

«Education is the key, but the school is the lock»

The Privatization Of Secondary Education in Tanzania



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Abstract (English)

This thesis discusses the phenomenon of privatization of secondary education in Tanzania, as well as the idea of economic development through education. The total number of private secondary schools has in fact almost tripled between 2006 and 2013.

In accordance with the *Education Gospel*, education is as a prerequisite for poverty reduction and economic development. However, education's developmental effects can only be expected to be dramatic if they are a part of a broader transformation. One has also started to realize that quantity has been prioritized at the cost of quality. The government schools have a high teacher-student-ratio, as well as a lack of both facilities, teaching materials and qualified teachers. Teachers' motivation is also low due to the transfer issue and unsatisfactory salaries.

This situation, in addition to the Tanzanian history where liberalization and privatization was practically forced on the country by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, as well as the country's less fortunate financial situation, has led to private participants including themselves in the provision of education. Private schools shows a great diversity, and I found that even though their owners' motivation seems to be a combination of making profit and doing good, schools owned by companies are more often profit driven as opposed to the schools with individual owners who seems to have more of an altruistic motivation.

Regardless of the school owner's motivation, the empirical evidence suggests that the privatization of education will continue, however not without consequences. Although a few manages to escape the bottom of the status hierarchy, privatization of education can also be considered as just a more sophisticated way of reproducing traditional distinctions between different types of schools and the people who attend them. Furthermore, the knowledge-based economy, which seems to be a goal of private school developers, gives education a role that is clearly reflected in the Education Gospel and the new global agenda. It gives both new responsibilities, priorities and functions to the educational system, and the agenda is clearly set in the name of globalization.

Abstract (Norwegian)

Denne masteroppgaven drøfter privatiseringen av ungdoms- og videregående skoler i Tanzania, samt ideen om økonomisk utvikling gjennom utdanning. Antallet private ungdoms- og videregående skoler har nemlig nesten tredoblet seg mellom 2006 og 2013.

Ifølge utdanningsortodoksien er utdanning en forutsetning for fattigdomsreduksjon og økonomisk utvikling. Utdanningens utviklingseffekt kan imidlertid kun forventes å være dramatisk dersom den er en del av en større transformasjon. Etter hvert kan man også innsett at kvantitet har blitt prioritert på bekostning av kvalitet. De offentlige skolene er preget av en høy lærer-elev-rate og mangel på både fasiliteter, undervisningsmateriell og kvalifiserte lærere. Lærernes motivasjon er også lav på grunn av frykten for å bli forflyttet, samt et utilfredsstillende lønnsnivå.

Denne situasjonen har ført til at private aktører har inkludert seg selv som tilbydere av utdanning, men det finnes også flere forklaringer. Privatiseringsutviklingen skyldes også liberaliseringen som praktisk talt ble påtvunget Tanzania av Verdensbanken og det internasjonale pengefondet på grunn av landets uheldige økonomiske situasjon. De private skolene er veldig ulik hverandre både i størrelse, organisering og ressurser, og skoleeierens motivasjon for opprettelsen synes å være en blanding av ønsket om økonomisk gevinst og ønsket om å gjøre noe godt. Skoler eid av selskaper viser seg imidlertid å være motivert av profitt i betydelig større grad enn skolene eid av enkeltindivider. Disse individene synes i hovedsak å motiveres av ønsket om å gjøre noe godt.

Uavhengig av skoleeierens motivasjon tyder de empiriske dataene på at privatiseringen av utdanning vil fortsette, men ikke uten konsekvenser. Selv om noen få klarer å unnsnippe bunnen av samfunnshierarkiet, kan privatisering også betraktes som en mer sofistikert måte å reproducere de tradisjonelle skillene mellom ulike typer skoler og menneskene som befinner seg der. Den kunnskapsbaserte økonomien, som mange av de private skolene synes å strebe etter, gir også utdanning en rolle som er tydelig preget av utdanningsortodoksien og den nye globale agendaen. Rollen gir utdanningssystemet både nye ansvarsområder, prioriteringer og funksjoner, og agendaen er tydelig satt i globaliseringens navn.

Acknowledgements

I came to Tanzania the first time in February 2013 in the context of my studies. I spent two weeks teaching at public secondary school, and the remaining four weeks travelling around the country. This is when I first experienced the myriad of private schools, which stood in great contrast to my experience with the public school. This experience formed the basis of this thesis. I simply had to learn more about the privatization of education in Tanzania.

I am in debt to a number of people for their valuable assistance, good advices, friendly support and constructive critiques, which helped me to complete this thesis.

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Acronyms

ESAP	– Economic Structural Adjustment Programs
ESR	– Education for Self Reliance
GDP	– Gross Domestic Product
IMF	– International Monetary Fund
LOI	– Language of Instruction
MoEVT	– Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NECTA	-- National Examinations Council of Tanzania
NGO	– Non-Government Organization
PRSPs	-- Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PTC	– Parent-Teacher-Consultation
SEDP	– Secondary Education Development Plan
TZS	– Tanzanian Shilling
UPE	– Universal Primary Education
WB	– World Bank

1.0. Introduction

In current Tanzania, there is a growth of secondary schools and a large proportion of them are private. Thus, this thesis discusses the phenomenon of privatization of secondary education. Which factors cause the development and who are the people behind this privatization wave? Further, it examines participants' motives for the establishment of schools, whether motivated by religiously, economically, pedagogically or ideologically reasoning. In this context, it is necessary to address the concept of quality education, as this is one of the central elements in the motivation of the school owners. All of this is discussed in context of ideas pertaining to economic development and its relations to education. The discussion includes both an explanation of people's expectations and hopes towards education, and what it actually means to them.

1.1. Background

Tanzania has achieved almost full coverage in primary education, while the situation is far from that good when it comes to secondary education. A relevant question to pose is then whether the authorities should open the education market for more private participants? In Norway and other European countries, this is an ongoing debate. This makes the theme both relevant and interesting, and Tanzania is a country with relevant experience due to the rapid growth of private schools.

An overarching theme is the privatization of secondary education in Tanzania. Secondary school students are primarily between 13 and 19 years old. After the government created a program called *The Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP)*, the total number of secondary schools had a tremendous growth. Before entering the field, I assumed that the government's commitment to secondary education could help explain this development. SEDP was implemented between 2004 and 2009, and its purpose was to improve the access, quality and management of secondary education. A review of the implementation shows that the program was most successful in improving access to education. The number of secondary schools has in fact more than tripled between 2004 and 2009, and the growth has

continued until this day (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014b). However, to what extent my hypothesis about the authorities commitment to secondary education came to be conclusive with my research, is to be revealed later.

Ideas of economic development is definitely affecting people's willingness to invest in education. Throughout the world, education is perceived as one of the key factors for economic development. However, how education in itself is not enough to reduce poverty and promote economic development (Madsen, 2011), is discussed later in this thesis. Furthermore, along the way I found that in addition to this overreaching topic, it is probably just as important to get an understanding of what education actually means to the people of Tanzania. Why are parents working 2-3 jobs to be able to pay the school fees for their children? Why are the children so dedicated, motivated and hard working in school, to an extent that can not even be compared to students in Norway? Why are there so many private participants in the education sector? What are their motives for opening school after school? Consequently, my theme took a turn from concerning the national level, to combining this with people's ideas and experience on a grass root level.

According to my underlying hypothesis, the majority are of the opinion that the best educational quality is to be found in private schools. According to my experience, parents are willing to go great lengths so that their children can attend a private school. In many cases, attending a private school secures a good occupation, which also insures a general quality of life. Simultaneously, there is an ongoing debate regarding the quality of secondary education; is the government doing the right thing when they are building schools without being able to fill them with qualified teachers and high quality education? This is also a question with need of attention.

1.2. Research Questions

The research questions are not exclusively causal or descriptive, but emphasis is put on the causal aspects. The research questions are:

1. Who are the main participants behind the growth of private secondary schools and what are their motives?

2. How do the participants explain the circumstances that are causing this growth?
3. To what degree may growth of private secondary education and the motivation of the involved participants be explained by ideas of development through education?

Examples of participants involved in the privatization development of secondary education can be religious organization, the government, companies or private individuals.

1.3. Significance of the Study

The results of this study will contribute to knowledge about privatization of the education sector, and the development of private secondary education in Tanzania in particular. It illuminates the effects of the liberalization, which one may argue was practically forced on the country from international organizations. In addition, the thesis shed light on how much education actually means to the people of Tanzania and what is considered *good quality education*.

1.4. Limitations of the Study

The results of this study must be interpreted with certain caution. For one, I only visited six of Tanzania's 30 regions. The second limitation has to do with representativeness. The schools visited and the people interviewed were chosen mainly through the snowball method, and most informants are men. In addition, the number of schools and the time spent in the field, must be considered limited. Moreover, the thesis deals primarily with secondary education in Tanzania, not education in its entirety. I must also emphasize that the study will focus on private schools. It will not be a comparative study between public and private education.

1.5. The Thesis

In addition to the research questions, chapter 1 particulate an explanation of background, motivation and theme of the thesis. Chapter 2 describes the education system in Tanzania in general and secondary education in particular. It also contains information about the Secondary Education Development Plan, in addition to a short briefing on the country of research, Tanzania. Chapter 3 is a theoretical chapter where the phenomenon of privatization is discussed. In addition, it explains the demand-supply autonomy. In chapter 4, I describe the methods I have been using, why I choose these methods and my experience using them. Chapter 5 examines the idea of development through education in addition to an introduction of the participants and their motivation for establishing private schools. In chapter 6, I expound the structural circumstances that promotes privatization. Other topics included in chapter 5 and 6 are the morbidity of public schools, quality education, as well as gender aspects related to the idea of economic development. In chapter 7, I discuss consequences of privatization and its future development. Chapter 8 consists of a summarized analysis and conclusions.

2.0. Education in Tanzania

2.1. About Tanzania

Tanzania is located on the East coast of the African continent. The capital is Dodoma and the current president is Jakaya Kikwete from CCM, the party that has ruled Tanzania since independence. The national language in Tanzania is Swahili, and officially the population is 52 291 million. The country has a varied landscape with large mountains, lakes, savannas, forests and a coastline. The climate in Tanzania is subtropical and approximately 39 percent of the land is protected in form of national parks or reserves ("Tanzania," 2013).



Figure 1: Map of Tanzania (Reif, 2004)

Tanganyika, the previous name for the part of Tanzania that is mainland, has been under both German and British rule in colonial times. The country was declared an independent republic in 1961 and the following year, Julius Nyerere was elected as the first president. Zanzibar became independent in 1963, and the following year Tanganyika and Zanzibar joined together and formed a union called the United Republic of Tanzania ("Tanzania," 2013).

Nyerere was a teacher himself and focused on education. This may explain why Tanzania has had a strong focus on schools compared to other former colonies. Today, 98 percent of the

children attend basic education and 81 percent completes it. Among the young people in Tanzania 75 percent can read and write. However, only 5 percent completes high school ("Tanzania," 2013)

Although Tanzania has experienced a relatively stable economic growth in recent years, the country remains one of the poorest in the world. The Household Budget Survey of 2000/2001 revealed that 19 percent of the population are living below the food poverty line, and that 36 percent were below the basic needs of poverty line (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004, p. 1). In addition, UN data shows that 69 percent lives under extreme poverty ("Tanzania," 2013) and the gap between rich and poor is large. Most Tanzanians are small-scale cultivators, but in recent years the mining industry, tourism, international trade and aid as led to a significant economic growth. However, the country’s economy is still tamed by corruption and heavy bureaucracy which inhibits development.

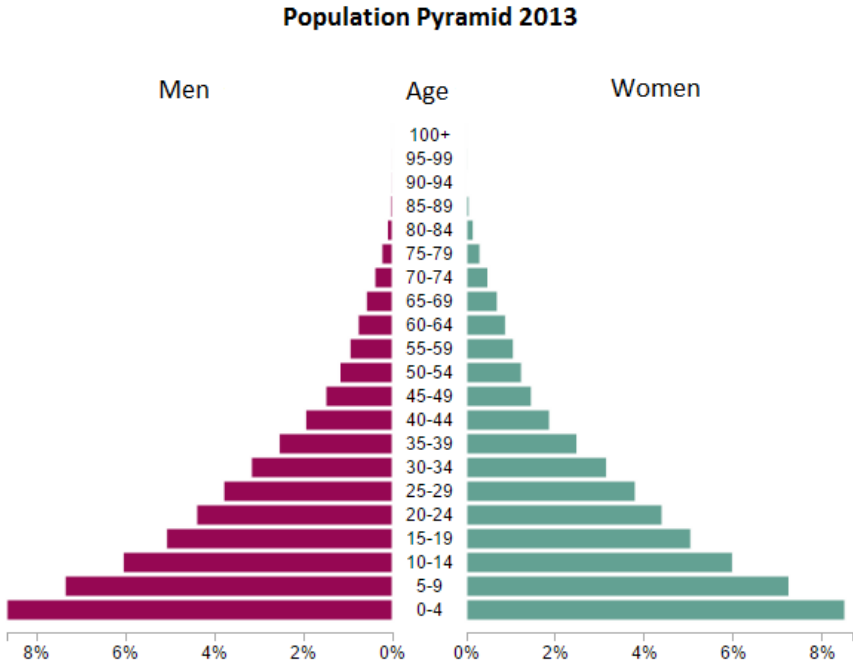


Figure 2: Population Pyramid ("Tanzania," 2013)

As we can see in Figure 2, Tanzania has a young population. Out of the 52 291 million inhabitants, 20 166 million are under 15 years old ("Tanzania," 2013). This corresponds to 39 percent of the population. It follows that there is a need for many schools.

2.2. The Evolution of Tanzanian Education

Figure 3 shows that from 1961–2005 there was a steady increase in enrollment in secondary education, while a rapid increase occurred between 2006 and 2008. Figure 4 on the other hand, shows that my sample of private schools were established between 1980 and 2010. Further, it shows that the majority of them were established during the period of steady increase in secondary education enrollment.

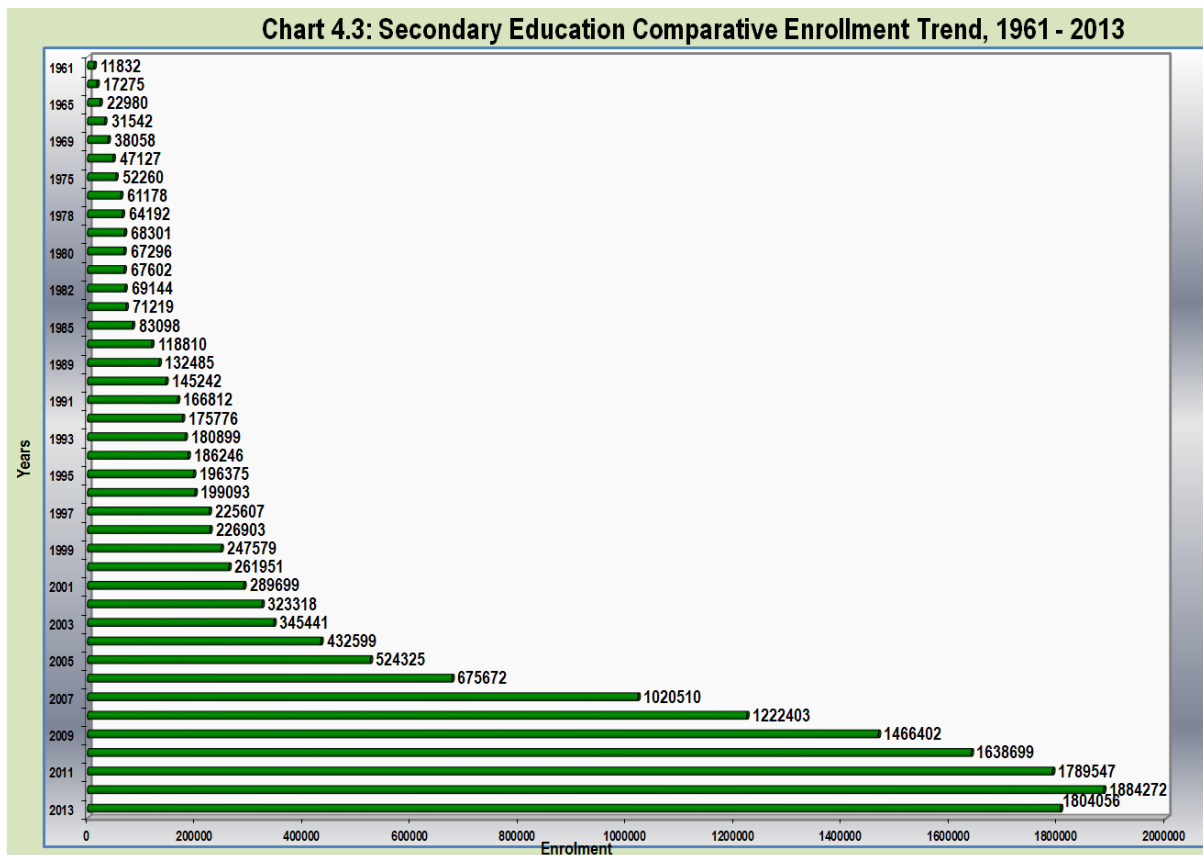


Figure 3: Secondary Education Enrollment Trend (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014a)

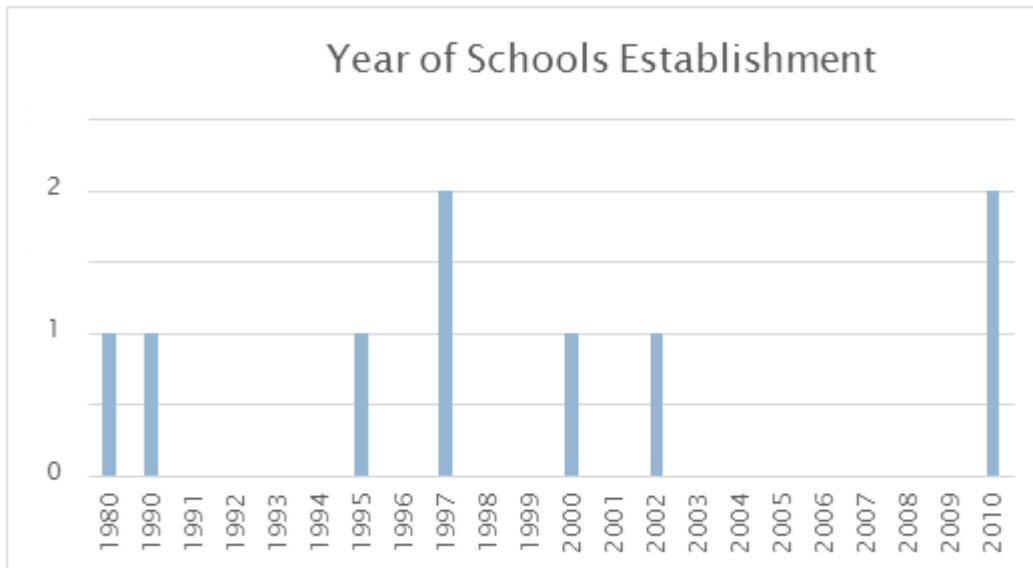


Figure 4: Year of Schools Establishment

In order to enhance the understanding of this increase in enrollment, one may divide the evolution of Tanzanian education into phases, depending on who was ruling the country at a particular time. Phase one, is before colonialism, phase two during the colonialism, and phase three is after independence. This is presented in the following.

2.2.1. Before Colonialism

Before Tanzania became a German colony, in the late 19th century, the country had an indigenous education with the tribe as the basic unit. Attitudes, skills, knowledge and values were transmitted to the children within each tribe, with the elders being the teachers. Indigenous education was vocational in the way that girls were prepared for domestic and agricultural work with emphasis on the role as mother and wife, while boys were prepared to become warriors, hunters, fishermen or farmers (John, 2009).

2.2.2. During Colonialism

The Arabs introduced classroom education in Tanzania, in the form of Koranic schools that were established along the coast and in Zanzibar. These schools introduced the skills of reading, writing and arithmetic. However, the missionaries who came before the formal colonizers were the ones who pioneered modern education. They wanted the people of Tanzania to be able to read and write because the knowledge of the Bible was fundamental to the religion (John, 2009).

The German colonial administration (1886-1919) implemented an education system that included primary, central (middle) and high schools. Primary schools were owned and administrated by the missionaries, and they offered three years of instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. They were also centers of evangelical work. The center school gave a two-year course, which emphasized vocational skills in local crafts and agriculture. The high school lasted between two and three years, and the courses offered was for example industrial arts and teacher training (John, 2009).

The British took over in 1919 up to 1961, and their educational purpose was to develop the people on their own terms, depending on Tanzanian values and customs. The educational system was changed into one that was composed of four years of primary school. Among other things, the students in primary school was taught reading, writing, arithmetic, religious knowledge, general knowledge, health and hygiene, agriculture, handwork and Kiswahili. Primary school was followed by two years of district school, with a continuation of primary school syllabus and history, geography and English as distinct subjects. The British education was based on race, gender and economic status. There were schools for Europeans, Indians, Asians and Africans. Although the British continued using Kiswahili as the language of instruction (LOI), teachers that could manage English was rewarded with higher pay. More and more teachers were tempted, and over time, this led to that Kiswahili was no longer used as the LOI in schools (John, 2009).

2.2.3. After Independence

Since independence, the education system has been reformed into one that would be relevant to the needs of Tanzania. In 1967, Nyerere introduced the philosophy of Education for Self Reliance (ESR). It outlined the principles of Ujamaa (togetherness) to develop the country's economy. The aims of socialism was, according to Nyerere, to build a society in which all members have equal rights and equal opportunities. All the citizens should live in peace with his or her neighbors without suffering or imposing injustice. The idea was that all citizens were to experience an increase in the basic level of material welfare (John, 2009).

Universal Primary Education (UPE) was implemented in 1977. UPE was a program used to insure that all children would get primary education. Basic education was now given a priority, and it was stipulated that all children regardless of their social, economic and ethnic background should have access to education. The expansion of primary education posed challenges to the government because of the rapid rise in enrolment rates (John, 2009). Consequently, the demand for educated teachers and resources in general could not match the soaring numbers, which led to the falling standards, a legacy that has perpetuated to the present time. The expansion of secondary schools was also given a priority, and the enrolment in public secondary school grew rapidly between the 1960s and early 1970s (John, 2009).

