Coping with inadequacy
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Secondary education and teacher recruitment in Tanzania

Introduction

The introduction of the Education and Training Policy in 1995 has enabled Tanzania to achieve significant development in the education sector. For example in the period between 1995 and 2005, the country witnessed the improvement in primary education retention rate as the number of students in primary education increased from 3.8 million to 7.5 million respectively. The expansion of primary education to the more remote areas of the country accompanied by the introduction of the child friendly school initiative in the early 2000s improved both its access and retention (United Republic of Tanzania 2001a). The result was that the percentage of those children of the school age who were in primary education increased from 55% in 1995 to 95% in 2005 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2007). The immediate consequence of this development initiative is the improvement in the pass rate in primary education which increases the demand for secondary education in Tanzania. For example in Morogoro municipal council in 2005 and 2007, the number of students who passed their primary examination was 3,914 and 4,694 respectively as opposed to less than 1,000 students who passed the same examination before 2000 (Morogoro Municipal Council 2005 and 2007).

The government’s response to increased demand for secondary education and eventually its provision at the ward level in Tanzania has been supported by a number of programmes, namely Secondary Education Master Plan (2000); Education Sector Development Programme (2004); and Secondary Education Devel-
opment Programme (2004). The main objective of all these programmes has been to enhance the quality and accessibility of secondary education service to the majority of Tanzanians especially those who are in the rural and remote areas (Woods 2007). However, to a large extent, the new orientation in the delivery of secondary education in Tanzania is affected by inadequate supply of teachers to ward secondary schools. For instance in 2008, Mvomero District, one of three districts selected in this research, needed a total supply of 542 teachers for its ward secondary schools. But the district only achieved the supply of 117 teachers (see Appendix 2). This included those teachers who were posted to and those who were in ward secondary schools in the district in 2008 (Mvomero District Council 2008). Actually the supply of teachers is determined by the recruitment approach in place. The teacher recruitment approach is the means that guarantees the possibility of filling vacancies in ward secondary schools in Tanzania.

This chapter, therefore, starts by providing the significance of secondary education and its historical development in Tanzania. The brief history of secondary education development covers the late colonial period to the most recent state of secondary education provision in Tanzania. Thereafter the context of education decentralisation in Tanzania is explained. This is followed by the narration of the efforts and rationale for decentralising secondary education provision in the wards and the establishment of ward secondary schools. Finally the chapter details the approach of recruiting teachers to (public) ward secondary schools in Tanzania.

Significance of secondary education

The contribution of secondary education to the wellbeing of the individuals, the communities and the nation as a whole is noted in various literature, for example Palmer et al. (2007), Daniel (2007), Morogoro Regional Education Office (2007), Mulkeen et al. (2007), Wedgwood (2005), World Bank (2002) and the United Republic of Tanzania (1995). The literature provides that secondary education holds the privileged position in all formal education systems. At the individual level, it is pointed out that, effective secondary schooling offers the individuals access to abstract reasoning and the kind of flexible thinking skills that are not offered at the primary level (Lewin 2000: 5). Being placed between primary and tertiary education in the structures and contexts of education systems, secondary education is regarded as the hub of the education systems in the nations (World Bank 2002).

The United Republic of Tanzania (1995) states that secondary education refers to the post-primary formal education offered to individuals who have successfully completed primary education. The main objectives of secondary education are to provide opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, skills, attitudes and
understanding; to prepare individuals for further education and professional training; to inculcate a sense and ability for self study, self confidence and self advancement in the frontiers of knowledge and to prepare individuals to join the world of work (United Republic of Tanzania 1995: 6; United Republic of Tanzania 2000: 2).

The appreciation of the central role of secondary education in the country’s wellbeing is widely noted by not only the government of Tanzania but also some other researchers, for example Palmer et al. (2007). In the case of Tanzania, it is provided that secondary education has a contribution in achieving the overall development goal as well as improving the quality of life for Tanzanians (United Republic of Tanzania 2001b: 1). In the same line of argument, Palmer et al. (2007) take the view that the benefits of education are higher to the individuals with post-basic level of education and such achievements have positive effects on local communities. They further provide the example of a farmer educated to secondary education level and the inspiration he has to his primary educated neighbours in influencing them to use the new technologies based on his own experience. The example is a reflection on the situation in Uganda whereby farmers’ productivity has been closely associated with the neighbour’s level of schooling, and they (Palmer et al.) note that it is secondary education (Palmer et al. 2007: 47).

