Education, Capabilities and Development – Youth in Rural Tanzania

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Master thesis submitted to
The Norwegian University of Life Science
NORAGRIC
Ås, Norway
May 2010

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Declaration

I, Inger Johanne Dahl, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

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Abstract

This thesis is exploring the relationship between education and development with focus on formal schools ability to enhance capabilities among youth in rural Tanzania.

Tanzania has had a focus on education since the independence. The focus has mainly been on giving all children primary education, and this focus has been reinforced by the international emphasis of Education for All. There is a general agreement on educations importance for development. Even so the arguments about what kind of role formal schooling should play vary. Five years ago almost no Tanzanian youth had the possibility for secondary education; today the number is increasing because of newly built schools.

The study is mainly done in Haydom village in Mbulu district in October to December 2009. In the collection of data semi -structured interviews has been the main method. Information has been gathered from youth, parents, teachers, one headmaster, and one representative for the government. Observations and unstructured conversations with other youth and adults living or working in Tanzania have been important for the interpretation of the data.

This study finds that there has been a massive expansion of the education system recent years, and this has lead to better accessibility but lower quality in both primary and secondary school. The focus at the moment is solely on academic learning, and the enhancement of the education sector does not include vocational or agricultural training. One of the major findings of this study is the lack of a holistic discussion about what kind of education Tanzanian children and youth needs. This thesis argues that the local community, and youth in particular should have a central place in this discussion. Another important finding is the instrumental view on education that is typical at all levels of society. Education is seen as a ticket to increased economic wealth both at individual level and in society. This thesis argues that this narrow perception of education constrains the individual's ability to enhance its freedoms, and does not fully utilize the potential education has to create change.

It has been this thesis goal to critically examine the role education is playing in the Tanzanian society today, and at the same time highlight the opportunities and potential a good education has to create development.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is my work, and hence my responsibility. The result of my study would, however, not be the same without the persons and institutions that have contributed severely to my work. First of all I want to express my gratitude towards all my informants. Their positivity and willingness to answer my questions, no matter how strange some of them must have seemed, amazed me and motivated me to go on with my research. Especially I want to thank pupils, teachers and the headmaster at Haydom Primary School for welcoming me into their classrooms and daily life at school, and for their willingness to share thoughts about school and dreams about the future with me.

I also owe the staff at Haydom Lutheran Hospital my gratitude. They made my research practically possible by letting me stay in the guesthouse, and being my gateway into Haydom village. Without this starting point I would probably not have been able to get all the information I needed in such short time. It has also been a valuable experience for me to see how important an institution like a hospital can be for a community.

Writing up my thesis has been challenging and interesting. The scholarship to the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala was a very good opportunity to get the writing process started and made much interesting literature easily accessible to me. I'm grateful for the possibility and want to direct my thanks to everyone that made the month there so valuable to me. I have had two supervisors that have given me comments from two different academic perspectives: Esben Leifsen at the University of Life Science, and Karen Brit Feldberg at Oslo University College. The discussions with both of them, and their faith in my project have meant a lot to me. I will also send a warm thanks to Cecilie Thorsen, English teacher and friend, for helping me to improve my English skills and to make the thesis more readable.

Last, but not at least: Asante sana Moses. You are my inspiration.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

A-level: Advanced level
BEST: Basic Education Statistics
CCM: Chama Cha Mapinduzi
COBET: Complementary Basic Education for Tanzania
COSTECH: Commission for Science and Technology
DEO: District Educational Officer
EFA: Education for All
FAO: Food and Agriculture Organization
GDP: Gross Domestic Product
GER General Enrolment Rate
HLH: Haydom Lutheran Hospital
ILO: International Labor Organization
IMF: International Monetary Fund
MAF: Mission Aviation Fellowship
MKUKUTA: Tanzania's National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
NER: Net Enrolment Rate
NBS: National Bureau of Statistics
NGO: Non Governmental Organization
ODA: Official Development Assistance
O-level: Ordinary level
PEDP: Primary Education Development Plan
PPP: Purchasing Power Parity
REO: Regional Education Officer
SAP: Structural Adjustment Program
SEDP: Secondary Education Development Plan
SEIA: Secondary Education in Africa
TZN: The United Republic of Tanzania
UN: United Nations
UNDP: United Nations Development Program
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund
UPE: Universal Primary Education
VET: Vocational Education and Training
VETA: Vocational Education and Training Authority
WB: World Bank
WCEFA: World Conference on Education for All

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1 Introduction

This is a study of the role of education in development, with focus on formal schools' ability to enhance capabilities among youth in rural Tanzania. The information is gathered during a fieldwork in Haydom village in Tanzania from October to December 2009, but my understanding of the subject is also related to earlier visits to Tanzania, Tanzanian friends living in Norway, and not at least my work as a teacher in a Norwegian school.

This chapter will introduce the focus and purpose of the study, give a short problem statement and discuss the limitations of the study. The structure of the thesis is explained in 1.4.

1.1 Focus and purpose of the study

Education has always had a place in the development discourse, and schools play a vital role in the forming of society. Even though this is generally accepted, there is no general agreement on what the purpose formal schooling is, or what role schools should play in the development of society. Education also has an individual aspect; the development of the student's own capabilities. The individual and the social dimension are arguably of equal importance. Even so when plans are made on an international and a national level, the society argument normally becomes emphasized the most.

My study will start from the individual level, and look at the consequences political decisions about education have for youth in rural Tanzania. The focus will also be on what kind of education the young people need and want. That said, I will also argue that the education possibilities given to youth is an investment in the future for society. Many of the development actors have acknowledged the latter, and have hence their own agenda for what kind of education youth should be given. The purpose of this study is to compare these agendas with the perception young people have of the present education system and of their future possibilities.

Most of Tanzania's population still lives in rural districts, even though migration causes rapid population growth in the cities. Children and youth are the biggest demographic cohort in Tanzania today. The average Tanzanian is hence young and lives in a rural district. Even so

most social research done in Tanzania has not given rural youth much attention. I therefore find it both necessary and interesting to focus on this particular group in my study.

1.2 Problem statement and objectives

Youth is an important part of present society and at the same time they represent the hope for the future society. They are in a phase were finding their own identity is important and at the same time they are also going to find their place in the community. The young people who experience that they are needed and wanted in the community, who get a chance to develop their skills and talents and to explore various opportunities, often shows a lot of positive energy, innovative thoughts and creativity. These qualities can be beneficial for themselves and for society. On the other hand; young people who have fewer possibilities to learn and participate positively in society are vulnerable, and might easy end up creating trouble both for themselves and for the community they live in.

Education has the potential to enhance young people's capabilities, and hence contribute to development. This study will explore the relationship between youth's possibilities for education and their hopes for the future. To do this I have chosen two objectives:

Objective I: *To understand what kind of possibilities young people in Haydom are given to enhance their capabilities, and what role formal education has in this.*

Objective II: *To understand how young people see their future possibilities and how their choices of school and work are affected by their life situation.*

1.3 Limitations of the study

My study is limited to one village due to time and transport constraints. The advantage of this is that I got the opportunity to study this particular village more in depth. The limitation is mostly a consequence for the possibility to generalize about my findings. Additionally, Haydom village has a special history that makes the local community less typical for the population in rural Tanzania. Attempts to generalize are therefore only done when I find similar studies from other parts of Tanzania.

The second limitation is time. My study can be seen as time specific both because the field work was done in a relative short period of time, and because educational politics in Tanzania at the moment are in a changing process. My findings and conclusions should be seen in relation to this.

Thirdly my research are based on interviews with youth in mainly two arenas; primary school and at the water-post. The water-post youth are not in school or waged work. I have limited my study to these two groups of youth because they represent what is typical daily occupation for youth living in rural Tanzania. For further research it would be interesting to see if the youth, who are lucky enough to attend secondary school or apprenticeship, have different views on the future and opinions about schools than the youth I have been talking to.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 gives the background for my study. It includes a description of the study location, the theoretical framework for my thesis, earlier research related to my study and an overview of educational politics internationally and nationally. Chapter 3 describes the methods I have used in my research and the reasons behind my choices. It also discusses ethical considerations and challenges in my fieldwork. Chapter 4 and 5 present, analyze and discuss my findings and relate them to earlier research and writings. Chapter 4 gives a picture of the present situation for youth in Haydom, and is hence focusing on objective one. Chapter 5 starts with presenting youth's thoughts about the future and continues with a discussion of post-primary education's role in youth's future lives and in society. Chapter 6 summarizes my main findings and presents some concluding remarks.

2. Background

In this chapter I will present the background for my study. It includes a description of the study location, of Tanzanian educational history, and of the current international emphasis on education as one of the most important contributors to development. In this chapter I will also present the theoretical framework for my study and define and discuss the four central concepts for this thesis and the connection between them: development, poverty, education, and youth. The capability concept is treated as part of the development concept.

2. 1 Description of the study location

My study was conducted in Haydom village in the central north of Tanzania. This section will give a brief description of the country, and of the village. I will include geographically characteristics, population, socio- economic present situation and history, because all these sides of Tanzanian reality affect the lives of the young people that live there. Hence it belongs to the background for my study.

2.1.1 Tanzania

Physical and Social Geography

Tanzania is a country in East Africa at the shore of the Indian Ocean, sharing boarders with Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, D.R. Congo, Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. Tanzania is used as a short form of the full name: The United Republic of Tanzania, including mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar. The landscape on the mainland varies from high volcanic mountains to big planes. The northern part of Tanzania is dominated by big national parks and the Lake Victoria. Here you also find two of the country's major cities; Mwanza and Arusha. Mwanza, at the shore of the Victoria Lake, is closely connected to the fishing industry, and Arusha is

where most of the tourists that visit the northern circuit start their holiday. The capital, Dodoma, is situated in the middle of the country. In Dodoma the Bunge (Parliament) is located, and the country's newest and largest university. The rest of the central and northern part of the country is populated by small scale farmers and pastoralists. This area is among the driest in Tanzania, and the long dry season and the annual fluctuation in annual rainfalls is reflected in the crop production and the number of livestock (Berry 2010). Dar es Salaam is Tanzania's commercial capital and main city. It is located at the east coast and has influenced Tanzanian economy and culture greatly for centuries.

The estimated population in Tanzania was 39.446.061 in 2007 (Tanzania 2008). The urban part of the population is 25, 5 % and increasing. The rest of Tanzania's inhabitants, 74, 5 %, live in rural areas, most of them occupied with subsistence farming. A big share of the population is under 25 years old; 44, 24% is under 15, and additionally19, 7% under the age of 25 (NBS 2002). Tanzania has 120 ethnic groups who all have different languages, cultural expressions and traditions. Even so the Tanzanian national identity is strong and closely tied to the language Kiswahili which is the national language (Tanzania 2010).

History and Politics

The history of Tanzania can be dated back to the very first steps of mankind. In Olduvai Gorge in northern Tanzania tools, footprints and human bones tells the story of humans living there 1-2 million years ago. I find it important to keep in mind that Tanzania's history did not start in colonial times, but long before that, even if it is less documented. I will however concentrate on the more recent history, which has more direct relevance to the topic of my thesis.

The coastline of Tanzania has been influenced by the Arabic world for centuries. The mix of the old African culture and the Arabic culture is what we today call Swahili culture. Later Tanzanian culture and history has been more influenced by the European and Indian culture, both heritages from colonial times. Mainland Tanganyika was declared German protectorate in 1885, right after the conference in Berlin where the European countries divided Africa in parts that suited their interests. The arbitrary boarders from that time have more or less endured, except from the merging of Tanganyika and Zanzibar into a union in 1964. Tanganyika had then been under British rule after the First World War until 1961 and

Zanzibar from 1886 until 1963 (Thomson 2004). The heritage from the British rulers can today be seen in the organizing of the government, the school system and the role English plays as additional official language. Many of today's Indian-Tanzanian families came to Tanzania as workers for the colonial rulers. Today they are active in commercial businesses, and own many of the small and medium sized companies in the big cities (Berry 2009).

Julius Nyerere became the first president in the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964. He has, more than any other influenced Tanzania's development and national identity since the independence. Nyerere proclaimed an African Socialism built on the traditional thoughts of *ujamaa* (familyhood). This ideology is found in his earlier speeches and writings also, and became a national policy after the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Nyerere rejected capitalism because of its uneven distribution of wealth and elevated instead the African equality, where everyone took part in the work, and shared the wealth. (Nyerere1962). "In a really socialist country no person exploits another; everyone who is physically able to work do so; every worker obtains a just return for the labor he performs; and the incomes derived from different types of work are not grossly divergent" (Nyerere 1967). As a response to the demand for hard work the Arusha declaration promised human development. This was intended to be achieved by the villagisation program. The villages was meant to be working units which earned a surplus enabling the village to develop, and a centre for schools, health clinics and local democracy (Thomson 2004) The ideological principals of *uhuru na umoja*[1] has been the base of the Tanzanian Identity ever since, and so has also the memory of *Baba wa taifa* or *Mwalimu*[2], himself. Nyerere succeeded in building a united nation, he did not, however, succeed in making this nation prosper as he hoped. In 1986 the economic collapse was a fact, Nyerere resigned and Tanzania adopted the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP), after a long battle with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) (ibid). The African socialism was history and Tanzania became as dependent of foreign help as Nyerere feared (Nyerere 1967).

Following the principles of SAP Tanzania liberalized its economy; by opening the country to import, privatizing public enterprises, devaluating the shilling and stopping subsidies on food. IMF also demanded severe cut in public expenses which made the services in education and health sector decline much (Ansell 2005). I will show the effect this had on the number of

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[1] Kiswahili for freedom and unity
[2] Kiswahili for farther of the nation and teacher

children in school in 2.3.2. Tanzania, who had tried to find its own path to development now found itself dependent on the big multilateral agencies, and their politics. In the 1990s president Mwinyi came under great external pressure to change into a multiparty system, and in 1995 was the first multiparty election hold. None the less Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM)[3] has continued to dominate all the later elections, and the opposition has failed to form a united front to pressure them (EIU 2008). Jakaya Kikwete was elected as the president in 2005, and is expected to run for, and win, the next election in 2010.

Economy

Tanzania is one of the world's poorest countries measured in GDP per head, which was 360 dollar in 2007.Tanzania's economic performance has however been one of the best in Sub-Saharan Africa the last years according to the World Bank (WB), and the economy has grown measured in GDP. Because of the population growth the GDP per capita has grown very little (EIU 2010).The economy is to a high degree dependent on foreign assistance, both multilateral and bilateral loans and grants. In the budget for 2007 Official Development Assistance (ODA), was expected to cover 50% of the expenses. The other 50% of the revenues came mainly from agricultural production, mining and tourism (Buren 2009). Although more than two-thirds of the labor force was employed in the agricultural sector, mainly as smallholder cash-cropping or subsistence farming, agriculture only contributed 28% to GDP in 2007. The agricultural sector is still the largest contributor to GDP, but is declining compared to revenue from export of gold and the tourism industry (EIU 2008). Recent years Tanzanian economy has been affected by a severe drought in 2005, increased petroleum prices and the international finance crises in 2008/2009 (Buren 2009). The drought led to food insecurity for subsistence farmers and to fewer surpluses for the small scale producers. In towns the increase in food prices affected the poor. The last year has been hard for everyone depending on tourism. The international finance crisis in this way also affected the informal sector with its petit traders, drivers etc. 96, 6% of Tanzania's population have less than two dollars per day to live for, and 35, 7% lives under the national poverty line (UNDP 2009). Hence the majority of the population is extremely vulnerable to economic or natural shocks. Poverty is though, much more than lack of money and this will be discussed later in 2.2.2.

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[3] CCM is the ruling party, and has been in power since the independence. The party was first called TANU, but changed name after merging with a smaller opposition party.

Education

Tanzania's school system is similar to the British with seven years of primary school, four years of lower secondary (O-level), two years of upper secondary, (A-level) and university with bachelor and master programs. There are few vocational schools and they vary in structure. Other forms of higher education like teaching college and nursing school enroll students after O-level. Primary school are compulsory, all the others have enrolment based on competition based on the exam results from the previous level (Tanzania 2010).

Tanzania has a relatively high literacy rate on 72, 3%, and a net enrolment rate in primary school on 97, 3% in 2007 (UNDP 2009). This gives Tanzania a higher HDI[4] rank in comparison with other countries than when the measurement is only GDP. Tanzania was in 2009 ranked in the lower half of countries with medium Human Development.
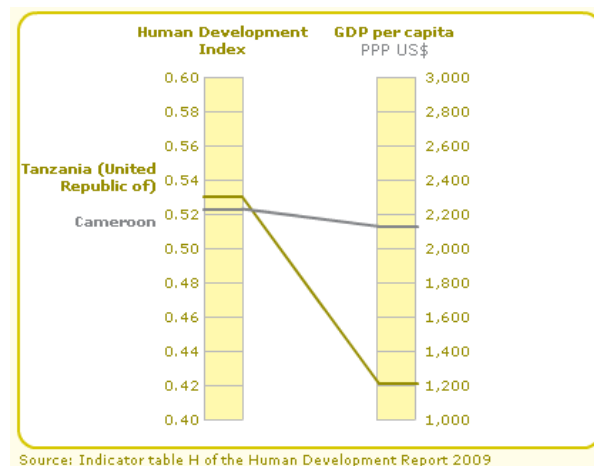
Source: Indicator table H of the Human Development Report 2009

Primary school is free and compulsory in Tanzania today. The children are supposed to start school at the age of seven, and complete seven subsequent years. Primary schools are almost entirely governmental, while private owners run many of the secondary schools and other post primary education centers (Fram 2009). The language of instruction in primary school is Kiswahili, but almost all post primary education is taught in English (Tanzania 2010).

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[4] Human Development Index (HDI) measures a countries level of human development including education, health and GDP per capita. UNDP range countries after their level of human development each year.

