

TEN YEARS OF JAKAYA KIKWETE'S PRESIDENCY:

Promises, Achievements and Challenges in Education



November 2015

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ABBREVIATIONS

BEST	Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania
BRN	Big Results Now
CSEE	Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations
ETP	Education and Training Policy
FYDP	Five Year Development Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
HDI	Human Development Index
MOEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NER	Net Enrolment Ratio
NGPRS	National Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy
PED	Primary Education Development Programme
PSLE	Primary School Leaving Examinations
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Programme
THDR	Tanzania Human Development Report
URT	United Republic of Tanzania

SUMMARY

This review examines President Kikwete's achievements and challenges in the education sector over the ten-year period that he served as President of the United Republic of Tanzania. The achievements and challenges are examined with respect to educational opportunities and education quality service delivery as measured by students' academic achievements at various levels. The analysis shows that, while President Kikwete's Government was impressive in expanding education opportunities to millions of children in Tanzania, he presided over the poorest quality of the education system in the history of independent Tanzania. For example, overall across the education system, Kikwete's Government raised the enrolment rate by 26 percent. The increase in enrolment rates was particularly massive at secondary and higher education levels, which increased by 244 percent and 438 percent respectively. At the same time, however, students' academic achievements at various levels nosedived. The pass rates at secondary education, for example, plummeted by more than double from 89 percent in 2005 to 43 percent in 2012. The implications of President Kikwete's education administration are wide ranging. These include sustaining the enrolment rates at various levels and improving the efficiency in the education system by reducing wastage due to the increase in dropout rates. More critically the next Government will have a daunting task in improving quality of education and in ensuring that children learn while in schools.

1. INTRODUCTION

President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete (65) is the fourth President of the United Republic of Tanzania who served for ten years between 2005 and 2015. A graduate of economics from the University of Dar es Salaam in 1975, Kikwete has spent his career mostly in politics serving at various capacities both in TANU (Tanganyika African Union) and CCM (Chama cha Mapinduzi-Party for Revolution) parties before working for the central government from 1988 (Nyang'oro, 2011). He became the youngest minister for Finance in 1994 and served as the longest Minister for Foreign Affairs during the entire period of Benjamin Mkapa's presidency from 1995 to 2005. Kikwete was elected President of the United Republic of Tanzania on 14th December 2005, and he effectively retired on 5th November 2015.

During his ten years of presidency, Kikwete's achievements are notably and widely acclaimed internationally. He received 10 honorary doctorate degrees from ten universities internationally. Indeed all major public universities in Tanzania awarded him an honorary doctorate degree. These are the University of Dodoma (2010), Muhimbili University of Health and Allied Sciences (2010), University of Dar es Salaam (2011) and Nelson Mandela Arusha Institute of Science and Technology (2014). He also received five honours from Heads of States of Uganda (2007), Comoros (2009), Saudi Arabia (2009), Jamaica (2009) and Oman (2012).

Kikwete also holds ten awards from various esteemed institutions globally, including the prestigious Icon of Democracy Award from the Voice Magazine of the Netherlands. Kikwete received a higher number of awards and honours while in office than any other President of the United Republic of Tanzania.

These awards and honours were offered to Kikwete in recognition of his achievements in various arenas, including democracy, health and education. In this review we focus on his achievements in education. Our reference point is his promises that he made during his first speech delivered on 30th December 2005 when inaugurating the ninth parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania. In this speech, President Kikwete highlighted 10 priority areas that his Government would focus on, namely:

1. To protect and promote peace, tranquillity and unity
2. To consolidate the various achievements of the previous Governments
3. To sustain the war against poverty, ignorance and diseases
4. To protect and promote human rights, rule of law, good governance and accountability
5. To strengthen the capacity to protect people's safety and their property with a renewed energy to fight crime
6. To ensure that national security is protected and national borders properly guarded
7. To promote international cooperation and good neighbourly relations with other countries
8. To promote and protect the needs of special and disadvantaged groups in the society such as women, youth, children, the elderly, people with disabilities and orphans
9. To protect the environment for the current and future generations
10. To promote sports, culture and leisure activities

As Kikwete leaves office, it is an opportune moment to reflect on his commitments. In this paper, we examine his promises, key achievements and challenges in the education sector during the ten years of his presidency. The aim is to systematically trace and document President Kikwete's performance in education during the 10 years that he was President of the United Republic of Tanzania, and draw broad implications for the next Government.

The analysis of Kikwete's performance in education is mainly based on documentary evidence. Four major types of documents were analysed. These are President's Kikwete's speeches; key policy documents in education including Primary Education Development Programme (PEDP) and Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP) and Education and Training Policies (1995 and 2014); CCM election manifestos; and Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (BEST) for various years. The focus of the analysis is mainly on basic education (primary and secondary education).

2. TANZANIA COUNTRY CONTEXT

Tanzania is a united republic formed by Tanzania Mainland (known as Tanganyika until 1964) and Zanzibar. Tanganyika obtained her independence from Great Britain in December 1961, and Zanzibar obtained her independence in December 1963 as an Arab constitutional monarchy. The Arab Sultanate was overthrown in a people-led revolution in January 1964. The two countries formed a union on 26th April 1964, effectively forming the United Republic of Tanzania.

Tanzania covers 945,203 square kilometres, making it two times larger in size than the rest of East African countries (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda) combined, and the 31st largest country in the world.

According to the Population and Housing Population report (National Bureau of Statistics [NBS] and Office of the Chief Government Statistician Zanzibar, 2012), the population was 44.9 million with a 3 percent annual growth rate. The population of Zanzibar is 1.3 million people.

The Tanzanian population is very youthful with a median age of 18.7, implying that almost half of the population is below this age. The analysis of the 2012 population statistics shows that 45 percent of the population is below the age of 15 (0-14) and 19.4 percent of the population is aged 15-24. Thus, 64.4 percent of the Tanzanian population is below the age of 25. Further analysis shows that 49 percent of the population is below the age of 18 and 32 percent of the population is aged 18-39. Thus, an overwhelming 79 percent of the Tanzanian population is below the age of 40!

Economically, since Kikwete became President in 2005, the Tanzanian economy has been growing steadily with an average annual Gross Domestic Product (GDP) rate at 7 percent. Nevertheless, the economic growth has not been associated with improvement in the living conditions and people's welfare in general. Indeed, various poverty assessment reports have shown that the economic growth rate has been growing disproportionately with the poverty reduction rate. For example, using the official basic needs poverty line set at 36,482 Tanzania shillings and food poverty line at 26,085 Tanzania shillings, 28.2 percent of the population and 9.7 percent of the population are categorised as falling below the poverty line and food poverty line respectively (National Bureau of Statistic [NBS], 2013).

The poverty levels are particularly acute in rural areas. According to the 2011/12 household budget survey, 84.1 percent of the poor people in Tanzania live in rural areas while less than two percent live in Dar es Salaam (NBS, 2013). The report shows that the income inequality level is quite high in Tanzania with a Gin coefficient¹ of 0.34.

The 2014 Tanzania Human Development Report (THDR) paints even a gloomier picture of poverty in Tanzania. With a Human Development Index (HDI)² of only 0.488, Tanzania falls into the bottom quartile of countries with the lowest level of human development ranking at 159 out of 187 countries (Economic and Social Research Foundation, United Nations Development Programme, & Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, 2015).