Secondary education also has considerable private returns as it opens other future avenues in life (Wedgwood 2005). The fact that secondary education is regarded as the hub, it normally directs individuals to acquiring higher education and possibly better income. From this perspective some researchers have provided their argument that the remittance from a member of a family with higher education is an example of the private returns influenced through acquiring secondary education in the long term, which can directly benefit households (Palmer et al. 2007: 48). On its side, the World Bank (2002) states that secondary education opens the avenue for and enables the youth to develop job-related skills, participate fully in society, take control of their own lives and that of others as well as continue learning.

Moreover the results of the survey conducted by Palmer et al. (2007) indicate that the most profitable female operated small businesses in Tanzania are run by educated women, and almost half of them have secondary education. The same survey also shows that secondary education is significant for the development of the informal sector elsewhere in East Africa and most of the employers in this sector have secondary education qualification (Palmer et al. 2007: 52). In relation to such benefits, Kofi Annan, the former UN Secretary General in Daniel (2007), comments that secondary education is the single highest returning social investment. The commentary given by Kofi Annan corresponds with the views given
sometimes by Walter G. Daniel in the past when he argued that secondary education seeks to develop an individual to be sufficiently competent to adjust himself to all facets of encounters ranging from physical-psychological; social-civic and personal-vocational relationships which life demands (Daniel 1940: 472).

The comparison between the outcome of secondary education and that of primary education in Tanzania concludes that the advantages of secondary education are much higher (Wedgwood 2005). Things such as late marriages and smaller family size in developing countries like Tanzania come from secondary education (Daniel 2007). This notion links secondary education to reduced fertility. For instance in Tanzania, based on the data collected in 1999 on the effect of education on fertility among women aged 15-40 years, the results were that those who had primary education their fertility rate was 6.0, while their counterparts with secondary education and higher had the fertility rate of 4.2 (Palmer et al. 2007: 54). Also Palmer et al. support their argument that secondary education has multiple benefits by noting the World Bank’s argument which indicates the positive aspects of secondary education broadly. These include such benefits as the child’s intellectual development and achievement when mothers are more educated as well as the fact that educated women delay marriages, having fewer, healthier children and lower mortality rates for under-five years. They further argue that all these benefits happen in the households where mothers have at least some levels of secondary education (Palmer et al. 2007).

Historical development of secondary education in Tanzania

Under German rule, Tanzania (by then Tanganyika) did not register much educational development at both secondary and primary levels. The change of the colonial rule after the First World War improved the situation of education in the country (Siwale & Sefu 1977). The British introduced the first secondary school for Tanzanians and was opened in Tabora in 1934. The expansion of education beyond primary level became the priority in 1954. This was a reaction to the shortage of the skilled labour the British colonial regime was experiencing at the time (Siwale & Sefu 1977).

Six years after independence, in 1967, the late Mwalimu Nyerere, the First President and Father of Nation, delivered the Arusha Declaration outlining the version of socialist orientation to be followed by Tanzania. This included a system of self-reliance in the locally administered villages structured around *Ujamaa* (socialism) (Cooksey 1986). In education, the attempt was to build a socialist education system based on the principle of self-reliance (Dodd 1968). The aim of this education system was to develop the Tanzanian society within the framework of national unity. This resulted in a fully centralised organisation and ad-
administration of education. The greater control in educational reform and adaptation in Tanzania was from the centre (Dodd 1968: 269).

The literature shows that the direction of the education system in Tanzania after the Arusha Declaration was, to a large extent, limited. The reasons advanced to justify this limitation were that it aimed at reducing elitism; developing a socialist and self-reliant value system among students, while preparing the majority of them for the life in the rural areas rather than wage or white collar employment; integrating the schools into the village communities and giving priority to the national interest over the social demands in determining the development of education in the country (Cooksey 1986: 183). Therefore, as noted by various authors, for example Dodd (1968), Cooksey (1986), Samoff (1987), Therkildsen (2000), and Wedgwood (2007), from the late 1960s to the early 1980s, all the government efforts in terms of the financial resources and the support of higher political leadership were directed towards primary education.

