2,083)

Source: City of Nairobi, Department of Education Annual Report, 1972.

grades two and three. The distribution of qualified teachers is clearly in favour of C schools, followed by B, D and A schools, in that order.

Teachers, parents, pupils and the rest of society tend to judge the quality of primary education at each school by how well the pupils perform on the Certificate of Primary Education examination and by how many are given places in Government-maintained secondary schools. Table 4 provides data on the average performance of the four categories of school in English, Mathematics and the combined score for the CPE examination as a whole in 1971. The difference in performance between the four categories of school are very striking and, as the Table shows, are reflected in relative access to the limited number of places in Government-maintained secondary schools.

These differences can be understood in the context of a number of factors. The first is the effect of pre-primary education. Research on the structure of pre-school education in Nairobi has shown that high cost primary schools are informally connected to high cost-pre-primary schools where pre-selection for Standard One intake is done and similar networks exist for the other categories of primary school.[22] The second factor which seems to account for differential performance is the educational background and professional qualification of teachers in the different categories

22. See O.N. Gakuru, "Pre-Primary Education and Access to Educational Opportunities in Nairobi", Working Paper No.321, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1977.

TABLE 4. Performance in CPE--Nairobi Schools 1971

Category of school	Mean Total score in CPE	Mean Score English	Mean Score Maths	No. of pupils
Low-cost schools (A)	46.7	54.1	37.4	4,005
Medium-cost schools (B)	55.6	63.1	52.9	1,080
High-cost schools (C)	63.6	76.5	57.4	329
Assisted schools (D)	57.4	72.1	46.0	1,027
All schools	51.2	59.4	43.8	6,441

Source: City Council of Nairobi, Annual Report of the City Education Department, 1971.

of school. More generally the medium and high cost primary schools have better educational facilities than the low cost schools. A third and more important general explanation for the differences between the various categories of school performance and quality is the family background of the children attending these schools and in particular the opportunity provided for exposure to English. All of these add up to the differences that are discernible in the CPE performance. CPE performance in turn determines access to Government secondary schools and the relative performance of the difference types of primary school in Nairobi in 1972 is illustrated in Table 5.

TABLE 5. Opportunities for Secondary School--Nairobi Schools 1972

Category of schools	No. of schools 1972	Proportion of total primary enrolment %	No. of CPE Candidates	Proportion admitted to aided secondary schools %
Low-cost schools	72	76	4,595	22
Medium-cost schools	12	11	963	43
High-cost schools	7	4	317	89
Assisted schools	15	9	978	56
All schools	118	100	6,853	33

The above data can be put in the present national context. In 1976 approximately one-quarter of a million pupils sat for the CPE examination and of these approximately 30,000 found places in Government-maintained

secondary schools. The continuation rate for the country as a whole was 14 per cent but for the Nairobi Schedule C schools it was 80 per cent and virtually all those who did not meet performance requirements for a Government-aided school continued their education at a high-cost secondary school.[23] Provincial continuation rates for 1975 are shown in Table 7 and of particular interest are the comparisons between access to aided and unaided secondary schools which are discussed in the following section.

Rural schools are not as clearly differentiated as the urban schools. Although a number of private and partially assisted primary schools can be found, most of the rural schools fall into the category which in urban areas would define them as A schools. Table 6 reports the results of an analysis of CPE performance in English between three samples: rural low cost, urban low cost and urban high cost primary schools. As the Table shows, the performance of pupils in rural and urban low cost schools is not significantly different, while the difference between both categories of low cost school and the high cost urban schools is sizeable. Although urban A schools have better school buildings and equipment and better supervision than rural schools, the composition of the school population and the teachers allocated to them does not differ much from those in rural low cost primary schools. The inference would be that the socio-economic background of pupils is a more important determinant of performance than the quality of buildings and equipment. The detailed evidence to support this contention is still lacking for the Kenyan context although data from other countries would support this explanation.

TABLE 6. CPE Performance in English in 1974 for Rural and Urban Schools

Category of schools	Mean English Mark out of 70	%	Standard deviation	N
Rural A	35.64	50.91	9.68	9,388
Urban A (Nairobi)	37.15	53.07	10.77	1,000
Urban B (Nairobi)	57.53	82.19	7.87	528

Source: H.C.A. Somerset, An Item Analysis of 1974, Certificate of Primary Education, mimeo, 1977.

23. See H.C.A. Somerset, "Aptitude Tests, Socio-Economic Background, and Secondary School Selection" paper presented to a Rockefeller Foundation Conference on Social Science Research and Educational Effectiveness, Bellagio, Italy, July 25-29, 1977.

The differences between types of school within urban areas and between rural and urban schools are readily explained by reference to socio-economic background and school quality factors. What are perhaps more interesting are differences between and within rural areas. Perhaps the most striking illustration of regional disparity is contained in a comparison of inter-district performance in the CPE examinations. An analysis of performance in 26 rural districts which offered more than 2,000 candidates in the CPE revealed sizeable differences in mean district performance. Thus, for example, the best District in the sample had a mean standard score of 59.15 in the English paper while the worst District had a score of 40.22, and the pattern repeated itself for the other two papers which make up the examination. This level of difference is all the more remarkable because the two areas contributing extremes of performance difference--the urban centres and pastoral areas--are not included in this analysis. The interest of such data lies in the fact that because rural schools are relatively less subject to socio-economic differentiation in their composition than urban schools explanations for the differential performance are correspondingly more likely to be found in school quality factors. Such factors are more within the control of educational planners than those rocted in socio-economic differences.

D. The Distribution of Secondary School Opportunities

Secondary schools in Kenya can be categorized according to their recruitment base. There are some which recruit nationally and these are called national schools. Some of the national catchment schools were formerly European schools and until 1973 they were designated high-cost schools. In all they number about twenty and provide about 10 per cent of the total number of Form I places available in Government-aided schools. The provincial schools, which form the major category of Government-aided schools, recruit their Form I intake mainly from the provinces where they are located. They are predominantly new secondary schools, started in the last fifteen years, and number about four hundred. These, together with the national catchment schools, provided Form I opportunities for about 13 per cent of the 250,000 candidates in 1976. Another 20 per cent are absorbed in self-help secondary schools and private profit-oriented schools. These two types of school make up the broad category of schools called unaided schools. The Harambee secondary schools have a very limited local catchment area, which in most cases is the district where they are located, and no performance limit on recruitment. The profit-oriented private

Table 7. Form 1 Opportunities for CPE Candidates 1970 and 1975 by Type of School and Province

	1970			1975		
		Proportion gaining Form 1 places			Proportion gaining Form 1 places	
	Candidates	Aided	Unaided	Candidates	Aided	Unaided
Provinces						
Central	36,948	4,427 (11%)	1,903 (5%)	50,361	6,550 (13%)	11,072 (22%)
Coast	8,429	1,767 (21%)	1,603 (19%)	12,479	2,084 (16%)	2,533 (20%)
Eastern	29,560	2,832 (9%)	1,963 (7%)	42,059	4,379 (10%)	9,153 (22%)
N. Eastern	229	38 (17%)	-	547	151 (28%)	-
Nyanza	30,708	2,722 (9%)	2,522 (8%)	43,412	4,109 (9%)	6,660 (15%)
Rift Valley	22,063	2,766 (12%)	2,291 (10%)	31,782	4,162 (13%)	5,623 (18%)
Western	23,218	2,741 (12%)	1,823 (8%)	30,422	3,836 (13%)	7,274 (24%)
Nairobi	6,085	3,085 (51%)	3,320 (55%)	8,488	3,392 (40%)	2,722 (32%)
Kenya	157,240	20,378 (12%)	15,425 (13%)	219,550	28,663 (13%)	45,037 (21%)

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Reports

secondary schools are mainly in the urban centres. For the purpose of our discussion here we categorize secondary schools broadly into Central Government-aided schools and the mainly self-help unaided schools. We look at the distribution of secondary school opportunities and places.

Table 7 shows the change in the distribution of Form I places at both Government and unaided secondary schools over the five-year period between 1970 and 1975. Several points stand out in the Table. The main general point is the extent of expansion as a whole and of unaided places in particular. Form I places at aided schools rose from 18,314 to 28,384 while unaided places more than doubled, rising from 20,845 to 45,017. The main beneficiary and exemplar of this trend was Central Province which, despite a sizeable expansion in Standard 7 enrolments, increased its proportion of places in aided secondary schools by a larger margin than any other province with the exception of North Eastern Province which is a special case.

Furthermore, it also showed the largest single increase in unaided school places over the period in question. The figures for Nairobi need to be interpreted with caution. The probability of gaining a secondary school place from a Nairobi primary school is greater than from a rural primary school, but as we have seen access within Nairobi depends heavily upon the kind of primary, and increasingly the type of pre-primary, school that a pupil attends. The probabilities suggested by the Table are misleading as they reflect the concentration of national catchment secondary schools in the city and the influx to them of those from outside. Thus recruitment to Form I places in Nairobi secondary schools is open to candidates who sit for the CPE examination in the provinces and not simply those from city primary schools. In the case of unaided schools access is determined almost entirely by one's ability to meet the fees which are charged.

Table 8 shows the total distribution of opportunities at the two types of school over the eight-year period 1968-1976. Again the regional disparities are clear. Central Province with less than 15 per cent of the national population had 21 per cent of aided school places and 24 per cent of unaided places in 1968 and, while more than doubling the number of aided places and almost quadrupling the number of unaided places, increased its proportion of total places of the two types. The other provinces with the exception of the Coast and Nairobi increased their share of Government school places but without reaching a point corresponding to their share of the national population. A disadvantaged area in this regard was Rift Valley which in 1975 had only 14 per cent of Government school places in relation to its 1969 share of 20 per cent of the national population. Another disadvantaged Province was Nyanza with 15 per cent of Government school places and 19 per cent of the population. But the most disadvantaged Province in the country was North Eastern with 2 per cent of the national population and less than 1 per cent of the places in Government schools. In these cases the shortfall has not been compensated for by a dramatic rise in unaided places. In fact the opposite trend is apparent, as it is the provinces with the most favourable proportion of aided places--Central, Western and Eastern--which have had the biggest increase in unaided places.

These three provinces had a headstart in western education because of missionary activities in the early days of colonization. Since Independence they have been very active and sometimes very successful in lobbying for Central Government resources. On the other hand, this has not been the case for North Eastern and Coast Province and some of the districts of Rift

TABLE 8. Distribution of Secondary School Places by Type of School, Province and Provincial Population 1968 and 1976

	Proportion of National Population 1969	Proportion of total places 1968		1978	
		Aided	Unaided	Aided	Unaided
Provinces					
Central	15.3%	20.8% (11,790)	24.6% (11,035)	22.4% (26,583)	24.8% (40,098)
Coast	8.7%	9.4% (5,335)	7.9% (3,530)	7.6% (9,066)	4.6% (7,442)
Eastern	17.4%	11.3% (6,399)	10.6% (4,748)	15.2% (17,938)	16.8% (27,202)
N. Eastern	2.2%	0.2% (112)	-	0.5% (638)	-
Nyanza	19.4%	11.9% (6,740)	13.8% (6,192)	15.2% (8,050)	17.3% (28,017)
Rift Valley	20.2%	12.9% (7,281)	10.9% (4,899)	14.4% (17,089)	10.8% (17,425)
Western	12.2%	11.3% (6,421)	9.4% (4,208)	11.6% (13,810)	17.9% (28,982)
Nairobi	4.7%	22.0% (12,458)	22.8% (10,203)	13.0% (15,461)	7.8% (12,587)
Kenya	100.0%	100.0% (56,546)	100.0% (44,815)	100.0% (118,635)	100.0% (161,753)

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report.
Republic of Kenya Census 1969.

Valley Province. The explanation for Central Province's consistently large share of educational institutions is partly historical and partly due to a combination of political and economic features. The proximity of the Province to enclaves of white settlement and the urban centre of Nairobi, the early missionary activities, and a strong tradition of self-help in education are some of the historical forces which account for the pre-eminence of Central Province in primary and secondary education. The agricultural development of the area and the political dominance it has maintained since Independence have helped to consolidate this lead.

Two particularly important points are displayed by the Tables. Firstly, although there has been a huge general increase in the number of secondary school places, the pattern of distribution has not markedly altered in the first decade of Independence. Secondly, the development of unaided secondary schools in this period has added to the regional inequalities

which were observed in the provision of Government school places. The areas which have the largest share of Government-aided schools also have the largest share of unaided self help places. The establishment of self-help Institutes of Technology is following the same pattern of regional disparity. Central Province is again in the lead, with four established institutes, three of which are operating. Eastern, Rift Valley, Western and Nyanza each have three and Coast Province has one such institute planned.[24]

The effect on rural communities of the methods of financing these self-help schools has important equity implications. When a Harambee school is to be established, the local communities are required to contribute in cash and kind. In the past, a great deal of enthusiasm has been forthcoming from the people in support of educational projects. But, although people have been generous in their contributions there have been instances and places where the local administration has used some coercion to elicit contributions from the public. In some cases rural cooperatives have been required to pay a levy which goes towards self-help projects. There have also been strong social pressures to make contributions of this kind. What is of importance to our discussion here is the effect of these contributions on income distribution in the rural areas. In many instances these contributions have become a form of rural taxation which may be regressive in that benefits from these institutions are not equally accessible to all the rural people.[25]

Parents with children in Harambee secondary schools pay school fees which range between Shs 450 and Shs 200 per pupil, as compared with fees of Shs 200 to Shs 450 in Government aided schools. Thus parents who have children in Harambee or private secondary schools are shouldering a much heavier burden than those who send their children to Government-aided secondary schools. Furthermore, these parents are not only paying more but their children are getting inferior quality education. To meet the financial pressure of fees, parents in the rural areas are under strong pressure to sell land or cattle or to divert funds from farm improvements to education. In other words, Harambee schools have diverted funds which would have been used for higher levels of present consumption or productive

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24. See Martin Godfrey and Cyrus Mutiso, "The Political Economy of Self-Help: Kenya's Harambee Institutes of Technology".

25. For an informed analysis of the meaning and practice of "Harambee", see Philip M. Mbithi, "Harambee Self Help the Kenyan Approach", The African Review, Vol.II, No.1, June 1972.

investment in agriculture to investment in an education, the value of which to the individual and society is in doubt. The rising rate of unemployment among secondary school leavers makes any investment in the type and quality of education provided in Harambee secondary schools an unwise and unprofitable venture. Unfortunately, the rising rate of unemployment among the educated tends to raise qualification requirements for jobs and consequently to lead to a rising obsession with academic qualifications. However, as at the primary level, structural differentiation among secondary schools is reflected in different achievement levels. This is shown in Table 9 which compares the results of students of aided and unaided secondary schools in the East African Certificate of Education examination which is taken at the end of Form IV.