Tanzania envisions becoming a middle-income country by 2025 and has put in place a number of policy frameworks to realise the vision. These include the National Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (NGPRS) and Five Year Development Plan (FYDP). In 2013, the Government of Tanzania launched a policy implementation framework dubbed Big Results Now (BRN³). This is a policy delivery methodology

¹ Gini coefficient is a measure of inequality in income ranging between 0 and 1. The higher the value of a Gini coefficient the more pronounced is the income inequality level.

² HDI ranges between 0 and 1 and is an aggregate of life expectancy, education and income indices.

³ Big Results Now (BRN) is Malaysian based model for enhancing the implementation of development programmes through performance based incentive and a clear monitoring and evaluation framework. It is a tool that commits Government leadership to deliver specific set targets and time frame.

focusing on delivering specific goals within a stipulated timeline in an attempt to accelerate the realisation of the Tanzania Development Vision 2025.

The BRN is based on three principles, namely: prioritisation with clear performance targets; (ii) rigorous implementation supported by detailed monitoring of performance data by dedicated delivery staff; and (iii) transparent performance management (United Republic of Tanzania [URT]). Six areas have been prioritised in the BRN, namely agriculture, education, energy, resource mobilisation, transport and water.

In March 2015, the President's Delivery Bureau, which is responsible for coordination of the implementation of the BRN, released the first annual assessment report detailing the performance for all the key results areas. The results show that the implementation achievement rate was 72 percent, with the education sector having the highest rate of achievement (81%).

BRN for the education sector focuses on four areas. These are: "creating performance transparency; motivating through incentives; providing support where needed the most; and improving teacher conditions with the goal of achieving a pass rate of 80% for primary and secondary schools" by 2015/16 (URT 2015, p.22). The overall focus of the BRN in education is to improve quality of education as measured by improvement in performance in the Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) and Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations (CSEE). The target is to achieve a pass rate of 60 percent in 2013, 70 percent in 2014 and 80 percent in 2015. Several specific initiatives have been put in place to achieve these milestones, including:

- Ranking all schools in the PSLE and CSEE results
- Conducting 3R assessment (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic) in standard II
- Training teachers in 3R skills
- Recognising and rewarding improving schools in the PSLE and CSEE
- Training teachers in a student enrichment programme to support low performing students
- Provision of basic school facilities
- Motivating teachers through non-monetary incentives and clearing their outstanding claims

3. KIKWETE'S PHILOSOPHY AND VISION FOR EDUCATION

Since independence in 1961, Tanzania's education policies have taken different shapes. Immediately, after independence the focus of the education policy was to abolish segregation and racially based education system for blacks, Indians and whites. Relevant laws and regulations were enacted to ensure that education opportunities were made available to all children without any discrimination.

In 1967 Tanzania decided to adopt socialism (popularly known in Tanzania as Ujamaa) as a guiding philosophy for her development endeavour. Arusha Declaration was launched as a strategic approach to hasten the implementation of Ujamaa. In education, a philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance was instituted as a guiding philosophy to translate the Ujamaa policy in the field of education with the aim to produce (i) people who are able to think for themselves, to make judgments on all issues affecting them and to interpret the decisions made through the democratic institutions of our society and to implement them in the light of the peculiar local circumstances where they happen to live; (ii) graduates who work

hard and are responsible to the people; and (iii) individuals conscious of their worth and their equality in building a free society.

Thus, the philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance was intended to comprehensively address the negative reminiscences and ramifications of colonial education by producing individuals who would be

committed to serving the interests of the majority and inculcating a sense of duty to the community (Nyerere, 1967). The education for self-reliance was also intended to prepare young people to play a dynamic and constructive role in the development of a socialist society, whose progress is measured on the basis of human wellbeing. Due to the limited opportunities for secondary and higher education, the philosophy of education for self-reliance called for each level of education to be complete and terminal, capable of preparing individuals to meet challenges of real life upon graduation instead of merely preparing them to pass examinations for purposes of proceeding with the next level of education.

The implementation of education for self-reliance and socialism was not very successful due to financial constraints. By the beginning of 1990s Tanzania had effectively joined a group of developing countries whose economic policies were being prescribed by the World Bank/International Monetary Fund under their Structural Adjustment Programmes, which were starkly opposed to the socialist policies, including the philosophy of education for self-reliance.

Thus, since the 1990s CCM's policies have been guided by the liberalisation agenda under the guidance and direction of the World Bank and sister institutions such as the IMF. Accordingly, several education policies have been implemented with the support of these institutions, including the PEDP and SEDP with a focus on improving school enrolments and quality of education.

Given that since independence Tanzania has been governed by one party (CCM), President Kikwete's philosophy and vision for education was guided and heavily influenced by his party's policy positions. Philosophically, after the abandonment of the Arusha Declaration, Tanzania's development policies have become pragmatic or rather what Andrew Coulson has characterised as having changed from "the Arusha Declaration to Big Results Now".

Nevertheless, in his inaugural speech in the Parliament in December 2005, President Kikwete provided some broad guidelines that would guide the education policies during his tenure. In his speech, among other things, Kikwete highlighted the importance of education in building the national unity. Specifically, he underscored three initiatives that his government would take in promoting national unity using education as a tool. These are;

- (i) To establish national secondary schools that would admit students with special talents from all geographical parts of the country.
- (ii) To review the Civics syllabus so as to focus on promoting patriotism and national unity.
- (iii) To ask schools managed by religious organisations (except seminary schools) to admit students from all denominations without discrimination on the basis of their religion.

Thus, reading from his speech cited above, President Kikwete had some philosophical position of the role of education in Tanzania; he viewed education as an important tool to promote national virtues, including national unit. Regarding implementation of these ideals, it is notable that no national schools were established. Indeed, during Kikwete's presidency, the then acclaimed national schools located in various regions significantly deteriorated and their image could hardly be distinguished from the local community schools commonly referred in Tanzania as Ward schools.

The Civics subject was introduced in the school curriculum as promised. In 2006 the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) issues a circular (Circular No. 2) that indicated a new structure of the subjects to be taught in primary schools (URT, 2006). Among other directives, this circular instructed that Social Studies should be broken down into three subjects, namely History, Geography and Civics. Thus, Civics was introduced as a new subject in line with President Kikwete's promise. Since then this subject has been taught in both primary and secondary schools, covering 25 topics and 16 topics respectively with a focus on nationhood. It is also notable that schools owned by religious organisations do admit candidates from all denominations without discrimination on the basis of religion.

4. EDUCATION DELIVERY SCORECARD FOR PRESIDENT KIKWETE

In his presidential inaugural speech that he gave in Parliament in December 2005 (Kikwete, 2005), President Kikwete highlighted 11 objectives in education that his Government set to address during his presidency. These are:

- i) To sustain the enrolment of children in primary schools
- ii) To improve pass rates at all levels of education
- iii) To increase the number of teachers congruent with the increase in the number of students
- iv) To increase the number of classrooms, teachers houses, laboratories, and toilets
- v) To increase capitation grants provided to schools
- vi) To strengthen the education quality assurance institutions
- vii) To motivate the private sector to invest in education
- viii) To strengthen the Higher Education Students' Loans Board so that it can provide loans to more needy students
- ix) To build at least one new university
- x) To improve vocational and technical colleges
- xi) To improve teachers' welfare.

For purpose of this analysis, we assess the performance of President Kikwete in two main areas that are commonly used to assess performance in education, namely access to educational opportunities (enrolment) and learning outcomes.