This initial position towards education in Tanzania made all government’s practices throughout the 1970s to aim at expanding and developing primary education while at the same time imposing control on the expansion of secondary education and above (Cooksey 1986: 184). The objective for restricting the development of secondary education was based on the narrow perspective held by the government. That secondary education was only needed to satisfy the projected personnel demands in the formal employment rather than broadly satisfying the social demands, as well as the future projections in terms of the wider benefits of secondary education to the country (Cooksey 1986: 184; Samoff 1987: 338-339). The imposed sanction on secondary education was not only limited to the expansion of the public secondary schools but also private secondary schools under the pretext of equality, and the quota system as the means to allocate students who joined public secondary schools from each region in Tanzania was introduced (Cooksey 1986: 184).

This situation continued up to the 1980s when the government changed its approach and attitude towards secondary education. According to Wedgwood (2005), Tanzania realised that its expansion of primary education and the control imposed on the development and expansion of secondary education in the interest of equality did not achieve what was expected. The education for self-reliance did not produce young people who stayed in the villages. Instead, the system produced young people who moved to the urban areas and unfortunately they lacked the potentiality required by the formal sector. As argued by the Mulkeen et al. (2007), the modern sector employers need graduates with more advanced literacy, numeric and problem solving skills than are provided by primary education. All these signify that primary education does not provide wide opportunities to the individuals for the jobs in urban areas. That is, without the requisite
knowledge, skills and attitude it is difficult to survive in the liberalised market (Osaki 2004).

Moreover during that time, the communities in Tanzania had already changed and had the view that completing primary education was no longer sufficient to meet the challenges of life in the country. Then the popular demand for both parents and students was for secondary education (Samoff 1987: 340). Hence a radical shift towards secondary education was inevitable. That means the previous government’s emphasis on primary education did not have any more chance to enable the nation to cross over to the new modern era of science and technology. The bridge, that is, secondary education, seems to be necessary to enable Tanzania to realise progress and prosperity underlined in its Development Vision 2025 (United Republic of Tanzania 1999a).

Given the fact that in the 1990s, the decentralisation initiatives and reforms had already started in Tanzania; they formed a potential gateway for transferring the responsibility of secondary education provision to the wards. Therefore decentralisation policy in Tanzania and its emphasis on the relevance of giving the responsibilities for service delivery to the local level are regarded as the catalyst in the new development and expansion of secondary education in the 2000s. Through these initiatives the government has come up with the programme of involving local communities in the ward to establish and develop the infrastructures (secondary schools) for the provision of secondary education in their localities.

Context of education decentralisation in Tanzania

In Tanzania, decentralisation is viewed as the downward shift of control of some administrative functions to the lower level units (United Republic of Tanzania 1998). It is a means offering the promise for the new mode of organising local affairs (Gershberg & Winkler 2004: 323). The intention is to attain broader locally based decision making and raise the commitment at the local level (Therkildsen 2000: 407). The decentralisation reform in Tanzania has been carried out as a way for the government to respond to the pressure from the World Bank in the perspective of economic, social and political changes of the late 1980s and early 1990s (Munga et al. 2009).

The introduction of the Bill of Rights and multi-party democracy in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania in 1985 and 1992 respectively have expanded the potential space for freedom and the need for the local level stakeholders to be directly responsible for the affairs in the localities (Baker et al. 2002). The demand is for the devolution of responsibilities for service provision to the action units in the localities (decentralisation by devolution). It is based on the belief that the great potential for social and economic development in Tanza-
nia depends on the greater participation of the grassroots institutions in the local affairs for shaping their destiny (Baker et al. 2002). Thus the economic rationale for decentralisation, apart from the cost savings from reduced bureaucracy and faster decision making, can lead to an increase in the provision of service which is in line with the local needs (Hutchinson 2002: 2).