In the mid-1980s, the World Bank (WB), together with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), introduced the Economic Structural Adjustment Programs (ESAP). These programs meant to help developing countries paying their debts. Tanzania signed the agreement (John, 2009).

The ESAPs came with conditions such as trade liberalization, privatization, devaluation of currency and reducing public expenditure in sectors like education and health. Therefore, the Tanzanian government introduced cost-sharing measures and reduced overall spending on education. Among other things, these measures led to a shortage of teaching and learning materials, non-maintenance of school infrastructure, discontinued classroom construction, as well as a shortage of teachers. One may argue that these effects resulted again in low enrolment, high dropout rates, low performance at national examination,

inadequate buildings, an uncomfortable learning environment and a decline in quality of the education offered (John, 2009).

The available resources could not match the increased enrolment. This resulted in an outcry about the poor quality of education in most government schools. The schools suffered from poor conditions for learning, including inadequate buildings, overcrowded classrooms, insufficient number of desks, chairs, books, and a shortage of teachers to the extent that pupils in the higher classes were asked to teach those in the lower classes. In addition, there were not even enough schools to accommodate the newly enrolled pupils. This unfortunate situation made parents to be dissatisfied with the education the government provided, and many of the most wealthy took their children abroad in search for a good quality education (John, 2009).

Private tuition became another problem. Those who choose to stay in Tanzania considered private tuition as the best alternative. This job is better paid than teaching in a government school. A consequence was that many teachers started using minimal effort in classroom teaching, so they could save energy for private tutoring. This introduced the drilling of students so they could pass the examination, and it deprived the children time for extracurricular activities (John, 2009).

The declining quality of education forced the government to withdraw as a sole provider of education, and private firms and individuals were both allowed and encouraged to invest in education. This meant a shifting of education costs and decisions, from the government to the parents. The expenses involved school fees, boarding expenses, transport, stationary and in some cases construction and maintenance costs. Families therefore had to put in a substantial amount of resources, which the majority was not able to do. The school was no longer differed by race, but by class and class inequalities (John, 2009).

Thus, there has been an upheaval in the government's policy regarding private education. They went from nationalizing private schools and prohibiting the opening of new ones in the early 1960, to actively encouraging them in the mid-1980s. The government was then forced to be seriously concerned about the intense excess demand for secondary education. The number of students that continued to secondary after completing primary, fell steadily from

about 30 percent in the early 1960s to about 4 percent by the early 1980s (Lassibille, Tan, & Sumra, 2000).

2.3. The Tanzanian Education System

The current Formal Education and Training System in Tanzania consists of two years pre-primary education, seven years of primary education, four years of Junior Secondary education (form 1–4), and two years of Senior Secondary education (form 5–6). After this, you can take higher education at a university, take programs or courses, or start vocational training somewhere. The Junior Secondary education is called ordinary level (O-Level), while the Senior Secondary education is called advanced level (A-Level). One has to pass the form 1 exams in order to be accepted in form 2, as well as the form 4 exams in order to continue in form 5. Although the government is in charge of the syllabus, they have nothing to do with the examination. Since 1973, it has been The National Examinations Council of Tanzania's (NECTA) job to deal with the examinations ("About NECTA," 2015).

As mentioned, the Tanzanian education system is based on the philosophy of late Julius K. Nyerere. The curriculum during his period as president, intended to equip primary school leavers with the skills required for self-reliant, rural livelihood, rather than for future academic education. For this reason, there were not many secondary schools. The only people who needed secondary education were the ones working for the formal sector, nobody else (John, 2009). A consequence of the UPE and the drastic increase in the number of students, led to a decline in quality at all levels of education in Tanzania, both in secondary, vocational, tertiary and higher education. In public schools, both student-teacher-ratio as well as the dropout rates were high, the buildings were not sufficient and the learning environment was not comfortable (John, 2009).

Consequently, many parents started to lose faith in the public schools, and the private tuition industry grew. In 1995, the government created an act that allowed individuals and Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) to invest in education (John, 2009). This was in order to help the government in the provision of education.

2.4. Secondary Education in Tanzania

Between 1991 and 2000, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Tanzania resulted in little growth per capita income. One explanation could be that the population also was increasing at about the same rate. Since then, the Tanzanian government's strategy has been to reduce poverty through liberalizing the economy and improve the country's competitiveness. The government believes that economic growth is a precondition for poverty reduction, which requires increased investments, a sound economic management and improvements in productivity. An expansion of the educational system is the government's strategy to both increase the rate of productivity, as well as to ensure that the proceeds are more equitably distributed (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004).

Although UPE led to very high enrollment, only 5 percent of students completes A-level education ("Tanzania," 2013). In Tanzania, such percentages, showing that the population have low education levels, are seen as some of the major constraints on increasing both domestic and foreign investments, and consequently on economic development. Evidence suggests also that individuals with secondary education are more likely to establish dynamic small and medium businesses. Thus, there has been a growing acceptance among scientists that economic development and competitiveness requires more of secondary and higher education (King, McGrath, & Rose, 2007). Recent household surveys have also shown that the difference in earnings are very high between those who only finish primary school and those who have secondary and higher education (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004). Consequently, higher and post-secondary as well as vocational education's role in economic development receives more attention.

The Tanzanian government give several reasons for focusing on secondary education. First, they believe that secondary education is a necessary condition for economic competitiveness in the context of globalization and liberalization (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004). Further, secondary education is essential for the improvement of the quality and retention in primary education. This is because they believe that if pupils sees a chance to access secondary education they will be more motivated to remain in primary school. Moreover, the government claims that secondary education will give several positive social benefits, such as a reduction of poverty, improved health, reduced infant mortality, reduced

fertility rates among girls, HIV/AIDS prevention, and enhanced social participation (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004). In addition, the government also aims to achieve gender balance in tertiary and higher education. This will depend on the graduation of female student from secondary education. The government believe that secondary education for girls contributes directly to the empowerment of women, and also allows the economy to grow optimally (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004).

2.5. Secondary Education Development Plan

For reasons explained above, the Tanzanian Government decided to put more effort into the secondary education and created therefore a Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP). The plan was first implemented between 2004 and 2009, but since they did not reach the objectives, the plan was implemented again and is still applicable today. SEDP is a visionary plan, originally with projections up to 2010 when they wished to have achieved that over 500 000 pupils joined form 1 annually. This corresponds about five times the rate at that time. If the plan were to be successful, form 1-6 enrolment in secondary schools would reach above 2 000 000 pupils by 2010, compared to 345 000 pupils in 2003. This development would require a total of 1 433 084 billion Tanzanian shilling implemented in a five year period (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004, p. V).

The overall goal of SEDP is “to increase the proportion of Tanzania youths who complete secondary education at the lower and upper levels with acceptable learning achievements” (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004, p. 6). In order to realize this goal, the plan has five strategic priorities:

2.5.1. Access Improvement

The main objective for access improvement is to create greater opportunities for those completing primary education to pursue secondary education. The government will contribute through optimizing utilization of existing facilities, construct new schools, optimize teacher utilization and expand open and distance learning. In addition, the

government will give specified support to non-government sector. This support contains different things. First, criterias and standards concerning the operation of the schools as well as students' learning must be developed. Second, prospective providers requesting development grant must be identified and assessed. Third, the government must provide 50 percent of the teaching and learning materials. Fourth, that it is given development grant to providers constructing schools for the disabled groups. Fifth, that the government provides 50 percent of the teacher training for in-service teachers (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004).

2.5.2. Equity Improvement

Another priority is to ensure equity of participation, regardless of gender, different disadvantaged groups, geographical circumstances and income levels. The government will therefore support the construction of schools in underserved areas, give scholarships to children from poor families, improve education facilities for disadvantaged groups, reducing school fees and improve the performance and retention of girls (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004).

2.5.3. Quality Improvement

The main objective for quality improvement is to have a curriculum that responds to a market, together with an effective and efficient delivery system. To make sure that this happens the government will have a curriculum review, train adequate numbers of diploma and degree level teachers, and provide the financing for the provision of teaching and learning materials. They would also like to have a special focus on girls' education through providing additional teaching, improve guidance and counseling services as well as the facilities (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004).

2.5.4. Management Reforms

Additionally, the government want to improve the operational efficiency of secondary education. They would like to devolve some operational functions to the Regions, Districts and schools, so as to reduce bureaucracy in decision making, increase efficiency and effectiveness over the system, and to encourage community participation (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004). They also believe that greater monitoring and a strengthening of the inspection system will be necessary in order to reach this goal.

2.5.5. Government Projections

Table 1 shows the enrolment and classroom projection that the government made when they first created SEDP. This is a high growth scenario. Table 2 shows the expenditure projections in a medium growth scenario. It is interesting to see how detailed this plan is. I used these in some of the interviews and it was interesting to hear what the informants had to say about it.

Table 1: Enrolment and Classroom Projections Form I-VI (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004, p. 24)

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
Increase in Entrants (percent)		30 %	40 %	40 %	40 %	40 %
Entrants (Participants):						
Government entrants Form 1	61,000	79,300	111,020	155,428	217,599	304,639
Non-Government entrants Form 1	45,953	52,846	60,773	69,889	80,372	92,428
Total Form 1 entry	106,953	132,146	171,793	225,317	297,971	397,067
Entrants in percent:						
Government entrants Form 1	57 %	60 %	65 %	69 %	73 %	77 %
Non-Government entrants Form 1	43 %	40 %	35 %	31 %	27 %	23 %
Form I – IV:						
Government	195,509	226,728	287,031	385,117	536,565	760,395
Non-Government	133,432	152,806	174,353	200,181	232,184	269,861

Total Form I – IV	328,941	379,534	461,384	585,298	768,749	1,030,256
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
NEW CLASSROOMS NEEDED:						
Average class size	40	40	40	40	40	40
government and non-government						
Government classrooms needed		5,345	6,596	8,956	12,871	18,505
Non-government classrooms needed		3,820	4,359	5,005	5,805	6,747
Total classrooms needed		9,165	10,995	13,961	18,676	25,251

Table 2: Expenditure Projections (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2004, p. 41)

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
OVERALL					
Total No. of classrooms (avg. class size = 40)	9,152	10,667	12,665	15,221	18,372
New classrooms	1,176	1,515	1,999	2,555	3,152
Of which in existing schools	588	757	999	1,278	1,576
New Schools	76	89	107	124	140
Government Secondary Schools					
Total No. of Classrooms (avg. class size = 40)	5,487	6,501	7,862	9,646	11,885
New Classrooms	727	1,014	1,361	1,784	2,239
Of which in existing schools	364	507	681	892	1,119
Refurnished classrooms	73	101	136	178	224
New Schools	48	61	74	89	101
Average school size	340	374	411	452	498
NON-GOVERNMENT SECONDARY SCHOOLS					
Total No. of Classrooms (avg. class size = 40)	3,664	4,166	4,803	5,575	6,488
New Classrooms	448	501	638	771	913
Of which in existing schools	224	251	319	386	457
New schools	28	28	32	36	38
Average school size	366	403	443	488	536
DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES (THS. MILLIONS)					
Government Secondary Schools	37,830	52,853	71,857	93,870	108,748
Of which public financing	28,373	39,640	53,893	70,402	81,561
Non-government Secondary Schools for Disabled	2,878	3,816	4,810	5,937	6,592
Distance Education	2,878	3,816	4,810	5,937	6,592
Additional Capital for Government Schools	4,599	6,791	5,662	3,675	3,113

In-Service Training for Non-government Schools	1,533	2,264	1,887	1,225	1,038
Teacher Training Institutions	1,396	1,641	2,530	1,531	1,324
University Teacher Training	390	267	539	323	180
Total	51,504	71,447	92,095	112,498	127,587
Of which public financing	42,046	58,234	74,130	89,030	100,400

2.6. Privatization of Education in Tanzania

Between 1963 and 1980, secondary enrollment in Tanzania grew by 8 percent per year – from 17 000 to 67 000. However, enrollment in government schools increased by only 20 000 during that time and leveled off completely during the late 1970s (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995). In 1974, when the decision to move rapidly towards UPE, budget constraints became particularly tight. However, the main reason for slowed enrollment was the government’s decision to control the rate of expansion of the post-primary sector so that it produced exactly the right number of educated workers to meet the nation’s work force requirements. The sector was therefore not geared to meet demand and as a result, Tanzania had one of the smallest public secondary school sectors in the world by 1995 (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995).

At first, the government tried to restrict the development of private schools because they were not compatible with the strictly planned government education system. However, in 1981, in response to the economic crisis, the government assumed a more tolerant attitude towards private education initiatives (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995).

Since 1980, private education initiatives have increased at secondary level, both in the number of schools and of the number of school places available. In 1980, there were 83 public schools with 38 800 students and 71 private schools with 28 500 students. Already by 1989, the numbers had increased up to 124 public schools educating 57 500 students and 195 private schools educating 75 000 students (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995). Today, there are 3 528 public secondary schools that educates 1 447 432 students (form 4), and 1 048 private secondary schools hat educates 281 102 students (form 4).

3.0. Theoretical Framework

The following formula is an attempt of explaining the word education and what it entails. Its substance changes over time and it is difficult to define. It reflects and is a product of that particular society at a particular time, and it expresses its needs. Although the main object is the training of children, what the training consists and which human needs it satisfies, will vary. However, I argue that the following formula is able to express the words complexity in a brief and concise manner.

Education is the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life. Its object is to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specifically destined (Durkheim, 2006, p. 80).

We can find two main functions of education, based on this formula. The first is to arouse a certain number of physical and mental abilities in the child. Abilities, which the society considers necessary for members to possess. Second, is to arouse certain physical and mental abilities that the particular group considers ought to be found among the members. Such groups can be based on professions, classes, families and castes (Durkheim, 2006).

Greatly simplified, education consists of a methodical socialization of the young generation.

Socialization can be defined in different ways. Some emphasizes the formation of a personality, while others views socialization as a cultural transmission or social heritage. Socialization is often divided into two stages. Primary socialization occurs in the child's earliest years of life, where they learn the basic norms and values of the culture they belong to. Secondary socialization occurs with older children, teenagers and adults when they learn the norms and values that apply in specific roles and social institutions. Thus, a child will first get familiar with the close and small communities or societies, that is family, groups of friends and school. Eventually this social circle will be extended to those parts of society at large that will gradually apply for the child: traffic, media, rules and laws etc. (Børhaug, Christophersen, & Aarre, 2008).

3.1. The Education Gospel

What may be seen as an orthodoxy concerning the role of schooling has developed in many countries, giving educators both great responsibility, power and influence. Education is considered important in terms of positioning the nation on a par with the advanced world's economy (Grubb & Lazerson, 2006). According to Brown and Lauder education holds the key to this competitive economy (Brown & Lauder, 2006). One may refer to this notion as an orthodoxy because a range of policymakers, reformers, educators and business companies has accepted it – it has become an article of faith. Grubb and Lazerson names this rhetoric the Education Gospel, and they explain that it starts with a critique of schooling, and then it brings glad tidings about the potential of education, leading to social and individual salvation (Grubb & Lazerson, 2006).

While much of the Gospel's rhetoric emphasizes national needs such as competitiveness and growth, Grubb and Lazerson claims the most obvious consequence of the Education Gospel to be changes in the purposes of schooling toward preparation for occupations. They call this process vocationalism (Grubb & Lazerson, 2006). Vocationalism will therefore involve putting less emphasis on general skills and abilities, while more emphasis on knowledge and capabilities aligned to specific occupations. If for example a majority of parents are working as bureaucrats, it is more likely for the school to emphasize skills related to such jobs rather than skills needed in occupations such as farming, carpeting, as a bricklayer or hairdresser.

Thus, education is seen as a prerequisite for poverty reduction and economic development. According to the World Bank, education does not only generate economic benefits such as increasing salaries, productivity and growth. It also produces social benefits related to political participation, fertility and health (Tarabini & Jacovkis, 2012). Consistent with this opinion, the UK Department of International Development had in 2006 the following statement:

Our priority is to get the 100 million children of primary school age who are not currently attending school into a classroom with a teacher. Education is both a right and a route out of poverty. People who have been to school are most likely to find work, look after their health and demand that governments act in their interests (King et al., 2007, p. 349).

Tanzania used such a strategy already in 1977 when they implemented the UPE. However, increasing the primary school enrollment was the only beneficial outcome. Even today 69 percent of the population live under extreme poverty, which implies that UPE has had a limited effect on poverty reduction. Because of the limited result of the UPE strategy, there grew a greater assertiveness from a range of national governments that one must seek to use the whole of education and training to contribute to economic development (King et al., 2007). The simple relationship between UPE and poverty reduction is not enough. Tilak's paper draws attention to the broader developmental impacts of higher education (Tilak, 2003). According to King, McGrath and Rose his review led him to posit four developmental effects of higher education:

1. That it enhances earnings and contributes to economic development;
2. That it contributes to the reduction of relative and absolute poverty;
3. That it negatively influences infant mortality; and
4. That it is positively related to life expectancy (King et al., 2007, p. 352).

Thus, the Education Gospel seems to have led to a priority of quantity at the expense of quality, and the symbolic importance of the school has become larger than the real pay-off. One of Madsen's experiences underlines this argument. At the end of her fieldwork, she gave a boy school books that he needed for the coming exams, as payment for some services. A few days later, the boy had sold the books and bought new school uniform, a Calvin Klein belt and a shoulder bag, which is viewed as quite spectacular. As the boy probably knew that he was going to fail the exams, this was the closest he would ever come to a good education. (Madsen, 2011).

In accordance with the Education Gospel, John believes that one must prioritize quality and not quantity. She claims that quality education is the pillar of national development (John, 2009). She argues that it is through education that the nation obtains a skilled work force to serve in various sectors in the nation's economy. Moreover, quality education will create a strong and competitive economy that can easily and confidently adapt to the changing market and technological conditions in the region and global economy (John, 2009).

If education is the key to fight poverty, one is in need of a strategy on how this investment should be guided. Therefore, the World Bank introduced the Poverty Reduction Strategy

Papers (PRSPs), which not only constructs a specific framework of policies, but also engender a broader political gaze on development, poverty reduction and education (Tarabini & Jacovkis, 2012). These PRSPs created by the World Bank intends to inspire and guide the developing countries in the process of making their own poverty reduction strategy paper. Tarabini claims that the connection between education and poverty “is a privileged entry point from which to analyze the construction of a global consensus around the social issues included in the development agenda” (Tarabini & Jacovkis, 2012, p. 508). However, one may argue that this consensus is far from global, and yet a confirmation of the West as a hegemonic power.

One may argue that the consensus is just a confirmation of the West as a hegemonic power through looking at how the PRSPs are working in practice, and not only in theory. According to the World Bank, the PRSPs are voluntary and do not entail any kind of obligation. Each country must decide on which programs and strategies they want to use in order to reduce poverty and stimulate economic growth (Tarabini & Jacovkis, 2012). However, you do not bite the hand that feeds you, and the World Bank is one of the most important financial providers for developing countries, which might challenge the principle that the programs are voluntary. In addition, the World Bank sets clear instructions for developing countries to prepare national strategies, and the PRSPs have in practice become the basic instrument for bilateral and multilateral agencies in their design of development strategies (Tarabini & Jacovkis, 2012). One may therefore assume that developing countries do not feel that they can choose strategies that are very different from those proposed by the World Bank.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the World Bank’s and the PRSPs’ educational perspective implies a belief that empowering the poor and increasing their capacity to create income and participate in economic growth, demands investment in the education sector. However, quantity still seems to be prioritized at the cost of quality, and education can not stand alone as the only strategy to reduce poverty and lead to economic development. Although other strategies often stands in the shadow of education, there are scientists who point to these as well. For example, it is argued that in order to reduce poverty, a strong and competent state that is able to facilitate economic growth, promote socio-economic inclusion and ensure a social safety net for the poorest is required (King et al., 2007).

Furthermore, certain national development strategies note the importance of looking at the micro and small enterprise sector. For example in Kenya, the Sessional Paper from 2003 on micro and small enterprise sector, contains a clear official view that not only the urban informal sector but also rural enterprises, including small farms, need to be integrated into national approaches to business and economic development (King et al., 2007).

Additionally, it is important to acknowledge how vocational training can contribute to enhance livelihoods and so influence poverty. Evidence from Senegal suggests that it might be more appropriate to expand the use of apprenticeships that provide a livelihood for children from poor households as well as skills they can develop through their work, rather than expecting traditional schooling to provide opportunities for improved livelihoods (King et al., 2007). Such a strategy must not be underestimated. During his or her apprenticeships, students have a chance to make a small amount of money in addition to learning a certain kind of occupation. This might motivate not only the student himself, but the family as well. The students could get an education at the same time as he can help providing for his family. Not everyone is supposed to be an academic or a bureaucrat, and that is why vocational training could play an important role in improving people's livelihoods and counteract vocationalism. Moreover, such a stress on vocational education will need to respond to a new environment in which private providers are increasingly significant actors.

3.2. Privatization

In many countries, the high demand for education and healthcare has resulted in the creation of private schools and private hospitals. Paul Starr, a professor of sociology and public affairs at Princeton University, referred to this as demand-driven privatization (Starr, 1988). In Tanzania, the stagnation of low quality education in the public sector is probably part of the explanation for the demand-driven privatization that is going on today.

The term *privatization* covers a great range of ideas and policies, and is therefore difficult to define or explain. Nevertheless, Starr gives it a valid attempt and distinguishes between privatization as an idea, privatization as theory and rhetoric and privatization as a political

practice (Starr, 1988). Because privatization as an idea is more suitable in the context of education, that will be the only category presented in this thesis.

Because much seems to be public and private at the same time, in varying degrees and in different ways, it is difficult to pull a firm line of demarcation between the two. However, Starr argues that as an idea, public vs. private is for many about open vs. closed (in access to information) and whole vs. part (in the distribution of benefits) (Starr, 1988). Furthermore, Starr writes that some might associate the private to the increasing individualization. He believes that there has been a shift in individual involvement from the whole to the part; from public action to private affairs and from civic concern to the pursuit of self-interest. In that case, closed + individualism = private, while open + community = public.

