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**A STUDY OF EDUCATION SECTOR POLICY PRIOTIZATION IN AFRICA
DURING 1980 – 2000: A COMPARISON OF THREE POLICY PERSPECTIVES**

By

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF EDUCATION SECTOR POLICY PRIORITIZATION IN AFRICA DURING 1980 – 2000: A COMPARISON OF THREE POLICY PERSPECTIVES

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The World Conference on Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals provide pivotal guide to education sector policies in Africa and other developing regions. These policy guides promote basic education more than they do higher education. They argue that basic education provides higher rates of return on investment than higher education, and that it reduces poverty. Other scholars and policy analysts provide counter evidence against the claims for basic education. Despite the vigorous and spirited counter arguments and evidence of the weakness of the claims that anchor the support for basic education, there is no relenting in the prioritization of basic education.

While claims are made that education policy prioritization is based on rational decision making, prevailing policy school argues that policy making and prioritization is hardly a rational process. If policy making is hardly a rational process, how then are policies made? The question of how policy is made has eluded policy researchers and analysts for ages. This question is important in Africa where the marginalization of higher education is an age old question with a troubling history for Africans. It has a troubling history in that the Africans have had to fight colonial skepticism before the first universities could be established. Now it seems that they have to convince the World Bank and other international organizations of the need and support for higher education.

This study analyzes three policy documents, the Conference of African Ministers of Education (1982), the World Conference on Education for All (1990) and the Tanzania Education and Training policy (1995) to examine how different interest groups interpreted the same education sector condition. The study used an Education Sector Policy Analysis Framework to examine the **establishment of policy agency**, and how each agency interpreted education sector problems and solutions for Tanzania.

The findings demonstrate the complexity of understanding policy and policymaking. Policy and policymaking is better explained within an institutional context that examines how interest groups develop and construct social analysis rubrics which frame an angle for seeing and filtering a reconstructed reality of society. The social pattern arising out of the reconstructed reality allows interest groups to administer a stabilizing framework that isolates each group's version of the social problem facing society at a particular period.

The policy frame that gains legitimacy and prevails over the other alternatives is the one that makes greater claims to knowledge and expertise. Claims on knowledge and expertise are made through an institutional framework that employs professionals who study and promote a particular social analytical rubric that results in a particular frame of problems and solutions. The prevailing focus on basic education policy in Tanzania, and Africa in general, is largely promoted by international organizations that claim knowledge and expertise of international education and development. There is hardly any institutional framework, based on knowledge and expertise, to develop a social analysis rubric that filters a reconstructed reality to express the thoughts and views of Africans, necessarily weakening their legitimacy of support for higher education.

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In many ways it is unbelievable that I am looking back at my completed graduate school journey. At many points along the journey I felt that I had reached a pre-mature end. I could never have guessed the low and high points that made my journey. If I had predicted the low points of the journey I would have seriously considered avoiding it. Now that I am here at the end, I am glad that I chose the greatest adventure of my life. My personality has been graciously and keenly enriched by the journey. At this point I feel that I am a fuller person as a result of the rigorous molding that I experienced during this unpredictably dizzying, humbling and character building journey.

I am excited that I can celebrate my success, more so for the outcome that I was never able to anticipate for the greater part of my journey. Turns out, it has become the biggest and most pleasant surprise of my life. It is a pleasant surprise for which I owe the success to tenaciously gracious commitment of friends, family, colleagues and faculty. Without the unreserved support that was generously extended to me, the outcome would not be anything to celebrate. Due to space restrictions I can only name a very small fraction of the generous people who rooted for me so graciously to give my journey a celebrated outcome.

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Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEM	4
RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	7
PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	7
RATIONALE FOR STUDY	8
DISSERTATION OVERVIEW	9
CHAPTER TWO	11
LITERATURE REVIEW	11
INTRODUCTION.....	11
PUBLIC POLICY	11
EDUCATION SECTOR POLICIES IN TANZANIA 1961 – 2000	13
<i>Primary education policy</i>	13
<i>Secondary education policy</i>	14
<i>Higher education policy</i>	15
RATIONALITY IN POLICY STUDIES.....	16
HIGHER EDUCATION IN TANZANIA.....	19
<i>Universities as institutions of teaching</i>	20
<i>Research role of the university in Tanzania</i>	21
<i>University service role in Tanzania</i>	23
SUMMARY	24
CHAPTER THREE.....	25
METHODS.....	25
INTRODUCTION.....	25
RESEARCH QUESTIONS	26
THE EDUCATION SECTOR POLICY ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK	27
SUMMARY	42
CHAPTER FOUR.....	43
FINDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE OF MINISTERS OF EDUCATION (COMEAF) OF AFRICAN MEMBER STATES (1982)	43
INTRODUCTION.....	43
ESTABLISHING POLICY AGENCY	43
<i>Building consensus</i>	44

<i>Gaining momentum</i>	48
<i>Naming of the agency</i>	51
FRAMING PROBLEMS	53
<i>Labeling of education problems by the Harare Declaration</i>	53
<i>Legitimizing problems</i>	61
FRAMING AFRICAN EDUCATION SOLUTIONS	74
<i>Labeling of the solutions</i>	74
<i>Competing solution interpretations</i>	97
SUMMARY	102
CHAPTER FIVE	103
FINDINGS OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION FOR ALL	
(WCEFA) (1990)	103
INTRODUCTION	103
ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WCEFA (1990) POLICY AGENCY	103
<i>Building Consensus</i>	103
<i>Building momentum</i>	104
<i>Naming of WCEFA</i>	106
<i>Labeling problems</i>	109
<i>Legitimizing policy problems</i>	112
FRAMING SOLUTIONS	116
<i>Labeling solutions</i>	116
<i>Legitimizing policy solution</i>	122
SUMMARY	129
CHAPTER SIX	130
A COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION OF FRAMING OF EDUCATION SECTOR	
PROBLEMS BETWEEN THE WCEFA (1990) AND THE HARARE	
DECLARATION (1982)	130
INTRODUCTION	130
FORMATION OF POLICY AGENCY	131
<i>Building consensus</i>	131
<i>Naming the policy framework</i>	133
<i>Gaining momentum</i>	135
FRAMING PROBLEMS BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY	136
FRAMING OF PROBLEMS BY THE AFRICAN MINISTERS OF EDUCATION	141
SUMMARY	147
CHAPTER SEVEN	148
THE TANZANIA EDUCATION AND TRAINING POLICY (1995)	148
INTRODUCTION	148
ESTABLISHING THE POLICY AGENCY	150
<i>Consensus building</i>	151
<i>Naming the policy</i>	152
<i>Building momentum</i>	153
FRAMING THE PROBLEMS	154

<i>Labeling of education sector problems in the Education and Training policy (1995)</i>	154
<i>Legitimizing policy problems</i>	159
<i>Competing problem interpretation</i>	164
ETP (1995) FRAMING OF EDUCATION SECTOR POLICY SOLUTIONS	168
<i>Labeling solutions</i>	168
<i>Access and equity</i>	168
<i>Legitimizing policy solutions</i>	172
<i>Competing policy interpretation</i>	175
SUMMARY	178
CHAPTER EIGHT	179
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	179
INTRODUCTION	179
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	180
ESTABLISHMENT OF POLICY AGENCY	182
FRAMING EDUCATION SECTOR PROBLEMS	187
FRAMING EDUCATION SECTOR SOLUTIONS	190
SUMMARY	194
APPENDIX	196
CREATING THE CODES AND SELECTING POLICIES FOR STUDY	196
<i>Identifying the policy frameworks for study</i>	196
CODING	197
<i>Generating initial template codes for data analysis</i>	198
<i>Abstraction</i>	203
BIBLIOGRAPHY	208

List of Tables

Table 6.1 Comparative Interpretation of CoMEA (1982) and WCEFA (1990).....121

Table 7.1 Comparison of CoMEA (1982), WCEFA (1990) and Tanzania ETP (1995).139

List of Figures

Figure 3.1 Overview of the education policy analytical framework.....	28
Figure 3.2 State One: Establishing the policy agency.....	29
Figure 3.3 Stage Two: Framing Policy problems.....	37
Figure 7.1 The Public Policy Interpretive Pathway Model	162
Figure 9.1: Steps in interpretive content analysis	203
Figure 9.2 Framing policy problem.....	204
Figure 9.3 Framing policy solutions	205
Figure 9.3 Education sector policy framework timeline	206

List Abbreviations

UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter One

Introduction

Education sector policy prioritization in Africa has oscillated between higher and primary education (Brock-Utne, 2000) with the longest period of attention and support paid to primary education (Wedgwood 2007). The situation has contributed to the deterioration of higher education, which has continuously failed to attract fiscal and planning support relative to primary education (Bloom et al, 2006; Lulat, 2005). There has been recent change of tone in support of higher education (World Bank 1994), but nothing compared to the vociferous Millennium Development Goals (2000) and the Universal Primary Education that provide fiscal, planning and monitoring mechanisms for primary education. Primary education has attracted greater attention, for the longest time on the basis of claims of higher economic rates of return on investment (Psacharopolous and Patrinos 2002; Psacharopolous 1981, 1988), and egalitarian justification. Arguments that cast reasonable doubt on the claims of rates of return (Bennel 1995, 1996) and claims of increased importance of higher education in the modern, knowledge driven world (World Bank 1994, Dudertadt 2000) have not directed attention towards higher education of similar proportions to that for basic education.

Each of the major policy guidelines that influence education sector policy in Africa, the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) (1990) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (2000), publishes annual progress reports that direct attention and resources towards primary education in Africa and other developing

regions. The annual monitoring reports reinforces the pursuit of achieving universal primary education by 2015 (EFA report, 2006, 2007; Millennium Development Goals reports, 2006, 2007). Both reports do not include higher education in their goals, but present it in the discussion as having the potential and capacity to consume disproportionate amount of resources compared to basic education, (EFA report, 2007).

The marginalization of higher education is perpetuated by the drive to achieve universal primary education by 2015 (EFA, 2000; MDG, 2000) notwithstanding claims that knowledge creation and application determine social and economic competitiveness in the modern world ((Dudestadt, 2000; Friedman 2005; World Bank, 1998/1990). According to the World Development Report (1998/90), "...if we want to raise the living standards as a household or as a country...we must do more than simply transform more resources, for resources are scarce. We must use those resources in ways that generate even higher returns to our efforts and investments. That too takes knowledge," 9p. 16.). In this statement the World Bank (1989/90) acknowledges the pivotal position of knowledge creation and application in development. Of particular note is the acknowledgement of the need to generate and apply knowledge in order to gain higher returns from decreasing national resources. The report highlights the important role of knowledge in the modern world, it states that "Knowledge has become perhaps the most important factor determining standard of living – more than land, tools, or labor," (p. 16).

Knowledge creation and application are among the major roles and responsibilities of higher education (Boyer, 1990; Duderstadt, 2000; Altbach, 2001). Yet this critical role of creating knowledge for generating higher returns from national resources is not part of the arguments on education sector policy in developing countries.

The international policy guidelines (WCEFA 1990; MDG report 2000) argue for primary education, notwithstanding the weak role of primary education in knowledge creation. The authors of the World Development report (1989/90) argue that creation and application of knowledge is critical to achieving increased competitiveness, as well as gain higher returns from decreasing national resources.

The critical role of knowledge creation and application is made more apparent by the goals of the international policy guidelines (EFA, 1990; MDG, 2000), which ironically leave out higher education among their roles. The goals of these international policy guidelines include poverty reduction, eliminating gender disparity in primary schools, combating HIV/AIDS malaria and other diseases. Knowledge creation and application is necessary to better understand these problems as well as generate appropriate solutions. At a conference on “The Role of African Universities in the Attainment of Millennium Development Goals,” Gravenir et al (2006) lamented that “...universities, especially those in Africa, have not been optimally utilized to catalyze development,” (p. 73). Gravenir et al (2006) further observed that “...the role of universities, not only in improving the quality of education, but also in meeting the MDGs remains a curious omission in almost all MDG reports,” (p. 73). The purpose of this study is to shed light on the curious omission of higher education as a goal, among the goals of the international education policy guides as observed by Gravenir et al (2006).

In order to shed light on the curious omission and perceived marginalization of higher education in Africa, this study analyzed three major policy guidelines developed for the education sector in Africa, and Tanzania. The study examined the policy guideline developed at the conference of African ministers of education in 1982 (The Harare

Declaration), the EFA (1990) and the Tanzania Education and Training policy (1995).

The policies were developed by three fairly distinct policy groups. It is the contention of the current study that policy problems do not exist as objective entities but as diffuse and subjective public concerns that are actively and socially constructed into policy problems, which can be addressed (Stone 1988; Dery, 1984). This is evident in Tanzania education sector policy where the tension between policy analysts who favor primary education (MDG 2000; EFA, 1990; 2000) and those that favor higher education (Gravenir et al, 2006) continues. In a situation where policy problems exist as diffuse public problem areas, different policy groups are likely to see different policy problems. Accordingly the current study began by identifying the particular policy groups that developed each of the education sector policy guidelines selected for this study.

After identifying the policy groups for each policy guideline, the researcher proceeded to examine the social construction of policy problem as each group framed and labeled policy problems, essentially crystallizing policy problems into existence (Dery, 1984). The study examined the policy labels generated by each policy group and how these labels favored primary or higher education. Once the researcher identified the labels generated by each policy group, the next step was to analyze the transformation of the policy problems to policy solutions. Again the researcher examined how the solution frames and labels favored either side of the education policy sector.

Description of the problem

For decades policy analysts have lamented that the education sector in Africa has been in a crisis (King, 2007; Samof and Carol, 2004). Various efforts have been made to address the crisis (Nyerere, 1964; Wedgwood, 2007). The scarcity of resources forced the

policy actors to choose between the education sub-sectors. They chose to prioritize primary education over higher education (Palmer, 2006; King 2007). The situation has not only led to the deterioration of higher education (Lulat, 2005) but also to the deterioration of the quality of primary education, increased dropout rates and other education sector problems (Galvenir et al, 2005). Education policy analysts have expressed concern at the neglect of higher education in Africa, suggesting that this neglect of higher education may be responsible for the crisis in the education sector (Palmer, 2006; Galvenir et al 2005).

Policy arguments and studies that demonstrate the need and importance of higher education in Africa (Palmer, 2006; King, 2007) have not gained as much traction as those that favor primary education. The EFA (1990, 2000) and MDG (2000) which favor primary education continue to drive education sector policy in Africa. The drive is reinforced through the annual monitoring reports that assess progress towards achieving universal primary education by the year 2015.

The goal of achieving universal primary education is not new to Africa (Nyerere, 1964; Education and development for Africa, 1961). Past attempts to achieve universal education have been unsuccessful, (Wedgwood, 2007; WCEFA, 2000). Policy actors have argued that the failures were largely due to a lack of sufficient resources (EFA monitoring report, 2009). As such the international community requested more resources (WEFA, 2000) and moved forward the target for achieving universal primary education to 2015. While there are still countries that are not likely to achieve the goal of universal primary education by 2015, yet again, Tanzania has made adequate progress. However,

this is not the first time that Tanzania has achieved universal primary education, only to tumble down.

The regress of enrollment rates in Tanzania after initially achieving universal primary education by the late seventies as well as the deterioration of the quality of primary education during the period of universal primary education suggest the need for a vibrant higher education to produce sufficient numbers of well trained teachers, and publish books for use in the schools, as well as conduct studies to improve the quality of education. As 2015 approaches when universal primary education is expected to be achieved, there are indications that the goal will not be achieved by many countries in Africa (EFA monitoring report, 2006, 2007). It is also not clear whether Tanzania will hold on to its progress in achieving universal primary education by 2015 or what needs to be done to be able to hold onto that achievement. The government of Tanzania has already put together a committee to revamp the Education and Training Policy (1995). The government lamented that the Education and Training Policy was not serving the current needs of the people of Tanzania. The committee that was announced in May 2008, was supposed to present its recommendations to government by December, 2008. That did not happen and still has not happened yet.

The education sector problems were compelling enough for the government to call for revamping their education policy. There was a general dissatisfaction with the education system and the products that came out of it. There were also concerns about poor quality of education, high rates of drop out, inadequate teachers, books and educational infrastructure (Wedgwood, 2007; Samoff, 1997). Yet it is another thing to translate the dissatisfaction with the education system into policy problems and solutions

that can be addressed. The education policy committee has not produced the policy recommendations that it should have presented to the government in December, 2008.

Research Questions

This study examines four central questions:

- 1) How did policy actors frame primary, secondary and higher education sector problems at the World Conference on Education for All (1990) campaign?
- 2) How did policy actors frame primary, secondary and higher education sector problems and solutions in the Tanzania Education and Training policy (1995).
- 3) How did the African ministers of education frame education sector problems and solutions at the Harare Declaration (1982) conference?
- 4) How did the World Conference on Education for All (1990) and the Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States influence national education policy in Tanzania?

Purpose of the study

According to King et, (1994) a research question must address an important question to the real world that is "...consequential for political, social or economic life, for understanding something that significantly affects many people's lives," (p. 15). In other words the purpose of a study should be to increase understanding of a social phenomenon that has consequence to society. The purpose of this study is to determine how the basic education policy focus has endured in Tanzania, in the face of contesting and compelling arguments (Wedgewood, 2007; King et al 2005), and examine the space for generating competing policy alternatives.

Education sector problems are more complex and wider than the issue of high out of school population that is the enduring focus of education sector policy in Africa (King et al, 2005; Cohn et al, 1987). The current study will find out the factors that favored continued support and prioritization of basic education. This is important for researchers and policy analysts to understand as they are puzzled at how the primary education policy focus has endured (Wedgwood, 2007). This is especially important as there are opportunities coming up for a shift in policy. Currently Tanzania is in the process of revamping its education policy, and the year 2015 is approaching when the target for achieving education for all will be reconsidered. Unless the factors that have favored the enduring nature of basic education are explained, the policy windows that are presented in Tanzania and the year 2015 will be missed.

Rationale for study

This section addresses the contribution of the study to “an identified scholarly literature by increasing our collective ability to construct verified explanations of some aspect of the world,” (King et al, 1994, p. 15). The current study makes a contribution to the literature on the study of public policy, particularly education sector policy making in Africa. Such a study, according to King et al (1994) is important in that “It also guarantees that the work done will be important to others, thus improving the success of the community of scholars taken as a whole,” (p. 16).

The international development targets that were set to be achieved in 2015 do not include higher education (Millennium Development Goals, 2000; World Conference on Education for All, 1990, 2000). This exclusion of higher education in the international targets has led to the marginalization of fiscal and planning support for that subsector in

Tanzania and Africa in general. The marginalization of higher education has become a concern for education policy analysts who have embarked on policy studies to explain the policy focus on basic education, (King et al, 2007; Wedgwood, 2007; Palmer 2006).

In its recent special issue the International Journal of Educational Development (2007) focused on the topic “Beyond basic education and towards an expanded vision of education – for poverty reduction and growth.” The education policy research articles in the special issue investigate the marginalization of higher education in developing countries (Wedgwood, 2007, Rose, 2007, King et al 2007). Notwithstanding the importance of higher education as demonstrated by the studies, policy makers continue to favor basic education. This study contributes to the academic conversation that is attempting to explain the endurance of the primary education policy focus.

Dissertation Overview

The study is organized into seven chapters. Chapter one gives an overview of the study. Chapter two presents the review of literature that provides a foundation for the study. In chapter three the researcher presents the methods that were used to conduct systematic data collection for the interpretive education policy study. Chapter four is where the researcher uses the education policy analytical framework, introduced in Chapter three, to analyze the policy document prepared by the Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States (1982). This is followed by Chapter Five where the researcher again uses the analytical framework to analyze the policy document prepared by the World Conference on Education for All (1990). In Chapter Six, the researcher draws out the different ways in which the two conferences, mentioned above, perceived education sector problems and solutions for Africa. Chapter Seven is where the

researcher presents an analysis of the national Tanzania Education and Training Policy (1990). In the last part, Chapter Eight, the researcher draws conclusion of the study, discussing the influence of the international views of the education sector on Tanzania national education policy and deriving an explanation of why the focus on basic education has persisted in Tanzania and Africa in general.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Introduction

This literature review “interprets policy in terms of discourse, that is a struggle between meanings and over meanings,” (Henry et al, 2001, p.128). Henry et al (2001) further states that, “Policy always involves suturing together competing discourses which represent competing interests,” (p. 128). As such the literature presented in this chapter reviews the framing of education sector policy in Tanzania and also examines the broader discourses within which the education sector policies are constructed and framed. The review sets a foundation for the study by examining academic and research discourse on rationality in policy studies, higher education in policy discourse, public policy and major education sector policies in Tanzania.

Public Policy

This section reviews literature on public policy in order to place the study into perspective. Public policy is about the art, politics and science of managing scarcity. It is about how governments make decisions concerning allocation of resources toward achieving some specified goals, (Colebatch 1998). A popular definition of public policy is the one by Dye (1998) that, “Whatever government chooses to do or not do,” (p. 2). Dye (1998) chooses this open definition arguing that it is never clear what public policy

is. Dye (1998) avoids giving a clear definition of public policy arguing that most definitions imply that government have clear goals when they make decision and yet,

we can never be sure whether or not a particular action has a goal, or if it does, what that goal is. ... We may wish that government act in a 'purposeful, goal oriented' fashion, but we know that all too frequently they do not, (Dye 1998, p. 3).

This problem raised by Dye (1998) makes it difficult to define public policy. This difficulty is reflected in a number of public policy books reviewed, that elected to leave out the definition. Yet public policy is an important social process that affects people's lives, and choices that they can make. It is an important process in that it involves a few representatives making decisions on behalf of a larger majority. Decisions that are made in public policy affect a majority who are not part of the decision making process (Colebatch 2005). Public policy decisions allocate resources between groups who may not be satisfied with the allocation made. As such public policy is usually contested territory because it is not always possible to make decisions on behalf of competing groups in a manner that satisfies the groups involved.

What makes policy important and contested is that it does not give choice to individual. To say that something is policy implies that it is an authoritative directive (Colebatch 1998). It is to be followed. Since policy is made by a selected few, those who have to live with the policy want to believe that the representatives making policy have their best interests and know what they are doing. As such policy implies that expertise has been applied to come up with a well considered decision. According to Colebatch

(1998), "...policy requires knowledge, both of the problem area, and of the things that might be done about it," (p. 7).

What makes policy complex is that it is not about describing social issues and what needs to be done, but rather "it labels what we see so that we can make sense of it in a particular way," (Colebatch, 1998, p. 11). In other words phenomenon is circumscribed and given name, and meaning. Not everyone will agree with the labels given because the labels are a result of social interpretation which may vary between groups. When policy labels are generated they frame problems and solutions according to a particular interpretation. Colebatch (1998) says, "To state that 'policy' is a particular way of framing the action implies that there are alternatives, and there certainly are," (p. 12). It then raises the question of whose policies are adopted and whose are left out.

Education sector policies in Tanzania 1961 – 2000

Primary education policy

Independence was seen as a time to restore the educational imbalances created during the colonial era. The government removed the standard IV exams that were seen as unnecessary bottlenecks placed in the way of Tanzanians, to make it difficult for them to get through primary education. The government went on to build more primary schools in rural areas where the majority of the people of Tanzania lived (Maliyamkono, 1979). The result was that more students completed the seven years of primary school which, had been curtailed by the standard IV exams during the colonial era.

The removal of the standard IV exams was not enough for the people of Tanzania who hungered for education, they wentnt ahead and opened up "many unaided primary

schools ...notably in Kilimanjaro, Bujoba, and Rungwe, (Msekwa and Maliyamkono, (p. 27.). Government removed school fees primary education in 1973 for the purpose of achieving universal primary education by 1977 (Bogonko 1992). The resultant increase in enrollment led to high drop out and low quality of education. Enrollment reached an all time high during the early seventies.

Secondary education policy

According to the UN report of the education planning mission (1963) "At 1 November 1961, there were 42 secondary schools providing education for 6,031 pupils," (p. 51) Secondary education had been neglected more than primary education during the colonial period. This neglect led to a shortage of Tanzanians with the education and skills required to fill the middle and top level jobs. The shortage was exacerbated by the departure of colonial settlers at independence. According to Bogonko (1992), "The Development Plan for Tanganyika 1961/62 -1963/64, for example, aimed to increase the number of school certificate candidates three times and that of HSC candidates six times by 1964" (p. 67). The high school certificate candidates were those students that completed Form IV and would become candidates for teachers colleges.

The late President Nyerere (1985) stated that, "The shortage of educated people was so great that many of the experienced teachers in both secondary and primary schools had to be transferred from education to other types of needed work in the new government," (p. 46). It was therefore envisaged that the most direct solution to the shortage of human resources was to increase the pool of candidates available for those high level positions. According to the development plan for Tanganyika 1961/62 – 1963/64 "The Government considers that, at this stage of the country's development, the

greatest need is for considerable expansion of secondary education,” (p. 79). Increased supply of students from the primary school also led to more students than the secondary schools could take.

During the 1980's, expanding demand and inadequate resources led to the greater reliance on external funding. That in turn meant that education planning took the form of marketing projects to external assistance agencies,(Samoff, 1994, p. 101).

Higher education policy

Shortage of human resources with higher education qualifications was even more acute, prompting the government to adopt an aggressive policy for increasing enrollment at that level. The University of Dar es Salaam was established in 1961. Support for higher education was not to last long before there was concern that the support benefitted only a few students at the expense of the poor majority. In 1967 at the Arusha Declaration, the government announced its education for self-reliance policy, which promoted African values. The government argued in the policy on self-reliance that there were too few places for students to proceed to higher education yet the education system did not fully prepare the majority students who were unable to proceed to higher education. The education for self reliance policy introduced a curriculum that fully prepared the majority of the students who were unable to proceed to higher education so that they could contribute to society (Nyerere, 1967).

The Arusha declaration was followed by the Musoma resolution that required students to complete 2 years of national service before they could be admitted for

university education (Luhanga et al, 2005). By the period of the late 70's to early 80s' support for higher education had weakened.

Rationality in policy studies

Policy researchers and analysts have not figured out how public policies are arrived at (Fischer 2003). The modern day belief in knowledge tends to convince some policy actors in the rational approach to policy formation. According to this perspective, knowledge about policy problems drives policy solutions (Fischer 2003). In other words policies are arrived at after considering knowledge and expertise about a policy problem that leads to rational policy solutions. The prioritization of basic education over higher education in developing countries (King, 2007) is portrayed as a result of careful consideration of the relative rates of return on investment for the different education sub-sectors (Psacharopolous, 1994, 1987, 1991). Wedgewood (2007) states that social rates of return are higher for primary education, which is 3,6%, while social rates for secondary education is 1.6%, and negligible for higher and vocational education. Such evidence has been demonstrated in earlier studies by Psacharopolous (1973) and became some of the foundational basis driving the prioritization of primary education in developing countries, leading to the pro-primary education policy guidelines such as the Millennium Development Goals (2000) and Dakar conference (2000).

The pro-primary education guidelines have led to diversion of funding away from higher education institutions (Sammoff and Carrol, 2004; Lulat, 2005). The strength of the claims for pro-primary education policies, according to their proponents, lies in the relative advantages of investing in primary education compared to higher education, (World Bank, 1980, 1994). The claims about rates of return as driving the pro-primary

education policy choice portray a rational process that is based on objectivity. Even though the claims and accuracy about the rates of returns are hotly contested (Klees, 1998; Bennel, 1996, 1995; Lulat, 2005), the claims continue to drive the prioritization of primary education over higher education in developing countries.

The comparison of the rates of return (Psacharopolous (1981) are based on "...the opportunity cost of staying in school beyond the age 18 instead of working in the labor market. This opportunity cost is measured by the earnings of labor with secondary school qualifications," (p. 323). The comparison of the returns are based on the opportunity costs of staying in school instead of working, implying that the benefits of the education sub-levels are only those that accrue to individuals from participating in school. Unlike primary education, the benefits of higher education do not only come from potential earnings of individuals but more so from their role in knowledge creation. An important role of higher education is the creation of knowledge, which is applied to generate solutions that address problems facing society (World Bank 2002). Any calculation that omits this fundamental role of higher education misses a significant proportion of the benefit of higher education.

It becomes inaccurate to claim higher rates of return on primary education when the calculations do not take into account a significant proportion of the benefits of higher education emanating from knowledge creation and application. Stone (1988) laments this claim of a common denominator where it does not exist. Stone (1988) observed that, "Numbers force a common denominator where there is none, "(p. 136). Stone calls that forced denominator a case of synecdoche, which refers to portrayal of a part of a problem as the whole. Stone (1988) argues that, "The fundamental issues of any policy

conflict are always contained in the question of how to count the problem,” (p. 127).

Decisions of how to count the problem are based on setting boundaries around what counts as a problem, leading to decisions of what becomes an appropriate solution. In this case the problem definition sets the narrow boundaries around the benefits of education to individuals at different sub-levels of education, which omits the benefits from knowledge creation in the higher education system.

Wood (1985) refers to the fundamental issues of deciding what counts in policy problems as labeling. According to Wood (1985), through the process of labeling, decision are made on what counts as higher education. Woods (1985) laments that, “...the significance of labeling has been underestimated as an aspect of policy discourse and especially for its structural impact (through creation, reinforcement and reproduction) upon the institutions and their ideologies through which we are managed,” (p. 5). Wood (1985) proceeds to state that, “Thus the validity of labels becomes not a matter of substantive objectivity but of the ability to use labels effectively in action as designation which define parameters for thought and behavior,” (p. 7.).

Rationality in policy discourse is enhanced by labels and measurement that allows counting. Stone (1988) argues that numbers

...hide all the difficult choices that go into a count. And certain kinds of numbers
...not only conceal the underlying choices but seemingly advertize the prowess of
the measure....To offer one of these numbers is by itself a gesture of authority (p.
137).).

Thus the claims of the rates of return dominate and guide education sector policies in developing countries by virtue of the authoritative nature of the measure (Psacharopolous, 1994, 1987). The choices that are concealed in the measures of the rates of return emanate from the fact that the indicators of the different education sub-sector do not have an objective existence, but are rather products of social construction (Berger and Luckmann, 1964). In other words the indicators are abstractions that form partial representation of reality.

Higher Education in Tanzania

Policy makers in Tanzania and other developing countries make education policy decisions that are intended to get the best returns on investment. In other words when they prioritize primary education, it is because they believe that there are higher rates of return on investing from primary than higher education. As noted above, the question of what constitutes higher education is not clear. It is thus important to review the literature on how higher education is understood, thought and talked about in Tanzania.

The problem of understanding what constitutes higher education is not new. It is evident in the history of higher education. During its formative years (Newman, 1964; Kerr, 1995), there were serious debates about what constituted higher education. Higher education has evolved from being conceived of as institutions of teaching (Newman, 1964) to von Humboldt's research universities (Fallis, 2007), to the more encompassing perspective of the modern university as an institution for teaching, research and service, (Altbach, 2001). In Tanzania, higher education evolved during the early post-colonial period influenced by the political need to advance the education level of the people of Tanzania. While the political drive led higher education to be thought about as

institutions for advancing the level of education of the people of Tanzania, the role of higher education is more than that. The review will now examine the multiple roles of higher education as perceived in Tanzania.