4.1 Access to education opportunities

Tanzania's education system can be described as 2-7-4-2-3+, which translates into two years of pre-primary education, seven years of primary education, four years of lower secondary education, two years of upper secondary education and three years of post-secondary education. Children begin primary education at age 7 and exit at age 13. The corresponding years for ordinary secondary education are 14-17 and 18-19 for upper secondary education while post-secondary education typically begins at age 20+.

In 2014, the Government introduced a new policy in education and training. This policy, among other changes, has extended the threshold of basic education from seven years to ten years, including secondary education. Thus, according to the new Education and Training Policy, the new structure of education can be described as 1(2)-6-4-2-3+.

In assessing President Kikwete's performance in increasing access to educational opportunities, we mainly focus on basic education covering primary and secondary education between 2005 and 2015. Expansion at other levels of education is, however, briefly highlighted for comparison purposes.

Tables 1 and 2 summarise the trends in access to educational opportunities during President Kikwete's years. It is notable that there was massive expansion of access at various levels of education. For example, the number of primary schools increased from 14,257 in 2005 to 16,538 in 2015 with a corresponding increase in the number of children's enrolment from 7,541,208 in 2005 to 8,202,892 in 2015.

Similar trends are noted at other levels of education. For instance, the number of secondary schools increased almost ten times from 531 in 2005 to 4,573 in 2015 with a corresponding increase in the secondary school enrolment from 524,325 students in 2005 to 1,804,506 in 2015. Higher education has been expanding exponentially. For example, the number of universities has increased from 26 in 2005 to 52 in 2014, and the number of university student enrolment during this time has rapidly increased from 40,719 to 218,959 (see Table 1).

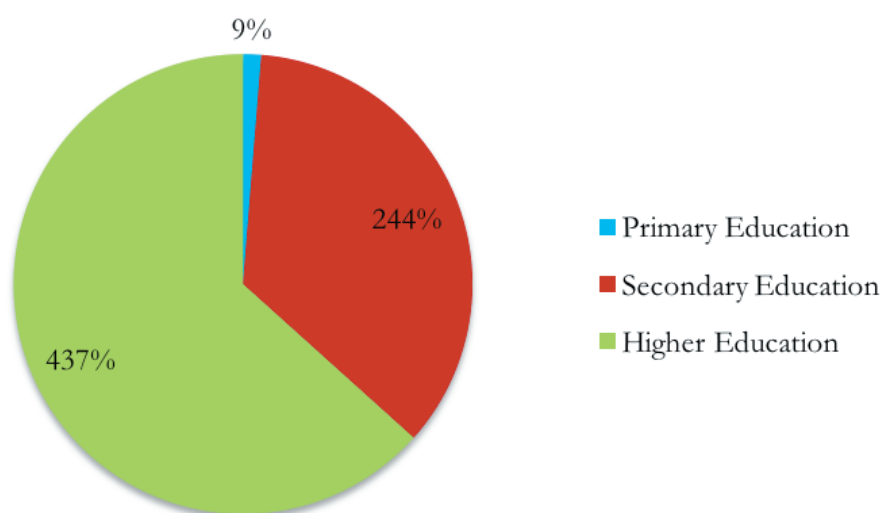
Table 1: Increase in Access to Educational Opportunities between 2005 and 2015

Category	2005/2006		2014/2015	
	Number of Schools/Colleges	Number of Students/teachers	Number of Schools/Colleges	Number of Students/teachers
1. Primary Education	14,257	7,541,208	16,538	8,202,892
2. Secondary Education	1,745	524,325	4,753	1,804,506
3. Vocational and Technical Education	184	40,059	744	145,511
4. Higher Education	26	40,719	52	218,959

Source: URT, BEST 2014 and URT 2015

Overall, the number of educational institutions increased during Kikwete’s presidency by 42 percent, from 14,814 in 2005 to 21,163 in 2015, with a massive resultant increase in enrolment by 26 percent, from 8,106,252 students in 2005 to 10,226,357 students in 2015. The increase in enrolment was particularly remarkable for secondary education and higher education levels, which increased by 244 percent and 438 percent respectively over the ten years of Kikwete’s presidency. Figure 1 summarises the rate of enrolment expansion at various levels during Kikwete’s presidency.

Figure 1: Increase in the enrolment rate at various levels of education during Kikwete’s presidency



Nevertheless, as Table 2 and Figure 2 show, after many years of sustained increase in enrolment at primary education in Tanzania, recent trends show that the proportion of both boys and girls in primary education has been falling since the initial years of PEDP implementation. This implies that proportionally there are fewer children in schools today than before. For example, between 2009 and 2012 enrolment in primary schools decreased from 8,441,553 to 8,247,172 with a corresponding decrease in the GER from 110.5 in 2009 to 98.4 in 2012 and 96.2 in 2013. Similarly, the NER has decreased from 95.9 in 2009 to 92 in 2012 and 89.7 in 2013.

The decrease in enrolment is much worse in some regions than others. In Kigoma, for example, 27 out of every 100 school going age children (7 to 13) are not enrolled in school. In Dar es Salaam, 26 out of every 100 children are not in school. Overall, Governments statistics estimate that nearly a million children, between the ages of 7 and 13 are not currently in primary schools countrywide (United Republic of Tanzania, 2014).

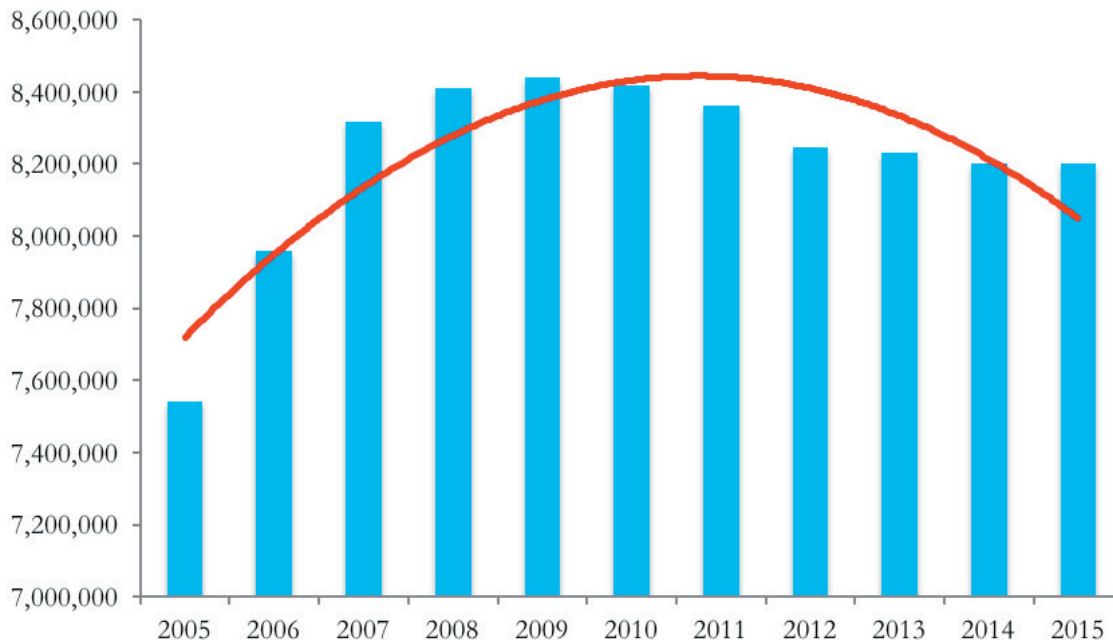
The above trend is indicative of the internal efficiency performance of the primary education system in Tanzania. Studies have shown that dropout rate is increasing in primary schools in Tanzania. For example, between 2004 and 2008, a total of 50,401 children dropped out of primary schools in Tanzania because of truancy alone. Other factors that contribute to drop out rates are pregnancy and lack of school needs. Low learning achievement has also been attributed to the increase in the dropout rates in primary schools in Tanzania (Wane & Gaddis, 2015).