Individualization includes a focus on individual differences and the way that people are forced to construct their own biography and identity (Krange & Øya, 2005). However, individualization is not comparable with an extension of personal freedom. Once a person becomes free from the limitations associated with class expectations, stereotypes concerning gender, the choice of getting married etc., this is actually creating a greater dependence on social institutions such as the school (Lauder, Brown, Dillabough, & Halsey, 2006). Furthermore, with greater freedom, new ways of not succeeding will emerge. People will also be held accountable for their choices and action to a greater extent than before. For example if someone does not manage to get the job that she wants, she only has herself to blame. Although it might seem like individualization gives people more freedom, one may argue that the market-individualism limits our understanding of individual freedom.

Education will be reduced to the ability to work, self-worth will be reduced to market-worth, citizens reduced to consumers, and social solidarity will be reduced to self-interest (Lauder et al., 2006).

Although privatization might be associated with individualization, education has a collective function above all. Its object is to adapt the young generation to the social milieu, meaning norms and values of the society. For this reason, the society must be interested in education. Thus, everything that pertains to education must in some degree be submitted to the state's influence. Although the state gets a secluded role in relation to private schools, the education given, must remain under its control (Durkheim, 2006). In developing countries, such as Tanzania, public resources for education are limited and the government's funding of

education has actually been reduced from 17 percent of the national budget in 1970s, to about 11 percent in 1994 (Lassibille et al., 2000). Consequently, they rely on private education to meet the excessive demand for education. The demand for education was also a major factor in the early 1980s when the government decided to remove the barriers for growth in the private sector. Moreover, the following expansion raised the gross enrollment ratio and widened overall access to secondary education within a short period (Lassibille et al., 2000).

Table 3: Student Enrollment (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014a)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Form 1-4					
Total	1 401 559	1 566 685	1 711 109	1 802 810	1 728 534
Government	1 249 795	1 354 591	1 460 242	1 542 687	1 447 432
Non-Government	151 764	212 094	250 867	260 123	281 102
Form 5-6					
Total	64 843	72 014	78 438	81 462	75 522
Government	43 896	46 739	55 429	60 065	57 279
Non-Government	20 947	25 275	23 009	21 397	18 243

Table 3 shows this increase in secondary enrollment rates. Total form 1–4 enrollment increased from 1 401 559 students in 2009 to 1 728 534 in 2013. The private schools’ enrollment increased from 151 764 to 281 102 respectively. The total constitutes a 19 percent increase while the increase in private enrollment constitutes 46 percent. This clearly shows the dramatic increase in private sector. According to the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training’s (MoEVT) statistics there were in 2013, 4 576 secondary schools in Tanzania. 1 048 of them were private, which constitutes 23 percent (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014a). This shows that about one fourth of secondary schools are private, but they educate only about one sixth of all students.

Even though there has been an increase between 2009 and 2013 in both the public and private sector, there was a decline in total enrollment from 2012 to 2013. There can be

several explanations for this. One explanation might be that many students failed the exams, stopping them from continuing in secondary school. Another explanation could be that there were less children that year. However, it is interesting that the non-government enrollment in form 1–4 continued to grow, while the government enrollment as well as the total enrollment in form 5–6 declined.

Public and private schools differ in basic organization, student performance on examinations, student composition, resource availability, teacher profiles, and management practices (Lassibille et al., 2000). However, all secondary schools collect fees to defray the cost of operations, although fees and contributions are higher in the private sector. Many claim that this factor promotes class differences in the society. In the following, I examine such arguments in order to illuminate the privatization discourse.

Tooley and Dixon believes that private education has an important role in helping the government meet its *education for all* targets. Their contribution should therefore be seen as a great strength and something to be celebrated (Tooley & Dixon, 2005). On the other hand, some analysts argue that private schools should not be encouraged because they will provide low quality education at high cost. They consider private schools as an expensive alternative, compared to public schools (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995). John argue that because of the private schools' high fees, private education are only concerned with serving the elite or middle classes, overlooking the poor (John, 2009). However, this is not necessarily true. Private education could be improved for example by offering scholarships targeting the poorest children. Already, there are schools that offer a few free seats financed by other student's school fees. In such cases, private schools can be important in reaching the poor and satisfying their educational needs.

Another argument is that private schools are more effective and perform better than public schools because they are more autonomous. Private school headmasters have reported having more influence over school-level decisions. Together with teachers and parents, they have significantly greater control over decisions about the curriculum, instruction-methods, hiring and dismissing teachers and dicipline policies, compared to their counterparts in public schools (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995). However, one does not need to be private in order to become more autonomous. Tanzania recognized this issue and decentralized decision making in the education system in 1995 (Lassibille et al., 2000).

On the other hand, the economist Milton Friedman, claims that it is the marketplace in itself, promoting choice and competition, that leads to benefits in efficiency (Levin & Belfield, 2006). Thus, chapter 3.3 deals with the concept of supply and demand in the education market.

Moreover, Jimenez and Lockheed gives another explanation for the better efficiency in private schools. They claim that because private schools are competing for students and are accountable to parents, they have an incentive to adopt teaching practices and using staff and educational materials effectively and economically (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995). Thus, private schools are more efficient because they are more autonomous. There is a short way from propositions from students, teachers and parents to the decision maker(s), and the implementation of for example new teaching strategies or adjustments to school organization might happen faster than if would in the public sector.

In addition, they claim that private schools can foster greater efficiency in both sectors by forcing public schools to compete for students. They claim that although there are different types of private schools, they all possess some general characteristics such as greater flexibility in operation and funding, a greater tendency for those in charge to make critical decisions and a direct accountability to those who use their services. Moreover, private schools have the ability to operate at a lower cost than their public counterparts, even when the education quality is similar (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995). This is surprising considering that teachers in the private sector have higher salaries than the ones working in the public sector. However, one explanation is that public schools will be organized in a management structure that limits school-level autonomy as long as they are accountable to central bureaucracies. (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995).

According to Apple, Geoff Whitty, one of the most comprehensive critical reviewers on marketization, contributes with a different approach regarding autonomy . Whitty says, "Atomized decision-making in a highly stratified society may appear to give everyone equal opportunities, but transforming responsibility for decision-making from the public to the private sphere can actually reduce the scope of collective action to improve the quality of education for all" (Apple, 2006, p. 471).

3.3. Demand and Supply

Private schools are subject to market pressures because a school's ability to attract new students depends on their success in examination performance (Lassibille et al., 2000). The neo-liberal ideology claim that the invisible hand of the market will lead to better schools. Markets are said to be both natural and neutral, governed by effort and merit. In addition, they are grounded in the rational choices of individuals (Apple, 2006). To get a more comprehensive understanding of why private schools are subjects to market pressures, the following chapter takes a look at the open system theory.

3.3.1. Open System Theory

Karl Ludwig von Bertalanffy was a biologist born in Austria. He is known as one of the founders of general systems theory (Pouvreau, 2007) and for the most part, his work regards the field of biology. However, the open system theory, which is a part of the general system theory, can help explaining how the operation of an organization is affected and responds to external circumstances, in this case the society. An organization will obtain the input resources from external circumstances, and then process these resources within the boundary of the system in order to generate a valuable product. The product returns to the external circumstances and the process is repeated, however adjusted based upon the external feedback (John, 2009). This process is demonstrated in figure 5.

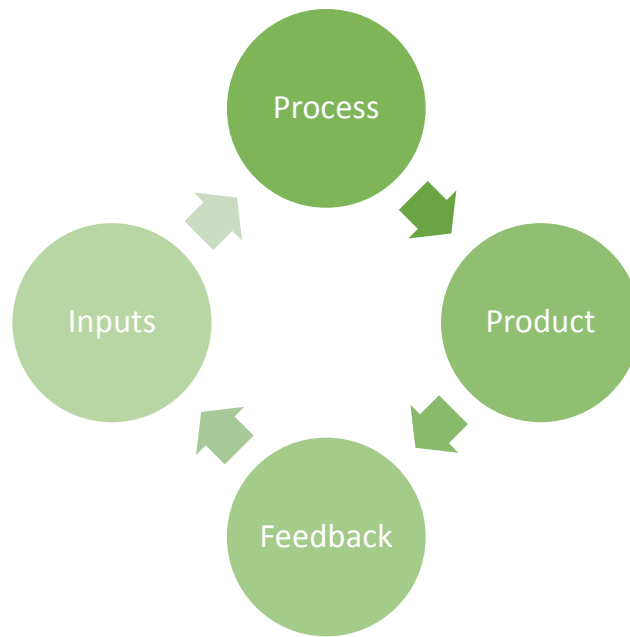


Figure 5: Open System Theory

Inputs are the requirements used to facilitate the realisation of a quality product, such as financing, academic environment, quality of infrastructure, teaching and learning materials and equipments, quality of staffs and effective management (John, 2009). *Process* refers to what happens in the classroom. It includes teachers' morale, attitudes, teaching methods and assignments (John, 2009). The *product* refers to learning, knowledge, skills, behaviours and attitudes that are demonstrated, often measured through students' examination results.

This theory is relevant to my project because as a market product, private schools must know what the customers want before trying to fulfill their needs. Private schools' process and product of education must reach a certain standard of quality that can be oriented to customers' demands. Furthermore, these customers will evaluate the quality of the schools products and offer feedback to stimulate adjustments and improvements (John, 2009). If the education provided by the school in society fails to satisfy the needs of knowledge, skills and values – often in form of exam results, the quality of that school would be in question.

During the fieldwork, I experienced something that can demonstrate how the private schools are affected through being involved in the market. At one of the schools visited, they made a sudden change last year, separating the boys and girls in the primary department. When I

asked the First Headmaster about this, he said that he did not agree with the decision that was made. It was simply a request from the parents. He explained that most of the student's families are Shia Muslims, and that they have a traditional way of living. Because the children were becoming mature, the parents believed that boys and girls should be separated in order to make sure that nothing bad happened, meaning pregnancy. Personally, the First Headmaster did not agree because such a situation is not reality. He explained that instead of isolation, students should be taught about boundaries. Once they exit the school ground, they will be exposed and forced to deal with all sorts of people and the school should be preparing them for this reality. Moreover, he believed that the separation might even oppose a threat to the schools authority. If the school is very different from the society or does not teach them about the reality that they know, the school loses credibility and will no longer be considered relevant. The second headmaster agreed with his superior. When asked about it, his respond was, "(...) if I were to give my personal opinion, it doesn't make sense". Thus, even though the schools management did not want to separate the genders, they did, in order to satisfy the customers (the parents).

3.4. Paulo Freire's Liberation Pedagogy

While Bertalanffy's open system theory contributes to explaining how the society effects education through feedback, Paulo Freire writes about how education is supposed to effect the society. Freire was one of the most important educators of the 20th century and he is considered as one of the founders of critical pedagogy. Critical pedagogy deals with helping students to develop consciousness of freedom, to recognize authoritarian tendencies, connecting knowledge to power and the ability to take act constructively. Freires book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, has sold more than a million copies (Giroux, 2010).

Freire belied that education is political because it offers students conditions for self-reflection and independency. Evidently, his theory seeks to make students become aware of the forces that have ruled their lives and shaped their conciousness (Giroux, 2010). Students must develop a sense of their rights and responsebility in the governing participation, not only on how to be governed. His theory is most relevant in the context of democratic

training, acknowledging the empowering and democratic potential of education (Giroux, 2010).

According to Freire education is a moral and political practice. The goal is to enable students to explore their possibilities being citizens. The learning of techniques and methods come second. Critical pedagogy encourages students to learn for themselves and to challenge common sense (Giroux, 2010). The pedagogy includes a shifting of emphasis, from teachers to students, challenging the relationship between knowledge, authority and power. Thus, knowledge is not something to be received by students, but something to be transformed (Giroux, 2010).

4.0. Research Methodology

This chapter elaborates on the research methodology. It includes both the planning, execution and the reflections done after completing the fieldwork. Chapter 4.1 puts the thesis into an epistemological context, enabling the readers insight in the authors way of thinking. Chapter 4.2 explains why qualitative methods were chosen, while chapter 4.3 gives an account for the research design. The research setting, procedures and the production of data is discussed in chapter 4.4–4.6. This includes a more thorough description of the methods that were used. Chapter 4.7 elaborates on the concept of validity and reliability, while chapter 4.8 discusses the ethical considerations that were found necessary. The chapter's last part consists of more personal reflections. Chapter 4.9 focus on the author's personal motivation, while chapter 4.10 explains the challenges of the research.

4.1. The Epistemological Context

This project focus on subjective perspectives, rather than capturing universal laws, as one does in science and according to positivism. The hermeneutic tradition believes that different people will perceive and interpret the same event in different ways. It also implies having a holistic approach, which means that the phenomenon in focus will be understood as a complex interaction between individuals and the particular context in which they are included. In addition, my project needs proximity. The researcher must try to understand the informants on their own terms. In order to achieve an understanding of a social phenomenon, such as the privatization of education, one should try to get hold of how people interpret social reality – one must let them talk in words (Jacobsen, 2013).

4.2. Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

Because I did not have extensive knowledge of the phenomenon before the fieldwork, there was first a need for an explorative type of study. The BEST-statistics (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014a), which is basic statistics in education provided by the

Tanzanian Government, were already available, but I intended to broaden the understanding of the phenomenon by asking questions such as how, why and who.

One may argue that in a qualitative methodology perspective, data is produced in relation between informants and researcher. Thus, data is not collected, but it is created through an interpretive process (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). The data is therefore a construction of the author's interpretation of the informants' understanding. There are several reasons why I chose to use qualitative methods. First, qualitative methodologies adds few restrictions on the responses the informant provides. Qualitative approaches will therefore often have a high conceptual validity. This means that they get the "correct" understanding of a phenomenon or a situation, since the person being examined defines the understanding. In addition, it arises a proximity between the researcher and the informant. Moreover, qualitative approaches are flexible in the sense that the research question may change as we learn more, and this was an important argument for adopting this approach (Jacobsen, 2013).

The use of qualitative approaches entails that the methods are resource intensive. Detailed interviews often takes a long time. Moreover, qualitative data is complex and there will always be a danger of an unconscious filtering of information because the method calls for continuous use of critical reflection. Moreover, one must be aware of the so-called investigation effect. This effect concerns matters such as where the conversation takes place, who participates in the conversation, the questions asked, and any other disturbing elements, which may have influenced the results of the conversation. Furthermore, the flexibility might give the researcher a feeling of never being able to finish. Either way, one will most likely reach a point of saturation (Jacobsen, 2013).

4.3. Research Design

I chose to adopt an intensive (deep) research design because of a desire to bring out as many nuances and details as possible about the actual phenomenon. I wanted to bring out such a comprehensive description as possible (Jacobsen, 2013). On the other hand, I had to combine this intensive design with an extensive one because I also wanted a description of

the scope, extent and frequency of the phenomenon. However, my goal was never to find an average, but to see the breadth of the phenomenon, to a certain degree.

Aase and Fossåskaret suggest a continuum between the intensive and extensive research design, as illustrated in Figure 6. I have been employing different methodical approaches. This implies a movement back and forward from a quite intensive design whereby I am strongly involved myself and have many variables and few units, to an extensive design where my own participation is low and there are less variables and more units. However, my research design is mainly intensive.

All interviews was conducted in the offices of the informants, except for the teachers, where interviews took place either in a classroom or staff room. Either way, it was done in a place where they felt comfortable. The observations and the focus group interview took place at the school. The field conversations on the other hand, was conducted in all sorts of places; on the way up Kilimanjaro, in the car, at a restaurant etc.

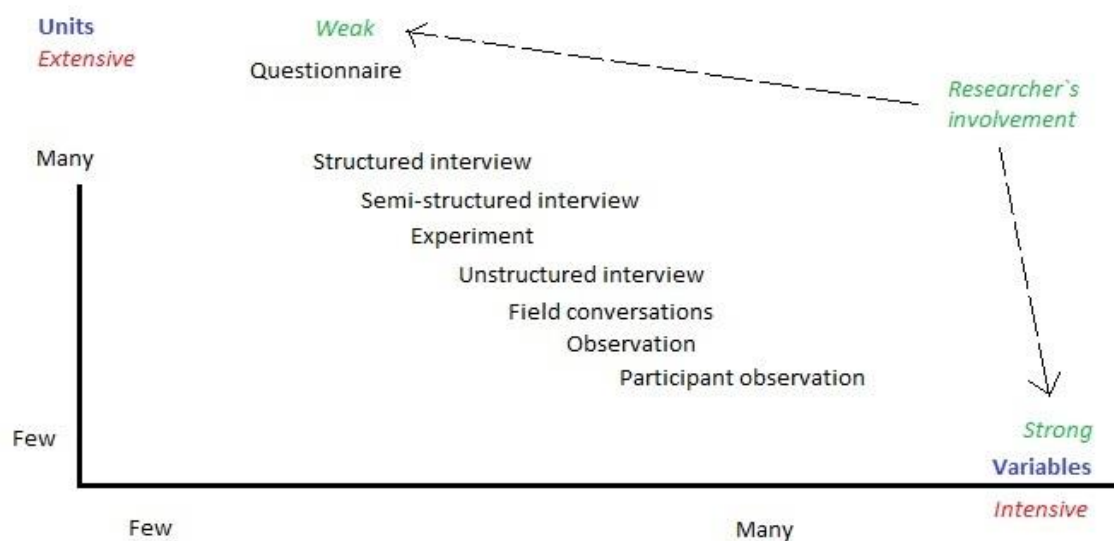


Figure 6: Research Design (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007, p. 17)

4.4. Entering the Field

The research was conducted in Tanzania between September and November in 2014, including seven weeks of intense fieldwork. Out of consideration of my respondents' confidentiality, I wish not to reveal exactly in what areas the research was conducted. For the same reason, I have re-labelled the names of the schools according to the Zodiac because at my visit at Scorpio school, the headmaster told me, "education is light, and we are reaching for the stars". However, two of the schools I visited are very special, one in terms of pedagogy and the other one in terms of location and history. At these schools, I explained the dilemma of making sure that the school will not be recognizable in the thesis. It is a dilemma because the information that can reveal which school it is, is also information that is very interesting in order to elucidate the questions of research. Both schools were very understanding of this issue, and gave me permission to share information even though it might compromise their anonymity.

Before carrying out the field study, I was in contact with two private schools in different areas. This was very comforting in the sense that I knew where I was going to start. After I started conversing with people, so many schools were suggested to me that I had to turn some of them down. I wanted to have a representative selection of schools, which is why I did not visit many schools with the same type of raceme. A typical example was when I was asked by a staff member about my impression of the Capricorn school. I told them I thought the school presented a little Europe inside Africa. This made them surprised, and they told me if that was my impression, I should definitely visit this other school. Similar situations happened almost every time I visited a new school. However, I could not visit them all.

4.5. Production of Data

I wanted to employ several qualitative data collection methods for achieving a more multi-faceted picture. In addition, I wanted the methods to both complement each other and to control each other. This contributed to achieving a representative picture of reality. The

following chapters gives an account of the research methods that were used and challenges that arose in the production and analysis of data.

4.5.1. Interview

Education can be viewed as a market that mainly consists of two participants, the provider (owners/headmaster) and the customer (parents/students). I wanted to converse with both participants. In total, I visited nine private schools in Tanzania, whereby four of them were primary and five secondary. Two of the schools were purely girl’s schools. In addition, I visited two public teachers colleges. A more detailed description of the schools is to be found in Appendix 1. Table 4 gives an overview of whom I talk to and what kind of conversation took place. Several interviews with the same person, is only accounted for once. Moreover, when parents are also owners, headmasters, second headmasters and teachers they are registered one time by their position or occupation, not as parents.

Table 4: Interviews Conducted

	Officials	Owners	Headmaster	Secondhead	Teachers	Parents	Students	Total
Semi-structured interview	2	2	2	2	2			10
Unstructured interview		2	3		6			11
Observing interview						1		1
Field conversations	1		1		11	4		17
Focus group conversation							5	5
Total	3	4	6	2	19	5	5	44

Table 4 shows that most informants were teachers and headmasters. The majority of informants explained the privatization through pointing at the lack of commitment and quality in public schools. Thus, I visited the MoEVT in order to get their perspective as well.

According to Jacobsen, interviewing is productive when relatively few entities are examined, when we are interested in what the individual says, and when we are interested in how individuals interpret and add meaning to a particular phenomenon (Jacobsen, 2013). These are the major reasons for why I choose this as my main method.

I wanted the interviews to resemble as a normal conversation, face to face. This is because people often find it easier to discuss sensitive topics, we are creating a lighter air of familiarity, I can see body language and how they react, and also because I envision that communication will be easier. Although the use of interviews was costly, both financially and time-wise, I wanted to use this approach because I believed it to be very fruitful in terms of both the quantity and quality of data. It was not the actual conversations that were most costly, but the supplementary work. The transcriptions that followed the interviews did cost a lot of time.

As previously mentioned, Jacobsen identifies a challenge that he names the interview effect, which refers to the interviewer's physical presence. The situation of having an additional, and in my case; a foreign and unknown person in the office asking questions, might cause the informant to act abnormally (Jacobsen, 2013). I tried to minimize this effect through reflecting on the way I approached the informants, the way I acted and what I said.

Moreover, after conducting all the 44 conversations I was left with a considerable amount of data. As previously mentioned, the supplementary work was therefore time consuming.

All the informants that were asked agreed to the use of a recording device. However, sometimes it did not seem appropriate to ask, and I took notes instead. The recording device was used in 17 of the 21 interviews. This made the nature of the conversation very natural and it gave me the opportunity to pay attention to what the informants actually were saying. The transcription was more time consuming than expected. The interviews lasted between 40–90 minutes. Transcribing for one hour corresponds about 5–10 minutes of the interview, depending on the respondent's ability to speak English. However, the use of a recording device made the information accurate and no topics were overlooked. The use of interviews entails a textual analysis were you analyze the conversation that took place. Although I was present during the interviews and able to question the informant of any ambiguities, the chances of misinterpretations are still present.

Mostly owners and headmasters were interviewed. The topics were basic information about the school, what the schools specialty is, why they wanted to open the school, challenges, their cooperation with the government, what they think is “good quality education”, why they think it is a privatization wave going on and if they think it will last.

4.5.1.1. Interview Guides

An interview guide is an overview of the topics the researchers wants to visit during the interview and they can be more or less structured (Jacobsen, 2013). I prepared four different interview guides, one for owners, one for headmasters, one for teachers and one for parents (Appendix 2–5). The topics focused on the privatization of education in Tanzania; explaining the phenomenon and why it is happening, defining the terms “quality education” and “good teachers”, the government’s involvement, the motives for opening private schools, the cost of running a private school and qualities at that particular school, just to name a few.