TABLE 9. The Performance of Aided and Unaided Secondary School Students on the East African Certificate of Education Examination, 1969 & 1970

Category of E.A.C.E. results	1969		1970	
	Aided %	Unaided %	Aided %	Unaided %
Divisions I & II	37.0	11.1	32.6	8.9
Division III	26.3	17.7	30.9	20.7
E.A.C.E.	27.2	39.6	24.7	33.6
Fail	9.4	31.6	11.8	36.8
Total	99.9(12,659)	100.0(4,314)	100.0(14,449)	100.0(4,538)

Source: Kenya, Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1969 and 1970.

Table 9 shows that in 1969, while 37 per cent of the pupils in Government-aided schools obtained Division I and II certificates, only 11 per cent from unaided did as well and at the end of the scale 32 per cent in aided schools failed the examination altogether as compared with 9 per cent at the aided schools. This pattern persists in the 1970 results.

The importance of examination results is that they have a vital influence on an individual's opportunity for further education, training or employment. The students who perform most successfully in EACE are usually recruited for higher education and the next ablest are recruited for training in the public and private sectors. The remaining school leavers compete for the available employment opportunities. In addition to the inferior quality of most Harambee school education, a leaver from such a school faces further discrimination in the labour market even if his

examination results compare favourably with those of students from Government-maintained schools. The probability of being unemployed is higher for Harambee leavers, even when they have the same examination scores, and the likelihood of their remaining unemployed for a long time is still higher. If we divide school leavers according to whether they attended national schools, provincial catchment schools or Harambee schools, we find that unemployment rates are very different even when examination performance is kept constant. For example, in 1968, of the 175 School Certificate holders who remained unemployed at the end of their first year after leaving school, the vast majority were Harambee school leavers.[26]

E. The Policy Response to Disparities

The official response to inequality in Kenya has been a policy emphasizing economic growth and expanded opportunity. At the time of Independence the most visible disparities were racial in origin and the policy emphasis was summarized thus:

> When Africans gained control of the political apparatus of the country at Independence the overriding priority became that of reorganizing an economy and a society which had structured rewards according to race. The restructuring involved the Africanization of both the public and private sectors and the elimination of poverty and unemployment through the achievement of a rapid rate of economic growth.[27]

The corresponding motive of educational policy in the period of early Independence was succinctly stated by Sessional Paper Number 10, African Socialism:

> At Kenya's stage of development, education is much more an economic than a social service. It is our principal means for relieving the shortage of domestic skilled manpower and equalizing opportunities for all citizens.[28]

Ten years later the 1974-78 Development Plan shows that while race has been replaced on the policy agenda by a recognition of other dimensions of disparity and the need to deal with them directly, the main engine of

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26. Kabiru Kinyanjui, "Education, Training and Employment", in Court and Ghai, Education, Society and Development.

27. Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1966-1970, Nairobi Government Printer, p.7.

28. Republic of Kenya, Sessional Paper No.10, African Socialism, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1965.

response remains economic growth rather than distribution:

> In order to achieve the social objectives of the Plan, measures will be undertaken to minimize income differentials. Firstly, the better off members of the community will contribute proportionately more to Government revenue through taxation. All will continue to have the opportunity to contribute also through voluntary Harambee projects. Secondly, the focus of the last plan on development of rural areas, where incomes are lower than the national average, will continue. Thirdly, government's provision of education and health services will be accelerated. Finally, the present plan provides opportunities for everyone to participate actively in the economy and in so doing improve his standard of living. Such improvements are bound to be achieved more quickly by some than by others, however. Equal income for everyone is therefore not the object of this plan. Differences in skill, effort, and initiative need to be recognized and rewarded.[29]

Because the prevailing social philosophy permits and encourages sizeable differences in individual and, by implication, regional rewards the corresponding educational system must be part of a process which justifies and provides a basis for those differential rewards. Thus the main features of educational policy have been the expansion of educational opportunity coupled with some compensatory provision for severely under-privileged areas. Thirdly, there have been major efforts to streamline the procedures of opportunity allocation and to relate it to academic attainment.

The outstanding achievement of educational policy since Independence has, as we have shown, been the expansion of formal and especially secondary education. At first this was viewed as a way of meeting urgent manpower needs but the sheer magnitude and uncontrolled character of the self-help drive has made it increasingly difficult to justify in terms of pre-ordained manpower categories. At this point the policy justification began to emphasize less the manpower contribution and more the extent to which it reflects a philosophy of expanded opportunity. Educational expansion is encouraged and accommodated. Hardly a day goes by without a newspaper report of a senior public official exhorting parents to send their children to school as a way of enabling them to take advantage of the opportunities of Independence. As a result there has been a substantial expansion of educational opportunity. Although in the previous section we emphasized the differential opportunities for students from Harambee and other types

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29. Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1974-1978, Part I, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1974, p.3.

of school, the fact remains that these schools do provide access to the national job structure for a few, as well as an opportunity for others to reinforce and expand acquired levels of literacy and numeracy.

As part of the objective of expanded opportunity there has been an attempt to direct resources to areas neglected in the colonial pattern of development. As documented earlier, the number of aided secondary schools has increased in the past ten years in provinces which previously had low enrolment. The allocation of Form I places on a regional basis is a similar measure of regional equalization, as is the special provision of boarding facilities for children in pastoral areas. The most important measure of equalization has been the abolition of fees for the first four years of primary school, although complaints are frequently heard that much of the benefit has been lost in face of a corresponding increase in other types of financial obligations for uniforms, school buildings and so forth. Furthermore, the relationship between academic attainment and job access has been tightened and as opportunities become more scarce, the minimum educational requirement for each level of job has been raised. This emphasis on credentials has involved attempts to regulate and formalize informal sector training arrangements through an Apprenticeship Act.[30]

Because of their importance to educational and social policy, Kenya has devoted major efforts to improving the quality of content and efficiency of administration of its examinations. Two distinct purposes related to equity are involved in this work. The emphasis on administrative efficiency has a strong socio-political rationale. In a pluralistic society such as Kenya, which is characterized by disparities, the administration of a standard examination provides visible evidence against the chance of official discrimination. Ultimate disparities are more acceptable if it is believed that everyone has an equal chance to enter and advance in the school system, to be judged by objective criteria within it and an equal chance to enter employment outside it. As a result, immense care is taken to ensure the impartiality of the examination process. For example, the CPE is printed in Britain and is machine marked and highly elaborate security arrangements accompany its preparation and distribution. The recurring nightmare of Ministry of Education officials each year is that leakage or cheating might impair the aura of justice which is intended to pervade the content and administration of the examination.

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30. See Kenneth King, The African Artisan, London, Heinemann, 1977, p.87.

As well as affording a semblance of equal opportunity, examinations also offer a means for directly influencing opportunity in favour of underprivileged groups or areas. Kenya has given serious attention to improving the content of its examinations, especially the CPE, in terms of its efficiency, its reliability, its appropriateness and its equity.[31]

F. Issues in the Search for Greater Equality

The problems facing Kenya's attempt to expand educational opportunity stem from the fact that pre-existing inequalities in background and access benefitting groups and areas have developed a momentum of their own which is difficult to modify in the context of a highly selective education system monopolizing access to the highest rewards in society.

We have suggested that expansion of formal educational facilities has been a means of reducing past disparities and of preserving the impression of widening opportunity. Clearly, however, there is a limit to the extent to which Kenya can absorb the cost of continuing at the present rate of expansion. The Ministry of Education absorbs 33 per cent of the total national budget and a continuation of the present rate of increase in educational expenditures will harmfully pre-empt other forms of productive investment. The dilemma for Government policy is that the inevitable curtailment of expenditure without a reallocation will preserve the advantage of areas which already have educational facilities and be perceived as thwarting the aspirations of those in areas that don't and may tend to undermine the credibility of the strategy of equal opportunity on which educational policy is based.

The history of Kenya's attempts to redistribute opportunities suggests that once the financial ceiling is reached redistribution for regional equity will be a painful process. Improvements in the regional distribution of Government-aided schools have been overwhelmed by the operation of self-help provision. The wealthy and relatively influential areas have been able to maintain their advantage by the establishment of self-help Harambee schools. The potentially perverse impact of the Harambee movement on policies aimed at regional equalization was emphasized by the Ominde Commission in 1964:

> Central Government planning and uncontrolled community enterprise cannot exist side by side. Unless the

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31. See H.C.A. Somerset, "Who Goes to Secondary School? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in Secondary School Selection".

> Government are in a position to impose controls on the establishment of self-help schools planned progress towards equal opportunity will be frustrated by the uncoordinated decisions of individual communities or groups.[32]

It is now a matter of history that while the Government did act in 1974 to curb the expansion of Harambee secondary schools by limiting the conditions of its willingness to provide assistance it was too late to salvage a policy of centrally imposed parity. Since then much educational self-help has been concentrated on Harambee Institutes of Technology which, as Godfrey and Mutiso have shown, provide similar dangers of accentuating inequalities between regions.[33] The general phenomenon is one in which the wealthy and politically influential areas have been able to raise funds for self-help schools and exert political pressure to ensure Government take over of these schools once they are established. The self-help movement as a result has been a primary arena for regional and ethnic competition and has inhibited the planning process in general and progress towards reduced regional inequalities in particular. A study by Winans suggests that the pattern which has prevailed in Kenya for the past ten years may be changing so that although in national terms education remains the biggest single outlet for self-help activity, certain areas seem to be reaching a saturation point and trends are already apparent which suggest that the most rapid expansion of educational self-help may in the future be in areas of previous deprivation with consequent equity implications.[34] It is too early to assess the validity of this prediction.

In the meantime, plans for compensatory provision of aided facilities have been undermined by individual initiative beyond self-help activity. Thus in the Rift Valley, for example, because special facilities have not been accompanied by ethnic quotas they have served to intensify regional imbalance by providing additional opportunities for outsiders from areas which are already well endowed with educational facilities.[35] The ILO

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32. Government of Kenya, Kenya Education Commission Report, Part II, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1965, p.13.

33. Martin Godfrey and Cyrus Mutiso, "The Political Economy of Self-Help: The Kenya Harambee Institutes of Technology".

34. Edgar V. Winans and Angelique Haugerud, "Rural Self-Help in Kenya: The Harambee Movement", Human Organization, Vol.36, No.4, 1977.

35. See Alexander Gorham, "Developments in Primary Education in Kajiado District 1963-1975", Working Paper No.297, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1977, and also Kenneth King, "Primary Schools in Kenya: Some Critical Constraints on their Effectiveness", in Court and Ghai, Education, Society and Development.

Report proposal of a scheme or school quotas as a means of alleviating regional and ethnic inequalities of access has been explicitly rejected by the Kenya Government in its official response to the Report.[36]

1. The Difficulty of Redistributing Equality. While the wider distribution of access opportunities is a necessary first step in reducing regional imbalance it cannot compensate for a history of relative deprivation. To compensate it needs to be accompanied by a sustained effort to improve the quality of schools measured especially by the quality of teachers. Kenya, unlike Tanzania, has not been able or willing to allocate its best teachers to the most needy areas. In consequence, the regional distribution of professionally qualified teachers has mirrored the general pattern of disparity. The dilemma of quality is illustrated by the nucleus of high quality schools which catered for Europeans in the colonial period and have been left after Independence. Kenya has opted to preserve the quality rather than alter the structure of the schools and to replace race by merit mediated by income as the determinants of access. The effect of previou inherited s andard is inevitably to give a preferential advantage to those groups who were best able to mee the required standards and pay the fees.

2. The Limitations of Examination Reform. Given the likely continuation of disparities of educational provision by region, the credibility of a policy of equal opportunity depends upon the impartial use of examination criteria for allocating opportunities. Although there are almost certainly instances of undetected cheating and occasional cases of the blatant overriding of examination performance, by and large there can be little doubt about the primacy of examination performance in determining access to further educational opportunity. The extent to which examination performance determines selection from school to employment is harder to assess although we have some data to show that the correlation is high for the first job.[37] At the same time there is evidence to show that where examination performance for two individuals is similar less universalistic criteria become second order determinants of advancement, thereby accounting for the apparent paradox in which acceptance of examinations and widespread

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36. The proposal was one of the recommendations of the ILO Report, Employment, Incomes and Equality, Geneva, International Labour Office, 1972. The response is contained in Republic of Kenya, Sessional Paper No.10 of 1973, Employment, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1973.

37. Kabiru Kinyanjui, "Education, Training and Employment".

comment about nepotism exist side by side.[38] To the extent that examination-measured merit is being eroded by ascriptive criteria the credibility of educational policy as a tool for equalization is being undermined. It is of course extremely difficult to identify the reasons for individual advancement in all cases but even if the examination system is being administered in a fair and standard manner this says nothing about the impact on equity of its content.

After some early euphoria about the potential of examinations as devices for improving equity, the limitations and complexity of this approach have become apparent. For example, one of the early assumptions was that the main source of inequality in the critical CPE examination was that its content gave disproportionate advantage to urban students. The corresponding expectation was that by the insertion of a context familiar to rural students, along with the replacement of questions measuring memorization by those seeking to elicit reasoning, observation and understanding, this would have the effect of reducing the impact of socio-economic status which was felt to be at the heart of performance inequalities. Carefully constructed items of this type now form the main content of the CPE. It is dangerous to try and summarize conclusions of sophisticated and incomplete research into the impact of this examination over time in Kenya but some tentative conclusions of the work are relevant to our theme.[39] It is now clear that while, as mentioned earlier, certain types of question can serve to reduce differential advantage the more general effect is to increase the gap in collective performance between different parts of the country and hence to compound established advantage and regional disparity. The magnitude of difference is in some instances very sizeable. For example, there are some districts where the aggregate level of performance of every school in the district equals or exceeds the best school in another district. It is equally clear that the differential impact of the examination has less to do with the rural or urban location of schools than with their internal quality. Pupils at high quality rural schools reach much higher levels of performance than those at low quality urban schools and come close to the attainment of students at high quality urban schools without making

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38. Kenneth Prewitt, "Education and Social Equality in Kenya" in Court and Ghai, Education, Society and Development.

39. The work referred to here is that of H.C.A. Somerset which is reported in "Who Goes to Secondary School? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in Secondary School Selection" as well as in several unpublished papers.

allowance for the reinforcing impact of SES factors on the performance of pupils at the latter type of school.[40] Examinations requiring higher order intellectual skills may within limits be able to partially offset the advantages of socio-economic background but accentuate the advantage of school quality. There is both dilemma and opportunity in these data. The dilemma is the conclusion that the educationally beneficial type of examination--i.e. that demanding higher order types of intellectual skill--provides little scope for serving regional equity by counteracting school quality factors. The opportunity is implicit in the conclusion that school quality makes a difference to individual performance and the scope that this provides for diffusing opportunity.

G. The Problem of Regionalism

The first major review of the Kenya education system treated national integration as a major problem for the country and task for the education system. It argued that "No problem is more important to the future welfare of Kenya than the cultivation of a sense of belonging to a nation and desire to serve the nation",[41] and the list of nine objectives for Kenyan education is dominated by this theme: "Education must promote social equality and remove divisions of race, tribe and religion".[42] Since then, Development Plans and policy statements have reiterated this purpose. However, despite this apparent concern Kenya, unlike Tanzania, has made little attempt to deliberately organize school composition experience or curriculum for promoting a sense of nationalism or self-sacrifice in favour of regional equalization. Instead, the appeal has been to the ideals of opportunity and merit as values cutting across those of regional affiliation. As educational opportunities are not equally available and some selection methods are tending to reinforce initial patterns of regional advantage, a critical question is how effective policy is in superimposing the meritocratic ideal across regional variation. We do not have current data on this question but findings from an earlier study illustrate the problem.