Table 2: Trends in Enrolment between 2005 and 2015

Year	Enrolment
2005	7,541,208
2006	7,959,884
2007	8,316,925
2008	8,410,094
2009	8,441,553
2010	8,419,305
2011	8,363,386
2012	8,247,172
2013	8,231,913
2014	8,203,000
2015	8,202,892

Source, URT (2014)

Figure 2: Trends in primary school enrolment between 2005 and 2015



4.2 Learning Outcomes

One of the eleven promises and commitments of President Kikwete’s Government on education was to improve the pass rates at all levels of education. In this section we review the extent to which these commitments were met.

Nationally, Tanzania conducts two main types of assessment. The first type involves school, district and regional examinations, which are conducted on local arrangements and constitute 50 percent of the final student's grade. The second type of assessment is the Primary School Leaving Examinations (PSLE) and the Certificate of Secondary Education Examinations (CSEE) conducted by the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA). These are conducted once at the end of the seven-year period and four year period that children spend for primary education and secondary education respectively. For purposes of this analysis, we use the PSLE. At the secondary school level, these examinations are called Certificate of Secondary School Examinations (CSEE).

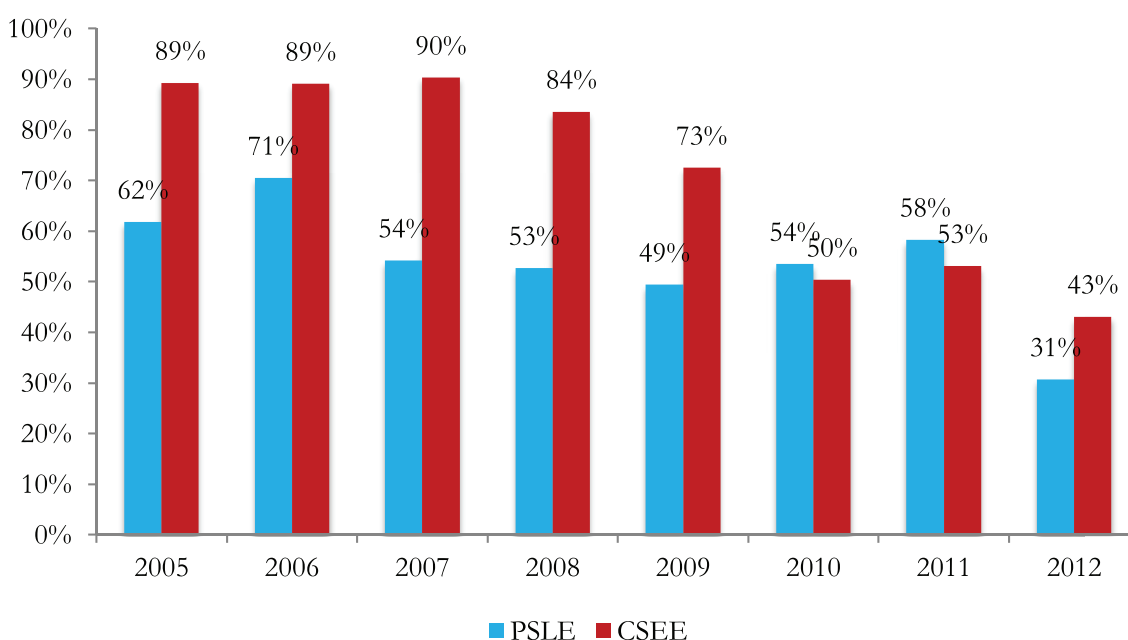
Recently, since 2010, an international non-governmental organization, Uwezo, has been conducting a series of household based assessment tests in three East African countries (Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya). These tests assess school age (7-16) children's competencies in literacy and numeracy. The results of these assessments have been revealing and have become a major source of education debates in the region. We will also use these assessment tests in examining the state of quality of education during President Kikwete's years.

4.2.1 Performance in PSLE and CSEE

For purposes of this analysis, trends in performance are analysed up to 2012 where data are available in the BEST. Beginning 2013, the Government changed the grading system following a public outcry regarding the deteriorating pass rates in CSEE. The new grading system is still unclear and is not included in this analysis. The analysis of eight years, however, gives a picture on the extent to which President's Kikwete's commitment to raise pass rates was realised.

Figure 3 summarises the trend in pass rates between 2005 and 2012. It is clear from this figure that pass rates have been plummeting over the years and especially beginning the year 2009 at both PSLE and CSEE. For example, pass rates in CSEE dropped from 89 percent in 2005 to only 43 percent in 2012. For PSLE pass rates dropped from 71 percent in 2006 to only 31 percent in 2012. Consistently, pass rates have been poorer in CSEE than in PSLE for the entire period of Kikwete's presidency.

Figure 3: Trend in pass rates in PSLE and CSEE 2005-2012

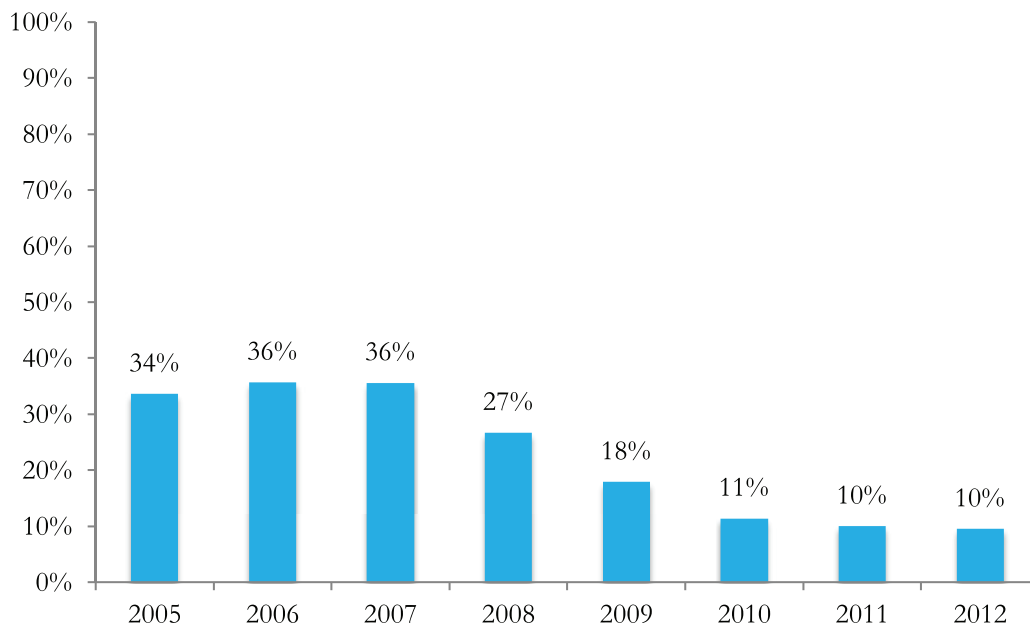


Source: URT (2014)

Further analysis of the CSEE reveals a gloomier picture. Before the change in the grading system, CSEE results were organised into five main groups: Division I, Division II, Division III, Division IV and Fail (Division 0). Division IV is the marginal pass that allows candidates to obtain a certificate but which does not allow such a candidate to proceed to any further education. Thus, essentially, a pass rate at Division IV is a marginal failure!