Although I had the interview guides with me at all times, I only used them before the first interview. After that, I knew which questions I wanted to ask, and I went with what the informants told me.

4.5.2. Focus Group

Focus group is an interview of several people simultaneously. The investigator acts more like a debate leader or chairman, than a pure interviewer asking questions (Jacobsen, 2013). The method is especially useful because it brings out *why* people have a particular point of view. This is because in a group discussion an informant must argue for his or her point of view. It is also productive when you want to know if there is an agreement or disagreement in the group (Jacobsen, 2013). It was difficult gathering several teachers at the same time, but a situation occurred that made it possible for me to conduct a focus group with five students. Although we did not have enough time at hand, I learned that there was an agreement in the group regarding the topic that was discussed.

4.5.3. Observation

In order to gain insight in the practice and life of private schools, I also used observation. I wanted to find similarities and differences between the private schools and my previous experience with public school. Moreover, observation was used as a supplement to interviews, granting me with a more comprehensive understanding of the context. Although I did not view observation as a concrete method for elucidating the research questions, it was useful in gathering knowledge that helped me in field conversations and interviews. Moreover, when I was invited to classes I saw this as a strategy to improve the relations with the informants. By showing an interest, they were more positive towards my research and the relation between the informant and myself got closer and more comfortable. Additionally, I was participating in different school activities such as lunch with the staff and students and I made bracelet's in the arts and craft classes. I was also asked to come on stage at assembly to hand out diplomas for extraordinary students' achievements. By participating in the school activity this way, I was not that mysterious anymore.

In particular, I observed what kind of teaching material was available, which teaching methods were used, and how the teacher and students interacted with each other. Furthermore, I walked around the school compound, either alone or with a guide, to see what was available of facilities and how the environment looked like. I also observed the activities of the teachers in the staff room. All of the observations and reflections were written down in the field diary.

4.5.3.1. Participant and Non-participant Observation

I conducted both participant and non-participant observation. A participant observer immerses herself in a group, observing behavior, listening to conversations and asking questions. I immersed myself as described above, by having lunch with teachers and students and making bracelet`s in arts and crafts. Additionally, I acted as a non-participant observer, observing with minimum interaction and interference. I usually sat in the back of the classroom in order to avoid interfering. The observer is usually always present in the social field that is being observed. It is not possible to be completely unnoticeable. However,

according to Aase and Fossåskaret, in an interaction perspective, no researcher is a participant observer if he or she stands outside of the interaction observed. When acting as a participant observer I also had to observe myself, something a non-participant observer would not do (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007).

When it comes to research ethics, being both a participant as well as an observer is a challenge. The participant's primary loyalty lies in the relationship and the observer represents a person from the outside. In addition, one might feel uncomfortable watching somebody, the same way as it might be for the ones being watched.

4.5.4. Field Diary

The field diary was the most important tool throughout my stay in Tanzania. When I did not use recording device, I sat down after every interview and wrote down all relevant information. Sometimes I also took notes during the conversations. The book is filled with descriptions of people, school facilities, observations, events, activities, conversations, reflections, ideas and hunches. The field diary has been most important in retrospect. When you experience so much over a relatively short time, it is easy to forget even the most interesting things. Therefore, the field diary has been very useful in terms of reconstructing memories. When I for example wanted to remember my impressions of the MoEVT, which is discussed in chapter 5, how I felt and interpreted the situation, I was able to look in the diary and recapture the event.

4.5.5. Field Conversations

Field conversations was adapted every day during the field work and it must not be underestimated. Field conversations are not scheduled interviews, but more an everyday conversation between people. In such conversations the researcher is often talking just as much as she is listening. According to Aase and Fossåskaret, field conversations is actually an integral part of participatory observation (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). Observations does not simply revolve around what the researcher sees, but also about what the researcher hears.

However, I choose to treat field conversations as a separate channel for collecting empirical data. I had good experience with this method from the bachelor program, and it proved to be constructive this time as well. The conversations provided answers to questions I did not know I had, and they provided inspiration to examine several aspects of a phenomenon. In addition, random comments became essential for my understanding of the privatization phenomenon and special events.

Field conversations were mainly applied when talking with teachers and parents. With both groups, we talked about why they think there is so many private schools being established and what is “good quality education”. With the teachers, emphasis was laid on the their reason for choosing to work at a private school instead of a public school. With the parent’s emphasis was laid on why they choose to send their children to a private school.

4.5.6. Document Analysis

One form of document analysis is the interpretation of the BEST-statistics. I had to read them, understand and interpret them and choose how they could be of use to this thesis. A challenge with this kind of data is that I do not have knowledge of how the data has been collected, nor what kinds of measurement devices and sampling methods that has been used. Thus, one might question the reliability of the origin of the data.

The transcriptions of the interviews is also a form of document analysis. This work was both difficult and extremely time consuming. In some cases, English was my respondent’s third or fourth language, and even though we understood each other well during the interview, it was hard to hear what the respondent was saying. Sometimes I had to listen to a sentence up to 15–20 times before I could understand what the person was really saying.

Another form of document analysis took place when the empiricism was converted into data. Thereby, I *created* data through cleaning up a bewildering myriad of facts and statements. This process made the researcher not only an actor in the production of data, but also in the production on giving the data meaning. Maneuvering through loads and loads of data was a challenge. Because of the enormous amount of data, I had to find a method where I could analyze the material effectively. The transcribed interviews constituted

approximately 200 pages, so I decided to sort them through color coding topics. For example, when reading an interview transcription, I colored the text blue when the government schools were discussed, green, when good quality education were discussed, red, when girls' education were discussed etc. This made the workload manageable. Sorting out topics like this is also a part of a document analysis.

Aase and Fossåskaret believes that verifiability can be the criterion that distinguishes research from fiction (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). This is important because during my fieldwork, my interpretations of events and informants' statements took place in a relatively haphazard manner. I have entrusted a part to my intuition and empathy, without entirely being able to explain exactly what measures I have used during the interpretation. This is also the reason why I set high standards of transparency, to secure the verifiability. In addition, in order to make the interpretation acknowledged as science, I had to perform it systematically. Inspired by Aase and Fossåskaret, I used the following procedure:

- If it is a case where multiple parties are involved, are all parties represented? Did they get an opportunity to speak for themselves, or have I allowed others to speak for them?
- What *exactly* is the material I have in front of me?
- What is the source really *saying*, what does it mean?
- How can I *use* the information in the source to answer my research questions?

(Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007)

4.6. Status and Role

It was important to be observant of my status and role during the fieldwork. Status and role is often treated interchangeably. In this case, I take basis in Aase and Fossåskaret's definition. According to them, a status is what we are, while a role is something that can be observed by others. A certain status does not imply a particular type of behavior, but it limits the room for maneuver. The role involves therefore the actual behavior of a person playing out of his status (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). When two people interact, the statuses complement each other, they are complementary, and the statuses are activated only in

interaction with others. Moreover, complementary statuses has a symmetrical or asymmetrical relation to one another. For example, student-student are complementary and symmetric statuses, while teacher-student are complementary and asymmetric statuses (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007).

Different statuses, for example, a European, a teacher, a researcher, a student, an expert, etc. will have impact on what kind of information can be extracted from conversations. If the researcher receives an unwanted status, it is important to know how to go about changing it. According to Aase and Fossåskaret, one applies new statuses through acting contrary to the expectations related to the present status (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). This is because a status is something you are assigned, not something you can define yourself. By acting contrary to the status you are trying to get rid of, you apply for a new status and negotiate access to new positions.

Before I left Norway, I discussed with my supervisor that trying to get an apprenticeship status could be beneficial. By being “only” a student, I become fused, which I thought would increase the informant’s motivation to help me. In most situations, this was the case. The “I am only here to learn from you” attitude, made me harmless and they were very willing to help me. Other situations forced me to become more of an authority. I was prepared for this, and took the status into consideration before every visit. I thought about what to wear, how to sit, how to introduce myself, what kind of information I would share etc. In some cases, it seemed more appropriate to introduce myself as a teacher, while in others I wanted a status as a student.

Aase and Fossåskaret claims that the ideal position for a field researcher is getting the same status as her informant. Although I only visited the schools for one or two days, I was able to achieve what I have called a half-local status. This did not make me an ordinary inventory of the social system, but I was given the opportunity to sojourn in the social system with a free space, which allowed me to observe. When I was visiting schools, the student or apprentice status seemed most suitable, especially when conversing with school leaders. This, together with a legitimate harmless and humble attitude, made them want to help me and they felt freer to reveal sensitive information. On the other hand, when talking with teachers I found it more rewarding when they gave me the status of a teacher. When this was achieved, our

statuses were both complementary and symmetrical and we talked to each other like colleagues.

Furthermore, my future desire to work in Tanzania as a teacher was helpful. This made them even more friendly and helpful, and I was allowed to ask questions that they might not be as comfortable answering if I was a complete outsider.

However, there was also a difference between the schools. Schools with European personnel or schools that at least was in regularly contact with European people seemed to be more comfortable with having me around and talking with me. They perceived me as completely harmless. The other schools treated me differently. Some were skeptical and seemed more “afraid” of me, while others were overjoyed with having me there. For those who were thrilled of having me around, I had to calm them down and explain that I am just a student who has come to learn from them. For those who were more skeptical and reticent, I rightfully convinced them that I was harmless. I made jokes, smiled and was polite, in order to make them feel comfortable. Sometimes, in order to break the status given to me I often found it fruitful to speak Swahili. This made the informants excited and accommodating.

When my status as European overruled my student or teacher status, I wanted to break it through acting contrary to the expectations of a European. In such situations, my knowledge about the Tanzanian culture and speaking Swahili came to good use. The more I acted like a “Tanzanian”, the more I performed in violation of the role expectations as a European. In this way, I escaped the unwanted status and eventually achieved a status that gave me more insight into people’s personal perception of the privatization phenomenon.

Sometimes, while talking with headmasters and owners I had to do the opposite. Some were less interested in talking with me and seemed not to take my research interest seriously. The first time this happened, I fumbled. However, during the interview I sought to remold my role to more authoritative status. This proved to work because we had then tested each other’s boundaries and authority and the conversation went on in a professional matter.

The most challenging visit in terms of status adjustment was my visit at the MoEVT. The schools had given the authorities harsh critique and I was uncertain on how they would respond to the accusations. However, I thought that I would not be much of a researcher if I did not at least try to talk with them in order to get both perspectives. Furthermore, I was

curious about the government's attitude towards the privatization of education in general. I decided that I should act as harmless as possible, in order for them to accept me at all. This strategy helped. When I told them about my findings and what some of my respondents have said, they were very eager to educate me on what exactly is the truth.

4.7. Validity and Reliability

It is important to remember that the results of the research only has validity for the topics I choose to examine. The results I got is strictly only valid for the period of the research. Reliability is also something I had to consider. There is a possibility that the people I interviewed were lying, they did not have sufficient knowledge or that they in other ways provided me with wrong information. So-called recall data, where informants are asked to refer to past events or actions, may be an example. The informant might remember it wrong. It was also important to take into consideration that all people tend to shape the past so that it is consistent with the beliefs we have in the present (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007). This is something I considered and took into account.

Furthermore, the informants were not the only ones that needed to be considered critically. It also applies to the researcher. Through an analysis, the researcher's wants to find a meaningful dimension of events and expression, and the understanding drawn in the first round may be wrong. It is therefore important to realize that there might be more opinion matters in one action and the interpretation that is chosen must therefore be verified (Aase & Fossåskaret, 2007).

"Internal validity is whether the results are perceived as appropriate" (Jacobsen, 2013, p. 214). One strategy I used to validate my findings was to summarize findings with my informants either before, during or after the interview. This was because I wanted to examine the extent to which the informants recognized the results. Additionally, I tried to validate the project through a critical examination of sources and information from the sources. Moreover, it was important turning to the questions, as well as controlling the independent sources against each other. According to Jacobsen "information from several independent sources provide a valid description of the phenomenon" (Jacobsen, 2013, p.

218). If one is looking to confirm that something happened in a certain way, one source is not enough. The information should be confirmed by several independent sources if we opt to count it as reliable (Andresen, 2012).

The external validity concerns the extent to which the findings of a study can be generalized (Jacobsen, 2013), but this is not applicable for this thesis. However, Jacobsen writes about theoretical generalization, which involves a generalization from data in smaller research projects to a more theoretical level (Jacobsen, 2013). In order to assess the external validity I must include assessing how respondents are extracted. In order to find relevant schools and informants, I used the snowball sampling method. According to explorable.com, snowball sampling is “a non-probability sampling technique that is used by researchers to identify potential subjects in studies where subjects are hard to locate” (“Snowball Sampling,” 2009).

Snowball sampling works like chain referral. After a school visit, I asked assistance from the informants to help me identify another school I could visit. Often, the informants suggested new schools without any encouragement. Because I wanted a representative sample of schools, I used a procedure called exponential discriminative snowball sampling (“Snowball Sampling,” 2009). This entailed a rejection of schools that could resemble a school that had previously been visited. However, I can only argue for representativeness, not prove it. I continued this process until I had visited a sufficient number of schools. The process of snowball sampling is cheap, simple and cost-efficient. However, the researcher has less control over the sampling.

4.8. Ethical Considerations

I have not been working with personal data, and the project is not notifiable according to the Norwegian Social Science Data Services. However, I have been interviewing people, and Jacobsen argues that when we research on humans, we also commit an intrusion in their lives (Jacobsen, 2013). This applies for this research because some of the answers the informants gave were personal and can easily be condemned by others, including myself. Moreover, Jacobsen claims there are three basic requirements relating to the relationship between the researcher and the informants.

Informed consent means that the person being interviewed participates voluntarily in the study and that the person is aware of the risks and benefits one's participation may involve (Jacobsen, 2013). Thus, before conducting the interviews I informed the informants about myself as well as the objective of the thesis.

Requirements of privacy means that the informants have a free zone that is not examined (Jacobsen, 2013). This was not a major concern in relation to my project. However, I had to be aware that what I consider sensitive not necessarily is perceived as such by others, and vice versa. Although a couple of schools might be recognizable in the final text, I ensured my informants of confidentiality, which means that I can guarantee that personal information are not scattered (Jacobsen, 2013).

Full representation means that the researcher must attempt to reproduce the results correctly and in the right context (Jacobsen, 2013). The use of a recording device made this job easier. Additionally, I was an active listener in the interview situation, repeating what the respondents said, and asking clarification questions along the way.

It is claimed that a value free and unbiased research is not possible, because the researcher already in the choice of the research questions is governed by his or her own values (Jacobsen, 2013). Data can be interpreted in different ways, and the interpretation is again dependent on many factors that are not found in the sources, but the researcher: perspective, knowledge, values etc. (Andresen, 2012). Consequently, this thesis is influenced by the fact that it is I who was conducting it. However, I argue this thesis to be "value free" as far as possible. I wanted to examine a phenomenon that I did not know very much about. Thus, my responsibility was mainly to seek knowledge, not to evaluate the knowledge in any way. For this reason, transparency is important. By clearly describing what has been done, others have access to information about what the research do not consider.

4.9. Personal Motivation

In order to add to the degree of transparency, I added a chapter that explains my personal reasons for studying privatization of secondary education in Tanzania. First, privatization causes debates, which makes the topic interesting. Second, and most importantly, I have a

future desire of moving to Tanzania and work in the education sector, most probably the private one.

My personal motivation might have affected the decision of whom I chose to talk to and what information I searched for. A positive effect in terms of my personal motivation could be that I have explored the phenomenon in detail. Because of my motivation, I sincerely attempted to enhance the understanding of privatization of education in Tanzania. I pushed some personal limits and went out of my comfort zone repeatedly, both mentally and physically, to get as much reliable information as possible. One example of this is when I threw myself on back of a motorcycle without a helmet or any other form of protection, and drove far out into the wilderness in order to find a school.

On the other hand, because of my personal involvement, I might have overlooked some factors or people that would have been relevant to the study. However, I was aware of this issue and tried to minimize these possible effects. In order to assure the validity, both my supervisor, fellow students and others have advised me through the whole research process.

4.10. Challenges

There were challenges I faced during both the fieldwork and the construction of data. The first challenge was to know where to begin. As a new researcher, I was challenged to identify informants. Luckily, my supervisor came to Tanzania for a short period. She helped me get started and gave me some tips and guides on what to do next.

The second challenge was to contact parents. I solved this problem by changing my research questions, putting less emphasis on the parent's opinions. However, after a while, as I was getting more confident, and knowing who had children in the school, I was then able to approach them and ask them some questions.

A third challenge is the schools calendar, which is different for many schools and can change by the minute. During my stay, there were examinations, mid-term, internet shutdown so we could not communicate, Nyerere day etc. In addition, public transport and "African time" often caused delays. However, these challenges were not as big as I thought they would be

according to my previous experience in the public sector. The majority of schools knew I was coming, they were ready on time and both headmasters and teachers had reserved time to talk with me.

A fourth challenge was the fact that you are always on duty. Every awoken moment you have to be ready to seize an opportunity. In addition, you have to appear happy, engaged, interested and energetic at all times. This was sometimes a big challenge. Especially when most of the informants wanted to give me a lecture about the Tanzanian history and education system, which I knew a lot about already. These factors were exhausting and represented a mental challenge.

An additional challenge was the financials. I tried to minimize the effect this could have on my research through using public transport and living reasonable. The last two weeks for example, I was living in a tent. However, I would for example have liked to sit at the public teacher college and work from there. If I had, I am sure that I would have had a chance to talk with more teachers and teacher students about my questions of research. This was not possible because of my financial situation. Because I was living on the other side of town, I could not afford the transport every day, either public or private.

5.0. The Motivation for Opening Private Schools

While chapter 4 discussed the methodological procedures, the next chapters present the empirical findings and discusses them in the light of the theory that was previously presented. This chapter deals with the privatization of secondary education through examining participant's motivation. It discusses the idea of development through education, introduces the different school owners and administrators, and it examines the school owner's motivation for opening a private school with regards to an altruistic motivation or as been purely profit driven.

5.1. Education and Development

As has been pointed out earlier, education is seen as a prerequisite for poverty reduction and economic development. Although UPE was largely achieved in Tanzania by the 1980s, it only seemed to have been successful in increasing the number of children enrolling in primary education. It may seem that this achievement in itself has been insufficient to bring out widespread poverty reduction or economic development. Thus, putting children into a classroom with a teacher hardly seems to be sufficient in order to end poverty. Poverty reduction requires greater national and foreign direct investments to create employment. Consequently, a shortage of knowledge and skills is a key constraint on development, employment and poverty reduction (King et al., 2007). In this classroom, children therefore need to acquire certain abilities, knowledge and skills.

According to Freire, such skills and abilities should revolve around critical thinking and knowledge about how one can influence and promote social change. Giroux points out that Freire spent most of his life believing that critical education is a basic element of progressive social change. That is why he believed that how we think about politics is inseparable from how we come to understand the world, power, and the moral life we desire to lead (Giroux, 2010). Teachers must therefore make the pedagogical more political in order to build coalitions and social movements capable of mobilizing power and promote social change. In addition, Freire wanted us to understand that private problems must be understood in

relation to larger public issues. Homelessness, poverty, and unemployment must not be understood as a failing of individual character, laziness, indifference, or lack of personal responsibility. Such challenges are systematic problems, and the solution is to create the conditions for people to govern rather than merely be governed.

The First Headmaster at Aquarius spoke from a similar point of view, but with emphasis on democracy. He wanted the students to become critical thinkers that are able to challenge the authorities and promote social changes. He believed that students who study abroad achieves a better understanding of how a democracy should work. He wanted these students to return to Tanzania, spread the word and try to initiate change. However, he claimed that the problem occurs when such students gets comfortable abroad and then do not return. According to him, this is one of the reasons why Tanzania has had limited economic development and change.

The First Headmaster was here talking about a well-known phenomenon called *Brain Drain*. It is a slang term for when a significant number of talented or educated people emigrates ("Brain Drain," 2015). Tanzania is a peaceful county without too much turmoil. The people who leaves the country might therefore be seeking a better standard of living and/or they find better professional opportunities abroad. A consequence of brain drain, in terms of economic development, is that the county lose valuable professionals. With each emigrant expertise is lost. Moreover, their departure removes significant consumer spending from the country because the emigrants are the people of most purchasing power ("Brain Drain," 2015).

Nevertheless, (King et al., 2007) argues that while the majority of households continue to place considerable faith in the magic bullet of education, others have become disillusioned with the benefits through sending their children to primary school. If possible, this had led them to invest in private and/or pre-primary education, in the hope that this will provide better preparation for their children as they enter secondary school. Because all secondary schools in Tanzania is bound by the law to use English as the LOI, those children who are able to manage this when they start, will have a much greater chance of making it through secondary school. Since the majority of private and pre-primary schools also uses English as the LOI, they attract many parents to send their children here.

In fact, if one were to consider UPE as a magic bullet when it was first implemented, one may argue that pre-primary education is the magic bullet of today. The sooner the children learn how to manage the English language, the better. If parents have the opportunity, they will have their children attending pre-primary education. Moreover, the authorities have now recognized the value of pre-primary education and have started the process of planning the development of a teacher education that focus on that age group, because such an education does not exist in Tanzania yet. Thus, the demand for pre-primary and private education does not seem to be slowing down at the moment. This sentiment was also intensified after the interview with the two representatives at the MoEVT.

As previously mentioned the PRSPs are voluntary and are not supposed to entail any kind of obligation. However, when it comes to the inclusion of private providers of education, the two representatives at the MoEVT agreed that they do not have much of a choice. One nodded encouraging, while the other one said, “we don’t like it, but we have to (include private participants), we do not really have a choice”. Through looking at the strong growth of private schools in Tanzania, it is clear that their government have been inspired by the strategies provided by the World Bank. According to the World Bank, private education is considered crucial in order to increase educational cost-efficiency, improve the quality of the system as well as stimulate demand (Tarabini & Jacovkis, 2012). Private providers are also viewed as key actors to improve quality education, as the following quote states.

Involving NGO or for-profit private providers in basic education can lead to better quality of education, by mobilizing available management capacity, providing more choice for families and possibly increasing competition among providers (Tarabini & Jacovkis, 2012, p. 511).