Universities as institutions of teaching

Universities form a distinctly characteristic form of multi-purpose higher education institutions. While they are distinctly multi-purpose, universities in Tanzania are debated and thought about more as teaching institutions (Lulat 2005). As such this section will start by reviewing literature on the role of universities as institutions of teaching. The prominence of the role of universities as teaching institutions can be explained as historical. During the late fifties into the sixties, African countries were gaining political independence (Lulat 2005). There was concern about too few Africans educated enough to take over the middle to high level jobs that would be vacated by the colonialists. Recommendations were made at the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa held in 1962 to increase enrollment at universities.

According to Mkude and Cooksey (2003), “The first higher education institution in the country was established in 1961 as a College of the University of London. The University College of Tanganyika, as it was called, started with the Faculty of Law,” (p. 583). From these modest beginnings the University of Dar es Salaam grew rapidly, increasing its programs and enrollment (Luhanga et al, 2003). University education tremendously improved life chances by opening many opportunities for rising up the ladder in the many career opportunities vacated by the former colonial masters (Meena 1979). The rapid increase in the size of the university became a strain on the national budget leading to debate about returns to society of the investment made in educating

university students. The government responded by requiring university bound students to complete one year national service, and two years of satisfactory work experience before they could be accepted (Luhanga 2003). The government viewed the university as an investment by the poor in their future, through the contribution of university-educated students to society (Nyerere, (1964). The university students did not quite share the same view. The requirement for national service riled them, making them confrontational against the government. The confrontation damaged the image of university students who were viewed as irrational and detached from the society that sacrificed for their education. The government and the people of Tanzania began to question the benefits of university education. The university was known to society largely for its students who got the lion's share of the meager national budget.

As noted earlier, the role of the university has been debated in the past. Newman was one of the early scholars who argued for the university as a teaching institution. Newman (1961) stated that, "The view taken of a University ...is the following:- That it is a place of *teaching universal knowledge*," (p.4). Newman (1961) argued that there were other institutions that were responsible for research. However the view of the university as a teaching institute was not influenced by Newman's argument, but rather by pragmatic needs for human resources.

Research role of the university in Tanzania

While Newman was advocating liberal education as the role of the university, "the example of the Germany University was leading other scholars to propose a different purpose of higher education, one in which research, particularly scientific, was upper most," (Altibach 2001, p. 118). The arguments for research were made on the basis that,

the "...world was neither as chaotic nor as the working of God's conscious hand; rather the world was approached as a mechanism that conforms to laws than can be expressed mathematically," (Fallis 2007,p. 27). This new idea of the university became associated with modernity, as observed by fallis (2007) that, "...the modern university is concerned with research and the discovery of knowledge," (p. 28).

The research role of universities in Africa is one that was overshadowed by the need for human resources. There was certainly a place for universities as research institutions to produce knowledge required to address many of the problems that faced Tanzania and Africa generally. However research was never a priority. The government did not allocate sufficient funding for research (Mkude et al, 2003). As a result of the weak support for research, African universities have not played an important role in knowledge creation.

It is ironic that the university's role of knowledge creation was down played in Tanzania and Africa in general, when it had the most potential to address the myriad problems facing the country and continent. The research role of universities might have suffered largely because the debates about the role of the university were carried out in the policy and political arena (Nyerere, 1964). The African academics recognized the research role of universities. They argued that the research needed to be relevant to the African environment (Wandira 1977). Wandira (1977) stated that the idea of the African university was debated at a conference held by the Association of African Universities in 1972. The conference argued that, "The African University must be one that draws its inspiration from its environment, not a transplanted tree, but growing from a seed that is planted and nurtured in the African soil," (Wandira, 1977, p. 22, quoting Yesufu). The

conference argued that relevant research contributed to addressing local problems and “amelioration of the life of the ordinary man and the rural poor,” (Wandira, 1977, p. 23). While the university was seen as a symbol for national development, knowledge creation did not figure prominently.

Prominent universities of the world are known more for their research than teaching (Boyer, 1990). According to Boyer (1990) the push for university research increased during the Great Depression when universities joined in the war “to bring victory to the nation,” (Boyer 1990, p. 10). The effort led to the establishment of the National Defense Research Committee, which later became the Office of Scientific Research and Development (Boyer, 1990). In this case knowledge creation was given a prominent role in addressing social problems, as opposed to human resource in the case of the African university.

University service role in Tanzania

The people of Tanzania were committed to the service role of the university. The University of Dar es Salaam was supposed to support the local communities and help them address their problems since they were funded by taxes collected from the poor. Wandira (1977) quotes from the Chancellor of the University of Botswana and Swaziland talking about the role of the university that, “Nothing gives our countries greater pleasure than to see our Colleges and University grow in service to the community beyond their walls, standing in the midst of that community for something which is not already there,” (p. 26).

According to Ngara (1995) the role of service provision is left to individuals who have to make personal choices. There is no incentive to engage in service provision. Ngara (1995) goes on to recommend that universities be offer consultancies as incentives to offer service to their local communities. According to Meena (1979), the University of Dar es Salaam provided various services to local communities that included setting, moderating and making national exams, writing syllabi and offering legal advice to those who could not hire lawyers. Meena (1979) also points out that University of Dar es Salaam had institutions that provided service to local communities. These institutions included Economic Research Bureau, Bureau of Resource Assessment and Institute of Development studies.

It is clear from the review that higher education is dominated by the role of teaching, at the expense of the other roles. This overemphasis of teaching is also apparent in the policies of education in Tanzania. However the literature review demonstrates that the concept of higher education is not fully understood as used in policies where the term largely makes reference to teaching as solely constituting higher education.

Summary

The literature review has discussed and analyzed what is already known about education policy in Tanzania. The review began by discussing public policy to find out what is already known. This is immediately followed by a review of education policies in Tanzania. The discussion on education policy in Tanzania is followed by the concept of policy rationality which analyzes the policy as rational decision. The final section discusses the concept of higher education and its multiple purposes. The next chapter will present and discuss the methods that the researcher used to collect data for this study.

Chapter Three

Methods

Introduction

A discussion of the methods is a critical component of any social scientific inquiry (King et al, 1994). Methods define how data will be collected and analyzed leading to conclusions that are consistent with the approach employed. According to King et al (1994) “The content of ‘science’ is primarily the methods and rules, not the subject matter, since we can use these methods to study virtually anything,” (p. 11). This section describes the methods and rules of science that were applied in the design of the study consistent with agreed conduct of a scientific inquiry.

The purpose of the methods section is to generate credible, reliable and valid data that can be used to draw inferences about a social phenomenon. In the case of this study the methods used generated reliable and credible data to make inferences about education sector policy prioritization in Africa. The study seeks to understand how policy actors for selected policies made sense of, and interpreted policy problems, leading to prioritization of a particular education sub-sector, in this case leading to the prioritization of primary education in Tanzania. The focus on sense making and interpretation of education sector problems suggest the use of “...*interpretivist* (also referred to as *constructivist*) paradigm, which portrays a world in which reality is socially constructed, complex, and ever changing,” (Glesne 1999, p. 5).

The interpretive perspective acknowledges multiple views of common experiences as a result of social construction of reality. In order to generate credible, valid and reliable data about socially constructed reality, interpretive researchers must suspend judgment about phenomena that they want to investigate and let the subjects generate the content, (Paris and Reynolds, 1983). The purpose of interpretive investigation is to gain insight into subjects' interpretation of phenomena. This is important in policy studies where unlike "...the world of nature, as explored by the natural scientist, does not 'mean' anything to the molecules, atoms, and electrons ... the observational field of the social scientist – social reality – has a specific meaning and relevance structure for human beings located within it," (Paris and Reynolds, 1983, p. 168). Cohen and Manion (1983) add that, "The data thus yielded will be glossed with the meaning and purpose of those people who are their source," (p. 39). Cohen and Manion (1983) proceed to state that. " The scientific aim of investigation by an interpretive researcher is to understand how this glossing over of reality goes on at one time and in one place and compare it with what goes on in different times and places," (p. 39). The current study examined the meaning that policy actors ascribed to education sector problems resulting in prioritization of a particular education sub-sector. The researcher developed an interpretive analytical framework for studying the selected education sector policies.

Research questions

The researcher set out to further the understanding of the following questions about education policy sector in Tanzania:

- 1) How did policy actors frame primary, secondary and higher education sector problems at the World Conference on Education for All (1990) campaign?
- 2) How did policy actors frame primary, secondary and higher education problems and solutions in the Education and Training Policy (1995) in Tanzania?
- 3) How did the African ministers of education frame education sector problems and solutions at their Harare Declaration (1982) conference?
- 4) How did each the World Conference on Education for All (1990) and the Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States (1982) influence national education policy in Tanzania?

The Education Sector Policy Analysis Framework

The current section describes the analytical framework that was developed for the purpose of studying the education sector policies identified for the study. The analytical framework is fundamental to an understanding of the study. Without a complete understanding of this analytical framework it is difficult to comprehend the analysis of the various policy frameworks selected for the study. A detailed description of how the framework was developed is presented in the appendix.

The researcher set out to study the way in which education sector policies were formulated, leading to the prevalence of primary education over higher education in Tanzania. In order to do that the researcher selected three policy frameworks which were investigated to bring forth an understanding of the policy formulation processes that led to the persistent favor of basic education. The policies that were selected for the study are:

- The Harare Declaration (1982) (The Conference of African Ministers of Education)
- World Conference of Education for All (1990)
- Tanzania Education and Training Policy (1995).

The Harare Declaration (1982) was one in a series of conferences held by the African ministers of education to offer direction to African states on their education sector policies. The Harare Declaration (1982) was selected because it was the last conference of African ministers of education to be held prior to the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) in 1990.

The WCEFA (1990) was a global forum that discussed and offered guidance to education sector policies of developing countries in particular. The WCEFA (1990) had tremendous influence on the education sector policies of developing countries, including African countries such as Tanzania. The Tanzania Education and Training Policy (1995) was the first education sector policy in that country after the period of Nyerere, the president who had influenced earlier education policies. This policy demonstrated a shift away from socialist Tanzania to capitalism. It followed the WCEFA (1990) that provided guidance of the international perspective for education sector policy in developing countries. It also came after the Harare Declaration that had provided guidance of the African perspective of education sector policy in Africa.

The education policy analytical framework is a three stage process for examining the origin and development of a policy as described below. Figure 3.1 shows the stages of the education analytical framework that was used to analyze and make sense of the education sector problems as they were interpreted by the three policy groups, the

World Conference of Education for All, Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States, and the government of Tanzania.

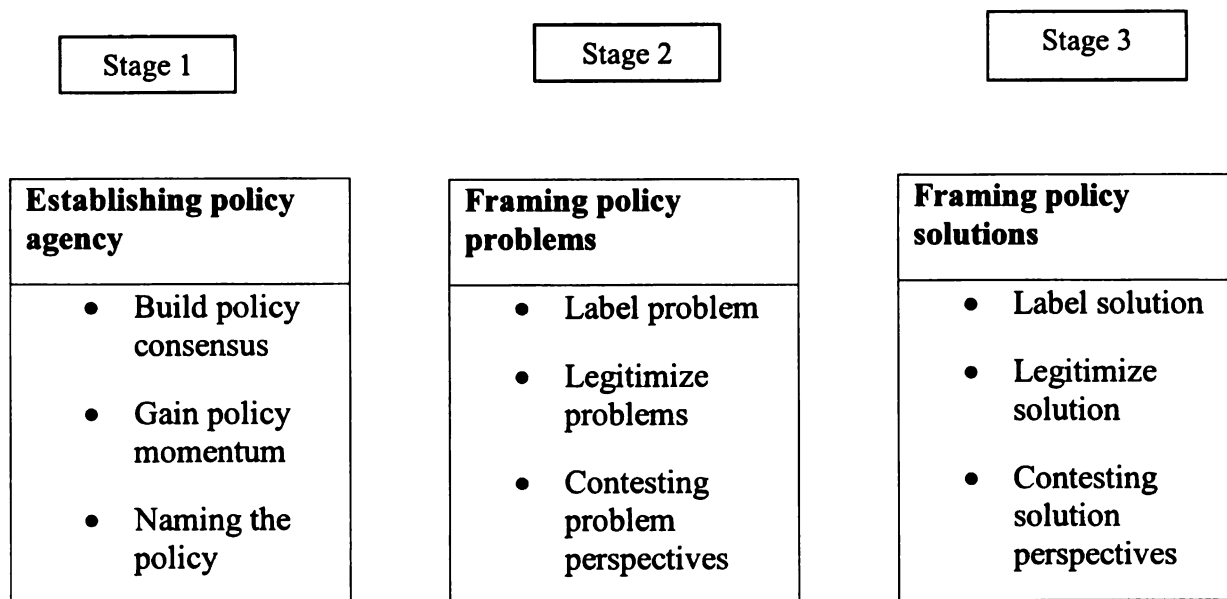


Figure 3.1 Overview of the education policy analytical framework

The analytical policy framework consists of three stages which include **establishing the policy agency, framing the problems and framing the policy solutions** (Dery, 1984; Schon and Rein, 1994). The first step of **establishing the policy agency** analyzes the way in which policy actors coalesce around a particular policy problem. It brings an understanding into the identity and interests of the groups that come together to frame policy problems, how members are recruited to join the policy agency, and it also examines the naming of the policy framework (Apthorpe, 1996).

Following the **establishment of the policy agency**, the next step is **framing policy problems**. This step examines the labels given to particular policy problems (Cornwall and Brock, 2005). It seeks to answer the question about what is the problem and what parameters constitute the problem. It begins with labeling of the problem,

followed by legitimizing of the problem (Dowling and Pfeffer, 1975; Suchman, 1995) wherein the problem is justified as to why public resources should be expended on it. Another subcategory is the contesting policy problem that examines the alternative policy labels (Portz, 1996; Harcourt, 1998).

The last stage is that of **framing the solutions** which consist of three categories that include labeling the solution, legitimizing the solution and contesting solutions (Harcourt, 1998). As pointed out above, the analytical education framework is fundamental to understanding of the current study. The analytical framework is applied to the selected policies for the purpose of generating and manipulating data. Following the description of the overview of the framework, each stage will now be described in detail.

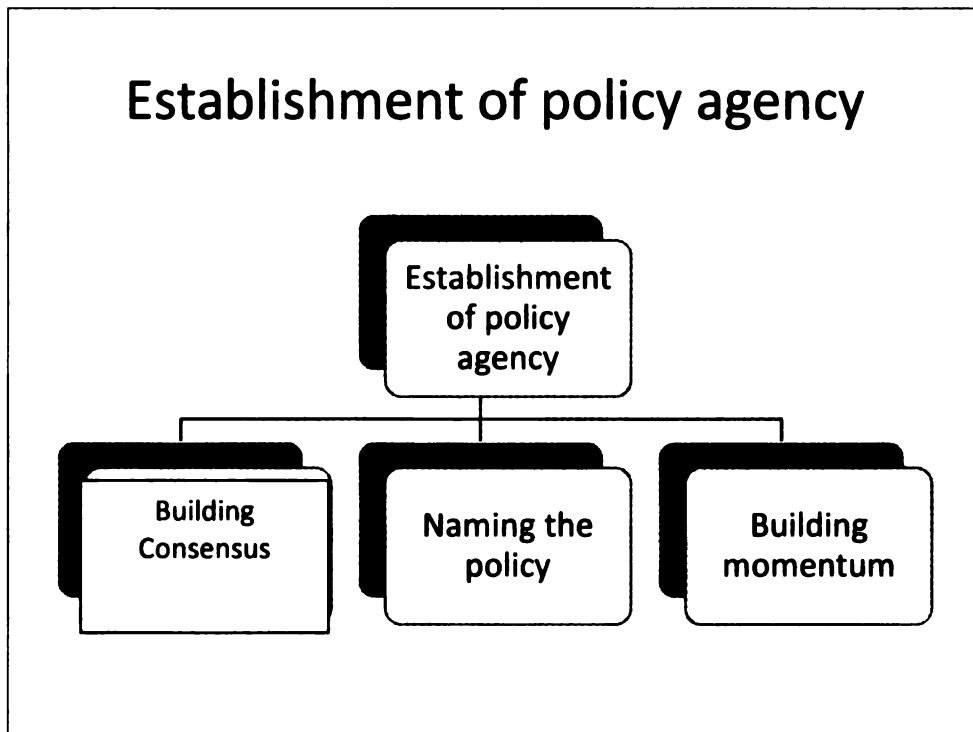


Figure 3.2 Stage One: Establishing the policy Agency

The previous section presented an overview of the education policy sector analytical framework. The current section presents the detailed framework. Stage one of the analytical framework is the **establishment of the policy agency** which analyzes how policy agents come together to frame a particular policy.

In general policy narratives present a perspective about some aspect of public concern that requires public intervention (Zahariadis 2008; Fischer 2003). The purpose of policy narratives is to persuade the public that the problem described is real and requires public resources. Policy narrative focus on the substantive content of a policy, in other words they focus on the problems and how they need to be addressed. The format assumes that a policy problem is objective, and it does not matter who identifies it (Radaelli 1999; Rein and Fischer 1993). The assumption is that any policy group will come up with the same policy problems. This is not necessarily the case in public policy problems. Harcourt (1998) argues that, “The point to stress is that not only does reality beg interpretation in order to be acted upon by human agents, and therefore policy problems are subject to interpretation but, more importantly, different ‘frames’ steer choices of alternative courses for actions, solutions and policy instruments,” (p. 370). Different groups tend to be affected in different ways by any particular social situation (Berger and Luckman 2002; Portz 1996). As such different groups hold different perspectives and interests about a public concern.

It is thus important when analyzing a policy to examine the interest groups that come together to define the policy (Radaelli 1999). When a public concern arises, policy actors build a policy agency that becomes an authority over the issue. While the policy agency is ascribed authority over a policy issue (Radaelli 1999), research indicates that

the policy actors tend to serve the interests of their group (Entman, 2004). It is thus important in a policy analysis to study the identity and interests of the groups who joined together to form a policy agency that becomes the authority over an issue.

According to the analytical framework developed for this study, the stage of **establishing of the policy agency** consists of three categories. One category is that of **building consensus** (Weiss, 1989). At this stage a leading policy actor seeks other like-minded actors to coalesce around a policy position. The purpose of this stage is to bring together those actors that are influential and capable of leading in a particular policy persuasion (Adler and Haas 1992; Haas, 1992). The consensus building stage examines how actors take the lead in advocating for a policy position. Since prevailing actors take the lead in advocating for a particular position, the analytical framework examines command and authority of policy actors in the policy position that they advocate for (Radaelli 1999, Haas, 1992). This authority derives out of the group's claimed knowledge of the policy area, ability to fund the policy position or political identification with the policy area (Adler and Haas 1992). Claims of knowledge about a policy area tend to command greater authority over a policy area because they are considered to be objective and based on good research (Davite 2007; Radaelli 1999). Being able to fund a particular policy position gives the position a better chance in policy advocacy (Takala 1999). A group that couples its policy position with concomitant funding is more likely to see its position through (Craig and Porter 2002). A political position is based on claims that the group will be more directly affected by the outcomes of the policy (Radaelli 1999). Based on the argument that a group will experience and live with the outcomes of a policy (Entman 2004), a group that claims political identification with a problem argues that it

understands the policy problem much better and should define the policy problem (Radaelli 1999).

The purpose of the stage of **building momentum** is to examine the strength of the different coalitions and identify the coalition that will command public respect and trust enough to attract and enroll important constituencies to their side (Haas 1992). Once a core team has been built that commands enough authority over a policy position, the consensus group proceeds to enroll important constituencies for the implementation of the policy position. The analytic framework examines the constituencies that are recruited and their claims to knowledge, funding availability or political identification with the problem (Craig and Porter, 2002). In general the consensual group hosts conferences or some other similar forum that brings heightened attention to a policy position, and gives the impression that something is being done about a public problem. The intention of this stage is to examine the hype that is created about a particular policy position to attract important constituencies who perceive an escape route out of the problem. The forum draws varying level of public attention, with the high profile policy actors drawing more attention and visibility.

Of particular importance in drawing attention and persuading important constituencies during the stage of gaining momentum is the **naming** of the policy position (Apthorpe 1996; Cornwall and Brock, 2005). The framework analyzes the name to find out how it highlights an aspect of the policy position that is considered the most persuasive to the important constituencies (Rein and Schon 1993). The name given to the forum is important for its symbolic significance (Stone 1997; Yanow 1999, 2000). The name becomes the popular identification of policy position. According to Yanow (1993)

“The name assigned to a problematic terrain focuses attention on certain elements and leads to neglect of others,” (p. 153). It is quickly taken for granted yet it sends the message about how a problem will be addressed (Yanow, 1999; Cornwall and Brock, 2005). The name is supposed to appeal to the important constituencies so that they choose to join the cause. “To have that appeal, it needs to speak to those who work in development and speak about their preoccupations, their hopes, their values,” (Cornwall and Brock, 2005).

Successful policy names that attract the widest constituencies tend to be dramatic and broad (Yanow, 1999; Cornwall and Brock, 2005). Cornwall and Brock (2005) refer to these policy names or labels as development buzz words. Cornwall and Brock (2005) argue about development buzz words that, “their propensity to shelter multiple meanings makes them politically expedient, shielding those who use them from attack by lending the possibility of common meaning to extremely disparate actors,” (p. 1056). Dramatic policy names give the impression of a crisis necessarily creating a sense of urgency to address the problem.

Dramatic policy names may be created out of the attractiveness and simplicity of the solution implied in the name. Policy names that are not dramatic may not have an appeal to any important constituencies in that such names may not energize those constituencies. They do not offer a popular discourse as do dramatic policy names, which “provided conceptual coherence, a direction for action, a basis for persuasion, and a framework for the collection and analysis of data – order, action, and analysis,” (Rein and Schon 1993, p. 153).

The purpose of establishing a policy agency is to command authority over a policy area as well as to persuade the following of important constituencies (Haas, 1992; Adler and Haas, 1992). It is important to command authority and persuade important constituencies because the policy agency not only has authority to define what become accepted policy problems and solutions, but also attracts resources to their particular position (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). The public's perception of the strength of a policy agency determines the resources that will be attracted to a policy area (Salancik and Pfeffer, 1977). It is important to note that much of the information about the establishment of the policy agency is not presented in the policy narratives. This analytical framework allows the analysis to seek relevant data outside of the policy document under study. This is an important feature of the analytical framework, which allows the flexibility to identify other sources of data to fill in those gaps that are not provided by the policy document.

The three sub-stages of building *consensus*, *building momentum* and *naming the agency* together constitute the first stage of **establishing the policy agency** that will proceed to define a policy problem perspective and solution. The following section describes the next stage of the education policy analysis, which is that of framing the problem.

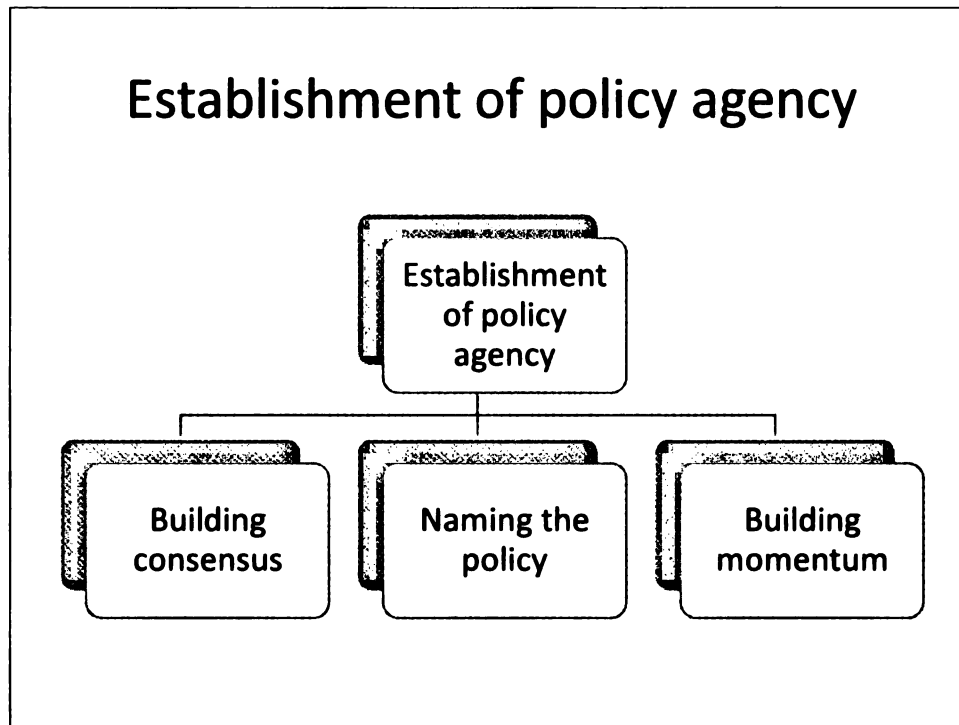


Figure 3.3 Stage two: Framing policy problems

It has been pointed out that problems are not objective entities waiting to be discovered but are subjective forms whose existence is determined by the policy group who are bringing them into existence. In other words problems are talked into existence (Dery, 1984), they are not 'out there' in some given shape. It is at the stage of the framing problems that the boundaries are set around a problem (Apthorpe, 1996; Harcourt, 1998). There are three categories involved in the stage of framing problems. One category is that of labeling the problem.

Labeling problems is a process when particular aspects of a public concern are tagged with a name that identifies specific parameters as the problems that are causing public discomfort (Stone, 1997, Cornwall and Brock, 2005). Problems are labeled so that they can be addressed. The parameters that are labeled as problems will attract public

attention and resources while those that are left out of the label are overshadowed.

Fischer (1993) agrees with Maynard-Moody and Kelly who “describe the policy process as a struggle over the symbols we invoke and the categories into which we place different problems and solutions, because ultimately these symbols and categories will determine that we will take,” (p. 61). The aspects of a problem that are left out of the label lose the problem status (Haas, 1992; Adler and Hass, 1992; Portz, 1996). When a dimension of social issue is selected and assigned a problem label, that particular dimension of public concern attains a problem status. A problem status means that when the dimension identified and labeled as the problem is addressed, the result is an improved quality of life for the group affected by the problem. The parameters that receive the problem label will be the ones to be monitored to determine progress or lack thereof in addressing the problem (EFA report 2007, 2008; MDG 2007).

Not all problems will draw attention and public resources. It is those problem labels that are considered to be important that will receive public attention and resources. In other words problems labels have to be legitimized. Generally problems are legitimized by demonstrating the seriousness of the problem, the urgency of the problem or the extent of the population affected by the problem (Entman 1993). Problems may also be legitimized by having the support of those groups that have been ascribed authority over the problem area (Haas 1992). As discussed above the groups may be ascribed authority over a problem area due to their claims to knowledge of the problem area, ability to fund the solution or political identification with the problem (Radaelli 1999).

As discussed earlier that problem labels are talked into existence (Dery, 1984), different policy groups will perceive the same problem in different ways. While policy narratives tend to present a unified position about a particular problem perspective (MDG, 2000; EFA, 1990, Adler and Haas, 1992) there exist contesting problem labels (Entman 1993; Fischer 1993).

Fischer (1993) states that,

Each policy related idea is an argument, or rather a set of arguments, favoring different ways of looking at the world. The task of the analyst is to examine the multiple understandings of what otherwise appears to be a single concept, in particular how these understandings are created and how they are manipulated (p. 61).

Policy narratives present a unified perspective because they represent the perspective of the established policy agency (Haas, 1992). The perspective of those that are not a part of the established policy agency is not presented in policy narratives, but that does not mean that the perspective ceases to exist. It is important to find out the contesting views and also whose alternative views they are. These contesting views may not be found in the policy narratives. The starting point of finding the alternative views is to get a thorough understanding of the mainstream view presented in the policy document. A thorough understanding of the mainstream view seeks to find out the policy groups who constitute the main view, and also go on to identify other groups whose view may not concur. The analysis goes on to seek for the perspectives of the other groups

where they are likely to express those views. This is an important feature of the analytical framework it allows the analysis to move beyond the main policy documents under study.

The purpose of the process of framing problems discussed here is to bring problems into existence so that they can be addressed. The parameters that are granted the problem status are the ones that will be eligible to receive public attention and resources. The parameters that are left out of the problem label lose out on the resources (Fischer 1993). Those parameters that do not make it to the policy narrative may still be part of the alternative or contesting perspective (Harcourt 1998). The current analytical framework brings attention to both the perspective of the established agency and the contesting perspective. Fischer (1993) agrees with Stone that “uncovering the hidden arguments embedded in each policy concept, ...can illuminate and even at times resolve the political conflicts that would otherwise only appear to be on the surface of the issue,” (p. 61). Since the alternative or contesting perspective is not necessarily expressed in policy narratives, the analytical framework looks beyond the policy narrative of the established agency to gain access to contesting views.

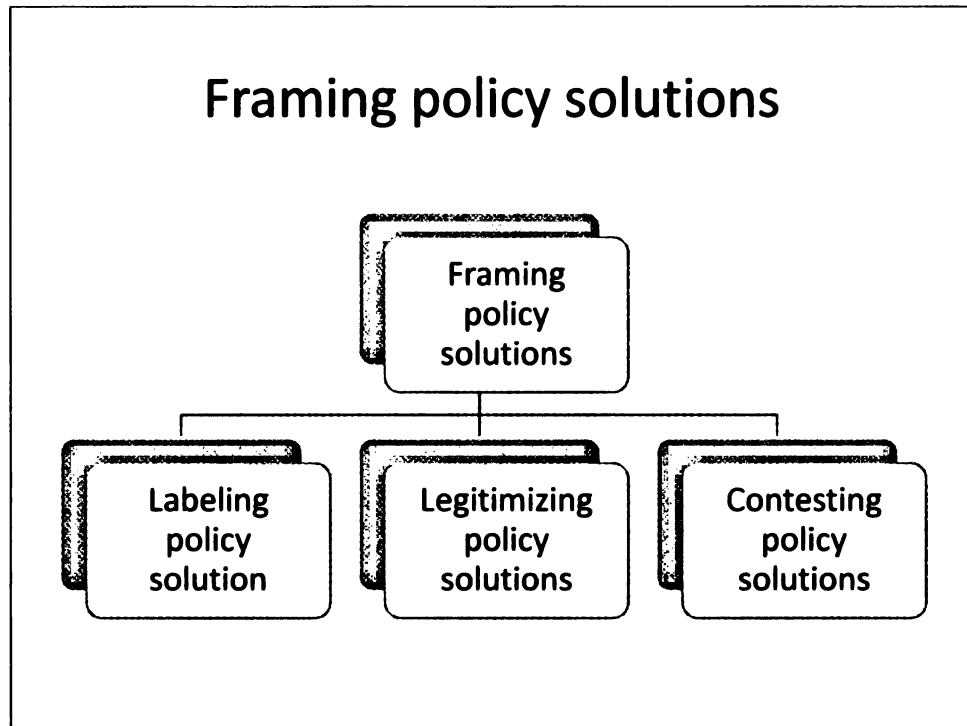


Figure 3.4 Stage three: Framing the policy solutions

Just as problems are not objective entities, so the policy solutions are also talked into existence (Dery 1984; Fischer 1993). In other words solutions are not ‘out there’ in some given shape. It is at the stage of the framing solutions that the boundaries are set around a solution. There are three categories involved in the stage of framing solutions. One category is that of labeling the solution.