Education decentralisation in Tanzania is part of the more general government decentralisation programme started in the 1990s. Its goal is to provide the avenue towards improving the system of providing education service in the country. It is an attempt to involve the lower organs in their areas of jurisdiction in the management of education (Gershberg & Winkler 2004: 345). The experience has shown that highly centralised practices in the provision of education service in Tanzania tend to ignore the peculiarities of various localities in the educational development process (United Republic of Tanzania 2001b: 8). Therefore, decentralising decision-making to the local level is considered as a means to reduce the time required for making decisions as well as increasing the likelihood that decisions will be made with the benefits of local knowledge of conditions (Hutchinson 2002).

The emphasis on education decentralisation in Tanzania has also been influenced by the 1990 Jomtien Declaration adopted in the United Nations meeting on education held in Dakar, Senegal. The declaration provides that education is the basic right of everyone (Education for All). All United Nations member countries have ratified this declaration. In order to implement the Jomtien Declaration, in 1994 the Government of Tanzania designed a grand programme called ‘Basic Education Master Plan.’ The plan puts emphasis on the decentralisation of responsibilities for planning, implementation and supervision of education service to schools and communities as a strategy to help the government to realise the goal towards the education for all. This initiative could be regarded as an ambition to the major reform and departure from the old practice where plans have been drawn from above (Ministry of Education and Culture 1998). Generally education decentralisation aims at giving powers to schools and communities to plan and implement school development plans. It is a means for the communities to see educational plans as their own and not as an outside thing (Ministry of Education and Culture 1998).

The initiative taken in 1994 was followed by the formulation of the Education and Training policy of 1995. Given the emphasis of this policy on the education for all, Tanzania has increased both the enrolment and completion rates in primary education. For instance, it is noted that in the early 2000s Tanzania managed to achieve 98% of the Universal Primary Education (UPE) targets and this is a sign of the increased demand for secondary education as well as the need for change in education policy emphasis to include secondary education (Wedgwood
According to the UNESCO Statistics (1998) quoted in the United Republic of Tanzania, Secondary Education Master Plan (2000), for three decades since independence up to the late 1990s, the Gross Secondary Enrolment Ratio in the country has been below 6% in public secondary schools. Given the fact that the government alone cannot cope with the current demand for secondary education service, the entry of other providers who do not have restrictions in the provision of secondary education service is inevitable. This has accelerated decentralising secondary education provision to the wards in Tanzania (Gershberg & Winkler 2004).

**Secondary education decentralisation**

Secondary education decentralisation in Tanzania has started to gain momentum in the early 2000s. This has been within the framework put forward in Secondary Education Development Programme (SEDP) (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a). Being the framework for secondary education decentralisation, the programme addresses the government policy for decentralisation (1998) on the management of the delivery of education service in the secondary education subsector. The programme puts emphasis on the community based developmental approach for the intention of eliciting greater lower level participation in secondary education provision. The objective is to enable secondary education provision to utilise the opportunities found in the localities and to expand the access of secondary education in order to increase the transition rate from primary to secondary schools in Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a). The motive behind this has been the state of secondary education in the country between the late 1990s and early 2000s which has acted as a disincentive to the achievements reached in primary education. For example the case of Morogoro municipal council in Table 2.1 shows the extent of the achievement in primary education and the way secondary education transition was a challenge in the early 2000s.

Apart from Secondary Education Development Programme, secondary education decentralisation has been motivated by the Secondary Education Master Plan (SEMP) of 2000. The Secondary Education Master Plan (2000) points out that

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.1</th>
<th>Demand for secondary education in Morogoro Municipality 2000-2003 (total numbers)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>District (council)</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sat for primary examination</td>
<td>3,082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passed primary examination</td>
<td>894</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selected for secondary education</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passed but not selected</td>
<td>572</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Field data 2008-2009*
secondary education in Tanzania ranks high in priority in the medium term and it has to be accessible in terms of both quality and affordability to the local communities in the country (Tanzania).

Overview of policy framework for education decentralisation

The policy framework sets the structure and the operation of the particular issue that needs the government’s attention for the purpose of attaining the goals (Anderson 1997; Gupta 2001). Since its beginning in the late 1990s, the current decentralisation has received the government’s attention through the development of a Policy Paper for Decentralisation (1998) which to some extent relates to other policies, such as the Public Service Management and Employment Policy (1999) and the Education and Training Policy (1995) for the purpose of this research.