2.1.2 Haydom village

Haydom village is situated in Haydom ward south west in Mbulu district. Mbulu district is one of five districts in Manyara region. Manyara region was created in 2002, before that it was part of Arusha region (NBS 2005). Haydom village and the area around are situated on a highland plateau around 1800 meter above sea level. The area is semi-arid and the fluctuation of the annual rainfall shows in food production and number of livestock. Mbulu district has a total population of 237.280, of which 91, 9% live in rural areas. Mbulu is the only town, but the district also has wards that are defined as mixed areas. Haydom ward is one of these, with Haydom village as its center. Haydom ward had a population on 22.900 and Haydom village was habited by 3768 people in 2002. The population in the district is very young with a median age of 15, 7 years (NBS 2002). The main ethnic groups that live in Haydom ward are Iraqw and Tatoga/Barabaig. Iramba, Nyaturu and Hadzabe are smaller groups in the ward. The Iraqw have traditionally been agro-pastoralists and the Tatoga have been nomadic pastoralists. Today there is extensive intermarriage between the groups, and many are settling down to farms (HLH 2010). Haydom village has in addition to the groups that historically belong in the area a number of people from other regions in Tanzania and from other countries, all of them connected to the hospital. Many of them live in Haydom only for a few years. The major economic activities in Haydom are agriculture and livestock husbandry. Trade, transport and small enterprises are also important activities to a significant share of the population (VETA 2003). In addition Haydom Lutheran Hospital (HLH) is a center for different forms of employment and economic activity.

Haydom village has a special history. When the hospital was built in 1954, only one family lived in the area. From that point the hospital and the village have grown together, and today

Haydom village has many of the characteristics of a small town, still growing (HLH 2010). HLH is much more than a hospital for the village, the village and HLH seems to live symbiotic lives with reciprocal dependence: "Together the hospital and the village has tackled challenges such as water, roads, schools, agricultural development, food shortage, health, culture and lately the building of a police station"(Olsen 2007).

Haydom village has one primary school and two secondary schools. Connected to the hospital is also a nursing school. A Trade School is planned, and the building will start in 2010. The post-primary schools serve more than the population in the village. The secondary schools have pupils from the whole Manyara region, and the nursing school attracts students from all parts of the country. The new trade school will probably get students from both Haydom and other parts of Mbulu district.

2.2 Central theories and concepts

In this section I will present and discuss four concepts that are central to my thesis. In doing so I will present the theories my thesis are built on, and argue why I see those as relevant to my study. The four concepts are development, poverty, education and youth. There are also some other concepts and terms, related to these four, that needs to be defined and explained, and I will do so within the four sections.

2.2.1 Development

The word development is used in many different ways depending on the context, but it always describes some kind of change. In the development discourse, which goes back to the Second World War, development describes a positive changing process in society (Thomas 2000). There is however many different views on what kind of change that is wanted, how this change can be achieved, who should provide the change, who should gain from it, and how it can be measured. In this section I will give a short overview of the different views on development with emphasis on the current discussion, and make clear how the concept of development is used further in my thesis. The understanding of development has a heavy influence on the political decisions affecting the education system, and youth's daily life.

Economic Growth or Human Development

Development was seen as equal to economic growth in the first decades after the Second World War. And economic growth was perceived possible only by modernizing society and production. The aim was greater well-being, without specifying who should gain from it. The recipe was the same for all states without being concerned about differences in natural and cultural starting point. This view was very soon criticized by the political left side. With references to Marxism dependency theories were developed, focusing on how current development trends only lead to greater dependency and poverty in the developing countries (Thomas 2000). They did however not question what development was; still the focus was economic growth. Education was seen as an instrument to achieve economic growth and independency. I will discuss the different views on education further in 2.2.3, and educations role in the development discourse will be central in the discussions in chapter 4 and 5.

Today the main voice for perceiving development as equal to economic growth is the World Bank, and the focus on economic growth has hence been quite dominating in the development discourse, often referred to as the Washington Consensus[5]. The Washington Consensus also implies liberalized economic politics; including minimizing state intervention, privatization, free markets etc (Thomas 2000). There are no doubt that for many countries in the world economic growth is needed to achieve better well being for the population, there are however reasons to question continuous economic growth as the end for development, and noting that economic growth not always means development.

> "The questions to ask about a country's development are therefore: What has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to unemployment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three of these have become less severe, then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result "development", even if per capita income had soared" (Seers 1979: 483).

Dudley Seers was one of the pioneers in changing the development discourse from a focus on economic growth to a focus on human development. In the recent years one author who has addressed development in relation to human well-being is Amartaya Sen. His contribution and influence on UNDP's framework for human development, and the Human Development Index (HDI) is great, and hence he has influenced the current development discourse

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[5] The Washington Consensus is a term that describes the general agreement of what kind of economic politics that was needed to stabilize the developing countries and to promote economic growth (Rose 2003). The organizations that are mainly associated with the Washington Consensus are the World Bank and IMF, but it is probably fair to call it a general agreement in the western world.

(Shanmugaratnam 2001). Even the World Bank has recently adjusted their development discourse to be more human centered and less production centered, even if they keep their main measurement as GDP per capita (WB 2007).

Sen defines development as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. In this approach expansion of freedom is viewed both as the primary end and the principal means of development" (Sen 1990:36). It is an end because freedom from hunger, freedom from illiteracy and lack of knowledge, political freedom etc is valuable in itself. The different freedoms are also interconnected and have therefore also an instrumental role. Sen emphasizes five instrumental freedoms: "Political freedom, economic freedom, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security" (Sen 1999:38). Social opportunities to live a healthy life and go to school can as an example enhance the possibility to be economic or political active. To expand the individual capabilities the single persons actions are not enough; appropriate institutions has to be made and economic, social and political arrangements are preconditions for development. However, Sen (1999) emphasizes the supporting role of the state and society to strengthen people's capabilities, and sees the human being as the main actor: "given the opportunity in shaping their destiny" (Sen 1999:53).

In this thesis I will use an understanding of development that is closely related to Sen's theories. Central to this thesis are especially the focus on enhancement of human capabilities, and educations role in this (See 2.2.3). "The perspective on human capability focuses, on the ability- the substantive freedom- of people to lead the lives they have reason to value and to enhance the real choices they have" (Sen 1999:293). The measurement often related to human development is UNDP's HDI. The measurement includes literacy rate, education level, life expectation and child mortality in addition to GDP per capita. I use this indicator to give an overview of Tanzania's development and compare it to other countries, but do not see it as a sufficient way to describe the countries development. One reason for that is the lack of describing intra-national differences. Another reason is that it doesn't measure all human freedoms; some are hard to measure in numbers, but that does not make them less important. A third shortcoming is that HDI fails to reflect people's various view on well-being (Shanmugaratnam 2001).

Sustainable Development and Social Commitment

One person's freedom to lead the life he values may interfere with another person's freedoms. An absolute focus on individual freedom without also considering the individual's social responsibility would probably be both irresponsible and harmful. Sen (1999) emphasize the interdependence of individual freedom and social commitment, saying that "responsibility requires freedom… and having the freedom and capability to do something does impose on the person the duty to consider whether to do it or not" (Sen 1999:284). This thesis will support a development that gives all humans equal opportunities and that are sustainable; "meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland 1987). The Brundtland report, "Our Common Future," further emphasizes intergenerational and intra-generational equality. The latter argue for a more even society; with a just distribution of wealth and opportunities.

The framework of this thesis is the human development approach in the way Sen presents it, when I choose to bring in the sustainability concept from the Brundtland Commission, it is to underline not only the social commitment of the individual but also the need for a development that is concerned about the natural environment. I do not see these two perspectives as competing, rather complementing each other in giving an even more holistic concept of development.

2.2.2 Poverty

The perceptions of poverty are closely related to the perceptions of development, especially since poverty eradication has got new attention as the most important issue in the development discourse. Reducing poverty is the first of the millennium goals, and is seen as the most important one because it is so closely interlinked with the other ones (UN 2000). Absolute poverty is in this context defined as living for less than one dollar a day. Poverty is hence defined in monetary terms, and has its parallel in the economic growth approach to development (Thomas 2000). Living in a world where money is needed to get access to crucial goods and services like water, education, health and transport, lack of money is of course a big problem. When the concept of poverty is limited to the monetary deprivation however, other important factors are forgotten. The difference in living on one dollar a day on a farm, with access to your own crop, and to live on one dollar a day in town, having to buy

all your food are not considered either. In this thesis the monetary value of poverty will only be used when it has direct relevance to monetary expenses of the family.

In Sen's writings poverty are seen as capability deprivation, meaning the lack of ability to lead the life the person values (Sen 1999). This perspective does accept that low income is one of the major causes of poverty, but the main deprivation is perceived to be the lack of freedom. Money is one means, but not the only one, to increase capabilities (ibid). "There is a danger in seeing poverty in the narrow terms of income deprivation, and then justifying investment in education, health care and so forth on the grounds that they are good means to the end of reducing poverty. That would be a confounding of ends and means" (Sen 1999:92).

The Kiswahili term for poverty is umaskini. This term includes much more than financial poverty and "implies a lack of ability to utilize resources" (Wedgwood 2005). Poverty in Tanzania is generally understood as lack of food, no access to health services, no access to education and few or no possessions (ibid). Income deprivation can be a cause of this condition, but is not seen as the main deprivation.

Like the different freedoms in Sen's approach are interlinked and reinforce each other, there are different aspects of poverty, which also are linked to each other in a vicious circle. And while the enhancement in freedoms gives a better and better development, the different aspects of poverty "interlock like a web to trap people in their deprivation" (Chambers 1983). Chambers mentions five elements that together form the deprivation trap: "Poverty, physical weakness, vulnerability, powerlessness and isolation" (ibid). Chambers uses the word poverty here as financial poverty, but does at the same time expand the understanding of poverty by talking of deprivation. In my thesis the term poverty will be influenced of both Sen's and Chambers' theories, and used to describe a situation where the individual do not have the opportunity to lead a life he or she values.

2.2.3 Education

All societies have ways to pass down knowledge and skills from one generation to the next one. Historically children and youth learned all they needed informally through family and community based institutions. This form of learning persists today, but the formal schooling is seen as more and more important. Informal education is important for children and youth's

development and adjustment to the society they live in, and this form of learning is also naturally a lifelong process. It is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss all forms of leaning. I will therefore concentrate on the formal education or schooling, without dismissing the value of informal education. The word education will hence be used as synonym to schooling. In the term informal education I include all forms of learning outside the formal school system, but the term informal schooling is only used to describe schools and courses that are part of the informal economic sector, without certification from the government.

The form of schooling that exists worldwide today has its origin in Western Europe, and was spread throughout the world by missionaries and colonial rulers (Ansell 2005). Even if there has been many attempts to argue for schools more closely related to the culture, traditions and local daily-life in each society (Nyerere 1967, Freire 1970, Nsamenang 2002,) the education system and the educational content seem to be more and more mainstreamed globally. This is happening partly due to the general globalization processes and partly due to international educational politics directed by the UN-organizations and the World Bank. The international tests and statistics, which make it possible to compare countries, are one of the means in this process. Another is the directions and advices from the World Bank to countries that need loans. Many of the advices go far beyond economic policies and have consequences for pedagogical issues. Most of these directions are the same despite the different realities experienced in the countries. The education discourse has hence parallels through the world, and you can find the same discussions going on in countries as different as Norway and Tanzania. Two of the current big debates are about quality in school, and about the need for more technical and vocational training (UNESCO 2003, Ansell 2005, Feldberg et al 2008, Verspoor 2008). The arguments however are shifting due to the authors view on education and on the connection between education and development.

Three Models of Education's role in Development

In the contemporary discourse about education's role in development there are three major views; "human capital, human right or human capabilities" (Robeyns 2006). Even though all three approaches emphasize the value of education, the normative differences lead to different political outcomes and different consequences for the pupils and teachers in the local school.

Human Capital theory was first established in the 60s by Schultz and Becker and sees human knowledge and skills as a form of capital (Rose 2003). This makes it possible to apply traditional economic theory on education, and measure the investment costs and the financial returns from education. The World Bank soon adopted these theories, which made it possible for a bank to advocate for education. First the arguments were based on the manpower gaps in the newly independent countries and resulted in an emphasis on vocational and higher education. Later the World Bank has argued for primary education, and recently for secondary education, using the same economic arguments (ibid). The human capital theory has an important point in regarding skills and knowledge as important to a person's income generating abilities and important to the economic growth in society (Robeyns 2006). The weakness of the theory is that it has a strictly instrumental view on education, and that the economic returns become the only advantage of schooling. This excludes both the intrinsically importance of knowledge and a range of other instrumental roles that education can have. Sen (1999) especially points to the role education can play in political and social change in addition to economic change.

While economists have a tendency to use the human capital perspective, organizations and persons whose values are embedded in the human right framework normally stresses that education is a human right. The UN organizations and many of the Non Governmental Organizations (NGO) are claiming that education has to be seen as a human right and should therefore be accessible to all. This view acknowledges the instrumental importance of education, but the main argument is that the enhancement of a person's knowledge and skills are important in itself (Robeyns 2006). Seeing education as one of the fundamental human rights has not caused much discussion as a principle, the implementation though has had some problems. One of the problems is that the grand declarations do not specify who has the duty to make sure that everyone gets education possibilities. Is it the responsibility of the national government, or is it a joint responsibility shared by all who have the opportunity to contribute; individuals, NGOs, private companies, and multinational agencies? This brings us directly into the second problem which is the risk of reducing education to a legal right rather than seeing it as a moral right. The latter implies a shared responsibility, the first are embedded in a countries legal framework, and gives the state the responsibility alone (ibid). A solely legal right to education and the focus on the state's responsibility might have the effect that governments are satisfied with a high enrolment rate, without considering the quality of the

education they offer. Their obligations according to the law are seen as fulfilled when all children attend school. Then there is a risk that education becomes reduced to school attendance, and there is little focus on what the students actually learn there.

I find it interesting to note that the Education for All (EFA) agreement is supported by both the World Bank and the UN organizations despite the differences in view on education. It is maybe not that hard to conclude that education is important to all humans, the differences becomes more clear when the discussion continues about content and political implications. There is, however, also possible to see a movement towards a more common language among the big development actors. In the last years documents from the World Bank perspectives of human development becomes more apparent, and UNESCO and UNDP argue for education to improve social and economic conditions (UNESCO 2003, WB 2006). It seems to me that both models are under influence of the third approach. Advocating a holistic view on education as a mean to enhance human freedom, Amartaya Sen is the main contributor to the human capability approach.

Education is important in the capability approach for both intrinsic and instrumental reasons (Robeyns 2006). Dreze & Sen (2003) gives examples on how literacy and numeracy are important for people in their daily life activities, and how those skills can lead to social, economic and political change. Even when the curriculum are biased, and the culture in school are patriarchal or discriminating in other ways, humans that get some basic education are better off than those who don't have access, they argue. Education is hence seen as the most important factor to enhance human capabilities, and make people able to improve their lives (ibid). Sen (1999) makes a point of not excluding human capital theory, but to see it as included in the human capability approach. In my thesis I will use Sen's framework in my discussion of the value of education for youth in rural Tanzania. This does not mean to deny the perspectives of human capital and human right theories, but to expand them, including all the different aspects of education, and the possibilities to enhance people's capabilities. The capability approach entails a positive view on education in general, and a focus on what good education can lead to. In this thesis I will hence look critically on the utilization of these possibilities to promote development on an individual and a collective level.

A positive view on education's potential to contribute to social change is not the same as a naive faith in schools as the one and only cure for all problems in society. Schools can be used to maintain power structures and levels of wealth. By controlling curriculum and teaching methods, or by giving children unequal access to education, the ones in power can use education to keep their favorable positions. Education can also implicit maintain power structures because the education given favours the children from the middle class. As Bourdieu (1986) points out there are differences in the scholastic achievement of children originating from different social classes because of the differences in social and cultural capital. The achievements in school have consequences for the types of work available, and for the social position. However it is not only good school results that give the preferable position but also the network that they establish in school (ibid).

Still, even in societies where education is used in an oppressive way, there are examples of people using the knowledge gained in schools to fight the structures that kept them down. Schools can also deliberately be used to even out differences between classes. This can be done by offering all children and youth access to the same schools, and make the classroom an arena for sharing of experiences through dialog based teaching. The emphasis on equality is the social democratic ideology behind the Norwegian *enhetsskolen*[6]. However, the contribution of education to development, seen as expansion of capabilities, is also dependent on the content of the education offered. This issue will be debated throughout my thesis.

Indigenous African Education

The history of formal schooling as we know it today came to Africa from outside. That does not mean that Africa did not have education before (Nyerere 1967). Most of the learning was what we today will call informal education practices; children learning from their family by instruction and imitations and learning vocational skills by apprenticeship. However this does not mean that informal learning was unstructured or unintentional. Education was seen as everyone's responsibility and a part of everyday life (Reagan 2005). Children learned through myths and riddles, through imitations and instructions, and through guidance of all the adults in the community. The moral education, forming the character of the child was seen as one of the most important parts of education. In addition to values like honesty, courage, sociability,

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[6] Enhetsskolen can be directly translated as unity school. It is the principle that has governed the Norwegian school politics, no matter what political party who has had the power. The main point is that it is the responsibility of the state to give all children an equal basic education, and equal access to all educational levels.

integrity, solidarity and endurance, respect and obedience for the elders was emphasized (ibid). The knowledge and skills that young people got was inherited from their forefathers and mothers and intended to prepare the young ones for their adult life in the village, living after the same traditions that their kin had lived after for centuries. When educational practices are discussed in Africa today, the challenge is to use the indigenous educational traditions in new ways. Bringing useful practices and approaches to learning into a new society. Tanzania's own educationalist Nyerere tried to combine old and new thoughts together when he designed Tanzania's first independent education system.

Dewey, Freire and Nyerere

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to go in details on pedagogical theories. The three pedagogues mentioned above are though important for the framework of my thesis because all of them have emphasized the relationship between schools and society. Dewey is best known for his activity pedagogy; learning by doing. His writings are based on his experiences from his experimental school in London around 1900. Dewey's starting point was seeing how isolated the school institution was from the society it was supposed to serve, and the great opportunity schools could have to be an active partner to social change (Dewey 1900). He suggested a radical change in the present school system arguing that it was needed both because of the child's need for life skills, and because of the societies need for active, creative and responsible citizens.

> "Though there should be an organic connection between the school and business life, it is not meant that the school is to prepare the child for any particular business, but that there should be a natural connection of the everyday life of the child with the business environment around him, and that it is the affair of the school to clarify and liberalize this connection" (Dewey 1900:76).