Labeling a solution involves identifying particular resources and support mechanisms as the solutions that will address problems identified in the problem framing process described above. Those resources identified as holding the potential for addressing particular problems are generated, sought after and mobilized (Craig and Porter 2002). Just as in the problem framing, those resources that do not receive the solution status are not mobilized for the purpose of addressing the problem in question.

For any problem there will be any number of possible solutions (Stone 1988). It is those solution labels that are considered to hold the most potential for addressing the problem in question that will receive the solution status. Solutions may also be legitimized by having the support of those groups that have been ascribed authority over the problem area (Haas 1992; Stone 1988). As discussed above the groups may be ascribed authority over a problem area due to their claims to knowledge of the problem area, ability to fund the solution or political identification with the problem.

As solutions labels are talked into existence, different policy groups will create different solutions according to how they perceive the problem and their interest in the policy problem (Takala, 1998). While policy narratives tend to present a unified position about a particular policy solution, there exist contesting solution labels (Colebatch 1998). Policy narratives present a unified perspective because they represent the perspective of the established policy agency. The perspective of those that are not a part of the established policy agency is not presented in policy narratives, but that does not mean that the perspective ceases to exist (Colebatch 1998). It is important to find out the contesting views and also whose alternative views they are. These contesting views may not be found in the policy narratives. The starting point of finding the alternative views is to get a thorough understanding of the mainstream view presented in the policy document. A thorough understanding of the mainstream view seeks to find out the policy groups who constitute the main view, and also go on to identify other groups whose view may not concur. The analysis goes on to seek for the perspectives of the other groups where they are likely to express those views. This is an important feature of the analytical

framework that it allows the analysis to move beyond the main policy documents under study.

The purpose of the process of framing solutions discussed in the current section is to bring solutions into existence that is perceived to address the problem of concern. A solution dimension left out of the solution label is overshadowed even when it may hold potential for addressing the problem. Those parameters that do not make it to the policy narrative may still be part of the alternative or contesting perspective. The current analytical framework brings attention to both the perspective of the established agency and the contesting perspective. Since the alternative or contesting perspective is not necessarily expressed in policy documents (Fischer 1993), the current analytical framework looks beyond the policy documents of the established agency to gain access to contesting views.

Summary

The analytical framework discussed in this chapter will be illustrated using three policy examples. In Chapter 4 the framework is applied to the analysis of the Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States, WCEFA (Chapter 5) and Tanzania ETP (1995) (Chapter 7). What will become evident through the analysis is how different approaches were employed to address similar problems associated with African education.

Chapter Four

Findings of the Conference of Ministers of Education (CoMEA) of African Member States (1982)

Introduction

The previous chapter introduced the methods and analytical framework that were used for the study. This chapter examines the Conference of the Ministers of Education of African Member States as an example of how the analytical framework in chapter three has been applied to analyze education sector policy. Through the discussion of the CoMEA the researcher sought to address the first research question:

How did the African ministers of education frame education sector problems and solutions at their Harare Declaration (1982) conference?

The researcher applied the policy analysis framework to examine the **establishment of the policy agency, framing of education sector problems and solutions**. The purpose was to determine the way in which African ministers of education perceived the education sector problems that faced Africa, as a context for understanding education issues in Tanzania.

Establishing policy agency

The current section applies the code of **establishing the policy agency** to study the Conference of Ministers of Education in Africa (CoMEA) (1982). The analysis uses the sub-categories of presented in the analytical framework in chapter 3, namely **building**

consensus, naming the agency and building momentum to study the establishment of the policy agency that became the CoMEA.

Building consensus

According to the analytical framework presented earlier, the stage of building consensus examines the buildup of common thought about a particular policy area by some policy groups. The current section will analyze the buildup of common thought about education sector problems facing Africa as perceived by conference of ministers of education, CoMEA (1982). Since CoMEA (1982) is a part of a series of conferences, it was necessary to get back to the first conference in order to study how the conference was organized, and who participated in the process. Accordingly the current section explored the process of consensus building among the actors starting at the launch of the conference African ministers of education. The purpose was to find out the buildup of consensus and the policy issues that prompted the actors to come together. CoMEA (1982) was selected because it was the last conference of African ministers of education that was held before the WCEFA (1990), as such it was assumed that CoMEA (1982) represented African common thought of education sector problems.

During the period leading to African political independence and immediately after, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) spearheaded consensus building on the problems facing the education sector in Africa. UNESCO conducted surveys during the period of the late fifties to early sixties in which it observed that African nations emerging out of colonialism did not have the necessary competence and knowledge to run the newly independent nations. UNESCO (1960) stated at its general conference that, "In 1959-60, over twelve staff members visited each

of the countries of Tropical Africa, in most cases twice, to make a survey of their needs and negotiate with them a UNESCO aid program,” (UNESCO 1960, p. 1). According to the surveys, higher education was the least developed education sector. UNESCO (1960) general conference stated that, “at the higher education level the needs are even more urgent, being less than 1/30 the world percentage,” (p. 1). It went further to state, “that one of UNESCO’s most urgent tasks is to help the newly independent countries, and those which are preparing for independence, to overcome any harmful after-effects of colonialism, such as economic, social and cultural underdevelopment, illiteracy, and the serious shortage of trained personnel,” (UNESCO 1960, p74).

At the same general conference in 1960, UNESCO made a resolution to, convene a conference of African states in 1961 with a view to establishing an inventory of educational needs and a program to meet those needs in the coming years, and to invite the United Nations, the other specialized agencies and the IAEA to cooperate with UNESCO in the preparation and organization of this conference (UNESCO 1960, p. 24).

At this General Conference UNESCO (1960) declared that the education sector in Africa needed serious and urgent attention. It stated that,

the most urgent and vital need in Africa today is education; and in meeting this need, planned and balanced education development must be both a part of the economic and social plans of the region and an essential element in fulfillment of the right to education embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (UNESCO 1960, p. 23).

Once UNESCO had made the resolution to convene a conference of African states that would establish the educational needs of the different countries, it went ahead and enrolled United Nations Economic Commission for Africa to co-host the conference. The conference adopted an Outline of a plan for African Educational Development. An inventory of the plan demonstrated that the needs of the African education sector “are spread cross the full spectrum of education from the primary school through the university and adult education levels,” (UNESCO 1961, p. 5).

Africans concurred with the observations of UNESCO. This was at a time when the few universities in Africa were all very new establishments arising out of turmoil and demands to the colonial governments (Lulat 2005). The British did not have a policy on higher education in Africa till well after the Second World War (Lulat 2005). One of the first reports on higher education produced in 1933 under the leadership of Sir James Currie feared that,

There is a great danger, as we see it, of the Africans’ zeal for education being neglected and ignored by the Government to whom they ought to be able to look for its reasonable satisfaction... Our conclusion upon these considerations is that the only right policy for the Government is to think out ahead a scheme of developing selected institutions in Africa up to a real university standard, and that this policy, as soon as decided upon, should be publicly announced as officially adopted (Lulat 2005, p. 221, quoting from Ashby)

The first real universities in Africa were not to come until other commissions on higher education. The most prominent reports leading to establishment of universities in Africa

are the Elliot Commission (1945) and the Asquith Commission (1945) according to Hussey (1945). These commissions resulted from continued turmoil and demands for higher education by Africans. Accordingly the concerns raised by UNESCO were in concurrence with those of the Africans.

It is no wonder that UNESCO in concurrence with the Africans made the following declarations:

- (a) The development of human resources is as urgent and vital a task as the development of natural resources.
- (b) Educational development may be regarded as a highly profitable long-term economic investment.
- (c) Procedures must be adapted to economic circumstances, with emphasis on the acquisition of scientific knowledge and its applications to the native African environment.
- (d) In view of Africa's present economic development needs, the highest priority must be given to secondary and post-secondary education.
- (e) All African States should aim at achieving universal primary education within a maximum of 20 years, while continuing the work of adult education and vocational training on massive scales.
- (f) It must be possible to finance both the recurring and non-recurring costs of education, in stages to be determined, from loans as well as taxation (UNESCO, 1961, p. 10).

Following this conference of African Heads of State held in 1961 to discuss an inventory of educational facilities in Africa, the Conference of ministers of Education of African States was born. It is telling that a pivotal conference preparing for African independence was on education. There was consensus among the Africans and UNESCO that education held the potential for development in Africa. There was also consensus that the colonial rulers had withheld education, particularly higher education, from Africans (Lulat 2005). The first meeting of ministers of education of African member states was held in 1961, and regularly thereafter, leading to the Harare Declaration (1982) that was selected for this study. The analysis moves from the sub-stage of **building consensus** to that of **gaining momentum** on African education by the ministers of education.

Gaining momentum

The sub-stage of gaining momentum in the analytical framework examines the build up of hype for causes of African education as perceived by the ministers of education of African Member States. As independence approached, there were high levels of anticipation and hype about education among Africans (Lulat 2005). However the Africans were not able to fund their education sector programs. It was necessary to bring their plight to the attention of the international community. Once UNESCO and the Heads of African States had reached consensus on the inventory of educational needs and developed the Outline of a Plan for African Education Development, the plan was endorsed by the Economic and Social Council of the UN and transmitted to UN General Assembly for consideration (UN 1961).

The UN General Assembly (1961) at its sixteenth session endorsed the outline for African education, calling upon

the African countries to continue to devote increasing and ample resources to the development of education in their territories, in accordance with the broad targets of the five-year program set forth in the Outline of a Plan for African Education Development, (UN 1960, p. 24).

The UN Economic Commission Africa at its 4th session also endorsed the outline, laying the road for the meeting of the ministers of African education. UNESCO (1961) executive board at its 60th session authorized

...the Acting Director-General to convene and organize a meeting of Ministers of Education of African countries participating in the implementation of the Addis Ababa Plan, to be held in Paris in March 1962 to consider the following agenda:

- (i) Review of current national plans of educational development in the light of national development programs;
 - (ii) Review, country by country, of projects to be undertaken in 1962 for implementing the decisions of the Addis Ababa Conference, and of the financing of these projects;
 - (iii) Establishment of the most effective machinery and procedures for keeping under review the programs drawn up in accordance with the Addis Ababa Plan;
- (p. 11)

UNESCO secretariat together with the UN Economic Commission Africa then went on to host the first Conference of Ministers of Education of African countries participating in the implementation of the Plan for African Educational Development adopted at Addis Ababa. The functions of the Conference held in 1962 were:

(a) To review, and if necessary revise, the targets and costs established for the short-term and long-term plan for educational development adopted by the Addis Ababa Conference.

(b) To compare and analyze national educational plans established by the authorities concerned in the States and territories represented in the Conference, and the effect of such plans on the models established for the region as a whole at the Addis Ababa Conference.

(c) To examine and analyze national education budgets in the light of the targets established in the Plan in order to determine the part of the targets not covered by the budgets as well as the cost of meeting it.

(d) To help in integrating educational plans in national programs of economic and social development.

With the spirit of impending independence of African States, education offered the promise of development. The hype was reflected through the successive and close regional and international conferences that discussed and endorsed the conduct of the conference of ministers of education of African member states. The period 1960 to 1962 was effervescent with ideas and conferences promoting education sector policies for an emerging independent Africa. Effervescence about education continued among the

African ministers of education through their conference. It is not clear that the same effervescence continued at the regional and international community about the conference and its representation of African education sector problems. By 1982 there was heightened hype of African education seeing as the conference came closely after the independence of Zimbabwe. The conference was subsequently held in Harare, Zimbabwe. At this point Africans had failed to achieve universal primary education by 1980 as had been their plan. The failure of the Africans might have led to reduced anticipation and hype of the conference among the regional and international community.

Naming of the agency

The sub-category of naming the agency examines naming of the conference and the aspects of the education sector problems that gain prominence from the name. According to Yanow (1996) names in organizational settings are part of an organizational artifacts used to symbolize and convey intended meaning. As organizational artifacts, names have meaning and symbolism with respect to intended audience. The conference was launched with the name “Conference of Ministers of Education of African Member States” conveying meaning and symbolism of the authorities in charge of education Africa. This was during a period when there was effervescent hype and anticipation about the potential of education to foster development in Africa. As such the name did not highlight any aspect of education that would be the focus of the conference rather it drew attention to the Plan for African Educational Development adopted at Addis Ababa. Education was the buzz word for development in Africa. It was enough to mention education in the name of the conference at a time when answers to development problems in Africa were perceived to be vested in education. Policy making involves drawing

attention to aspects of a public problem through careful use of language. Language is used to construct aspects of a social issue that become the focus of public solutions (Fischer 1993).

According to Rochefort and Cobb (1994), “If policymaking is a struggle over alternative realities, then language is the medium that reflects, advances, and interprets these alternatives,” (p. 9). The focus of a particular alternative tends to influence and motivate the type of politicking and subsequently the chances of a favorable outcome. The name conveys the policy focus to potential sponsors which will help make decisions about whether or not to support the policy. In the case of Africa, there was a strong perception that colonial governments had neglected education of Africans. As independence approached there was concern among the Africans and international community that there was a lack of sufficient knowledge and skills required by Africans to run the newly independent states.

By 1982 many more African states had gained political independence. In 1982 the conference chose the name Harare Declaration to highlight independence in Zimbabwe. The name symbolize the prominence of politics in the education sector during the early independence period. The name “Harare Declaration” symbolized a new and Independent Africa, an occasion that the African ministers of education could not pass.

Together the sub-categories of building consensus, building momentum and naming the policy agency provide an analysis of the establishment of the conference of ministers of education of African member states. The next stage analyzes how the policy agency perceived the problems facing the African education sector. The analysis reflects

the interests of African ministers of education as a category of policy actors representing African thought.

Framing problems

In the preceding section, the researcher analyzed the setting up of the Conference of Education Ministers of Education of African States as a policy agency to drive African education sector policy. The analysis explored the conference from its launch in the sixties, to provide an historical foundation of the Harare Declaration held in 1982. The researcher selected the Harare declaration (1982) for analysis because it is the last all African conference on education sector problems held during the period under study. The problem framing code used three categories of **problem labeling**, **problem legitimization** and **competing interpretations** for analysis.

Labeling of education problems by the Harare Declaration

In this section the researcher analyzed the ways in which education sector problems were typified and categorized by the ministers of education in Africa. In other words, what became acceptable education sector problems? The section of problems labeling examined the categorization of education sector problems. Yanov (2000) states that,

classifying entails an interpretive choice on the basis of a decision about the relative importance of certain features over others...The analyst needs to attend not only to what characteristics are being highlighted as the basis for a category-making, but also to which ones are being obscured or occluded, (p. 51).

It is important to note that the conference happened during the early post-colonial era. With the memory of colonialism still fresh in their minds, the focus of the African states

was to achieve autonomy from the former colonial masters. As such the Harare declaration makes reference of the declarations of the African Union, the Monrovia declaration (1979) and Lagos Plan of Action (1980) both of which provided “guidelines for national and collective self-reliance of the African countries,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 24). The ministers defined education sector problems with the goal of achieving national and collective self-reliance.

The conference divided the education sector problems into six categories that included:

- the eradication of illiteracy in Africa
- early childhood education
- science and technology education for development
- contribution of higher education to the development of African societies
- educational research and teaching methodologies in the Africa state
- the use of African languages as languages of education

Eradication of illiteracy in Africa

The current section investigated how illiteracy was defined by the Ministers of African education as a problem, in other words where did the ministers set the boundaries for reasoning and thinking about illiteracy in Africa. The ministers received input from the UNESCO secretariat which presented a study on illiteracy. The study did not provide the Ministers of Education in Africa with a firm definition of illiteracy. The UNESCO study (1982) did not offer much help, saying that, “Illiteracy is the outcome of a highly complex set of circumstances, not only educational, but also economic and social,”

(UNESCO 1982, p. 3). The study goes on to allude to the difficulty of defining an illiterate person, saying that it was “difficult to assess the phenomenon of illiteracy with any quantitative or qualitative precision,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 3).

After finding it difficult to define illiteracy, the study made an attempt to define a literate person. This too was not any easier. The study offered different versions of a literate person, the most extensive definition stated that:

a literate is one who has acquired the knowledge and skills indispensable to the performance of all activities for which literacy is necessary in order to play an effective part in his group and his community, and whose achievement in reading, writing and arithmetic are such that they enable him to continue to use his abilities for his personal development and for the development of the community, and to participate actively in the life of his country, (UNESCO 1982, p. 4)

The conference left open the definition of the concept of illiteracy, in other words illiteracy was identified as a problem but the parameters of the problem were not clear. The conference did not provide definitive guidelines for thinking and reasoning about illiteracy.

Early childhood education

This section examines the ministers’ perception of childhood education as a problem, in other words what were the parameters of the problem of childhood education as set by the conference. The conference pointed out that an important function of early education centers was not to provide early childhood education necessarily, but more a social function of creating time for mother who are usually tasked with providing

childcare. The conference commented about the early childhood education centers that, “their educational role is virtually non-existent, and the parents or adolescence who usually supervises them are not specially trained in this field,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 26). The conference noted that parents were beginning to demand that early childhood centers go beyond providing physical care for the children to prepare children for school. With the increasing role and importance of school, the African family was perceived as less able to provide for intellectual growth and preparation of the children.

Early childhood education was largely a private provision resulting in perpetuation of the colonial legacy in which those parents who could afford to pay had access to good early childhood education. Even where early childhood education was available, it was not providing the values appropriate to integrate children in the African environment. Research was not available about the kind of early childhood education that was appropriate for early childhood African education.

Science and technology education for development

(There was not enough content discussed for this topic)

The Contribution of Higher Education to the Development of African Societies

The problem of the contribution of higher education to the development of African societies was defined within the context of the early post-colonial era in which the ministers lamented that their colonial masters had made “decision-making and most functions involving planning and execution at higher and middle level, the responsibilities of officials from the colonial countries,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 75). They went on to argue that, “African states, had, then to cope with a widespread need for the

training of the higher and middle level personnel that every area of development required,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 75).

The conference noted that, “modernizing the traditional agricultural sector” was “an area of primary concern to Africa,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 75) that could benefit from higher education. Higher education was presented as an institution that held a potential for improving the rural area sector where the majority of Africans lived. According to the ministers,

it is, perhaps, in the sphere of rural development that the most specific and pressing needs have come to light for the African countries (that) have been anxious to modernize the agricultural sector which not only supplies their main export resources but has an essential role to play – through food production – in improving living conditions in these countries, (p. 76).

Beside the problem of a severe shortage of higher and middle level personnel that required the contribution of higher education, a pressing problem was that of a prevalence of traditional agricultural practices that were not consistent with the emerging era of modernization.

The conference noted also the lack of adequate local training for middle and higher level personnel which was demonstrated by the continued need for overseas training. The conference argued that overseas training did not solve the problem of inadequate personnel for middle and higher level personnel, instead it created problems of brain drain. The ministers observed that the deteriorating quality of training arising

from increasing enrollments and the lower relative prestige of African universities led to the continued demand for overseas training.

Another area raised by the conference as needing the contribution of higher education was the perceived detachment of science and technology from the African environment. Conference participants argued that science and technology had tremendous potential for generating knowledge that was necessary for improving the local quality of life. However this was only possible if the science and technology was situated within the local African environment. At the conference on higher education for Africa held in Tananarive (1962), the participants lamented about university students that,

the effect of education has too often been to remove them from that sense of oneness with their societies without which they cannot effectively serve those societies and help them in solving the problems of their transition to the modern world, (UNESCO, 1963, p. 48).

The role of higher education was perceived to so profound that separate from the conference of ministers of education, a conference was held in 1962 on “the development of higher education in Africa.” The role of higher education was extensively discussed at that conference, which led to another series of conferences on higher education in Africa. Higher education was seen as holding promise for true and meaningful independence from the colonial legacy and domination. According to the Tananarive Conference (1962), “as the birth of the truly African university is coeval with national independence, so will African freedom be dependent upon the continued existence and vitality of the university,” (UNESCO, 1963, p. 17). Accordingly the Tananarive Conference (1962)

went further to counsel that, “the universities in Africa must consciously seek, through their teaching and research, to assist in the solution of the problems facing the nations they serve,” (UNESCO, 1963 p. 48). The university was seen as a beacon for prosperity through addressing the various problems that restrained development in Africa.

According to the ministers,

all education officials are agreed that education systems are coherent systems, that institutions of higher education, through the agency of the degrees and diplomas they confer, act as a motive force for the whole system and that the groundwork for progress at all levels in education begins to be laid in the initial stages of education – actually at the pre-school level, (UNESCO 1963, p. 86.)

They argued that institutions of higher education must contribute to the improvement of the education system as a whole. One of the most important roles of the higher education institutions was seen as the training of teachers who were seriously in short supply in an environment of soaring enrollment.

Educational research and teaching methodologies in the African states

The African ministers placed educational research within the context of economic development. They noted that,

first of all, educational research presupposes developmental research in the economic, social and cultural fields, for example research for the development of available land and water resources, agriculture, trade and industry, community health and welfare, mass communication and language development, the visual and applied arts, (UNESCO 1982. p. 94).

The ministers identify the various areas of development that were considered as requiring improvement. They named these areas as requiring research to generate knowledge about the development areas that should not only contribute to economic development, but also contribute to school curricular.

The ministers went on to identify educational research problems as including:

- Lack of adequate institutions for educational research
- Wastage in the educational system due to inadequate and inappropriate teacher training
- Lack of research to address the problems facing the education system

The use of African languages as languages of education

African ministers of education stated that, the need continued for the use of African languages as languages of education, and it was an urgent and pressing need, (UNESCO, 1982, p. 106). They argued that language was important for national cohesion which, in turn, was important for socio-economic development. They gave an example that agricultural and rural development was important for socioeconomic development. Language was perceived as important in government efforts to “orient mass thinking towards the land and its use, to reach the small rural farmer and convince him about better crop varieties and improved methods for better yields,” (UNESCO, 1982, p. 106).

The ministers observed that language policies were not fully developed in many countries. The many languages in the African countries made it difficult to come up with fully accepted language policies. They went on to state that, “...it is because of this

multilingualism that some states have opted for multiple African national languages or languages of education,” (UNESCO, 1982, p. 106).

The ministers identify the following problems in African languages as languages of education:

- Lack of qualified researchers and research facilities for African languages
- Lack of psycholinguistic, curriculum and methodology research
- Lack of printing and publishing facilities
- Lack of training for African languages research and teaching

Legitimizing problems

In the preceding discussion the researcher used the tag of labeling problem to analyze the problems of Africa education as perceived by the minister of education. This discussion examined the way in which the African ministers of education generated problem labels, necessarily circumscribing how a education sector problems were reasoned and thought about (Yanow 2000, 1996). The current section examines the way in which the ministers generated support and appealed to the African public to view a problem as important and worth of public support. The researcher analyzed the legitimization of the problems that were generated by the African ministers of education. They generated the following problems which are the subject of analysis for legitimization in the discussion that follows:

- the eradication of illiteracy in Africa
- early childhood education
- science and technology education for development

- contribution of higher education to the development of African societies
- educational research and teaching methodologies in the Africa state
- the use of African languages as languages of education

These five problems identified by the ministers now had to be legitimized to the broader public.

Eradication of illiteracy in Africa

The African ministers of education labeled illiteracy as a problem, but as discussed above, they did not go far in terms of defining the parameters of the problem of illiteracy. The current section examines how the ill-defined problem was legitimized as a problem deserving of public support. Notwithstanding that the ministers could not come up with the definition of the problem of illiteracy, they were able to count the number of illiterates and demonstrate that there were large enough numbers to warrant public support. According to the African ministers,

having taken these facts and the relative value of the statistics into account, we find that in 1980, in Africa, according to the estimates and projections of UNESCO office of statistics, 60.6 per cent of the population aged 15 and over was illiterate, (UNESCO, 1982, p. 4).

The ministers lamented that,

“This situation is alarming, as regards both respect for human rights in the sphere of education and satisfaction of development demands. ...this injustice which weighs them down then keeps them in a position of powerlessness and stagnation and prevents them from becoming socially and economically integrated in a new

world where technical and scientific advances are making more and more knowledge and specialization a necessity, (p. 4).

The problem of illiteracy was legitimized as human rights issue following the declaration of literacy as a human right in 1948. As a violation of human rights, illiteracy was portrayed as an injustice, necessarily making an appeal for public support. Further to the human rights issue, illiteracy was seen as depriving society of a large proportion of potential contributors to social and economic advancement. Illiterates were seen as a drag on social and economic advancement, which was particularly deplorable for the African states that were striving to join the new world of technical and scientific advancement.

Illiteracy was legitimized as a problem on three accounts, that it was an injustice, it was a drag to social, and economic advancement and that it affected a large number of the African population. On the basis of these arguments, the African ministers made a persuasive appeal for public involvement in ameliorating the problem of illiteracy.

Early childhood education

The underpinning pillars for attracting public support during the eighties when the African ministers of education conducted their conference were development and self-reliance. African nations viewed themselves as emerging from the drags of colonialism and joining the new world. Public support was persuasively justifiable if it contributed to development and increased self-reliance which severed the bonds of the colonial domination. As such early childhood education was legitimized from the unlikely angle of creating time for women to participate in socioeconomic development. The African ministers of education noted that,

Among the many constraints that affect women and prevent them from benefiting from economic and educational programs, mention is often made of the task of caring of children from two to six years of age, along with the chores of fetching water and wood and pounding grain, (UNESCO, 1982, p. 26).

One would expect that early childhood education would be justified on the basis of its educational function. This was not the case with the dominant function of the early childhood education as portrayed by the African ministers of education. The minister doubted the educational value of early childhood education arguing that,

one may well demand to what extent these institutions which, from certain standpoints, facilitate the child's entry into Western-style elementary education, truly ensure the development of his personality; his emotional and affective life, his need to communicate, express himself, create, be independent, etc, (UNESCO, 1982, p. 26).

Early childhood education was perceived as perpetuating colonial legacy.

There is yet another view that justified the increased importance of early childhood education in the increasing formal education system. Formal education created an educational void that could not be filled by the family before entry of children into formal schools. African families could not provide the education that was consistent with formal school. The existence of the educational void justified early childhood education.

In general the African ministers of education did not make a strong case for early childhood education. While the African ministers seemed to recognize the importance of

early childhood education, they did not view it as deserving serious public support relative to other needs such as increased enrollment in primary education.

Science and technology education for development

The African ministers of education viewed education as holding the promise to development and self-reliance. They argued that education would only help to address African problems if it was about improving the African environment. They observed that colonial science education was taught only at higher education levels, and it drew examples from foreign contexts. The ministers lamented that, “this explains in part why Africa fell behind in the field of science and technology, and its backwardness in this respect is one of the basic factors that account for its continuing state of underdevelopment,” (UNESCO, 1982, p. 47). The legitimization of science and technology was again based on the perceived potential for contributing to socioeconomic independence from the former colonizers. This was evident in the statement that,

...the current dependence on imported technologies of many African countries stemmed from the fact that the educational systems of the countries concerned did not provide pupils and students with appropriate scientific and technological training to meet the needs of the country,(UNESCO, 1982, p. 52).

The contribution of higher education to the development of African societies

In their pursuit for self-reliance, African countries strove to employ qualified Africans in high positions. There were not enough Africans with the qualifications to fill those high positions. Higher education was seen as providing that role of educating Africans for high level positions. The minister stated that,

one of the of the normal functions of higher education in all countries, from its inception, has been to impart knowledge at the highest level, providing a pool of graduates from among whom the nation's higher-echelon staff and those responsible for the main sector of social, economic and scientific life are recruited,(p. 74).

The importance of higher education was highlighted at the first Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa held in 1961, which was followed the next year by the conference on the development of Higher Education in Africa. It is instructive that African states held a conference at the dawn of African independence to highlight the central role of education in fostering socio-economic development and complete political independence through the process of Africanization in which Africans acquired adequate qualifications for decision making positions. The Africans believed that solutions to their development problems were to be found in education. They saw science and technology as holding the answers to their development problems as demonstrated in their assertion that, "Science and technological development is indeed not only a major aspect of global development as one of its vital factors, but it is in fact the prerequisite for economic autonomy and, to a large extent, any genuine independence," (UNESCO 1974, p. 81).

Higher education was seen as holding solutions to the many problems facing Africa at the dawn of independence. This included unifying the continent and nations. The conference on the "Development of Higher Education in Africa" stated that, "this imposes upon the African university responsibility to forge unity by assuming an African character, without becoming isolated from the main stream of civilization," (UNESCO

1963, p. 18). The universities would assume an African character by “adapting curriculum to African needs for enriching both the individual and the nations of Africa,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 18). With the experience of colonialism fresh in the minds of the African governments, there was a strong desire to instill African pride and sever any colonial legacy of cultural domination. The conference instructed that

...the continent’s institutions of higher learning should be truly African and make ample provision for African studies so as to build up a living African culture, and, furthermore promote the type of development that would give socio-cultural factors their proper due, contributing this way to the efficiency of education at every level, (UNESCO, 1982, p. 74).

With education viewed as holding promise to addressing the problems facing Africa, universities were tasked with improving the entire education system. According to the conference on development of higher education in Africa, “this responsibility of higher education will be realized through preparation and publication of textbooks and educational journals, and of teaching materials,” (UNESCO, 1982, p. 19). This was an important function for the university, improving the entire education system considering that education had top priority in the Africa states. That the university was given the role of improving the entire education system meant that without the university, the entire education system would weaken.

Educational research and teaching methodologies in the African states

As noted previously that during the early independence African states placed a lot of hope and trust in the education system to generate solutions to the myriad of its

development problems. In that vein, it was important that the education system itself possessed the competence required to generate the solutions to address African problems. The African ministers called for

...research in education for economic development, such research as would promote educational reform and the better planning and administration of education, studies for diversified educational strategies and policies; and regional and international cooperation in the field of educational research,(UNESCO, 1982 p. 93).

The African ministers recognized that the education system itself had problems that needed to be addressed. They also realized that the solutions to address the problems that faced the education system were not readily available, but required to be studied. An education system that was not performing well had serious consequences for the socio-economic development of the African states and their attempts to achieve self-reliance and independence.

The use of African languages as languages of education

During the early eighties African states were very much concerned with achieving complete independence from their colonial past. The use of African languages for educational instruction was considered a major indicator of severance from the colonial legacy. According to the minister of African education, “the need continues for the use of African languages as languages of education, and it is an urgent and pressing need,” (UNESCO, 1982, p. 111). The use of African language as in educational instruction was considered urgent because of its perceived importance in development. African states

were striving for development. The ministers argued that, “development in this respect consists of the development of national unity, cultural development, and economic and social development,” (UNESCO, 1982, p. 111). Language was seen as paramount to cultural cohesion which, in turn was important for participation in socio-economic development. Language was also seen as an instrument for communication which was important in the rural development activities of orienting mass thinking to modern practices.