The study aimed to assess the extent of the homogenizing impact of the national opportunity structure on student perceptions and in order

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40. H.C.A. Somerset, "Aptitude Tests, Socio-Economic Background and Secondary School Selection: The Possibilities and Limits of Change".

41. Government of Kenya, Kenya Education Commission Report, p.28.

42. Government of Kenya, Kenya Education Commission Report, p.25.

TABLE 10. Political Attitudes expressed by Kenyan Secondary School Students: Rank Ordered by Province

	N	Money should not go from Developed to Undeveloped Regions	Sees Government Doing Many Things for Family	Not Good When People Criticize Government
Provinces				
Central	(303)	63%	31%	34%
Rift Valley	(150)	51%	25%	33%
Eastern	(212)	44%	16%	26%
Coast	(112)	43%	20%	29%
Western	(128)	30%	15%	14%
Nyanza	(224)	43%	14%	14%

Source: Court and Prewitt, "Education and Citizenship Project", 1973.

to do this examined the extent to which a wide range of socio-political attitudes among Kenyan secondary students were subject to regional variation.[43] The study identified two distinct types of socio-political perception among students: expectations about likely future role in the national opportunity system which do not vary by region and a set of more directly political perceptions of Government and the allocation of resources which do. An example of the pattern of variation is presented in Table 10.

The explanation for this pattern of variation suggests that regional differences of political outlook derive from the actual distribution of resources. In this case the Province most benefitted by the discrepancy between resources on the one hand and need on the other is the Province most appreciative of Government and least tolerant of criticism. Understandably, it is also the Province preferring that development resources be retained by the more developed regions. In contrast, the provinces which are constantly sceptical of Government policy are clearly penalized by the existing distribution of social services including education.

If this interpretation has any merit its importance lies in the conclusion that an opportunity ethos is not a substitute for equality of distribution and without it produces regionalism. Although the data

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43. David Court and Kenneth Prewitt, "Nation versus Region in Kenya: A Note on Political Learning", British Journal of Political Science, Vol.4, No.1, 1973.

leading to this conclusion refer to the mid-sixties, impressionistic evidence suggests that they may still have currency. If so, the interesting question is the likelihood that awareness of regional inequality will develop into a radical consciousness. That this has not happened probably relates to the optimistic faith in the fulfilment of opportunity expectations which was possible in the first decade of Independence. However, as access to individual opportunity is curtailed, aggressive interest in regional resource allocation and equality of opportunity seems likely to increase.

III TANZANIA: THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL REDISTRIBUTION

A. The Historical Problem and Official Response in Tanzania

In Tanzania, as in Kenya, educational provision grew in a very uneven way with inequalities of regional and ethnic access arising from different patterns of localized demand generated during the colonial period. Because the circumstances of economic development and mission settlement made some areas more interested in western education and more able to provide it than others, substantial differences in ethnic access appeared. People who benefitted most notably were those in the Kilimanjaro, Pare and Bukoba areas where they were able to take advantage among other things of mission competition.[44] The broad pattern of disparity in primary enrolment in 1948 can be seen in the left hand column of Table 11. The colonial government attempted to equalize opportunities by setting enrolment targets for all provinces and trying to fulfil them by means of special assistance to the under-represented provinces but, as Morrison has shown, the pattern of relative disparity was not greatly altered in the first five years of the plan and because of this the colonial government ceased publishing provincial figures.[45] Charting the precise pattern of disparities across time into the Independence period is complicated by the fact that there was an expansion of the number of principal administrative units from eight to seventeen (later twenty) and a change of name from Province to Region but, as Table 12 reveals, the broad pattern of disparity in access to education

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44. See for example Zabdiel E. Lawuo, "Education and Change in a Rural Community: A Study of Colonial Education and Local Response Among the Chagga of Kilimanjaro between 1920 and 1945", University of Dar es Salaam, Unpublished PhD dissertation, 1977.

45. David R. Morrison, Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case, Nairobi, Heinemann, 1976, p.55.

TABLE 10. Political Attitudes expressed by Kenyan Secondary School Students: Rank Ordered by Province

	N	Money should not go from Developed to Undeveloped Regions	Sees Government Doing Many Things for Family	Not Good When People Criticize Government
Provinces				
Central	(303)	63%	31%	34%
Rift Valley	(150)	51%	25%	33%
Eastern	(212)	44%	16%	26%
Coast	(112)	43%	20%	29%
Western	(128)	30%	15%	14%
Nyanza	(224)	43%	14%	14%

Source: Court and Prewitt, "Education and Citizenship Project", 1973.

to do this examined the extent to which a wide range of socio-political attitudes among Kenyan secondary students were subject to regional variation.[43] The study identified two distinct types of socio-political perception among students: expectations about likely future role in the national opportunity system which do not vary by region and a set of more directly political perceptions of Government and the allocation of resources which do. An example of the pattern of variation is presented in Table 10.

The explanation for this pattern of variation suggests that regional differences of political outlook derive from the actual distribution of resources. In this case the Province most benefitted by the discrepancy between resources on the one hand and need on the other is the Province most appreciative of Government and least tolerant of criticism. Understandably, it is also the Province preferring that development resources be retained by the more developed regions. In contrast, the provinces which are constantly sceptical of Government policy are clearly penalized by the existing distribution of social services including education.

If this interpretation has any merit its importance lies in the conclusion that an opportunity ethos is not a substitute for equality of distribution and without it produces regionalism. Although the data

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43. David Court and Kenneth Prewitt, "Nation versus Region in Kenya: A Note on Political Learning", British Journal of Political Science, Vol.4, No.1, 1973.

leading to this conclusion refer to the mid-sixties, impressionistic evidence suggests that they may still have currency. If so, the interesting question is the likelihood that awareness of regional inequality will develop into a radical consciousness. That this has not happened probably relates to the optimistic faith in the fulfilment of opportunity expectations which was possible in the first decade of Independence. However, as access to individual opportunity is curtailed, aggressive interest in regional resource allocation and equality of opportunity seems likely to increase.

III TANZANIA: THE POLITICS OF EDUCATIONAL REDISTRIBUTION

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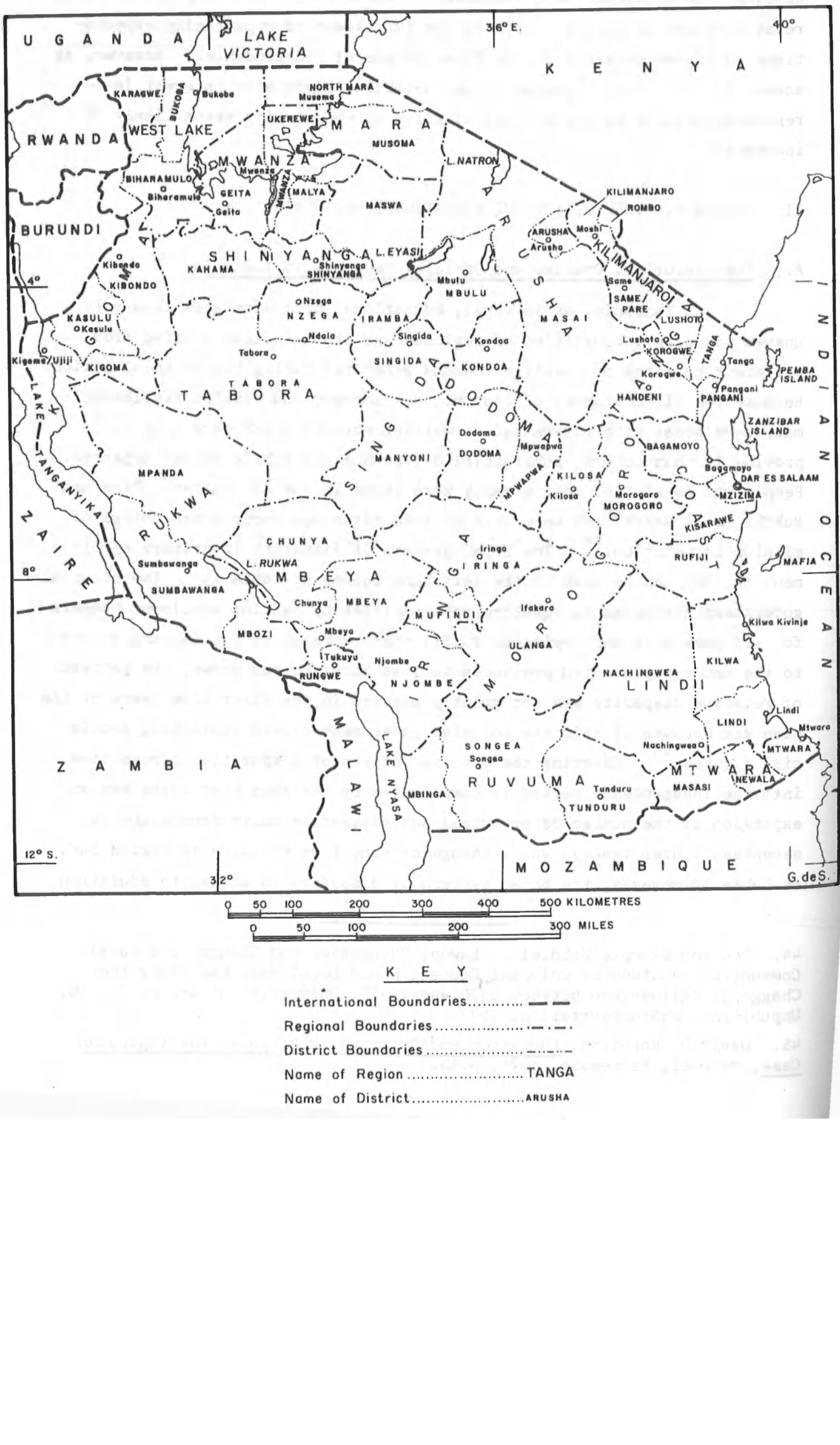
45. David R. Morrison, Education and Politics in Africa: The Tanzanian Case, Nairobi, Heinemann, 1976, p.55.

ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS
OF
TANZANIA



K E Y

International Boundaries.....

Regional Boundaries.....

District Boundaries.....

Name of Region ..... TANGA

Name of District ..... ARUSHA

TABLE 11. Enrolment in Standards I-VI by Province, 1948

Province	Rank by Population according to the 1948 Census	Enrolment	School-age Population	Percentage of School-age Population Enrolled
Tanga	8	25,711	68,286	38
Southern	4	24,068	110,585	22
Eastern	3	21,699	112,450	19
Northern	7	19,066	72,365	26
Lake	1	18,818	228,252	8
Southern Highlands	5	13,534	105,610	13
Western	2	10,668	117,100	9
Central	6	8,077	101,917	8

Source: Morrison, Education and Politics in Africa, p.54.

remained into the 1970s. Furthermore, as shown in Table 13, it was reflected and reinforced in the pattern of post-primary opportunities which had quickly become the object of intense demand.

Historically, the regional distribution of secondary schools was as uneven as that of primary schools and, with the exception of three territorial schools, access was relatively easier for those living near to the institutions than to their more scattered compatriots.[46] Since Independence, all Government secondary schools have been treated as national schools which means that, irrespective of where the school is located, students can be allocated to them from anywhere in the country. This in itself is a measure of national integration and contrasts with the more variegated pattern of High Cost, National Catchment and Provincial secondary schools which exists in Kenya. Furthermore, access to a secondary place is determined not by the number of secondary schools in one's region but by a quota system under which the total number of Government secondary school places available in the country are apportioned regionally in relation to the number of primary school leavers in each region. Thus by 1976 as Table 13 shows access to Form I places in Government secondary schools as a proportion of primary school leavers was very close in all regions to the national average of 6.27 per cent, with the exception of Dar es Salaam region where the figure rose to 17 per cent.

46. Morrison, Education and Politics in Africa, p.176.

TABLE 12. Enrolment in Government Primary Schools 1965 and 1975 as a Percentage of the 1969 Estimated School-age Population

Region	Estimated School-Age Population 1969*	Enrolment 1965	Enrolment 1975	% Enrolled 1965	% Enrolled 1975
1. Kilimanjaro	147,203	78,445	125,749	60	85
2. West Lake	126,257	52,941	96,845	49	77
3. Coast	126,887	42,847	49,298	42	39
4. Dar es Salaam			48,495		
5. Ruvuma	79,798	28,119	70,703	45	88
6. Mara	111,452	35,748	81,332	35	73
7. Singida	86,248	30,353	68,408	43	79
8. Tanga	151,685	56,360	105,911	46	70
9. Morogoro	130,367	43,718	78,299	39	60
10. Tabora	103,519	28,118	66,133	34	64
11. Mtwara	191,069	55,263	90,784	36	47
12. Dodoma	146,657	36,164	94,570	31	64
13. Arusha	123,999	31,040	69,226	31	56
14. Mwanza	212,269	57,529	95,564	34	45
15. Mbeya	210,279	48,321	88,089	27	42
16. Kigoma	93,806	22,342	64,920	29	69
17. Iringa	159,335	31,755	76,674	24	48
18. Shinyanga	187,356	31,497	72,986	23	39
19. Lindi			53,608		
20. Rukwa			35,359		
TOTAL	2,388,168	710,200	1,532,953	36	59

* The seven-year age-group 5 to 11 inclusive in 1967 closely approximates the age-group 7 to 13 in 1969. The 1965 percentages are based on an eight-year age-group as the primary school programme then was of eight rather than seven years' duration.

Source: Ministry of National Education, Educational Statistics 1961-1975.

TABLE 15. Vocational Education Opportunities by Regions

Regions in order of Highest Total Access Ration	Population	Training Opport. High med. Level[1]	Access Ratio by Population	Nat. Pos.	Training Opport. all Levels[2]	Total Access Ratio by Population
Coast	582,000	293	1:1,986	3	713	1:816
Singida	513,000	224	1:2,290	6	584	1:878
Dar es Salaam	517,000	295	1:1,753	1	576	1:898
West Lake	774,000	430	1:1,800	2	850	1:911
Ruvuma	491,000	156	1:1,986	4	516	1:952
Dodoma	853,000	328	1:2,600	8	858	1:994
Kilimanjaro	850,000	400	1:2,125	5	810	1:1,049
Tanga	955,000	321	1:2,975	9	900	1:1,061
Rukwa	360,000	86	1:4,186	11	326	1:1,104
Mbeya	940,500	222	1:4,236	12	822	1:1,144
Morogoro	804,000	243	1:4,720	13	693	1:1,160
Iringa	886,000	356	1:2,488	7	746	1:1,188
Lindi	483,000	0	1:00	19	360	1:1,342
Mara	719,000	174	1:4,132	10	534	1:1,346
Kigoma	534,000	0	1:00	20	360	1:1,483
Mtwara	878,000	186	1:4,720	14	546	1:1,608
Arusha	801,000	60	1:13,350	16	480	1:1,669
Mwanza	1,308,000	210	1:6,228	15	780	1:1,677
Tabora	592,000	0	1:00	18	335	1:1,767
Shinyanga	1,106,000	22	1:50,272	17	472	1:2,343
TOTAL	14,946,500	4,006	1:3,731	-	12,261	1:1,219

1. High and Medium levels: CHURCH, TAPA schools.

2. All levels: including SIDO, training opportunities and post primary craft centres.

Source: Christian Council of Tanzania, Rural Vocational Education in Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, 1977.