Dewey's view on education is reflected in Nyerere's "education for self-reliance" from 1967. He wanted to create an education that was rooted in the traditional agricultural society, and at the same time gave the competence Tanzanians needed to participate in the modernization of the nation. Agricultural activities became part of the timetable, and trade and business skills were included in the curriculum (Nyerere 1967). Nyerere's thoughts of self-reliance and universal primary education find their parallel in another educationalist's writings. Paulo Freire (1970) was concerned about the way the school system reinforces the power structures in society, and leaving a vast majority of the population outside society. He criticizes the current education system for its oppression, at the same time as he promotes the empowering

qualities of education, when it reaches the oppressed in a way that are liberalizing. By giving the marginalized an education that makes it possible for them to participate in society there is a chance for great changes in society, and in the end liberalizing of both the oppressed and the oppressors (ibid).

These three educationalists share a view on human beings as active participants in society, with possibilities to enforce social change. Thus the role of the school is to give opportunities for people to enrich their life and getting the knowledge and skills they need to live and participate in society. These qualities of good education will be underlying the arguments in my thesis.

Earlier research on education

There is done a lot of research on education, and the field is broad. I will therefore in the following section only present the studies that have direct relevance to my study, and leave the others uncommented. Many other studies could probably been mentioned, but in such a big amount of studies I had to make some choices. The World Bank, UNICEF, UNDP and UNESCO are all organizations that have made extensive studies and reports about primary, secondary and higher education. I have used their reports to get an update on the dominating trends in international education politics and to get facts and numbers on national and international level when I needed them. Through its emphasis on Secondary Education in Africa (SEIA), the World Bank has been one of the first to acknowledge post primary education as important to development, and hence youth as important actors of development (WB 2006, Verspoor 2008). Even if my thoughts on education and development are quite different from the World Banks economical approach, and I do not use their framework, their dominating role in the discussion of post-primary education makes their reports an important background for my study.

Education has been in focus in many studies conducted in Tanzania, most of them are done connected to primary school, or to tertiary education. I have also found many studies that are part of the discussion about language of instruction. School politics has changed a lot the last eight years in Tanzania, and therefore research done before 2002 has only relevance as a historical background for my study. One of the studies done recently that has been important for my research are Ruth Wedgwood's writing about post-basic education and poverty in

Tanzania. Wedgwood (2005) discusses the coherence between the expanding of the education systems, quality in education and poverty reduction. She finds that education has a major role to play in poverty reduction but that this effect is determined by good quality of the schooling and of the social, political and economic environment that the school leavers enter into.

I have also used research and policy documents from HakiElimu and authors linked to the organization. HakiElimu is a civil society organization in Tanzania which aims to promote public engagement about school, hold the government accountable and create debates about the content and quality in schools (HakiElimu 2010). The organization uses both the voices of activists and researchers, and is respected in the academic environment concerned about educational and pedagogical questions. The organization is yet not well known among the average Tanzanian, even if their goal is to involve ordinary citizens in the school debate.

2.2.4 Youth

Youth are understood in different ways in different societies and at different times. This section will discuss some of the present definitions on youth and look at the different ways youth are presented in research and policy documents. By doing this I will also articulate my own view on what youth is, and how the term is used during this thesis. I will use the terms youth, young people and young person as synonyms.

Youth can very simply be defined as a transition from childhood to adulthood, and the existence of this phase of transition is maybe the only thing we can perceive as a universal statement. The length of the phase and how it is shaped differs between societies and within societies. Being in a transition from child to adult implicates biological and psychological changes. These changes can be perceived as part of the youth phase, or the start on adult life. It is hence not obvious that youth is considered as a phase, or at least not a phase that lasts for many years in all societies. The UN defines youth as those between the age of 15 and 24 (UNESCO 2003). Tanzanian government uses the same definition in their National Policy for Youth Development (Tanzania 1996). The World Bank chooses to include everyone in the age group 12-24 (WB 2007). WB's definition of age group is closely linked to the Western school system. 12 years is the age pupils are supposed to finish primary education, and 24 years is the age where the majority of young people has finished their vocational or higher education. Defining youth in terms of age are useful when it comes to statistics, but it does not

necessarily cover the perception of who the youth are in the different societies in the world (Ansell 2005). It should also be mentioned that the differences between a 12 year old and a 24 year old in maturity and lifestyle may be bigger than the similarities of the two. In this paper I will only use the age definition when I refer to statistics from the organizations using the term youth as a fixed age group.

Another way of describing youth is to look at their role in society, and what characterizes this role. The image of a young person and the expectations from society is one element of the phase of life youth is. Another element is the youth's experience of the role they have, and how they actively participate in shaping their position (Ansell 2005). Defining youth by the role they have in society obviously makes it difficult to come up with one clear definition universal to all societies in the world to all times. The recent trend among researchers doing youth studies is hence to see youth as a culturally constructed category dependent of the social and historical context (Christiansen et al 2006, Helgesson 2006, Honwana et al 2005).

Youth can also be negatively defined; what it is not. This is often done to separate youth from children and adults. Mainly youth are seen less dependent than a child, but not yet ready to take the responsibility of an adult. Moreover the degree of dependence and maturity might shift back and forwards related to the situation (Thorsen 2006). Maybe it is just this unsureness of position and roles that characterizes youth the best, it makes them a vulnerable group, but it also shapes them and give them opportunities that are impossible for both children and adults to get. The task for youth in all societies is to find their place in family life, in the economy and in the culture they are a part of. This is done partly by their own actions and choices, and partly by society; giving them options or limit their choices. Youth are in other words both actors and acted upon. The social category of youth has simultaneously elements of today and tomorrow. "Youth personify a given society's deepest anxieties and hopes about its own transformation and future" (Maira et al 2005). Hence seeing youth as both social being and social becoming is important (Vigh 2006).

The term youth are often criticized for being a western concept (Ansell 2005). Nsamenang (2002) adds that the Euro- American image of youth has been so dominating, that making an image of youth recognizable in Africa or Asia becomes very difficult. Weiss (2009) though finds that Tanzanian urban youth are making their own image, inspired by, but not copying,

the American hip hop culture. In Western societies the period of youth has been longer and longer due to longer and longer schooling, and to the idealization of youth as the time for freedom and beauty. In Africa the period of youth are also increasing, partly due to schooling, but even more due to the difficulties in finding a way of making a living. Waage (2006) finds that many parents were worried about all the young people who still lived at home, or lived at an existence minimum in the cities, not able to get an income high enough to start their own family. The youth shared their parents concern about not getting started in adult life (Waage 2006). The social concept of youth in Africa today is a product of the negotiation between indigenous African traditions and Western influence (Nsamenang 2002), and more than before the transition between childhood and adulthood becomes an image of a changing society. Youth studies can therefore be a valuable contribution to the study of contemporary society as a whole.

Earlier studies of youth

Studies of youth have been neglected in social science for a long time, and the studies which have been conducted have emerged from specific disciplines, concerned about education or youth at risk. Youth studies from Africa are even rarer, and this may be explained by the concept of youth as a western phenomenon (Ansell 2005). In the last 10 years youth as a group seems to have been discovered by both researchers and policymakers. Helgesson (2006) finds a correlation between the research on youth and the focus on HIV/AIDS. Going through youth studies from Africa I find very little dated before 1990, and in the 90s research on youth mainly focuses on sexual behavior and HIV/AIDS. These studies have little relevance to my study and are not used. In the last decade the focus in youth research has changed to other parts of young people's life putting youth culture and livelihood strategies in the centre. There are a tendency to emphasize youth in the big cities, and youth coping with harsh life conditions (Honwana et al 2005, Maira et al 2005, and Christiansen et al 2006). Even so, many of these studies have descriptions of youth's thoughts and life strategies that I have been able to use in comparison with my findings in a more rural area. Very few youth studies are done in Tanzania. I have though found many parallels to my study in Helgesson's writing about youth's life strategies in Masai town (Helgesson 2006), Weiss' description of life among youth in Arusha, and Nalkur's research on hopefulness among youth in towns in Kilimanjaro area, have been valuable as a background which I could relate some of my findings to (Weiss 2009, Nalkur 2009).

Most of the above mentioned studies are done in the framework of anthropology. My study also includes pedagogical and political issues. The research which has focused on education is presented in section 2.2.3. Youth studies have also been done in connection to employment (UNESCO 2003, WB 2006, Garcia et al 2008). The focus in these studies has been the difficulties for youth to find work, and the lack of education relevant for the job market. The reports are made as a background for the policies of the UN-organizations and the World Bank.

2.3 Education policies

I will in this section give an overview of the political decisions regarding education and youth both internationally and in Tanzania. This section will briefly present the history of educational policies from 1960 and forward, but will put the weight on the current policies. To understand them however, an understanding of the historical foundation is necessary. I will start with presenting the international educational policy trends which Tanzanian politics are embedded in. In our globalized world all countries are affected by international discussions and priorities in the multilateral agencies. Aid-dependent countries like Tanzania are however more influenced by the international discourse than other countries. The scope of this thesis is to discuss educations role in development and with a focus on the youth's situation. Hence these parts will concentrate on the issues that are affecting youth.

2.3.1 International trends

We can hardly talk about a deliberate international education policy before 1990. There have however been international trends that have affected countries education systems globally before that. Powerful multinational organizations like the UN and the World Bank have been in the lead influenced by leaders from Europe and Northern America. Education has often been seen as part of the development of society, and the development discourse and its major actors have hence affected the education debate.[7] With the reconstruction after the Second World War the education system was expanded in many countries of the world, and the newly independent countries followed in the same track. In many African countries the expansion meant increased primary school enrolment and establishment of the first African universities (Brock-Utne 2000). In the sixties and seventies there were many alternative approaches to

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[7] For more detail about this connection see paragraph 2.2.3.

education and critiques of the traditional, formal school system, but only a few found their way into the governmental educational policies and was implemented in schools (Ansell 2005).

In the eighties most developing countries experienced an economic crisis due to high public spending, high oil prices, falling prices on their export products and increasing debt. In the Western countries the era of neo-liberal economic policies had just started lead by USA and the United Kingdom. Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) was imposed on countries that accepted the loans from WB and IMF. SAP was built on the Washington Consensus' neo-liberal principals of free markets, privatization, and a minimum of state intervention. The main elements of SAP were trade liberalization, financial liberalization, radical reduction of state expenditure and privatization (Thomas 2000). Rose (2003) writes that even though the WB promoted primary education as an important investment in human capital, this was merely rhetorical. The effect of the practical politics was the opposite because the states had to cut in expenditure to education; in all countries who had got loans on the conditions of structural adjustment the enrolment rate in primary school fell dramatically.

It was this steady decline of the education sector that led some of the multilateral organizations to organize the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) in 1990 in Jomtien in Thailand. The conference was sponsored by the World Bank, UNDP, UNICEF and UNESCO and had delegates from 155 governments, 150 NGOs and 20 intergovernmental bodies (Brock-Utne 2000). The political implementation of EFA led to a great emphasis on the expansion of primary schools especially after the agreement on the Millennium Goals in 2000. The EFA declaration however does not promote this, it states: "To serve the basic learning needs of all requires more than recommitment to basic education as it now exists. What is needed is an expanded vision that surpasses present resource levels, institutional structures, curricula, and conventional delivery systems while building on the best in current practices" (WDEFA 1990: Article 2, cited by Brock-Utne 2000). The change into the Millennium Goals, which has directed most of the development politics in the recent years, is big. The millennium goal number two states: "Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling" *(*UN 2000). The agreements on EFA and the millennium goals has led to an enormous growth in enrolment rates in primary school worldwide, and many more of the world's children have

access to school now. Recently though the education debate has turned again; now asking what kind of education these children actually gets. The debate about quality in schools and about post-primary education has only just started.

In the lead, once again is the World Bank, focusing on societies need for an educated and highly qualified workforce, and on the recourses of young people, that are underutilized. Two important drivers in this new focus is the high number of school leavers, who get neither further education nor work when they have finished primary school, and the demographic pattern in developing countries where children and youth constitute the majority of the population, many places more than 70% of the population (Garcia et al 2008). The WB initiative promoted for Africa is called Secondary Education in Africa (SEIA). With SEIA the World Bank follows its old pattern of linking education to economic growth. Their goal is that all youth should get at least between eight and ten years of schooling before entering the labor market (Verspoor 2008). It is worth noting that there are few other development agents that have followed up on this initiative, except the governments that are dependent of the World Banks support (Wedgwood 2005, Feldberg et al 2008). As the name of the initiative says, it is secondary school that are to be expanded, other forms of post-primary education like vocational and agricultural training have got little attention.

2.3.2 Education policies in Tanzania

Education has had a central role in Tanzania's politics after independence. It has been seen as the key to shape a certain society, and education has hence become part of both a socialist project and a capitalist project, both aimed to develop the social and the economic part of society. The ideological framework, and the planned goals of education is however only one side of the education history. The other part you find in the villages and towns, among children, youths and adults. The experienced reality is rarely the one that politicians plan for, and the consequences of a certain political view might be quite different from the expected ones. This section will try to capture both dimensions, and hence look at successes and failures in Tanzanian educational politics up to 2002. The period after 2002 will be covered in chapter 4 and 5.

Pre-colonial and colonial times in Tanganyika

Education is not a new phenomenon. Societies in all parts of the world have educated their children and youth during the world's history. The main aim has been "to transmit from one generation to another accumulated wisdom… and the fact that Africa didn't have schools for many years, did not mean that the children were not educated. They learned by living and doing" (Nyerere 1967: 268). The formalized education, which is in focus in this paper, came mainly from outside Africa; first with the missionaries and then the colonial administration. The mission schools were first established with a goal of teaching the African children how to read, and to teach them Christianity. In 1931, 90% of all schools were missionary schools, and these schools enrolled 82 % of totally 7651 pupils (Buchert 1994). During 1931-1946 many of the mission schools were absorbed into the government system. The number of pupils grew, and so did also the number of years in school, though there was almost no education after the elementary level. There were mostly boys who got the opportunity for schooling; the missionary schools had some girls, but only 25-30% (ibid). The education system was strictly racially divided, and Europeans, Indians and Africans got different education. The first secondary school for Africans was opened in Tabora in 1934 (Wedgwood 2005), and in 1946 695 youth, all boys, got a secondary education. Post secondary school was offered for 21 students in Makerere College in Uganda the same year (Buchert 1994). The purpose with secondary education was to fulfill the possessions in the indirect rule system and train teachers to the elementary education.

The racial divided education system was criticized by the United Nations in the 50s, but continued up to independence because of the resistance from the people in power (Lugumba et al 1973). Further the British colonial administration can be criticized for not planning for the independence before it was inevitable, and then it was too late to reform the education system in a way that would have provided the competence Tanzania needed in the transition to an independent country; some had the required knowledge and skills, but far too few (ibid).

Education for Self-Reliance

The task facing Tanzania after independence was to develop an education that met the needs in a new and independent country. In lead of this great task was the previous teacher Julius Nyerere, first prime minister in Tanganyika and then president for the United Republic of Tanzania. A three year education plan was launched in 1962 with main focus on expanding

secondary school facilities and expansion of the primary school course from four to six years (Lugumba et al 1973). The school system was intended to play a major role in the nation building and the modernization project. In the first part of the 60s the need for industrialization and economic growth was emphasized combined with the need for a skilled people in the middle and higher administrative posts (Buchert 1994). Later in the decade came the Arusha declaration, and with it followed the concept of education for self-reliance. Now the human development was put more in focus, likewise the development of agriculture. Like African socialism education for self -reliance was intended to build on pre-colonial knowledge and traditions, and at the same time give the pupils competence for the future (Nyerere 1967).

With many new schools built and a declaration of free primary school in 1973 (Lugumba et al 1973) enrollment rose rapidly and by the mid 1970 a decision was made to aim Universal Primary Education (UPE). In 1980 the Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) was impressively 98% (Wedgwood 2005). With limited resources however the consequence from this enormous expansion in primary school was less attention to secondary and higher education. Nyerere himself saw secondary education and especially tertiary education only as an option for the few, who was supposed to fill the nations need for academically qualified personnel. He emphasized also the importance for higher education to serve the poor, due to its high costs (Lema et al 2004).

The huge expansions in schools lead to a shortage of teaching material, teachers and funds for teachers' salaries, and the reality in the schools was not as positive as the enrollment statistics. The situation was that the pupils learned less during primary school than before, and informal payments to the teachers from the parents developed (Vilby 2008). None the less in this period in Tanzanian education history more children was included in school than ever before, and the equal access to free primary education was established as a demand from the population to the government.

Education for All under the Conditions of SAP

When the economy collapsed in the mid-eighties and Tanzania was forced to agree to implement the Structural Adjustment Program, the principals of free UPE and education for self-reliance was abolished. The demand of dramatic cuts in public expenditures affected the

schools drastically. The school fees were regenerated, and the effect was immediately seen, the number of children enrolled in schools fell by 30 percent in five years (Vilby 2008). Most schools in Tanzania are built by the community, and many were built with hope in the 70s. Ten years later the poorest children were excluded from education in the same schools as their parents built. Another consequence of the school fees was that the difference between girls' and boys' access to school was exacerbated. Due to the tradition boys' schooling was once again prioritized in families that could not afford to send more than one child to school. Girls were also expected to take more responsibility at home, and with higher household expenses; to pay for health care, school and food, many girls were taken out of school to help at home while the mother searched for waged work (Ansell 2005). Many youths experienced that they were withdrawn early from school and expected to find jobs or to help out on the farm. With so many competing for the jobs, the availability of jobs became small. Because of their lack of experience young people are often the last in line in such situations.

Applying market principles in the organizing of schools also meant opening up to private schools and make it an individual choice which school to attend. In Tanzania many private schools was established after 1986, especially at secondary level. These schools were financed by high school fees, and attracted the best qualified teachers, had more teaching materials than the governmental schools and could due to this prove better results on the examination. Many of the families with a solid income chose these schools for their children. For the majority of the families however there was never a real choice (Vilby 2008).