The African ministers of education argued for the use of African languages in educational instruction because, “it is the principle that all education is best given through the medium of the learner’s own language,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 113). The use of African language for educational instruction would allow for improved benefit from educational experiences according to the African ministers of education.

Competing problems interpretations

The previous sections have discussed the way in which African ministers of education labeled and legitimized educational problems. The current section moves the discussion to the last aspect of framing educational problems which is competing problem interpretations. Policy problems are not always agreed upon, as such in the current section the researcher explores any evidence of multiple interpretations of educational problems by the African ministers of education on the five problems identified by the ministers in the preceding discussion.

Eradication of illiteracy in Africa

The equivocal nature of illiteracy makes it an area for potential competing interpretations. The African ministers left open the definition of illiteracy. According to the African ministers,

in some countries south of the Sahara, the statistics do not take into account the number of persons who have attended Koranic schools and who are thus literate in Arabic, nor even persons who are literate in national languages, UNESCO 1982(p. 4).

In other words only those “literate in the official languages (English, French, Portuguese or Spanish) were considered literate (African ministers report, 1982, p. 4). This was problematic in Africa where the states were striving to improve the status of African languages and use them as languages of educational instruction.

The areas of competing interpretation of the concept of illiteracy are not discussed sufficiently to show how they are resolved. Rather the ministers assume an agreement on the concept of illiteracy. They went on to present data on the declining trends of literacy taking advantage of the generally favorable public opinion about literacy and education as necessary in the efforts to foster development. Any competing interpretations of literacy were not explored fully in the report of the African ministers of education.

Early childhood education

As noted earlier, the driving force for education program in Africa was the perception that education held potential for addressing problems of development and self-reliance. As such there were some, who would ask, “to what extent can the education of

children under the age of six years of age help Africa to further national economic development, as recommended at the Lagos conference?" (UNESCO 1982, p. 25). There were those who viewed early childhood education as far removed from advancing the goal of national economic development. The promotion of basic education and literacy was seen as having more immediate results to economic development. As such questions were raised asking,

Is there not a danger that this new subject may divert attention from the long-standing problems which are still unresolved, and disperse available resources at a time when the needs of education for development require their concentration, (UNESCO 1982, p. 25).

Early childhood education was largely provided through private efforts which made it costly and available to those with the necessary resources. The poor could not afford to pay for early childhood education. Early childhood education was seen as perpetuating the colonial legacy of inequality. Public intervention would have helped to achieve equality yet "ministries of education, having assigned priority to the provision of primary schooling, with all the difficulties involved in this undertaking were not eager to assume this additional responsibility," (UNESCO 1982, p. 30).

Science and technology education for development

The African states placed hope and trust in the potential of education for providing solutions to the myriad problems. These solutions were to come particularly from science and technology. As such the Africans were in agreement about the potential for science and technology in generating solutions for socio-economic development. The

ministers stated that, “the objective assigned to science education is the search for solutions in line with the country’s economic and social needs,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 48). The Africans did not see science and technology as neutral but as culture bound. As such they valued that knowledge on science and technology was generated by Africans. The international world that was important in funding the development activities viewed knowledge on science and technology more as value free. As such they did not see any problems in exporting knowledge on science and technology to African countries.

The Contribution of Higher Education to the Development of African Societies

African ministers agreed and advocated for higher education in Africa. An exclusive conference to support and shape higher education in Africa was held in 1962, in Tananarive. In 1974 the Conference of African States on Science and Technology (1974) endorsed the role of higher education in generating solutions to Africa’s development and socio-economic development. The African ministers of education highlighted the importance of higher in education at their conference in 1976. Africans agreed that colonial education systems had discriminated against the education of Africans at higher levels which they required as they gained independence. At the dawn of independence, the Africans were eager to employ other Africans in the high level, decision making positions. Higher education was seen as important in equipping Africans with the knowledge required to fill those high level positions.

The use of African languages as languages of education

Africa had to contend with the legacy of the languages of the colonial masters that had been established as official languages. The languages of the colonial era had gained acceptance as the languages of instruction. African ministers argued that the dominance

of the colonial language in the education system slowed progress in educating and training the high level personnel which was demanded at independence. The African ministers of education argued that,

one of the biggest factors militating against the training of such cadres is that, because of the elitist educational system inherited from the colonial days, usually this training has to be given through the medium of a foreign European language or not at all, (UNESCO 1982, p. 111).

With the advent of independence there was the struggle to re-establish African pride and identity. The use of African languages for educational instruction was seen as an important step in re-establishing African pride and identity. Each of the African countries had multiple languages that made it difficult to come up with a language policy that would be sufficiently inclusive for all the different tribes. During the eighties Africa was seen as beset with problems of national fragmentation which hampered development. The Africans argued that

Without national cultural valorization and a national cultural identity, little can be achieved by way of national cohesion, and without this cohesion and, again, the use of community cultural patterns as a firm base, little can be achieved by way of national development, (UNESCO 1982, p. 111).

The third stage in the analytical framework identifies the framing of policy solutions critical to the policy process. Therefore the ensuing discussion examines how solutions were developed for the five problems identified by the African ministers.

Framing African education solutions

At this point the researcher has interpreted the ways in which the African ministers of education framed education sector problems in Africa. The next step was to investigate the ways in which the ministers framed the solutions to the African education sector problems. It is important to note that the conference came after the first educational targets of achieving universal primary education by 1980 had been missed. The research examines the way in which African ministers of education framed the next round of solutions, considering that the first round had not achieved its goals.

As in the section above, the analysis of the framing of the problems used the tags developed for the study. The four tags developed and used to analyze the study include labeling of the solution, legitimization of the solution, multiple interpretation of the solution and mobilization of resources.

Labeling of the solutions

The analytical framework identifies labeling the solution as the first step. The section on labeling of the solution examined the definition of solutions as generated by the African ministers of education. The section analyses the parameters that were used to circumscribe the solutions.

Eradication of illiteracy in Africa

Notwithstanding that the problem of illiteracy was not fully defined, being labeled as a rather diffuse concept, the ministers recommended that the solution for African states was to

Continue and intensify the struggle against illiteracy, adopting overall strategies which combine the efforts directed to the universal provision of primary education and those directed to the elimination of illiteracy among adults and young people who have not attended school, paying special attention to women and girls and the rural population; (UNESCO 1982, p. 4).

The parameters of the solution for eliminating illiteracy were set at achieving universal primary education and also elimination of illiteracy among adults and youth who have not attended school, placing the focus on women and girls. The failure to define illiteracy was carried over to the solution which stated that the way to eradicate illiteracy was to “eliminate illiteracy among adults and young people who had not attended school,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 4). The solution was left rather vague, which made it difficult for African nations to decide on what action to take to eliminate illiteracy especially when the concept was not fully defined in the first place. The solution is clear for those children of school going age in which the action is to get all of them into school.

The solution also made linkages with universities by recommending that universities take the role of conducting relevant research to improve educational and literacy activities. The role of universities was especially important in the case of eradicating illiteracy which had not been fully defined. There was room for universities to conduct studies that would lead to an understanding of illiteracy so that it could be better addressed.

Generating solutions for public policy problems is a challenge. Solutions at one time can include parameters that can be declassified as solutions at another time even

when the problem remains the same. This happened at the Harare Declaration when the ministers commented that, “Some states believed that the problems of illiteracy could be solved by extending to illiterate adults the services of teachers with their conventional methods of teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, by using foreign languages alone and by offering curricular whose content was irrelevant to the adults,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 5).

At one time African states labeled learning writing, reading and arithmetic as the solution to the problem of illiteracy, but at the Harare Declaration, learning arithmetic, writing and reading was declassified as a solution to the problem of illiteracy. The conference argued that learning arithmetic, reading and writing missed the true dimensions of literacy, they commented that, “After 1966-1967, when the Experimental World Literacy Program was launched (EWLP), the true dimensions of the literacy phenomenon became better known,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 5). The Experimental World Literacy Program launched by UNESCO introduced new dimensions of solutions to the problem of illiteracy. The conference summarized the new dimensions of solutions that African states were adopting as including mass literacy programs, selective functional literacy programs and universal primary education. The conference argued that, “in the long run, it is undeniable that universal primary schooling for children would be one means of eliminating illiteracy at its source,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 6).

In their summary of the efforts by African states to eliminate illiteracy, African ministers stated that,

Ivory Coast is also waging literacy campaign among adults in industry and agriculture. Upper Volta and Senegal are performing experiments to improve the efficiency of the present education system by reducing student wastage. Benin is introducing a type of school which, in addition to theoretical knowledge, provides training in civics and co-operative work,(UNESCO 1982, p. 6).

Literacy during the period leading to the conference had taken a dimension that favored a functional approach as spearheaded by the Experimental World Literacy Program. According to the ministers, "The functional approach accepted by many countries has itself gone beyond the narrow framework of vocational training to impinge on political, economic, cultural and social matters," (UNESCO 1982, p. 6). The functional approach further promoted the use of local languages as a basis for generating and promoting "African thinking." The conference argued that literature should be generated in national languages in order to promote functional literacy. The ministers stated that, "...an effort should be made to develop the use of national written languages in government departments, rural communities ...and to set up libraries with books in the national languages," (UNESCO 1982, p. 7).

While there seemed to be an agreement of the magnitude of illiteracy in Africa as demonstrated by the large numbers of those quoted to be illiterate, the solution was not clear as what to do to eliminate the phenomenon of illiteracy. The functional approach seemed to gain increased favor together with universal primary education. Unlike the Lagos plan of Action (1961) which set the goal of achieving universal primary education in 1980, the Harare Declaration (1982) did not set a date when illiteracy was to be eliminated. Rather they stated that the goal was to "Mobilize all available human

resources to achieve the target of universal primary schooling and to carry out literacy programs and that for the latter purpose they encourage young people to volunteer for a national youth service,” (p. 26).

A major dimension of the solution for illiteracy is basic education. According to the conference basic education is designed to

help not only children attending school, but also those who have dropped out of school, and ‘young people and adults (men and women) who have no schooling, to receive an education that will enable them to earn a living and contribute to the overall development of their country, (UNESCO 1982, p. 10).

The design of basic education consists of three aspects which include oral culture or activation phase, literacy teaching phase and post-literacy phase.

The role of the activation phase is to generate the motivation and desire for literacy skills. Participants examined the strengths and weaknesses of an oral culture and way of life. Directed by the functional approach the activation stage focused at the challenges that illiteracy posed to daily individual and personal lives. Participants were motivated to seek literacy skills which moved them to the second stage of literacy teaching phase. At this stage participants learned the functional arithmetic, writing and reading skills. Relevancy of content took precedence over the pedagogical aspects of learning to read and write. According to the minister commenting about literacy they stated that

firstly it is the bridge between a learning situation and the practicalities of a daily life...the various educational components are always interconnected and their

joint progress is determined either by the farming calendar, in rural areas, or by the manufacturing progress, in the industrial sector, (UNESCO 1982 p. 13).

The final stage of the post literacy skills involved the integration and application of the literacy skills to improve individual lives and contribute to the betterment of society as a whole. It focused on development and consolidation of learning as a lifelong skill. It bridged formal and non-formal educational.

Early childhood education

Until the Harare Declaration (1982) early childhood education had not been articulated as a solution to educational development in Africa. The focus on achieving universal primary education overshadowed early childhood education. Unlike early childhood education, universal primary education and literacy programs were seen as having an immediate effect to improved development in Africa. Early childhood had to be defined within the context of pursuing the goal of development. As such it took two dimensions as defined at the Harare Declaration, which were the social and educational function. The social function seemed to be accepted in that it was linked to immediate outcomes related to development. The social function of the early childhood programs was to allow women time to participate in development programs after the under six year olds had gone to participate in the early childhood education programs.

The educational function was not clearly articulated by the ministers at the Harare declaration (1982). The minister stated that,

although day-care centers, which are becoming widespread throughout Africa, are primarily designed to meet the physical needs of the child, there is an increasing

demand by mothers, on the other hand...for their transformation into educational centers,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 26). The educational function of the centers played second fiddle to the social function. The prevalence of the social function had an bearing on the personnel that were employed to staff the centers. The ministers commented about the centers that, “Their educational role is virtually non-existent, and the parents or adolescents who usually supervise them are not specifically trained in the field,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 25).

The educational function was more prominent in the urban areas which perpetuated the elitist education for the few of the past colonial legacy. The focus of the solution in that case was to reform the education system so that it would be relevant for the African child. The African minister recommended that African states would need to “Define the general aims of early childhood education as well as its ultimate goals and objectives, adopt measures to develop suitable curricular and appropriate educational materials,” (UNESCO 1982, np. 27).

Clearly the solution was defined very broadly. This was because the issue of the development needed of the African child was not yet fully understood and was in its early stages of being studied, (Durojaiye, 1980). In fact UNESCO held a seminar on “The adaptation of pre-school education to the African environment” in 1979 to generate solutions to the problems of early childhood education in Africa. The seminar was followed by a report by Durojaiye, (1980) which called for the need of universities to conduct research on early childhood education in order to shed light on the vast problems that faced the sub-sector. The African ministers of education concurred with the report in their comment on the reform needs of early childhood education that “here again, there

are no studies available which might contribute to a better understanding of the characteristic features of the African environment and to promoting appropriate forms of pre-school education,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 34).

Science and technology education for development

It is the running theme that the African ministers of education perceived education as holding the solution to the development problems in Africa. The colonial education system was condemned as having been irrelevant to the Africans and the African environment. The ministers considered it important that the education system was reformed to align with the perceived needs of the Africans and their environment. Accordingly the ministers commented that, “the major elements of the education system – curricular, teachers and pupils – all need to be looked at afresh so that the particular features of local situation may be taken into account,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 47). They went on to recommend that African states,

Take steps to strengthen the relationship between education, training and the world of work, and with this end in view, include productive work in the educational process at all educational levels and also in non-formal education (UNESCO 1982, p. 29).

The solution took the dimension of reforming the content of science and science teaching so that students were equipped with knowledge and skills to contribute to the socio-economic development of the African states. Commenting on those countries that were making the appropriate reforms, the African ministers said,

A number of other countries, such as Swaziland, have given science education the task of developing in pupils those abilities that will bring about urgently needed improvements in the quality of life. This entails providing the population training in those disciplines that could be immediately applied in remedying the problems of subsistence, of the economy, and of rural development. (UNESCO 1982, p. 49).

The African ministers argued that Africa was endowed with natural resources that required the application of science and technology to exploit them for development. They concurred with an earlier conference of African Ministers Responsible for the Application of Science and Technology to Development (1974) on science policies for African states that,

the study of their natural resources and the means to exploit them was an essential element in any scientific policy directed to economic and social development, and that the development of research on natural resources requires that more scientific personnel be available, (UNESCO 1974, p. 51).

The ministers argued that the unemployed graduates demonstrated the problem of an irrelevant educational curricular. According to the ministers, an appropriate educational curricular would equip the graduates with the knowledge and skills to exploit the abundant natural resources.

The contribution of higher education to the development of Africa states

Higher education was seen as providing the opportunity for producing Africans with the relevant knowledge and qualifications to run the African states. The dimension

of the contribution of higher education to the development of African states was defined around manpower development. The African ministers recommended to the African states that they

Conduct regular inquiries into their national manpower requirements and formulate and implement coherent training policies as an integral part of development plans, in order to avoid shortages and surpluses, taking care that women are given equal opportunities with men,(UNESCO 1982, p. 93).

It has been noted already that African states placed hope and trust in the provision of education to address its development problems. Higher education as the highest level of the education sector was seen as bearing the solutions to all the development problems. Higher education was tasked to generate solutions that ranged from manpower development through establishment of cultural identity to fostering socioeconomic development. The African ministers tasked African states to:

- Encourage higher educational establishments to promote African cultures;
- Enlist the services of higher education teachers and researchers to assess development projects and to design and produce scientific equipment and teaching materials, including textbooks for education in Africa;

Fresh from colonial dependence, the issue of securing total independence was important. In order to secure total independence, African states sought to develop science and technology that was generated by Africans. The concept was called endogenous development. The ministers stated that “One of the major problems which science and technology education in Africa must be instrumental in solving concerns the ending of

technological dependence, brought about by the adoption...of foreign technology,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 84). Higher education was tasked to generate technology that was developed in Africa for Africans. African ministers commented that,

There seems to be no doubt that the African universities need to undertake considerable amount of applied technological research, keyed to real development requirements and based on thorough knowledge of the African environment (UNESCO 1982, p. 84).

While higher education was tasked with the multiple functions, the one that seemed more prominent was that of manpower development. Over the twenty years leading to 1980, the Harare Declaration noted that enrollment in higher education increase more than eightfold, that was “at a rate faster than any other level of education,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 74).

Educational research and teaching methodologies in the Africa state

During the 1980's the education system bequeathed from the colonial era, according to the African ministers, did not serve the interests of the Africans. Yet education was perceived as playing a pivotal role of fostering socio-economic development. African ministers argued for educational research to generate knowledge that was required to reform the education system so that it would serve the interest of the Africans. The education system was fundamentally irrelevant in that the educational content was divorced from the realities of Africans. According to the African ministers relevant educational content would derive from the development needs of the country. The ministers argued that “...educational research presupposes development research in

the economic, social and cultural fields, for example research for the development of the available land and water resources, agriculture trade and industry,” (p. 94). Educational content would then be derived from the findings of development research. The minister justified the appropriateness of selecting the content from development research saying, “in this way, content specification itself becomes a tool for creating national awareness and helping to solve the problems of development,” (p. 101).

The solution of educational research is framed around conducting research that would generate knowledge necessary to align the education system with the development needs of the African states. African ministers recommended the African states to focus on;

- the renewal of education in order to ensure its relevance to the economic, social and cultural development needs of the African countries,
- the aspirations of their peoples and to traditional African values that hold out promise for future progress;
- and to the strengthening of their political independence;(UNESCO 1982, p. 24).

The use of African languages as languages of education

African ministers made a bold argument that,

...a universal principle which though often stated is so important for Africa as to bear much repetition. It is the principle that all education is best given through the medium of the learner’s own language,(UNESCO 1982, p. 112).

Accordingly the ministers framed the solution on use of African languages for educational instruction around the development and implementation of African language policies. They stated;

That African Member States determined to develop their national languages adopt coherent linguistic policies clearly defining the status of such languages and how they are to be used in teaching and other fields, especially for the dissemination of science and technology (UNESCO 1982, p. 28).

The argument was that the colonial education system relegated African languages away from educational instruction. The African ministers perceived the use of African languages for educational instruction as a step forward in the pursuit of complete independence from the colonial past. The use of the African languages in school was perceived to regain status of the African languages that had deteriorated during the colonial era. The status of the African languages was also perceived to be tightly related to the culture of the African people, which the African ministers of education were eager to re-establish and promote. Accordingly the African ministers stated that,

When an African language is used for teaching, the language skills of speaking, reading, comprehension writing and so on previously taught through the medium of the foreign languages must now be taught through the African language medium, (UNESCO 1982, p. 128). The African language was to replace the foreign languages as the language of instruction. The ministers also recommended that teachers should learn the methodology for teaching the African languages that were relevant to the African people and environment.

However the ministers recognized that the African languages required linguistic research to make them useable and accessible for educational instruction. This was more so because of the myriad languages spoken in some individual African countries. The ministers acknowledged that, “a great need therefore is for the linguistic mapping and description of all the 2000 or so African languages,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 125). The ministers noted that UNESCO had launched project Horizon 2000 to “attempt to achieve systematic inventory the languages, clarify their orthographical problems and ensure their integration into teaching and their use as vehicles of scientific knowledge,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 125).

The ministers went on to argue that there was also need to make available publishing facilities in the African states. Local publishing would promote literature in African languages.

Legitimizing Solutions

In the preceding discussion the researcher used the tag of labeling solutions to analyze the solutions of Africa education as perceived by the minister of education. In that section the researcher examined the way in which the African ministers of education generated solution labels, necessarily circumscribing how a solution is reasoned and thought about. The current section examines the way in which the ministers generated support and appealed to the African public to view a problem as important and worth of public support. The researcher analyzed the legitimization of the solutions that were generated by the African ministers of education.

Eradication of illiteracy in Africa

Any solution was legitimate if it addressed the problem of low socio-economic development. African states needed more of its people participating in and contributing to development activities. Only literate people could contribute to the development of African states. The African ministers stated that, "...a literate population promotes rapid national economic development and that any harmonious overall development needs to enlist all the productive forces of the nation," (UNESCO 1982, p. 1). Linked to the issue of development is the fact that women are in the majority of the illiterate, comprising 72.8 percent in 1980 (African ministers of education, 1982). The ministers of education observed that "To an increasing extent, literacy teaching for women is seen as a priority that will be a condition of their informed participation in the development process and in social change," (UNESCO 1982, p. 8). They also noted that women had greater influence on the health and upbringing of children.

Literacy was also seen as setting up people to participate in lifelong education. Setting people up for lifelong education activities was important among these newly independent African states that saw education as the ultimate solution to their problems of development and total independence. African ministers stated that, "Literacy teaching as a factor of 'consciousness raising' implies a process of endogenous development which would defeat its purpose if it were not part of a broader strategy to provide the student at the literacy teaching center with a grounding in education and admit him into a system of lifelong education," (UNESCO 1982, p. 9).

The Harare Declaration noted that the solution of eradicating illiteracy was also pointed out at the at the Lagos conference of African ministers of education. The solution

had been endorsed in 1976 by an earlier conference of African ministers that sought to address problems facing the African states. In addition to the Lagos meeting endorsing the solution of eradicating illiteracy, UNESCO also endorsed the same solution at its twenty-first session held in Belgrade (1980). At its twenty-first session UNESCO (1980) stated that it was going to “give new impetus to the efforts to eradicate illiteracy, by action both designed to ensure both access to education for all school-age children and literacy training for adults, particularly in rural environments, (UNESCO 1980, p. 2).

UNESCO sponsored all the conferences of African ministers of education. It had the interests of the African states and it was the link to international funding for African education and development activities. At every conference the African ministers of education made two sets of recommendations, one set of recommendation was to the African states and the other was to UNESCO. UNESCO had the trust of the African states as an organization that worked for the interests of the African states. It was important that they endorsed the eradication of illiteracy in Africa.

Early childhood education

Early childhood education seemed to be difficult to legitimize. There were no obvious and immediate benefits of contribution to development. There were two functions assigned to early childhood education, a social and educational function. The social function freed women’s time to participate in development activities. In the African culture, women were saddled with the task of raising children, necessarily reducing the time that was available for any development work.

The educational function was not fully articulated making it less of a legitimate solution to development activities in Africa. The overwhelming demand to achieve universal primary education left little government resources to support early childhood education. As a result much of early childhood education was provided in private institutions. The private provision left out the majority of the population that was poor and could not afford the cost of privately offered early childhood education. As a result early childhood was seen as a perpetuation of the elitist colonial education that benefited the few who could afford it. There was a contradiction with the free education for all offered at the primary education level.

An important focus and concern for the African countries was the immediacy with which public support and investment could contribute to individual and society quality of life. The benefits of early childhood education did not seem like they would come immediate enough compared to primary education. Even though the benefits of early childhood did not seem to come soon, there were still benefits articulated for early childhood education. The African family did not provide a supportive early childhood educational environment. The African ministers of education lamented that

Not only does the child fail to find in his immediate surroundings the stimulus and intellectual influence he needs to be able to develop, but the lack of material resources and facilities in many African households, and the hardships which are a feature of the precarious living conditions of many of them, often hinder the physical and intellectual development of the young child, (UNESCO 1982, p. 27).

Early childhood education would provide that essential preparation for primary education which was not provided by the African family. It was agreed that the introduction of formal school to the African society made irrelevant the cultural education provided by the African family. The behaviors that were valued by the African family were at times at odds with the behaviors valued in school. On the whole early childhood education did not seem to have accepted legitimacy particularly on the immediacy of benefits. At the dawn of independence, African states were in a hurry to catch up with the rest of the world.

Science and technology education for development

If education was seen as holding hope for generating knowledge and skills necessary for addressing the development problems in Africa, science and technology were seen as providing the direct solutions to development problems. It was therefore important that the general population understand science and technology so that they could participate and contribute in the development of the economy. The understanding of science and technology would be developed through teaching and learning of science and technology (Ajeyalemi, 1989). African ministers of education stated that, "The objective assigned to science education is the search for solutions in line with the country's economic and social needs," (UNESCO 1982, p. 48).

There was a sense of urgency during the early eighties to improve the quality of life among the African states in order for them to catch up with the developed countries. Science and technology were seen as providing urgent results to development problems. Science education according to the African ministers entailed "providing the population with training in those disciplines that could be immediately applied in remedying the

problems of subsistence production, of the economy and of rural development,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 49).

In addition to urgency of results, African ministers valued *self-sufficiency* in which African states developed technologies more than just import from developed countries. African ministers stated that “Any action to improve the teaching of science and technology in Africa must be based on the principle of endogenous development,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 63). The high value placed on endogenous development was due to the perceived need for total independence from the colonial legacy. The African ministers (1982) agreed with the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology (1979) to introduce science and technological capacities built “in harmony with the social and cultural traditions, the political structures and specific circumstances of individual developing countries,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 63)

The application of science and technology to address development problems was so important that a “Conference of Ministers of African Member States Responsible for the Application of Science and Technology to Development,” was held in 1974. The conference highlighted the importance of national science policies and collaboration in the science policies among African states. The conferences of African ministers served to demonstrate the importance of science and technology as a public issue that it warranted that resources be expended to discuss the issue. This was more so when the conference was sponsored and hosted by UNESCO which understood the interests of African states and other developing regions.

Besides the urgency with which science and technology education contributed to addressing the development problems of Africa, there was also the fact that other prior conferences had endorsed the importance of science and technology in addressing African development problems. These conferences included the African ministers of education conference (1976), and the United Nations Conference of Science and Technology (1979).

Contribution of higher education to the development of African societies

At the time of independence African states were struggling to establish a compelling African identity and presence which they argued had been devalued by the colonial experience and presence. A compelling African identity, according to the African ministers, would be established through generation of knowledge that was culturally, socially and economically relevant for Africans. African ministers stated that

the promotion of African cultures is seen to be particularly necessary in as much as colonization has meant cultural alienation and a break with tradition that have made themselves felt both in education and in ways of life and the functioning of society, (UNESCO 1982, p. 85).

It was also important that the culturally relevant knowledge be generated by Africans, a process that they referred to as Africanization. The ministers stated that,

There seems to be no doubt that the African universities need to undertake considerable amount of applied technology research, keyed to real development requirements and based on thorough knowledge of the African environment, and at the same time to increase their basic research effort which alone can ensure the

complete equality of status of institutions of higher education in Africa with the finest institutions with the rest of the world, (UNESCO 1982p. 84).

The culturally relevant knowledge produced by Africans would offer a competitive alternative to the imported, culturally detached foreign generated knowledge. Higher education was best placed to generate the kind of knowledge that was culturally relevant to Africa. The ministers stated that the aim of the universities is "...to provide training of a new types which breaks away from the traditional academic education established by the former colonial powers," (p. 79). Language is the mainstay of any culture, as such ministers argued for the use of African languages for educational instruction. However the ministers recognized the problems that came with the use of African languages for educational instruction, necessarily calling higher education to conduct research to generate the necessary knowledge. They state that

it has to be borne in mind that the complex problems raised by the use of African national or mother tongues for the purpose of instruction cannot be overcome unless there is considerable research dealing more specifically with the questions of phonetic transcription, description, codification, unification and standardization, not to mention the preparation of glossaries, grammars and textbooks,(UNESCO 1982, p. 85).

Referring to the deliberations from an earlier conference of ministers of education concerning higher education, the Harare Declaration (1982) stated that

It further expressed the wish that the continent's institutions of higher learning should be truly African and make ample provision for African studies so as to build a

living African culture, and furthermore, promote the type of development that would give socio-cultural factors their proper due, contributing in this way to the efficiency of education at every level, (UNESCO 1982, p. 73).

Higher education in this case is legitimized as an institution that can help server the dominance of the colonial legacy by generating endogenous knowledge that can stand its own weight against the colonial knowledge that was considered irrelevant for the Africans.

Educational research and teaching methodologies in the African States

As Africans moved into the post-colonial era they were dissatisfied with the colonial education. They resolved to replace colonial education system with an African education system which would be culturally, socially and economically relevant to the African environment. This education system did not pre-exist before independence, it had to be developed during the early independence period, making it necessary for educational research and teaching methodologies.

According to the Africans, relevant education would prepare the national population to contribute to development activities. In order for that to happen the content of education would be derived from development research in such areas as agriculture, health and environment. These areas of development were in their early exploratory stages. Development research needed to be intensified because the knowledge generated would provide content for teaching and learning in the new and relevant African education system. The high dropout rates were attributed to the irrelevant education system of the colonial era. The African ministers (1982) argued against the colonial

education system saying “the examination system in practically all the states contributes very largely to the school repeater problem and the huge dropout rates,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 99).

The African ministers advocated for the use of African language in the new education system, necessarily raising problems about how to introduce the African language system which had not been used before. There was no prior knowledge about the use of African languages for educational instruction. The African ministers (1982) noted that there was need to find out

the answers to such questions as how and which African languages to introduce into the educational system especially in multi-lingual situation, for what purpose and at what levels, similarly, how to provide for non-African language teaching (UNESCO 1982, p. 100).

Africans were introducing a new education system which they did not have prior experience or knowledge. It was therefore important to conduct educational research to generate knowledge about the new relevant African education system.

The use of African Languages as Languages of Education

The most pressing public policy issue for Africans at independence was the need to propel social and economic development. Language was considered important in the efforts to improve socio-economic development. The African ministers of education (1982) stated that,

agricultural and rural development is vital to the economic development of

the African states. To meet this need, governments have to orient mass thinking towards the land and its use, to reach the small rural farmer and convince him about better crop varieties and improved methods for better yields and more economic land usage, (UNESCO, p. 111).

African languages were said to be important in reaching the majority rural population in the development efforts. Development messages needed to be developed and disseminated using the African languages. The use of African languages would mark a sense of total independence from the colonial legacy, an issue that was important during the early post-colonial era.

Competing solution interpretations

The previous sections have discussed the way in which African ministers of education labeled and legitimized educational solutions. The current section moves the analysis to the aspect of competing solution interpretations. Policy solutions are not always agreed upon by the various interested groups, as such in the current section the researcher explores any evidence of multiple interpretations of educational solutions by the African ministers of education.

Eradication of illiteracy in Africa

The Harare Declaration (1982) argued for functional literacy in which the illiterates received knowledge specific for tasks that they were more likely to perform. The ministers of education (1982) stated that the African states needed to “ensure that the content of literacy programs is relevant to the needs of the populations concerned, by making sure that they have a practical, functional character,” (UNESCO 1982, p. 26).

The functional literacy approach is presented as the unequivocal solution to eradication of literacy. The solution does not refer to the problem raised in defining literacy.

The direct and single focus nature of the functional literacy approach does not mean that there are no other voices for a different approach. In fact there were voices that argued that the functional approach was too restrictive. They argued that the functional approach was too utilitarian, which narrowed the broad educational function. A UNESCO (1976) report quoted Salame who stated that, "There is the risk that functional literacy will supply the economy with individuals tailor-made to fit specific job requirements instead of enabling each individual to understand, control and dominate progress," (UNESCO 1982, p. 121).