Policy paper on decentralisation 1998
This policy paper has its genesis from the ruling party (Chama Cha Mapinduzi) election manifesto of 1995, and both the recommendations for the national conference on a shared vision for local government in Tanzania and the local government reform agenda of 1996. The policy paper sets the broad guideline for decentralisation in Tanzania. The main emphasis is to decentralize the responsibilities for social service provision, including education service to the localities, in order to improve the state of service delivery (United Republic of Tanzania 1998).

The policy paper on decentralisation provides that the improved service delivery requires human resource function and especially that of recruitment to be governed by less cumbersome procedures and be more responsive to the actual needs of the local and grassroots institutions. The policy paper insists that in order to achieve the objective of decentralisation, no uniform structure needs to be introduced and imposed on the local institutions (United Republic of Tanzania 1998). Hence the role of the central institutions (from the ministries, regional administration to the headquarters of the local government authorities) is not to perform those decentralised responsibilities but rather to issue policies, guidelines and standards to be followed by the local level institutions.

Public service management and employment policy 1999
This policy instrument enables the government to take strong measures to improve the management of service provision to the public. For a long time the government in Tanzania, through its central institutions, has been performing almost everything in the provision of services. The system of regarding the central institutions as the sole providers has failed to meet the challenges and expec-
tations raised by the increased demand in the service delivery in the localities. That means, as argued by Harrison & Shirrom (1999), ‘when power and authority are highly centralised, control over important (human) resources and delivery of services is concentrated in the higher ranks (central institutions).’ This approach tends to increase the burden on the central institutions and reduces their ability to adequately solve the diverse problems occurring in the localities.

Therefore the aim of this policy instrument is to reform the role of the central institutions from being the sole providers into being enabling and facilitating institutions. While on the other hand, the decentralised responsibility for service delivery is supposed to be shifted to the local level institutions. With respect to recruitment, the policy provides that the role of the central institutions is to facilitate the process in the local institutions to ensure that the standards set in the recruitment practice that is, being competitive, transparent and based on the merit principles are adhered to (United Republic of Tanzania 1999b). The Public Service Management and Employment Policy further points out that in order to sustain decentralisation as a means to empower the local institutions, the actors in them need to be visionary and with the capacity to act. The policy notes that the highly centralised system of personnel recruitment is the reason for poor staff deployment and the unbalanced distribution of personnel in public service.

*Education and training policy 1995*

The policy guides the development and provision of education service in Tanzania. Its emphasis is on decentralising education by empowering communities and educational institutions to manage and administer education service delivery. The target of the policy is to place the delivery of education service under the authority and responsibility of schools and local communities. The policy provides that the role of the central institution(s) is to ensure equity in distribution and allocation of resources for education provision in the localities.

Despite its emphasis being on education decentralisation, the National Education Act No. 25 of 1978 centralises the administration of secondary schools to the Ministry responsible for Education through REO and DEO. The outcome is the persistent centralisation of decisions such as teacher recruitment in public secondary schools in Tanzania (United Republic of Tanzania 1995: 25).

**Overview of legal framework for education decentralisation**

Legal framework provides ‘the broad guiding principles’ for the implementation of decentralisation (Anderson 1997). The objective of the legal framework is to have the mechanism or tool for achieving the underlined targets of the decentralisation initiative. In Tanzania, such targets include improvement in the quality of and access to services provided in the localities. The legal framework creates re-
sponsibilities and obligations on the sides of both local and central government institutions. The legislation that guides staff recruitment and decentralisation of social services in Tanzania are Local Government Laws (Miscellaneous Amendment) Act No. 6 of 1999 (including Amendment of 2006); Public Service Act No. 8 of 2002 (including Amendment Act No. 18 of 2007) and Public Service Regulations of 2003.

Local government laws (Miscellaneous Amendment) Act No. 6 of 1999

The Act No. 6 of 1999 provides that the policy of decentralisation has to be implemented by an Act of Parliament and incorporated into Tanzanian laws through the Local Government Laws (Miscellaneous Amendment) Act No. 6 of 1999. Its main purpose is to bring the existing local government laws in line with the government policy on decentralisation and hence to allow its implementation.