TABLE 16. The Regional Origins of Male Students at the University of Dar es Salaam

Region	Sampled Students Who Grew up in Region	Per Cent Sampled Students	% of Tanzania's Males aged 10 - 24	% of Tan's Males with 5-14 years of School	% of Region Which is Christian
Arusha	14	5.9	5.4	4.6	19.5
Coast	5.5	2.3	6.3	12.2	9.8
Dodoma	4.5	1.9	5.8	3.8	22.6
Iringa	12	5.1	6.1	3.6	52.8
Kigoma	3	1.3	3.4	2.0	23.0
Kilimanjaro	45.5	20.0	5.5	10.0	64.2
Mara	17.5	7.4	4.8	5.2	43.8
Mbeya	18.5	7.8	8.7	6.3	42.0
Morogoro	4	1.7	5.7	5.5	44.5
Mtwara	10	4.2	8.1	5.2	15.7
Mwanza	15	6.3	9.0	8.2	22.6
Ruvuma	10.5	4.4	3.0	2.5	55.4
Shinyanga	9.5	4.0	7.3	4.0	10.1
Singida	11	4.6	3.6	4.1	18.4
Tabora	6	2.5	4.3	3.9	23.0
Tanga	11	4.6	5.9	7.9	24.5
West Lake	33.5	14.1	4.6	6.4	61.1
Zanzibar	4	1.7	2.3	4.3	2.9
TOTAL	237	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Source: Columns 1 and 2 are based on interviews with a random sample of 345 students on the main campus of the University in December 1974. The student figures have been calculated on the basis of weights in the sample.

Columns 3, 4 and 5 are derived from the published reports of the Tanzanian Census of 1967.

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Two related factors explain the higher quota for Dar es Salaam region. In the first place, it appears to be a concession to the concentration in the capital and its vicinity of civil servants from other regions whose children increase the competitiveness of secondary school entry. The rigid application of the national quota in Dar es Salaam would almost certainly have the effect of penalizing the children of these temporary residents by reducing the probability of gaining entry which they would have had if they were living at home. A second closely related factor is that the availability of day school places at the secondary level makes relatively easy an expansion of the quota which because of accommodation problems cannot be open to those from other regions.

The achievement of relative regional parity in relation to Standard seven output, summarized in Table 13 is impressive, but the magnitude of the historical problem which has to be overcome is illustrated in Table 14 which treats places per hundred thousand of the population, rather than primary output, as the reference point. Because historically the regional quota has been determined by Standard seven output regions with an established tradition of primary education have gained a comparative advantage in access to secondary schools which, as the Table shows, they have been able to sustain across a ten-year time span. However, once universal primary education becomes a reality, so too should regional equality of access to Government secondary schools measured not only as a proportion of primary school output but also in relation to the primary school population.

It is interesting to note from Table 15 that historical disparities in access to opportunities in vocational education have also persisted to the present time. Highly developed regions have a concentration of training facilities and especially those at the high and medium levels. Thus, as can be seen from the Table, the opportunity-access ratio for the high and medium levels is 28 times as great for Dar es Salaam as it is for Shinyanga region.

In view of the general historical picture presented, it comes as little surprise to find that the disparity pattern is manifested in the regional composition of the University of Dar es Salaam. Indeed the "over-representation" of some regions suggests that individuals from those areas have been able to gain access to secondary schools in numbers exceeding the official quota from their region by means of attendance at day or more likely private schools. Some of them re-surface in Form V, which is not governed by a regional quota and thereby swell the pool of those from their

region who are seeking university entry, which in the period referred to by Table 16 was determined by academic performance.

What the university figures also make clear is the point that disparity is not simply a matter of enrolment but also of performance. Tanzania does not publish the kind of detailed analyses of individual examination performance which are available in Kenya. Yet historical and aggregate data can serve to illustrate the point. Morrison quotes a situation in 1966 where in one school in Kilimanjaro no student who entered Form I had less than 214 marks out of 300 on the national primary school examination in contrast to another school in a different region where pupils entered with marks as low as 130.[47] More recently, the National Examination Council Analyses of Examination Results shows how students from schools in regions with a long tradition of formal education consistently out-perform their fellows from elsewhere in the national Form IV examinations.[48]

In touching on these disparities, our aim here is mainly to illustrate the similarities of the problem to that which has been documented in some detail for Kenya. The special interest of Tanzania lies in the sustained emphasis which has been given to reducing these disparities through educational policy.

This concern was not evident in the early years of Independence. The Annual Report of the Ministry of Education stated quite baldly in 1966 that "In view of the shortage of trained manpower, the main accent during the early years of independence had to be on expanding rather than on reconstructing the education system".[49] In the Five Year Development Plan inaugurated in 1964 interest in regional parity was subordinated to an emphasis on the need for consolidation and the responsibility of local authorities for further development which inevitably favoured the richer areas. The Government at this time was generally unwilling to restrain unplanned development springing from local initiative.

However, in 1967, Education for Self-Reliance laid down the principles which have governed educational policy towards individual and

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47. David R. Morrison, Education and Politics in Africa, p.179.

48. The National Examinations Council of Tanzania, Examinations Statistics and Evaluation Report for 1975, Dar es Salaam, 1976.

49. The United Republic of Tanzania, Annual Report of the Ministry of Education 1966. Dar es Salaam, Government Printer, 1967, p.12.

regional disparities ever since.[50] The document, although ten years old, retains a freshness and familiarity that needs no reiteration here. Because policy integrates social and educational purposes it is difficult to separate out mechanisms which relate exclusively to the reduction of disparities. At a general level the whole policy is directed towards this end. However, for purposes of analysis it is useful to select several dimensions or themes which most clearly illustrate Tanzania's equalization drive. Four such themes are among those re-affirmed in the Musoma Resolutions and reinforced in policy since.[51]

The first purpose is the removal of disparities in access to basic knowledge and literacy through the creation of a system geared to mass needs rather than the production of a small highly educated elite. In practice, this has meant commitment to broadening the base of educational provision to include all adults and all children across all regions. A second closely related purpose is the aim of drawing schools into a relationship of close inter-dependence with their surrounding village or ward community so that each looks upon the other as a resource and means of support. The intention is then that the curriculum is geared to the provision of knowledge and skills which are related to village needs and schooling is viewed as an end in itself rather than a preparation for further academic training elsewhere. The rationale here is that if schools can relate to village needs and opportunities which are real rather than the national job opportunity structure which for most is unattainable, this will counter regionalism based on a sense of competition for national opportunities. A third emphasis is upon socialization for the purpose of countering tendencies towards regional or parochial sentiments or loyalties. This involves not simply political education to inculcate the common attributes of Tanzanian citizenship but includes the emphasis upon practical skills involved in the vocationalization programme in secondary schools and the related emphasis on production which aims both at ensuring student work experience and helping the schools to meet some of their costs. A fourth aim has been that of altering the terms of access to limited opportunities for further education and training so as to downgrade examinations and include a broader range of criteria including qualities of character and commitment to work.

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50. Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance.
51. "Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance".

B. Towards an Integrated System

The most significant aspect of Tanzania's response to regional disparities is the drive to eradicate illiteracy through adult education and universal primary education. The seriousness of commitment is indicated in the allocation of resources to this goal. The proportion of total Government expenditure allocated to adult education doubled between 1971 and 1974 and the budgetary allocation for the recurrent expenditure on primary education in 1978 is triple the amount set aside for secondary education.[52]

1. Adult Education. Adult education in Tanzania is not simply a token activity or a low status adjunct of the university enterprise. It is rather a massive attempt to eradicate adult illiteracy and thereby reduce regional disparities in access to basic knowledge. It is a matter of major national priority and practical attention. The President has been personally involved in the effort and the present Minister of National Education has spent his working life in adult education. The mass adult education programme is in its eighth year of operation. This year 4 million adults took the annual literacy test, a number far exceeding the entire student population of the primary schools. Over the past 8 years 97,729 teachers have been trained and 40 million copies of adult texts have been produced. All primary schools devote time on three afternoons a week--usually Monday, Wednesday and Friday--to teaching adults, using bright Standard seven pupils and teachers either at the school or, especially in Muslim areas, going out to meet adult learners at agreed locations. A sequence of mass campaigns have given purpose and direction to the process of illiteracy eradication. Initiated and orchestrated by the Institute of Adult Studies they have involved the distribution of reading material, the training of discussion leaders and the use of a coordinated range of approaches based on radio study groups, correspondence units and the mass media. Each campaign has tried to communicate and build upon a particular practical theme. Among the best known have been: Wakati wa Furaha, stressing the importance of political involvement and planning; Mtu ni Afya, which dramatized some basic forms of preventive medicine; and Chacula ni

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52. Republic of Tanzania, Budget Speech by the Minister of National Education 1977, Dar es Salaam, Ministry of National Education, 1977.

Uhai, which emphasized the life and death importance of food production.[53]

Although illiteracy has not yet been completely removed, each year since the mass effort began has seen a further inroad into it and the resolve remains firm to ensure both that remaining illiterates are encouraged to attend classes and that special provision is made to enable new literates to advance and apply their knowledge. A second phase of the mass effort aims to pay special attention to the establishment of an infrastructure and incentive through which literacy can be retained, intensified and applied. One element of this is the publication of a new book for advanced classes and a range of course texts covering specialized subjects. A second element of incentive and retention is the expansion of the national library service to rural areas. In 1977, 157,000 new texts were contributed, along with equipment, to a value of Shillings 3 million and courses for librarians were held in every region. A further development has been the inauguration of a rural press which currently operates in one zone of the country with a monthly large print newspaper "Elimu Haina Mwisho" and which in the coming year will be supplemented by five similar presses in different parts of the country. Thirdly, 47 Folk Development Colleges have been established and the ultimate intention is to have one in each District--for the purpose of providing a means whereby new literates can use their literacy for learning specialized skills in agriculture, construction, mechanics, accountancy and so forth in short-term and sandwich courses for which they are selected by their village.[54]

It is difficult to measure the precise impact of adult education beyond the limited information conveyed by figures on literacy tests. From the standpoint of regional equity there is no appreciable difference in reported literacy test success rates across different regions of the country. One short-term difficulty has been the loss of teachers caused by the fact that voluntary adult education tutors have been the main source of

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53. Several of those involved in the development of adult education have written about the origins, context and achievements of the various campaigns. See for example, Paul J. Mhaiki et al, The 1971 Literacy Campaign and Paul J. Mhaiki and Budd L. Hall, The Integration of Adult Education in Tanzania, Dar es Salaam Institute of Adult Education, 1972; Budd L. Hall, Adult Education and the Development of Socialism in Tanzania, Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau, 1975; Emmanuel Mbakile, "The National Literacy Campaign in Tanzania", mimeo, 1975; Yusuf Kassam, The Adult Education Revolution in Tanzania, Nairobi, forthcoming, 1978.

54. For the origins and rationale of these institutions see Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania, Dar es Salaam, Ministry of National Education, 1978.

recruitment for additional primary teachers to meet the need associated with the drive to universal primary education. A more long-term challenge is presented by the critical task of building an infrastructure for encouraging and expanding the use of literacy. The library movement in some areas is still confined to towns and where it has gone beyond it tends to be notable for its locked cupboards and the pristine quality of its volumes. Expansion into villages is hindered by an absolute shortage of books, maintenance problems with equipment and a transport problem which in certain areas is so acute that the Ministry of Education this year had to complain about the extent to which mobile cinema vans had been appropriated for use as buses![55] Despite these deficiencies and some official concern about the problem of retention, it is clear that adult education has at the very least been able to nationalize access to written information and thereby to reduce one of the most fundamental inequalities in the country. It is still too early to quantify the extent to which, through heightened appreciation of the need for social change and receptivity to new ideas and techniques, this has been turned into regional development. However, by mobilizing vast numbers of citizens in a system of national learning adult education has almost certainly expanded self-awareness, self-confidence and practical understanding. This has laid the foundation for the kind of meaningful and dispersed participation in village government which is envisaged in the five committee structure through which most villages operate and for the increased productivity on which their improved well-being depends.

2. Universal Primary Education. Tanzania's single boldest move against regional disparities was announced on November 2, 1974:

> It is hereby resolved that within a period of three years from now, that is by November 1977, arrangements must be completed which will enable every child of school age to obtain a place in primary school.[56]

Much attention to this aim has concentrated on the sheer magnitude of the task and the mechanics involved in doubling national primary school enrolment within three years. More important perhaps are the egalitarian dimensions of this intention. Given the regional disparities of access to primary school existing in 1974, the UPE programme is a plan for vast

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55. Republic of Tanzania, 1977 Budget Speech by the Minister of National Education, p.20.

56. "Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance", p.6.

equalization designed to bring previously disadvantaged areas and groups closer to a position of parity with more developed areas. In conjunction with regional quotas on access to further education it contributes a major step towards equality of opportunity at least in quantitative terms. It is important to note that reducing disparities through a system of mass child education was made possible by the achievement of the massive villagization programme which occurred in Tanzania between 1974 and 1976 and brought together all scattered homesteads into more concentrated settlements.[57]

The opening of the 1977-78 school year revealed that in numerical terms enrolment for the nation as a whole approximates 90 per cent of the eligible age group and intended target.[58] This impressive achievement has been made possible by careful planning especially in the identification of empty places, a crash programme of intensive in-service teacher training, which also utilized correspondence techniques learned in the literacy campaigns and includes a built-in process of evaluation, the mobilization of local resources in classroom building, central resources in the provision of equipment and substantial external assistance. Critics have been quick to point out some of the problems of establishing UPE: the problem of finding recurrent finance without pre-empting it from other types of education, the danger of rural-urban migration in light of all the evidence on the effect of education, the problem of surplus teachers once the initial pupil bulge begins to decline around 1985, the inevitable deterioration of quality attendant upon the mass influx and so forth. From an administrative standpoint these are sizeable problems. Yet given the political commitment to proceed with UPE these are in the last resort subsidiary problems of implementation.

From the standpoint of equalizing access to education, the more fundamental challenge for UPE is that of developing a structure of motivation

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57. For a general description of the process of villagization see Goran Hyden, "Ujamaa, Villagization and Rural Development in Tanzania", Overseas Development Institute Review, No.1, 1975, and Adolpho Mascarenhas, "After Villagization, What?", mimeo, Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning, University of Dar es Salaam, 1977.