It is not clear, in a situation like this where there are contesting views about a solution, what happens to the view that is not expressed in the policy document. In this case what happens to the view that eradication of literacy should focus on broad educational dimensions. The view that supports the broad educational dimension would content that achieving functional literacy does not necessarily lead to eradication of illiteracy. On the other hand those in favor of the functional approach responded by widening the dimension of the approach stating that, "the functional approach accepted by many countries has itself gone beyond the narrow framework of vocational training to impinge on political, economic, social and cultural matters," (Harare Declaration, 1982, p. 6). This argument acknowledges the weaknesses of the functional approach and extends the dimension of the approach, but does not change it. It is not clear if the contending base accepts the extent to which the functional approach is widened especially when the ministers of education go on to state that "work oriented functional

literacy is in vogue in many countries in Africa. The acquisition of the ability to read, write and count should be geared to some occupation or work,” (UNESCO, 1982, p. 18).

Early childhood education in Africa

During the early post-colonial era African states focused on addressing their development problems. Education was important in so far as it provided potential for addressing the development problems in the shortest possible time. Early childhood education did not seem to provide any early solutions to the problems of development. In general there was no real impetus to push for early childhood education. With little impetus to push for early childhood education, the goals were loosely expressed. The Harare Declaration (1982) set the goals for the African states to

Define the general aims of early childhood education as well as its ultimate goals and objectives, adopt measures to develop suitable curricula and appropriate educational materials, and organize initial and in-service training for personnel working in this field,(UNESCO, p. 27).

The loosely defined goals did not provide any grounds for controversy. Alternative interpretations of solutions tend to arise when there are strong and clearly defined sides and when there is interest in the issues coming from varied groups. Early childhood education did not prove to be such a hot button public issue. It did not have clear links to development. The eighties fell into the third UN development decade in which efforts were focused on achieving development in African and other developing countries. Contentious issues were more likely to be those that had a bearing on development and had the interest of many groups of society.

Science and technology education for development

Science and technology for development were hot button issues because they had clear implications to development. Africans had clear view of development that involved severing ties with the past colonial legacy. They wanted to introduce an African form of development that was aligned with the African values. This kind of development would be spearheaded by Africans. It was thus important for Africans to acquire the relevant knowledge of science and technology that would make them competent to engage in development activities.

However development itself was a contentious issue in which some groups from the developed world saw it as bringing technical expertise to provide proven knowledge and skills required to develop Africa. This group believed that science and technology were already available such that Africa did not need to waste money and time developing any new technologies. The Director General of UNESCO lamented at the Conference of Ministers of African Member States Responsible for the Application of Science and Technology to Development (1974) that "...there were some people who persistently maintained that scientific research was an expensive luxury which African countries would be well advised to abandon," and yet as the Director General continued, "the essential fact was that the movement was underway, that it was growing and that science and technology were establishing themselves in the intellectual life of the African countries," (UNESCO 1984, p. 6)

The Harare Declaration (1982) was clear about the need of African science and technology education to spearhead development in Africa. It does not mention the

international view of providing expertise from the international experts. In its third Development Decade (1980) strategy document, the UN states that

“Efforts will be made at national and international levels to enable developing countries to have easier access to technology – including advanced technology – they require and to facilitate the transfer of such technology on a substantially increased level,” (UN 1980, p. 6).

Contribution of higher education to the development of African societies

Similarly to science and technology education, higher education was seen as very important in contributing to development in Africa. It was seen as responsible for training the Africans who would take control of high level decision making jobs. As Africans promoted endogenous development, higher education was given an important role of supplying African human resources to spearhead development. On the other hand the developed countries stood ready with expertise that could be put to use immediately.

The Africans were in general agreement that higher education had an important role to play in generating knowledge, skills and human resources that were important in the *Africanization* of development. *Africanization* or endogenous development was not particularly important issues for the international development communities. Yet the international community was an important part of funding the development programs in Africa.

Resource availability limited the education programs that could be funded by the African governments. The resource limitation also meant that higher education would compete with the goal of universal primary education. This meant that when it came to

setting the priorities between higher education and primary education there would be contention. However the Harare Declaration (1982) does not raise any concerns of potential contention. Rather they present a unified position on the importance of higher education. The unified position is achieved by presenting the role of higher education in those areas that the African were agreed upon, saying that the role of higher education is "...training of the nation's higher echelon's personnel, in the endogenous development of science and technology, and in the safeguarding of cultural identity and the promotion of culture," (UNESCO 1982, p. 74).

Summary

This chapter discussed five problems identified by the ministers of education and the solutions that they recommended. The African ministers of education perceived the lack of human resources with sufficient knowledge and skills to take up the jobs left by former colonial masters as the pressing problem facing education Africa. Their focus was on developing a capacity for self-sufficiency through education. In general the ministers of education viewed the education sector as covering the whole range of educational levels. They saw higher education as offering the best opportunity for building self-sufficiency in African countries. The following section discusses the broad view of the same problems of African education as perceived by the international community.

Chapter Five

Findings of the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) (1990)

Introduction

This chapter presents the second example to illustrate the application of the analytical framework to the WCEFA (1990). The chapter demonstrates how the international community interpreted education sector problems in Africa and the developing world in general.

Establishment of the WCEFA (1990) policy agency

The first step in the policy analysis framework is the establishment of the policy agency. This section analyzes the establishment of the World Conference of Education for All (1990) to examine how international development organizations came together to launch what became the most enduring and influential education sector policy guideline for Africa. Establishment of the policy agency according to the policy analysis framework consists of three stages which include the naming of the agency, building consensus and gaining momentum.

Building Consensus

The idea of the World Conference on Education for All started with the head of UNICEF (King 1990). At the time when UNICEF started considering the idea of the World Conference on Education for All, it was riding on a wave of a successful global campaign on child survival (Black 1996). UNICEF was the sole sponsor of the successful

campaign (Chabbott 2003; King 1990). However UNICEF did not proceed with the idea of the WCEFA on its own. It sought to convince other organizations that it would work with to sponsor the campaign. UNICEF sought the support of UNESCO, an organization that was not financially robust at that time, having just lost the support of its major donors, but had worked extensively on education sector issues in Africa and other developing countries, (Chabbott 2003). After UNICEF had secured the support of UNESCO it formed an education consultative committee and then went on to seek the support of the World Bank. The World Bank was positioning itself as a leader in education sector issues for developing nations. After securing the support of the World Bank, the consultative committee sought and secured the support of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The World Bank, UNESCO, UNDP and UNICEF became known as the hosting organizations for WCEFA (1990).

The group of the hosting organizations developed the original drafts for the WCEFA (1990) in which they laid the ground for the promotion of basic education for all. They developed two draft drafts, A and B which were later passed for discussion at the regional conferences discussed below.

Building momentum

The current section studies the manner in which the hosting organizations went about gaining momentum once they had reached consensus. During the period of building consensus the hosting organizations developed two drafts A and B which lay out the parameters of education for all. The step of gaining momentum involved holding nine regional meetings which separately discussed draft B that had been produced by the hosting organizations.

In Africa the regional meetings were held in Nairobi (Kenya) for East and Southern Africa; Dakar (Senegal) for West and Central African; and Bamako (Mali) for Sahelian countries. The regional meetings were held a matter of months before the world conference. They created a sense of urgency and hype about education for all through the consultative regional meetings. King (1990) states that "...the immediate plan was to create a sense of urgency about the problem, and to create a consensus about its goals and strategies: an international plan of action," (p. 4).

The regional meetings built momentum by getting all the countries on board a globally supported education campaign. According to King (1990) there was some skepticism at the beginning, which later faded away

gradually as momentum built up, policy people in governments, and researchers began to realize that, whatever the origins of the initiative, this would be probably the only opportunity in the next 10 to 15 years when education and literacy together would command the attention of all nations on the world stage,(UNESCO 1990, p. 1).

The conference added to the hype and momentum with the big names in development, UNICEF, World Bank, UNDP and UNESCO hosting a global education forum, the first of its kind in education, following closely on the heels of a successful Health for all campaign (Chabbott 1990). "It attracted nearly 1500 delegates and observers from 156 countries, four heads of state, over 100 Ministers of Education, heads of several international organizations, professional teaching bodies, and NGOs from all

over the world,” (Black, 1996, p. 233). The participation of the big names and the size of the conference helped to build momentum for education for all.

It was important to build momentum for the education for all campaign, considering that the campaign was held during the time of heightened donor fatigue. It was important to raise a lot of hype in order to attract the attention of potential donors who were becoming skeptical following minimal progress emanating from the three development decades (Black, 1996; Chabbott, 2003). It was important during this time of apathy to build momentum and enroll important actors that would be important for the implementation of the education sector programs. It was also important to enroll the national governments that would directly implement the education for all programs as well as important potential funding organizations. The sponsoring organizations were convinced that they generated sufficient momentum to generate the required resources. The Director General of UNESCO observed that, “We have now generated sufficient momentum to dare to be a little unrealistic – for only those who are a little unrealistic can make the impossible today possible tomorrow,” (UN 1980 p. 97). The high profile conference drew attention of the world, building the necessary momentum required to get the important policy actors on board.

Naming of WCEFA

As discussed earlier, naming of the policy agency highlights aspects of a problem as perceived by a particular interest group. An organizational name is an artifact which is explored in this section to find out the meaning that the World Conference on Education for All portrayed about education sector problems in developing countries. Health for all was the predecessor to the WCEFA (1990). United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)

made progress with health for all by selecting easily available cures for diseases that were killing children in developing countries (Black 1996; King 1990; Chabott 2003). The cures reduced pre-mature death and improved the health of children in developing countries. UNICEF which had led the health for all campaign was among the leading organizations that organized WCEFA (1990). According to King (1990) “UNICEF was certain that education for all would have much to learn from the dramatization of Health for All, and the campaigns for child survival and immunization which it had spearheaded in the early 1980s,” (p. 4).

Along the same lines with health for all, the hosting organizations chose the name of Education For All. The WCEFA (1990) was organized at a time when donor fatigue was setting in following the largely unsuccessful UN Development decades. In fact the conference was organized during the eighties which were referred to as the lost decade for Africa due to the stagnation that characterized that period. However UNICEF-spearheaded health for all that was singled out as the only success of the third development decade (Chabbott 2003).

There was a need to reinvigorate donor support for development programs. The title of ‘Education for All’ was coined to the education policy terrain to take advantage of the momentum generated by the health for all campaign. The name ‘Education For All’ would attract the attention of the international funding organizations.

The name ascribed to any policy terrain becomes the selling point for that policy. In order to be successful in attracting funding, a policy name must be persuasive to the potential funding organizations. As such a policy name may say more about the targeted

funding partners than the problem. The name focuses attention on a specific aspect of a problem. For any policy terrain there are many possible names, each potential name highlights an aspect of the problem (Fischer 2003). While a name highlights an aspect of a problem, it is used to represent the larger problem. In this case the name “World Conference of Education for all: Meeting basic learning needs” focuses attention on basic learning needs and yet it came to represent the main education sector policy for developing countries. “Education for All: meeting basic needs” came to represent the identity of education sector issues and problems in developing countries. In other words the education sector terrain is thought about in terms of education for all. The name education for all is not thought about as a product of social construction.

This section has discussed the establishment of the World Conference on Education for All, which became influential in shaping education sector policy in Africa. The next section discusses in detail the way in which the WEFA (1990) discussed, thought about and defined education sector problems in developing countries.

Framing the problems

The previous sections have explored the establishment of the policy agency that hosted the World Conference on Education for All (1990). The current section examines the manner in which the policy agents framed education sector problems in developing countries. The stage of framing problems is examined using the categories of labeling problems, legitimizing problems and contesting problem labels.

Labeling problems

The WCEFA (1990) framed education sector problems around the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1945) that had asserted that everyone had a right to education. This section on labeling problems examines the parameters that were ascribed the problem status by the participants of the WCEFA (1990). The problems are set out below:

More than 100 million children, including 60 million girls, have no access to primary schooling

The problem is framed as that of lack of access to primary education among 100 million children. The dimension that comes through in the number of out of school children is that of inadequate access. The problem is further qualified by stressing that the majority of those who are out of school are girls. By focusing on the numbers, the parameters set out do not bring out or refer to what is taught in primary school. The importance of giving a label to a problem is that the problem acquires an identity which it will be thought and reasoned about. In this case the problem label generated was that of the large number of children who were out of school, stressing also the gender bias of the out of school population. It is important to note the labeling of problems because the problem label suggests the solution that will be fitting for the problem.

More than 960 million adults, two-thirds of whom are women, are illiterate, and functional illiteracy is a significant problem in all countries, industrialized and developing,

The problem here is framed around illiteracy, again stressing the gender bias of the nature of the problem. The parameters set out as the problem are about the large numbers

of those who were illiterate. Again as stated above, the problem label draws a boundary around which education sector problems are reasoned and thought about. This does not mean that the problem did not exist prior to the labelling, but that the label provided the dimension of the problem that was singled out for attention. The label also added the dimension of functional literacy which referred to a basic literacy that allowed people to contribute to society and benefit from available resources that required literacy to access them

More than one-third of the world's adults have no access to the printed knowledge, new skills and technologies that could improve the quality of their lives and help them shape, and adapt to social and cultural changes,

This problem label was framed as that of a lack of access to printed knowledge and new skills that were imperative in the modern world. The problems labels were generated in comparison to the developed world. At the time of the WCEFA (1990) written materials were readily available to societies in the developed world, to the extent that they were taken for granted. This knowledge available to society of the developed world was seen as contributing to the improved quality of life and improved adaptability to social and cultural changes.

More than 100 million children and countless adults fail to complete basic education programs, millions more satisfy the attendance requirements but do not acquire essential knowledge and skills (UNESCO, 1990, p. 47).

The problem of a large proportion of the population dropping out of school was also labeled as one that needed attention. This problem connected with the one about the out of school population discussed above. It demonstrated that it was one thing to get

children into school and yet another to keep them in school to complete their required period of study. The problem label added another dimension of failure to acquire the knowledge and skills for those who completed the period of study. According to this problem label, it was not enough to get children into school. Once in school they needed to acquire a certain kind of knowledge and skills essential for them to lead a successful life.

The WCEFA (1990) attracted world attention as a large and high profile forum where education sector problems were labeled. The prominence of the conference buoyed the labels that were ascribed to the education sector problems. As noted above, the conference generated problem labels that focused on the size of out of school population. The parameters that were ascribed the problem status were earmarked for resources. Developing countries needed external resources to fund their education sector problems, making it important that they accepted and implement those problems that were eligible for international funding. The precedent had been set by the Health for All campaign which provided resources for those areas that had been ascribed the problem status and thus became eligible for external resources.

The problem labels discussed above circumscribed the dimensions for thinking about education sector problems. The purpose of defining public policy problems is so that they can be addressed. As such the labels are generated that point to an achievable solution. The labels that were generated by the WCEFA (1990) highlighted the large number of out of school population who could not enjoy social benefits of society. Progress could then be measured against the reduction of the population that was not benefiting from social benefits.

Not all problem labels were eligible for external and national resources. The policy actors justified why particular problems were eligible for public resources. The next section explores the manner in which problems were legitimized.

Legitimizing policy problems

There are a number of ways in which problems were legitimized. One way was that the problems were labeled by policy actors who claimed knowledge in the field of education policy sector. UNESCO, UNDP, World Bank and UNICEF, were all known for their work on education in developing countries.

The problems labels were analyzed to find out how they were legitimized.

More than 100 million children, including 60 million girls, have no access to primary schooling

The concept of legitimacy is derived from organizational and institutional literature where legitimacy attracts resources from institutions that share similar values. Patel et al (2005) states that, "Legitimacy is regarded as an asset that sustains the flow of resources from the environment to the organization." In this section labels of problems are examined to find out how they were framed to attract resources. Legitimacy is sought and conferred from external institutions that will provide required resources. There are three types of legitimacy commonly referred to in organizational and institutional literature, which are normative, pragmatic and cognitive. Normative legitimacy refers to the extent to which an organization is judged to reflect socially accepted values and norms, (Brinkerhoff, 2005).

Pragmatic legitimacy is assessed "...in terms of the extent to which the organization can act to serve the needs and interests of its stakeholders and constituencies," (Brinkerhoff, 2005, p. 5). The third form of legitimacy is cognitive legitimacy, which refers to the extent to which the objectives and activities are considered proper, appropriate and desirable, (Brinkerhoff, 2005). Legitimizing policy refers to the various ways in which policy labels are framed to generate resources. The resources are generated from international organizations. As such legitimization is about providing policy labels that are persuasive to the external potential funding institutions. In this case the study examines the extent to which policy labels were framed to draw the attention and resources from international organizations and donor national governments.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) was used to legitimize the problem of out of school children. The conference argued that, " In the world of today more than four decades after the Universal Declaration was adopted, no one would dare to deny that all children and young people have the right to a basic education," (UN 1948,p. 76). The out of school population was then presented as justice denied. A gender dimension was added to demonstrate that the majority of those out of school were females. According to the conference participants, "...education can help ensure a safer, healthier, more prosperous and environmentally sound world, while simultaneously contributing to social, economic, and cultural progress, tolerance and international cooperation," (UNESCO 1990, p. 48).

The conference was hosted at the end of the forth development decade that had been considered a lost decade. The nineties came at the time of donor fatigue when it was necessary to frame problems so that they could reinvigorate donor motivation. As noted

earlier, the conference was hosted at a time when the subject of children had gained support and attention. According to Black (1996) “Whatever the underlying trends that have altered social values and perceptions in what could be called ‘the century of the child’, their encapsulation at the international level in certain events and documentary expressions has played its own role in the advancement of children as an issue,” (p. 4).

The subject of out of school children found a sympathetic ear during the nineties.

More than 960 million adults, two-thirds of whom are women, are illiterate, and functional illiteracy is a significant problem in all countries, industrialized and developing

The subject of illiteracy was also important during the lost development decades. At that time the developed world was struggling to introduce various technologies to the developing world. The failure of adoption of the technologies was thought to be due to a lack of relevant knowledge and skills among the majority of the population.

UNESCO got involved in various experiments on improving literacy in developing countries. The subject of illiteracy was thus popular and persuasive during the period leading to the education for all conference. The large numbers of adults who were illiterate served to justify the need for improved literacy if the people were to be competent to adopt the innovations from the developed countries.

Another important issue was the gender bias among the illiterate at a time when the subject of gender had also gained prominence in developing circles. . According to the roundtable,

An extensive World Bank study shows that where there has been heavy investment in female primary education, benefits for all occur through higher productivity, lower infant and maternal mortality, longer life expectancy for both men and women, and lower fertility rates (UNESCO 1990, p. 184).

- ***More than one-third of the world's adults have no access to the printed knowledge, new skills and technologies that could improve the quality of their lives and help them shape, and adapt to social and cultural changes,***

The lack of access to printed material is related to the issue of illiteracy discussed above. This lack of reading materials would make the knowledge provided from the developed countries unavailable to the people of the developing countries necessarily defeating the purpose. The developed world wanted to see an improvement in the quality of life in the developing countries following the resources that had been channeled. The lack of improved quality of life was explained by the unavailability of written material to developing nations.

More than 100 million children and countless adults fail to complete basic education programs, millions more satisfy the attendance requirements but do not acquire essential knowledge and skills (UNESCO, 1990, p. 47).

There was a growing belief among developed nations and international organizations that basic education laid the essential base for higher levels of education. The conference stated that, "...sound basic education is fundamental to the strengthening of higher levels of education and of scientific and technological literacy, capacity and thus to self-reliant development," (UNESCO 1990, p. 48). It was thus considered imperative that those who enrolled into basic education go all the way to complete their

studies. Those who completed were expected to have acquired the knowledge and skills essential for scientific literacy and a capacity to proceed to higher levels of education. However a concern was raised that some of those who completed did not acquire those skills that were expected out of basic education. The concern raised and justified the question of quality of basic education. While it was important to get children into school, it was also important to focus on whether they were acquiring the essential knowledge and skills while they were in school.

Framing solutions

The previous section analyzed the framing of education sector problems by the WCEFA (1990). This section moves the analysis to the next step of framing solutions to address the problems. Similar to framing problems, the framing of solutions is analyzed using three categories of labeling solutions, legitimizing solutions and contesting solutions.

Labeling solutions

Labeling solutions in public policy involves setting the parameters that become the accepted solutions to a problem. The WCEFA (1990) called its solutions World Declaration on Education for All: Meeting Basic Learning Needs. The conference generated 10 articles to label each of the solutions. The articles included:

- Article 1: Meeting Learning Needs
- Article 2: Shaping the Vision
- Article 3: Universalizing Access and Promoting Equity
- Article4: Focusing on Learning Acquisition

- Article 5: Broadening the Means and scope of Basic Education
- Article 6: Enhancing the Environment for Learning
- Article 7: Strengthening Partnerships
- Article 8: Developing Supportive Policy Context
- Article 9: Mobilizing Resources
- Article 10: Strengthening International Solidarity (UNESCO 1990)

Meeting learning needs

The conference stated that, “Every person, child, youth, and adult shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs,” (p. 48). During the eighties governments in developing countries were burdened with the debt payments that led them to reduce budgetary allocations to education. Enrollments that had risen steadily prior to the eighties had tumbled. According to the WCEFA (1990), there was a basic learning need in humans that could only be developed in school. This need involved acquiring numeric, and literacy knowledge as well as basic learning content required to live a productive quality life, and contribute to society.

As noted earlier, the role of policy agency is to talk problems into existence so that those problems can be talked and reasoned about. The concept of basic learning needs became a fundamental aspect of the education for all campaign. It held promise and attraction of laying ground for successive higher level learning as well as enabling participants to reach their full capacity. While the concept was fundamentally important in the education for all campaign, it was also not fully described or understood. An attempt to understand the concept of basic education illustrates the point that policy

solutions are not distinct and objective entities, but are diffuse constructions of policy actors.

Beyond stating that basic learning needs are the requirements for numeric and learning skills, and the content required to reach one's full potential, and live a quality life, it was not clear how much of the numeric and literacy skills formed that foundational base for future learning and a quality life. Once talked into existence, the concept of basic learning needs took a life of its own to become a convenient professional lingo. The concept was not fully explained and yet it was foundational to the claims made for the benefits of education for all. It is not clear at what point one reaches the basic learning need.

Shaping the vision

Participants at the WCEFA (1990) argued that, "to serve the basic learning needs of all requires more than a recommitment to basic education as it now exists," (p. 49). They argued that the concept of basic education needed to be expanded in light of increased "information and the unprecedented capacity to communicate," (p. 49). The expanded version of basic education included:

- Universalizing access and promote equity
- Focus on learning
- Broaden means and scope of basic education
- Enhance the environment of learning
- Strengthen partnership. (UNESCO 1990)

The aspects of the expanded version are analyzed below.

Universalizing access and promoting equity

Despite the lack of clear definition of basic education, the WCEFA (1990) argued that access and equity were the most important aspects of education for all. The WCEFA (1990) stated that, “Basic education should be provided to all children, youth and adults,” (UNESCO 1990,p. 49). As discussed above, the concept of basic education quickly became accepted convenient professional lingo. It was never clear how primary education became a cut off point at which the necessary knowledge and skills for productive life would have been acquired.

Focusing on learning acquisition

The WCEFA (1990) recognized that it was not enough to look at the enrollment numbers only but to also make sure that the population that completed basic education acquired those skills claimed as benefits of education for all. As such WCEFA (1990) stated that, “The focus of basic education must, therefore be on actual learning acquisition and outcome, rather than exclusively open enrollment,” (UNESCO 1990, p. 50).

Broadening the means and scope of basic education

The WCEFA (1990) observed that basic learning needs were not static but required to be redefined and broadened. The expansion of basic education would involve acknowledging that learning begins at birth. Prior to the expanded vision, basic education focused more on primary education. Now the expanded vision included preschool period as an important component of basic education.

The expanded vision reinforced the belief in primary education stating that “The main delivery system for the basic education of children outside the family is primary schooling,” (p. 50). The expanded vision continued to place importance of basic learning in primary education.

The expanded vision recognized the literacy programs for youths and adults as important aspects of basic education. According to WCEFA (1990), “Literacy programs are indispensable because literacy is a necessary skill in itself and the foundation of other life skills,” (p. 50).

Enhancing environment for learning

The WCEFA (1990) argued that provision of learning activities were not sufficient for learning to take place. They stated that, “Societies therefore must ensure that all learners receive the nutrition, health care, physical and emotional support they need in order to participate actively in and benefit from education,” (p. 51). Issues of health care, physical and emotional support of learners were not considered essential in the struggle to achieve basic education. However they came to be labeled as important issues in the expanded vision. This demonstrated how generation of solution labels was a social process in which policy actors fashioned labels that became accepted by the public.

Before the expanded vision, issues of health care, physical and emotional support of the learner were considered to be the responsibility of the family. They were not considered as part of the solution to basic education. With time it became apparent that it was counterproductive to provide learning experiences to learners who were in no condition to participate and benefit from the learning experiences.

Strengthening partnerships

Prior to the expanded vision there were efforts from different groups to achieve universal basic education. The efforts were not coordinated leading to duplication and wasteful overlap. The WCEFA (1990) recognized the waste and labeled strengthened partnerships as a solution, noting that “When we speak of “an expanded vision and a renewed commitment,” partnerships are at the heart of it all,” (UNESCO 1990, p. 51). Various organizations and groups were working to achieve universal basic education without necessarily coordinating their efforts till the WCEFA (1990) announced partnerships as a solution label to achieving universal basic education.

Developing a supporting policy context

According to WCEFA (1990) there was need for a supportive policy context in order to achieve basic education. The participants stated that, “supportive policies in the social, cultural and economic sectors are required in order to realize the full provision and utilization of basic education for individual and societal improvement,” (UNESCO 1990, p. 51). The participants went further to state that, “Societies should also ensure a strong intellectual and scientific environment for basic education. This implies improving higher education and developing scientific research,” (p. 52).

Mobilizing resources

One of the major purposes of hosting the WCEFA (1990) was to mobilize resources. The conference was held at a time when there was concern that government resource allocation to the education sector was dwindling. The conference stated that, “If basic education needs of all are to be met through a much broader scope of action from the past, it will be essential to mobilize existing and new financial, and human

resources,” (p. 52). This label directs attention to new sources of resources that hitherto may have not been considered as available to basic education. The participants argued that, “The urgent task of meeting basic learning needs may require reallocation (of resources) between sectors, as for example a transfer from military to educational expenditure,” (p. 52).

Strengthening international solidarity

The issue of international debt repayment caused tension between the developed and developing nations. The developing nations argued that a large proportion of their budget went to international debt repayment, leaving little in the national budget to allocate to basic education. They requested debt relief from the developed nations who were not persuaded. The conference recommended that,

Creditors and debtors must seek innovative and equitable formulae to resolve these burdens, since the capacity of many developing countries to respond effectively to education and other basic needs will be greatly helped by finding solutions of the debt problem,(UNESCO 1990, p. 52).

Legitimizing policy solution

The previous section has analyzed the generation of solution labels to address the policy problems of basic education. This section analyzes the legitimization of the policy labels. It has been discussed above that legitimacy is an important asset that determines access to external resources. Solution labels will be analyzed to find out how they are legitimized solutions so that they became worth of public resources.

Meeting learning needs

The WCEFA (1990) agreed that there were minimum learning needs necessary for individuals to leave a productive life. These minimum learning needs were foundational to participation in higher levels of learning. WCEFA (1990) stated that,

Basic education is more than an end in itself. It is the foundation for lifelong learning and human development on which countries may build, systematically, further levels and types of education and training, (UNESCO 1990, p. 49).

The basic education concept was attractive to the international community not only for its foundational importance, but also for the cost implications. UNICEF, which was one of the main architects of WCEFA (1990), was motivated by its success in the child survival campaign based on low cost technologies. In fashioning the education for all UNICEF was looking for a solution that had the characteristics that had led to the success of the child survival campaign which were “low cost doable interventions that would work on a mass scale,” (Black, 1996). Chabbott (2003) put it more bluntly saying that “Grant (the head of UNICEF) explained if he could demonstrate to the world how inexpensive it could be to educate one human being, the world could be shamed into supporting a global effort to educate all,” (p. 129).

The international world had been impressed with the progress made by the child survival campaign. As such they were willing to support initiatives based on the same successful principles that would focus on education for all. Further to this, the concept of basic education was supported by scientific evidence coming from internal rates of return

(IRR). Referring to IRR which was promoted by the World Bank Chabbott (2003) stated that,

Although strongly challenged in international and comparative education circles for its heroic assumptions, this method consistently demonstrated much higher returns to investment in primary education than in other levels of education in less industrialized countries (p. 128).

Disputed as it was, the rate of return became the cornerstone of support for basic education.

The predecessor of education for all, Health for All, had been based on scientific evidence that led to the success of the campaign. International education and development needed a scientific basis to support its education for all campaign. According to Chabbott (2003)

“despite the objections, IRR and cost benefit analyses were the closest the international development field had come to a scientific, empirically based argument for education and for differentiating the relative returns to different types of education,(p. 128).

The empirical basis was important at a time when development funding was dwindling because donors wanted to base their decision on scientific research demonstrating the link between development and education, (Chabbott, 126).

The concept of basic education gained a lot of legitimacy among the international community who had become concerned with the post colonial focus on higher education

which was benefiting the African elite. The concept of basic education redirected support from the elite to the poor majority. Better still the shift to basic education was based on empirical studies which demonstrated that there were greater returns from primary education than higher education per unit of investment.

Shaping the vision

This section examines the legitimization of the label of shaping the vision, which justifies an expanded vision of basic education. The participants argued that basic education had been defined narrowly in the past. There was new information which created space for new issues such as. The discussion of the legitimization of the new issues follows below.

Universalizing access and promoting access

Only individuals with a certain minimum level of education were considered productive in society and able to take advantage of the opportunities provided. The large number of out of school population meant that few people were contributing to society or benefiting from the opportunities provided. As such, the WCEFA (1990) justified universalizing and promoting access to basic education. The focus on universalizing access drew attention to those vulnerable populations such as women, and girls, the poor, street and working children and refugees.

Development organizations were concerned with the lack of adoption of practices that they promoted which they attributed to a lack of basic education among the people that they worked with. UNICEF for example noted that the success of its child survival campaign depended on a population with a basic education that was able to follow

instructions. The majority of the population that UNICEF and other development organizations were working to influence did not have the basic education required to act on the new practices.

Focusing on learning acquisition

The purpose of providing basic education was so that the individuals with the basic education could contribute to society and achieve their full potential. The WCEFA (1990) recognized that it was not enough to provide universal access. The conference participants noted that, “The focus of basic education must, therefore be on actual learning acquisition and outcome, rather than exclusively open enrollment,” (UNESCO 1990, p. 50). Once learners acquired basic education, they would be able to adopt the modern practices promoted by the development organizations.

Broadening the means and scope of basic education

Basic education had focused largely on primary education, but the expanded vision pointed to new research findings that created space for other levels of learning. They argued that the “changing nature of basic learning needs of children, youth and adults necessitated broadening and constantly redefining the scope of basic education,” (WCEFA, 1990, p. 50). Research findings demonstrated that, “learning begins at birth,” (UNESCO 1990, p. 50). The early childhood stage that had been left out of the basic education was now incorporated.