With the Declaration of Children's rights in 1989 and the conference on Education for All (EFA) in 1990, the international focus was turned towards right to education for all children. A natural consequence of this was a discussion of inequality in access to schools. Watkins phrases it like this: "Education is a fundamental human right. Many enshrine that right in constitutional provisions. In practice however, the right to education is universally enjoyed by the rich, but not by the poor. In education as in other areas of development, wealth matters. Differences in income shape opportunities for education, which in turn shape future patterns of wealth distribution" (Watkins 2000:149). In Tanzania, however, the economical policies still were the major constraints to achieve education for all. Following the advices from the World Bank, the state kept their spending on the educational sector low (Wedgwood 2005).

A New Millennium

On the threshold to a new millennium Tanzanian government was challenged by the millennium goals. The shift in the World Bank to accept the state as a major facilitator of development, and their emphasis on the effect of primary education on poverty reduction (Rose 2003), made it possible for Tanzania to once again abolish school fees, and give UPE priority. The emphasis on education has led to production of two fundamental plans; Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) from 2001 and Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP) from 2004. Both PEDP and SEDP are written within a larger framework of policies, with Vision 2025 and Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper as the over-arching policy documents. An improvement of the access to schools is surely needed. In 2000 53, 5 percent of the adequate age-group was enrolled in primary school, and 6% in secondary school (UNDATA 2010, Tanzanian Government 2004)

The Tanzanian government has very closely followed the priorities of the multilateral development agents, by first emphasizing primary school and then continued by focusing of the expansion of secondary schools. As long as the international community continues to see education for all as important, and education as an important mean to development Tanzania is able to fund its priority on schools. The question for the next decades is if it is possible for the government to continue spending so much on education, or if Tanzanians will face broken promises one more time.

This chapter has given an overview of the educational situation in Tanzania historically and present, and the theoretical background for my study. The next chapter will describe the methods used in my research.

3 Methodologies

In this chapter I will describe the different methods I have used in my research, and give my reasons for choosing them. This chapter will also include challenges I have experienced during the fieldwork and how these have affected my findings. Finally I will discuss my ethical considerations connected to the fieldwork. The description will follow the phases in my work, from planning, through data collection to analysis. My arguments for choosing a qualitative approach will start this chapter.

3.1 Qualitative research strategy

Qualitative research in social science includes a big variety of methods and approaches. Even so there are some general characteristics that are common to all qualitative studies: They emphasize seeing the world through the eyes of the people being studied and the thick descriptions of events and contexts (Bryman 2008). In the collection of data the methods chosen are normally characterized by flexibility (ibid). This makes it possible to do changes while in the field to make the methods more suitable. This is especially an advantage when you conduct research in an unfamiliar setting. In qualitative research data is collected in a natural setting: The information is gathered through observations of behavior in the setting it normally occurs, and interviews is normally done face to face, and are ideally closer related to a natural conversation than to a questionnaire (Silverman 2001).

My research has been conducted after the principals of qualitative research. I find a qualitative research strategy most useful, because I intend to focus on reasons for people's choices, their thoughts and opinions. These can not be quantified if they are not standardized. With standardized answers I am afraid that I will lose valuable information. Qualitative research aims to get a deep understanding of a topic. It is my purpose with this study to get a deep understanding of how youth in Haydom imagine their future, and see how this correspond with the opportunities society gives them. Qualitative and quantitative research has often been seen as contrasting strategies. However, recent research theory emphasizes that the two often can be combined, because they normally answer different questions (Fossåkaret 1997). In my research most of my data collection is done in a qualitative research tradition. Likewise my analysis will have a qualitative focus. I have used some quantitative statistics and when some

of the findings from my interviews are possible to present in numbers I have done so. Still it is the reasons behind the numbers that are my main interest and that will get most attention.

The qualitative researcher has to be intensively involved in the fieldwork, and often for a long time. This gives the researcher information in addition to the interviews and observations planned. The additional information, gathered through experiences, observations and conversations in natural settings, can be very valuable when it comes to interpreting and understanding the collected material. (Silverman 2001). The closeness to the people being investigated is seen as necessary to see the world with their eyes, which is one of the main aims for qualitative research. Involvement in the youth's life became important in my research to get as close as possible to understand their way of thinking. I also found my experience from other parts of the Tanzanian society useful in establishing an understanding of peoples reasoning, living in a society so different from my own background.

3.2 The preparatory phase

3.2.1 Planning

This project is a part of my Master's Degree, and hence I started thinking about the topic more than a year before I started working concretely with the planning. In qualitative research the researcher often starts out with a rather wide topic, and general and open preliminary research questions (Bryman 2008). My interest for youth's role in society and their education possibilities was the starting point for my project plan. Then I had to find the place that I was going to do my fieldwork, and start with preparations for my fieldwork.

While I was working with my research proposal I also read literature about my topic, and about Tanzania and Haydom. Not all of it was useful to my literature review, but by seeking a wide range of information I made it easier to pick the most relevant literature, and it gave me an image of the place I was going to visit that was very useful. A part of my preparation was also to attend an introduction course in Swahili. My intention was to learn enough to be able to greet people and participate in easy daily speaking. I hoped that this could work as an icebreaker, and reduce the distance between me and the interviewees created by the use of a translator.

3.2.2 Access to the field

To get a research permit in Tanzania the researcher and the project plan needs to be approved by COSTECH[8]. I got my approval at the 6th of October and travelled to Haydom to start my research (Appendix 1). Halfway through my fieldwork I discovered that I also needed an approval from the Regional Education Officer (REO) for Manyara Region and from the District Education Officer (DEO) for Mbulu district (Appendix 2 and 3). Getting this letters so late in my investigation gave me some practical problems, but it did not influence on my research findings.

Tanzania is a country I know from a tourist point of view, and from Tanzanians in Norway telling me about their country and Tanzanian daily life. Living in rural Tanzania for three months, though, was a totally new experience to me. Likewise was the role as researcher new to me. In this situation I found it important to find local contacts that could advice me both about the research and about daily life issues. Living at the guesthouse at HLH, and staying in touch with the researchers and staff at the hospital gave me the key contacts I needed to be able to do my fieldwork. Baily (2007) use the terms formal and informal gatekeepers. Formal gatekeepers are the ones who have the legal authority to grant access. Informal gatekeepers are the powerful individuals in society who control the interactions between people, who welcome newcomers or shut them out (ibid). Because of my connections with the hospital the community trusted me very quickly and the informal gatekeepers became important helpers to get in touch with the people I needed to talk with.

3.3 Data collection

A big variety of methods can be used in qualitative research; these can be grouped in five categories: Participant observation, qualitative interviews, focus groups, discourse and conversation analysis and analysis of texts and documents (Bryman 2008). Each of these approaches to data collection differs fundamentally from each other and will therefore be described in separated paragraphs later. Many researchers however like to combine the methods because they supplement each other with important information (Baily 2007). For example can observed behavior be explained in an interview, or a comment in an interview

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[8] Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology(COSTECH) is a parastatal organization with the responsibility to coordinate and promote research in the country. It is the chief advisor to the Government on all matters pertaining to science and technology (COSTECH 2010)

can be better understood because of an observation. In my fieldwork I have used different forms of interviews and observations combined with analysis of reports and statistics.

3.3.1 Recruiting informants

The material for this thesis is mainly based on information gathered through semi-structured interviews. The interviews can be divided into four groups: Pupils in sixth grade in Haydom primary school, youths who have stopped school during or after primary school, parents, and public officers who are responsible for education. In addition unstructured conversations with teachers, staff at the hospital and young people became valuable for my understanding of my findings. While the interviewees were chosen by me purposively, I met the others casually and the topics discussed where chosen because of common interests. I will in the next paragraph go in to the criteria I have used to do my sampling. My sampling can be defined as purposive sampling. "The goal of purposive sampling is to sample participants in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are being posed" (Bryman 2008:415). All the informants were very positive to participating in my research. For many of them it seemed like this event was viewed as nice break from the daily routine. Some also expressed their gratitude that someone was interested in hearing their opinions and their stories.

The first interviews were done at the primary school. I got an oral permission from the headmaster to talk with the teachers and pupils. My purpose for the interviews at primary school was to talk with the pupils in standard seven about what they were going to do after primary school. I thought that the topic was most relevant to them, because the end of primary school was so close. What I had not considered was that the school year in Tanzania ends by the end of November, and that standard seven sits for the national exam in October. By the time I had done my preparations and was ready to start interviewing, the pupils in standard 7 were out of school. Instead I did the planned interviews with pupils in standard 6. This worked out well and the purpose of these interviews was achieved in a good way. Standard 6 at Haydom Primary School has 92 pupils, all in one class. The sample is 34 pupils, 18 boys and 16 girls. Their age was between 11 and 21.This is a big sample when the purpose was to do in depth interviews. The quality on the interviews though varies a lot, and I chose to compensate for this by doing more interviews. One of the teachers that knew the class well picked the informants for me. This was necessary because I did not know the youth, and my

Swahili was not good enough to explain to them the purpose of the interview. Before we started I had informed the teacher about my research questions and what kind of sample I wanted. The youths interviewed varies in age, school performance and family background. With family background I mean who they live with, parents' daily occupation, parents' education level and number of brothers and sisters.

The other big group of informants was youths who had dropped out of school or had stopped school after primary school. I used some days walking around in the village to find out where I could get access to this group. What I observed during those days was the line of young people at the water posts, collecting water for their families. The sample I ended up with was 20 youths were the youngest was 13 and the oldest 25, eight girls and twelve boys. I ended up with more boys than girls because there were more boys willing to talk to me than girls, and the girls who collected water tended to be older and were more likely to have their own family than the boys. The interviewees at the water post were recruited by my translator because she could explain to them what I was doing, and the youth would be free to decide if they wanted to participate or not. Before we started to recruit informants we had agreed about what she was going to say when she asked the youth to participate.

The third group of informants was parents. I did nine interviews and the one thing they had in common was that at least one of their children was attending primary school. It was important to me to get parents with various backgrounds. I picked interviewees continuously until I felt that I had covered the same range of variety as the 6th graders in primary school told me about. The variation is both in education level, daily occupation and who they live with. In the process of finding informants I got help from the staff at the hospital because they knew more people than me in the village, but I made the decision about who to talk to.

I also wanted to talk with someone responsible for education, to get their opinions about the national educational politics and how they viewed the situation for youth in the area. One interview was done with the headmaster at Haydom Primary School and one with the District Education Officer in Mbulu district.

3.3.2 Translation

In the interview setting I had to rely on a translator to translate questions and answers, and also to make agreements with the informants about the interview. Most of the interviews had

to be done in Kiswahili. Three of the interviews with parents and the two interviews with the principal and the DEO were done in English. Leslie and Storey (2003) emphasize the importance of having a good translator. In addition to the language competence the ability to work together with the researcher is important. Because of this they recommend to use time to find the right person to employ (ibid). It is hard finding a translator just by asking around, so I had to rely on the hospital staff to help me find someone. The school offered me to use one of the teachers but I decided not to do that because I was afraid that this would influence on the pupils' answers. I wanted them to be able to speak freely about school without fearing the consequences.

The girl that was recommended to me as a translator had finished secondary school in English, but had no experience in translation or with working with researchers. To compensate for this disadvantage I decided to use some extra time to clarify what I expected her to do, and to practice some interviews before we did the ones that I was going to use in the research. After this it became clear that I had to do some changes in my interview guides. To understand each other has to do with more than just understanding the words, because of our cultural differences my translator had problems understanding the thoughts behind my questions and because of that translate the questions I asked. These conversations with my translator, to clarify some of this issues, was a great help to me in understanding how youths in Tanzania think, and by that she became one of my informants.

The main change I had to do was to make the interviews more structured than first planned. To be absolute sure that my translator understood the questions before we went to the informants we sat together while she translated the entire interview-guide to Swahili. This made it possible for her to discover the challenges before we started and to ask me about explanations. It was also difficult for her if I asked extra questions under the interview, and this was the biggest disadvantage for the research because it made it impossible for me to follow up on one answer with another question. All the interviews were recorded. Both the translator and I found this very helpful. After each day with interviews we used one day to listen to the interviews and write down information that wasn't translated the first time. Most of the interviews we listened to many times together. In this way we made sure that no valuable information was lost.

3.3.3 Interviews

The method most suitable for my research was semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews have the advantage of a certain structure to make sure that the researcher get answers to questions central in the investigation, and are at the same time flexible enough to include new topics that emerge during the conversation (Bailey 2007). To what degree my interviews have been structured has varied. The most unstructured ones were the ones I could do by myself in English. Bailey writes about semi structured interviews that they "are usually scheduled in advance and expected to last a certain amount of time; during them the interviewer might engage in dialogue with the interviewee, rather than simply ask questions" (Baily 2007:100) I had made an interview guide (appendix 4, 5 and 6), and used it to make sure that I got answers to all my questions, but I didn't ask the questions in the same order as planned, and sometimes I changed the wording. Some questions were skipped because they were already answered or became irrelevant; others were added because I needed to clarify a topic, or to get more information about it.

The interviews done with youth and with the parents that did not speak English had to be much more structured to make sure that the translator was able to translate it. These interviews therefore followed the interview guide more closely (appendix 6 and 7). Even so I did some changes during the interviews. It was especially necessary to skip some questions that became irrelevant to the interviewee's life situation. The advantage with asking the exact same questions every time was that it became easy to compare the answers, and group them for the analysis.

Preparing of the interview guides was done twice. The set of questions I started out with was useful to find answers to my research questions, but during my pilot interviews I found out that they did not work very well for my translator and for my informants. By asking them I did not get the information I was looking for. The new interview guides had an easier wording, and some questions were taken out and replaced with several others.

"Whenever possible in qualitative research the interview is usually audio-recorded" (Bryman 2008:451). All of my interviews were recorded after getting consents from my interviewees. This was to a great help for me. First of all it allowed me to give my informants full attention all the way through the interview. I did not have to ask them to repeat answers, or to stop and

write. As mentioned before it also gave me the possibility to listen to the interviews several times after the interview to make sure that the translator was able to translate everything. Even though all the participants agreed in the use of a tape recorder I was unsure about if the knowledge of the recorder would influence in the informants answers. Bryman (2008) is recommending the use of a tape recorder, but are also warning about how this could affect the interviewee: "the use of a tape recorder might disconcert respondents, who become self-conscious or alarmed at the prospect of their words being preserved" (Bryman 2008:452) During the interviews I was paying attention to the informants body language and their facial expressions. None of them seemed so uncomfortable with the situation that I considered turning the recorder of, but a few seemed to speak less freely when I started the recorder than before I started it.

All the audio files were saved until my thesis was finished. This is because I wanted to be able to go back and listen to them when I was writing up my findings. This was especially important because I realized at an early stage that I had too much material to transcribe everything. This decision was also made because most of the interviews were translated. The only part possible for me to transcribe would have been my translator's first English translation. A transcription is done of the interviews conducted in English.

My interviews are done in a setting as close to naturalistic as possible: At the school, at the water posts, in homes and in the public officers' offices. Bailey (2007) recommends the researcher to go in to the interviewees' setting instead of asking them to come to an office. Being in the informants natural surroundings have many advantages: It makes it possible for the researcher to observe the informants daily surroundings, it makes the informant talk more freely when they are at their own home-field, and the interview can more easily be experienced as a natural conversation and not only questions to answer. For the researcher it also ends up less time consuming because the chance of informants not showing up at the time agreed is eliminated.

3.3.4 Unstructured conversations and observations

Data collected through unstructured conversations and observations became of significant importance for my study. During my stay at Haydom I did one planned observation. I decided to stay three days at the primary school before I started the interviews. The aim was to

observe daily life for pupils and teachers in standard six. Also the days when I did my interviews I stayed at school both before and after the interviews. For the observations in the classroom during lessons I had a short list of what to look for. I sat back in the classroom and took notes. For the rest of the day the main purpose of the observations was to take in as much as possible of impressions. These were written down as soon as I returned home.

Doing observations as part of a qualitative field research means to combine doing observations focused on the research questions and include other causal observations that might be important (Bryman 2008). Writing down everything you hear and see is an impossible task, but to stay too focused on a few topics puts the researcher in danger of losing important information. This additional information is often very useful in interpreting the data (ibid). The field notes I took during my research included observations, reflections around the methods I used, and reflections about my findings so far. I wrote in my diary every day while I was at Haydom, and for the rest of my stay in Tanzania I wrote occasionally when something interesting happened, or I got some new thoughts about my topic. I kept the diary separately from the observation notes I did in the classroom and during interviews.

My stay at the primary school also gave me many situations were conversations with the teachers about school, teaching, youth etc were the topics. I considered doing interviews with some teachers, but after having talked so much with them about relevant topics it felt awkward to ask the same kind of questions in an interview.

During all my three months in Tanzania I had many conversations with teachers, parents, young people, and NGO workers about my research topic, but also about other topics connected to my topic. Much of this information cannot be sited directly because they were never recorded, but they are important for my overall understanding of the situation for Tanzanian youth. These conversations are not restricted to Haydom, because they have happened naturally at all the places I have visited. This includes the big cities of Arusha, Dodoma and Dar es Salaam, but also small villages which I do not know the name of. Sometimes a long bus trip has meant a good opportunity for a long conversation too. Information gathered in these conversations is one of the most influential factors in my interpretation of the data.

3.3.5 Reading of official documents and access to statistic

The state is a source of a great deal of information significant to social researchers. The information includes quantitative statistics and written documents (Bryman 2008). Tanzanian government is no exception. Most of the documents and statistics I have needed are found on the national website, I also got some local statistic orally from the DEO's office and from the Headmaster at Haydom Primary School[9]. My other source to statistic and documents is Haydom Lutheran Hospital. Of especially interest is the survey done before they started to plan for a trade school.

3.4 Analysis

3.4.1 Analysis of collected data

> *"The multipronged process of analysis requires that the researcher make sense of the data: break it down, study its component, investigate its importance, and interpret its meaning.*
> *... Although we tend to think of analysis as a process that starts after all the data has been collected, it actually begins at the moment the researcher starts to think about conducting a field research project. It continues during each stage of the research process, such as gaining entrée, building relationships, observing and interacting in the field, interviewing, and writing field notes. Finally, analysis helps structure the production of the final manuscript" (Bailey 2007).*

During the whole research I have thought back and forward about how my findings are connected to each other, and how they answer my research question. Many of these reflections have been written down in my field notes. Going away from Haydom for some days also contributed to see my findings from a distance which made it easier to see the big lines and patterns. Especially after finishing the interviews with the youth, staying away for a while helped me to find some new questions I needed to ask parents and public officers.