As Figure 4 shows, pass rates at Division I-III plummeted devastatingly during President Kikwete’s years reaching the very low rate at 9.5 percent in 2012. This poor performance triggered a public anger at an unprecedented rate that forced the Government to change the grading system at secondary school examinations.

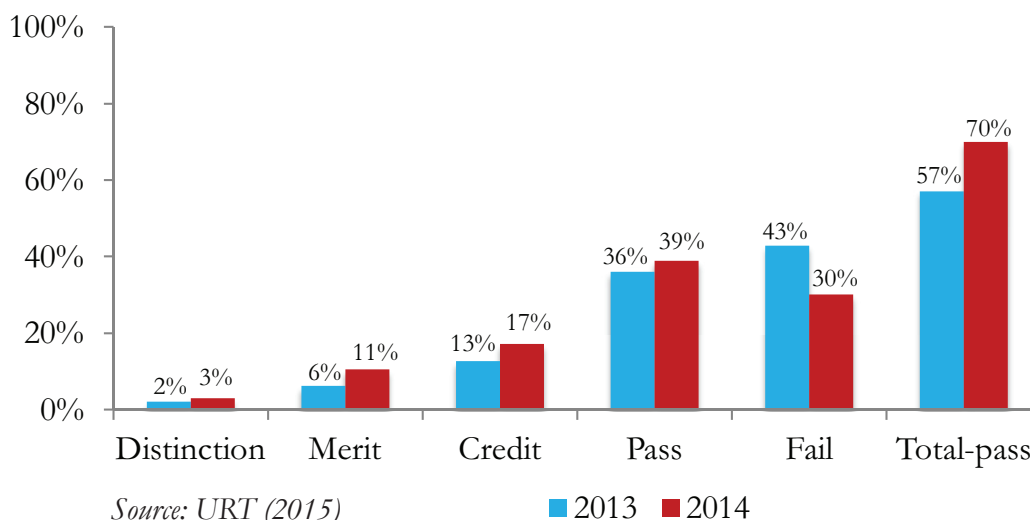
Figure 4: Pass rates at Division I-III at CSEE 2005-2012



Source: URT (2014)

Following the change in the grading system in 2013 in which the division system was replaced with the system based on distinction, merit, credit, pass and fail basis, the results improved tremendously. As Figure 5 shows, the pass rate at CSEE improves from 43 percent in 2012 to 57 percent in 2013 and 70 percent in 2014.

Figure 5: Pass rates in 2013 and 2014 CSEE examinations



Source: URT (2015)

Following the introduction of the Big Results Now (BRN) initiative, PSLE results have been categorized into ten bands as indicated in Table 3. High performance is categorized as scores in bands 1 – 4; medium performance bands 5 – 6; and low performance bands 7 – 10. Thus far ranking has been done for year 2014 examinations.

Of the 15,875 schools that were ranked in the 2014 PSLE, only 988 schools (6.2%) scored in the Green band (250-180 marks), which means high performing schools, while 8,257 schools (52 %) scored in the red band (105-0 marks) and were categorized as low/poor performing schools.

When the results are analysed with respect to the three core subjects at primary school (Kiswahili, English and Maths.), the majority of candidates tend to perform better in Kiswahili and poorest in Mathematics. For example, in the 2013 PSLE, the results showed that the pass rate in Kiswahili was 69.1 percent compared to 25.5 percent in English and 28.6 percent in Mathematics.

Table 3: PSLE Bands with Corresponding Marks

Band	Marks Range
1. Band 1	250 - 228
2. Band 2	227-206
3. Band 3	205 - 181
4. Band 4	180 – 156
5. Band 5	155 – 131
6. Band 6	130 – 106
7. Band 7	105 - 81
8. Band 8	80 – 56
9. Band 9	55 - 28
10. Band 10	27 - 0

Source: URT (2014)

4.2.2 Performance in other national assessments

Uwezo assessment tests focus on literacy and numeracy levels pegged at Standard 2. This is because it is generally agreed globally that by the end of the second year in primary school children should have developed basic literacy and numeracy skills. In testing literacy, Uwezo asks children to read a simple text and their level of comprehension. In testing numeracy, children are asked to perform a basic numeracy task pegged at the Standard 2 level.

Figure 6 summarises the results of Uwezo assessment tests for four years (2010-2103). As this figure shows, the performance in all three subjects (Kiswahili, English and Mathematics) is generally poor. With the exception of 2013, Less than a third of children in Standard 3 could read a Standard 2 story in Kiswahili. The performance was particularly poor for English in which less than a quarter of Standard 3 children could read a Standard 2 story in English.

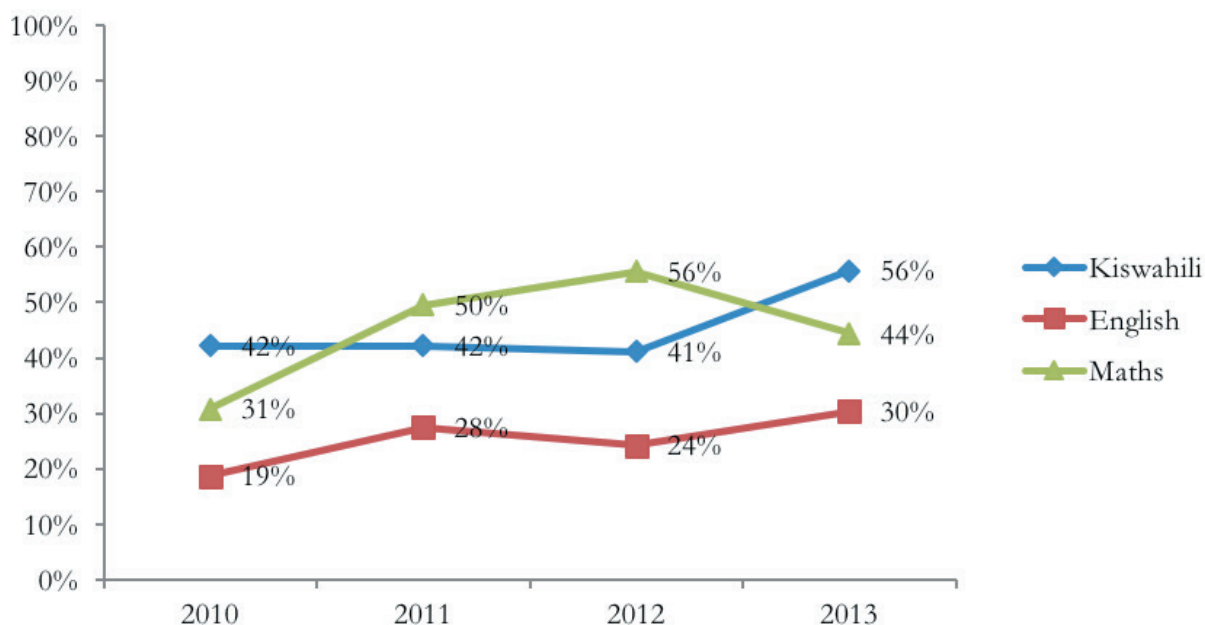
The performance in Mathematics has been fluctuating but it has equally been poor whereby less than a quarter of Standard 3 children could perform a basic numeracy test meant for Standard 2 in 2010; the figure was 36.9 percent in 2011 and 31.9 percent in 2013. The results were slightly better in 2012 whereby 44.4 percent of children in Standard 3 children could perform a basic numeracy task pegged at Standard 2 level.