The Act No. 6 of 1999 decentralises the functions and powers for service delivery from the central government system to the local government and within the local government system, from the district council to lower level organs such as wards and villages. In terms of decentralisation the role of the central institutions is to facilitate the exercise of power and discharge of decentralised functions by the local institutions in the manner that gives due recognition to the autonomy of the grassroots institutions. Despite the fact that the Act No. 6 of 1999 acknowledges the heterogeneity nature of the grassroots institutions, it still allows the central institutions to have overriding decisions in respect to the matters taking place in the grassroots institutions on ‘the basis of necessity or desirability’.

Public Service Act No. 8 of 2002 and Public Service Regulations of 2003

The Act No. 8 of 2002 (including amendment Act No. 18 of 2007) and Public Service Regulations of 2003 are the foundation and the basis of the centralised human resource recruitment approach in the public service in Tanzania. The Act and its regulations provide that when recruitment is performed by other institutions, it is regarded as a delegated function on behalf of the Public Service Commission. Public Service Commission is a central government institution that has the obligation to issue guidance, to monitor and to conduct merit based recruitment in the public service in Tanzania (Public Service Act No. 8).

The power to recruit teachers is vested in the Public Service Commission – Teachers’ Service Department. The Act and its regulations allow the commission to further delegate its powers and functions to other central government institutions. For secondary school teacher recruitment, the power is delegated to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. Regulation 119 (3) of Public Service Regulations (2003) provides that ‘the Ministry responsible for Education
shall comply with the terms and conditions pertaining to employment of secondary school teachers as prescribed by the commission through the Teachers’ Service Department.’ That means secondary school teacher recruitment is centralised and performed by MoEVT in Tanzania.

Ward secondary schools as an education decentralisation initiative

Decentralisation initiative in Tanzania is a vast and dynamic effort for change (United Republic of Tanzania 1998). Through it the government has embarked on the massive mobilisation initiative nation-wide to build secondary schools in each ward. In responding to the government initiative, local communities and their leaders in the wards have mobilised themselves in not only contributing with their labour but also financial and material resources for building secondary schools in the localities. In this perspective, education decentralisation has achieved positive results towards secondary education service provision at the grassroots levels in Tanzania (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2007).

The report issued by the Ministry of Education in 2006 indicates that at that time at least every ward managed to possess or was in the process of acquiring a secondary school (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2006). This is viewed as ‘a success story’ in decentralising secondary education service provision by involving the local communities in their respective areas in the process of its delivery (Sitta 2007). As a result of this local mobilisation initiative in secondary education service provision in Tanzania, the number of secondary schools has increased at the ward level. For example from 2004 to 2006, 998 ward secondary schools were constructed and opened countrywide. During that time, the number of government secondary schools (including community built secondary schools) increased from 828 to 1826 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training 2006). In the year 2007 alone, another 669 new ward secondary schools were opened (Ministry of Education 2007). In the same year (2007) the initiative nearly achieved 100 percent of the students who completed and passed their primary school examination to join secondary education (Sitta 2007).

Local communities and ward secondary schools

Decentralising secondary education service provision to the wards means a changed position and role of local communities, from being passive recipients into being active participants in secondary education service delivery (United Republic of Tanzania 1995). The successful implementation of the Universal Primary Education Programme in Tanzania has created unprecedented social demand for secondary education (United Republic of Tanzania 2001a). In coping
with the renewed social demand for education service beyond primary level, the essence of the local communities at the ward level to participate in secondary education service delivery becomes inevitable. In revealing the position and role of local communities in secondary education decentralisation, the Education and Training Policy (1995) provides that ‘communities shall be encouraged and given incentive to establish, own, manage and administer at least one secondary school in each ward.’

The Education and Training Policy insists that for Tanzania to provide quality and guarantee access to education service to its people, ‘active involvement’ of the local communities in the wards is essential. The aim is to provide more opportunities to the communities to be more responsible in managing their ward secondary schools instead of staying aside. ‘Active involvement’ of the local communities is viewed as the mechanism to give them an opportunity to plan for the development of their schools at the ward level. This is supposed to be accompanied with giving the local communities sufficient freedom and ownership of the grassroots institutions so that they are able to offer them (grassroots institutions) the necessary support both materially and morally (Ministry of Education and Culture 1998).