It is thus an insoluble connection between education and economic development, but it is just as important to see education and training as part of a broader development strategy. One can only expect education’s developmental effects to be dramatic when they are part of a broader transformation. In this context, the next chapter will focus on one of the factors that is included in such a comprehensive development strategy – namely gender.

5.2. Education and Gender

What may also be considered as an orthodoxy, is that if you want development for the country you have to start with the girls. Strømquist explains that the girls' low participation rates in education is a result of family and work obligations (Stromquist, 2006). Societies with traditional beliefs, regardless of class, creates norms that restrict women's opportunity of education. A gender division of labour is of fundamental importance in such society's, especially in rural areas and among poor families. Moreover, because girls are supposed to occupy themselves with domestic chores, school knowledge is perceived as unnecessary.

The First Headmaster at Aquarius school repeatedly said that for Tanzania to develop there is a need for cultural change. By cultural change, he spoke of the Tanzanian mindset, work moral, attitude, way of thinking and the division of labour etc. He believed that if you want a cultural change, you have to start with the women. He was both humorous and serious when he said, "In reality the women is in charge of everything. The men are just superior. If you want real change, you have to go to the woman".

When I asked the headmaster at Virgo school why girls' education is important, the answer was the famous Nelson Mandela proverb, "If you educate a man you educate one person, if you educate a woman you educate a family". He explained this by referring to the Tanzanian culture, where the woman is the one responsible for the upbringing of the children. He believed that if women are educated, you are empowering them, and by empowering them, you are also empowering the whole country. The headmaster continued explaining that most of the conservative cultures are also suppressive on women and girls. In addition, most government officials are men, so to change these cultures will take time. However, he believed that if girls are educated they will liberate themselves rather than waiting for somebody else to do it. That is also a reason for why girls' education is important.

During the interview, the second headmaster at Aquarius started to talk about how the girls were performing better than the boys. We are familiar with this in Norway as well, but while we tend to blame it on that the schools are more adjusted to girls, he used religion as an explanation. He said:

Second Headmaster: And I think that one of the reasons can be ... a lot of the girls here they come from Muslim communities. You know they are a little bit ... eh ... conservative. So especially, the girls are not given that chance to go out and all that. I think they direct all their energy to studies and other, that so ... As opposed to the boys who have freedom to do whatever they want to do. So they forget about their books. So then result is that girls perform better than boys.

This example shows that girls in Tanzania are both willing and able to take an education. The next chapter will also provide an insight into their motivation to educate themselves, and it examines how education actually can be considered as a kind of rescue.

5.2.1. Education as a Rescue

In many communities in Tanzania, in particular those of hunters, gatherers and livestock keepers, they have a traditional and conservative culture as described above. The headmaster at Virgo school explained that in many of these communities the father will arrange marriage for his daughter. In return for giving up his daughter, the father will receive cattle from the husband, which is the customary bride price. According to the Tanzanian law, every child has to attend and complete primary education, but no such law exists concerning secondary level. When the girl finishes primary education and goes home to her family, the father will give her to a husband. Thus, secondary education for girls might be perceived as a rescue from the culture, poverty, ignorance and child labour. In some cases, it is also a matter of rescuing them through religion and convert them into Christians. The Virgo school is such an example.

Virgo school is a secondary school for girls in this situation. In some cases, the minute the girl who has been selected for the school finishes her class 7 exams in late September/beginning of October, they will bring her straight to Virgo secondary school. Even though the school calendar for secondary level do not start until January, they have to do it this way so that the father will not get the opportunity to marry away his daughter. Once the girls start their secondary education, the law again protects them. I experienced such an episode myself when I was there.

When I arrived at Virgo school for the second interview with the headmaster, I was asked to wait because he had somebody in his office. After a while, a man and a woman came out. The headmaster explained that the woman was a primary school headmistress and the man was father to a girl who just finished there and was supposed to start at Virgo school in January. They brought her straight to Virgo because they believed it was too risky to send her home in the meantime. The father was waiting for his daughter outside and upset that he was not able to take the girl home. He insisted on joining them to Virgo so he could see where they were taking her. The headmistress then took him to see the headmaster so that he could tell the father that if he tries anything he will contact the police. The headmaster said that he did this, but that he also tried to explain to the father why it is important for his daughter to get secondary education.

Although Virgo school have many success stories with girls ending up as pilots, doctors, teachers and nurses, I will in the following present one of the monumental stories, told by the headmaster. This is to give the readers of this thesis an idea of how much education means to these girls.

The Mother of Twins

The following story is taken directly from one of the interviews with the headmaster of this school. His story goes as follows:

One (girl student) passed away. Just after the exam, the national result were out, again it's a tragic story. When she had gone home during the June break before her exams, her father forced her to a husband. So when she came back here, in August, we learned that she was pregnant. Then, the school committee said lets close our eyes and let the girl finish. So we took care of her and she sat for her final exams, and went back home. The story was, when she (the girl) was born, for some reason her father didn't, did not want to accept her. He said; this is not my daughter. So, she and her mother had to go away. Two years later the mother was remarried to another man. Who was now stepfather to her. It is this stepfather who gave her a husband. Now after finishing form 4, went back home, the biological father comes, bringing a husband. The stepfather has showed her a husband. Now, (ironic laugh). The two parents had some quarrel, it wasn't yet resolved, but the two young men, or the two

husbands now also had that very strong conflict and we are told, it reaches thereby they said; lets both of us loose. So, what happened, she was given birth, and luckily enough she gave birth to twins. Without any complication. But, in the course of people going to congratulate her, one of the two also went there and did something and... she passed away. Leaving twins behind.

This stirring story reflects some traditional values and customs that among many others, the Virgo headmaster wants to change. In fact, this is the basis of the asserted orthodoxy regarding women and development. These girl students are considered development agents. They will educate themselves, get employment and become independent, and thereafter return to their village and try to improve girls' living conditions in the local community. On this basis, one may argue that private participants in the provision of education, such as the Virgo school, is essential in the fight against poverty, the improvement of women's living conditions as well as economic development for the country as a whole.

Until now, I have elaborated on the relationship between education and economic development, and specifically on how educating girls clearly has a positive effect on Tanzania's economic development. Educating the girls will increase the proportion of a skilled workforce and probably lessen the fertility rates and improve health conditions (Stromquist, 2006). The following chapters, goes deeper and investigates the people who is behind the creation of private schools as well as these participants' motivation.

5.3. Who are the School Owners?

There are a range of different types of secondary schools in Tanzania. Some are public, while others are private, some have swimming pools and smart boards, while others do not have books, chairs, windows and doors. Some schools have 40 students attending, while others have close to 2000. As table 5 shows, the public sector includes central government (national) and community schools, both of which receive full government funding for recurrent costs. The second headmaster at Gemini explained that there is a distinction in reputation between these schools. He claimed that the national schools, which are fewer in numbers, are the best schools. They are the oldest ones, but they have adequate facilities. These secondary schools only accept the students with the best examination results from

primary school. Those with lower scores on the examination are sent to community schools. The second headmaster explained that even though they are more recently established, the community schools are poorly facilitated with a shortage of teachers and textbooks and inadequate buildings.

Table 5: Owners of Secondary Schools (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014a)

Government			Non-Government					Total
Central	Community	Total	Religious	Companies	Individuals	Organizations	Others	
375	3121	3496	192	85	302	101	275	955

In figure 7 below, the data from the table has been converted into a bar graph. According to the figure, the private sector in Tanzania includes a great diversity of schools whose unifying feature is that they all depend almost exclusively on school fees and private contributions to defray the costs. Individuals own a majority of private secondary schools, 32 percent. Second, we find the *others* category with 29 percent. Unfortunately, it is unknown who the *others* includes. Out of the 9 schools visited, 3 were owned by the Church, 2 by companies and 4 owned by individuals.

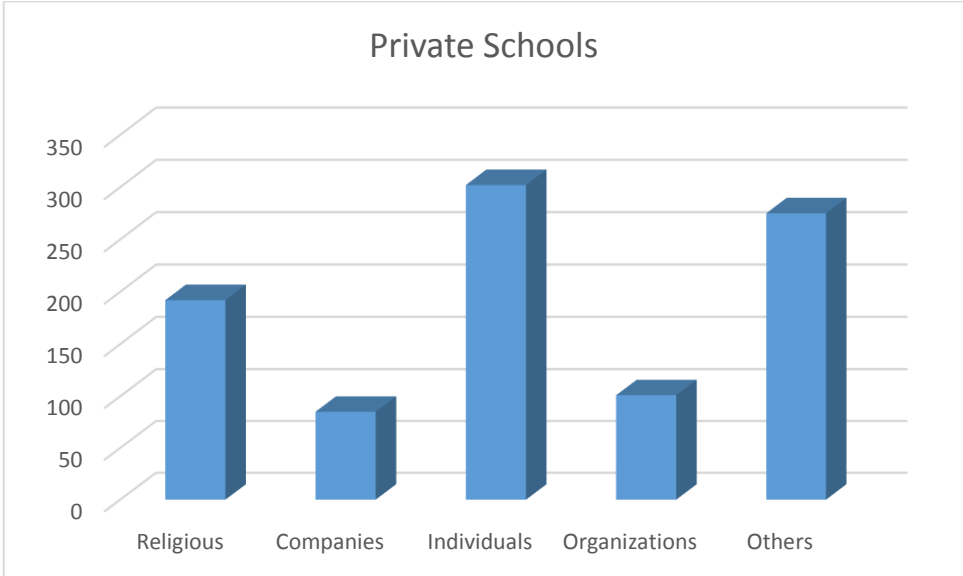


Figure 7: Owners of Private Secondary Schools (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014a)

The third largest category of owners are *religious*, which constitutes 20 percent. The Church institution I visited, which from now on will be referred to as the Church, owns 74 out of the 192 schools, which are located all over Tanzania. However, the director of education for the Church, were questioning the term “owner”. He claimed that in some cases, they do own the school, but in others, they take only a role as a coordinator. He explained that in order for the government to acknowledge the school, the establisher needs somebody to take the role as a trustee, which this Church often agrees to. Formally, this arrangement makes the Church the official owner, but the director points out that practically they are just the trustee. This claim made me ask the question whether they treat these schools differently; the schools they consider their own property, and the ones that they only own on paper. His answer to the question was:

Director: Not actually. All schools we take them as ours because we don't see the owner, or a different owner. Yes. So. Maybe, formally or whatever, we see that no one so far is claiming that the school is theirs. And so as far as we are giving social services and capacity building of whatever then these are our schools. Yes. And even the government knows that these schools belong to the Church. Yes.

Thus, the Church owns many schools, but did not initially start many of them. The Church comes in as administrator and includes the schools in their system of school management. However, since the Church formally owns the schools, manages them and treats them the same way, I consider it insignificant if the Church started the school or not. Although, it is interesting that the director felt a need to point out that it is not always the Church that initiates the establishment of schools.

There are thus a number of different participants that establishes private secondary schools and in this thesis they are placed in the following categories; religious, companies, individuals, organizations and others. The next chapter provides a better understanding of these participants through examining their motivation for opening a private school.

5.4. A Profit Oriented or an Altruistic Motivation?

According to the large increase in the number of private schools, it appeared essential to find out what motivated the owners to establish schools. Were they looking for profit or did they have an altruistic motivation? Moreover, in those cases where the second alternative proved to be right, did they wish to benefit the children or the nation as a whole?

A teacher at Pisces claimed that all founders of private schools are motivated by a search for profit, except the ones initiated by religious institutions. This did not correspond with my findings. I arrived at the conclusion that in most cases, the motivation seemed to be a combination of the two, although in others, there are clear differences.

In order to find out the private schools' financial situation, I asked all the schools visited about school fees and teachers' salaries. There were not enough information, but I argue that the information I received can provide an indication of which schools are left with profit and which are not. Table 6 shows some interesting inequalities between the schools. Evident is the difference in school size. While Scorpio have 50 students, 1800 students attend Libra school. If you divide the number of students with the number of teachers, you also find that while Libra school had a teacher density of 1:7, Gemini school have a teacher density of 1:28. Furthermore, the teachers' salaries varies from \$ 1 440 per year at Scorpio school up to \$ 30 000 at Capricorn. Moreover, the results shows a significant difference in the private schools' financial situation. I subtracted the teachers' salaries from the school fees, and the result was as follows:

Table 6: Private schools' Financial Situation

	Number of students	Paying students	Number of teachers	School fee per year	Teachers salary per year	Amount remaining
Aquarius	800	800	70	3 000	7 800	1 854 000
Gemini	700	700	25	1 000	4 980	575 500
Virgo	300	60	23	900	4 000	-38 000
Libra	1 800	0	250	0	10 800	-2 700 000
Taurus	55	55	3	800	3 600	33 200
Capricorn	340	340	30	10 500	30 000	2 670 000
Scorpio	50	50	3	400	1 440	15 680
Pisces	860	774	42	1 000	10 800	320 400
Leo	150	75	15	1 300	3 600	43 500
- All amounts are in USD						

There is a consensus between table 6 and what the informants shared through interviews. The informants that claimed the school to be profit oriented also belonged to schools that according to the table should be left with a significant profit. For example at Capricorn, which according to the table seems to be left with most profit, a teacher said, “This is not humanitarian work, this is business”. Moreover, the second headmaster at Aquarius did not see any other reason for establishing schools if it was not in a search for profit. He said:

Second Headmaster: For as far as developers are concerned, those who open private schools... Because they know how to take advantage of the sorry state of the government schools. So they take advantage and make money, what else? (...) And they also see the need to open various ways for education, and that is how it is done.

The second headmaster at Gemini believed profit to be the motivation of most school owners. He said, “Because there is a market, individuals invest in education to make money”. However, this does not apply to Gemini school. He claimed, “It is purely for service. Nothing after a year, nothing. We normally cry. Sometimes we say; can we really have a good end at the end of the year?” He elaborated by pointing at the uncertainty in the budget due to a potential increase of food prices, teachers’ salaries or a poor harvest. He said, “(...) we begin a year with hesitation. And we continue in a such fragile situation until the end of the year”. To add to school income, many schools cultivate grain, corn, coffee and vegetables in order to reduce the schools expenses.

On the other hand, another category of owners is the ardent souls that simply wants to help. Both Scorpio, Taurus and Libra schools fall under this category. The owners of both Scorpio and Taurus school have had an unfortunate experience with the education provided by the government, which motivated them to establish their own school. They wished to help the children get a good quality education so that they can be able to continue on further studies or get good jobs.

The Libra school is a special case and a good example of the Education Gospel in practice. At the age of 22, an Australian woman travelled to Uganda and volunteered as a teacher. This experience led her to believe that a free, high-quality education should be the right of all children in the world, and she believed that education is the key factor in the fight against poverty, corruption and political instability. She went back to Australia, fundraised money, gathered her friends and family, and went back to East Africa, this time Tanzania, and

opened a school. The school opened in 2002 with 3 students, whereas today the schools has 1800 students attending. At Libra, none of the students pays school fees. The school survives due to sponsors and donors from other countries, especially Australia, and they only offer education to the absolute poorest children in the community. Because the school is so popular among the community, parents will hide cattle and everything else of value, in order to make sure that the family is considered poor enough for the child to qualify for enrollment. Libra also have a policy stating that they will only accept one child per family in order to reach out to as many families as possible. Like many others, the people at Libra school sincerely believe that education is the key to achieve poverty reduction, as pointed out in their slogan “Fighting Poverty Through Education” illustrated below.



Figure 8: Fighting Poverty Through Education ("African Heart," 2013)

On the question if the owner with an altruistic motivation, such as the woman above as well as the people at Virgo, wanted to benefit the children or the nation as a whole, the answer I found was both. However, through the interviews I found that in most cases, helping the individual child comes first. Then, they believed that this would lead to a general improvement of the country as a whole. This correlates with thoughts around development through education, as previously discussed.

An interesting feature is that different types of owners seem to be in correlation with different types of motivation. According to my research, schools owned by companies are the ones which are motivated to make profit, while the individual owners have an altruistic motivation. According to table 6, they are also the schools that shows the least ability for

profit. In the middle, between the schools owned by companies and the ones owned by individuals, we find the religious schools. In the interview with the director of education, emphasis was put on salvation, in the context of motivation. Moreover, he explained that both the church and the government have to provide an ordinary education in order to get *servants* (of the church as well as the government). He said:

Director: Well I think the role of the church, any church, is to save a human being holistically. I mean the whole being. That is spiritually, and of course mentally too. Or physically. You cannot just bring evangelism to a person who is dull. How can he or she read the Bible? How can he comprehend? And how can the church get staff to continue the work of the gospel? Like how can you get the pastors? They have to get an ordinary education first, I mean let's say the secondary education, and then you bring him to the college later for theological or whatever education, so that he becomes a pastor. So the church sees the role of education a human being as the role of the government, but the role of the church too. So that the government could get servants, and the church could also get servants. Yes.

5.5. Summary

Thus, it emerges that education is seen as a prerequisite for poverty reduction and economic development. However, education's developmental effects can only be expected to be dramatic if it is part of a broader transformation. It was also discussed how girl's education in specific, will have a positive effect on the economic development through increasing the proportion of a skilled workforce and probably lessen the fertility rates and improve health conditions. After taking a closer look at the school owners, it is clear that the government still owns the majority of secondary schools in the country, which includes both central government and community schools. The private schools shows a great variety, but individuals own the majority of private schools. It seems that companies are the ones that are mostly motivated through a search for profit, while individuals seems to be driven by an altruistic motivation. Schools owned by religious institutions is placed somewhere between these two extremes. However, it is important to point out that in most cases it is a combination of the two. Regardless of motivation, it seems as though the market is good for new private participants.

6.0. Circumstances that Motivates Privatization

This chapter deals with the privatization of secondary education through examining the structural circumstances. It consists of an analysis of the interview material. According to Lassibille, Tan and Sumra (2000), Mark Bray claims that some of these circumstances are shortage of resources to support public provision of services, a perception that public education is inefficient, a demand for greater parental choice in education, and pressures to make schools more accountable to their clients. My informants also emphasized some of these factors. Thus, chapter 6.1. examines the failure of the public school, while 6.2. discusses the concept of good quality education.

All of my informants told me that the main reason why Tanzania has so many private secondary schools is the insufficient number of schools as well as the low quality provided by the government. However, this is a resent condition of state. In line with the Virgo headmaster, Lassibille, Tan and Sumra claims that the best quality used to be provided by the government, at least in terms of examination results (Lassibille et al., 2000). The public secondary schools used to be considered as a school for the elite and it was difficult to meet the requirements for enrolment. Only the brightest students were accepted. The remaining students who were able attended one of the few private schools or left to other countries, such as Kenya and Uganda. With the liberalization in the 1980s, this situation motivated investors to establish more private schools. In addition, the better performance of private schools started to become public knowledge. More and more parents wanted their children to attend private schools. All of my informants pointed out that the schools that scores the highest results on the examination are private, and one headmaster gave the following information:

Headmaster: Interesting, last years form 4, the first, up to 39th school are non-government. The first government school was number 40. That in itself is an image that there is work being done in the non-government schools.

The newspaper *The East African*, wrote about this situation. According to them 60 percent of the form 4 students failed the exam, and out of the top 20, only two public schools made it to the list. Only 1641 of the 411 230 students who sat for the exam scored division one. Moreover, almost 30 000 students' results were withheld and would be released only when

they paid their examination fees ("Shock as 60pc of Tanzania students fail national exam," 2013).

More of such factors that may help explain the growth in private secondary schools, will be presented and further discussed in this chapter. The selection of factors in the following, results from the interviews. I explain the phenomenon in the light of the informants' experience and perceptions.

6.1. Failure of the Public School

All of my informants explained the privatization phenomenon by referring to the state of government schools. All 44 of them believed it to be the most important reason for the growth of private secondary schools. "The privatization is possible because of the bad quality and conditions in government schools", said one of the teachers. Further, he points to the teacher's extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. He claims that the public school teacher's intrinsic motivation is weak due to poor salaries and the extrinsic motivation due to lack of supervision and monitoring. He believes that this makes the teachers unmotivated to take responsibility. He was not alone in this opinion and it is discussed later in this chapter.

One headmaster talked about the facilities and extracurricular activities that are not available in public schools. He said:

Headmaster: The public are poorly equipped in terms of facilities. No textbooks, no laboratory. So that is another challenge. And private schools offer a variety. Apart from attending classes, the children have a variety of activities to attend to. So, they tend to develop the children holistically.

More about pupils' holistic development and what student characteristics schools want to develop, appear in chapter 6.2.

In accordance with the ideas of development through education, three teachers at Libra school claimed having private schools is crucial for the children of Tanzania and for the country's future. They believed that the government is not able to provide good quality education. Consequently, they allege that good quality education is directly linked to the

country's economic development. One of the teachers explained that the public schools do not have enough books and sometimes they do not pay teachers their salaries on time, which affects the teacher's intrinsic motivation. They arrive late or not at all, or they pass the teaching responsibility on to a student. "It is very possible that a teacher can stay away for a month without teaching," said the teacher.

As opposed to the other informants, the Virgo headmaster do not believe the government to be unable to provide good education. However, they need help from private participants because of the current systems ineffectiveness. He points at a heavy bureaucracy in addition to a general mistrust from the population. Accordingly, all informants concur that the public school is not good enough, but they disagree about the government's ability to improve the situation.

6.1.1. The Government

84 percent of the informants were talking about the government in a negative way without having been encouraged to do so. The informants that did not bring up the government in any way were asked about them, which leaves only three informants who did not have anything negative to say about the authorities. The questions that were asked was: "Are the government involved in this school in any way?" Moreover, "Do you feel that they have been helpful or more of an obstacle when it comes to the establishment or running of this school?"

The First Headmaster at Aquarius school was most critical towards the authorities, claiming that the government do not want development for the country. He said, "The government want to keep the people ignorant so that they can keep the power to themselves". He explained that the syllabus and textbooks do not encourage critical thinking, entrepreneurship or how to take part in a democracy. In addition, because the education system is based on papers, certificates, degrees and diplomas, student's skills and knowledge are not appreciated. The First Headmaster is concerned that such documents is easy to falsify, and that you might end up employing staff members who do not actually possess the needed qualifications. This is an advantage for the government, the First

Headmaster is claiming. Unqualified people in important positions is rather good because then they will not be a threat to the government's power. This is why he said, "education is the key, but the school is the lock".