After finishing the data collection I started to go through all my material. For the interviews with the youths, which had followed the interview guide very neatly, I could group answers, and count up how many who gave me the same answers. For the other groups I was reading and listening to the talking to find patterns, both similarities and contradictions in the answers. I also went back to my field notes to see if the thoughts I had during the research corresponded with my analysis after finishing. A part of the analysis process has also been to discuss my findings with other students and with my supervisors. Telling them what I have

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[9] I was promised written material from the DEO but I never got it. After asking for them many times I had to give up, and find what I needed in other places.

found, and answering their questions has made me think through my findings many times, looking for ways to present and express them.

3.4.2 Literature review

My literature review is done in two phases, before and after fieldwork. During my stay in Tanzania I had little time for reading, and few books were available to me at that point.

By choosing to work with a topic I have been interested in for a long time, I had the advantage of starting out with some knowledge gained from literature I had read earlier. Bailey (2007) writes that having read a wide range of literature and having a good theoretical foundation are a good help to get started with the process of analysis. In the preparatory phase I tried to systemize some of the theories and concepts I had read about, and tried to find out which of them was most relevant to my research. I also did a lot of additionally reading to get an overview of what kind of research which is done about this topic, and also what is done in Tanzania and especially at Haydom. While the interest for education and youth was not new to me, doing research was. As a consequence of that I had to use some time to learn about different methods, and collecting practical advices about how to do the field work.

After coming back from Tanzania I recapitulated the reading from the preparatory phase. I also had to find more literature on some subtopics which I became more interested in during my research. The main aim for the literature review in this phase was to provide more substance and background for the discussion of my findings. Staying at Nordiska Afrikainstitutet in Uppsala for a month gave me great access to a wide range of useful literature.

3.5 Challenges

No research project goes on without any problems or challenges, and neither did this. Challenges can however either strengthen a project or be the cause of limitations. The following paragraphs will examine the challenges to this research project.

3.5.1 Objectivity

Objectivity in research is often judged after the demand of possible replication, meaning that findings in a social research should be the same also with a different researcher or if the study is done at another time (Kaarhus 1999). Hence the findings are not influenced by the researcher's opinions, personality, behavior etc. If this is feasible in any social study is a relevant question, in a qualitative study based on fieldwork it is also a question if this kind of objectivity is wanted (Bailey 2007). In my study I was looking for youths' thoughts and feelings about their future possibilities. To get this I also needed to know something about their present life situation, situations that were not always easy to talk about. I believe that one of the reasons why I actually got some long answers to these questions was because I was able to show them that I was truly interested in their story, and that I gave something of myself also. In a few interviews though I experienced that the connection between me as an interviewer and the informant was not that good and this affected the replies I got. In the unstructured conversations I had, the personal connection had at least the same relevance.

"Recognizing the subjective nature of field research, they replace objectivity and value-neutrality with confirmability, which requires that findings be supported by data" (Bailey 2007:184). In my research I am not looking for a scientific objectivity, but I am going to make sure that the findings I present are supported by my data. The aim of my research is to present the thoughts of people at Haydom. Trying to see the world through their eyes has been a challenging but interesting task, mainly because it was so different from my own point of view. It is my opinion that I could never have managed to even come close to doing that without being conscious about my own values, opinions and experiences, and used them to compare and confront the opinions of the others. Sometimes that made them laugh of me, and sometimes it provoked them, but I always ended up with a deeper understanding of their point of view. These types of conversations were of course limited to people I could speak English with, usually young adults.

3.5.2 Translation

Having to use a translator because I did not speak any of the local languages, and only understood a little bit in Kiswahili was a big challenge and a limitation to the data collection. This entailed that I missed data, both directly because it was not translated, and indirectly because this made it hard to ask follow up questions. Also when the translation was satisfying

the loss of personal contact, because all conversation had to go through a third person, have consequences for my findings, and for my interpretation of my findings. I could only get a superficial understanding of body language, level of the voice etc, not knowing what expression that belonged to which statement. Being used to work with translator in my earlier job, I was very much aware of these problems, and was able to overcome some of them by working very closely with my translator also outside the interview setting. All this extra conversations to clarify a range of different issues ended up being a part of my findings. My translator was very serious about her job, and did her very best to satisfy my translation needs and answering all my questions. The challenge for me was to find the best possible way to use her knowledge without being too restricted by her lacking skills in English. Hopefully we ended up with a combination of useful research findings for me and useful work experience for her.

3.5.3 Interview setting

The interview setting is here understood as the physical and environmental surroundings of the interview. It also includes the interaction between the human beings present (Kaarhus 1999). How the setting influences the interview depends on both how the interview was arranged and agreed about and how the interview process is going. In an ideal interview situation both the interviewer and the interview are comfortable with the setting. "Where an interview is held can affect its quality" (Bailey 2007:104). In other words, an interview setting which doesn't make the participants comfortable can reduce the quality of the information given. My interviews was done many different places, but in this paragraph I will focus on the ones that the location might have lead to some restrictions on what the interviewee chose to say.

The interviews done with pupils in standard 6 were done in a room next door to the classroom. The room was reasonably quiet and we could close the door and be alone there. No one except the translator and me could hear what the interviewee said. I still think that for some of the pupils the fact that we were at school affected their answers to some degree. Pupils in Tanzania are expected to learn what they are thought and look for the correct answer. This doesn't correspond very well with my questions about their dreams, plans and opinions. Being asked critical questions about school is also not something they are used to, and answering this kind of question at school probably made it even more difficult. Doing the

interviews in school was still the best alternative. It made it possible for me to do many interviews in a row, because I could ask the pupils to come to me continuously. The school also had the advantage of being a well known setting, not a totally strange place like an office would be. In addition to this doing interviews at school made it possible for me to combine observations of daily life at school with interviews.

Most of the interviews with youths that was not in school and with parents were done outside on the street, on stairs in front of houses or close to the water post. All of these places were public places, and what the interviewee said would not be confidential. Hence I found it very important to make sure that the participation was fully voluntary. Several people did also refuse to talk with me. I chose to do the interviews outside because it was convenient for the informants. I occupied less of their time, and they didn't have to look for some unfamiliar place to find me. To me this location was absolutely not convenient, but a way to come closer to my interviewees daily life. The questions I was going to ask were also of a kind that probably all their neighbors knew the answer to already, even if I didn't. One of the biggest problems with doing interviews outside turned out to be the wind and other background noises in the tape recorder. Because of my challenges with the translation I had become very dependent on the recorder and did not take much additional notes. Listening to the interviews afterwards I discovered that some of them was not understandable, and could not be used. Luckily I discovered this quite early and could change location a bit to improve the conditions.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations should be done at all stages in the research, from the planning of the fieldwork to publishing. Discussions about ethical principals in social research tend to focus on four areas in particular: Harm to participants, informed consent, invasion of privacy and deception (Bryman 2008). In my discussion of ethical concerns here I will go in to the issues that became most important to me during my fieldwork. The resolutions in the field also affected the process of analysis and writing up this research. During this chapter I have discussed the methods used, and attempt has been made to bring up the ethical issues in their natural setting. One issue however needs particular attention and are not mentioned in previous paragraphs:

3.6.1 Interviews with children and youth:

Children and youth in all societies belong to the powerless and vulnerable in society. Most of the children and youth in Tanzania are even more vulnerable because of poverty (Scheyvens, Scheyvens and Murray 2003). This gives the researcher an extra responsibility to act in a responsible way, so that the researcher's behavior does not harm them. To study children and youth in developing countries have had little priority among development researchers, and because of that there is also little discussion about how this is best done (ibid). Because of this UNICEF has made a list of some reports about the issue (UNICEF 2010).

Scheyvens, Scheyvens and Murray (2003) have made a list of guidelines for research involving children and youth. The first point on their list is about informed consent. To make sure that the participation are voluntary and that the informants understand what they are participating in is important in all research. When it comes to children and youth the difficult question is who should be the one who gives their consent, the children themselves, the caretakers or the headmaster at the school? I think that ideally all of them should give their consent, but it is my experience that this is not always so easy. To me it became too difficult to contact all the caretakers, and after discussing it with some other researchers I decided that in this case an approval from the headmaster combined with the consent from the youths themselves was enough. I made that decision because the subject I study is not a sensitive one, so no one should get into trouble by answering my question, the pupils knew the purpose of my presence at their school and was free to discuss it with their parents, and none of the children's and youths' identity are visible in the material used in my thesis. In this way I think I have protected my informant as good as possible and at the same time given children and youths at Haydom a chance to be heard.

In my role as an observer at the primary school I found myself in an ethical dilemma after a few days. It became a dilemma to me because my values tell me that all children's wellbeing are all adults responsibility, and at the same time my role as an observer told me to keep a distance. This is what happened: Life went on as usual at school, and my presence had little or no influence on daily activities in the classroom. I was happy about this for some time because I learned a lot from it, until I several times in one day ended up watching children being physically punished. I felt that I was in no position to say or do anything, because this was widely accepted among the school community, at the same time I felt that it was

impossible for me to give my accept to an adult beating a child by watching. My solution became to leave the place and decide to start a discussion about this among the teachers on a general basis later. Even though I do not believe the discussion changed their attitudes and practice at once, I hope to have planted some new thoughts that might influence on the children's situation in the long run.

Through this chapter I have told about the process of collecting data, the methods used and the challenges I have met. In the next chapter I will present my findings, analyze and discuss them.

4 Findings and Discussion Part I: Present Situation

In the two following chapters I will present, analyze and discuss the data collected during my fieldwork at Haydom. I will also compare the situation for youth in Haydom with the situation in more rural places in Mbulu district when that information is available to me. I also find it relevant in some of the paragraphs to refer to the national level.

The discussion in these chapters will draw upon earlier writings as well as my own findings. Some of the more general literature is presented before in chapter 2, while the writings which are more specifically relevant in this section will be introduced here. Earlier writings will mainly be used to enhance the understanding of my material, sometimes it also will be used to complete my findings, and hence add information relevant to my study.

Chapter 4 focuses on how the present situation looks like for youth in rural Tanzania, and especially at Haydom. I will present the different opportunities youth have for expanding their capabilities in the education system today, and see how this affect the youth working possibilities and life condition. Therefore I have put most emphasis on section 4.1 which focuses on education.

4.1 Education Possibilities in Haydom

In this section I will give an overview of the education possibilities in Haydom, or around Haydom that are close enough for the youth to stay at home. Migration because of education is discussed in section 4.4. In this part I will discuss accessibility to education. Accessibility is not only a matter of practicalities, but it also involves motivation and quality. Hence parents' and youth's opinion about the schools available to them are relevant to this discussion. Quality becomes essential in the transfusion from one education level to the next, but it is perhaps even more important for the youth that does not continue their education. Most of the youth in Tanzania does not enter the next education level, and I will go into some of the reasons for that here. These are the reasons we can find in the education system itself, part 4.3 will go more into the youth's personal reasons for stopping school.

4.1.1 Primary School

The section about education will start with discussing the access to and quality in Primary School because this is where the youth gets or has got their basic education. Hence the quality

and access to primary school will affect their knowledge both directly and indirectly. For most youth in Tanzania primary school is still their only education, and for the few who continues, it is the base for the knowledge gained at other school levels. At Haydom Primary School I also found that many in the age group that we normally define as youth are still in primary school. In standard six 59% of the pupils were between 13 and 21 years old.

Universal Primary Education

School attendance is widely perceived to be beneficial for the individual by contributing to cognitive development and giving access to knowledge and skills necessary for the individual's future life. Education is also perceived beneficial for society because it provides society with skilled workers and actively contributing citizens. Hence education is fundamental to make democracy work, because it enables people to access written information, and to understand what is going on in national politics (Ansell 2005). This attitude towards education lays behind the international emphasis on Education for All and it is also manifested in the way local people at Haydom value education. Every parent I have talked to emphasized how important it was that their children went to school. And the highest wish of the youths who has stopped school was to go back, even if that meant that they then had to start in standard five again, at the age of 18. *I failed standard seven exam, but if I could I would go back to repeat it….because I want to study*[10]

After the reintroduction of free primary school for all in 2002, school attendance is a possibility for most children in Tanzania. In rural districts like Mbulu there are however still some practical problems to join primary school: Children might have to walk for more than one hour to go to school, or the path becomes flooded and not usable in the rainy season. In Mbulu district teachers in very remote areas also told me that school attendance among pastoralists was low because the families often moved, or they stayed at places where there was no school[11].

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[10] Boy 16 years, stopped school after failing grade 7 exam. The statement is my phrasing after listening to the tape with my translator twice, securing the content of the statement.
[11] This information comes from a teacher at a school two hour's drive from Haydom. I was visiting the village together with some other guests at Haydom to look at some projects there. I asked for the school, and got a conversation with one teacher working at the local primary school.

The Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) has shown a rapid growth since 2002. That the ones who fell behind through the 90s also are given an opportunity to get primary education is the reason why the percentage figure goes beyond 100.
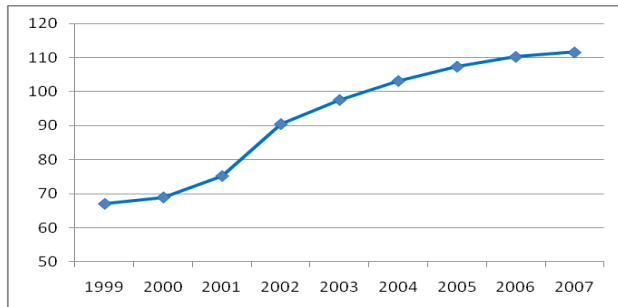
Gross Enrollment Rate for Primary School in Tanzania 1999-2007

(Source: BEST 2006 + UNDATA)

For one of the poorest countries in the world these are impressing numbers. And my suspicion before my research was that this rapid growth in pupils probably was hard to follow up on with teachers, classrooms and books. My visit to Haydom Primary School did confirm these difficulties. According to the headmaster, Haydom Primary School has 1060 pupils and 17 teachers. That gives a pupil per teacher ratio 62:1. This is higher than the national average which was 53:1 in 2006, and much higher than the national goal on 45:1 (PEDP 2001). The school has 12 classrooms which mean that the whole standard 6, who are 94 pupils, shares one classroom. Standard 7similary consists of two classes in one room. In 2006 it was reported a shortage of 2522 classrooms in Manyara region (NBS 2005). Behind the nice statistics that shows that Tanzania has almost reached the goal of universal primary education, the situation seems to be that they have started with giving all children a right to primary education, and removed the school fees so that it was possible for all to attend, without making sure that there were enough schools and teachers.

Primary Education Development Plan and Quality in Schools

When I was questioning the quality in schools, and asked for plans to improve it, both the District Education Officer (DEO) and the Regional Education Officer (REO) referred to the PEDP. They also said that as a consequence of the new national strategy there was increased school budgets, new classrooms built, and more teachers educated.

The Primary Education Development Plan was made in 2001 to "articulate the vision of Universal Primary Education within the wider Tanzanian policy frameworks (PEDP 2001)."

The plan was originally made to last for five years, from 2002-2006, but has been prolonged to 2011 because the first timeframe of five years turned out to be too short to complete the highly demanding task of giving good quality education to all children. The PEDP consists of four main development goals:

> (a) expanding enrolment; (b) improving the quality of teaching and learning processes; (c) building capacity within the education system and other public and private sectors with a stake in education provision; and (d) strengthening the institutional arrangements that support the planning and delivery of education services (PEDP 2001).

As shown in the paragraph above the first goal is nearly achieved. This is also the one which PEDP gives the highest priority. At the moment the focus seems to be on the quality.

In the interview with the DEO I asked: How do you perceive the quality in the schools in Manyara district? He replied*: It is good, I cannot say excellent, but the quality is good to very good in some schools. You can differentiate between the two goods: The rural area and the town area...* I followed up with asking him what he meant with good quality. He then mentioned the number of students passing the national exam, who then are qualified for secondary school: In Mbulu district 57% passed the exam for 2009. At Haydom Primary School 95% passed according to the statement of the headmaster. It was an interesting observation that of the two, the headmaster was least satisfied with the quality in his school. When I asked how the quality could be better though, they had several of the same points: Building of more classrooms, getting more equipment for teaching, and more desks for the pupils. The headmaster also mentioned that increased salaries and pedagogical courses would improve the teachers' motivation and teaching skills. When I asked the Regional Education Officer about what is done to improve the quality in primary school, his only answer was to refer to the PEDP.

I have not asked the youth to directly evaluate the quality on the schools or the teaching, but I have asked them questions related to quality of education. A few of the 6th graders say that they perceive the classroom as crowded, that sometimes it is hard to pay attention and it can be hard to understand what the teachers are explaining. Most of them though do not criticize the school or the teaching at all. This surely contradicts my observations in the classroom where I saw many pupils having problems with grasping the content of the teacher's explanation. Being 94 pupils in one classroom has to affect the ability to learn. I find two possible explanations to the pupils' answers. The first explanation has to do with the interview

setting. We were at the school, and they might have feared that the teachers would know what they have answered. Even if they trusted me not to tell, the school setting normally doesn't open for critical questions or disagreements with the teacher. The second explanation is related to the first one, but is wider: There seems to be a culture for not criticizing those in charge. This can be seen both in the political system and bureaucracy, and in the respect for the elders and the more powerful. Maybe the explanation was a combination of these two, because when I asked the parents about how they viewed the quality of the education their children got, it was mostly the ones with more education than primary school and a permanent job, who described the quality in primary school as bad. One of the mothers answered this on the question of school quality: *Primary school is ok, but because of the number of pupils it gets hard to understand subjects like math. So my children receive tuitions in the evening.*[12]My understanding of her answer is that the school is not good enough to make the children pass the exam for standard 7, but still she says that the quality is good. More explicit critique comes from a well educated father in his 50s, before this we had also discussed the high number of pupils in the classes:

> *There are many challenges in the school. Despite the high number of children we have few teachers. And a great challenge is the motivation of the teachers. Because of the working environment and because of the low wages. And the teachers have to travel to Mbulu to get their salary, that is 100 km. Another challenge is the infrastructure at the schools. That they don't access safe water and food.*[13]

Listening to my informants and reading the PEDP I find that many of the planned improvements that are articulated in PEDP are in process. The Tanzanian government has made it possible to include almost every child in primary school, and the quality is improving. There is a slow but steady progress in the primary schools. What is missing though is a debate about what a qualitative good school is. Right now it seems like the goal is to get as many as possible through the national exam, because a high pass rate tells about a good school. To reach this goal the government wants to improve the physical conditions in the school, and increase the number of teachers and the amount of teaching materials (PEDP 2001, Interview with DEO 2009). These measurable components of school quality are important, and focusing on them is an easy way for the government to show the Tanzanian population, and the international community that there are great improvements in the Tanzanian schools. The less measurable components of school quality though get little or no attention, but these

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[12] The interview is translated, and this is the wording of what the translator told that the mother said.
[13] The interview is done in English, the phrasing is the fathers.

components are not less important. As Kazura (2000) points out: "Little has been written and/or researched on the affective domain, such as honesty, self confidence, discipline, and how the individuals use the knowledge, values and skills acquired in schools at the various levels in life."