Operation of secondary schools

According to Tanzania Secondary Education Master Plan (2000), the operation of secondary schools in Tanzania is influenced by the concept of ownership. The ownership of secondary schools in Tanzania is classified into government schools and non-government schools. Government schools consist of two categories, namely, the traditional national schools and community built secondary schools (ward secondary schools). The latter are the result of the education decentralisation initiative. Though they are built by the local communities, on the basis of the two broad categories of secondary school ownership in Tanzania, they are operated and managed by the government. The non-government secondary schools, on their part, are privately owned by individuals, non-government organisations and church based organisations. These secondary schools are also operated and managed by their respective owners.

Secondary school teacher recruitment

Lewin (2000) details the practice of teacher recruitment in varying circumstances. According to him, teacher recruitment is organised into two main systems. The teacher recruitment approach may either take the form of a market system or being directly controlled by the central government. In the market system, each secondary school can advertise and recruit its own teachers. Such a system
automatically responds to the shortage of teachers the school experiences. The
centralised system of recruitment is the one used by most African countries, in-
cluding Tanzania. In the centralised system, it is common for secondary school
teachers to be recruited and posted anywhere in the country (Lewin 2000: 30).

The supporters of the centralised teacher recruitment, for example the Ministry
of Education and Vocational Training in Tanzania, claim that recruitment by the
single, central authority, is generally free from the local pressures, can more eas-
ily be made open and fair and is a means to redress the inequalities in the de-
ployment of teachers in the country (Bennell & Mukyanuzi 2005). There is also a
claim that the centralised recruitment works well where there is a possibility for
the local systems to be influenced by the individuals who hold power positions
and want to use their positions to fulfil their own interests. This is always the
likely situation in the countries which possess the weak administrative capacity at
both the district and local levels (Hallack 1990).

The critics of the centralised teacher recruitment system provide their argu-
ment on the basis of the weakness it has in relation to the responsiveness to the
local needs. The main underlined criticism cited against the centralised teacher
recruitment system to schools is that it has the ability of undermining the rational
operation of the posting process. In most cases the interests and preferences of
both schools and teachers are rarely considered in the process (Hedges 2002). In
the same line of argument, Mulkeen et al. (2007: 20) take the opinion that the
more local the system, the more likely it is to be in touch with the needs of the
schools and respond quickly and flexibly to those needs.

The experience of secondary school teacher
recruitment in Tanzania

Secondary school teachers in Tanzania belong to the category of public servants
(United Republic of Tanzania 1999b: 9-10). This means their recruitment is con-
ducted within the framework of the principal legislation governing recruitment in
public service in Tanzania. The principal legislation is referred to as Public Ser-
vice Act No. 8 of 2002 as amended by Act No. 18 of 2007 and supported by Pub-
lic Service Regulations of 2003. The Act confers the powers to recruit secondary
school teachers to the Department of Teachers’ Service of the Public Service
Commission. The Act also provides the Department of Teachers’ Service with
the opportunity to delegate such powers to another central government institu-
tion. This has facilitated the powers to recruit teachers in public secondary
schools in Tanzania to be delegated to MoEVT (delegated authority).

Therefore teacher recruitment in public secondary schools in Tanzania is prac-
tically performed by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training in Dar es
Salaam upon receiving the estimates of the number of teachers required from
each region. The Ministry prepares the estimates indicating the number of teachers and associated costs (personnel emoluments). The estimates are then submitted to the President’s Office-Public Service Management for the approval and processing of the employment permit. Sometimes the President’s Office-Public Service Management makes some adjustments on the number of teachers to be recruited depending on the budget approved by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs in respect to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. Thereafter, the President’s Office-Public Service Management (PO-PSM) issues the employment permits to allow the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to continue with the recruitment process of teachers. As shown in Figure 2.1, teacher recruitment in Tanzania is characterised by the mismatch between expectation and reality. Expectation is from the side of secondary schools which submit their needs for teachers upwards through the councils and regional education offices to MoEVT. However the reality, that is what comes through the downward posting of teachers from MoEVT to secondary schools, does not, in most cases, reflect or match their expectation.