The interview with the First Headmaster at Aquarius was only my second interview, which gave me the opportunity to ask other informants whether they agreed with his accusations. In addition, he is setting some premises for the economic development of the nation. For example that the population needs to be critical thinkers and know their rights.

The situation that the First Headmaster described and the strategies he claimed that the government is using, is not unfamiliar to Åsa Wedin (Wedin, 2008). She is a Swedish doctor in linguistic and a professor in pedagogical work. She claims that literacy, reading and writing, might be used as a tool for oppression and that this is often hidden in the popular belief that literacy is exclusively empowering. Wedin claims that there are many examples of how literacy is used by the elite as a tool for manifesting their authority in developing countries. Those who have not had access to critical kinds of literacies will be excluded from official discourses, and she believes that the elite is using the schools as gatekeepers in this matter (Wedin, 2008). In her research, conducted in Tanzania and Rwanda, she found that pupils are encouraged to use literacy through copying from the blackboard or repeating something the teachers had read out loud. She did not find many examples of the dominated literacies being used to contest power (Wedin, 2008).

Paulo Freire strongly acted against such copying methods and he believed education to be a political act that can not be divorced from pedagogy (Giroux, 2010). The kind of pedagogy promoted by Freire shifts the emphasis from teachers to students, making the relationships among knowledge, authority and power visible. Students are not supposed to receive knowledge, but actively transform or recreate it through critical dialogue with others. According to Freire critical education is a basic element of progressive social change, and he claims that how we think about politics is inseparable from how we come to understand power (Giroux, 2010).

33 of the 44 informants were asked if they agree with the First Headmaster's accusations and 23 people did. This includes both a teachers college lecturer and an official who is preoccupied with the evident corruption among politicians. The lecturer said, "All of the

politicians in this country are criminals”, and the official expressed dissatisfaction with her colleague’s work ethic. This clearly shows that a large proportion of the population is dissatisfied with the authorities. In addition, the presidential election is approaching and there are parades and minor demonstrations in the streets.

I confronted the two MoEVT officials with the accusations, which they claim to be untrue. “It is not true, it is not true”, the woman repeatedly said. They were both upset at first, before they explained why the accusations do not have root in the reality. They claimed that it is teachers, selected based on their experience and qualifications who makes the national exams. This is partly confirmed in chapter 2 where it states that NECTA are the ones responsible for the examination ("About NECTA," 2015). However, it remains unknown how many of these teachers are representing private schools.

The headmaster at Virgo continued to talk about how the government fails to contribute financially in the private sector. According to the SEDP, a part of the funding is to be earmarked for private education. The headmaster told me that they have been fighting for this for years, but without result. He saw this as unfair, since the private schools are trying to implement goals set by the government. In addition, the country’s taxpayers include parents who are taking their children to private schools. Thus, he considered it reasonable that the non-government sector also receives some support. He suggested that they could support by paying all teachers in the country and not only those in public sector, or they could supply the teaching and learning materials. He said, “So, literally they are not helping the non-government schools in any way. If there is a help, it is in the registration of the schools. Recognizing them officially, that’s all”.

He continued with explaining how the government is trying to make it difficult for the non-government schools by presenting a set of requirements to be fulfilled, such as:

- Three laboratories
- A land property of 7,5 acre in an urban area, while 3 acre in a rural area.
- A bank statement with an amount of over \$ 62 000.

In order to build a school, one must also gain permit from the village office, district office, regional office and national office. This bureaucratic procedure is also an expensive one because they are expecting bribes at all levels. This is a dreary but necessary step, and a

good example on how the corruption is permeating the country, as well as the public employees' needs of an extra income due to low salaries.

Nevertheless, the Virgo headmaster said that through these requirements the private schools happen to be better than the government ones. He said, "So they were doing that to sort of, to put difficult conditions to the non-government schools, but they didn't know that they were empowering them". However, after the results of the national exams became public knowledge, the government now knows. He believed this to be one of the reasons behind a new directive stating that also public schools must have three laboratories. Still, the government is not willing to pay for it. In order to build them, village leaders must now collect money from the people, although many are not motivated to do so. They believe that the money they pay in tax should cover it.

The director of education at the Church also limited the government's contribution to recognizing the private schools. Actually, he ended up explaining how the government actively is working against the private sector. First, he pointed out how they challenge them by building secondary schools in the same area, forcing the private schools to compete for students. Second, he criticized the inspection fee that is required. Because the government needs to have an overview and a certain control over what goes on in the private schools, they carry out inspections every year. The inspection fee is the amount the private schools has to pay for this mandatory service. About the inspection fee, the director said:

Director of Education: And sometimes you pay, it was 1000 per kid. So if you have 100 kids you pay one thousand times one hundred kid. Now they have raised up. It is now 5000 per kid and it is starting next year. Now, you find that this is killing our schools. It's like a patient who is in the ICU and then you ask him to mop the floor. You see that's a big problem. Instead of reducing the load that we have, they are increasing the load.

Moreover, he explained how programs such as the SEDP are only an act, in order for the government to receive funding. He said:

Director of Education: Yes! It's just talk. Because then they can go to the World Bank and say that we have this number of schools, whatever number of thousands there are, and private schools are included there. But when they get that fund, they don't distribute to private schools. They say; ok, this is for all, but it is just, you know, that's just words. And not actions.

Like the First Headmaster, the owner of Taurus school claimed that the government officials are looking for personal benefits, rather than development for the country. "When they visit the school they always want tea". By tea, he meant money. Moreover, he explained that the school does not receive any form of support and he believed the government to be the main obstacle in the process of running the school. They are an obstacle because of the requirements they set, the same requirements the Virgo headmaster considered to be empowering.

It is commonly known that the government are trying to cover up government schools' bad exam results, and it may be argued that it is yet another example of how the government is showing that they do not want development for the country. Both the owner and headmaster at Taurus school said that last year a newspaper stated that 70 percent of students failed the exam. However, one month later it said that 80 percent passed. The government actually lowered the standard, allowing more students to pass. The owner stated: "The government do not really want to change anything; they just say so on paper." Seven additional informants, representing different schools, confirmed this story.

The East African as well as the non-profit civil society organization *HakiElimu* confirmed the story, although more accurate. HakiElimu wrote that on 3rd of May, 2013, the Minister of State, Mr. William Lukuvi, announced the government's decision to nullify the 2012 form four examination results. It was claimed that the results had been graded using a new and previously untested grading system which neither they nor the teachers knew anything about. The unfairness of this action was described as the basis for the government's decision (Missokia, 2013). They now re-standardized the result and the outcome was completely different from the previous one.

Furthermore, one teacher believed that the government is embarrassed. Therefore, they are trying to cover up the bad results in the way of measuring the schools. Instead of publishing one list with the country's ten best schools, they are now publishing two lists, top ten private schools and top ten public schools.

Another teacher brought up the topic as well. She explained that when the results first came out, the school was ranked as number seven, but one month later as number 10. In addition, the teacher was asked if she does not believe the government to appreciate what the

private schools are doing. Her answer was, “Yes, they do. But the government is also embarrassed, and that is why they do things like this”.

One headmaster talked about the SEDP and the government’s involvement. Although the government has little to do with private schools, they are required to perform the previously mentioned inspections. Since this school is not applying the national syllabus and curriculum, the inspection will include a limited number of factors. According to the SEDP (chapter 2), the government is supposed to contribute financially to private schools. The headmaster was laughing when I showed him the SEDP, and he said that the plan is good but that the implementation is a very different thing. Neither them, nor any other of the schools I visited had ever received any money and they had never heard of any other private schools receiving anything either.

Other informants were more moderate in their criticism of the government. The owner of Scorpio school was grateful because the government is supporting him financially in terms of his personal school fees. However, the school does not receive any form of support and they will not acknowledge the school and give him a certificate. This is because he do not own the land nor the school building. He is renting it.

The only person who does not express any negativity towards the government, is the owner of Libra school. She said, “They have been fine. I have never asked for money from them but they help with bureaucracy”. However, communicating with them might be a challenge because most offices does not have computers, let alone active internet. My experience from visiting the MoEVT confirms this complaint. The following is taken out of my field diary and summarizes my thoughts right after the first visit:

Field Diary: It is an old and worn building. Gray and dark. Old doors, worn carpets, large wooden desks. The chief of the Private School Department share a relatively small office with two female secretaries who do not speak particularly good English (put mildly). The desks are chock full of paper towers and folders. There are many people. They look listless and tired without it looking as if they are very busy. They sit with their face in their hands, talking with each other. This includes the guards outside.

It was a surprise to find a Ministry building in such a condition, especially the Ministry of Education since education is considered the key to economic development. When I came to

the area, I even walked right past it and into another building. This building had a *Ministry* logo, a modern building construction, an automatic door opener and the people were walking with quick steps. In addition, the guards were heavily armed. After a short time, I found out that this was the Ministry of Defense and they showed me to the right building. In my opinion, this can be taken to symbolize the under-prioritizing by the authorities when it comes to education.

Thus, the informants had mixed experience with the government and although the majority criticized the government, this did not apply for all.

6.1.2. The Syllabus and Curriculum

As described above, the First Headmaster claimed that the government wants to keep people ignorant and that they do so through the national curriculum. He claimed that the national curriculum keeps things at status quo, not promoting development. This is the opposite of empowerment, and a reason for deciding on the Cambridge Curriculum, which he believed encourages critical and independent thinkers. He wanted the students to become entrepreneurs. Previously, the school applied the national curriculum, but the students were failing the exams. The methodology used in school did not concur with national exams encouragement of reproducing facts. He believed this to be the explanation for the students' failure. He said, "You cannot knock knowledge into student's heads. You have to make them understand".

One of the teachers had a similar opinion on pedagogy, and were frustrated over the teaching methods that are currently used in most schools, both public and private. He said:

Teacher: It does not matter which school it is, whether it is public or private. They are all using the same bloody system. Teaching children as if they were adults. They are children for Christ's sake! Everyone learns in different ways. You must meet students where they are.

The owner and headmaster at Taurus school agreed. They said that the students must know what they are learning, why it is important and how they can use the knowledge in the future. The owner believed that the local curriculum does not make this a priority, which is why he is using his own variation. It is based on the national curriculum, but he makes

changes he deems necessary. “You have to make it seem like you are using the national curriculum to please the government, but in reality, you make your own.”

On the other hand, the second headmaster at Gemini school did not have any problems with the national syllabus and curriculum, which they were using themselves. He said, “The rich people are even challenging the national curriculum. They opted now for the Cambridge curriculum”. Thus, the Cambridge curriculum becomes associated with rich people. The use of the Cambridge syllabus, curriculum and exams are more expensive than using the national ones. Cambridge schools must therefore charge the students a higher school fee than others, and only the wealthy families can afford to pay such an amount. Furthermore, the second headmaster at Gemini informed me that all of his three children attended government schools and he was very happy with that. The Virgo headmaster is also content with the national syllabus and curriculum. The school is an ordinary school and he emphasized the unity of Tanzanian people, hence they all should apply the national curriculum.

Libra school is a rare example of a school that started by using the Cambridge syllabus, but later changed to the national syllabus. According to the school owner this was a consequence of all the students and teachers being Tanzanian citizens, and that the students most likely will continue studying and working in Tanzania. In addition, it is much more expensive to use the Cambridge syllabus. However, the school is using pedagogical methods based on a social constructivist view of learning and the principle “learning by doing”. This is probably a consequence of the owner being a woman from an industrialized country.

While I found mostly consensus among the informants when it comes to their attitudes towards the authorities and perception of public schools, it is thus a larger controversy regarding the choice of curriculum and syllabus. Here it is easier to make a relatively sharp distinction between those who are in favor of the national curriculum and those who want to use Cambridge.

6.1.3. What Motivates the Teachers to Work in the Private Sector?

According to Lassibille, Tan and Sumra, public school teachers have been changing jobs at a somewhat greater rate than private school teachers. Their research showed that more than one-third of the teachers currently in a private school previously taught in a public school. In contrast, less than 7 percent of the teachers in public schools were previously employed in a private school (Lassibille et al., 2000). Working in the public sector provides the teachers with an undeniable security. It is not easy to get fired, there is always work due to the lack of teachers in the country and you get your pension when you retire. It is a safe job. These facts intrigued me to find out more about why current private school teachers switched sector and why they consider it better to work in a private school. Consequently, I asked for them at every school to get an interview.

One teacher told me that he chose to work in the private sector because of the disturbances he had to face in the government sector. One disturbance was that the teachers did not get their salaries in time, and sometimes not at all. Another disturbance was that the government could choose to transfer you to another school at any time. He said:

Teacher: (...) it is very difficult in the government to get your salary. It takes a lot of time. Because the ministry is bankrupt. So, you don't get it. So I chose to be here. Then another issue is the transfer. Sending you away from my home. For example if I was living in Lushoto, the next day, I am told to go to another region. So that again is a disturbing issue.

The two officials representing the MoEVT did neither confirm nor deny the allegations concerning the salary issue. However, they did deny the transfer issue. They admitted that it used to be a practice, but they stopped because they wanted to save the expense. I do not have enough information to neither confirm nor deny this assertion. However, the teachers I interviewed were all of age and things may have changed from the time when they used to work in the public sector.

The Virgo headmaster also used to work as a teacher in government schools. He explained the switch in sectors by referring to the government teachers' lack of commitment. First, he explained the lack of commitment by pointing at the headmasters' missing authority. Because the salaries are coming from the head office in Dar es Salaam and because he does

not have the power to neither employ nor sack, the immediate boss, the headmaster, has no direct authority. When asked if he would consider going back to the government sector, his answer is no. He said:

Headmaster: (...) if I had a choice, having now known the difference, it is very difficult to work in the government sector. Very difficult. (...) knowing very well that it will be very difficult to change the system, I wouldn't go.

Secondly, the headmaster explained the lack of commitment through pointing at the working environment.

Headmaster: (...) When they (the teachers) find for example the administration is not committed, they don't set goals, why should I care? So that is why I say, during their training they might get very good preparation, but when they go to start employment, it will depend on the environment. It will depend on the leadership.

Furthermore, the Virgo headmaster blames the commitment issue on the teachers' financial situation. Most government teachers will earn about 400 000 TZS (1600 NOK) per month, and if accommodation is not provided, he might be left with half after paying for a place to live. This situation stimulates the teachers to look for part time employment somewhere else, but by doing that, they get less committed. 63 percent of my respondents support this theory, which indicates everyone who talked about it. In order to describe the situation he referred to a comic strip that was in the newspaper a few years ago. First, you see a man sitting by his desk doing nothing. His desk is very messy and full of papers. Then, his boss comes in and asks why his desk is so full, why he is never working. The man replies; well, when you pretend to pay me, I pretend to work.

According to Jimenez and Lockheed, the authors of the World Bank paper, having the most highly paid teachers is the private schools advantage. They claim that high teachers' salaries clearly improve student performance in Tanzanian private schools (Jimenez & Lockheed, 1995). Even though it is not clear how they arrived at this conclusion, the parents I talked with seemed to agree. A father told me that he is happy to pay a little bit more to the teachers' salaries because he believed that this motivates them to do a better job.

Moreover, the second headmaster at Gemini school explained how the school always has to follow the public tariff. If the government increases the teachers' salaries, they have to do it

as well. He said, “We always have to pay our teachers a little bit more than the government. This is to keep the teachers motivated to stay and work here”.

6.2. Good Quality Education

All of the informants claimed that in general, private schools provide better quality than public schools. According to John, the word quality distinguishes characteristics of something, and it is defined in different dimensions depending on the context. In the context of education, many different dimensions exist, testifying to the complexity of the concept. To measure quality, you have to establish criterias and standards that are explicit, reliable and realistic. Standards, however, are levels of excellence, showing the ideal state, or acceptable results of goals (John, 2009). To determinate what makes the quality better in private schools, it is therefore a need to link the objectives of education in the particular society. In the following, the informants’ objectives of education will be presented. This will provide an understanding of what the informants consider good quality education.

6.2.1. The English Language

73 percent of the informants considered the students ability to manage the English language a prerequisite of good quality education. One headmaster additionally expressed why private schools are better equipped to teach the students English by pointing at the teachers. He said:

Headmaster: (...) the teachers (in public schools) are not well trained in the media of instruction, which is the English language. (...) the Tanzanian policy of education requires that all public primary schools they use Swahili. Which is the national language. But then, there is also requirement that once they move to secondary school they use English. (...) And the children will definitely not find it easy. (...) Then at the end of the day the children have to do the exam in English. They cannot express themselves confidently and fluently in English. It’s a challenge. So majority of parents (...) who are aware of these things, who feel like the children to get the quality education they hope for private schools.

I found it strange that there were such a big difference in the teachers' English skills, because both private and public school teachers have the same education. However, in all the largest schools I visited, Tanzanian teachers was a minority. In these schools, the majority of teachers came from Kenya, England, India, USA and Uganda. The teachers' English qualification might therefore be a result of nationality rather than if they are working in public or private sector.

The owner and headmaster of Scorpio school also ended up talking about students' English skills as the most important objective. They claimed it is a precondition for the students' ability to complete secondary school. In addition, the students will not be able to travel and they will be unqualified for many different professions.

English is used as the LOI from secondary and all through the university level of education. Thus, managing the language is undeniable a precondition for further education. Additionally, it is a way of securing employment opportunity and a resource and an asset for competition in the labour market. Both job adverts and interviews are written and conducted in English. Moreover, English is a language of academics, elites and professionals as opposed to Kiswahili (John, 2009). A certain authority and respect are therefore associated with the English language. Thus, if teachers manage it well and are able to teach it to the students, the school is providing good quality education. Furthermore, as the interview above shows, these teachers are located in private schools.

6.2.2. Entrepreneurship and Critical Thinkers

Many of my informants claimed that the quality of education is measured by assessing the abilities and skills which students are left with. Entrepreneurship and critical thinking were skills that most informants emphasized. The First Headmaster at Aquarius was one of those who saw this as important. To give an example he mentioned Bill Gates and Steve Jobs.

First Headmaster: "What university did they go to? They didn't. What degree do they have? They don't. Still, they made loads of money. What they did have, or still have, is the ability to see what the people need or what they want, and then provide it. Then you will be rich".

Based on the quotation above, it appears that a schools quality is a result of students' future entrepreneurial abilities. They want students to become self-employed and sees it as their responsibility to create such citizens. However, later in the interview it emerges that to challenge the government and develop the country is the schools main goal. For this to happen, the First Headmaster claimed that the country requires entrepreneurs and critical thinkers.

The owner and headmaster at Taurus school also mentioned critical thinking as a goal. Furthermore, they claimed that students' understanding is a factor of good quality education. They explained that the children must know what they are learning, why it is important and how they can use this knowledge in the future. Two teachers at Sagittarius College agreed. They believed that if the students have this ability, the school is providing good quality education.

The Virgo headmaster put more emphasis on personal qualities than innovating skills. This reflect on his clientele of students. As it is shown in Appendix 1, all students at Virgo school are girls from minority groups. They come from communities where women tend to be submissive to their husbands and her duties entails taking care of the family and household. For this reason, the headmaster attached importance to personal qualities such as confidence, independence, self-worth, tolerance, understanding, to express opinions and simply being able to look a man in the eye. When these girls are taken to school, parents are concerned that their daughter will return as a different person. However, the qualities of that different person is exactly what the headmaster wanted to help develop. He said:

Headmaster: (...) and who is that different person? That different person is one who will not bow down to the requirements, one who is economically powerful, that's a different person. And they don't want that. They want, if you have observed, if you've gone to the village, when you see a woman talking to a man, she will be looking down, go the other way, and saying yes. That is what they want! But somebody who will look you into the eyes and say *no*. That's a threat. That's a different person. They don't want that. And that is how we are trying to train them. Not to be rude, but to look at me in my eyes and tell me the truth.

One teacher at the Capricorn school described good quality education as a holistic education, where the children are allowed to be creative and explore their talents. They do this through offering a number of extracurricular activities including sports, music and arts

and craft. Moreover, he argued that a good teacher is a person who encourages this and helps the students with guiding. This introduces the next chapter and the next condition for quality education, namely the teachers.

6.2.3. Quality Teachers

According to the informants, good quality teachers is a necessity in order to provide good quality education. However, it is not consensus about what a good quality teacher is. In accordance with my own experience, the First Headmaster at Aquarius explicitly told that the school consistently tries to avoid Tanzanian teachers because they do not possess the required English skills. Many teachers come from India, Rwanda and Burundi, and especially Kenya. However, the First Headmaster was not so excited about the Kenyan teachers either. He said, “The only thing they have is that they can manage the English language relatively good. But when it comes to the subjects and methodology, they are as clueless as anyone else”. However, the English skills makes them capable of learning subjects and methodology as they go along. The school arranges courses for these teachers to attend.

Because of Universal Primary Education, Tanzania had an urgent need for teachers. This resulted in a 1-2 years teacher education, which one may argue will have a negative effect on teachers’ qualification. My supervisor and I met a few 14–15 year old girls on their way to a private teachers college. The Taurus headmaster explained that these girls are failures or drop outs of secondary school. When they take one year of teacher’s education, they get a certificate to teach. If the girls are drop-outs, there can be many explanations behind it. Figure 9 shows reasons for drop-outs in both public and privates schools, and 76 percent of cases are due to truancy. However, why the students skip school, remains unaccounted for.