In July 2013, the first *National Baseline Assessment for 3Rs (Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic) Using Early Grade Reading Assessment (EGRA) and Early Grade Mathematics Assessment (EGMA)*, were conducted with the purpose of monitoring the achievement levels in foundational skills (USAID, 2014). These assessment tests offer an opportunity to determine whether children are developing the foundational skills upon which all other literacy and mathematical skills build, and provide a basis for improving the quality of education schools.

The EGRA and EGMA assessment tests were administered to 2,266 Standard 2 randomly selected from 200 schools, which were also randomly selected representing national, rural-urban and gender diversity. The results showed that about 60 percent of students were able to read 18 words in Kiswahili correctly. Furthermore, 40 percent of students were unable to answer a single question correctly. The minimum international benchmark for this level is that students should be able to answer at least 80 percent of the questions correctly.

In English, the performance was particularly poorly disheartening. Ninety four (94%) percent of the students were unable to answer a single question correctly. This means that only six (6 percent) of the students have a basic level of comprehension in English at Standard 2 level.

Figure 6: Overall pass rates in Uwezo assessment tests: 2010 – 2013.



In Mathematics, 60 percent of the children were able to perform basic procedural tasks in Mathematics (addition and subtraction). Nevertheless, students had difficulty performing conceptual tasks in Mathematics where 58 percent of the tested children were unable to undertake basic conceptual task in Mathematics. This may imply that teaching and learning are more inclined towards memorization than understanding.

5. EDUCATION FINANCING DURING PRESIDENT KIKWETE'S YEARS

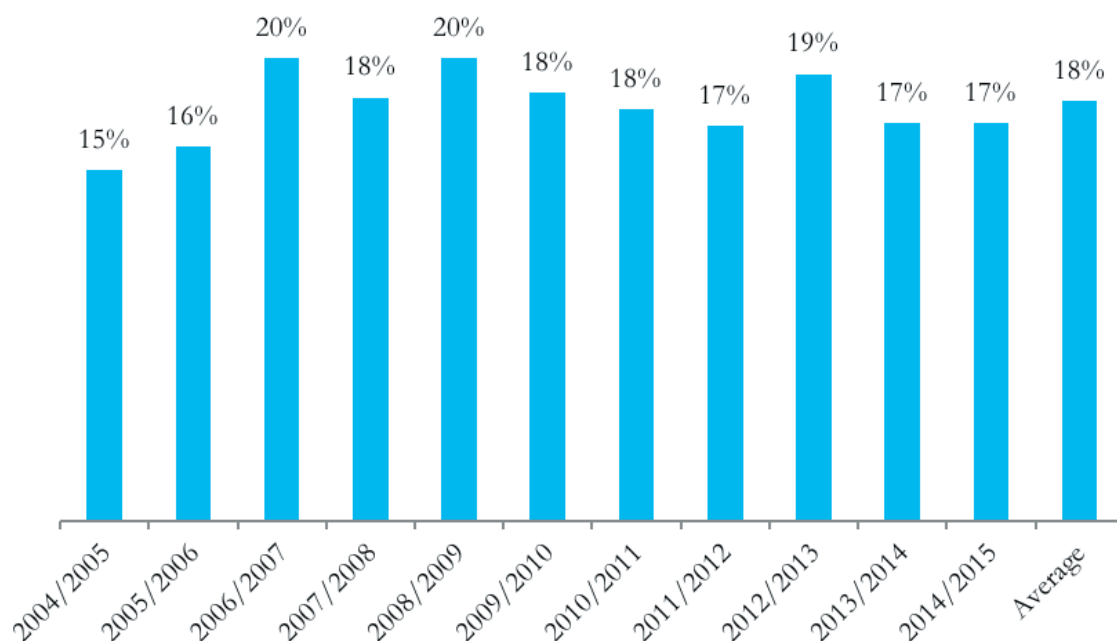
Education financing is an important proxy measure of the flow of school inputs, which are critical in determining learning outcomes. In this section, we highlight the trend in education financing during President Kikwete's years as a basis for determining the level of school inputs that flowed into the education system during his presidency.

According to the Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All (EFA) adopted at the World Education Forum on 26-28 April 2000, countries committed to allocate at least 6 percent of their GDPs or 20 percent of their national budgets to education. In this analysis we use this commitment as a benchmark for assessing President Kikwete’s realisation of the same.

Figures 7 and 8 summarise trends in education financing since President Kikwete came into power in 2015. As Figure 7 shows, the average education sector budget for the 10 years of President Kikwete is 18 percent. Overall, the education sector budget remained relatively stable between 17% and 18% of the total budget. Similarly, for the years that records were available, the education sector budget has remained relatively stable between 5% and 6% of the GDP (see Figure 8).

On the basis of education financing trends presented above, it can be argued that the education sector was relatively adequately funded during Kikwete’s presidency. Indeed, the analysis of the 2014/2015 budget shows that of the six sectors included in the Big Results Now (BRN) initiative, the education sector receives the most funding at 3,465 billion shillings (see Figure 9).

Figure 7: Education sector budget as percentage of total budget during Kikwete’s presidency



Source: HakiElimu (2014)

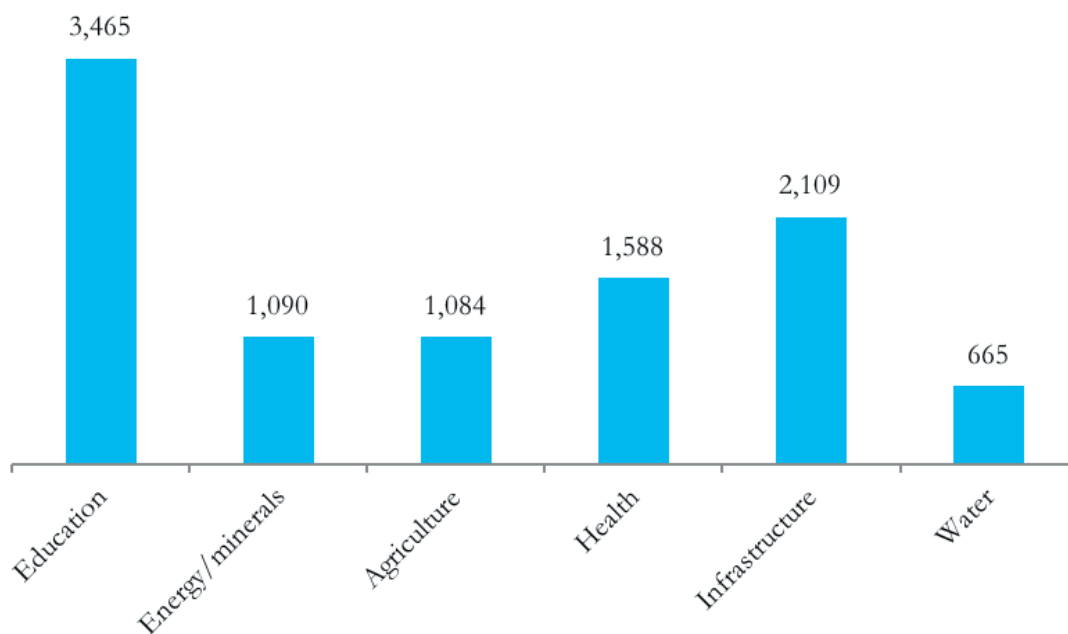
Nevertheless, it would appear that not all the money allocated for the education sector was released or reached schools, which are essentially the primary target audience of education financing. For example, since 2001 when PEDP was initiated the Government decided to provide capitation grants to schools at Tshs 10,000/= and Tshs 25,000/= per student per year for primary and secondary students respectively. These grants were aimed at facilitating schools to procure essential school inputs such as books, teaching and learning materials, as well as facilitate rehabilitation and construction costs and administrative expenses. A budget analysis conducted by HakiElimu (2014) and PDP report (2015) shows that less than 50 percent of the capitation grants were released in the 2013/14 year. The analysis also showed that the capitation grants were being released irregularly and/or delayed. Consequently, many schools suffered critical shortages of teaching and learning resources due to underfunding.