58. Sunday News, September 18, 1977.

and a form of termination which can ease or remove the transition from school to work.[59]

The majority of the additional students recruited under the UPE provision are from groups and areas--e.g. girls and pastoralists--which have missed out on education in the past. The critical issue is whether primary education can be organized in such a way that it convinces them of the relevance of staying for seven years. The main inducement to attendance in the past has been an optimism--however misplaced--that successful examination performance at the end of primary school would bring access to further education and hence to personally profitable opportunity. This form of motivation persists as the secondary selection examination continues to have a pervasive influence on the activities and pre-occupations of almost all primary schools. Intensive special preparation involving week-end, holiday and evening classes remains a ubiquitous feature of Standard seven experience in Tanzania, as in Kenya, including the experimental "MTUU" schools where the notion of terminal preparation and integration with the village has been given most systematic attention. Furthermore, the experience of those regions which have approximated universal primary education for several years shows that the absence of new purpose through structural change in primary education, combined with reduced probabilities of access to places in Government secondary schools, has the effect of expanding demand for new forms of academic continuation as the purpose of primary education. At the same time, even prior to the current influx of students, many primary schools especially those with a consistent record of inability to sponsor access to secondary school have had problems of retaining students. The effect of UPE will of course be to drastically reduce the probability of an individual proceeding to secondary school.

In face of this historical legacy the Government and Party recognize that some new kind of purpose, other than the inducement of examination success, is critical if the new recruits and some of the old are to feel the relevance of staying in school and if the resurgence of long standing disparities is to be prevented.[60] Such a purpose has to be based on a meaningful connection between school and community which provides

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59. This and related issues are the subject of collaborative work with Kenneth King and are considered in some detail in a paper entitled, "Education and Work in the Rural Community", Paris, IIEP, 1978.

60. The Minister of National Education gave it particular attention in a long interview reported under the heading, "Every Child Must Go In", [illegible] October 23, 1977.

recognizable opportunities for productive labour and a form of transition which is perceived as equitable. The introduction of legislation providing fines for recalcitrant parents who do not send their children to school suggests that the new purpose is still being sought,[61] but the more positive expectations of Government policy are also evident. In the first place, the consolidation of villagization itself is likely to make school attendance a normal rather than a unique pastime and hence to invoke the power of social pressure on behalf of school attendance. Secondly, the intended expansion of village production is expected to open up new opportunities in agriculture and small scale industry which is being stressed in the Third Development Plan. At the same time, a third factor of Government policy is the expectation that, as in the case of adults, political consciousness will provide a motivation towards self development and an inspiration to seek local opportunities and to view them as a satisfying follow-up to primary school.

Whatever the success of primary schools in developing new kinds of relationship with their surrounding community which serve to give new meaning to education, the form of termination and transition to subsequent work is critical for the goal of regional parity. While adult education can accommodate everyone everywhere within its concept of lifelong learning, the end of primary education is sudden and differential treatment immediate. Of the 156,000 who finished primary school in 1976, 9,000 went to Government secondary schools, a further 5,000 to private secondary schools, 4,000 to vocational schools and a handful to various forms of employment, leaving approximately 85 per cent in home agriculture. Clearly allocation to specialized roles has to occur at some point and, as mainland Tanzania cannot yet like Zanzibar afford three years of secondary schooling for all, this has to occur after primary school. In a later section we examine Tanzania's attempt to find a means of allocating limited opportunities for further training in a manner that preserves the logic of common treatment which underlies the drive towards mass adult and child education and is the conceptual basis of the official response to regional disparities. The desired sense of common treatment depends upon the effectiveness of political education and school-community integration in inspiring an altruism and community consciousness which can actually attract students to the prospect and opportunities of village work.

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61. For example, 13 parents in Utete District of Rufiji were fined for not sending their children to school. See "Parents fined for ignoring education", Daily News, July 16, 1977.

C. The Merger of School and Community

The achievement of villagization has made possible universal primary education by putting pupils in physical reach of schools and thereby removing a basic source of regional disparity. The vast distances which many students previously had to walk to school are no longer an obstacle. At the same time, villagization has made it possible in principle to organize schools not simply in terms of conventional school, staff, student and even Ministry administrative requirements, but also in terms of the actual necessities of village development to the point where the school becomes an extension of village life and production. Thus, accompanying the numerical goal of universal access to primary education is the aim of producing a content and curriculum which has practical relevance. The frequently stated objective is that of education as a "complete preparation for life" and the anticipation of this through maximum integration of the life of the school with its surrounding community. The broad purpose is to counter, or complement, a concept of equity based on regional competition for the distribution of national resources, by rooting the school in the local community and making its needs and opportunities the reference point for student aspirations.

An examination of the content of primary school activities gives evidence of substantial movement towards community relevance. The curriculum in all subjects has as its starting point a Tanzanian framework which is meaningful and familiar to pupils. The latest step in this direction has occurred in the "MTUU" schools where the individual subjects, history and geography, have been merged in a single composite subject.[62] The most fundamental step towards a local rather than external frame of reference is the fact that in all but three primary schools in the country Swahili rather than English is the medium of instruction. Further adaption of the school to local conditions has occurred in a number of ways. At a structural level the integration of decision-making between school and community is furthered through reciprocal representation in the Education Committee of the village and the Education for Self-Reliance Committee of the school. Beyond this, examples of cooperation in practical projects are widespread especially in such tasks as school building, and cultivation, and classroom timetables are adjusted in relation to the labour needs of the

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62. Achievements are assessed in the Annual Report of the MTUU Project, R.Z. Mwajombe, Progress Report for 1976, Dar es Salaam, Ministry of National Education, 1977.

agricultural seasons. We have already mentioned the role of primary schools in adult teaching. The reverse process whereby schools draw on teaching expertise from the locality is in most schools confined to a timetable period in which villagers provide instruction in traditional dances and crafts, but in a few it has got beyond this kind of token integration to a wider incorporation of available talent especially in agriculture and carpentry instruction.

These measures are part of an attempt to defuse the sense of regional competition for national opportunities by ensuring a more localized frame of reference. However, because the curriculum is a uniform national one and selection for post-primary training and the allocation of teachers are decided centrally, there are corresponding limits to the exercise of village initiative and participation which are implicit in the Village Act.[63] There are examples of schools and villages which have applied the logic of school-community integration and taken collective decisions about which of their primary leavers should be permitted to take up centrally offered opportunities for teacher or farmer training and have imposed a bonding arrangement which required the individuals to work for the village on return. Perhaps the best examples of this principle are Folk Development Colleges and Village Management Training Centres which aim to provide training in skills designated by the village for individuals selected by the village. Such examples although still rare at the primary level do seem to be implementing the idea of a merger and to be pointing to the likely future direction of educational policy. Yet at present such initiatives seem to occur despite rather than because of the existing planning framework. As long as access to the national opportunity system is determined by an examination in the primary school and communities have little say over curriculum and placement there will be a corresponding limitation of the potential for practical and psychological integration between school and village.

Attitudes towards the teaching of English provide a striking example of the dilemma facing policy makers who want to foster school-community integration without falling into a self-defeating isolationism. Five periods a week are devoted to the teaching of English in the top four classes of primary school in Tanzania although its immediate practical relevance is confined to the handful who will proceed to secondary school

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63. The Villages and Ujamaa Villages (Registration, Designation and Administration) Act, 1975, Dar es Salaam, The United Republic of Tanzania.

where English is the medium of instruction. Few countries in the world require mastery of a third language at the primary school level. Yet few if any teachers or Ministry officials favour the abolition of English as a subject in primary school. Instead, the trend is in the opposite direction. Concerned about deteriorating quality of English, the Ministry of National Education has set aside one of its National Colleges of Education for exclusive specialization in this subject under the initial direction of teachers seconded from Britain. The dilemma of language policy is a most difficult one and in Tanzania has received considerable attention.[64] To abolish English at the primary level is to deprive the majority of Tanzanians of a "window on the world" and access to an inestimable store of knowledge and ideas. To retain it is to impose a heavy language learning burden on young students and to run the risk that English and the culture it embodies will foster an outside perspective and frame of reference inimical to the priority goal of school-village integration. Under present policy the advantages of English for all are perceived to outweigh the risks of its retention.

D. Political Education

While educational policy has attempted to submerge regional consciousness in a sub-regional frame of reference it has simultaneously tried to foster among students a sense of cross-regional and national identity. One of the most sustained aspects of educational policy in Tanzania has been the attempt to use schools to raise political consciousness and to inculcate understanding of the conditions of Tanzania's underdevelopment, a sense of national pride and an adherence to those attributes and qualities of behaviour which are seen as the defining characteristics of Tanzanian citizenship. These qualities go far beyond the usual patriotic virtues and minimum level of allegiance to national institutions, and involve a more encompassing relationship of the individual to his nation, centering on an appreciation of the dignity of labour, a belief in the virtue of cooperative forms of labour and production and willingness to yield self interest for the collective cause of national development. It is hoped that through attempts to develop such qualities students can be linked to the rest of the

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64. See for example, B. Katigula, "The Teaching and Learning of English in Tanzanian Primary Schools", M.A. thesis, University of Dar es Salaam, 1976 and Martha Mvungi, "Language Policy in Education: An Historical View", Papers in Education and Development, University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, No.1, 1975.

population in a sense of common brotherhood denoted now by the title "ndugu"[65] which overrides any regional allegiance or collective sense of relative deprivation.

There is heavy reliance on the curriculum and the content of school experience for the achievement of these goals. Political education is a curriculum subject at both primary and secondary levels and is included in the national examinations. At the same time regular paramilitary drills are intended to help instil a sense of collective discipline and the Party Youth League exists in most schools to provide vanguard leadership.

Reinforcing political education have been efforts to foster cultural nationalism. The most important contribution here has been the intensified use of Swahili. Swahili has not simply been used as a medium of instruction but has been developed itself for the purpose of conveying certain political concepts which are central to the task of socialist education.

Belief in the importance of productive work and good work habits are now enshrined in the policy of Elimu ni Kazi. Following the Party call that productive work be made an integral part of all education and training, the Ministry of National Education formed a special Department of School Production with responsibility for advising schools on project planning and set aside grant funds of Shs 1,864,508 ($227,379) which supported during 1976 promising projects at 53 out of 83 secondary schools and 12 out of the 32 National Teachers Colleges. Among projects receiving support were ones in poultry farming, animal husbandry, tailoring, brickmaking, soapmaking and leather work. Under the timetable rubric of "Education for Self-Reliance" all schools now involve their students in regular work projects with agriculture, especially maize production, being the most common form of work. While "Education for Self-Reliance work is by and large extra-curricular, the diversification programme in secondary schools has substantially altered the distribution of student classroom time between academic and practical work.[66] Under this programme all Government secondary schools specialize in one or more of four possible subjects:

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65. The term literally means "brother", but it is used as a form of address to indicate a sense of solidarity with a connotation of "comrade" or "one of us".

66. A summary of the rationale for this move and progress towards it is contained in Republic of Tanzania, 1977 Budget Speech by the Minister of National Education, p.10.

agriculture, technical training, commerce and home economics. Ten schools are earmarked for technical training in addition to the four already in full operation, 39 for agriculture, 26 for commerce and 7 for home economics. Under the recently revised syllabus the chosen bias takes up over one-third of a student's total class time throughout the four years of his secondary education and in the Cuban-built agriculture schools, which are viewed as models for the future, a student's time is divided between two half-day sessions of practical and class work.

The evident objectives of the Education for Self-Reliance activities and the diversification programme are the economic purpose of cost covering and the educational purpose of giving training a technical and practical bias. Yet it is equally clear from the scope and scale of these activities that a socialization purpose is also paramount and this is suggested both by the importance now attached to work performance and work attitudes in school assessments and also by the rationale supplied by the Musoma resolution on this subject:

> But this question of making work to be an integral part of education has a more fundamental purpose than that of producing for the purpose of meeting part of the cost of running a school or any other institution concerned. We have already stated that the basic aim of our education is the development of socialist attitudes. A socialist is a worker Therefore by introducing work in schools we are building socialist habits among the students.[67]

Evidence from anywhere concerning the effect of curriculum content on social behaviour is both limited and ambiguous. For Tanzania it is similarly difficult to assess precisely what impact formal political education is having on the development of collective socialist consciousness or equally to make any inferences about the extent to which any level of achievement in this sphere reduces regional sentiments. An exception here is the case of Tabora school which is self-consciously aiming to develop a national leadership cadre.[68] There is, however, more general evidence to suggest that compared with ten years ago students do have a relatively strong sense of national identity and knowledge. A comparison of a sample of students in 1975 with a similar sample from 1966 reveals consistent differences in the importance attributed to a variety of behaviours and

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67. "Directive on the Implementation of Education for Self-Reliance", p.13.

68. See for example Makwaia Kuhenga, "Tabora School Moulds Future Leaders", Daily News, February 18, 1977.

attitudes denoting national rather than personal or parochial sentiments.[69] At the same time if, as seems likely, there has been an appreciable change there is no way of knowing whether it should be attributed more to political education and other changes inside the school or to contemporaneous change in the wider society or to a compound influence of the two.[70] Whatever the process there can be little doubt that Tanzanian students have a stronger sense of national identity than their Kenyan counterparts.

The effect of Education for Self-Reliance and the vocationalization programme on work attitudes are equally hard to gauge. One might expect that the sheer normalcy of work experience in schools now would help to reduce disdain for manual labour, although the opposite view is also tenable. A positive impact in this direction depends upon the form and not merely the fact of production. If the students perceive direct benefits from their work and the exercise is an educational one it is likely to have a positive impact. Some schools have been spectacularly successful especially in agricultural production and the benefit has been felt usually in improved diet and the availability of resources for desired improvements. Others, however, are less successful and it is clear from observation that where work is perceived as drudgery without appreciable benefit and to have a high opportunity cost, the objectives of education as work are not achieved. The diversification programme is at an early and incomplete stage of development and it is premature to assess its impact. What is clear from current operation is that although it has helped to increase production in schools it has not yet developed to a stage where it displaces academic competition for further education by a notion of practical preparation for work.

E. Assessment and Selection

The rapid achievement of relative parity of access to education requires sustained discrimination in favour of historically deprived areas. Tanzania has attempted to alter the unequal pattern of regional access through provision of resources to primary education, through control of

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69. Joe Shengena, "Socialist Consciousness Formation in Tanzania Schools", Department of Political Science, University of Dar es Salaam, Unpublished M.A. dissertation, 1975.

70. Some findings on this issue are contained in David Court, "The Social Function of Formal Schooling in Tanzania", African Review, Vol.3, No.3, 1973.

access to secondary school and also by trying to alter the basis of subsequent selection to further training and opportunity.

Firstly, as discussed earlier, the UPE programme amounts to a policy of concentrating resources and attention on previously neglected areas. Secondly, the fact that selection for Government secondary school places is done on a regional basis means in practice different standards of access in which it is relatively easier to obtain access for those from less privileged than privileged regions. Relevant to both levels is the important fact that Government schools--both primary and secondary--are not characterized by the kinds of structural and quality differences which exist in Kenya. The national system is more homogeneous in both quality and form than is the case in Kenya.