Many of the components of quality mentioned by the government are single factors which do influence a great deal on the school quality, but they cannot really give good schools if not the discussion includes the wanted outcome of the education system: What kind of businessmen, employees, farmers, parents, and not at least citizens does Tanzania want to have in the future? The essential questions in any discussion about quality in education are if the education is giving children the skills and knowledge they need for their lives, and also if the education gives children and youth the skills and knowledge the society needs at present and in the future. The outcome of education can be defined as the "cherished expected results of an educational system or institution" (Mosha 2000). The outcome has to be cherished of students, caretakers, employers, and other parts of society. A good quality school prepares its students for employment or self-employment and life in general, and gives the students the possibility to enhance their capabilities. The students in a qualitative good school get qualifications which are needed in society and are also enabled to use what they have learned in new, creative and innovative ways (ibid.)

The educational association HakiElimu states that one of the major challenges in Tanzanian education policy is that the education targets in both primary and secondary school are focused on quantitative aspects and on inputs instead of outputs. They say this about what good education should create: "Education is expected to produce graduates who are able to thrive in a fast changing world, meet challenges and solve problems, be entrepreneurial and create jobs, and be critical and active citizens" (Sumra &Rajani 2006). Unfortunately these aspects are not visible in either PEDP or SEDP. To measure quality in schools the government counts desks, pupils, teachers and classrooms, and compares the result of the national exams with previous years. The measurement tools that are used both by the Tanzanian government and worldwide to measure quality at present does not focus on the aspect of capability. There are many aspects of doings and beings that are hard to measure by numbers and figures; these are not included in national and international tests. The discussion

about PISA[14] in Norway is hence a parallel to the quality discussion in Tanzania. Measuring if the children remember what they have been taught does not tell if the knowledge they are given, and the way they are taught equip the youth for a life were adjustment to changing life conditions might be their most valuable skill.

However, good tests might say something about the ability to continue to the next level of education, but in Tanzania the exams are mainly multiple choice questions which does not show the students understanding or ability to express themselves in Kiswahili or English (Sumra & Rajani 2006). In traditional African societies education was an integrated part of social life. The skills and knowledge they learned was hence useful in everyday life (Reagan 2005). In the debate about quality in education, Tanzania therefore has important lessons to learn from its own past. The evaluation of quality does not necessarily need to follow the international pattern entirely.

Transition to Secondary Education

In my interviews with standard six pupils at Haydom Primary School I asked what they would do after primary school. All of them answered: *Start secondary school*[15]. I tried to figure out if they actually thought that this was feasible. More than half of the pupils asked, said that it would be possible for them to attend secondary school, the rest was worried about school fees and passing the exam. Of the 34 respondents 28 had discussed the opportunity with their parents, and they said that the parents also wanted them to go to secondary school. Four pupils had not talked about secondary school with their parents and two lived with other caretakers and used that as an explanation to why going to secondary was more a dream than a realistic plan. Those of the pupils who had older brothers and sisters were asked how many of them who went to secondary school. The dominant answer was one. Three said that all the older brothers and sisters attended secondary school, and six said that no one was in secondary school.

In conversations with the teachers I asked for their response to the fact that all the pupils in standard six wanted to start in secondary school. They started to laugh, and then said: *It is*

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[14] Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) is OECD's program for evaluation of the education provided in schools. It focuses on tests of 15 years old students in science, math and reading (PISA 2010).
[15] The wording is how the translator phrased the youths' statement. She used the same wording every time.

impossible, only the brightest ones can get in to secondary, and then they added: *And the parents have to be able to pay the school fees too*. The headmaster indicated that maybe 10% of the Primary School leavers from Haydom Primary School normally would continue immediately to secondary. I will come back to the actual figures, and the accessibility to secondary schools in paragraph 4.1.2. For now I just use these statements to show the huge gap between the young people's aspirations and dreams and their realistic opportunities. The dream though, is shared by the pupils' parents. They all value secondary school to a very high degree, regardless of their own educational or working background. For most of them seeing their children in secondary school are so important that they will do almost anything to find money for school fees and other school expenses. Getting one child at the time through secondary school are common practice, and often the youths are not able to continue in school four years successively, but have to wait a year or two to earn money to pay for school. There are also many that stop school during secondary that never returns (BEST 2006).

As pupils in standard six pointed out there are two factors that could stop them from going to secondary school: *To lack money and to fail the exam.* Unfortunately those two goes together most of the times. If the child is not extremely bright it is hard to learn enough in a public school to get good grades at the exam. The parents' solution to this is to pay for extra lessons in the evenings. This way the economic and educational differences between the families are reproduced, and the divide between the ones who have to be satisfied with what the public schools offer, and those who can afford to pay for their children's education are increasing (Vilby 2008). The parents I interviewed fit into this picture. None of them were rich, but some were clearly better off than others. The ones with employment and a stable income were the ones who talked about their children's need for tuition. This was also the parents who said that they were sure that their children would continue to secondary school. One mother said:

> I think everyone will continue to secondary school, and I hope they will pass the exam, if they don't they will stay home. If the children pass the exam we will find a way to get the school fees. Many parents in Haydom have problems with paying school fees.[16]

According to the DEO there is a bigger lack of qualified teachers in the rural areas than in town areas in Mbulu district. This is also typical on the national level. While the DEO mainly points to lack of housing as the major problem to get teachers to move to the villages

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[16] The interview is translated from Kiswahili. The mother's education level was primary school. She worked as a housekeeper for one of the doctor's family.

Wedgwood points to *the attractions of urban life and potentially lucrative second salaries through tuition* (Wedgwood 2005:39). The result is the same: The advantage of the best teachers and the opportunity for tuition gives the children of parents in the middle class and above in towns an advantage compared to the children of poor farmers. The difference between rural and urban areas can be seen in the pass rate in the standard seven exams (BEST 2006).

4.1.2 Secondary School

In industrialized countries secondary school are normally compulsory, and therefore the place you will find most of the youths. In Tanzania the situation has been the opposite for a long time. The majority of the youths are not in school, and secondary schooling is still only for the few. Also compared to other developing countries Tanzania has a remarkably low rate of their youth-population in school (UNDP 2009).

Accessibility in Haydom

In Haydom village there are two secondary schools at the moment. In the bigger area Haydom Ward there are six secondary schools[17]. All of them are day-schools. The number of schools has increased rapidly the last years. Dr. Olsen Secondary School was built by private actors in 1997 because of the total lack of secondary schools in the area. In 2002 two more schools were built in other parts of the Ward. After the focus was set on secondary schools in 2004 with the Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP) the other three schools have been built. The additional schools have been built by the local community. The responsibility for equipping them with desks, books and teachers is with the government, vested by the DEO. For youths in Haydom village this means better access to secondary schools than before. According to the DEO Mbulu district 57% of the pupils who sat for standard 7 exams were qualified for secondary school. This is above the national goal on 50%. The DEO seems satisfied with this result and said: *There are enough schools for them; we have three new schools that are going to be opened. No student will miss secondary education.* If you compare the number of qualified pupils with the total capacity in the six schools the number of schools is sufficient. The distribution of the schools, however, is not functional. For the youths who live in remote villages the distance to any secondary school is too long to travel

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[17] In this part I continue to name Haydom village only Haydom. When I am referring to the whole ward, this is said explicit.

from home to school every day. If they are admitted at secondary school this means renting a place to live closer to school. The families in the most remote villages are also normally the poorest ones in monetary terms, and to afford both the costs of secondary school and of accommodation become too much for most of them. The pass rate within the ward also varies. Haydom primary school had an impressing high passing rate in 2009 of 95%. As the headmaster said; *there is no way that all of them can get in to one of the two nearby secondary schools.* For some this means moving away from home in an early age, but for the majority it means to stay home with their parents helping them on the farm, or to find a way to earn money in the informal sector. With the increasing number of primary school leavers, the pressure on secondary schools will only get bigger in the next years. Under follows a part of the interview with the headmaster at Haydom Primary School:

> *Me: What do you think is the biggest hinder for people to start in secondary school? What stops them?*
> *HM: For this area? Lack of money! The children would like to go to secondary school, but the parents lack money.*
> *HM: But you know if pupils pass there are school fees, contribution for desks, contribution for food, and many, many things. So for this area many people are farmers. So if there is lack of rice there is lack of food so people fail to contribute, that is the very problem.*

Talking with youth and parents, they all confirm that the biggest obstacle to secondary school is economic issues. The school fees in itself are not extremely high, and have been lowered since the introduction of SEDP. After 2005 it is only 20 dollars per year, but with 96, 6 % of the population living for less than two dollars a day (UNDP 2009), even this can be an impossible cost. Parents' contributions are highly common in secondary schools. The parents are supposed to pay for books, desks, lunch, uniforms, writing materials, etc. Often can the additional cost be four to five times as high as the original school fee (interview with DEO). Bright children from poor families might get lucky and get one of the 12 000 scholarships given by the government each year (SEDP 2004). The problem is only that there are many more families that are too poor to pay this much for their children's education. Amazingly enough, most families in Haydom manage to get at least one child into secondary school[18]. Big sacrifices are demanded to find money for the school expenses, and normally help from the extended family is needed. Parents see the school expenses as an investment in the future. For this to be true, the quality in secondary schools will have to be good

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[18] In my interviews with the 6th graders I asked if they had brothers or sisters in secondary school Most of the ones who had older sisters or brothers told about at least one who attended secondary school.

Quality

One of Haydom's grand old ladies, who had followed the development in the village for many years, was very critical to the construction of all the new secondary schools. Not because they were not needed, but because she could not see how it could be possible to get enough teachers to all these new schools. *Some years ago,* she said, *Dr. Olsen secondary school had a very good reputation; this has partly disappeared due to lack of teachers*.[19] One of the policies to get teachers to the more remote and unpopular schools is a rotation system. This evens out the differences on teacher shortages in the district, but it doesn't necessarily lead to improved quality in either of the schools. The DEO told me about the rotation system and mentioned the lack of houses for the teachers as the biggest problem to make the system work. I would also think that if the rotation is practiced by force it can lead to a reduction in number of teachers in the long run, because it gets very inconvenient to move. At least the motivation for doing a good job will decrease. A rotation in which school who has enough teachers and which has not, does not seem to be a quality improvement to me. To even out the teacher shortage in this way only means that more schools will be affected by the problem, it does not solve it.

The parents were also occupied with the lack of teachers in the secondary schools, especially because the nearby schools had not had qualified teachers in math and science for a long period. These were also the subjects the parents valued highest, because they said that over the years they had seen that taking the natural science subjects gave the youth easier access to further education and jobs. One of the parents expresses it like this:

> *What we have observed mainly are that it gives possibilities further if they take science subject, like mathematics, geography, English. Then the child can get a bit easier opportunity for the further times. But the problem is that we lack teachers on those subjects, especially in mathematics and science… What we do is that we pay extra money to for someone to teach our children. Some of them are teachers from school, and some have just finished form 4 in secondary.[20]*

Again they solved the problem by paying for tuition in addition to school fees and the contribution the school demands.

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[19] The statement is translated from Norwegian. It is part of a conversation I had with an old missionary woman, who has lived most of her life in Haydom.

[20] The interview is done in English with a father working at the hospital.

The big expansion of the secondary school system the recent years has been an improvement in accessibility. The expansion has for the most happened among the governmental schools. Expansion of the private sector has slowed down considerably since the 1990s and that gives reasons to believe that the demand for private education is met at the moment (Wedgwood 2005). The governmental schools however do not have the same amount of resources as many of the private schools have, and with more schools come higher expenses. These expenses are partly carried by the parents and partly by the government. The governmental part is more or less subsidized by the World Bank, mainly as loans, partly as grants (ibid). I will later show how the World Bank's influence affects the SEDP. Both PEDP and SEDP have been implemented in very few years, competing for the same resources. There is no doubt about the need for or demand for such a prioritizing of the education system, the question is if it is sustainable. It is far too early to start evaluating the results of both PEDP and SEDP; big reforms like these are not completed over night. Vilby (2008) refer to conversations with people who remember earlier school reforms in Tanzanian. They are critical to the new reforms for two reasons; both are related to the experiences from the Universal Primary Education campaign in the late 70s. Firstly they are afraid that the funds may dry up, and there will not be enough resources to complete and continue the enrolment of all Tanzanian children in primary school. Secondly they are asking questions about the point in having low quality schools (ibid). The latter point goes for both primary and secondary school[21]. To educate many new teachers and to ensure that they also get qualitative good education, have to take many years. In the meantime there are many youth passing through the secondary school system, learning far less than they should, and achieving far less than they hoped for. This might turn in to a vicious circle, because tomorrow's teachers are today's pupils.

When discussing quality in secondary schools the medium of instruction cannot be ignored. The debate has been heavy for many years and much research has been done. Here I will only comment shortly on how the switch from primary school's Kiswahili in to secondary's English are experienced in Haydom. The idea behind the change in instruction language is that the pupils get fluent in English during primary school, and then are able to follow lectures in English in secondary school. This is supposed to be an advantage for further schooling and work because English is an international language (Rajani et al 2006). The fact that less than 1% of the adult population (UNDP 2009) has more education than secondary school is not

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[21] For a discussion of quality in primary school see section 4.1.1.

considered. Some more will find themselves using English in their work, especially the ones that work in the tourist industry, but it is still a small part of the population.

At Haydom the 6th graders had one more year to improve their English skills before some of them are entering secondary school. My observations from the interview setting and from the classroom indicate that the pupils competence in English are quite low: In all the interviews I started out with presenting myself and asking them very easy questions in English, like their name, age, and number of brothers and sisters. Normally most of them were able to answer at least the two first of this questions. My fourth question was: How many of your brothers and sisters are older than you? The two girls that were most eager in practicing English looked desperately at my translator for help, and after getting the question in Kiswahili they answered in English. For all the other interviews both question and answer had to be translated. I sat in standard 6 for one lecture in English. The teacher's knowledge of the language was quite good and his teaching skills likewise. The problem was only that except for the few who were chosen to answer when the teacher asked the pupils did not practice any English. There were no books except from notebooks and no possibility for everyone to participate. Without books and with 93 pupils in the classroom the options for active learning are not many. After a while the English teacher understood that I had teaching experience from Norway and he asked me to teach the class for a lesson. I had to say no to that because I had no idea how to do it.

The above described situation is unfortunately not an exceptional one. Most of the primary school leavers find themselves unable to follow what is taught in English in secondary school (Rajani et al 2006). Consequently much of the knowledge becomes superficial. This is probably one of the reasons for the high dropout rates from secondary school. The implications for primary school are also severe. Pupils with good results after secondary school normally start at university. Despite the status teachers in Tanzania still have, the salaries make the best students choose other options. The ones starting at teacher colleges are the ones that got through secondary school with lower grades and hence less knowledge in the subjects they are going to teach (Wedgwood 2005). Educationalists all over the world agrees that everyone learns best in their own language, for most pupils in Tanzania Kiswahili is their second language and English their third. Despite that the language issue is heavily debated among researchers and teaching associations, the government seems to ignore the question. In

the program for improving secondary schools, SEDP, language of instruction is not mentioned.

Why is secondary school important?

Why do you want to attend secondary school, I asked the youth. With some variation in the wording all of them answered *to get a better life*. Some deepened the answer with arguments about possibilities for work, and the possibility to help their family economically. No answers emphasized the knowledge and skills learned in secondary school. The answer was the same from youths in standard 6 and from youths who had stopped school, neither was there any variation in the answers due to age. The parents that had stopped school during or after primary level answered also almost in the same way. One of the parents with more education added that *it is important because now the government has raised the basic education from the primary school to the secondary school, so at least the aim now is to make secondary education the basic education, or ordinary level. So having only primary school now is really something left behind[22]*. These statements show that secondary school is only viewed as a stage of transition between primary school and work or tertiary education. All my informants assumed that secondary school was the key to further success, and did not question the opportunities after secondary school. A lot of the graduates from secondary schools at O-level in Haydom though have got neither job nor admission to upper secondary or any other school[23]. The hospital and its nursing school gives more opportunities for both school and work in Haydom than in other similar areas for form four leavers, but most of them end up working in the informal sector, moving to towns or helping their parents on the farm.