Figure 8: Education sector budget as percentage of the GDP



Source: HakiElimu (2014)

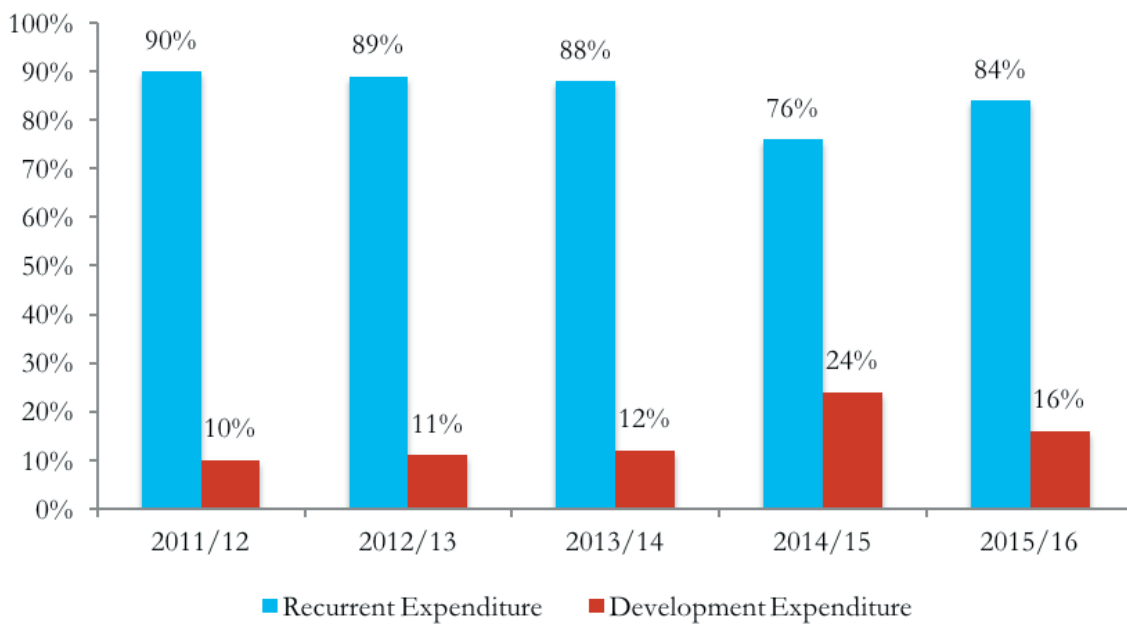
Figure 9: Budget allocation in billion shillings by sector in 2014/2015



Source: HakiElimu(2014)

Further analysis of education budgets show that most of the funding in this sector goes to recurrent expenditure and only a small part of the funding is directed to development projects. As Figure 10 shows, the development expenditure has been less than a quarter of the entire budget for the past five years. This implies that only a small proportion of budget in education is allocated for development projects such as construction of classrooms, toilets and other important infrastructure.

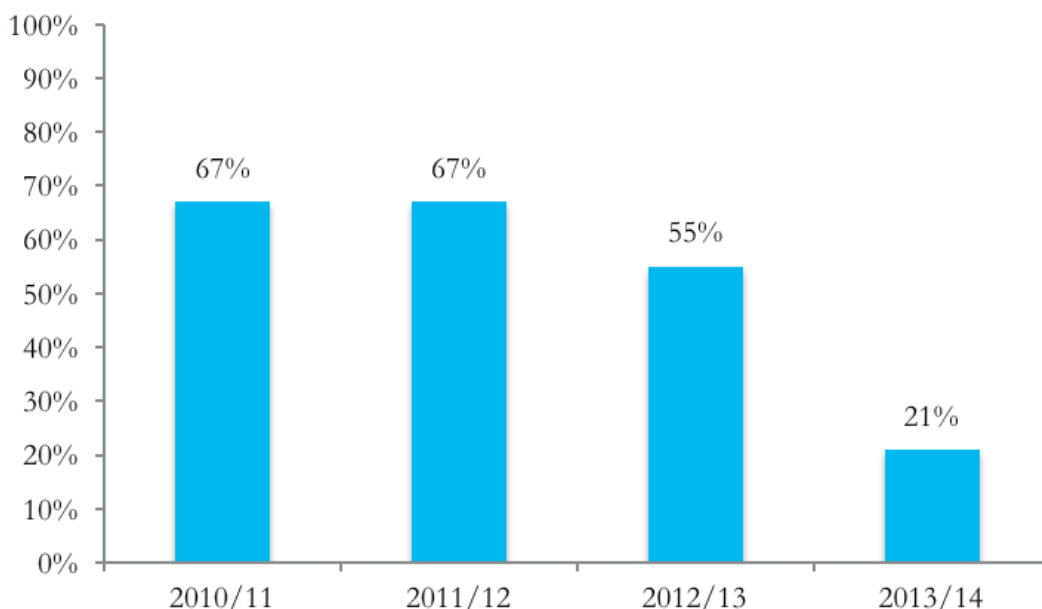
Figure 10: Proportion of recurrent and development expenditures in education.



Source: HakiElimu (2014)

The analysis also shows a declining trend in the actual realisation of the budgets. For example, the trend in actual budgets decreased from 67 percent in 2010/11 to 21 percent in 2013/14 (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Percentage of actual budget in education between 2010/11 and 2013/14.



Source: HakiElimu (2014)

The above trends in education financing suggest that development projects in education did not receive adequate attention during Kikwete’s presidency. This is also confirmed by the poor state of infrastructure in education institutions. For example, for primary schools, there was critical shortage of almost all key school infrastructures. For instance, according to Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania [BEST] (URT,