A more radical attempt to reduce disparities of access is involved in Tanzania's modification of assessment and selection procedures and the opportunity structure to which they relate. Policy has operated on two fronts: altering assessment procedures inside the school and the incentive structure outside it. Inside the school the aim has been to broaden the criteria of assessment and especially to downgrade examinations and incorporate work attitudes and, by deliberate socialization, to encourage students to treat their education as terminal at each stage so that their aspirations are directed away from urban wage paying opportunities and towards rural work opportunities. Outside the education system policy has aimed to allocate scarce and expensive opportunities for further training and employment according to community need for different types of expertise and to reduce the financial rewards associated with formal school attainment.

Implementation of these aims inside the education system has been concentrated on changing assessment methods in primary and secondary schools and the modification of admission procedures for university entry. In secondary schools continuous assessment has become established and indeed mandatory practice and with the final examination at Form IV level counts for 50 per cent of the overall assessment which determined access to further training. Furthermore, the independent assessment of character and work attitudes are incorporated into the overall evaluation. In the assessment form used in the selection of Form IV leavers for further training and employment, head teachers are required to apply a five point grading scale to all academic subjects and to specified categories of character and work assessment.

The new university admission procedures require that to be eligible for consideration a student must have not simply suitable academic qualifications but at least two years of work experience and recommendations from his employer and CCM party branch chairman concerning his "suitability in terms of character, general work performance and commitment".[71] The procedure which aims to root selection in work experience and distance it from academic attainment has been widely and justifiably hailed as a bold step towards relevance in higher education.[72]

Two separate purposes related to equity are implicit in the new assessment measures inside the schools. The first is the socialization purpose of encouraging common qualities for all students through the backwash effect of the new measures. The second is to provide a new basis for selecting some individuals for the limited available opportunities for further training and wage employment. The rationale going back to Education for Self-Reliance, and re-stated by the Musoma Resolutions, centres on the desire to assess qualities felt to be more relevant for Tanzania's emphasis on rural development than those measured by academic examinations. At the same time, it is perceived both by those who stand to benefit and those who don't as a way in which prior educational advantage can be counteracted in the allocation of opportunities in the direction of regional equalization. Part of the rationale is thus the idea that the competitive advantage of a particular region can be reduced by altering the terms of the competition. This would occur not simply through manipulating the content of the examinations as is being done in Kenya, but by supplementing the currency in which advantaged regions are strong, i e academic attainment, by another in which their advantage is less marked, i.e. work performance

In practice in the first years of operation the significance of the new assessment and selection procedures has centred on their socialization effect--inducing as much common respect for productive labour as for

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71. Extract from the wording of the advertisement for applications. The origin and details of new admission policy are described in an article entitled "Admission to University", Daily News, January 8, 1975.

72. An excellent analysis of the first year of operation of the new admission procedures is contained in G.R.V. Mmari, "Implementation of the Musoma Resolutions: The University of Dar es Salaam Admissions Experience", Papers in Education and Development, No. 3, University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, 1976. See also David Court, "The Experience of Higher Education in East Africa: The University of Dar es Salaam as a New Model?", Comparative Education, Vol.11, No.3, October 1975.

book-based certification--rather than in their use as a new basis for altering patterns of regional access to further education. Indeed scrutiny of admissions to the University since the inauguration of the new procedures suggests that one of their paradoxical, albeit temporary, effects has been to intensify the existing imbalance in regional representation. The explanation is straightforward. The University achievement in its present forms depends upon a basic minimum of academic experience. The pool of those who possess the minimum academic pre-requisites, in addition to other desired qualities, is dominated by those from areas which have depth in their stock of educated youth, i.e. the richer and better endowed regions whose students have historically been disproportionately represented at the University.

At the lower levels of the system work assessment is used to supplement academic performance made up of both continuous and examination evaluation. At Standard seven records of work attitude are maintained but actual selection to secondary school is determined almost entirely by examination performance. At the secondary level non-academic criteria in assessment operate as a minimal pre-requisite rather than a major determinant. Students must pass on character and attitude to work in order to qualify for a certificate, and to obtain a Division I certificate the required academic aggregate must be accompanied by the top grade on character In practice, many schools hesitate to award low grades for work attitude and character for fear of penalizing students from the school and region. Five per cent of the total number of Form IV candidates last year fell in the lowest category of the character scale and hence were automatically disqualified from receiving a Form IV certificate. However, almost all of this group also failed to reach the minimum academic standard. A mere 0.1 per cent of the 13,340 students who sat for the examination in 1976 qualified in the academic section but failed to receive a certificate because of their low character assessment.

It is difficult, as the Ministry has acknowledged, to classify on a graduated scale such qualities as "appreciation of work", "quality of work performance", "diligence", "dedication", "cooperative behaviour", and so forth and they lend themselves to personalized assessments. However, the fact that even a few are penalized in the selection system for inadequate work performance, combined with the pervasiveness of the official concern in school with work attitudes, seems likely at the very least to spread a sense of the normalcy of productive work and make a corresponding inroad into the condition of academic elitism.

The measures of political education and work emphasis incorporated in new assessment procedures have had a significant socializing effect. It is not clear that they have been able to encourage students to view courses as terminal preparation and to aspire to village work or to dispel the widespread preference for continuation to a maximum amount of formal education which provides the impetus to individual and regional competition. Popular concern with examinations, while arguably less acute than in Kenya, remains as we have seen pervasive. Schools especially at the secondary level are the arena for individual and regional competition on the basis of examination results and disparities are accentuated by the fact that there is no regional quota for entry to Form V which is the critical step for later access to the University. The list of students selected for Form V in 1977, which is published by the Ministry of National Education, suggests the disproportionate recruitment of students from historically advantaged regions although precision on this point is difficult because the list does not specify regional origins and this has to be inferred from nomenclature. If, as seems likely, disparities do exist they are partly to be accounted for by the number entering Form V from private schools, as these schools are concentrated in the more advantaged regions. In 1976, 10 per cent of the total intake into Form V came from these schools.

The dilemma is that as long as academic content is even a small part of the assessment system which leads to selection for valued opportunities, regions with long established educational facilities will have a comparative advantage. On the other hand, to depart from academic content in the absence of acceptable measures of other qualities is to risk introducing a level of subjectivity or randomness into selection which does not serve goals of quality, however defined, or goals of equity because of the loss of credibility which such emphases inevitably contain.

To point out the dilemma is not to call for a return to exclusive reliance on academic examinations but to underscore the importance of continuing the search for ways of assessing the whole range of qualities which Tanzania wishes its educational system to produce. The country is not trying to dispense with merit in selection but rather to broaden the range of qualities which merit denotes. From the standpoint of equity the critical need is that of finding ways of assessing those extra qualities in a consistent fashion and incorporating them into selection practice. Without such accepted means, corresponding to the actual opportunity structure, policy will be left heavily reliant on political education which

is likely to be notable less for its quality of liberating mass energies and expectations than persuading acceptance of continued inequalities.

F. Dilemma of Educational Policy in Tanzania

The preceding pages have summarized aspects of Tanzania's response to the problems of regional disparities and concentrated on three principal elements: the removal of basic disparities through the provision of a basic common education for all children and adults; regulation of access to state-supported opportunities for further education coupled with a broadening of the curriculum and criteria of selection to include work as well as academic performance; and an associated emphasis on political education to encourage a sense of unity and common identity. While some aspects of the overall programme are new and incomplete--most notably UPE and the diversification programme--it is possible to draw some conclusions from the achievements and problems associated with Tanzania's efforts.

Tanzania has managed to substantially reduce disparities in the fundamental areas of literacy and access to knowledge and current trends suggest that UPE and continued mass adult education will bring the country close to the attainment of universal literacy. Three main factors account for this achievement. Central Government willingness to give relatively greater weight to primary and adult education in the allocation of budget resources is clearly a first pre-requisite. Associated with this has been substantial external support and the willingness of the largest single source of such support for it to be used for recurrent costs. Secondly, both adult education and UPE are part of a larger process of social transformation and rural development which have provided, through villagization and decentralization, a logic, a momentum and a structure for the change. Thirdly, the role of the national political party has been critical. As well as providing the impetus through the initial resolution the mass political party has provided an indispensable framework of administration and implementation. UPE and the mass literacy campaigns were acts of political imagination and will--leaps of faith rather than carefully calculated moves The result has been the establishment of a basic platform of educational service for all Tanzanians through the provision of opportunity to attend school for seven years and to participate in literacy and adult education classes. To be sure, the provision while still not yet universal is also not internally equitable. Primary schools differ in quality from one part of the country to another, while women rather than

men still dominate literacy classes in Tanzania as elsewhere. The impact of parental income on access to primary school which has been a feature of the past should virtually disappear with UPE but the recent introduction of Shs 20 payment per child means that inevitably this feature will remain. Yet when these and other anomalies have been taken into account one is left with a provision which comes close to the realistic limits of common treatment. It does not harbour the extreme kinds of group and regional differentials in access to varieties of privileged education and opportunity --based on prior access to language, nursery school, fees and the culture of the examination--which are characteristics of the Kenyan scene.

While it can plausibly be argued that Tanzania is coming close to the establishment of a foundation of educational provision for all citizens it has yet to resolve dilemmas in two other spheres which are central to its concept of regional equalization. The first is the task of applying the logic of decentralization and self-reliance in a way which reconciles regional initiative and the policy of national development. The second is the challenge of devising opportunity structures which reinforce rather than undermine educational policies.

The problem of encouraging regional initiatives in education while retaining the essentials of national policy is hardly unique to Tanzania but takes on particular significance there because of the unique stress on decentralization and self-reliance.

Tanzania has clearly articulated objectives of national development and education is assigned a major role in their achievement. Particular purposes and forms for education are prescribed for the whole country. The task of communicating and implementing national purposes in education in the early years of Independence created a corresponding need for a centralized Ministry of Education controlling the curriculum, equipment, examinations, assessment procedures and so forth, and a centralized process of manpower planning. Associated with this procedure was the growth of a national reward structure and opportunity system based on wage paying occupations tied to nationally certified levels of attainment.

However, increasingly in the past five years the emphasis of national policy has been towards self-reliance, the integration of school and community and the establishment of links to local rather than national opportunities and frames of reference. The dilemma thus arises from the extent to which the logic of decentralization and self-reliance principles

are pressing against the prevailing structures of centralization and national opportunities. The dilemma displays itself at a functional or administrative level and also in its impact on aspirations and motivations. The administrative issue is the degree and form of decentralization which is necessary to permit village responsiveness to local skill and training requirements. Central policy can and does specify desired forms of village school administration, but the diversity of conditions within the country and consequent differences in skill needs plus the fact that perceptions and priorities differ from one part of the country to another means that decentralization entails divergence. The issue thus becomes one of how much divergence in content of education and in the form of its organization is possible before it undermines national policy. The associated aspect of the problem is the extent to which people can be encouraged to aspire to village level opportunities in face of a national reward structure which encourages people to think beyond the village. One of the consequences of the success of socialization policies in creating a sense of nationhood is a corresponding regional desire for access to national opportunities and to the type of education which is their key. These two aspects can be illustrated at the primary and secondary levels.

As we have shown part of Tanzania's handling of regional disparities is to pursue the integration of school and community--particularly in joint production--and to encourage students to think in terms of local applications for their energy and creativity. This is an integral part of the policies of villagization and decentralization, but such policies of participation require a high level of local control. If educational facilities in a region are to be responsive to local training and skill needs, the regional community must have a major share in deciding such things as the curriculum, recruitment and the selection of students for further training. In practice the division of responsibility between centre and region is not yet geared to this level of autonomy. Each primary school is under the administrative care of the village or ward which in reality owns the school, and parents are encouraged to participate in the running of the school. However, contrasting with the intention of administrative provision is the fact that responsibility for the curriculum, examination and selection for post-primary opportunities remains centralized. Such a framework puts limits on the meaning of decentralization. An example can illustrate the dilemma. It is frequently asserted that primary schools should organize their timetables around the requirements of the agricultural

seasons in their locality. In practice, flexibility is circumscribed by such things as the important national radio courses for primary schools, the timetable of the national examination and other things such as centrally organized refresher programmes for teachers.

There are political costs both to centralization, which is too tight, and to decentralization, which is too loose. If control is too tight regionalism may be intensified out of a sense of thwarted initiative. At the same time, central control inevitably tends to define the education system in terms of national job opportunities whereas the country is trying to encourage a local frame of reference. The Ruvuma Development Association, which in many ways was a forerunner of present day Ujamaa villages, broke up precisely because of the conflict between the local sentiment that the centrally imposed curriculum did not meet the real needs of the community and the reluctance of central government to grant the degree of autonomy which was desired.[73] On the other hand, if control is too loose and regional enterprise is given free rein, the better endowed regions advance more rapidly as witness the Harambee school phenomenon in Kenya, and the possibility of centrally engineered compensatory provision for the poorer regions is reduced. The dilemma is that a sizeable measure of devolution in matters such as curriculum content, timetable and organization seems necessary for both relevance and equity in education and would certainly seem to be a logical extension of Tanzania's chosen policies, but unless they occur within a common framework of agreed principle they can endanger and fragment national policy. There is no simple formula which can provide an answer in Tanzania or elsewhere to this dilemma. The particular interest of Tanzanian policy is that the success of policies of national integration seem to permit and augur well for the unique levels of educational decentralization which are now envisaged.

At the primary level the dilemma poses itself in terms of implicit inconsistencies in the division of responsibility between centre and region and the search for an administrative framework permitting central leadership and regional initiative. However, at the secondary level the issue has been more acute because the operation of self-help has in some areas taken a direction which ran counter to national policy and revealed the

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73. S. Toroka, "Education for Self-Reliance: The Litowa Experiment", Lionel Cliffe and John Saul, Socialism in Tanzania, Vol.2, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1973.