Primary education retained its position as “the main delivery system for basic education of children outside of the family,” (UNESCO 1990, p. 50). The rates of return continued to favor primary education. There also those who dropped out of the primary

education system who could then be covered by the literacy programs. The three strategies of early childhood education, primary education and literacy programs would cover all groups required to achieve universal basic education.

Enhancing the environment for learning

The WCEFA (1990) recognized that provision of access to learning opportunities did not necessarily ensure that learning took place. It was necessary that the learner was in a mental and physical state conducive for learning to take place. The conference stated that, “societies, therefore, must ensure that all learners receive the nutrition, health, and general physical and emotional support they need in order to participate actively in and benefit from their education,” (UNESCO 1990, p. 51). Support for nutrition, health and general physical and emotional support had been the focus of UNICEF in its child survival campaign.

Strengthen partnerships

The expanded vision of basic education incorporated a broad range of programs that went beyond provision of access of primary education, to include early childhood education, and activities to enhance the environment for learning. The different programs would be implemented by different groups, making it important that the different groups worked together. The WCEFA (1990) stated that, “Genuine partnerships contribute to the planning, implementation, managing and evaluating of basic education programs,” (UNESCO 1990, p. 51). Partnerships were important at a time when there was growing concern that donor organizations were working in competition that led to wasteful duplication of programs. Strengthening partnerships would help to identify and reduce instances of wasteful duplication.

Developing a supporting policy context

The purpose of the provision of basic education was to provide skills and knowledge that would enable individuals to contribute to society. It was thus important to make it possible for those with the skills to apply them. The participants stated that, “Suitable economic, trade, labor, employment and health policies will enhance learners’ incentives and contributions to societal development,” (UNESCO 1990, 1990, p. 51). The label suggests that there was some provision to support those with basic education so that they could contribute to society.

Mobilizing resources

One of the main purposes for hosting the WCEFA (1990) was to mobilize resources. This was important at a time when resources allocation to education had been going down, leading to the reduction in enrollment. The increased enrollment required increased resources to cater for the larger numbers of learners. The participants stated that, “If the basic learning needs of all are to be met through a much broader scope of action than in the past, it will be essential to mobilize existing and new financial, and human resources,” (UNESCO 1990, p. 52).

Strengthening international solidarity

The unrest in some developing countries took away resources that could be used for programs to support basic education, according to the conference participants. The participants called on nations to resolve their conflicts, “and to settle displaced populations, or facilitate their return ...and ensure that their basic learning needs are met,”(UNESCO 1990, p. 52).

Summary

The international community perceived education sector problems of developing countries in a different way from the perception of the African ministers of education. They saw the problem as mainly of the out of school population. Unlike the African ministers of education, the international community did not perceive higher education as being part of the problems facing the education sector. Rather they saw the large numbers of out of school population as hindering development in that they were unable to adopt the new agricultural and other development practices. The next chapter goes in depth to demonstrate the different perceptions of the African ministers of education and the international community in how they perceived education sector problems.

Chapter Six

A comparative discussion of framing of education sector problems between the WCEFA (1990) and the Harare Declaration (1982)

Introduction

The previous chapters analyzed the two policy frameworks, the Harare Declaration (1982) held by the ministers of African education, and the WCEFA (1990) held by the international community. The analyses applied the education policy analysis framework to examine the formation of policy agencies that went on to frame policy problems and subsequent solution frameworks. Each policy agency came up with a distinct set of policy problems and solutions even though they were addressing the same situation. In this chapter the researcher synthesizes the way in which the two policy groups arrived at the different ends. The focus of the synthesis is to make an interpretation of how basic education gained higher priority over higher education. The synthesis will compare the three stages of formation of policy agency, framing problems and solutions as they played out in the two policy frameworks.

Table 6.1 presents a summary of the education sector problems generated by the WCEFA (1990) and CoMEA (1982). The rest of the chapter provides a detailed discussion of these labels, making a comparison of the claims-making of the two policy groups about the same education sector condition.

Table 6.1 Comparative Interpretation of CoMEA (1982) and WCEFA (1990)

CoMEA (1982)	WCEFA (1990)
• the eradication of illiteracy in Africa • early childhood education • science and technology education for development • contribution of higher education to the development of African societies • educational research and teaching methodologies in the Africa state • the use of African languages as languages of education	• More than 100 million children, including 60 million girls, have no access to primary schooling • More than 960 million adults, two-thirds of whom are women, are illiterate • More than one-third of the world's adults have no access to the printed knowledge • More than 100 million children and countless adults fail to complete basic education programs

Formation of policy agency

One of the main challenges in policy formation is that policies are outcomes of social construction. In other words, while there may be public agreement that a certain situation is causing public discomfort, there may not be agreement when it comes to pinpoint the specific problem that needs to be addressed (Fischer 2003). Policy experts have to interpret the uncomfortable situation into specific problems that can be addressed. In this section the researcher compares the formation of the two policy agencies, setting ground for explaining their different policy outcomes.

Building consensus

The first stage in formation of policy agency is building consensus in which policy actors construct a policy issue and coalesce around it. The idea of hosting the WCEFA (1990) was first conceived by UNICEF. However, UNICEF did not command professional control over matters of education. Its focus and expertise was centered on health issues and working with matters that affected children. UNESCO had professional command and control of education issues in developing nations. According to Scott (1995) “The professions construct cognitive frameworks that define arenas within which they claim jurisdiction and seek to exercise control,” (p. 96). Once they claim jurisdiction over an area, professionals define social reality “by devising ontological frameworks, proposing distinctions, creating typifications, and fabricating principles or guidelines for action” (Scott, 1992, p. 139).

It is no coincidence that UNICEF went about identifying and enrolling organizations that commanded professional control over education in developing countries. Those with professional control define how issues can be thought about. The team of four, UNICEF, UNESCO, UNDP and World Bank was formed out of the giants in education and development. They were recognized for their knowledge and work in education and development. They had legitimate claim to knowledge about education and development, and as such had the professional authority to define what would become the accepted education policy issues in developing countries.

The purpose of consensus building is to constitute a policy agency that is perceived to possess the competence required to reduce the uncertainty in social phenomena affecting a particular society. In the modern world this competence is

ascribed to experts. The African ministers of education would not be considered to be professionals in the education sector (Wilensky, 1964). According to Wilensky (1964) a profession is “based on systematic knowledge or doctrine acquired only through long prescribed training,” (p. 138). This long prescribed training leads to claims of professional authority over particular social areas. Those affected by a problematic social condition do not necessarily have the necessary competence required to understand the nature of the social phenomenon facing them (Wilensky, 1964).

The ministers of education came together to define the education policy issues for a new era of African education that was emerging from colonialism. The consensus building was largely motivated by the political need to consolidate their independency from their colonial past. The African ministers of education would not be considered as professionals in the education sector, but more like politicians or decision makers. In a world that believed in knowledge and professionals as the legitimate sources of policy relevant knowledge and information (Haas, 1992), the African ministers were unlikely to constitute a convincing policy formulation agency.

Naming the policy framework

In naming a policy framework, a policy agency makes a popular appeal to the public. As such the name should be persuasive to the intended audience. The name “World Conference on Education for All: Meeting basic learning needs” appealed to a world that was concerned about the staggering numbers of out of school population and how to get this population back in school at low cost. The name “Education for All” resonated well with the international community at a time when there was success with “Health for All”. The Health for all campaign was successful in reducing the numbers of

children dying from diseases that were treatable. Taking advantage of the momentum of Health for All, the international community adopted the name Education for All.

The second part of the name “Meeting basic learning needs” draws on the basic needs approach that was gaining popularity among international development organizations. Meeting basic needs defined a solution in terms familiar to the epistemic communities of international development and education communities. It gave the appeal of a solution that was based on expertise and knowledge about education policy problems in Africa. The perception that a policy solution was based on expertise and knowledge of development and education problems in Africa was important and valuable for seeking funds from the international world. According to Chabbott (2003), “Knowing that educational development depends on funding from international development donors, professionals work to translate expert knowledge on education into international development scripts,” (p. 134). (Chabbott (2003) goes further to state that, “the debate over “basic education” in the late 1970s and early 1980s was, in part, a debate about tactics: what was the best way to coax funds out of donor organization,” (p. 135). There was no better way than to define a solution in terms that demonstrated the use of knowledge and expertise agreed upon by the epistemic communities.

The African ministers named their conference the Harare Declaration (1982), a name that did not focus on any aspect of education that was familiar to the epistemic communities. The name is not persuasive to any audience. It does not tell the public what solution the ministers of education offered for the education sector in Africa. To those in the international development and education community, giving a name to a policy framework that does not clearly define the solution offered might suggest or affirm their

concerns that the African ministers were not professionals in the area of education and development. This perception would weaken support for the policy framework of the African ministers of education. The name did not immediately suggest the policy solution that the ministers offered.

Gaining momentum

The stage of gaining momentum is where new members are enrolled who will largely be involved in implementation of the policy in question. As such this is the stage for securing commitment for a particular policy from those actors who will be important for implementation. The hosting organizations of the WCEFA (1990) conducted nine regional conferences to gain the commitment of the national governments. In Africa the International community held three prominent consultative meetings that brought attention and hype to the WCEFA (1990). The climax momentum was reached at the WCEFA (1990) when the 155 countries of the world announced declarations and commitments to support basic education.

Discussions about basic learning needs were central to the conference, making sure that all the participants got the message. There were exhibits, forty-eight roundtables and three monographs all to demonstrate, inform and persuade the participants about the importance of the concept of basic learning needs (UNESCO 1990; Chabbott 2003; King 1990). The discussions and presentations about basic learning needs took place at a prominent global stage. The international development community and national governments made commitments to support basic learning needs.

There was not as much hype in gaining momentum for the African ministers of education. In the run up to the first conference for African ministers of education there were no hyped conferences where the ministers presented their position as was done through the regional conferences conducted by the inter-organizational committee in preparation of the WCEFA (1990). The ministers submitted the Outline of a Plan for Education Development to the UN Economic Commission which endorsed the outline and passed it on to the UN General Assembly (1961). The UN General Assembly endorsed the outline as well and passed it down to UNESCO (1961) executive board which also endorsed it and gave the go ahead for the first conference of African ministers of education.

The international community formed a much stronger policy agency that commanded authority and expertise over education and development in Africa. The establishment of the African ministers as a policy agency was not based on their command and expertise in the education sector. This placed them in a weaker position in comparison to the international community.

Framing problems by the international community

This section made a comparison of the education policy problems as seen by the African ministers of education and by the WCEFA (1990). The two groups provide two different perspectives of the same education sector situation in Africa. It is no surprise that the two groups came up with different policy frameworks for the same situation because policy problems are products of social construction (Fischer 2003; Yanow 1996, 2000; Stone 1988).

Both the African ministers of education and the WCEFA (1990) recognized that there was a problem with the education sector in Africa. However they did not see the same problem. The differences in the perceived problems by the two policy agents raise the question about which problems gain prominence and why. In other words which groups has figured out the real policy problems.

It is important that policy problems are framed in a manner that is convincing and persuasive enough to attract the necessary resources. UNICEF recognized the importance of framing education sector problems in Africa well enough to attract resources. During the time that UNICEF was pursuing its successful Health for All campaign, it recognized the problem of large numbers of out of school children. UNICEF did not go ahead to frame the education sector problem. Rather UNICEF recognized that it was not best qualified to frame education sector problems in Africa. UNICEF sought the support of organizations that had the authority to frame education sector problems.

UNESCO and the World Bank were actively involved and connected to the epistemic communities generating education sector theories and knowledge about the education sector in African and the other developing regions (Chabbott, 2003). By the 1980s the World Bank had introduced rates of return to investment in education that had persistently demonstrated higher returns to primary education over higher education (Psacharopolous and Woodhall, 1985). The concept of rate of returns gained credence and legitimacy in the international development field despite challenges from other scholars because this was the closest the field could come to empirically based arguments (Chabbott, 2003).

The WCEFA (1990) took place during the fourth UN Development Decade. The education sector in Africa was interpreted within the context of development efforts. The fourth development decade followed the so called lost decade of the third UN Development Decade. The UN introduced the development decades during the 1960s to draw the attention of the developed world to the development concerns of Africa and other developing regions. By the fourth Development Decade fatigue was setting in among the developed nations as the past development decades had not brought the anticipated development. WCEFA (1990) came at a time when there were calls to renew developments efforts. The focus was to find the simple and less costly ways of addressing development shortfalls. The development discourse explained the lack of development as due to the lack of appropriate education commensurate with modernization. Development experts were concerned with extent of the out of school population. It was perceived as a hindrance to development efforts.

The development discourse was important in directing resources to particular areas of social development. Development discourse was spearheaded by those who were considered to be the experts in development issues facing the developing nations. The importance of development discourse was highlighted by the United Nations which declared the 1960s as the first Development Decade. This was followed by the second, third and fourth development decades that drew attention and resources to development needs in developing nations. Development discourse was generated by international development professionals. They claimed rational knowledge of the development jurisdiction. Any policies for developing nations had better potential for success if they

were linked to the development discourse which was perceived as generated by professionals and therefore legitimate and authentic.

In connecting to the development discourse, the WCEFA (1990) point out that more than 100 million children including 60 million girls did not have access to school. This discrepancy demonstrated the large population that would drag any development efforts. The WCEFA (1990) communicated to the development community the potential of education in furthering development efforts. More important was the fact that the policy problem as framed by the WCEFA (1990) made connections with the prevailing development discourse. Further to pointing out the problem of out of school children, WCEFA (1990) also pointed out that more than 960 million adults, two thirds of whom were women were illiterate. Again the conference shored the problem of illiterate adults who were supposed to be implementing the development solutions. These development solutions presupposed a literate population.

While the development solutions presupposed a literate population, WCEFA (1990) noted that more than one third of the world's population had no access to printed knowledge, this at a time when the printed knowledge was driving the modern world. Development solutions focused on the written knowledge to promote modern technologies in such areas as agriculture and health. The lack of access to the written knowledge especially in the developing nations made it difficult to disseminate the modern technologies that were essential for development.

It was not only important that the out of school population got into school, but that they completed the schooling in order for them to acquire the competence necessary

to contribute and benefit from the development efforts. The WCEFA (1990) noted with concern that 100 million children and countless adults failed to complete basic education programs. The concern about the failure of a significant proportion of the population to complete basic education directly connected with the development discourse focus on basic human needs. Basic education was considered a basic human need.

The development discourse made the assumption that the technologies and knowledge required for modernization was available to the developed world. There was no need for developing nations to recreate the modernization wheel that had already been created for them by those in the developed nations. According to the development discourse, the developing nations needed to adopt the technologies that were already in existence. The focus on basic education agreed with the development discourse in that basic education developed the knowledge and skills required to be able to adopt and adapt the skills developed in the north.

The international community framed basic education as the foundation for further and higher levels of education. By focusing on basic education as the foundation for further levels of education, the WCEFA (1990) suggested that once individuals acquired basic education, they were competent on their own to take control of their needs for further and higher education. In this framing of education sector problems as focusing on laying a foundation for higher levels of education, the higher levels of education were explicitly left out of the policy framework and implicitly suggested as following from the foundation laid in basic education.

Development professionals argued that there was a certain critical level of education below which individuals could fully function in a modern and literate society. However once individuals reached that critical level of education, the basic education level, they trigger a domino effect for subsequent competences and learning needs in their life.

Education sector issues came to be encompassed under the international education and development discourse. This was at a time when the child survival campaign was an example of success in the development field driven by science-based knowledge and technologies. Those concerned with the high out of school population were looking for such simple technologies to save the education sector. There were no such simple technologies in the education sector that would bring similar success. However the problems in the education sector were framed so that they could be amenable to the simple technologies (Chabbott 2003). As such the problems were framed as low enrollment, inequity and high drop out in basic education. Framed in this manner, the problems would suggest fairly simple policy solutions of increasing enrollment and improving equity. Framed in this manner the problems were in agreement with the prevailing development discourse.

Framing of problems by the African ministers of education

The conference of African ministers of education was constituted to address the problems facing the education sector in Africa at a time when the African countries were transitioning into post-colonial independence. The problems of the African education were perceived to have been created by the colonial governments who had suppressed the advancement of Africans (Lulat 2005). Independence meant a time to correct the

discrepancies that had been created by the colonial governments. The denial of education, particularly higher education, to Africans had created a dependence on the colonial masters (UNESCO 1982). As such, when the African states attained independence, they were eager to take control of their national affairs and become responsible of important decisions about their people and nations. It continued to bother them that after independence the most influential positions in their countries were still held by personnel from the former colonial masters or expatriates. They agreed that education was important and necessary for the Africans to take control of their national affairs and sever ties and dependence on past colonial masters.

African ministers of education framed the education sector problems within the context of the post-colonial era. The political motive took the lead in defining the education sector problems. The problems of illiteracy, early childhood education, science and technology education for development, contribution of higher education to the development of Africa, educational research and teaching methodologies in African states and the use of African languages as for instruction were all framed in the context of the past colonial era.

African ministers of education framed the problem of illiteracy within the context of the development discourse as well as within the post-colonial context. Within the development context and discourse, the African ministers recognized the need for a literate population to participate in development efforts. They also recognized the disparity in the gender distribution of the illiterate population. Women were in the large majority of the illiterate population, necessarily disadvantaging them from opportunities provided for development. The African ministers also framed literacy as preparing

individuals for lifelong learning. In other words, they framed the problem within the development context that also framed basic education as preparing individuals for further and higher education.

On the other hand the African ministers of education also placed illiteracy within the context of the post-colonial era. The African ministers of education strongly raised the issue of using local languages in literacy programs. They argued that local languages had been marginalized during the colonial era. They saw it as their duty to restore the importance of local languages during the post-colonial era. In general, the African ministers of education framed illiteracy problems very much in line with the prevailing development discourse. This may be explained by the fact that UNESCO's work in development focused on issues of illiteracy, and so its influence in framing issues could have helped in the agreement.

When it comes to children, development discourse focused on the health of preschool children. Early childhood education was only beginning to be raised as an issue. The general focus was on universal primary education. There was not much by way of prevailing development discourse for the African ministers of education to draw upon on the issue of early childhood education. They however observed that the traditional African home environment did not provide experiences that adequately prepared children for school. The educational role of preschool experiences were not considered particularly important during the period of study in Africa. Preschool experiences were recognized more for releasing women's time to engage in development work. As such the preschool experiences did not focus on learning, and the people in charge of the children

did not need to have any qualification in childhood education. They only needed to be responsible adults.

African ministers of education framed the problems facing development in Africa as coming out of a lack of endogenous science and technology solutions. The Africans were calling for new science and technology solutions developed by Africans, which was contrary to the development discourse which argued that knowledge and technology were already available and there was no need for the Africans to recreate the wheel.

The African ministers were motivated and prompted by an interest to break ties with the colonial past. They viewed science and technologies from the past as being inappropriate and perpetuating their cognitive and intellectual dependency on the colonial past. It was important for the Africans to build their own base of science and technology that would be more appropriate for their culture and lifestyle. That argument was not connected to the prevailing development discourse. The prevailing development discourse as stated above, argued that science and technology was already available for the Africans to adopt and adapt. The concern of the Africans about their colonial past was not a part of the development discourse.

The African ministers viewed the provision of science and technology as perpetuating cognitive and intellectual dependence. As such they were eager to participate in developing science and technologies to address their own problems. Africans valued their participation in developing science and technologies that would develop their cognitive and intellectual capacity and help to sever dependence. While the argument to develop their cognitive and intellectual capacity was a sound one, it did not

derive from the authoritative development discourse. As said earlier the development discourse was considered to be legitimate and authoritative as it was generated by professionals in international development.

In the post-colonial era Africans were concerned that most of the middle and higher levels positions were held by former colonial masters or expatriates. The situation was troubling to the Africans who thought that independence did not mean much if the decision making positions continued to be held by former colonial masters. African ministers saw higher education as important in providing the knowledge and competence required for Africans to take over the middle and high level positions.

While Africans viewed as problematic that people from their colonial past held middle and high level positions, the situation was not problematic for the development professionals. Development discourse focused on improving the quality of life in the developing nations. Development epistemic communities did not focus on studying and writing about whether Africans or non-Africans controlled middle and high level positions. For the development professionals what mattered was for the African nations to improve their quality of life and attain higher levels of development.

Africans placed a lot of importance on higher education. African ministers were concerned that the education system left by the colonial system was not relevant to the African environment. They argued that the education alienated students from their environment. It was as such the role of higher education to study and develop a new education system that oriented students to the African environment.

Policy actors spend time framing policy problems so that they can persuade the public and potential funding partners that they have a thorough understanding of the problems facing their society. Policy actors need to convince the public and potential funding partners in order to attract resources required to fund the policy solutions. For the African ministers, it was important to convince the international community from whom they were seeking for additional funding. In order to convince the international community, the African ministers needed to demonstrate that their framing of the policy problems was based on good policy knowledge and expertise. This would be achieved by linking their policy arguments and problem frames to the prevailing education and development discourse.

The education and development discourse is spearheaded by the professionals who, as a result of their knowledge claims to international education and development, have the professional authority to generate theories and models for education policy and development. These professionals, according to Chabbott (2003) "...articulate and carry packages of "correct" principles, "appropriate" policies and "best" practices to national governments and non-governmental organizations alike," (p. 2).

Based on the need to achieve self-reliance, the framing of the education sector problems by the African ministers of education did not make connections with the theories and models of education sector issues articulated by the international development and education epistemic communities. There was not much theorizing around the concept of self-reliance that drove the problem frames of the African ministers of education. Without that theorizing and connection to the prevailing discourse, the policy framework of the African ministers of education would lack legitimacy.

Legitimacy comes from policy "...being portrayed as the technical implementation of rational solution to a problem," (Nustad and Sending, 2000, p. 53). It is thus important for any policy framework to be linked to a body of knowledge. Nustad and Sending (2000) argue that, "Scientific knowledge in this sense performs a symbolic task as it legitimizes and renders credible ...political action," (p. 53). The corollary is that a policy framework that is not backed by a scientific body of knowledge has little or no credibility and is rendered illegitimate.

Summary

The comparison demonstrated the different ways in which the international community and the African ministers of education perceived education sector problems in Africa.

The next chapter moves from the international perspective of education policy to a national perspective of education policy in Tanzania.

Chapter Seven

The Tanzania Education and Training policy (1995)

Introduction

This chapter presents the third example of the application of the analytical framework to the education sector policy. The policy analytical framework consists of three steps that include the establishment of a policy agency, framing of problems and solutions.

In 1995 the government of Tanzania announced the Education and training policy. The policy was announced following the WCEFA (1990) and the Harare Declaration (1982) held by the African ministers of education. The WCEFA (1990) promoted a basic education policy focus for all the developing nations. Developed nations and international development organizations pledged resources for those nations that promoted the basic education focus in their education sector policy. The focus on basic education promoted by the WCEFA (1990) was driven by the knowledge and expertise of the development epistemic communities. The World Bank had conducted studies that demonstrated that primary education had higher rates of return on investment than higher education. The development epistemic community was generating knowledge and expertise around the concept of basic education. The concept was emerging as one that had promise for releasing developing nations from poverty and illiteracy.

Prior to the WCEFA (1990), the African ministers of education had hosted the Harare declaration that also set a direction for the education policy in African countries. The African ministers of education acknowledged basic education as one of the strategies for addressing the education sector problems facing Africa. However, the African ministers of education were not driven by the knowledge generated by the epistemic communities. They were instead driven by the political motive to consolidate their independence. While they acknowledge the need to achieve universal enrollment into basic education programs, they prioritized higher education that would produce the human resources qualified to fill the middle and higher level jobs that were still occupied by their former colonial masters.

According to the Africans, a focus on basic education would perpetuate dependence on their former colonial masters. In order to move away from dependence on the past colonial masters, the education policy framework presented by the African ministers of education focused on higher education, science and technology facilitated by African higher education and research institutions as well as promotion of local languages as languages of instruction. This focus on reinforcing independence was not a part of the international development discourse. The development discourse focused on the potential of basic education to contribute to development.

Table 7.1 shows the labels of education sector problems constructed by the three policy interest groups. It shows the extent to which the Tanzania ETP (1995) relates to the policies of the international community and those of the African ministers of education.

Table 7.1 Comparison of CoMEA (1982), WCEFA (1990) and Tanzania ETP (1995)

CoMEA (1982)	WCEFA (1990)	ETP (1995)
• the eradication of illiteracy in Africa • early childhood education • science and technology education for development • contribution of higher education to the development of African societies • educational research and teaching methodologies in the Africa state • the use of African languages as languages of education	• More than 100 million children, including 60 million girls, have no access to primary schooling • More than 960 million adults, two-thirds of whom are women, are illiterate • More than one-third of the world's adults have no access to the printed knowledge • More than 100 million children and countless adults fail to complete basic education programs	• Access and equity (equivalent to WCEFA 1990's concern with out of school population) • Liberalization • Decentralization • Cost sharing • Quality of education (equivalent to WCEFA 1990's concern for low completion rates)

The government of Tanzania began putting together a new education policy in 1993. The researcher examines the composition of the policy agency, and the framing of policy problem and solutions

Establishing the policy agency

This section will analyze the process of that established the Education and Training policy (1995).

Consensus building

The nineties saw the World Bank taking a prominent role in directing the education policy sector for developing nations. By this period the Bank had established itself as a source of knowledge for education policy for developing nations, in addition to funding the implementation of programs that complied with its policies. During the eighties and nineties the World Bank (1995) was promoting a general policy of liberalization. Through this policy national governments were encouraged to privatize and decentralize the provision of education (World Bank, 1995).

The education system in Tanzania had been centralized and the government had followed the principles of socialism (Samoff 1994). During the eighties and nineties Tanzania was seeking for funding from the World Bank (Samoff, 1994) which was promoting the liberalization through its economic structural adjustment program. A National Education Task Force was set up to recommend an education sector policy. The actively promoted structural adjustment program suggested a new education landscape in the impending 21st century.

The National Education Task Force produced the Tanzania Education System for the 21st century. The National Task Force was largely composed of academics and their focus was on developing an education policy that prepared Tanzania to become competitive in an increasingly global world (Buchert, 1997). There was little consultation

in the development of the document which was printed in Leeds, United Kingdom. The document did not receive much attention ((Buchert, 1997).

In February 1993, another policy drafting committee was established, consisting of sixteen members and three sub-committees that consisted of government employees from various departments (Buchert 199; Samoff, 1994). The committee produced its first draft in September 1993 which was discussed with representatives of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher education, together with other government departments. The document was entitled *Tanzania integrated education and training policy*. The draft went through a series of other discussions to get feedback

Following various changes, an advanced draft was presented to the Cabinet Secretariat “which decided that it was far too long and the MSTHE (Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher education) should formulate its own policy paper,” (Buchert, 1997, p. 49). Following further changes the Education and Training policy (1995) was produced.

The policy drafts were submitted to the local representatives of international organizations at their bimonthly interagency meetings. They provided feedback to the policy drafts as they evolved. Buchert (1997) states that, “According to several of the agency officials, their comments related to key areas which they felt were inadequately dealt with in the policy paper and which reflected their ongoing work in Tanzania education,” (p. 51).

Naming the policy

The first policy draft was named “Tanzania integrated education and training policy”. It was integrated in that the education policy covered the whole education sector, from primary to higher education. As discussed in earlier chapters, policy names play an important role in generating attention and resources. Policy names that tell a compelling story also attract resources from funding partners who agree with the policy suggested in the name. Besides suggesting an integrated education policy, the name Tanzania integrated education and training policy did not draw attention to any particular focus that draws attention.

After the committee presented the first draft to the Cabinet secretariat, the policy name was changed to Education and Training policy. The word “integrated” was removed after the secretariat recommended that the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education develop a separate policy specific to higher education. The final name of the policy did not give any clue as to its focus, or what was driving the policy.

Building momentum

At the momentum building stage policy actors who will be important in implementing the policy are recruited. This section analyzes the way in which policy actors were recruited to gain acceptance of the Education and Training policy (1995). In February 1995 the Education and Training policy, with a foreword written by the minister of education was presented to Cabinet for approval. It was important to gain approval of Cabinet to give the policy a government seal. In March (1995) the Education and Training policy was presented to parliament for any comments as well as to gain the support of the people of Tanzania. After the Education and Training policy (1995) had

gained recognition and acceptance from the legislative bodies, amendments were made to the 1978 Education Act in October (1995) to incorporate the aspects introduced by the policy. The particular amendments were those that pertained to “liberalization of the education system..., ownership of schools; empowerment of local education officers,” (King, 2006, p. 50).

The approval process of the document by government as its policy was important also to the local representatives of the international development organizations that had been seeking for a policy to guide their education and development activities (Buchert 1997). These development agencies had been involved in the development of the policy document through their bimonthly interagency meetings. The development agencies approved of the policy document which they had provided input to align the document with their development interests (Buchert 1997).

According to Buchert (1997), the consultation process did not go all the way to include headmasters and the wider public. This situation was rectified in 1996 when a conference on the Education and training policy was held to familiarize

participants who are actors and stakeholders in various areas of education, with the contents of the Education and Training policy and to discuss and agree on the strategies for the policy’s implementation,(GoT 1997, p. xi).

Framing the problems

The current section analyzes the framing of education sector problems by the people of Tanzania.

Labeling of education sector problems in the Education and Training policy (1995)

It has been pointed out earlier that policy problems do not exist as objective entities, but as diffuse forms that are outcomes of social construction. Social construction of policy problems involves setting boundaries that determine how a policy problem will be thought and reasoned about. The problems labeled in the Education and Training policy (1995) include access and equity, liberalization, decentralization and implementation strategies (Odunga, 1997), children and adult education. Each of the problems labels will be analyzed below.

Access and equity

According to the government of Tanzania, “Access to education refers to the opportunities available to the target population to participate in that education, whereas equity refers to the fairness in the distribution and allocation of educational resources to various segments of society,” GoT, 1995, p. 17). The problem of access and equity was taking a new form during the nineties with the introduction of liberalization and privatization of education. Prior to the introduction of liberalization and privatization education was provided to all by the government. It became necessary during the period of liberalization and privatization to determine the new way of thinking and reasoning about the issues of access and equity.

Liberalization and privatization of education meant that access and equity was not only about the available places in schools, but also the extent to which various sections of the population could afford to pay for the provision of education. The government stated that, “in the 1990s and beyond, there is need to re-examine issues of access and equity in education within the context of a changed socio-economic and political environment,”

(ETP, 1995, p. 17). The changed socio-economic situation brought by the economic structural adjustment program reduced funding that was available to schools. There was increased talk of quality of education that had been decreasing during the years of free education to meet universal primary education targets. It was important that schools enrolled students that they could offer quality education and retain to completion.