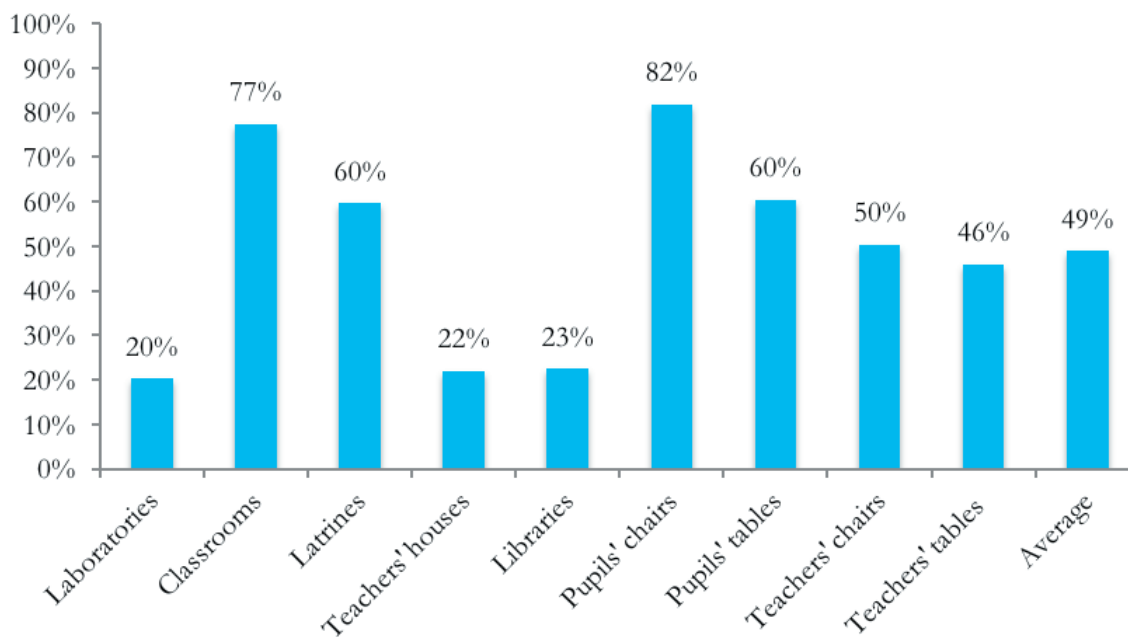
2013), the average number of latrines was 1:53 for boys and 1: 51 for girls instead of the prescribed pit latrine pupils *ratio* of 1:20 for girls and 1: 25 for boys. The average shortage of latrines was 57.6 percent for boys and 63.1 percent for girls.

There has also been a critical shortage of classrooms and teachers’ houses. According to BEST (URT, 2013), there was a shortage of 82,788 (42%) classrooms in 2013 and the shortage of teachers’ houses was 79 percent. The average shortage of desks in primary schools was 35.4 percent.

A similar pattern of poor state of infrastructure is evident in secondary schools. The secondary school classroom shortage was 39 percent though the classroom student ratio was quite impressive at 1:39 (compared to standard ratio of 1:40). This implies that some regions and schools experience more shortage of school facilities than others.

Overall, the state of infrastructure is generally poor even judging from the status of availability without assessing the quality of the available facilities. Figure 12 summarises the availability of some of the essential secondary school facilities. As this figure shows, there is a shortage of most of the critical facilities related to teaching and learning. For example, only 20 percent of secondary schools had laboratories and only 23 percent had libraries. Just about half of the schools had chairs and desks for teachers. Given that most teachers in rural areas identify housing as the most important source of their motivation, it follows that most teachers are strongly demotivated. Only 22 percent of teachers have houses.

Figure 12: Percentage of available school facilities/infrastructure in Tanzania



Source: Author's calculations from BEST (2014).

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Tanzania’s education system has undergone a number of transformational processes since the country obtained her independence in 1961. The major changes thus far include the abolition of a racially based education system and the promulgation of the Education for Self-Reliance as an instrument to implement the socialist policies that characterised Tanzania’s development agenda for almost three decades until the 1990s. Since 1990s Tanzania embarked on the liberalisation policies with free market mantra as the basis for economic policy that also affected the education policy imperative.

When President Kikwete came to power in 2005 his education undertaking was guided by the PEDP and SEDP initiatives, which were instituted in 2001 and 2004 respectively. The key focus areas for these initiatives were to improve enrolment and quality of education at primary and secondary school levels. This review has examined the key achievements and challenges in education during President Kikwete's years of service.

According to this analysis the main achievements in education during Kikwete's presidency were on improving access to educational opportunities. Primary education expanded by 16 percent with a corresponding increase in the primary school enrolment by nine percent (about one percent increase each year). The most significant expansion happened in secondary education, with both the number of schools and enrolment rate more than tripling.

However, the achievements in enrolments are cancelled out by the challenges in the learning outcomes by almost the same magnitude. For example, the pass rates in PSLE plummeted during President Kikwete's years doubly from 62 percent in 2005 to 31 percent in 2015. In the CSEE the pass rates plummeted by more than double from 89 percent in 2005 to 43 percent in 2012. The pass rates are particularly poorer when taking into account only absolute pass levels (Division I-III) whereby the pass rates at these divisions plummeted by more than triple from 34 percent in 2005 to 10 percent in 2012 of the candidates scoring at Divisions I-III.

Overall, the average students' pass rates during President Kikwete's years in office stand at 54.2 percent for PSLE, 63.9 percent for CSEE (including marginal pass at Division IV) and 24.4 percent for pass rates at Divisions I-III (see Figure 8).

The performance in other nationwide assessments is also equally poor. For example, the results of Uwezo (2010-2013) assessments show that less than a third of children aged 7-13 passed Standard 2 level English test. The performance was also poor in Kiswahili and Mathematics subjects.

On the basis of education financing levels, it is clear that President Kikwete gave the education sector a high priority in his development agenda. The education sector share of the budget was averaged at 18 percent, which is only a few points short of the 20 percent benchmark set by the World Education Forum in 2000. Furthermore, the average education sector budget was 5.3 percent of the GDP. Nevertheless, most of the budgeted funds were not released and a far higher proportion of the actual budgets went to finance recurrent expenditure and only a small proportion was spent on development projects. Consequently, school infrastructure suffered heavily during Kikwete's administration due to meagre development budget in education projects of education sector especially primary and secondary level.

Conclusively, it can be argued that President Kikwete's Government was impressive in expanding education opportunities to millions of children in Tanzania. Nevertheless, on the basis of students' academic achievement on various measures, it can also be argued that President Kikwete probably presided over the poorest quality of the education system in the history of independent Tanzania.

The implications of President Kikwete's education administration are wide-ranging. These include sustaining the enrolment rates at various levels and improving the efficiency in the education system by reducing wastage due to the increase in dropout rates. More critically the next Government would have a daunting task in ensuring that children learn while in schools. In the next section, we provide some recommendations that the fifth Government could focus on to rescue our education system from the verge of collapse.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

In view of the challenges highlighted in this analysis, we would like to recommend the following measures in defining the education agenda for the next Government. These measures are aimed at consolidating the achievements of the fourth Government and promoting the quality of education, which seemed not to have been prioritised in Kikwete's Government.

- i) There is a need to devise mechanisms to sustain enrolment in basic education by ensuring that wastage due to dropout and repetition is contained. One such mechanism is to make schools friendly and lovable to children by improving school infrastructure and providing essential needs such as school meals.
- ii) Enhance excellence in public schools by investing in infrastructure development to ensure essential school inputs and facilities to support learning and teaching in schools
- iii) Improve teachers' welfare by ensuring that they have houses especially in rural areas where decent housing is scarce. This is one minimum step in attracting and motivating qualified candidates to join and remain in the teaching profession
- iv) Ensure that education policies have a determined focus on learning outcomes so that schools are designed and teaching staff and school leadership strive to support learning of children. The focus should be on ensuring that all children enrolled in schools learn and master basic competencies that are essential for their future academic and life endeavours
- v) Revisit and rationalise grading system in basic education to ensure that it is consistent with regional and international standards and any future reforms in grading system is supported by evidence.
- vi) Rationalise funding in education to ensure a reasonable balance between recurrent and development budgets so that a reasonable level of resources is allocated to education development projects.

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