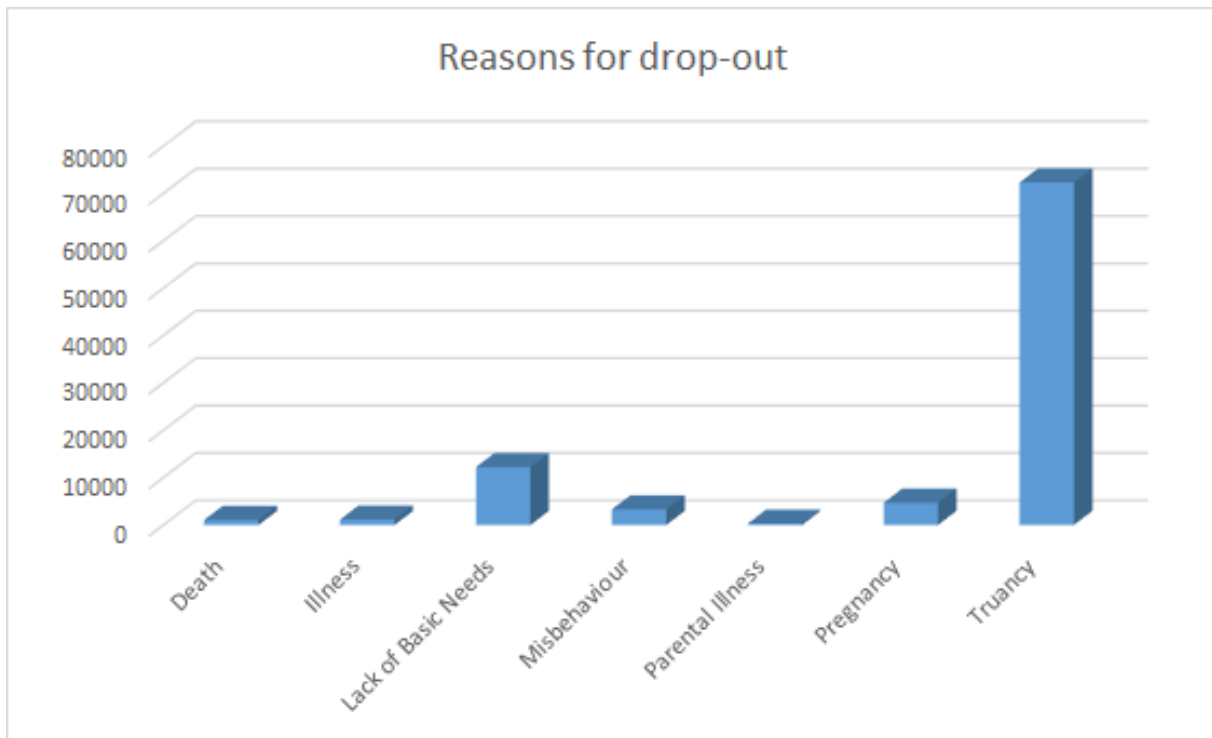


Figure 9: Reasons for Drop-out (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014a)

The Virgo headmaster explained this lack of Tanzanian quality teachers through the general mindset around the teaching profession. He claimed that in the last few years, the teaching profession has been operating as a safety net. He said, “If you do not have the opportunity to go for higher education, you can always go for teacher education.” Therefore, people have become teachers because they did not have any alternatives, not because they wanted to. However, he expressed a belief that the government has realized this issue and are now making changes. Already from this year, they announced that only the highest performance, division 1, 2 or 3 (total is 5) qualifies to the teaching profession. In addition, the teacher education will be extended to a three-year bachelor’s degree. According to the headmaster, the problem will be solved when the government also raises the teachers’ benefits, such as salaries and an improvement of the working environment. Many of my informants confirmed this optimism about strengthening the teachers’ qualifications. Among them is the headmaster at Aries College. He explained that many of the lecturers are now working on their master’s degrees, including himself.

Many of my informants used the teachers’ lack of qualifications as an explanation for the quality difference in private and public schools. They claimed that one of the reasons behind

private schools' good quality is that they tend to employ teachers with satisfactory educational background, often from different countries. Furthermore, the Virgo headmaster pointed at the private schools' employment procedures. He explained that teachers are carefully recruited through a rigorous selection process that involves interviews and a demonstration lesson in an actual classroom setting. According to John, the teachers will be evaluated based on their commitment to student-centered learning, competence and experience, an understanding of modern teaching methods, motivation towards the teaching and learning process and an openness to change (John, 2009). Such processes are missing in public schools.

Moreover, many informants pointed at the level of monitoring as an explanation for good quality teachers, and thereby good quality education. More monitoring makes better teachers because it increases the level of commitment and effort. The Taurus headmaster claimed that Tanzanians in general are lazy. If he is not present, the teachers will not work. Furthermore, this was used as an explanation for why private schools provide better quality than public schools. It is because private schools have a higher level of monitoring. Below, you find the Virgo headmaster explaining the importance of monitoring the teachers.

Headmaster: Why am I here, every day, from early in the morning to late in the evening? So that I can monitor. So I can see who is working and who is not working. And for that matter they do work. (...) But there are schools where the headmaster can appear in the school only once a week. So if only once a week you appear there, what about the others? Who will monitor them? So everybody will appear when they want.

The second headmaster at Gemini also explained the quality of education through the quality of teachers. However, he did not believe that it depends on the level of monitoring; it is related to the teachers' sense of belonging. He claimed that because there are no transfer traditions in private schools, the teachers will feel affiliation to the school. He said:

(...) So, for those who have stayed here, for quite a number of years, they think that they belong to the school and the school belongs to them. So there is that sense of belongingness. Yes. And in, in the government school things are a little different. Somebody is employed not at that school, he is employed by the Ministry of Education. And if today he, somebody who is working in this school, probably in the two months to come, then the person might be sent away, some few, some thousand kilometers away from this school and be working there. So

they.. Somebody is missing the sense of belongingness. That this school is mine. I belong to this school. So the sense of belongingness is associated with the commitments. When you belong to the school, you also commit yourself. You think that it is your duty. Just like the family duty. That when you feel like I can be transferred today or tomorrow to another school, you feel that you are along the road. Nothing is mine here.

Furthermore

(...) The second point is that the salaries of such teachers come from the central government. It is sent from Dar es Salaam. It is not even from this region. It is not from the school. So the headmistress, the headmaster does not pay you. She gets the salary the same way that you get your salary. Away from here. (...) The student's fee is what gives us our salaries. And we feel that our students are very important to us. (...) The students pay and therefore, there is a bond between us and the students. (...) as long as there is a direct link between us and the students in terms of our survival, there must be much commitment towards such students.

The owner and headmaster at Scorpio claimed that a teacher of good quality is one who masters English. However, methodology was also emphasized. He believed that learning must be fun for the children. In this school, they sing and play games as a way of learning. Moreover, he believed that the teachers' official qualification also is of importance. The week after my visit, he was going to start at a university, taking a bachelor in education.

6.2.4. Teacher-student-ratio

Some of the informants claimed that a low teacher-student-ratio is required to provide good quality education. The table below shows the teacher-student ratio in public and private schools from 2009 to 2013. The ratio is lower in private sector than public, but the ratio in public schools has decreased in recent years. The government of Tanzania provides these statistics, but I am critical of their results. According to both my informants and my own experience, the teacher-student-ratio is much higher than the table shows, both in public and private sector.

Table 7: Teacher-student-ratio (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014a)

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Government	01:49	01:46	01:38	01:31	01:26
Non - Government	01:23	01:23	01:22	01:21	01:20
Total	01:43	01:40	01:34	01:29	01:25

The second headmaster at Aquarius said, “Most times in most schools, you find 100 students, one teacher. That means attention is not given, so basically they don’t get the quality that they deserve. Yes”. The second headmaster at Gemini agreed. He explained that if the teacher-student-ratio is low, more attention will be given to each student, and thereby provide them with better quality education. However, at his own workplace they have not managed to achieve this yet because the school is very popular among parents. The second headmaster explained that they start every year with about 40 students per class. During the first two years, many new students join the school, and they end up having about 60 students per class. The maximum number of students per class is 65, which by far, is the highest teacher-student-ratio of all the private schools I visited.

6.2.5. Facilities, Resources, Teaching Materials and Extracurricular Activities

All of the informants claimed that the quality of education depends on the amount and quality of facilities, resources, teaching materials and extracurricular activities. The second headmaster at Aquarius believed that if schools provide textbooks, laboratories and extracurricular activities, it will develop students holistically. However, offering such facilities is often a challenge because of different social and cultural backgrounds. For example, this school does not encourage any form of music in consideration of the student’s religion. For many schools even offering textbook is a challenge. Table 8 shows the shortage of textbooks in percent in both public and private secondary education.

Table 8: Shortage of Textbooks in Percent (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014a)

Form 1	70,1
Form 2	69,9
Form 3	31,2
Form 4	64,2
Form 5	51,6
Form 6	43,3

A teacher at Libra school claimed that students get good quality education because the school provides academic resources. He said, “(...) we focus on technology teaching, ACT, we have plenty of books, we have musicians, even we have programs to improve teachers (...)”. Furthermore, he believed that the benefit of these resources appear in the students’ exam results. He informed that 70 percent of their students passes the exam and are able to move from one level to the next.

Moreover, the informants used the resource factor as an explanation for the quality difference in private and public schools. They claimed that the poor quality in public school is a result of not having enough textbooks, desks, chairs and that the buildings are old and in bad shape. Additionally, there is a frequent staff reshuffling, unfavorable working conditions for teachers, a limitation on other teaching and learning materials.

John explains this situation as a result of prioritizing quantity before quality. She argues that private schools have better paid teachers, enough books, low teacher-student-ratio, computer labs, toilets, libraries, playgrounds and additional subjects such as art and craft and music (John, 2009).

6.2.6. Home and School Cooperation

Parents are important for a child’s development and learning in school. Therefore, it is important that the home and the school have a good cooperation. Thomas Nordahl, a Norwegian professor and pedagogy researcher, identifies three main factors that affects students’ learning outcomes. They include both school academic, social and personal learning. The first factor relates to parents’ social and cultural position, primarily expressed

through their education. The second factor is the cooperation between home and school, while the last one deals with the degree of parental support in the home. This involves conversations about school and helping with homework (Nordahl, 2007).

Family background is said to have a powerful effect on the children's educational outcomes. Grubb and Lazerson argue that high-status (educated) parents have the ability to teach their children both cognitive abilities and the behaviors necessary in schools. Some might provide more books and computers, some might travel, some might offer private tuition and some might negotiate the formal education system on behalf of their children. Another advantage is the cultural compatibility between well-educated families and educational institutions (Grubb & Lazerson, 2006). Lassibille, Tan and Sumra agrees, claiming that students from a better socioeconomic background have access to supplemental resources and materials that supports their education. Schools with a larger share of such students might therefore achieve better results. They also add that public schools have a substantially greater share of students from peasant backgrounds compared to private schools (Lassibille et al., 2000). However, students from poorer families may be better motivated to perform well in school. Some of the informants highlighted good cooperation between home and school as a factor that effects the education quality. Although they said it is important, they also claimed it to be difficult. The second headmaster at Aquarius explained that the parents' involvement is limited to the parent-teacher-consultation (PTC). The following paragraph shows why he perceived cooperation with parents a challenge. He said:

Second headmaster: (...) We have them during the day, we don't know what they do during holiday, in the evening, so that follow up sometimes becomes a problem. Especially when you deal with parents who are not very responsible. (...) For example assignments are given. The parents don't check. (...) And especially parents who are very busy. Yes. You can call a parent and tell them that the child has not been to school for 2-3 days. You call the parent, the parent is not actually aware that the child has not been coming to school in a while. (...) Maybe the parent comes home when the child is asleep, and he leaves when the child is still asleep. So there is no follow up.

The Taurus headmaster confirmed this issue and claimed that good education is something that starts at home. He said, "The parents need to be supportive about the children's education and follow up with homework and stuff like that". He emphasized the importance

of good communication and cooperating between the teachers and parents. Although many Tanzanian parents shows great dedication when it comes to education of their children, all communities are not like that. The headmaster explained that sometimes he even have to pick up the children and bring them to school because the parents are not motivated to do so.

6.2.7. Students’ Performance on the Exams

Figure 10 shows the pass rate trend for form 4 examinations in both public and private schools by division, from 2003 until 2012. After receiving a grade, Tanzanian students will be put into a division. The system consists of five divisions where division 1 is the best and division 5, which is often called division 0, is fail. The figure shows that not only has there been a decline in the average preform results, but the proportion of those who fail has increased with the entire 54.5 percentage points. While 12 percent failed the examination in 2003, 66,5 percent failed in 2012. These statistics helps explain the big influx in private schools. If the school can prove of a high pass rate, it is more popular among parents. It is however important to point at some irregularities concerning the figure. For one, the percentages in 2011 does not make 100 percent in total, but only 66,4. Secondly the year of 2012 makes the whole of 109,6 percent.

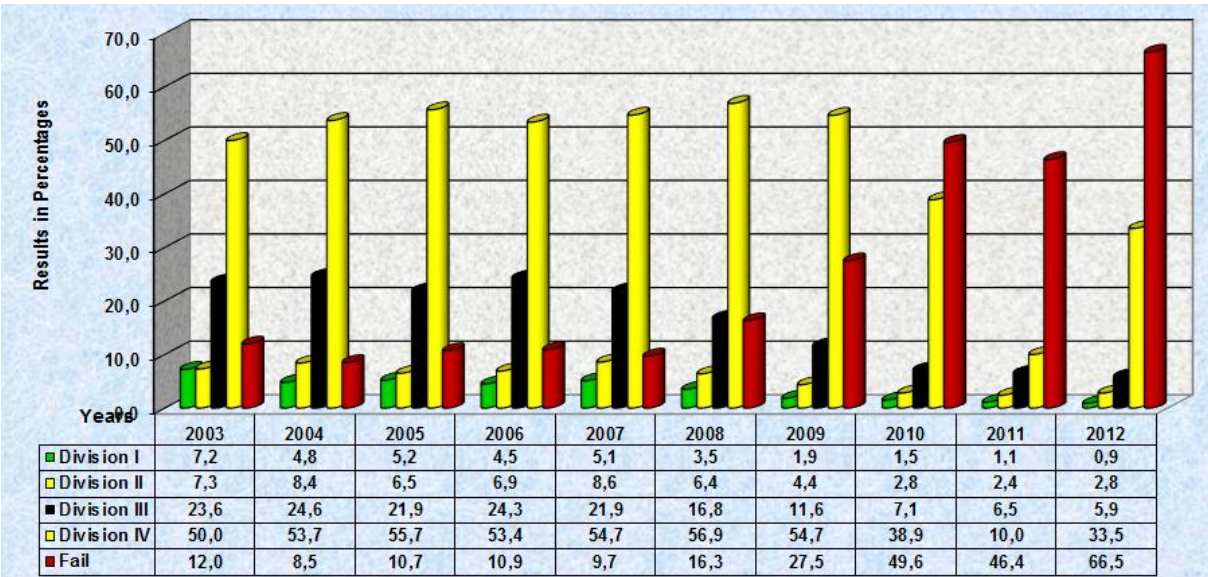


Figure 10: Pass Rate Trend for Form 4 (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, 2014a)

For many of the informants, about 82 percent, a good grade on the exam is proof of good quality education. The second headmaster at Aquarius said:

Second headmaster: "(...) in terms of quality, at the end of the day, what the parents are looking at is; will my child get the right education to be able to go to university. And that is basically the performance results".

The teacher at Virgo also implied that good performance results means good quality. In addition, he explained that the reason behind a good result is a qualified teacher. He said:

Teacher: In private sectors, there are schools which are very good schools. For example there are a school in the Tabora area, it is called Ubalo. It is a very super school. Three times it is shining in the results. The results are super. (...) They don't just employ anybody who comes. They check you through the results that you give during the national exams. They check you there and they say; ok, you can come with us.

Both a teacher at Pisces and the second headmaster at Gemini believed that the school is popular among parents because of the student's results. The second headmaster explained that for the last three years the school has not had any student falling into division 0, and that this is the main reason why parents want their children to attend the school.

Every year the ten students in the country with the best examination results is published. The teacher proudly presented that Pisces school have students on this list every year. For example in 2008, four of the ten students were from this school, and in 2011, seven of the ten students were from this school. In addition, the school came on 4th place of the country's best schools in 2009. Furthermore, 97 percent of the students continue in form 5 (A – level), once they finish form 4, and none of the students has ever failed the exam. Since 2003, no student has scored below division 3. Thus, Pisces school is a good example of how much emphasize is put on the students' exam results. As mentioned, if the school can prove of a high pass rate, that is considered as good quality education and the school is more popular among parents.

Pisces school is a school for girls and the teacher believed that the students have to be psychologically healthy in order to get results like this. All female teachers at the school are also matrons and they have conversations with the students regularly. Moreover, the school emphasizes having a good and open relationship with the students in order for them to feel

comfortable. The school also have a competition with the boy's school on who gets the best results. This motivates them a lot according to the teacher. However, later on the teacher also explains carefully that if a girl does not adjust easily to the schools strictly regulated organization, and finds it hard to live up to the school's exam expectations, she will, in consultation with parents, be advised to find another school.

Unlike most other informants, the Virgo headmaster is dissatisfied with the emphasis placed on documents and exam results. He claimed that the education system, and even the country as a whole, is too document oriented. By this, he meant that documents and certificates flourishes and works as the girder of the society. In frustration, he explained that no matter what you want to do, a document is required. He brought up employment procedures as an example. In such a context, neither your personality, abilities nor skills will be emphasized. Possessing the necessary documentation is enough. His major concern is that such documents can easily be counterfeited. This makes it possible to employ individuals that are not really qualified. Because of this, the headmaster believed that all employment procedures should be based on interviews. He said, "Let the documents just be a supporting element. But not the first. Let it not be the first item". He would like every profession to start valuing the ability of an individual, rather than his or her documents, and he believes this can only be done using interviews.

6.2.8. Discipline

In Tanzania, discipline is a big part of the culture. For one, they have great respect for elders whom they will address a special way in order to show respect. Secondly, they have great respect, hope and admiration for the school and the people working there. As Madsen's experience showed, when the boy sold the books and bought school uniform instead, the school has a symbolic value that deserves a certain way of behavior from the students. Additionally, although it is debated, physical punishment is common both in school and at home. Even though modern upbringing techniques that condemns corporal punishment applies to many, the majority of adults believe that corporal punishment and discipline has its natural place in the education of children, both at school and at home. Corporal

punishment was never observed in any of the private schools visited, but I know that it was the practice of at least a few of them.

Thus, some of the informants believed that discipline is something that promotes good quality education. According to the second headmaster at Gemini, discipline is one of the reasons why parents want their children attending this school. He said:

Second Headmaster: And one other thing, I think, is the discipline. How we, how we normally, how we normally treat our students here. In terms of their behavior. We are a little bit strict. And close to the students. We are strict and close to them. But we rarely send the students to their parents. For the discipline cases. We normally punish them here (...)

The teacher at Pisces also believed discipline to be one of the factors that makes the students' results good, and thereby it is necessary in order to provide good quality education. Students at this school wakes up at 4 am every day and gets ready for the prayer at 5 am. At 6 am they organize and clean both the inside and outside area, before the assembly. At 8 am the classes starts and after two hours, there is a fifteen minutes break. After the break classes starts again, but this time without a teacher. Now the students are supposed to discuss among themselves and study in groups. After this, the girls have 15 minutes to shower before school starts again, but this time it is self-studies. During this time, the teachers will be available in their offices for consultation. Dinner starts at 17.30. At both lunch and dinner, the girls only have seven minutes to finish eating. This is because of the size of the dining hall. At 7 pm, the girls have evening preparation. Now they will prepare for the classes next day. They go to bed at 9 pm.

6.3. Summary

This chapter has now explained the privatization of secondary education through examining the structural circumstances in light of the interview material. One of the external factors is the failure of the public school. This failure is based on a bad working environment for the teachers and a lack of facilities and extracurricular activities. Moreover, this is explained as a result of low commitment from the authorities.

The second factor is the concept of good quality education, which often is measured through the examination results. As the informants explained, private schools has a tendency of getting better examination results than public schools. An interesting feature is that when Lassibille, Tan and Sumra published their research in 2000, public and private education showed a low variance in examination results (Lassibille et al., 2000). This shows how recent this private school *hysteria* is and it is a clear sign of how quickly things are developing. Moreover, the concept of good quality education also includes both teachers and students possessing the required English skills, promoting entrepreneurship and critical thinking, the teacher-student-ratio, what facilities, resources, teaching material and extracurricular activities are available, the cooperation between the home and the school as well as discipline. Clearly, placing students in a classroom with a teacher is not enough. There are many other factors that must also be taken into consideration if the education is to be of good quality and provide the country an economic development.

7.0. Consequences of Privatization and Future Development

7.1. Consequences of Privatization

According to Levin and Belfield, some economists are questioning whether the resources spent on public schools has been invested efficiently (Levin & Belfield, 2006). Thus, some believe that an educational system with a greater reliance on the marketplace (supply and demand) through choice and competition would be more efficient (Levin & Belfield, 2006). All of my informants seemed to support this opinion.

When parents choose the type of education that they want for their children, their decision will rely primarily upon their values, as well as their perception of their childrens' needs. Parents prefer schools that meet high standards because they want their children to succeed. In addition, parents seek schools that reflect their political, religious and philosophical values (Levin & Belfield, 2006). Hence, investors in education ought to know the different population segments, in order to identify the groups of parents most likely to find their offers of interest. This connection between the parents' demand and the schools' supply was shown in figure 5, the open system theory. The schools must adapt the inputs and process in order to produce the product that will satisfy the parents as customers.

According to John, a consequence of the privatization and liberalization policies is a creation of inequalities in the provision of education and a reproduction of traditional hierarchies of class (John, 2009). Max Weber also believed that a merit system and educational certificates will result in a privileged class (Weber, 2006). His explanation was that the certificate of education becomes a prerequisite for equality of birth and that it creates a privileged stratum in bureaus and offices (Weber, 2006). A certificate of education could be a school report, a certificate or a diploma, and what Weber and John argue is that the ones who owns such a certificate is superior to others and belong to a privileged class. The problem is that the private schools have the biggest share of students who passes the exams and receives such a certificate. Moreover, it is only a minority of the Tanzanian population who are able to pay the school fees at these private schools. As previously mentioned, the teacher at Pisces explained that only 40 percent of Tanzanians will have an economy enabling them to send their children to that school, and only among the few schools visited, there are four

other schools that has the same or an even higher fee than Pisces. Hence, one may argue that the privatization leads to the creation of inequalities and a reproduction of traditional hierarchies of class.

Most of my informants agreed that social differences are a consequence of privatization of education. Especially the headmaster at Gemini school were concerned with that fact that such classes are now emerging. As mentioned, one explanation is that only the resourceful families can afford to send their children to a private school. The headmaster at Aries College also feared these class differences. He projected that the difference in school fees for private and public schools soon will be more similar because the government wants every school to be self-sufficient. He was concerned that this development will lead to that only children from wealthy families will get an education. Accordingly, Levin and Belfield writes that “those who challenge education markets argue that they will produce greater social inequities, as parents with higher incomes may benefit most” (Levin & Belfield, 2006, p. 636). On this basis, one can argue that privatization is both a cause and a consequence of social inequalities.