The government was in a difficult position of changing access and equity without looking like it was reneging on its commitment to providing education for all. As such, even as it saw quality as important enough to affect enrollment, it set out safeguards for groups that it considered to be vulnerable. Vulnerable were those groups that had whose situation with respect to access and equity had improved the least during the period when government focused on providing universal primary education. Migratory groups like hunters, fishermen and pastoralists continued to suffer low enrolments. Girls were also vulnerable due to cultural preferences for educating male children, and also the tendency for girls to be married when they were still young. There were still regions that were proportionally under-represented with respect to the national average. It was agreed that this problem of geographical imbalances was becoming less of a problem.

Liberalization

According to Odunga (1997), “The liberalization of the establishment and management of educational institutions involves the reduction of the role of the state in the manipulation of prices and the opening up of all avenues of the economy to private initiative and involvement,” (p. 13). After years of provision of free education by a central government, it became apparent that the government was unable to continue and sustain the costs of provision of free education. At a conference discussing the new

policy it was stated that, “the problem which the 1995 Education and Training Policy is trying to address is how to transform a centralized system of education whose financing and provision is government dominated, into a liberalized one in which public and private investments through competitive signals of demand matched with supply,” (Ministry of Education and Culture 1996, p. 69).

Provision of free education was also not in line with the economic and structural adjustment program (ESAP). Free provision of education did not encourage competition or the market laws of demand and supply. Instead quality of education was decreasing during the period of free provision because schools did not compete for students. It did not matter the quality of education that a school provided, government paid all schools equally. A new term, liberalization, was introduced to say that government provision of free education was creating more problems that it was addressing. Private providers were shut out of provision of education and yet government was not able to fund enough schools for the universal provision of free education.

Decentralization

The introduction of liberalization and private resources raised problems of control of schools and curriculum. Those who provided private funding needed to have more control of their schools, and the government was concerned about maintaining some minimum standards in all schools. The private sector did see much incentive in providing resources for schools that they could not control. It became necessary for the government to decentralize, in other words pass on more decision making on educational matters to the locals and at the same time maintaining a good quality of education. According to Odunga (1997), “Decentralization facilitates popular participation and more democratic

control over schools,” (p. 14). In other words some of the decrease in quality of education was attributed to a failure to engage local participation in the provision of education. Parents and local districts were left out in the provision of education in their areas. Continued central control would be a disincentive for private providers of education.

With the governments concerned about minimum standards there was the problem of agreeing on what services could be left to local control, and which ones would still continue to be centralized. Government decided that some functions were at the core and could only government could provide such functions as licensing teachers, school registration and curriculum.

Cost sharing in education

Prior to liberalization the government of Tanzania had argued strongly that free provision of basic education was necessary to achieve universal primary education. Liberalization allowed the introduction of privately owned schools that could not offer free education. The government itself was constrained by the structural adjustment programs which promoted cost recovery. For its part, the government wanted to continue to be seen as committed to providing universal primary education. Direct re-introduction of school fees would look like the government was letting up on the commitment to providing universal primary education. Nevertheless free provision could not be sustained both for budgetary reasons as well complying with the ESAP. Instead of outright re-introduction of payment for school fees, the government introduced a concept called cost sharing which would allow alternative forms of payment that were more accessible to resource poor families.

Quality of education

The label “quality of education” is one of those that demonstrate the diffuse nature of public policy issues. While there was a concern for high quality of education in Tanzania, it was not clear what makes for high quality of education. In other words what are the characteristics of quality education? According to Mwenisongole (1997), quality of education included teacher moral, in-service training, improving curriculum and instructional materials, infrastructure and facilities.

The goal of provision of universal primary education stretched the resources available to schools. There were not enough teachers, books or even schools to enroll everyone who wanted. Those who enrolled in the overcrowded school did not proceed to completion. Dropout rates were high as both parents and students did not see value in school of low quality. The education did not improve the life chances that had been the goal of education for parents and students.

Legitimizing policy problems

After policy problems were labeled as analyzed in the preceding section, the government had to justify that the problems were worth of public attention and support.

Access and equity

The government had to be seen to be committed to provision of education at all times. Abandoning that cause would have political consequences, and yet some of the demands brought by the ESAP did not allow government to continue to provide free education. As such it was careful when it came to statements about pulling out from providing universal primary education. In the case of the quota system, inherent in the

quota system has been its tendency to push up children with low achievement levels while at the same time denying access to the more deserving ones,” (Education and Training policy 1995, p. 21).

The government went on to state that the quota system had been a temporary measure that had been put to address historical imbalances. As the imbalances were leveled out, the government argued, there would be no need to keep the quota system. It would have to be phased out. While the academics who argued against the quota system had argued that the system be stopped, the government decided that it would be phased out, as a compromise to appease its political base.

The government made the case that liberalization and privatization changed the nature of access and equity in education in a manner that necessitated the government to provide safeguards for those who would be potentially disadvantaged. The government made the statement that it was still committed to achieving universal education and upholding basic education as a human right.

Liberalization

Liberalization of education provision was part of the ESAP package that demanded increased alignment with market forces. As such the government made a half-hearted justification saying that liberalization would address the issue of access and equity, only to follow that with a list of its own concerns. The list of concerns included that some schools would close for failing to be competitive, leaving fewer schools. Another concern was that some public schools would close too if they were not funded at

the level of the private school. There also was a concern that there would be differences in curricular that may have negative impact in the less resourceful districts.

The government was in a difficult position in that it needed to abide by the ESAP because the package brought funding to the national budget. This is why it had to come up with a justification for liberalization. It is thus not so surprising that the justification is not very strong, and is immediately followed by a string of concerns. This conflicting position of the government makes it difficult as to draw out its real justifications for liberalization. It might be important to note also that the terminology of liberalization came with the EASP. It was not a terminology that existed before this period.

Decentralization

According to the Odunga (1997), “with the increasing number of schools and students nation-wide, it has become a reality that ‘the center can no longer hold’ to control and direct everything that goes on in the schools,” (p. 14). In the past the government had argued for government control in the provision of education. It saw itself as best placed to offer and control education in order to uphold the status of education as a basic human right. But as liberalization was increasing the ownership and diversity of educational provision, government control would only stifle the potential for liberalization to provide education to all the people of Tanzania. The centralized system required that most decisions be made by the ministry which was counterproductive to the liberalization system that required greater flexibility. The government stated in the ETP (1995) that “Powers and decision-making in the management and administration of education and training have remained heavily concentrated at the ministry level,” (p. 25).

As in the above discussion, decentralization is a terminology that came with the ESAP rhetoric. It is not very clear when the government makes real justification and when it is playing along with the funding band. It follows the justification with concerns about possible deterioration of standards when locals, whom it considered not so competent, took over control. At a conference on the new policy they stated that, "...we need to be certain whether the move is really a devolution of responsibility and authority or whether we are merely de-concentrating the ministerial functions from the center and shifting them to district levels with the same control," (p. 14). There was a reluctance to let go of some of the control, which reached a compromise through selective control. The government retained control of some functions and let go others that it envisaged would be sufficient incentive for continued private sector interest.

Cost sharing in education

Again, the issue of cost sharing is to be ready and thought about within the context of the ESAP that promoted a market economy where customers pay for services. The government continues to be in a conflicting position where it needs the funding that comes with the ESAP. In order to access that funding, it has to align its rhetoric with that of ESAP. However there were those who could not afford to pay for their education and yet education was seen as a basic human right. The reason that the previous system had allowed free basic education was that a sizeable population could not afford to pay for school when the government was working to achieve universal basic education. The removal of school fees had been followed by increased enrollment rates but the government was now in a situation where it was not able to cope with the demand.

The introduction of a liberalized education system had the potential for meeting the demand for education for all those who could afford to pay. However, the government was still committed to achieving universal primary education. It became necessary to come up with alternative forms of cost sharing that the resource poor section of the population could afford, and that would not weaken the efforts and potential of the liberalization of education.

The terminology was carefully chosen to reassure the people that the government was not abandoning its commitment to universal provision of education. It communicated that the locals would share in the cost of running their schools since they had been given greater control over the same schools. On the whole the government did not make a strong case of justification for cost sharing. It did not come up with original justification but followed the official rhetoric that came with the ESAP package.

Quality of education

There was a national outcry about decreased quality of education in Tanzania following the increased enrollments. Rates of dropout increased as people did not see the value of low quality education. The government needed to do something about low quality of education. It was not only important that the people of Tanzania had sufficient access to education but that the education provided was of good quality. According to Mwenisongole (1997), "...a good quality of education at all levels were constrained by factors such as inadequate distribution of teachers, and teaching/learning materials, poor teaching and learning environment, and shortage and qualified teachers," (p. 18). A low quality of education wasted the resources that were invested in the education system because there were high rates of drop out and those who completed school did not have

the knowledge and skills expected of their level of education. Without the expected level of knowledge and skills, the products of the education system could not contribute adequately to the development of Tanzania nor could the full benefit from the resources provided for a literate society.

The low quality of education was attributed to a number of different causes. The problem of under qualified teachers was one of the causes of low quality of education. There were not enough trained teachers for the increased numbers of schools and students. The increased enrollment also strained the supply of teaching/learning materials.

Competing problem interpretation

The preceding sections have discussed the labeling of problems and justification of education sector by the government in power and its supporters. It is recognized that there is also alternative education sector problem labels. This section analyzes the alternative interpretation of the policy problems as expressed in the ETP (1995).

Access and equity

There did not seem to be much disagreement of alternative views on the issue of access. Education was seen as the key to success in life, leading to increasing demand. However the introduction of liberalization changed the meaning of access for what was the importance of increased supply if the people could not afford to pay for it. The issue of access had a different meaning during the days of the central government when education was supplied for free. The problem was making enough places available.

There was more disagreement with the issue of equity. Tanzania had instituted quotas to balance out regional imbalances in the provision of education. Some of the academic argued that the provision of the quota system disadvantaged some talented children who would most likely benefit more both for themselves and society. In the ETP (1995) it is stated that, "However, inherent in the quota system has been its tendency to push up children with low achievement levels while at the same time denying access to the more deserving ones," (p. 21). The view was expressed more by the academics who dealt with the students that had been pushed through by the quota system. Some of those students who had benefited from the quota system could not fully benefit from the potential of the education system because they not adequately prepared. These academics argued that it was more important to select for further education those students who were best qualified regardless of their region of residence. The politicians on the other had wanted to address those regional imbalances that had been opened up during the colonial rule.

Liberalization

Liberalization was seen as a concept introduced by the World Bank and other international organizations which was interpreted by the people of Tanzania as taking away the safeguards that had been introduced by the government to ensure that all people had access to education. Some argued that the introduction of privatization might reignite the regional inequities as private sector was more likely to focus on the more affluent regions while neglecting the poor regions (Mushi, 1997).

Liberalization also suffered the image that it was seen as a foreign concept that was introduced together with the unpopular structural adjustment program. As discussed

above policy issues are talked into existence by particular groups of people according to how they interpret a situation. As such some argued that liberalization encourage regional disparities in standards. The government and the people of Tanzania had worked to achieve uniform standards for the whole country. The International community viewed the uniform standards as stifling competition. The World Bank's interpretation was that governments lacked adequate information about the education sector causing them to implement inefficient policies. The Bank took on the role of providing guidance to help the African governments see the complex education problem better. In its paper, *Priorities and Strategies for Education: A World Bank Review* (1995) it stated that, "Thus, the World Bank's main contribution must be advice, designed to help governments develop education policies suitable for the circumstances of their countries," (p 20).

Decentralization

Decentralization meant taking away power from the ministry to districts and other local areas. Some of the ministry officials were not confident that the districts and local areas had the capacity to handle those responsibilities that had been handled by professionals. For a long time the education system in Tanzania had been a centralized system which the people had become used to and believe in. There was uniformity in decisions and standards in the centralized system, decentralization was then seen as allowing differential standards that disadvantaged the weak districts and local areas (Galabawa, 1997). In their discussion of the ETP policy actors stated that, "...some districts are unable to adequately finance social sector development programs in general and education in particular," (Galabawa, 1997, p. 48).

It was also argued that some functions could not be decentralized, such functions included setting of examinations, curriculum development, school inspection and registration of schools (Galabawa, 1997).

Cost sharing

Cost sharing was particularly problematic with the parents who had been used to a free education. For them the government was abandoning its commitment to basic education as a human right. Prior to liberalization the government had provided fee education in order to increase enrollment rates. According to the people of Tanzania the government continued to have that responsibility to educate its people. The government was aware of that perception among its people and stated that "...people have to be educated on their new role," (Galabawa, 1997, p. 51). This is a new role that came with accepting the terms and conditions of ESAP. Parents viewed cost sharing as just another of the demands from external donors.

Quality of education

There was a general agreement in the label of quality of education as an education policy problem. However there is also a robust understanding of the label. Factors that affected quality of education were listed to include teacher training and professional development, curriculum and instructional materials, infrastructure and facilities. The label of quality of education in itself remained elusive with the policymakers opting to leave out a description of what it was.

ETP (1995) framing of education sector policy solutions

The previous section has analyzed the ETP (1995) framing of education sector policy solutions. This section will move proceed to analyze how those policy problems were turned into policy solutions.

Labeling solutions

Policy solutions as already discussed have to be conceptualized and brought into existence by policy actors generating labels and delineating what aspects will be included in the solution label. As in the previous chapters each policy label will be analyzed.

Access and equity

The label of access and equity was generated to offer a solution as perceived from the problem frame. As such policy actors recounted the aspects that were admissible under the label of access and equity. The label included opening up opportunities for disadvantaged population particularly the transitional populations such as pastoralists and hunters, and also orphans and street children. The label also including improving opportunities for girls and also balancing out opportunities between geographical regions. Odunga (1997) stated that, “The question of access and equity in education will focus on issues of provision of adequate educational places for all groups, how affordable these places are in terms of inputs required, attainability of set objectives of courses and social and cultural relevance and acceptability of what schools offer,” (p. 13).

Liberalization

It has pointed out earlier that liberalization was a new concept introduced in Tanzania during the eighties. It replaced the centralized government. The government

had continued to be dogged by the problem of low enrollment at a time when its education budget could not be increased. The ETP (1995) states that, “Given its limited domestic resource base, the government now advocates increased role of private sector, thereby broadening the participation base in the economy,” (p. xi). Liberalization was introduced to provide increased educational opportunities while at the same time opening up alternative opportunities for funding education. Liberalization meant that for the first time education would be provide by institutions other than government.

The new labels such as liberalization are evidence of the social construction of the solutions to social problems. With frequent use, these labels become taken for-granted, necessarily excluding them from appropriate analysis, and yet a few years in the past the term liberalization would not have been acceptable. Just as in the problem framing section, it is difficult to examine the label as used by the government. The analysis of the labels is supposed to examine the generation and categorization of problems as they are perceived by a particular group. This is made difficulty with the introduction of sweeping socio-economic packages that introduce powerful incentives to adopt particular kinds of rhetoric.

Decentralization

The introduction of ESAP brought with it other new labels that were changing the provision of education. Decentralization of the education system was one of those labels. This label meant that the central government would relinquish some of its powers to the local districts. The ETP (1995) states that, “...it is necessary that Regional Education Officers and District Education Officers have power to oversee and control the financial resources generated and channeled into the region or district, and on matters pertaining to

education and training in their areas of jurisdiction,” (p. 30). Decentralization did not mean that all processes would be decentralized. The central government argued that it had the responsibility of maintaining high standards of education. It would achieve the role of maintaining standards by continuing to centralize curriculum and examinations. The ETP (1995) states that, “There shall be centralized examinations at the end of Standard VII, Form 4, and Form 6, and Teacher Education Certificate and Diploma courses,” (p. 59).

Cost Sharing in Education

Previously Tanzania had followed a policy of free basic education but this was no longer tenable under policies of liberalization. The re-introduction of school fees would be perceived as relenting on the government commitment to basic education as a human right. As such the label of cost sharing was created which maintained the perception that the education was a basic human right, and that the public had a responsibility to share in the cost of the provision of education. Recognizing that some people were not in a position to pay for their education, the government introduced alternative forms of cost sharing that the poor people could afford such as community contribution of labor.

Quality of education

The focus on achieving universal basic education led to an increase in enrollment that overwhelmed the education system. The system could not provide a good quality of education to the large volume of students. There was an outcry on the low quality of education from the people of Tanzania. In response the government introduced and labeled the concept of quality education. As said earlier the government did not explicitly define the label of quality education, the label remains rather diffuse. The solution

presented promises inputs that will improve the quality of education. These inputs include improving teacher motivation, placement and retention, providing adequate curriculum and teaching materials, and finally improving infrastructure and facilities.

Following independence the most pressing worry on the minds of the government and its people was to get people into school. However it became apparent that there was more to increased enrollment than just getting children into school. It did not follow that the students who completed school had acquired the necessary knowledge and skills. There was also increased drop out as students and their parents were dissatisfied with the benefits of the education resulting from the increased enrollment. The government then decided to focus attention on increasing quality of education so that those who completed the system acquired the necessary knowledge and skills.

Unlike the label of access and equity which are clearly defined and targets set, quality of education is not as explicitly defined. The label was used in a manner suggesting that it was self explanatory. The government stated that, "The provision of quality education and training is the ultimate goal of any education system," (ETP, 1995, p. 23). As said earlier the government focuses on the inputs that will lead to achievement of quality education, even as that label of quality education is not defined. What the government is clear about is that the "...education is intended to enable every child to acquire broad and integrated knowledge, skills and understanding needed for survival, conservation of the environment and life-long education," (ETP, 1995; p. 36).

Legitimizing policy solutions

The previous section has presented the solution labels developed by the government of Tanzania to address the problems facing its education sector. The current section will analyze how the problems are justified as deserving of public policy attention.

Access and equity

The ETP (1995) state that, “Government shall guarantee access to pre-primary and primary education, and adult literacy to all citizens as a basic right,” (p. 18). Government was obliged to address the issues of access and equity since education was considered a basic right for all citizens. The government could not be seen to deny basic rights to its citizens. These are rights that all citizens are entitled to and so it is the role of government to protect and provide the rights.

The EFA (1990) was also in effect with the target of achieving universal primary education in 2000. As such at the pace of enrollment the governments worried that, “data suggest that “Education for All,” as endorsed by all countries at the Jomtien Conference in 1990, cannot be efficiently and effectively implemented unless radical measures are taken to regulate on age entry and full attendance,” (p. 37).

Liberalization

At a time that the government was pushing for universal primary education it recognized that its resources were not sufficient to sustain the increased enrollment. Liberalization allowed the participation of more players in the provision of education besides the government. The other players would reduce the burden on government

allowing the government “to concentrate on policy guidance, legislation and supply of essential public services that are not easily provided by the market,” (Odunga, 1997, p. 13). Odunga (1997) goes further to state that “This move is in line with the trends of the national economy and is intended to help the public outcry for more places of education at all levels,” (p. 13). The national economy had adopted the structural adjustment program that opened the country to a market economy. Liberalization in the education sector was thus in line and consistent with the new economic trends.

Decentralization

Odunga (1997) stated that, “The policy of decentralization is of authority over schools is being taken to facilitate relevance, consumer orientation, local control of standards and quick decision and action where needed,” (p. 14). Liberalization allowed the expansion of the education sector by allowing more schools to be built. By allowing new players in the education sector, liberalization allowed flexibility in the provision of education. This flexibility was only possible through allowing local control and authority over the provision of education. The central ministry thus had to relinquish some of its authority and pass it on to local districts to allow them to make quick and appropriate decisions.

Decentralization allowed participation of local communities in the provision of education for their children. The centralized system did not allow participation of local communities in the provision of education for their children. The decentralization system argued that parents and other local members were important stakeholders who needed to be involved in the provision of their children’s education. Local education boards were created and/or strengthened to allow the participation of parents in educational provision.

Cost sharing in education

The local authority and control allowed to regions and schools also meant that they became responsible for fiscal requirements of their schools. This meant local communities had to raise funding for their education. Education was not free any more and yet it was still supposed to be a right for all citizens. Thus the label cost sharing was introduced to pass the message that education would still be a right, but there was a need to share the cost of providing it. Cost sharing allowed alternative forms of payments that would be available to those with limited resources. The message was put across that there were educational costs that needed to be borne by the beneficiaries of the education system, and also so that the beneficiaries were not paying for the full cost. Since education was a right for all citizens, some of the cost would be paid from the central government but the beneficiaries were required to contribute to the cost of educational provision through means available to them. The concept of cost sharing was also a way of persuading the local communities who had been used to free provision of education.

Quality of education

According to Mwenisongole (1997), “There is a general belief that the quality of education in Tanzania is low,” (p. 23). Mwenisongole (1997) goes on to list factors that contributed to the low quality of education. As noted by Mwenisongole (1997), the public agreed that the quality of education was poor. There was no discussion in the justification of quality of education as to what about the quality was poor. It is clear though that the low quality of education was associated with the increased enrollment which strained the education system. A good quality of primary education lays ground for the participation of individuals in higher levels of education. It was not clear what indicators demonstrate

that a good foundation had been laid. It only became evident when the individuals that came out of the school system did not participate fully in society that their education was not of good quality. The public then blamed the school system for producing individual who are not fully ready to contribute to their society. The policy actors seem to feed on that public perception of low quality education without specifying the indicators of low education.

Competing policy interpretation

The previous section has analyzed the legitimization of policy labels by the policy actors who put the ETP (1995) together. This section goes on to analyze competing interpretations of the policy labels put forward by the government. The analysis seeks to analyze alternative policy labels since any policy label is a product of social creation. Different groups are likely to come up with different labels according to how they are affected by the problem.

Access and equity

There was a general agreement on the issue of increasing access as demonstrated by the increased demand for education. Education was seen as holding the key to success in life and was declared a right of every citizen. While the provision of access was addressing the problem of low enrollment, critics argued that gender imbalances persisted particularly at secondary and upper levels of education. Mbilinyi (1997) argued that “girls and women have proportionately less access to schooling as they proceed up the education pyramid, are disproportionately channeled into second rate, low performing secondary schools, generally have poor academic performance than male counterparts,” (p. 99). Mbilinyi (1997) argued that the seemingly successful solution of increasing

access tended to overshadow the disadvantages of access and chances of success faced by females. The solution label of increased access, according to Mbilinyi (1997), failed to recognize the pervasive nature of the disproportionate gendered challenges. The solution addressed only one aspect of the access problem, neglecting to address the challenges that females continued to face once they were enrolled in the education system.

Mbilinyi (1997) offered a solution label to retain gender and district quotas which she said helped to address challenges gender imbalances. This was at a time when other argued that any form of preferential treatment of social groups was hurting the education system as less able students displaced those who were qualified and better able to benefit from the education system.

Liberalization

While the government argued that liberalization was in line with the new national economic trends that opened up more competition and therefore better service provision, Mbilinyi (1997) argued that this was not the case in education, particularly for women and girls. She argued that the introduction of cost sharing, removal of quotas that came as a result of liberalization would disproportionately disadvantage women and other disadvantaged groups.

Mbilinyi argued that the ETP (1995) should “Increase financial support to public education at all levels as a first priority, while also encouraging private initiatives with special attention to the needs of disadvantaged districts, schools, households and pupils, particularly girls/women,” (p. 101). While the government argued for decreased public support to schools, Mbilinyi argued for more public support that would benefit the

disadvantaged who would otherwise be neglected by the privately funded education system. Mbilinyi's argument was in line with the view of education as a right to every citizen.

Decentralization

The proponents of decentralization argued that it gave the locals more control in the provision of an education that was relevant and responsive to local conditions. This increased control meant that the local districts would become responsible for funding their education. However some districts did not have the capacity to raise sufficient funding which would lead to inequities that the government had addressed over the past years. Galabawa (1997) argued that, "In order to ensure equity, the system should compensate local councils in economically under-privileged areas for their relative inability to raise revenue from local taxes," (p. 37). Mbilinyi (1997) was pushing for centralization in some aspects of educational provision such as the funding, particularly in resource poor local areas.

Cost sharing

As discussed above cost sharing was seen as the government abandoning its obligation to offer education as a right to all citizens of Tanzania. Mbilinyi (1997) particularly argued that the women and other disadvantaged groups would suffer more from cost sharing. The disadvantaged would be even more pronounced in the poor districts, necessarily reversing equity gains made during the era of universal primary education. In order to adhere to its commitment to education as a right, Mbilinyi (1997) argued that the government needed to continue to fund education particularly for disadvantaged groups such as women and also in resource poor districts.

Quality education

The issue of quality education did not receive particular attention as the focus was more on access and equity. However as the increased enrollment overwhelmed the system, the issue of quality of education became an issue. The diffuse nature of the label of concept of quality education seems to make it difficult to develop alternative solution labels. None of those that put the label forward have explained what it means by quality education. The meaning is implied and assumed.

Summary

Just as in the case of the WCEFA (1990) and CoMEA (1982), the Tanzania ETP (1995) was examined for the establishment of the policy agency and the framing of problems and solutions. It has been discussed that the purpose of establishing a policy agency is to claim authority over an area of social concern. It is not clear in this case that the Tanzania ETP established any authority. Rather they looked to existing authoritative groups to take the lead. This is clear when it came to framing education sector problems. The new labels introduced came with the ESAP which was a one of the original groups that hosted WCEFA (1990). The education sector problem labels were centered on issues of enrollment, just as with the WCEFA (1990). It follows that the solutions were focused on increasing enrollment for basic education. Issues of higher education and research that had been raised by the CoMEA were not addressed by the ETP (1995).

Chapter Eight

Discussion and conclusion

A policy of making “a whole people dependent upon a remote and unknown country for all their ideas and for the very words in which to cloth them” must “degrade their character, depress their energies, and render them incapable of aspiring to any intellectual distinction” (Ashy 1964, p. 52).

Introduction

The study set out to further the understanding of the continued prioritization of basic education over higher education in Africa, in general, and Tanzania in particular. In order to do that the study analyzed three education sector policies, that include a global, African and national policy perspective. The analysis demonstrated that the persistence of prioritization of a basic education is an outcome of three aspects of the policy process. The first aspect is that the WCEFA established an organizational and institutional framework that claimed authority over the education sector in Africa. On the other hand the CoMEA did not establish an authoritative and institutional structure to rival and continuously reinforce its position. The second is that the established organizational and institutional structure of the WCEFA framed policy problems in a simple and persuasive manner, helped by the uses of numbers of out of school population that gave the impression of rational policy process. The CoMEA did not similarly frame its policy problems in a simple and rational form. Finally WCEFA presented its solutions in a low cost doable and persuasive form. The rest of the chapter will elaborate on these lessons and point to some implications of the study. It begins by laying out a historical basis of

the education policy sector in Africa, and goes on to elaborate on how the three policy stages perpetuated the prioritization of basic education.

Historical background

The researcher chose to study policies that were formulated during the eighties and nineties for analytical purposes only. The history of education sector policies dates back to the 1800s, and this history becomes a screen for interpreting succeeding policies. In other words policies should not be seen in isolation, but rather in context of preceding policies. To say that there is a continued prioritization of basic education is to suggest that the basic education policy is viewed in an historical context.

The WCEFA (1990) viewed the education sector problems in Tanzania and Africa as that of large population without access to basic education. While the large number of out of school population is a legitimate problem, it is only one aspect of the education sector problems. Africans viewed the problem as that of African intellectual dependency that was rooted in denial of opportunities for higher education, starting from the colonial era (Ashby 1964). The colonial governments feared that,

“a rise in numbers of African graduates would be a major contribution to political evolution and the demand for self-rule – a prospect which most colonial administrators of the time were unwilling to promote,” (Furley and Watson, 1978).

The goal of the colonial governments was to create and sustain an intellectual dependency that allowed them to continue to rule and control the African continent. This

history of denial of higher education to Africans tends to prejudice any external policies that seem to perpetuate the same policies of the past.

At independence, Africans were quick and eager to reverse the scourge of intellectual dependency. It is thus very difficult for Africans to separate the past efforts of the colonial governments to retain intellectual control through restricting access to higher education (Furley and Watson, 1978; Ashby 1964) from the new justification for continuing to confine Africans to basic education (WCEFA). The WCEFA (1990) did not consider the history of past colonial education sector policies as part of the frame within which education sector policies would be interpreted by Africans. They did not view the resultant continued intellectual dependency of Africans on the international community as an education sector problem arising out of the confinement of Africans to basic education. On the contrary, Africans viewed the consolidation of independence as an important role of African universities. Yesufu (1973) commented on the sudden increase of post-independence universities in Africa, saying they were a result of “African awareness of the need for a solid intellectual base for the consolidation of independence,” (p. 37).

The different views demonstrate the complexity of defining education sector problems. The multiplicity of interpretations of social issues raises the question of which policy attracts the most attention and acceptance as addressing the ‘real problem’. The answer to this question does not necessarily lie in the merits of the content of the policy. Each policy highlights different aspects of a complex social milieu. The strengths of a policy seem to lie in the content, process and structure of the organizational and institutional arrangement for the policy. Most policy analyses do not engage the character

and nature of the interest groups involved in the formulation of particular policies. This study gave a place for analyzing the coalition of interest groups as they typify and name education sector problems.

Establishment of policy agency

This section draws the lessons and implications of the study concerning the **establishment of the policy agency**. The researcher makes sense of the activities of the establishment of the policy agents and how they contribute to an understanding of perceived persistence of favorable support of basic education over higher education. The researcher analyzes the activities of the stage of the **establishment of policy agency** to draw lessons about the opposing views of the international community and the ministers of education in Africa, and comes up with extrapolations of the lessons learned.

The stage of the **establishment of the policy agency** is particularly important for setting up an organizational and institutional structure that claims authority over a policy area. Not only does it claim authority but it also defines how policy issues will be thought about. The basis for the perceived persistence of support for basic education is embedded in the organizational and institutional structure of the WCEFA and the original four organizations. Without similar organizational and institutional structure, the CoMEA cannot competently argue for increased support of higher education. It needs an organizational and institutional structure that can claim authority over education sector policies in Africa. This could be achieved by setting up an organizational and institutional structure to further intellectual cause of the CoMEA. Such an organizational body could be based in one of the African universities, or the Association of African Universities (AAA). Its role would be to coordinate studies of education sector policies in African

countries and generate a database for studying education policies in Africa. The idea would be to establish professional and administrative authority over education sector policies in Africa. The body would produce progress reports on implementation of education sector policies in the African countries, necessarily reinforcing their authoritative claims.

The study observed that the idea of education for all was born inside UNICEF, following its success with low cost, persuasive and doable interventions during the child survival campaign. UNICEF envisaged that it could transplant the winning formula to the education sector. This low cost, persuasive and doable formula missed the other aspect that contributed to the success of the child survival campaign. According to Chabbott (2003) the success of the child survival campaign was driven more by,

“...intellectual consensus on the definition of the problem and its solution, a technological innovation that created a new way of attacking the problem, and an inexpensive means of delivering the innovation to remote areas,” (Chabbott 2003)

This was not the case in education. There was no intellectual consensus on the definition of the problem, or surgical technology like immunization to attack the problem (Chabbott 2003). UNICEF viewed the sheer numbers of out of school population as an equivalent to the large population of children who did not have access to immunization and other basic health services that it had been able to address. Its goal during the stage of **establishing a policy agency** was to find “...low-cost, doable interventions that would work on a mass scale,” (Black 1996). It was driven more by the administrative expertise and authority

(Etzion 1964) that it had gained during the successful child survival campaign (Black 1996).