The government whose aim is that 50% of the primary school leavers are going to attend a secondary school, says this about why secondary education are important: "It is axiomatic that if Tanzania is to achieve higher levels of economic growth and productivity it has to adequately invest in education, and in secondary education in particular due to the huge multiplier effects on the education system and the economy as a whole" (SEDP 2004). Through six following points they give a list of five major justifications for investment in SEDP. Of these points the two first ones argue for secondary education as necessary in a

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[22] The interview is done in English.
[23] Some of the youth at the water-post belonged to this group. My translator was also one of the youth with no further possibilities directly after finishing form four. My impression is further confirmed by people working in the hospital.

modern society, and Tanzania's need to increase its human capital. The emphasis on the modern sector, with other words the non-agricultural sector, implies some big changes in an economy were the majority of the population still are farmers. Secondary education is seen as a way of moving the majority of the workforce into employment and employment creation, not as a source to rural development (Wedgwood 2005). For youth in rural areas this has great implications. First of all secondary school becomes one more incentive to leave the village and go to town, because there is the place where the possibilities for employment are. As I will show in section 4.4 the experience of city-life is not as lucrative as many hope for. For the ones who keep staying in the rural areas the use for what they have learned in secondary school is little; they are not more capable of improving their life or their society than they were after primary school.[24] The government's third reason for investing in secondary education is the preparation for further schooling. As I have shown earlier, schooling after lower secondary is only a realistic opportunity for very few yet. Expanding post-secondary education system at the same time and to the same degree that are done with primary and lower secondary education is probably not feasible for Tanzania at the moment. The new curriculum does also emphasis the academic subjects. Tanzania has a tradition of including practical skills in schools. This is a heritage from Nyerere's vision of education for self reliance. In the new curriculum all practical skills are removed from secondary school after an advice from the World Bank that doubts the efficiency of those subjects (Wedgerwood 2005). The three last arguments for investing in secondary education are related to the Poverty Reduction Strategy, but as shown in an earlier paragraph youth who comes from poor and rural communities are the ones who are least likely to get secondary education. A secondary education, which is only seen as a level for students to pass through, and not as valuable by itself, risks creating low motivated students. Especially, when they realize how small the opportunities for further education are.

It is not that the WB and the Tanzanian government are wrong in their statement of secondary education's importance to economic development and for preparing students to higher education. But there are other good arguments for why all youth should be given the possibility of secondary education too. What kind of arguments that are used, influence greatly on what kind of secondary education that are offered. Tanzania is standing at a

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[24] During my stay in Tanzania I have several times discussed the situation for youth leaving secondary school with people living and working in Tanzania. My opinion is formed by these discussions. I have been talking to Tanzanian parents and young adults, and to Norwegians working for NGOs and working in HLH.

crossroad, and the choice of direction for the secondary education will have great impact on youth's lives and on society as a whole. Therefore the lack of discussion of the purpose of education is extra severe at this point. Secondary school is addressing a group of the population which it is important for society to reach out to. Youth constitutes a large share of the population in Tanzania, and are the ones who in only a few years will be the ones responsible for Tanzania's further development. How they are equipped to meet that challenge is important for the society as a whole in addition to the single individual. A study done by Feldberg et al (2008) summarizes some of the most important development agencies' contributions to, and view on secondary education. They find that it seems to be a general agreement that lower secondary (O-level) should be a part of the compulsory basic education in Africa, as it is in many other parts of the world. This is still not part of the Tanzanian governments plan for secondary education, but there are reasons to believe that it will be on a later stage. After all donors and multilateral agencies have a great influence on the priorities of national governments. If so happens, O-level will be the terminal stage of education for the majority of the population for many years to come, hence the thoughts behind the expansion of lower secondary education becomes very important.

The WB has had a crucial role to play in putting secondary education and youth back on the international agenda. But this doesn't necessarily mean that they are entitled to dominate the further decisions about the content in secondary education. If secondary school is going to contribute to capability expansion among young people it has to address more than only the youth's ability to be economic productive on a later stage. Youth are at a point in their lives where they lay the foundation for the values, habits and knowledge on which they will build their life on. Learning of personal skills, life skills, values (who are appreciated in the society they live in), and also learning of skills that equip the youth to adapt to a society that changes quickly, like communication, creative thinking and problem solving, should be covered by the curriculum in addition to more traditional subjects (Feldberg et al 2008). In that way secondary education can enhance young people's capabilities, have a direct relevance to their well-being and freedom and contribute to social change (Sen 1999, Robeyns 2006).

4.1.3 Vocational Training

Vocational Training refers to a type of learning whose main objective is to prepare its students for work in a particular profession. Being closely linked to the world of work, Vocational

training has had different forms in different societies during the years. Apprenticeship has perhaps been the most common way to learn a profession. Apprenticeship is a system of training done at the workplace, working for an employer who helps the apprentice learn the trade. In most of the industrialized countries today vocational training is a combination of schooling and apprenticeship, included in the formal education system and leading to a certification. In Tanzania most young people still learn the trade directly from their employers, often with an informal agreement (Greiner et al 2009). An alternative is to attend informal courses in tailoring, typing, tourist-guiding, hotel-management etc. The informal courses are partly provided by NGO's whose aim are to help young people without education or work, and partly by private firms who see a business opportunity in the youth's need for education. There are also a few governmental vocational schools. At the moment the teaching in these schools is of very low quality and very few youths attend the courses.

Vocational Training in Haydom

There are no schools for Vocational Training available for youths who live in Haydom. You find some few informal courses like driving and computer training though. Most of the young people who want to learn a profession have to leave for town, or to arrange for private apprenticeship. All of these options are to a very low degree available to the youth. The need for a trade school is emphasized by Olsen (2007) in a concept paper written in connection with the application to the national Vocational, Educational and Training Authority (VETA) for the approval of Haydom Trade School. Their survey of the need for a trade school at Haydom is the foundation for the approval of the school plans (HLH 2010). The trade school will, when it is finished, teach classes in mechanics, electronics, and building and construction. In addition it will provide short term courses in agriculture, livestock, IT, tailoring, home economics and nutrition. Admittance of students will be based on results from O-level exams [25](Olsen 2010). The courses and classes are a response to a need in Haydom community, expressed in the VETA survey by 55 stakeholders (Olsen 2007).

Due to this background one would expect that youth in Haydom had a wish for vocational education, and saw a possibility for a future career in a practical profession. Of the 34 pupils I talked to in standard six only one expressed a wish for a job that does not require higher education. *What kind of job do you want when you grow up? Driver (Pause) or doctor if I*

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[25] Ordinary-level exam (O-level) is the exam after secondary form 4.

can.[26] Their parents' daily occupations were for the most of the practical sort: The majority of the mothers were farmers or shopkeepers, and the majority of the fathers were mechanics, carpenters or farmers. The dream of a better life with less struggling than their parents had, was so closely connected to secondary school, that no one suggested vocational training as their first priority.

The youths who were out of school was more positive to vocational training. I asked: If you could go back to school, would you prefer a practical trade school or secondary school? Here are some typical answers:

> *I would wish to attend a carpenter school* (Boy 17), *I don't think it is possible for me to go to school, but if it was I would like to train for carpenter or mechanic* (Man 23), *I would like to go to a trade school…. tailoring, or to learn to work with plants and flowers, I know a school in Morogoro where you can learn that* (Girl 19) *I want secondary school, no trade school if I had the money. You know trade school or secondary school, same problem: fees* (Boy 17)[27].

The last boy made a point that many around him agreed in. If they had the possibility to choose, it meant that they had the money to pay the fees, also for secondary school. In the interview with the DEO I got his opinion of vocational training:

> *At both regional and district level I asked for schools, courses or counseling services for farmers and pastoralists, in order to improve their skills. On both levels I was told that this was not included in the educational officers' responsibility but belonged to the agriculture officer, and that there were only a few informal courses.*

My overall impression of the population's view on vocational training is that it is perceived as less valuable than academic education. Also the thoughts of what kind of education vocational education might content seems limited and without much creativity. One of the reasons might be that schools are perceived by definition as academic, and work and training are something totally different. To learn a profession through apprenticeship is common practice for some, but is not seen as education. A trade school then falls in between, and is at the moment little attractive. The plan for Haydom Trade School seems to have found courses that should be highly relevant for the young people in the district, but it remains to see if the school will be fully utilized. Haydom trade school´s target group is the ones who have finished secondary

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[26] The answer is translated from Kiswahili
[27] The wordings are products of the translator and my work with translating the audio files after the interviews.

school's O-level. There is certainly a need for more education opportunities for form four leavers, but the question is if vocational training is wanted by this group.

Vocational Education and Training Policies

Tanzania has had a tradition for including agriculture, practical skills and life skills in all school levels. Education for self-reliance was an attempt to bind the school content closer to the local reality, and to give the children the knowledge they needed for life (Nyerere 1967). These thoughts of education as an integrated part of everyday life are a heritage from Tanzanian traditional education (Reagan 2005). The practical curriculum has been gradually phased out in both primary and secondary school. With SEDP the last subjects connected to work was eradicated. In primary school Stadi za Kazi (kiswahili: work study) and school farms still exist, but as observed at Haydom Primary School, the teaching methods in Stadi za Kazi are not more practical than in other subjects, and the purpose of the school farm are more production than teaching of new techniques and improvements in agriculture. According to Wedgwood (2005) it is even debatable to what extent the policy of including vocational skills in basic education was ever implemented. According to the proposition to the Second SEDP from the World Bank (2010) Technical and Vocational Education and Training are supposed to be included at the secondary and tertiary level of the school system, addressing form 4 and form 6 leavers. There are still to be seen how the Tanzanian government will respond to this challenge. In a working paper for ILO, Greiner et al (2009) conclude that there is a great need for more formal regulation and a system for updating due to social and technical changes. They emphasize that this should be done in the already existing framework of apprenticeship, and not as an alternative to it, because the system seems to work quite well in Tanzania.

At the moment the sector of vocational training seems to be unstructured, ill-equipped and not prioritized on national level, despite the thought of including all education and training in the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. VETA is the authority which job is to coordinate the vocational training, and approve new centers. The problem is only that not all of the public centers, and certainly not the private once, are included in VETA's responsibilities. In 2005 only 10 % of the vocational education and training provided in Tanzania were from VETA centers (Wedgwood 2005). The wide range of vocational training centers have different demands to previous schooling, some doesn't require any, some starts

after primary school and some again demand secondary school for admittance. Because the responsibility for the different centers is put on more than one ministry, it is hard to get the full overview of the sector. The first necessary step towards improvement and expansion of the VET sector must be to make a holistic plan for the sector, where all forms of vocational training are included, also agricultural courses and apprenticeship.

The planned Trade School in Haydom intends to include the rural context which it is situated in, and at the same time give knowledge and skills that are useful in a broader context (Olsen 2010). Right now their emphasis on vocational education and training as part of rural and agricultural development, seem to be one of the exceptions. It seems to me that all kinds of schools in Tanzania at the moment are aimed to move youth away from the agricultural sector and in to the workforce. This wish is hard to understand when the present work situation for youth is as difficult as it is.

4.2 Working Possibilities for Youth in Haydom

This section will give a short overview over the actual possibilities for youth to find work in Haydom, and see how these possibilities harmonize with the aspirations the youths have. Working possibilities are one of the main drive forces behind youth migration. This is, however, a wider topic that will be deepened in section 4.4. In addition to presenting my findings from Haydom I will compare the situation in Haydom with the one at national level. The accessibility to education and the work possibilities for youth are closely interlinked. The need to work is one of the reasons why youth are not in school, and education is one way to prepare young people for the life of work and to qualify them for different types of professions.

4.2.1 The ambitions among primary school pupils.

The ambitions among the standard 6 pupils in Haydom Primary School were quite high. The dominating answers to my question about what kind of job they wanted in the future were teacher, nurse, doctor and pilot. Children and youth's answer to this type of question do normally not reflect their realistic opportunities, but more what kind of professions that have high status in their community. In Haydom the biggest chance to be employed is to work at HLH. The position the hospital has in the local community are probably the reason behind all the wishes for becoming nurses and doctors. MAF (Mission Aviation Fellowship) flies

regularly between Haydom and Arusha. Mostly they bring passengers who work at the hospital or are coming there as guests. The planes fascinate the children who see them land and take off, but who have never been inside a plane. As in many other communities in developing countries teachers still have high status despite the low wages and high workload. Most likely this status is connected to the value put on education. What do you have to do to get the job you want? I asked. The unison answer was: *To study hard.* The faith that everything was possible as long as they worked hard enough can be a big inspiration for schoolwork, an inspiration many pupils in the western world have lost. But it can also be a source to the feeling of failure and low self esteem, if they keep thinking that they can only blame them self for not achieving their dreams. Knowing how difficult it is to access the kind of education needed to get these types of jobs.

Going to school in Tanzania has from colonial times been the possibility to get away from agricultural dependency, and a way to improve social status and life chances. Even though the vision is only achievable for the very few, the hope that lays in education is extremely strong. The same attitude towards education is found in other parts of Africa. The research done by Meinert (2003) in rural Uganda shows that although the state promotes ruralisation of the education to prepare youth for sustainable life in the village, and avoid large scale urban migration, youth's aspirations are towards higher education and work in the modern sector. In Tanzania there haven't been any new attempts to ruralize education after the self-reliance policy, and the last decades of economical liberalization has contributed to development of the modern sector, leaving the agriculture behind (Vilby 2008).

Agriculture and work

Manyara region's main economic activities are agricultural production, livestock keeping and mining. Both commercial farming and small-scale farming are carried out, with the latter one dominating. The agricultural production makes the region food secure, and gives a surplus for sale (NBS 2005). Most of the adult population is hence involved in agriculture. In VETA's survey from Haydom 100% of the respondents said that one of the economic activities obtained was agriculture, 98, 2 % of the respondents did also obtain livestock husbandry

When I asked the children about their parents' job they told about a wide range of jobs. After a while the translator and I reacted to one answer that was quite common: *My father or*

mother has no job. We then followed up by asking: Are they farmers? And this was confirmed by the pupil. My interpretation of these answers is that agricultural activities are not considered a job in Haydom. It is something everyone does, also the people with other kinds of jobs. The combination of the pupils' answers and the statistics from VETA may have three possible explanations: First that farming and livestock husbandry are not considered a job, and therefore have a low status as daily occupation; hence none of the youths want to become farmers when they finish school. Secondly that farming and livestock husbandry are so closely connected to the way of living in Haydom, that none of the pupils see any need for mentioning them as a possible occupation; it is too obvious to them that living in Haydom means some kind of agricultural activity. Thirdly farming and livestock husbandry are seen as two of many livelihood strategies, a job is something different. Talking to adults who lived in Haydom, and the DEO, seated in Mbulu my impression are that the majority does not consider fulltime farming on small farms as a favorable way of living because of the insecurity and poverty. Having a source of income external to the farm are preferred. For the majority this means that at least one of the family members work in the formal or informal sector, often these are male. The women have the main responsibility on the farm and in the house, and get help from the children. Some of the women also had work in the village.

4.2.2 Types of work accessible for youth after primary and secondary school

The way the education system works today neither primary school nor secondary school give any formal competence for work. Still primary school is the terminal stage of education for most people, and after that the transition to work is the next wanted stage for the ones who cannot access secondary education. The same happens after secondary school (O-level). For most of the form 4 graduates this is their terminal level of education, and they start looking for work. A research done for the World Bank states that; "most workers in Sub-Saharan Africa enter the labor force in similar occupations," regardless of education level, except from the ones who complete advanced level of secondary school (Garcia & Fares 2008). As far as my information goes, the same was true for Haydom. I found primary school leavers and form 4 leavers in more or less the same types of jobs. However, there seem to be a difference in how easy they got the job. Even when the job did not ask for any skills that should give secondary leavers an advantage, employers seemed to prefer the form 4 leavers over the primary school leavers. This tendency might be increasing together with the expansion of the

secondary school system, making it even harder for young people with only primary school to find work.

I have observed youth in many different types of work during my stay in Haydom. Most of them worked for others in the informal sector, they were self-employed, or they worked with agricultural activities. A few had more formal employment as shop keepers, waiters in restaurants and bars, or as research assistants at HLH. Very many young people had their own small business or were helping with their parents' business. The businesses are to a large extent gendered, men selling items and clothes, women selling fruit and vegetables. Both men and women sold handicraft products, but they made different items of different material. Women sold baskets and jewelry, while men sold blacksmith products. Also for the self employed artisans there were gender differences. Men were plumbers, mobile phone repairers, bicycle-mechanics and house builders. Women were mainly tailors and hairdressers. Helgesson (2006) finds the same gendered pattern in the labor market in her research on young people living in Masai, a town slightly bigger than Haydom. She also observed that gender relations seem to be altering, though slowly, and that it was much more acceptable for women to earn money than before. At Haydom I met some men who were tailors or sold farm products, but I did not see any women in typical male professions. Other types of work in informal sector observed at Haydom were selling and bringing of water, domestic work, and herding. All the jobs accessible to youth are low paid and unsecure.

The hardship in making a living becomes especially visible among the youths who have moved away from home, and no longer can rely on their parents for food and shelter. Helgesson (2006) points out that self-employment have been encouraged by the government and the World Bank to make a living and to empower youth. But self-employment in the informal sector, often including moving away from home and to a town, has in many cases proved to make the youth more vulnerable instead of empowered.

4.3 Youth without Education or Work Possibilities in Haydom

This section is going to be concentrated of the young people that does not go to school or earn money through work in the informal or formal sector. I will describe their current situation and include reasons for not being in school. Youth that are not in either school or work are a group in risk for getting in to trouble that affects them, their families and the community.

Because of the implications for society, youth-problems have taken up a big part of the public debate about young people, and hence much of the research done on youth's life situations. In my paper this focus will be only a small part, but that does not mean that I do not consider the topic important. One of the major arguments for focusing on youth's possibilities in education and work is to hinder that their resources get wasted, and that they end up living lives that neither are good for themselves nor for the community.

4.3.1 Reasons for stopping school.

A 19 year old girl said: *I stopped because of school fees. And when my mother died, my father married another woman. I can only go back again if my father agrees to pay*[28]. This answer is typical for the youth that I met at the water-post and that were out of school. Many of today's youths were in primary school age before the school fees were removed in 2002, and PEDP was implemented. For some of them this means that they have not been to school at all, while some have joined primary school recently. The youth I met at the water-post gave these explanations why they had stopped school:

Reason for stopping school	Number of informants
School fees/school expenses	9
Failing exam	2
Finished P7 or S4 this year	2
Sickness	1
Pregnancy	2
Other	5

The table shows that the most common reason for stopping school was the lack of money for school fees or other school expenses. This correlates with the standard 6 pupils' and the parents' worries for money to pay for secondary school. Only two of the informants who said school expenses stopped them from attending school were in primary school age. I did not check further concerning their family background. The reason behind the lack of money to the contributions expected from parents can be extreme poverty, but it can also mean that the parents did not prioritize to use money on school for this child. Principal at Haydom Primary School told me that there was a fund for children from extremely poor families which covered the costs for school uniform etc. I do not know how well known the fund is in the community.