TABLE 17. Enrolment in Aided and Unaided Secondary Schools by Region 1966 and 1976

	1966				1976			
	%	Aided	%	Unaided	%	Aided	%	Unaided
Region								
Arusha	2.9	(685)	5.4	(203)	3.3	(1,310)	8.8	(1,513)
Coast	20.3	(4,842)	28.0	(1,062)	4.5	(1,810)	-	-
Dar es Salaam	-	-	-	-	13.3	(5,321)	20.8	(3,592)
Dodoma	6.7	(1,596)	3.5	(134)	7.0	(2,799)	2.5	(429)
Iringa	7.1	(1,702)	1.0	(40)	8.4	(3,365)	4.0	(679)
Kigoma	1.2	(276)	-	-	1.1	(431)	0.8	(141)
Kilimanjaro	11.7	(2,781)	14.2	(540)	11.4	(4,542)	19.8	(3,414)
Lindi	-	-	-	-	1.1	(427)	2.7	(466)
Mara	2.4	(562)	4.4	(167)	3.6	(1,417)	2.0	(349)
Mbeya	4.3	(1,013)	5.1	(194)	4.1	(1,619)	3.7	(665)
Morogoro	5.9	(1,399)	4.0	(150)	4.5	(1,788)	7.6	(1,317)
Mtwara	6.0	(1,430)	0.7	(25)	5.0	(1,961)	-	-
Mwanza	7.3	(1,743)	14.9	(563)	6.2	(2,463)	8.2	(1,421)
Rukwa	-	-	-	-	0.9	(341)	1.1	(194)
Ruvuma	2.6	(627)	3.2	(122)	4.0	(1,607)	1.6	(282)
Shinyanga	1.2	(288)	-	-	1.6	(639)	2.6	(453)
Singida	-	-	0.6	(23)	2.1	(844)	0.7	(125)
Tabora	6.6	(1,568)	3.8	(145)	5.5	(2,209)	3.0	(518)
Tanga	8.4	(1,997)	4.8	(181)	7.4	(2,973)	3.8	(663)
West Lake	5.6	(1,327)	6.4	(243)	5.2	(2,091)	5.9	(1,024)
Tanzania		(23,836)		(3,792)		(39,947)		(17,245)

Source: Republic of Tanzania Budget Speech of the Minister of National Education, July 1977.

continued importance of the national opportunity structure in sustaining regional disparities. That the growth of private secondary schools during the ten year period 1966-1976 occurred in a very uneven manner can be seen in Table 17. Enrolment at private schools rose from 1,065 in 1965 to 17,196 in 1976 when there were 61 private schools in operation as compared to 81 government schools. Demand for private education was concentrated in precisely those areas which have had the best quality primary and secondary

schools but which suffered from policy restricting the expansion of Government secondary schools. The problem of private schools in Kenya is frequently stated in terms of their commercial and exploitative character and poor quality, but it is clear that in Tanzania some are of very high quality. For instance, out of the 118 schools entering candidates for the Form IV examination in 1975 the top five in terms of aggregate performance on combined subjects were all private schools. In one region in 1976 the best private school sent 25 students to Form V and managed to place all other leavers in further training or employment.

Several points concerning regional equity can be usefully made about private schools. Firstly, charging approximately Shs 2,000 per year in fees they obviously can only exist in wealthy areas. Secondly, many of the private schools are either seminaries or retain a close association with long established missions which suggests another means whereby historical advantages are maintained. Thirdly, the level of academic attainment reached by students from the private schools raises a question about the effectiveness of the secondary school selection examination, given that virtually all their recruits are students rejected by that examination. Even a casual reading of examination papers raises questions about what they are intended to measure beyond some specific items of knowledge, and the wide ability range in Form I about which teachers are frequently complaining suggests that it may have poor predictive validity.[74] The equity implications of its content have not yet been given the degree of research attention which they have received in Kenya.

The political overtones of the demand for private education were evident in the fact that the Government chose for a long period to tolerate and regulate these schools, although the effect of such a large private sector was to perpetuate the disproportionate advantage of already favoured regions and ethnic groups. This concession was a striking indication of the strength of the constraints which face attempts at central manipulation of regional access to education. However in mid 1978 the Tanzanian Government decided to tackle this anomaly directly. It was declared that no further private schools would be registered and that the practice whereby pupils transferred from private to Government-owned schools in the course of their education would no longer be permitted. The equity rationale for this decision was clearly laid down by President Nyerere in an address to

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74. Factors relating to such an assessment are discussed in I.M. Omari and T.J. Manase, The Tanzania Primary School Leaving Examination, University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, 1977.

the National Assembly on the subject.[75] Now that the nettle has been grasped it will be fascinating to observe the extent to which Tanzania can by this measure re-direct private initiative to social ends and prevent it re-surfacing in some new educational form. Indeed Tanzania's success in curbing demand for academic continuation will provide an important measure of the practical scope for countering regional disparities through educational policy.

The two types of dilemma which have been highlighted here-- selection and devolution--converge in the problem of planning for the end of universal primary education. Given that by 1984 a mere 2 per cent of primary school leavers will be able to proceed to secondary school,[76] the major challenge facing Tanzania is to devise plans for the mass end of primary education. Such a plan needs to provide a means of selecting for the differentially available opportunities--secondary school, post-primary craft centres, Folk Development Colleges, vocational training and village employment--in a way which preserves the logic of common treatment on which equalization policies are based. Such a plan seems likely to require credible measures of assessment of both academic and non-academic qualities along with extensive provision for local participation in deciding who goes where, for what purpose and on what basis.

IV THE LIMITS OF EQUALIZATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING

The preceding pages have described the problem of regional disparities in education in Kenya and Tanzania and examined the response of the two countries in the context of their respective development policies. The assumption prompting this investigation was the view that one of the deficiencies of educational planning in the past has been the inadequate attention given to the social context in which it operates. From this promise followed our attempt to illustrate the relationship between educational practice and development ideology in two neighbouring countries and to specify some of the influential characteristics of the social context. In this final section we draw some conclusions about the conditions which influence planning for equality, the arenas of necessary policy response, the feasibility of particular objectives and the implications for the planning process itself.

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75. Reported in the Sunday News June 18 1978.
76. Ministry of National Education estimate.

In an earlier section we contrasted the planning model which Kenya and Tanzania seem to represent. This characterization of contrasts is a useful guide to relative intentions and emerging trends but hides as well as reveals aspects of current practice. We have highlighted the differences of educational practice in such areas as language, political education, emphasis on student production, allocation of resources to adult education and so forth. Yet behind the manifest differences are surprising similarities and instructive ironies. To move from the Kenyan to the Tanzanian education system is still to move into familiar territory. In particular, the basic four-tier structure of formal education remains similar in both countries. The innovations have almost always been superimposed on or inserted into the existing structure. Other similarities include the pervasive concern with examination, didactic styles of teaching, the stress on self-help and the common concern of policy to reconcile individuals to remaining inequalities. Beyond similarities which belie the implication of the contrasting models are ironies where the outcome in Kenya seems closer to the intention in Tanzania than its own policy and vice versa. For example, it has been argued that the Kenya Harambee movement in terms of its ability to generate community resources is a rather outstanding example of educational self-reliance.[77] Similarly, the sheer scale of Kenyan post-primary education--there are more students in Form I than in the whole of the Tanzanian secondary system--illustrates a concern for mass secondary education which is one of the underemphasized items of the Musoma Resolutions. If only for negative reasons--i.e. the saturation of opportunities--Form IV leavers in Kenya end up in their rural community which is an important emphasis of Tanzania policy. On the Tanzanian side, one could point to the relative efficiency of manpower planning in comparison with Kenya and the quality of private schools! However such ironies, while interesting, are of limited interpretive value. In the last resort, seemingly similar educational practices do not have the same meaning in the two countries because of their different and unequal points of departure, and more important because of the different socio-economic strategies which each is pursuing and the extent to which in Tanzania education is part of a larger process of social transformation. These factors place limits on the value of direct comparison.

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77. This and related arguments are contained in Edmund O'Connor, "Contrasts in Educational Development in Kenya and Tanzania", African Affairs, 73 (290) 1974.

However, whatever the paradoxes, the national policies albeit in different ways are pressing against the limits of the old structure and pushing both towards fundamental change with important planning implications. In Kenya, the limit is signified by the guidelines to the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies that its recommendations for reform must come under a financial ceiling determined by the rate of economic growth.[78] In Tanzania, it is the intensifying momentum of decentralization and villagization which is producing the demand for new types of planning. As we search for a positive direction of planning for equality, the similarities and ironies as well as the differences of educational practice in Kenya and Tanzania, and the contextual constraints which they imply, provide a useful guide to the issues which planning will have to confront.

A. Issues facing Efforts to Reduce Disparities

1. Regionalism. We argued at the start that the main impetus to the removal of regional disparities is political rather than educational. The significance of continuing disparities lies in the threat which they pose to national integration rather than in the extent that they betray divergence from world norms of educational equality. From this perspective the ultimate criterion for assessing educational planning is the success of equalization policies in preventing national disintegration. Such an assessment has to take account of how serious a threat to national unity educational disparities pose as contrasted with other forms of social differentiation. It would be presumptuous to try and use the scattered descriptive data presented here for any kind of comparative prediction for Kenya and Tanzania on an issue as complex and riddled with imponderables as this. The important point for our purposes is that in both countries, although more acutely in Kenya than Tanzania, regional differentiation because of its association with ethnicity seems likely to remain a more important factor than most if not all other possible sources of differentiation. Sexual disparities, while an affront to universal feminism and notions of equality and a source of underutilized human potential, are not yet the subject of urgent political demand. Likewise rural-urban differences although striking are in themselves a rather minor aspect of the overall picture of disparity in East Africa. By contrast, the relationship between regional and socio-economic differences is a major issue of

78. See the terms of reference for the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies, Report, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1976.

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78. See the terms of reference for the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies, Report, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1976.

immense complexity and ambiguity and the extent and nature of class differentiation an issue of current controversy.[79] Development policy in Tanzania has socialism and the reduction of economic inequalities as its main aim. Neither Education for Self-Reliance nor the Musoma Resolutions make any overt references to regional as compared to socio-economic differences. Nevertheless the reduction of regionalism is subsumed under the socialist objectives and, as we have seen, educational practice is permeated by a concern for regional equality. In Kenya, socio-economic differences are visible and extreme but there remains still limited evidence of a class consciousness which extends across regional and ethnic boundaries. This does not rule out the possibility of class divisions within regions but does suggest that the region is likely to remain an important unit of educational equality for the immediate future.

2. Universal Education. Any policy of reducing disparities has to begin with the need and the demand for a basic minimum education for all citizens. A commitment to the goal of universal primary education can be found in the KANU manifesto in Kenya and a similar objective for 1989 is stated in Tanzania's Second Five Year Development Plan. Kenya has adopted a gradual approach to the goal but until 1976 was enrolling a higher proportion of pupils in primary school than Tanzania. Popular pressure to speed up the process led to the abolition of fees for the first four years of primary education and as Kenya is adopting a "basic needs" strategy as the theme of its next Development Plan, the pace towards universal primary education is likely to be intensified. The impetus to action--the concept of equal opportunity--which lies at the heart of educational policy is clearly weakened as long as a sizeable proportion of children receive no educational opportunity. The emphasis on formal opportunity however permits Kenya to pay less attention to adult than to primary education. Tanzania, which found the proportion of primary enrolment actually declining in the late sixties opted in 1974 for a sudden drive to the achievement of UPE in three years.

The two most important issues arising from the goal of universal primary education are those of the conditions necessary for achieving rapidly expanded enrolment on the one hand and those for retaining pupils in school on the other. It is obviously premature to assess the Tanzanian

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79. Some of this is summarized in David Court, "The Education System as a Response to Inequality in Kenya and Tanzania".

achievement, but the published enrolment figures for the target date reveal that national enrolment for the relevant age group approximates 90 per cent.[80] The most important factor in this achievement has been the supportive condition of villagization, the contribution of self-help, careful planning especially of teacher provision, and above all the contribution of the grass roots political party to the necessary mass mobilization and commitment. The more difficult task of motivation and retention will depend upon the speed with which village opportunity and employment structures can provide a meaningful purpose into which schools can be integrated. It remains to be seen whether mass enrolment can be followed by a sufficiently clear definition and sufficiently broad acceptance of the new purpose for the schools to avoid problems of attrition. The critical contribution of the political party to mass enrolment in Tanzania, combined with the new purpose implicit in plans for village-based development, suggests that Kenya may find it difficult to emulate Tanzania's numerical achievement not to mention its more substantive aspects. Until recently the more extensive opportunities for secondary education and further training and the distant goal of wage sector employment seemed to provide an incentive, however illusory, which encouraged enrolment and assisted retention. However, there are some signs now that this incentive is losing its appeal. After the rush to enrol following the declaration of free education for the first four years there has been a falling off in continuation rates. Even more portentous in its implications is the fact that in one province the number of those sitting the CPE examination at the end of primary school has actually declined over the past three years. If such trends gather momentum they suggest that a watershed has been reached in Kenya in that for the first time since Independence individuals are concluding that formal education is not necessarily worth the opportunity cost. If, furthermore, this kind of disillusionment with formal education takes a regional dimension it poses, needless to say, a major problem in the form of a need to devise alternative kinds of purpose for formal education in the way that Tanzania is now trying to do.

3. Self-Help and Self-Reliance. The operation of community self-help in educational development illustrates very nicely the different approaches to equalization adopted by Kenya and Tanzania. Although both Kenya's educational "harambee" and Tanzania's "Education for Self-Reliance" are measures of equalization, they differ markedly in political intention and

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80. Sunday News, September 18, 1977.

practical application. In the heyday of secondary school expansion in the 1960s the Harambee movement in Kenya represented a genuine community response to a perceived need.[81] The need was seen to be that of more schools and communities throughout the country which felt deprived organized themselves to put up money for school buildings. The Government at first was nervous about the challenge to manpower plans presented by this uncontrolled expansion but then accepted the necessity for regulation and support and viewed this in part as a strategy for equalization through rewarding regional initiative. However, the prospect of Government take-over or contribution in the form of teachers and so forth quickly itself became the main object of community strategy as a means towards expanded educational facilities. Because those communities with greatest resources were best equipped for self-help and its associated pressure on Government, Harambee for secondary schools tended in the long-term to exacerbate rather than reduce regional inequalities. More recently it has frequently tended to become a vehicle for political self-promotion and has been criticized in some of its manifestations as a device for popular mystification and a form of regressive taxation.[82]

Where Harambee originated in regional communities largely as a strategy for raising money and putting pressure on Government, Education for Self-Reliance originated as Government policy with a substantial content of ideals. It applies nationwide to existing schools rather than as a device for the creation of new ones, involves a philosophy of cooperative work and community integration and aims at production not to pre-empt Government funds but to reduce Government obligations to a particular school and to release them for other purposes. Thus while Harambee in one sense has been an attempt by regional communities at the self-regulation of regional disparities its very nature has tended to intensify those disparities while Education for Self-Reliance has been at the heart of official equalization policy.

However, in Tanzania as well as Kenya it has proved politically impossible to prevent regional enterprise in education taking its own

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81. See John Anderson, The Struggle for the School, Nairobi, Longmans, 1970, and The Organization and Financing of Self-Help Education in Kenya, Paris, UNESCO, 1973.

82. The most comprehensive assessment of Harambee self-help in Kenya is contained in Philip M. Mbithi and Rasmus Rasmusson, Self-Reliance in Kenya: The Case of Harambee, Uppsala, The Scandinavian Institute for African Studies, 1977.

course. Despite tight manpower policies and a national political machinery Tanzania has not been able to prevent private regional initiatives in the form of private schools, although in Tanzania they are heavily concentrated in certain areas and are less of a national phenomenon than in Kenya. It seems irrefutable that in both Kenya and Tanzania self-help of this sort has in the past favoured the more privileged communities. However, the work by Winans, referred to earlier, suggests that although educational self-help established itself most quickly in comparatively well developed areas, there is a growing tendency now for self-help organizations to develop most strongly in less developed areas.[83] If this is so, it provides some prospect that educational disparities can be alleviated by a process over which Government has limited control anyway.