Figure 2.1 Secondary school teacher recruitment in Tanzania: Expectation versus reality

Source: Public Service Act No. 8 of 2002 and Public Service Regulations 2003.
Most of the teachers who are recruited by MoEVT are those who have just completed their training and those individuals who have other non-teaching professional qualifications and have been granted with the teaching licences after taking part in a short training programme. After the completion of the recruitment exercise the recruited teachers are posted to the district education offices (councils) through the regional education offices to be allocated to the (ward) secondary schools. However, it is at the discretion of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training to decide on the region where a secondary school teacher will be posted and the same applies to the council education offices during the final posting of teachers to (ward) secondary schools. The whole process of teacher recruitment to public (government) secondary schools including the community built ones is handled through a downward centralised approach (Public Service Act No. 8).

The centralised teacher recruitment approach further complicates the situation in secondary schools due to teacher specialisation (Mulkeen et al. 2007: 20). Secondary school teachers in Tanzania are typical specialists in two subjects as opposed to their counterparts in primary schools. The effect of specialisation on the part of secondary school teachers is that they lack diversity and flexibility in the practice of teaching given diverse subjects offered in secondary schools in Tanzania ranging from 10 to 12 depending on schools’ specialisation, whether in the arts or sciences respectively. Due to teachers’ specialisation, ward secondary schools are confronted with an operational challenge in their respective environments, especially when the allocation of recruited teachers to them is done on the basis of TSR (see Appendix 2) and the recommended standard ratio being 1:30 (United Republic of Tanzania 2004a). Although the teacher-student ratio (TSR) has been the means of determining the needs for teachers in ward secondary schools, the ratio as the criterion does not consider the reality of the situation in secondary schools. One district education official in Morogoro Municipality during the interview had the view that:

TSR overlooks teachers’ inflexibility in secondary education in terms of their professional training background from the teachers’ training colleges (Interview, Morogoro Municipal Education Office: April 2008).

Although it is claimed that the centralised teacher recruitment aims at equity in teacher deployment in Tanzania, the two reports by the World Bank in 1999 and 2004 reveal the extent to which the approach is far from realizing its intention. The World Bank in the two reports notes that Tanzania as a country does not have absolute shortage of teachers in secondary education as it is suggested in the isolated cases of secondary schools. However the disparities and the consequent shortage of teachers to some secondary schools are mainly due to the problem of poor distribution of teachers throughout the country.
According to two World Bank reports, the secondary school teacher – student ratio stands at 1:22 which is better than the ratio aimed at by Secondary Education Development Programme (2004) of 1:30. The revealed disparity is the result of the urban government secondary schools being overstaffed while their rural counterparts are understaffed (Wedgwood 2005: 33). Urban secondary schools tend to be more attractive than those in the rural areas (the view of the official from Public Service Commission – Dar es Salaam in May 2008). The same view on the urban rural teacher distribution disparity is also noted by the Minister of Regional Administration and Local Government (Tanzania), Celina Kombani, and she points out that the government has realised that secondary schools in the remote areas do not have enough teachers while urban secondary schools are overstaffed (Nipashe Newspaper: 17 March 2009). Some authors have tried to provide the explanation for such a tendency and have stated that it is the result of the wide range of the opportunities that the urban areas can offer when compared to the rural areas (Munga et al. 2009). In the case of secondary school teachers in Tanzania, the opportunities include being able to engage in private practices such as private tutoring (tuition), part-time teaching (in private secondary schools) and other quick income generating activities (petty businesses) to supplement their salaries (Bennell & Mukyanuzi 2005).

Conclusion

The centralised teacher recruitment approach poses a challenge to the provision of education service in public secondary schools, particularly to the ones categorised as ward secondary schools in Tanzania. Most of these schools are understaffed (see Appendix 2). This seems to be due to the inability of the centralised teacher recruitment approach to guarantee equality in teacher distribution throughout the country, especially to those secondary schools in rural and remote areas. As a result, those few teachers in schools with shortages are forced to adapt to the situation and continue with teaching.