This goal of pursuing a low-cost and doable intervention was one that would attract funding from the international community and national governments (Chabbott 2003). The pressure to fundraise gave tremendous administrative authority to international development organizations, over professional education organizations (Etzion 1964; Haas 1992). Etzion (1959) defines professional organization as “...organizations whose major goal is to institutionalize knowledge and to sustain its creation,” (p. 51). By this definition the WCEFA and the four key organizations are not professional organizations in international education but more of administrative or bureaucratic organizations (Haas 1992). One of their major goals is to fundraise and distribute funding for development programs, not the creation and institutionalization of education sector knowledge. The fact that “...educational development depends on funding from international development donors,” (Chabbott 2003, p. 143) subordinated the authority of international education professionals. It created a situation where administrative authority of UNICEF prevailed over professional authority (Etzion 1964), and led professionals “...to translate expert knowledge on education into international development scripts,” (Chabbott 2003).

According to Chabbott (2003), “Educational development professionals did not initiate the WCEFA, but in 1988 one of their principle forums, IWGE, did provide a site for international development professionals to receive token approval for the conference from educational experts,” (p. 135). The role of educational professional was relegated to providing approval and legitimacy to the driving motive of a low-cost and doable

innovation. In other words an education sector problem was interpreted by a bureaucratic organization (Haas 1992). Chabbott (2003) decries this dominance of the bureaucratic interests, saying the debate over basic education was partly about tactics, “what was the best way to coax more funds out of donor organizations,” (p. 134).

Whereas WCEFA (1990) was founded by preexisting organizations with authority over international education and development, the CoMEA was founded by ministers of education coming from newly independent countries that were not considered to be experts in education. At the dawn of independence there did not exist an organizational structure of Africans with authority over education sector problems. As such the CMEA was hosted by UNESCO and UNECA, which continue to do so. It has been pointed out that the continued hosting of the CoMEA by UNESCO also means that there is no organizational structure that continues to further the creation and institutionalization of African thoughts and knowledge on education policy. “Modern society is a society of organizations,” (Etzion 1964). Without established organizational structures, competitiveness of any given society is weakened. Organizations allow the creation of new social units devoted to specific functions (Etzion 1964). While the WCEFA (1990) continues to reinforce its goals through its organizational structure and annual monitoring reports, the CoMEA disbands and meets periodically, leaving it without an organizational structure to further its goals. This lack of an authoritative organizational and institutional structure leaves the African nations, like Tanzania without a dependable resource to look to ideas on education sector policies. They go on to look to the international community that has the structure and authority to fill the gap.

The study brought attention to the idea of multiple groups interpreting the same policy situation differently. This is an aspect of policy that has been neglected in policy analysis. Policy analysts have focused on the substantive content of policy on the premise that content is driven by rational reasoning. The focus on substantive policy content left out the interpretive factor of the policy groups. This study brings out the constructed nature of policy problems and solutions. The constructed nature is hidden from policy documents that tend to present a united front. By identifying different policy groups constructing different interpretations of the same social situation, the study brings new insight into policy analysis. The issue of multiple realities is brought to the front of policy analysis.

It is little acknowledged that African ministers of education held different view from those of the WCEFA (1990), with the international community preferring to argue that a substantial number of the African countries participated at the WCEFA (1990), in which case the conference reflects the views of the Africans as well. This means that the international community is desirous of Africans views about their education sector problems to be included in the WCEFA (1990). However the desire is not fully reflected at the stage of **establishment of the policy agency**, which started with the coming together of the four international organizations, UNICEF, World Bank, UNESCO and UNDP. These four international organizations developed two drafts, A and B before they consulted with the Africans. King (1990) states that, “Up to and including Draft B, the major writing tasks had been undertaken by a small group of people from UNICEF, UNESCO and World Bank... it could be argued that the basic framework and

assumptions about what needed to be done had already been set by the 4 agencies and the initial writers,” (p. 8).

The discussion of the of the education policies at the stage of the establishment of the policy agency argues that the international development organizations’ support for primary education is more from a functional basis more than a professional basis. The functional arguments favored support of basic education which was seen to be simple, persuasive and doable. The bottom line for Africans in this case is that there is no obvious demonstrable difference between the policy of the past colonial governments and that of the international development agencies. The troubling weakness of the pro-primary education that it inherited from its colonial history is that it was pursued for purposes that were degrading and suppressive to Africans.

Framing education sector problems

The previous section discussed the role of the stage of **establishing policy agency** in furthering the understanding of the perceived persistence of support for basic education. This section discusses the implications of the way in which the different interest groups interpreted education sector problems for Africa. It draws out the meaning and lessons of the study with relation to how multiple interest groups interpret and frame the same policy problem differently.

Black (1996) makes an intriguing observation about the shift of wellbeing of children from being a private matter into the realm of public concern. She observed that, “Not long ago, the idea of a statesmen sitting at a conference table to discuss the wellbeing of children would have been greeted with amazement, if not with derision,” (Black

1996, p. 1). Black (1996) goes on to analyze the progressive shift of children into the realm of public concern. There are many such examples of issues that were not considered of public concern at one time, but became so at a later period. Best (1995) in line with such observations argues that, "...social problems are not conditions; conditions are merely the subject of claims....It does not matter whether the conditions exist; it matters only that people make claims about them," (p. 6). In fact Best (1996) argues that any social condition is a potential subject for claims-making. Claim-makers do not only draw attention to particular social conditions, but they shape how the condition is conceived and thought about.

This is an important assertion with respect to the WCEFA (1990) that draws attention to out of school population as the problem facing the education sector in Africa. Drawing on their administrative and professional authority, the international community typifies education sector problems in Africa. They make several claims by giving labels to education sector problems that focus on basic education. The WCEFA (1990) took a very objectivist perspective of defining a social problem as a specific social condition that is a concern to the public. They make an argument that higher education can wait in Africa for the reason that it benefits the elite. This problem was made more compelling during the period of study due to the many university students' demonstrations and their apparent aloofness to local conditions and concerns.

The fact that the international community labeled low enrollment at the primary level of education as the major education sector problem in African, while the African ministers of education labeled higher education as the major education sector problem goes to demonstrate that the social condition is the subject of claims-making and not the

policy problem. For the ministers of education the problem was that of continued African intellectual dependence. To the African minister, the denial of higher education had been used in the past, during the colonial era, as a weapon of suppression. The international community did not experience the denial of access to higher education. Their views are not shaped by the same history of restricted access that the Africans experienced. Their history was shaped more by a non-responsive poverty condition in Africa and donor fatigue. The different basis for claims-making meant that WCEFA and CoMEA made claims that were different from each other.

Failure to recognize that social problems are the different claims made by the different interest groups will make for an extended contestation of international community and Africans. Recognition that social problems are indeed social constructions creates space for the different groups to engage their different claims. It allows the different groups to examine their warrants (Best 1986) for making particular claims. In this case both groups would examine the history of past education sector problems and the claims made in the past. Discussing this history as a screen that clouds the way in which Africans view education sector problems and how that screen may influence their claims-making might open new ways for making claims. It would also provide the international community with an opportunity for learning about and understanding the claims made by the African ministers of education.

Such a discussion would also offer the Africans an opportunity to understand the history of claims-making by the international community. The discussion would provide an opportunity to disentangle the claims made by the international community from those of the past colonial era, even though the bottom line of the policies may look the same.

The resultant cross group understanding may enrich the different claims to become more integrated or comprehensive. Acknowledging that conditions are subjects of claims-making holds potential for a sea change in education sector policies by raising new questions that would offer a new perspective. It allows the different groups to acknowledge that their views are only claims that they are making about a condition, and that there are various claims that can be made about the same condition. The groups may ask what other claims are possible or do other groups make about the situation? What kinds of claims do different groups make and why? What is missed out from a group's claim that is present in other groups' claims? What potential is there for reconciling the different claims? What is gained or lost from continuing to pursue different claims?

Framing education sector solutions

When social problems are seen as claims about social conditions, what does that say of the solutions? This is the question that will be addressed in this section, drawing on the outcome of the study. According to this constructivist perspective, public policy solutions are social constructions aimed to create conditions that satisfy the claim-makers. This already implies that public policy solutions are themselves contestable arenas. Interest groups with different claims about a particular condition will have different ideas about the solution. It is no wonder then that the solutions suggested by the African ministers of education are different from those of the international community. It is also no wonder that there is a perception that the international community denies Africans access to higher education, and vice versa, that the international community tends to view provision of higher education as catering for the African elites only.

This conflict lies in the claims-making and sense-making of the public policy solutions. The most contested solution concerns the opposing sides of provision of more opportunities for higher education or more of primary education. This is a statement that seems clear at face value. A closer look at the statement through the claims-making lens tells a different story about the complexity of the propositions nested in the concepts of university and basic education. It is thus important to examine how the different claim-makers view the different solutions.

The international community views basic education as an affordable and doable education sector intervention that has a potential for bringing education to the majority of Africans in line with the Human Rights Act (1948). On the other hand they see universities as, “white elephants and flashy symbols of modernization: Ivory towers occupied by minority elite, expensively educated, and as expensively continuously maintained, at the expense of the vast majority of the population, with whom they have little in common,” (Yusuf 1973). Guided by this claim about the education sector solutions, it is not difficult to see why the international community would favor increased provision of basic education. However it is also important to note that this perspective is an outcome of their social construction.

Africans have different claims about higher education as a policy solution. They see the current universities in Africa as creations of the Asquith and other colonial commissions. The Asquith commission was mandated,

“To consider the principles which should guide the promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the

colonies, and to explore means whereby universities and other appropriate bodies in the United Kingdom may be able to cooperate with institutions of higher education in the colonies in order to in order to give effect to these principles,” (Lulat 2005, p. 227).

According to Furley and Watson (1978), “The Asquith report was, despite its sincere wish to provide for the best interest of the colonies, a document of cultural imperialism, promoting universities in Africa very largely according to the accepted British pattern...,” (p. 306). Africans were concerned by this colonial creation leading them to hold a conference in 1973 to redefine an African university. They lamented that, “...after what might well be called a decade of African Independence, the universities seem to remain as foreign as their origin,” (Yusuf 1973). The university as created by the colonial commissions did not serve the needs of the Africans. It also suggests that when the international community and the Africans talk about university institutions, they may not be referring to the same concept.

Yusuf (1973) argued that, “The truly African university must be one that draws its inspiration from its environment, not a transplanted tree, but growing from a seed that is planted and nurtured in the African soil,” (p. 40). In other words the Africans see the university institution that has created elitism, which the international community laments about, as a foreign creation that they also are not happy with. When the Association of African Universities convened the conference about the African university, it was arguing that, “A fundamental redefinition of the role of the university seemed, therefore, to be called for,” (Yusuf 1973, p. 39). This conference was not the first to call for a redefinition of the African university. At a conference held in Tananarive at the dawn of

independence in 1962, Africans argued that, “no single type of foreign university can, in itself, meet the aspirations of the African people for social and economic development,” (UNESCO 1963, p. 12).

When Africans argue for increased support for universities, they are referring to an African university that differs from the creations of the Asquith and other colonial commissions. They are arguing for, “African institutions of higher education,” that “are at once the main instrument of national progress, the chief guardian of the people’s heritage and the voice of the people in the international councils of technology and scholarship,” (UNESCO 1963, p. 13). This is a different kind of university that focuses on the problems facing Africa, including the problems of the education sector. It does not just focus on student enrollment and the human resource perspective that constitutes the international community’s image of universities in Africa. In fact the conference of the African Association of Universities offered a comprehensive view of their view of the role of the African university. They suggested the following roles:

- *Pursuit, promotion and dissemination of knowledge.* They argue that the knowledge must be locally oriented and motivated.
- *Research.* They argue that priority must be given to research into local problems that will contribute to the amelioration, in particular, of the life of the ordinary man and the rural poor.
- *Provision of intellectual leadership.* This was to be seen as an important role of the university in light of the high levels of illiteracy and the relative inexperience of public and other functionaries.
- *Manpower development.*

- *Promoting social and economic modernization.* They argued that universities must accept the challenge and the primary role of promoting social cohesion, and setting examples in the establishment and operation of democratic institutions.
- *Promoting inter-continental unity and international understanding.* They argued that the university must rediscover Africa and provide the intellectual foundation to reinforce the image of Africa in the modern world. (Yusuf 1973, p. 45).

This is a university that is clearly different from that talked about and envisaged by the international community. Again this reinforces that the constructivist perspective that conditions are the subject of claims-making. The claims made about higher education by the different local and international interest groups are different. Granted, the university as envisaged by Africans does not exist yet. However, it is the university that has potential to address African education sector problems and at the same time harnessing intellectual ownership. The African university as a complex institution with its roots in the developed world through the Asquith and other commissions make it problematic to change its image, organizational and institutional structure. This may explain the protracted change to the African concept of a university. This problem should not deter the solution of supporting African universities.

Summary

A history of African struggle for increased access to higher education has clouded African interpretation of education sector policies propounded by the international community, which seem to perpetuate restricted access to higher. This situation may be

improved by moving away from the objectivist perspective of the international community to a growing constructivist perspective of viewing education sector policies in Africa. The mainstream objectivist perspective that fixes education sector problems in low enrollment fails to recognize the social constructed nature of education sector problems. The objectivist perspective trails behind a growing scholarship of constructivist policy perspective (Yanow and Shwartz-Shea 2006; Fischer 2003; Best 1995; Robinson 1992). This growing perspective has greater potential for engaging multiple policy groups when they recognize that policy problems represent claims-making about a social condition.

The claims-making perspective also breathes new life into the policy solutions by allowing the discussion of the different claims. For example the concept of the university and basic education can be further examined by the contesting groups to bring out their various biases and the history of the biases. Without adopting the constructivist perspective, the prioritization of education sub-sector support will continue to be a contested arena. The objectivist approach that promotes basic education will continue to be seen as a perpetuation of African intellectual dependence on the external world, which started during the colonial era. At that time Africans argued that, "To suggest that university standards can only be based on universal popular education is to ignore the whole history of universities themselves. The great scholars of earlier centuries were not the product of universal literacy in every artisan's or peasant's heart. It was the reverse," (Lulat 2005, p. 226).

APPENDIX

Creating the codes and selecting policies for study

Identifying the policy frameworks for study

The researcher set out to investigate the policy process that led to the development and acceptance of the basic education concept which, according to international education policy literature drives education sector policies in developing countries. According to the international education policy literature, the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) (1990) is the most influential policy framework that brought together the world in a global effort to improve education sector in developing countries. The WCEFA was selected as a base policy guideline that influenced education sector policy in developing countries.

Due to the powerful influence of international organizations in local education sector policies of developing countries, the researcher selected the WCEFA (1990) as the base education sector policy guideline. At the local level, the Education and Training policy (1995) was selected as the base local policy framework as it is the first major policy framework in Tanzania during the period under study.

The literature review revealed that the African ministers of education were meeting to frame education sector policies for African countries since 1962. The researcher wanted to find out the policy themes that prevailed before the introduction of

the WCEFA (1990). The researcher therefore selected the last conference immediately following the WCEFA (1990 which was The Harare Declaration (1982).

Coding

Coding refers to generation of labels attached to a section of “text to index it as relating to a theme or issue in the data which the researcher has identified as important to his or her interpretation,” (King, 1998, p. 119). The codes become the tools for data analysis in interpretive content analysis. The process of code development is explained as separate from data analysis only for practical reasons. In practice, the process of code development and data analysis are iterative, allowing codes to be deleted, added or refined as the data is analyzed.

The current study used the template method to generate codes for data analysis. According to King (1998) “The essence of the approach is that the researcher produces a list of codes (a template) representing themes identified in their textual data,” (p. 118). King (1998) states that the initial template derives from the literature review, the researcher’s own experience anecdotal and informal evidence and exploratory research. In the case of the current study, the initial template derived from two sets of literature. One set is the literature on the policy process. This literature argues that the policy process is a linear process that includes the definition of problem, definition of solution, implementation of policy and evaluation (Colebatch 2003; Birkland 2005). A second set of literature came from selected chapter of the WCEFA (1990).

Generating initial template codes for data analysis

As pointed out above, the researcher set out to study the three education sector policy frameworks which are:

- Harare Declaration (1982)
- World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) (1990)
- Tanzania Training and Education policy (1995)

The first step was to generate a framework for analyzing the policies. The framework would extract data on how policy actors generated education sector policies that favored primary education in Tanzania during the period under study (1990 to 2000).

Guided by selected chapters of WCEFA (1990) and the literature review, the researcher developed an initial mental sense of template code which included the actors' projection of their interests, and perspective on issues, as well as problem definition and development of solutions. The initial template was applied to the WCEFA (1990) starting with a subset of the policy document. Chapter six of the WCEFA (1990), which discusses the essence of education for all, was selected as the foundational subset of the education sector policies. This chapter was then analyzed using the initial template codes for the purpose of generating a more extensive and rigorous template code that would be used to analyze all the policy frameworks selected for the study.

The process is very rigorous and demanding of intellectual creativity in order to generate adequately interpretive and meaningful codes. The interpretive process is the key to generating codes. The researcher found out that there were more than one possible interpretations of any given set of text. At times the researcher was torn between the

possible interpretations. However it helped that the process is very iterative making it possible to revisit earlier interpretations as meaning of text becomes progressively clearer with further reading. As one proceeds with reading and interpreting a given text, a more composite meaning develops progressively as you approach a complete reading of the full text, and earlier interpretations are challenged and clarified. The detailed process is described below.

Step one: Condensing sample text

Once the researcher selected a sample text (chapter six of WECEFA, 1990) to apply the initial template code, the next step was to condense the text. In condensing text, the researcher is shortening text while retaining the core meaning of the text (Graneheim and Lundman, 2003). This process of condensing text was conducted in two steps. The first step was to summarize each sentence of the sample text followed by generalizing the summaries as described in detail below.

Summarizing text

Given the large size of text, the first step was to reduce it to its core meaning that could then be manipulated as data. The process involved reading the full text more than once to get an overall meaning of the text. Once the researcher had acquired an overall meaning of the full text, each sentence was then summarized. Summarizing of each sentence was done to gain access to the core meaning of the text. The researcher summarized each sentence within the context of the initial template code, that is to say each sentence was thought about within the context of ANT or the policy process approach. The researcher made decisions on whether a particular sentence presented

information about the policy actors or about the content of the policy. Each particular sentence was therefore summarized within the context and language of the pertinent strand of literature. The summaries of each sentence that came out of the sample text are presented in appendix 4.1. Once the full sample text was summarized the next step was to begin the process of creating roots for the categories that would eventually emerge from the sample text. This process involved the generation of general statements that capture the meaning concept embedded in the summaries. This process of generalization is the subject of the next section.

Generalization

The summaries of sentences generated above do not show patterns in the data that can be systematically studied. Generalization is the process that begins to develop the concepts that capture the patterns in the data that can be manipulated as qualitative data. The process of generalization creates concepts that represent the summaries. These generalizations were generated by using the lens of the selected chapter from the WCEFA (1990) document and the policy process to create relevant concepts from the summaries. At this point the researcher began the process of interpreting text to create concepts that would then be progressively broadened to form the codes.

The researcher then created a second row against the list of summaries. The researcher then went down the list of summaries generating generalizations. The process involved taking each summary phrase and generating general statements that drew out the concept expressed by the summary. In formulating these concepts the researcher was beginning to develop classifications of the data that were internally consistent and will

lead to the formation of categories and themes as the concepts are merged. The outcome of the process was a list of general statements which brought out concepts that represented patterns in the data. The next step was to draw out categories from the general statements.

Step two: Creating categories

The process discussed above generated a list of general statements that captured the patterns in the data. The researcher then carefully went over the list of general statements combining general statements with similar or related meaning, into broad higher level categories. Each category encompassed a broad unified concept that was internally homogenous and externally heterogeneous. As Graneheim and Lundman (2003) observed, human experiences are so intertwined that there are limitations to the extent that categories can be mutually exclusive.

Once all the summaries had been converted into generalizations, similar concepts are merged to higher order categories. In essence categorization is about generating some general phenomena that represents a given concepts. Some border line cases had to be revisited after other categories were created and a better sense of the meaning had emerged from the full sample text. As pointed out earlier the iterative process proved to be strength of the process in that earlier interpretations could be revisited and refined accordingly as clearer meaning emerged from deeper and complete analysis.

The categories that emerged included:

- Participation of multiple groups in the formulation of education sector issues that showed differences in conceptualization of education sector issues

- Claiming expertise over global education sector issues by constituting roundtables that presented evidence about education sector issues from around the world
- Labeling or defining what would constitute the issues of education policy.
- Legitimizing problems and solutions declared as the issues that would receive attention as education sector problems and solutions
- Mobilizing resources to support the various programs
- Setting new boundaries for basic education to include issues that had hitherto not been considered as such

The categories left out the interests and motivation of the policy actors. Any development of a social artifact cannot be separated from the interests and motivation of the actors who put it together. The analysis of the sample text did not bring out the interests of the social actors prompting the researcher to expand the literature search beyond the sample text in order to access data about the interest of the policy actors. The researcher accessed literature that discussed the events leading to the hosting of the WCEFA (1990), which was not included in the WCEFA (1990) policy document.

Based on this literature more categories emerged that were added to the categories generated from the sample text. According to King (1994) the addition (insertion) of more categories “is the commonest type of modification made to the initial template,” (p. 125). An analysis of the literature about the events leading to the hosting of the WCEFA (1990) generated the following categories:

- consensus building in which the sponsoring organizations define and agree on the policy issues that they will advocate
- Naming of the policy agency in which a public image and message is portrayed

- Building momentum in which more members are recruited to support the issues generated by the sponsoring organization

Once the categories had been generated the final step was to bring together similar categories into themes through a process of abstraction.

Abstraction

Abstraction is an extension of the categorization process. According to Spiggle (1994), abstraction “surpasses categorization in that it collapses more empirically grounded categories into higher order constructs,” (p. 493). Abstraction incorporates more concrete categories into few, more general conceptual classes known as themes. These themes are the highest order conceptual classes that formulate the codes. Abstraction is the final step in the process of creating codes. The complete process described above is shown in figure 9.1 below.

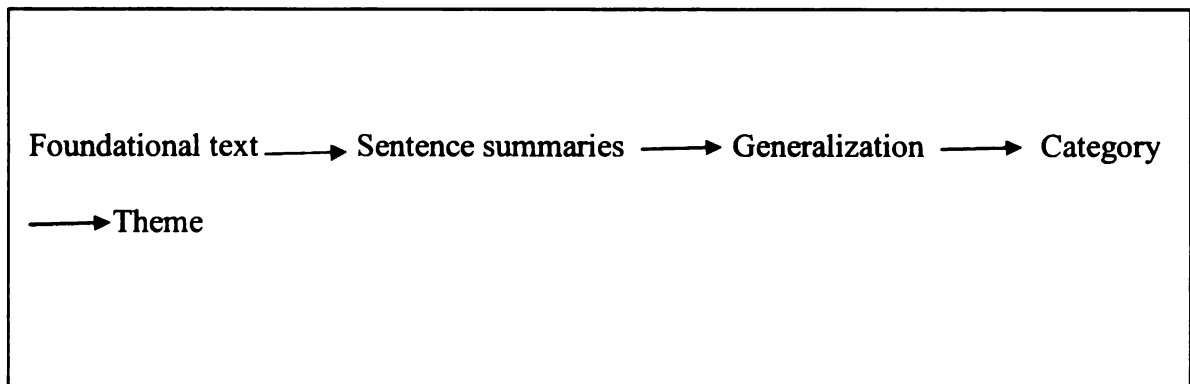


Figure 9.1: Steps in interpretive content analysis

Three themes emerged from the abstraction process. The themes that emerged included the participation of the WCEFA sponsors in ‘**Establishing a policy agency**,’ which is followed by a process of “**Framing problems**”, and “**Framing solutions**”. These three themes formed the three-stage analytic framework which consists of stages

that begin with establishing a policy agency, followed by framing policy problems and then framing policy solutions. The sequential structure of the analytic framework is only for ease of presentation, the actual process is iterative.

The theme on **Establishing Policy Agency** emerged from the three categories of building consensus, naming the forum and building momentum as shown below in figure 9.3.

The second theme of **Framing Problems** emerged from three themes of labeling problems, legitimizing problems and competing interpretation of problems as shown in figure 9.2 below.

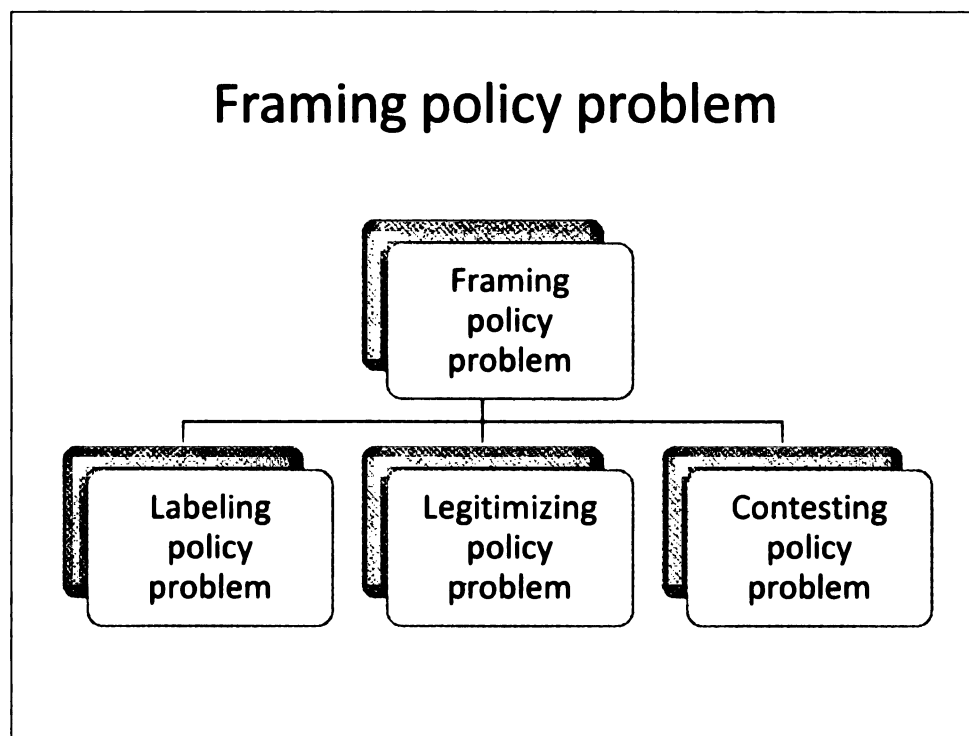


Figure 9.2 Framing Policy Problems

The third theme is that of **Framing Solutions** which emerged from the categories of labeling solutions, competing solutions and mobilizing resources shown in Figure 9.4 below.

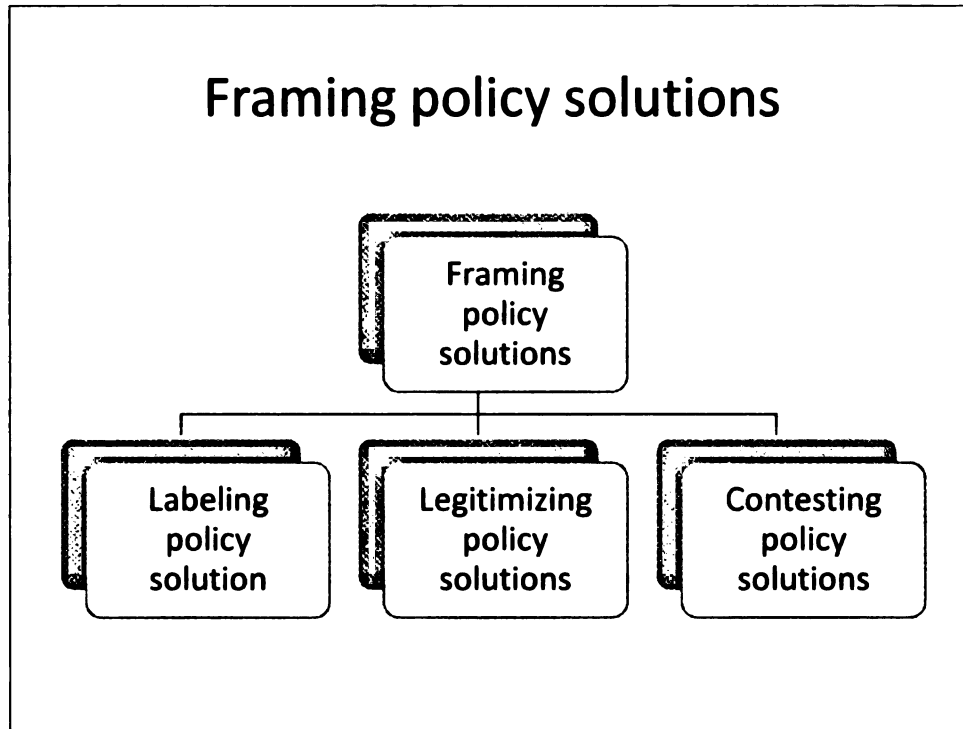


Figure 9.3 Framing Policy Solutions

Data Analysis

A time line of the policies that were selected for study in the current research is shown in figure 9.4 below.

- Harare Declaration (1982)
- WCEFA (1990)
- Tanzanian Education and Training Policy (1995)

Figure 9.4 Education sector policy framework timeline

There were a number of ways for analyzing the data once the codes had been developed. The researcher chose to analyze each policy framework first and then follow the individual policy analysis with a comparison of the policy frameworks. Each policy framework was analyzed using the three codes discussed above. The analysis of each policy will be structured as follows:

- **Establishing the policy agency:** This code analyzes the way in which policy actors came together to form an agency that became the driver of a particular policy perspective. It uses three categories to examine the establishment of the policy agents. The first category is that of *building consensus* in which the analysis examines the coming together of the core members of the policy agency. The consensus building analyzes the triggers for the coming together and the process involved in building the agency. The second category is that of *naming the agency*. The category of naming the agency examines the significance symbolized by the name that is created for the agency. The third category is the

building momentum in which the core agency enrolls wider support and publicizes its policy perspective.

- **Framing policy problems:** This code analyzes the definition of the policy problems, in other words it studies what becomes accepted policy problems. It uses three categories to examine the framing of problems. The first category is the *labeling of policy problems* which examines the tagging of issues with a policy name or identity that conveys the existence of a problem of public concern. The second category is that of *legitimizing problems* which analyzes how those labeled problems are endorsed as worth to the publicly supported. The third category of *competing problem interpretations* analyzes how different groups may come up with dissimilar problem labels for similar social issues.
- **Framing solutions:** This code analyzes the definition of the policy solutions, in other words it studies what becomes accepted policy solutions. It uses four categories to examine the framing of problems. The first category is the *labeling of policy solutions* which examines the tagging of issues with a policy name or identity that conveys the perception of addressing a problem of public concern. The second category is that of *legitimizing solutions* which analyzes how those labeled solutions are endorsed as the choice solution that will be supported with public resources. The third category of *competing solution interpretations* analyzes how different groups may come up with dissimilar solutions for similar social issues. The forth category is that of *resource mobilization* which analyzes how and what resources are sought to support a particular policy solution label.

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