4. Decentralization. The difficulty with self-help is that it takes control of the process of equitable distribution away from the central government. This in turn raises the larger issue of decentralization. The administration of education in both Kenya and Tanzania is highly centralized. The historical reasons for such centralization are well known. They include the early concentration on training high level manpower and relating this to national economic plans, a belief in the need for a uniform curriculum both to ensure minimum national standards and encourage desired socialization, and a view of educational resources as political assets for judicious distribution. This rationale remains congruent with Kenya's equalization policies which depend upon the central control and distribution of educational opportunities. They pose a more fundamental dilemma for Tanzania where equalization policies are part of a complete restructuring of social organization. The dilemma resides in the fact that this restructuring seems to simultaneously demand localization as an objective and centralization as a mechanism.

The policies of decentralization, villagization and rural relevance in education all require local participation, responsibility and control. On the other hand, the desire for rapid and substantial structural change accompanied by broad-based socialization requires strong central prescription and control of the process. As already demonstrated, the balance at the

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83. Edgar V. Winans and Angelique Haugerud, "Rural Self-Help in Kenya: The Harambee Movement", p.349.

moment lies heavily on the side of central control in Tanzania.[84] At the same time, the increasing demand for local participation and control presage the likelihood of change. In addition to the examples of community control over selection, the best examples are the broad-based representation in institutional management whether it be the committee structure of the University or the village committee control of primary schools. At present, community participation tends to be limited given the restrictive control of the Ministry of National Education over curriculum and selection. The likelihood is that the current rather nominal participation will steadily move towards more broad-based involvement in decision-making. This will then give point to the challenge facing the implementation of Tanzanian ideals, of designing "new planning mechanisms which somehow combine central control of the overall direction of development and still promote the local participation and planning called for by the philosophy".[85]

5. Selection. Our review of policy in Kenya and Tanzania has drawn attention to the critical importance of selection in strategies of equalization. Altering the structure of educational selection is fundamental to any significant progress towards both relevance and equity in education. Kenya's strategy of expanding opportunity depends heavily upon the impartial allocation of individuals to limited opportunities and in consequence Kenya is giving close attention to the improvement of its examinations at all levels. The vulnerability of this dependence on examinations lies in the difficulty of designing tests which do not give a disproportionate advantage to particular regional and social groups and the consequent likelihood that ultimately those who are not beneficiaries of the emphasis on selection for high level manpower will become alienated and will question the criteria which determine their rejection. Tanzania's policy of equalization involves a major attempt to break the stranglehold of academic examinations upon school practice and selection. This is being done through increased emphasis upon continuous assessment and a search for new forms of non-academic criteria of assessment. The rationale is clear but the potential risks are great. It is very clear that schools will never orient themselves psychologically and practically to village needs and rural development as long as a selection examination based in part on

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84. A most perceptive explanation for the relative importance of the polity in Tanzanian development planning and a comprehensive characterization of resulting policy is contained in Goran Hyden, "'We Must Run While Others Walk': Policy Making for Socialist Development in the Tanzania-type of Polity", Kwan Kim, Robert Mabele, Michael Shulteis (eds), The Tanzania Economy: Perspectives on Development, Nairobi, Heinemann, 1978.

85. David R. Evans, "Responsive Educational Planning, Myth or Reality?", p.12.

academic content at the end of school holds out the possibility of access to a wage earning position in the national job structure. It is equally clear that Tanzania does need to have a means of promoting and nurturing individual ability and mobilizing national talent. At the moment Tanzania remains dependent upon examinations in selection, but has not given the content of these examinations the kind of attention on equity or even educational grounds which they have received in Kenya. At the same time Tanzania has embarked on the search for that elusive form of selection that encourages and identifies both the intellectual qualities which can permit an individual to benefit from the demands of advanced training and the qualities of character and social commitment which can make likely the social application of acquired expertise. In the first years of operation the new procedures have been inevitably characterized as much by problems as achievement. Yet if the appeal invoked in both countries that individuals serve their society is to have any substance, means have to be found of encouraging social commitment and incorporating it into the package of measured attributes which are used to justify the application of state resources for the further training of individuals.

6. Reconciliation to Inequality. Given the persistence of regional disparities referred to earlier, policy is likely to continue to be concerned in some degree with securing popular acceptance of them. In Kenya it is assumed that regional and individual inequalities are an inevitable consequence of a selective school system geared to manpower requirements which is believed to be necessary for economic growth. Educational policy emphasizes the concept of equal opportunity and the meritocratic nature of selection procedures as a way of securing acceptance of these disparities. Tanzania, by contrast, views regional and individual inequalities as a danger to development and their minimization as a prerequisite for more efficient societal institutions and more rapid long-term economic development. From the standpoint of regional inequality the long-term test of Kenya's education policy is whether the emphasis on high level manpower can be sufficiently complemented by regional quotas and "second chance" opportunities that it does not produce regional outrage at sustained rejection. One risk of Tanzania's different strategy is the possibility that the temporary thwarting of regional aspirations and initiative in the quest for equalization does not produce intolerable levels of economic inefficiency which jeopardize the long term prospects. An alternative danger is that the declaration of political attainment in terms of citizenship does not halt the equalization drive before an acceptable level of regional and social parity has been attained.

B. Implications for the Planning Process

A number of points with direct implications for the process of planning educational equality can be made from our survey of the experience of Kenya and Tanzania and of the issues of regional disparity which seem likely to persist into the immediate future. Two features in particular have significance for the quality and relevance of educational planning. In the first place, our survey confirms that regional disparities in education, perhaps more than any other issues, are intricately bound up with the social context in which they exist and hence their alleviation involves little less than the task of development itself. The second feature is the likelihood that educational policy, in reality as well as intention, will become decentralized, more immediately perhaps in Tanzania but inevitably in Kenya too. These two features--the one long standing, the other more recent--have important implications for the conception of planning, its scale and appropriate location, the kind of planners required and the types of relevant research which might usefully contribute to the improved quality of planning in the future.

The most obvious consequence of the conclusion that equalization and development are a synonymous process is the fact that disparities are not easily modified by individual planning techniques and marginal adjustment, but instead have to be part of a comprehensive policy sustained over a long period. The very complexity of the inter-relationship has implications for the scale and locus of planning initiatives. We have in this paper treated disparities in a rather undifferentiated fashion, but two points should be clear at least by implication from our review of Kenya and Tanzania. In the first place, disparities when "solved" at one level re-emerge in a different guise at another level of the opportunity structure and the history of the issue is one of resistance to planning. Secondly, our conclusion from this situation is not to dismiss the possibilities of planning but to conclude that planning for the reduction of regional disparities does have to address basic structural issues such as, for example, income distribution and, more generally, does not make any sense unless it begins by understanding the underlying causes and conditions of inequalities as well as their nature and extent.

The notion that education reform is conceived in central planning units is belied by the experience of Kenya and Tanzania. Few of the really major initiatives concerning regional equality in either of the two countries can be said to have originated in the Ministry of Education and

in some instances the Ministry itself was taken by surprise. Thus, for example, in Kenya the most significant developments--Harambee secondary schools, village polytechnics, the Institutes of Technology, and the notion of a nine-year basic cycle--all originated in local individual or community initiatives outside the development plans of the Ministry of Education. The abolition of school fees for the first four years of primary school was a Presidential announcement for which the Treasury had eleven days notice! Similarly in Tanzania, Education for Self-Reliance and the Musoma Resolutions involving changes of unprecedented significance originated in a political process outside the Ministry of National Education. Changes of the magnitude of the decision to accelerate UPE along with a number of other decisions are clearly acts of political faith and party commitment which would not occur at all if left to a "rational" planning process. Once the reforms are developed the Ministry is heavily involved in and largely responsible for carrying them out. The point is that in the past planning has been technocratic rather than visionary in ethos and dominated by implementation rather than initiation.

It is relevant to try and account for this characteristic of the past as its modification for the future seems a necessary contribution to the planning process. One explanation is the sheer magnitude of the task of running and expanding the inherited system has consumed the energies of Ministries, confined their personnel to the task of implementation and limited their opportunity for proposing means of reducing regional disparities. A different although not exclusive explanation is that the highly political content of any policy relating to disparities has encouraged a preference for leaving it to political decision-makers. Accompanying this predilection for an implementing role may have been a self-imposed isolation from trends related to educational disparities. The isolation is of two types. On the one hand, the inherited ethos of centralization which was described earlier may have induced a reluctance to pursue a logic of equalization which might lead to a diminution of central control. At the same time there has been a marked reluctance and an inability to open the issue of educational disparity to intensive research, perhaps again because of the political sensitivity of data on regional access to education and performance.

Part of the new task is to find ways of decentralizing planning. Neither Kenya nor Tanzania has yet found satisfactory ways of using decentralization to counter the problem of disparities, but in both cases a move

in the direction, albeit with different conceptions, stems from the logic of policy. In Kenya the logical rationale for present practice means that education is conceived as the bastion of equal opportunity which is the underlying if illusory ideal of development policy. Ensuring the preservation of an ideal, itself illusory, requires minimizing the gap between that ideal and the reality by ensuring a semblance of parity of treatment in the operation of the national educational system. This in turn depends upon the efficient extension to all regions of the centrally devised content and machinery of education and selection.

In Tanzania the goal of an education which is a complete preparation for life and response to community needs demands a level of local autonomy to decide what these needs are and how they should be met through training. Decentralization in the sense of regional autonomy is itself conceived of as equalization irrespective of central calculations of regional opportunity to the national job structure. For this purpose, however, decentralization has to be more than the downward extension of hierarchical authority for more effective bureaucratic control. Instead, it has to provide an interlocking opportunity for village, ward, district and regional participation within the overall problem framework. At present, Tanzania is some distance from this ideal. District and Regional Education Officers are technocrats and extension agents of the central Ministry. They are caught up with conventional problems of school discipline, unemployment, examinations and access and so forth with little time left for experimentation of a socialist or any other type. The pressure for change, however, is likely to come from the village and ward and the individual school where attempts to extend participation and apply a particularistic conception of decentralization are emerging. At this point, such pressures begin to infuse the structure of decentralization which already exists and new conceptions of planning and new division of local and central authority are likely to emerge. In this connection it will be instructive to observe the part played by the newly established role of village manager. A recognition of one type of consequence for manpower planning is evident in the Minister's introduction to the Manpower Report to the President of Tanzania for 1975:

> Without questioning the usefulness and importance of our achievement so far in manpower development, it is the task of the Ministry of Manpower Development to evolve a more elaborate system of manpower development which will establish symmetry between our policy of socialism and self-reliance and national manpower development. For

the creation of socialist institutions in our country demands a manpower development strategy which will adequately cater for the needs of those institutions. What is implied here is that our system of manpower planning and development must go far beyond the construction of purely quantitative forecasts, projections or targets for formal education. It should be related to a broad strategy of human resource development for the realization of our broader aspirations for social, economic, cultural and political development.[86]

To the extent that the reduction of regional disparities depends upon an understanding of the social parameters of planning and an advancement of techniques of regional planning new types of support facility are necessary and those responsible for such planning will require a broader range of skills and understanding than has heretofore been necessary.

In both Kenya and Tanzania the shortage of sufficiently disaggregated data has, as this paper amply demonstrates, condemned discussion of disparities to a high level of impressionism. A step towards improvement is the development of facilities for the systematic compilation of the kinds of statistics which can illuminate the full dimension of disparity. The need for central compilation and analysis of such data will remain whatever the level of decentralization of planning, but it can only be effective if the regions are involved in systematic production of relevant statistics.

The absence of technical expertise for probing the full dimension of disparity has been a further constraint. Leaving aside the question of the desirability of the kind of highly sophisticated analyses which are now being used elsewhere to probe the nature of inequalities we can see that the people to carry out such analyses are not available. The most likely source of such expertise is the university but Ministries in East Africa tend, not without some justification, to view universities as sources of destructive criticism and are frequently unwilling to release whatever data they have on the grounds that it might provide ammunition for those more interested in damaging sensationalism than in finding a constructive solution to the problems. Improvement in the planning process seems to demand the development of means whereby Ministries can get access to the kind of vision and understanding which can be the contribution of researchers who are not themselves burdened with the daily task of running the

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86. The United Republic of Tanzania, Annual Manpower Report to the President, p.vii.

educational system. At the same time there needs to be a new approach to research, including its de-mystification, such that it is not treated as the preserve of university academics but a process of systematic enquiry and data gathering which can be carried on by a wide range of individuals and groups.[87] In both Kenya and Tanzania the work of the National Christian Councils provides examples of research on education outside the usual University-Ministry axis which is having a significant impact upon our understanding of regional disparities, and frequently the work of students or teachers offers much which can increase our understanding. In Tanzania the evaluation work done in connection previously with the literacy campaigns and now with teacher training for UPE are further examples of the ways in which a broad conception of research can assist planning.

The experience of Kenya and Tanzania suggests that two qualities required of planners for the kind of regional task being sketched here are a broad range of skills and experience combined with an intimate understanding of local social contexts. Such a conclusion simply reaffirms an argument already made by Weiler:

> If as some argue, planning at the regional or provincial level is likely to be of a more integrated nature, the educational planner at that level will need to understand the development and planning problems in such related sectors as health, agricultural production, housing, infrastructure development etc. Similarly, if planning, especially at the level of the local community, is to involve the active participation of the members of the community, a rather thorough understanding of the social and political fabric of the community is needed in order to maximise the benefits of such participation for the planning process.[88]

This is not the place to propose a broad agenda for research. However, our review of developments in Kenya and Tanzania does suggest certain areas of priority importance which should be mentioned. We have in the preceding pages repeatedly emphasized the importance of selection mechanisms to the issue of regional equity, and an intensification of research into selection content seems to be an urgent requirement in both Kenya and Tanzania. In both countries opportunities will continue to be

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87. Some examples and possibilities are discussed in David Court, "Social Science Research and Professional Education", Kenya Education Review, Vol.3, No.1, 1976.

88. Hans N. Weiler, "Changing Concepts and Practices of Educational Planning: Implications for Training", p.11.

differentially valued and hence their allocation in an equitable and regionally acceptable manner will remain an issue of the utmost political and educational significance. A particular need is research relating to the content of examinations and the validity of various alternative types of selection such as Tanzania in particular is beginning to investigate. A second and complementary research priority is for studies which document the process and criteria of individual advancement both from the standpoint of performance and equity. Thirdly, in view of the evidence on the effect of school quality on individual performance and hence regional equity in both Kenya and Tanzania, this is an important area for research. Our own view here is that while the components are not beyond identification and hence manipulation for improved equity, they are not easily identified in large scale macro level studies. There is a corresponding need for such approaches to be supplemented by small scale assessments of individual schools and communities for an understanding of what we mean by the "quality" which is produced and the kind of achievement which is recorded on national examinations. Such research will not remove disparities. A central assumption of this paper has been the view that disparities will not be quickly or easily removed whatever the political complexion of developmental policy. It may, however, increase understanding to the point where planning can itself be part of the process of reducing the most glaring kinds of disparity and hence help to avoid the destructive consequences of their extreme continuation.

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