Tanzania is not the only country where the rich is getting richer and poor is getting poorer. One may argue that most countries in the world today find themselves in the same situation, and not only developing countries. Some may argue that the first step must be to stop allowing the West to have the power to define what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is bad. If one takes the ESAPs and PRSPs for example, one might realize that these programs that were meant to be helpful, did not actually help that much. The ESAPs intended to stimulate economic growth and reduce government costs by cutting the public sector, and the World Bank as well as the IMF recommended budget cuts in soft sectors like health and education. However, military budgets remained untouched in all the counties that received the loans (Starr, 1988). The people who is mostly affected through such an approach are the poorest and most vulnerable groups. Hence, rich people get richer, while poor people get poorer.

Grubb and Lazerson on the other hand blames the vocationalism for the high levels of inequality because it reduces education to a preparation for occupation. They claim that vocationalism has changed the mechanisms underlying inequality through a shift from a world in which parents directly fostered the success of their children to indirect sponsorship

of success through formal schooling (Grubb & Lazerson, 2006). This means that according to them, social inequalities is reproduced through the education system. Furthermore, they explain that when high-status schools prepare students for high-status occupations, they inevitably favor abilities, values and behaviors associated with such occupations. These abilities, values and behaviors are learned earliest from high-status parents. This means that the whole process of creating inequalities is reinforced by parents – making them one of the main actors of this development (Grubb & Lazerson, 2006).

According to Grubb and Lazerson, another factor promoting inequalities is the welfare provision, which in Tanzania is very weak. The differences that children bring to school are enormous. This is because their schooling is often interrupted by health, housing and family problems, creating poor results and high dropout rates (Grubb & Lazerson, 2006).

Another consequence deals with the social cohesion. According to Levin and Belfield, schools should promote the *social good*, which is the main reason why they are publicly funded. What constitutes the social good will vary across societies. By introducing markets and choice into the education system, there is a risk that these common elements will be undermined. It is therefore a concern that individual families are more likely to stress private advantages than broader benefits to society (Levin & Belfield, 2006).

This argument is familiar, as the individualization process was discussed earlier in this thesis. One may argue that liberalization and privatization is promoting individualization, so one might wonder if Tanzanians are moving from the realm of the open and exposed to an arena more enclosed for information and investigation. One might also wonder if this development will limit people's involvement, interests and visions of a good society and a good life.

7.2. Will the Privatization of Education Continue?

The second headmaster at Aquarius were certain that the private sector will continue to grow. He claimed that there is no development in the government schools and that parents therefore will continue enrolling their children in private schools. The owner and headmaster of Taurus school agreed. They predicted that the public sector will continue providing low quality education and that they are not committed. The owner said,

“Government schools will still go down because the education policy do not come from the heart”.

Another indication for that the privatization will continue is the low enrollment ratio in secondary education. In 2000, the enrollment ratio was only 5 percent and transition rate from primary to secondary was only 16 percent. Compared with 21 and 59 percent respectively, in other low-income counties, this is an indication that the pressures for expansion are likely to continue (Lassibille et al., 2000).

One of the teachers at Capricorn school believed that the privatization can go on for at least another twenty years. His explanation was that more and more people have money, and they want their children to get a good education. According to the teacher, good education can not be provided by the government because of bad facilities, bad teachers, few resources and that teachers are not paid in time.

The headmaster at Aries College and a teacher at the Sagittarius College agreed that the quality in private schools are a lot better than in public ones. However, this does not apply for colleges yet. Still, they did believe that this situation will change very soon and that they will meet very hard competition in the near future. The headmaster said that they need to come up with a strategy on how to handle that challenge.

8.0. Summary and Conclusions

This thesis has discussed the phenomenon of privatization of secondary education in Tanzania, in light of the orthodoxy *economic development through education*. The total number of private secondary schools has had a tremendous growth. The number has in fact almost tripled between 2006 and 2013. My underlying hypothesis was in the beginning that the majority are of the opinion that the best educational quality is to be found in private schools, which made me question if the government is doing the right thing when they are building schools seemingly without being able to fill them with qualified teachers and high quality education. This led me to the following research questions:

1. Who are the main participants behind the growth of private secondary schools and what are their motives?
2. How do the participants explain the circumstances that is causing this growth?
3. To what degree may growth of private secondary education and the motivation of the involved participants be explained by the ideas of development through education?

In order to elaborate on the questions of research, I conducted a field study in Tanzania from September to November 2014. During this field study, I visited 9 different private schools and conducted 21 interviews. In total, this thesis is a product based on information gathered from 44 different informants, mostly teachers and headmasters.

The private schools themselves, show a great diversity, but can on the basis of ownership be placed in the following categories; *religious, companies, individuals, organizations* and *others*. Thus, the main participants behind the growth of private secondary schools are religious groups, companies, individuals and different organizations. I found that even though their motivation seems to be a combination of making profit and doing good, schools owned by companies are more often profit driven as opposed to the schools with individual owners who seems to have more of an altruistic motivation.

The informants explained several circumstances that they believe is causing the growth of private secondary schools. One of them is that good quality education is not to be found in public secondary schools. The informants argued that good quality education requires

qualified teachers that can teach the students how to manage the English language, a low teacher-student-ratio in order for all students to get the attention needed, the school must contain of the necessary facilities, resources and teaching materials as well as offer extracurricular activities. Moreover, there needs to be good communication and cooperation between the home and the school, and the disciplining of students is important. Furthermore, promoting the student's entrepreneurial skills as well as teaching them how to think critically, is viewed as good quality. However, all these factors opt to influence on the students' performance on the exams, which seems to be the nearest target within reach among the informants.

The government schools have a high teacher-students-ratio, a lack of facilities, teaching materials and qualified teachers. As seen from the private sector, teachers' motivation is also low due to the transfer issue and unsatisfactory salaries. In fact, many of the informants doubt the government's willingness to try to provide the citizens with a satisfactory education, claiming that the authorities do not want anyone to be able to challenge their power. Consequently, this information led to the title of this thesis: Education is the key, but the school is the lock.

A supplementary explanation for why private participants has included themselves in the provision of education is Tanzania's unfortunate financial situation. This economical condition forced them to accept the ESAPs from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which required liberalization and privatization.

Liberals claim that the market's invisible hand will lead to better schools. The market is referred to as natural and neutral, and governed by effort and merit. Moreover, the market is considered rational, more efficient and less exposed to political interference and bureaucracy. Others however, are more skeptical to the fact that private individuals are making decisions on behalf of an entire population (Apple, 2006). Many also points out the danger of a restoration of a hierarchical organization of the people, and believes that this in itself is reason enough to slow down this development.

Nevertheless, in accordance with the Education Gospel, education is as a prerequisite for poverty reduction and economic development. It is believed that education will lead to raise the level of national labour productivity and economy, which leads to economic growth. This

was even the motivation behind the development goal of Universal Primary Education. When the UPE did not fulfill people's expectations of development, the focus was turned towards secondary and higher education. Today, as previously mentioned, one may argue that pre-primary education is the new magic bullet. Hence, I argue that the growth of private secondary schools as well as the school owner's motivation, to a high degree, can be explained through the education orthodoxy or Education Gospel. People want to reduce poverty and promote economic development both for themselves and the country as a whole, and they believe education to be the solution. Thus, people start establishing schools, either because they want to contribute with providing education themselves, or because they want to exploit others' convictions. In most cases, it seemed to be a combination of the two.

Consequently, I found that the orthodoxy of education gives a crucial role to education in terms of economic development and competitiveness. Tanzania wishes to put themselves on par with the advanced world economy. The role gives both new responsibilities, priorities and functions to the educational system, and the agenda is clearly set in the name of globalization. However, I will not claim it to be unproblematic that the World Bank and the West itself is deeply involved in this process, not making room for indigenous knowledge. Some may argue that through this, one is indirectly stating that there is no alternative knowledge to Western, hegemonic knowledge.

Regardless of the circumstances and the school owners' motivation, the evidence suggests that the privatization of education will continue. A number of consequences will follow from this development, but one of them stands out. There is a growing body of empirical evidence that privatization is further disadvantaging those least able to participate in the society, both financially and socially. Although a few students manages to escape the bottom of the status hierarchy, privatization of education can also be considered as just a more sophisticated way of reproducing traditional distinctions between different types of schools and the people who attend them.

However, people still put a severe amount of faith in the magic bullet of education, not unfounded, but perhaps a bit excessively. I argue that education's developmental effects can only be expected to be dramatic if they are a part of a broader transformation of the society. For one, must the level of corruption and bureaucracy be reduced. Secondly, there is a need

for a strong and competent state with the ability to provide welfare and social services. Moreover, one could consider an extended practice of vocational training and at the same time integrate the micro and small enterprise sector in the national approaches towards economic development and poverty reduction.

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Appendix 1: Overview of the Private Schools Visited

Aquarius School

Aquarius school consists of both a primary and secondary level, and it is located in an urban area. The school uses the Cambridge Syllabus and is an international school. Aquarius has many facilities, for example three different laboratories, projectors in the classrooms and a swimming pool. Most of the student are Muslims with an Asian origin, while most of the teachers comes from India and Kenya. The school fee is about \$ 3000 (19 479 NOK) per year, while the teacher's salary is approximately 600–700 000 TZS (2400–2800 NOK) per month. 257 students attended the secondary department, but they were expecting the number to increase to over 300 the next month. Aquarius had in total 70 teachers but were in the process of recruiting four more. The school started in the early 1990s, and has had a rapid growth in the number of students, especially after they converted to the Cambridge syllabus. According to the second headmaster, the school's specialty is the student's good exam results. A big company that runs several other schools in Africa south of Sahara owns Aquarius, and it is not a boarding school.

Gemini School

The Gemini school is a secondary school located in a slightly rural area. It is owned by the Church and they use the national syllabus. The facilities are not particularly good. Both students and teachers are Africans, mostly Tanzanian. The school fee is about 1 000 000 TZS (4000 NOK) and the teacher's salary is approximately 415 000 TZS (1660 NOK) per month and it increases with 15 000 TZS (60 NOK) every year. At Gemini, they have about 700 students and 25 teachers. According to the second headmaster, the schools specialty is that they "do not have bad exam results", and that they have good moral (meaning discipline). The school opened in 1980 on the late prime ministers initiative. Gemini was the first secondary school in Maasai land. The Gemini school is both a boarding and a day school, but most students goes home after school hours.

Virgo School

The Virgo school is a secondary school for minority girls that opened in 1995. The school is located in a quite rural area and owned by the same Church as Gemini. They use the national syllabus. The facilities are much the same as at Gemini school, quite poorly but ok. All of the students are girls from minority groups in the society and all of the teachers are Tanzanians. The majority of students does not pay school fees and are sponsored by people mainly from the United States of America and Netherlands. The donations are not big enough to sponsor all of the students. Thus, about 20 percent of them have to pay a school fee which makes about \$ 900 (5844 NOK) per year. The teacher's salary is 400 000 TZS (1600 NOK) per month for a diploma holder and 500 000 TZS (2000 NOK) per month for a degree holder. They have 300 students attending and 23 teachers. According to the headmaster, some parents want their daughters to attend Virgo because the school appreciate and acknowledges the girls' cultural background, in addition to maintaining the harmless traditions of the tribes. However, in many cases the parents (especially fathers) do not want their daughters in school at all. That these girls gets a secondary education is the main objective of the school. Virgo is a boarding school where all students are boarding students. Many teachers are also boarding.

Libra School

The Libra school consist of both primary and secondary and is located 30 minutes from the nearest town. The school has three campuses and I visited the secondary campus. Libra school is rich in both facilities and teaching materials. They have a huge plot, the outside area is very green, the buildings are well maintained, they have colored paper, colored pencils and projectors. In addition, the students always have access to computers at the library, which is also well resourced. The library has group rooms, two computer labs, relaxation and reading areas for the students and a separate study room for the A-level students. The school started with three students in 2002, and has today 1800 students, whereby 830 is attending the secondary level. At secondary, they have about 70 teachers, but the staff in total is about 400 people. This includes between 200–300 teachers, farmers,

cooks, drivers, cleaning personnel etc. An Australian woman owns the school. All students are Tanzanians and they do not pay any school fees. This is the school's specialty. Only poor children, who were able to pass a knowledge test, are accepted at Libra school. Furthermore, the school only accepts one child from each family in order to reach as many families as possible. The school can afford this because they have many sponsors and donors from all around the world. Almost without exceptions, all of the teachers are Tanzanians and they apply the national syllabus. The foreign staff member works as guides that teach and assist the Tanzanian teachers. The teacher's salaries are approximately 900 000 TZS (3600 NOK), depending on the level of education and experience. Libra school is a boarding school and all of the students are boarding.

Taurus School

Taurus school is a small nursery with only three classrooms, and it is located in an urban area. Its owner, a local man who also works as a driver, established the school. The school is formally using the national syllabus, but in reality, they have made their own. Taurus is not well resourced and the facilities are poor. They have about 50-60 local children attending, three Tanzanian teachers and a headmaster from Kenya. The school fee is 180 000 TZS (720 NOK) per year and the teacher's salary is approximately 300 000 TZS (1200 NOK) per month. Taurus school is a day school and it opened in 2010.

Capricorn School

The Capricorn school consists of both primary and secondary. They apply the Cambridge syllabus and is an international school. The school is rich in facilities and teaching material. The school ground is very well maintained and the buildings and outside areas make a very safe and romantic setting. The school is well resourced with computers, projectors in every other classroom, a swimming pool, and other types of teaching materials. The school is located at about 30 minutes from the nearest town. The majority of teachers are Europeans, and all teachers are English-speaking. More than half of the students are Tanzanians, but

there are many with European, American and Asian origin. What they all have in common is that they speak very good English and that their families are resourceful. The school fee is between \$ 10 000–11 000 (64 930 - 71 423 NOK) and the teacher's salary is about 2 500 000 TZS (10 000 NOK) per month. There are 340 students attending the school, whereby 190 of them attends the secondary level. They have 30 teachers, and the schools specialty is that they perform a modern, social constructivist pedagogy. Their goal is to offer a holistic education, and offering a variety of subjects. At Capricorn, the majority of teachers are boarding, except for the East–African staff, which are not allowed. This is because they are more likely to function in the society because they know Swahili. They have a few boarding students, but the majority goes home after school hours. However, some of the students are children of the staff, which means they are boarding as well. A big company that runs several other schools owns Capricorn. The school, which opened in 2000, is the only one in Tanzania for now, but the company are planning number two.

Scorpio School

Scorpio school is a nursery located in a very rural area. It opened in 2010. The school is small, with about 50 local students and 3 local teachers, including the founder. The school is poor in terms of facilities and other teaching materials. The local founder is renting both the school plot and the buildings. Consequently, the government does not acknowledge the school, which makes them not certified to conduct national exams. However, they follow the national syllabus. In addition to the nursery, the school offers a three months English course for those students who are starting secondary education. The school fee is 400 000 TZS (1600 NOK) per year, and the teacher's salary is 120 000 TZS (480 NOK) per month.

According to the headmaster (also the founder), parents wants to send their children to this school because the teachers are more qualified than those who works at the public school nearby. It is not a boarding school.

Pisces School

Pisces is a catholic secondary school for girls. The school is located on the east coast of Tanzania. The facilities can not be compared to for example Capricorn or Libra, but the scenery is beautiful and the students are equipped with textbooks and other learning materials. A pastor started the school in 1997, and according to one of the teachers his intention was to prevent early marriages, early pregnancies, spreading of diseases, to empower women and to reduce the gap between men and women. The school has a strict schedule and they achieve exceptionally good results on the national exams. The teachers believes this to be the reason for why parents all over the country are sending their daughter to this school. Intentionally, the pastor wanted to offer secondary education for the local girls, but because of the local families' traditional family structure, girls are to attend domestic chores only. Even today, only 10 percent of students comes from the local community. The remaining 90 percent, in addition to the teachers, comes from other parts of the country. Pisces started with 45 students, but has today 860 students and 42 teachers. Everyone is boarding and they apply the national syllabus. The school fee is \$ 1000 (6566 NOK) per year and the teacher's salary is between 600 000 (2400 NOK)–1 200 000 TZS (4800 NOK) per month. According to a teacher, the school fee is so high that about 60 percent of Tanzanians will not be able to send their daughters here. The 10 percent of local students does not pay any school fees, but are financed by the other 90 percent. Later on, the pastor has established a secondary school for boys, a primary school for both genders and a college.

Leo School

The Leo school is a primary school located in an urban area that opened in 1997. Leo is one of two Steiner schools in the country, and even though they apply the national syllabus, their pedagogy is adapted subsequently. Consequently, the Steiner Organization owns the school, but more than 50 percent of the operating expenses is sponsored by two organizations, one Dutch and the other German. The school fee is \$ 1 300 (10 078 NOK) per year and the teachers' salary is \$ 3 600 (27 907 NOK) per year. The students are equipped with textbooks and other writing material. Otherwise, the facilities are not impressive. Both students and

staff are Tanzanians. However, occasionally representatives from either the sponsors or the Steiner organization come to inspect and arrange some quality improvements. Leo is primarily not a boarding school, but a few students are. It has 150 students attending and 15 teachers.

Appendix 2: Interview Guide Owner

Introduction:

- Presenting myself; name, background: teacher 4 years + master
- Status: I will introduce myself as both a teacher and graduate student.
- Theme: I explain the theme, what I want to find out, and why Tanzania is such a good country for finding out more about the privatization of education.
- Clarification of the following:
 - Time (60-90 minutes)
 - Anonymity / confidentiality
 - If the person is comfortable with recording the conversation

The owner:

- Where are you from?
- Did you and your siblings go to school? Public or private?
- Education and job experience: motivation for starting the school.
- What is your current job?
- Do your children attend this school?

The school:

- When did the school open?
- Do you offer any special courses or programs? Which curriculum do you use?
- Do you have any special focus in your school? - Girls / skills / pedagogies / religion?
- Are there several owners of this school or just you?
- What are your responsibilities at the school?
- Did you always dream of opening you own school or is it something that came later in life?
- What made you want to open you own school?
- What do your school offer that other schools do not? (Contrast / difference)

The process:

- Did you find state support to open, or did you come up with all the necessary capital yourself?

- Do you profit from the school today? How much?
- Have you noticed any changes after the implementation of SEDP? What?
- Is it a difficult process to open your own school?
- How long did it take from having the idea until the school could open?
- How did you do it?
- Where did you have to apply?
- Whom did you have to talk to?
- How do you see the future for private education in Tanzania?

Is there anything else you would like to add before we finish?

Appendix 3: Interview Guide Headmaster

Introduction:

- Presenting myself; name, background: teacher 4 years + master.
- Status: I will introduce myself as both a teacher and graduate student.
- Theme: I explain the theme, what I want to find out, and why Tanzania is such a good country for finding out more about the privatization of education.
- Clarification of the following:
 - Time (60-90 minutes)
 - Anonymity / confidentiality
 - If the person is comfortable with recording the conversation

The headmaster:

- How long have you been working in this school as head master?
- What are your responsibilities here?
- Can you tell me a little bit about your background? – Teacher? Education?
- Do you have a family? Children? Do they attend here?

The school:

- How old is this school?
- How many students attend here?
- How many teachers work here? – Other staff members?
- What is the student – teacher – ratio?
- Which curriculum do you follow? Why this one?
- What can this school offer the students?
- Do you have any particular areas of focus or special programs? Why this focus?
- Any particular challenges for this school?
- How much is school fees per year per student?
- Do you manage to balance the budget? Would you consider the economic situation of the school as good?
- May I ask how much the profit per year?

Private secondary schools:

- Are you familiar with the Secondary Education Development Plan?
- Why do you think the government focus on secondary education?
- What does SEDP mean to the private schools owners and investors?
- How do you see the future for private education in Tanzania?

Snowball:

- Do you have some kind of a parent's council at this school? - Is there any way I could get in touch with them?
- I would appreciate a chance to talk to some of the teachers as well. Do you think that could be possible?
- Is there any way that I could get in touch with the owner / owners of this school?

Is there anything else you would like to add before we finish?

Appendix 4: Interview Guide Teacher

Introduction:

- Presenting myself; name, background: teacher 4 years + master.
- Status: I will introduce myself as both a teacher and graduate student.
- Theme: I explain the theme, what I want to find out, and why Tanzania is such a good country for finding out more about the privatization of education.
- Clarification of the following:
 - Time (60-90 minutes)
 - Anonymity / confidentiality
 - If the person is comfortable with recording the conversation

The teacher:

- How long have you been working here as a teacher?
- Where you working anywhere else before you started here? If yes, why did you change job?
- What are your qualifications? Education?
- Do you have a family? Children? Do they attend here?

School life:

- Which subject do you teach?
- How many students do you have responsibility for?
- How many hours would you say you work per week?
- May I ask how much your salary is?
- What is the teacher – student – ratio?
- Do you have access to the equipment you need? – Are you missing anything?

Public vs. Private:

- Do you have any experience with working in a public school?
- Why did you chose to work at a private school instead of a public one?
- How do you see the future for private education in Tanzania?

Is there anything else you would like to add before we finish?

Appendix 5: Interview Guide Parent

Introduction:

- Presenting myself; name, background: teacher 4 years + master.
- Status: I will introduce myself as both a teacher and graduate student.
- Theme: I explain the theme, what I want to find out, and why Tanzania is such a good country for finding out more about the privatization of education.
- Clarification of the following:
 - Time (60-90 minutes)
 - Anonymity / confidentiality
 - If the person is comfortable with recording the conversation

Parent:

- Where do you come from?
- Did you go to school? Private or public? Did all of your brothers and sisters go to school?
- What are you doing for a living?

The children:

- How many children do you have?
- Do all of them attend a private school / this school?
- Why is education so important? What do you hope for your children?

Private vs. public schools:

- Why do you think it is important to send you children to a private school?
- What does private schools offer that public schools do not?

Quality:

- Many people say that the private schools offer better quality. What do you think the term “good quality” implies?
 - Teacher – student – ratio
 - Books
 - Resources

- Facilities
- Teachers qualification
- Language
- Parents influence in school

Dilemma:

- If you had several children, but you cannot afford to send them all to a private school. How would you choose which child to attend there?
- How much money do you spend on school fees every year?
- Based on your salary, do you find it difficult to cover the school fees?
- How do you see the future for private education in Tanzania?

Is there anything else you would like to add before we finish?