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[28] The wording in the statement is a product of my work with the translator after the interview.

Reasons that are grouped as other includes; sent away from school by teachers, don't like school, distance to school and fathers who want their children to look after cattle.

I walked around in the village many days in the school hours, and I observed very few children in primary school age. The few exceptions were girls cooking and cleaning for family members who were patients at the hospital, and a few boys herding kettle. My observations fit well with the headmaster's statement that only around 3% had dropped out of school this year. The headmaster also said that the situation was very different a few years ago when the dropout rate had been at least 20%. The official dropout rates were 1, 2 % in Mbulu district in 2004 with truancy as the major dropout reason (NBS 2005). The figures used to calculate the dropout rate are the total number of enrolment and the number of pupils who stopped school during the year. The dropout rate says therefore nothing about how many that stopped school between two years, or how many of the pupils who started school in 1997 that did not complete in 2004. Looking at the pupils enrolled in standard one in 1997 in Mbulu district, 39% of them dropped out before standard 7 (NBS 2005). Even though some of the pupils that stopped school before 2003 came back when the school fees were dropped, many did not. These are youth today, and are in an even harder situation than the youths who stops school after primary 7 today. No one wants to employ a person that did not complete primary school when the supply of better educated youths is high.

4.3.2 Possibilities to get back to school
In Haydom it is absolutely socially acceptable to return to school even if you are no longer in adequate school age. Pupils in primary school can be more than 18 years old, and in secondary they are often even older than that. All the youths I talked to confirmed that they would return to school if it was possible. Few of them though saw any real possibility to return to school. Their reasons for that were many, but had most often to do with their parents' need for help, the need to earn money, or for the ones who had completed primary school; the continuing lack of money for school fees.

The national initiative to help youth back to school is called Complementary Basic Education for Tanzania (COBET), and is Tanzania's way of giving youth a second chance. PEDP guaranteed in 2003 all children in primary school age the ability to start school. To avoid one extremely crowded year they enrolled the ones older than seven years gradually the following

three years. The ones who already were teenagers however did not come under this plan. COBET was constructed to meet the needs of youth under 18 who have fallen out of the ordinary school system. It was created to give youth a second chance independent of the reason why they stopped school. It also includes the ones who stopped school after 2002. A part of the plan is to get the ones who pass the exam standard four back in the ordinary system again (Macpherson 2007).

When I was in Haydom I did not know of this program because no one talked about it, even when I asked specifically for programs aimed to help youth that had stopped school completing basic education. In the interview the DEO said:

> *In to the school system again those who have dropped from school is impossible. We normally not deal with students who dropped from school. But we have the program which is called MEMKWA, but it's not for students who dropped school. We have vocational education, that's the source which can streamline them to go to vocational education. But that is someone's interest and ability to. The problem here is not mentality to drop out, but is the ability to go to school financially wise. The capability on financial situation. And you see it's true that some of them are not aware, they don't know the use for education. So you can't force him back. But the government has strategy to make sure that all students who are registered in primary school have to finish the secondary education.*

MEMKWA is another name for the COBET program, and are designed just to meet the needs of children and youth who have stopped school. I find it problematic that the District Education Officer has so little knowledge about this, when he is responsible for the implementation of the program. MEMKWA or COBET is many places implemented in cooperation with NGOs or CBOs. In Haydom I did not find any organization that worked to help youth who had fallen out of the school system. In Haydom the ones that wanted to get back into primary school joined the regular classes.

4.3.3 Daily Occupation and Unemployment

In my interviews with youth who had stopped school, I asked about how they spent their day. The most common answer was: *I'm helping my parents* [29]. Helping parents referred to house work, taking care of younger brothers and sisters, fetching water, look after cattle or farming activities. Most of the young people I met by the water-post were not engaged in work in the economic sector, except for a few that earned a little money on carrying water for others. The oldest ones explained that the reason why their main occupation were to help their parents

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[29] The answers was translated, the translator chose this wording in all the answers from the youth at the water-post.

was that it was hard to find work and impossible to go back to school. A 23 year old man expresses it like this: *It is only possible to get a job if you have contacts, maybe in the hospital, or mechanics or constructing*[30].

The youths I was talking to said that it was difficult to find work in Haydom for young people. When they used the term *kazi* (Kiswahili for work) they did not mean farming, work in family-ran business or self-employment. Talking about *kazi* they meant wage employment. Helgesson (2006) finds the same perception of work in her research in Masai, and I therefore find reasons to believe that this is a common opinion among young Tanzanians. If I use the youth's own definition of work to study unemployment I would find that most of the rural youths are unemployed. This however does not mean that they do not work. The distinction between employment and unemployment though are insufficient in describing youth's work situation. In addition many young people are underemployed, meaning that they work less than they wish to, and that they are unable to generate an adequate income (Ansell 2005). The problem of defining employment also became relevant when I tried to find a reliable unemployment rate for youth in Tanzania. The last official numbers are from the Tanzanian Integrated Labor Force Survey from 2000/2001. The national unemployment rate for youth was then 17%, and had increased from the last survey in 1990/1991. The survey from 200/2001 found that unemployment among young people in Tanzania is mostly an urban phenomenon. Male teens living in Dar es Salam have the highest unemployment rate at 46, 5 %, while of female rural teens only 0, 7% are unemployed (NBS 2010). For other urban areas the unemployment rate are close to 10% for both males and females including both teens and young adults. These numbers are not much useful in describing the work situation for rural youth because it hides seasonal variations, and because all kinds of work are included as employment, also if the person only worked one hour during the week.

Even though a lot of the youths I met were very creative in finding sources of income, also the informal sector has limited space for new businesses. In Haydom and in other towns I visited in Tanzania I also saw many youths just hanging around talking to friends, and seemed to be doing nothing. These youths are the ones which are described as inactive in documents from the World Bank. "Inactive youth are defined as youth that are not in the labor force (employed or unemployed) nor in school" (Garcia & Fares 2008:29). Most of the youths I met though

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[30] The wording is a result of a translation process after listening to the taped interview with my translator.

can hardly be described as inactive. They spent their time on non-economic work, but also economic work when it was available especially in the planting or harvesting seasons. Garcia and Fares (2008) argue that most of the people in the labor force also spend time on these activities, and indicate by this that the "inactive" youths have less to do during their day. This might be true for many days during the year, but the western way of thinking about effective use of time doses not fit rural Tanzania. People work, and often long hours when there is work, when it's not they spend their time on other things, waiting for the next opportunity.

Being young without possibilities for education or a regular job may have enormous consequences for the youth's self esteem and for their faith in a better future. This again may affect the youth's capability to take initiative, and find solutions to improve their lives. In Haydom a vast part of the adult population was worried about the youth because they had seen an increase in criminal activity, and alcohol and drug abuse recent years.

Youth deals with the lack of work and education possibilities in different ways. In this section I have discussed self-employment, work for others in informal sector, staying home helping parents and criminal activity. One major way of dealing with the lack of opportunities in rural areas is migration to towns. The next section will go deeper in to this topic.

4.4 Migration

Young people move for a variety of reasons, and a full discussion of migration is outside the scope of this thesis. This section will therefore concentrate about youth migration from rural to urban areas, and look especially on education as a possible pull or push factor. Haydom is in the middle of a transformation from a village to a town area. This means that the place, both attract youth from more rural places and send youth off to bigger cities. This section is hence divided in two parts were the first deals with migration to Haydom, and the second is concerned about migration from Haydom. Much of my information about the situation in Haydom in this section is drawn from daily conversations with people connected to the hospital and a driver who drives the daily land-cruiser-bus between Haydom and Arusha.

4.4.1 Migration to Haydom

Migration to Haydom is connected to education in two possible ways. Many young people move to Haydom each year because they got admitted to secondary school or to the nursing

school. Others move to Haydom because they hope to find better life conditions there than in their home village where there were no education possibilities after primary school and few possibilities for off-farm work. The proportion of young people in Tanzania is naturally high. In 2002, 21% of Tanzania's population was between 15 and 24 years, and the number is increasing (UNDP Tanzania 2002). One of the results of migration to Haydom is that the population gets a disproportional big share of youth. Except from the students in the nursing school, who come from all over the country, most young people who moves to Haydom comes from one of the villages in the ward or in the district. These villages are situated in very remote areas and to the population there, Haydom is considered a town.

Moving because of secondary school

Haydom village has the oldest secondary school in the ward, and youth have been moving there to go to school since Dr. Olsen secondary school started up in 1997. Today there are two secondary schools in the village which receive applications from both local youth and youth from other villages. Youth that comes from other villages have to move to Haydom if they get admitted because of the distance between their home village and Haydom, and the lack of adequate transportation. For some youth moving away from home can be attractive because of the feeling of freedom from their parent's control. For others moving away from home in an early age can feel scary. Research, done by Wedgwood (2005), shows that due to the low quality of primary schools in many villages only a few young people from remote villages manage to be admitted to and complete secondary school. The ones who manage often end up with low quality accommodation, and gets vulnerable to exploitation. Especially young girls relying on private accommodation live with an enhanced risk for sexual abuse (ibid). To combat this problem in Haydom there is built a hostel for girls connected to Dr. Olsen Secondary School, but it is far from enough to meet the demand.

Moving because of no more education is possible

Manyara region is one of the least densely populated and least urbanized regions in Tanzania. Most of the people live in small distant villages, and 40% are pastoralist (NBS 2005). While I was doing my fieldwork in Haydom I also got the chance to visit some more remote villages. Except from housework, farming activities and livestock herding there were little activity to observe among the people above primary school age. Haydom is perceived as a relatively closely situated town area, which most people have visited a few times either because they

need the hospital's services or they want to buy or sell something there. For many youth Haydom is therefore seen as an alternative when their home village starts to feel too small, and the possibilities too few. Going to Haydom they hope to find work, get an opportunity to start a small business or just living more exiting lives. Unfortunately many experience that life in town are not better than life in the village, and making a living on their own can be quite hard.

Some of the adults I talked with, that had lived in Haydom most of their lives, was very critical to the big movement of young people, and meant that Haydom did not have the capacity to absorb so many youth. One father expressed his worries like this:

> *It is many, many young that moves to towns. And they take alcohol and stay out in the nights. And they go to ask for work, but some does not think about work they just want to stay in town. And to try to fetch money they steal from the houses, the shops, the market. This is a problem in Haydom too.* [31]

A high rate of youth can of course be a big challenge to a community, and the risk for destructing behavior normally increases in these parts of society. However a large youth cohort also means an abundance of creativity, energy and innovative ideas. The challenge is to direct all the energy into positive activities. Garcia and Fares (2008) reflect about the rapid rise in the ratio of youth in Africa in general, saying that it might be creating a window of opportunity similar to the East Asian economic miracle.

4.4.2 Migration from Haydom

Seen from a small remote village Haydom might look like an attractive town, but seen from the big cities Haydom itself is still perceived as a remote village. Many youths who finish secondary school or nursing school in Haydom therefore move to bigger cities for work or further education. Some also come from other parts of the country originally and move back home. All in all the population in Haydom is increasing rapidly, but some of the youths born in Haydom also move out.

Because of education:

Admittance to secondary school is based on competition by the appliers. It is only the ones with the best grades from primary school that can choose which school they will start at. Also some of the pupils from Haydom Primary School might have to move to go to secondary

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[31] The answer is given in English.

school, even when two secondary schools are located in their own village. The other schools in the ward are too far away for the youth to continue to live home. One father living in Haydom told me about his son who was 13 years old and attended form 1 in Maghang secondary school. Maghang is located about one hour drive from Haydom, and there are no school-busses available. The father told that he had a hard time motivating his son to go back to school each time he came home for the weekend.

Most schools that are built lately are built like day-schools and not boarding schools (Wedgwood 2005); this can cause problems for the youth as mentioned in 4.4.1.The feeling of loneliness can also possibly affect the youth's mental health, and quite likely their school performance. For the youths who have grown up in small remote villages, it is hard to see an alternative to leave home, if they are going to get the same possibilities as youth from town areas to attend secondary schools. However, the present situation with private accommodation is not a good one for the pupils, and especially not for the youngest ones. The building of boarding schools at secondary level might at least be a better solution for districts like Mbulu, unfortunately also a more expensive one.

Because the lack of education possibilities.

Section 4.3 described the life conditions for youths without work and education possibilities in Haydom. For some of them the temptations to leave for the city are quite big. They dream of a better life in the same way as all the other youths, but for them it seems unlikely that life will change much if they keep staying in Haydom. The city has all the possibilities they dream of, and every one can tell about at least one person they know who have had success in the city. One father answered this when I asked if many youth considered moving to the bigger cities:

> *Now a days there are many. They move because of the possibility to find work, they move because of the life. The youth now believe that work and life in the cities is much better, instead of staying in the village with the hard fieldwork and difficult times. And they think it is better in the city because they can access many things, maybe a job, or a temporary job. But many also end up in prostitution and crime like theft and gangs. I think many thinks life in the city are easy, but I see it as hard, very difficult. Some goes because of pressure, they follow their colleagues[32].*

Arusha and Dar es Salam are the major destinations for those who move from Haydom. They move to Arusha because it is the closest big city, and because of the tourist industry, and to Dar es Salaam because it is the commercial capital and Tanzania's largest city. Young people

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[32] The interview is done in English.

that migrate often do this by following the paths parents or other relatives have used before them. If the parents migrated in search for a better life themselves, they might encourage their children to do the same. Sometimes just living with the knowledge of parents that migrated when they were young may affect the youth's behavior (Thorsen 2006). Most of the parents of the youths in Haydom did not grow up there themselves, but have moved there from other places. Relatives' movement also matters when young people are choosing where to go. Many youth choose to move to towns where they know that they can stay with the extended family for a while (ibid). In this way the extended family gives the youth the security needed to start on their own in a new place. This security are absolutely needed and often for many years. Teens and young adults in the cities often have to cope with many years of unstable work opportunities.

For many youth the dream of more education still lives after many years out of school. One of the incentives to leave home in search for work is to earn enough money to be able to pay the school expenses one day (Thorsen 2008). Some manage to do this; others realize after a while the need to continue working but are able to help their younger brothers and sisters with money to pay for more education. Others again are never able to earn more than they need for surviving from day to day. Many of the young people I have met in Arusha though amazed me with their creativity and money earning skills, and their dedication to save and send money back home.

4.5 Does education enhance the youth's capabilities at present?

In this section I will sum up my main findings so far, and link them to the question this chapter is answering: What kind of possibilities are young people in Haydom given to enhance their capabilities, and what role does formal education have in this?

Youth in Haydom are given few possibilities for post-primary education and wage-employment. This is also typical on national level. Some of the youth are still in Primary school, and some are in secondary school. The majority however spend their days helping their parents or working in informal sector.

At the moment primary school is the terminal level of schooling for most Tanzanians, but by expanding the secondary school system Tanzanian government hopes to make secondary

school O-level accessible for at least 50 % of the primary school leavers. The low quality of the education given has got a lot of attention lately. Quality is then measured by exam results and pupil- classroom, pupil- teacher and pupil -books ratios. Improvement has hence been seen in terms of inputs: More teachers, more classrooms, more books etc. There has been little focus on the content of the education, both curriculum and teaching methods. And therefore no evaluation of the use for the knowledge the pupils get in school. There is no vocational school at the moment at Haydom, and the youth who wish to learn a kind of trade has to arrange for apprenticeship. In Tanzania in general there are few and badly equipped vocational schools. The formal education system as a whole seem to emphasize academic knowledge and move further and further away from the teaching of practical skills, and applicable knowledge.

In my research I find that school is highly valued in the community. Even so the youth and their parents do not seem to see school as relevant to their daily struggle for a living. They only see it as a way to get a higher education or to have better chances for a job in the modern sector. That way education becomes one of the youth's many possible pathways to a better life, for the majority the preferable one. When the option of secondary education is missing, they look for other possibilities. Many find temporary work in agriculture or informal sector, and many stay at home helping their parents with non-economic work. The dream of a better future also makes many youths leave the village and go to town.

The schools in Tanzania today seems to put more emphasis on giving the knowledge needed to advance to the next level in the education system than to equip the children and youth with the knowledge and skills they need to improve their livelihood strategies. That said literacy and numeracy and other basic skills are an advantage for everyone living in the world today, and youth with a minimum of education is clearly better off than the ones with no education at all. In the process of designing an education that serves development however, there is a need to discuss what more all children and youth need to learn, not only the ones who will study further. In that process the opinions of youth and their parents need to be heard. At the moment the ones that are making the decisions about Tanzania's future education are in little contact with the reality for most of the population. There is a long way from Washington and Dar es Salam to Haydom village.

5. Findings and Discussion part II: Views and Plans for the Future

This chapter will contain the other part of my findings. I will present youth's views on their future; their dreams and worries. Their future is also closely linked to Tanzania's future, seeing youth as important contributors to development in their country. They are however not a group with much power, so the direction of development are largely decided by the adult population, vested in the government. Hence the youth's wishes for their future and the political plans for the future, might be contradicting. The intergenerational relationship between parents and youth is also influencing on youths' future opportunities. Parents can support or constrain their children's plans, either way their view matters. Finally I will bring up the big question about education's role in development and in the building of a society. Seeing young people as a resource for the future, it becomes essential to make conscious choices about what kind of knowledge and skills they are equipped with. What kind of education makes them capable of contributing to development in Tanzania, in the age of globalization?

5.1 Youth's Views on Their Future

This section will present youth's view on their future, and also analyze how they deal with the thought of their future. Children and youth are often not listened to even when the decisions have an impact on their own life. When they are heard, their opinions also tend to be valued less than adults opinions. Hence their freedom to live lives they value becomes limited. Walker emphasizes Sen's statement about children's freedom of choice, where he says that their freedom to choose in the future should be given most weight. "However, this is not, of course, to deny children freedom and the exercise of agency in the present" (Walker 2005). Ansell (2005) gives many reasons why youth should be seen as active agents in their lives and not only as objects for development: They are the best ones to give information about their own lives, and they are often good in advocating younger children's rights. The experience of being listened to can also give youth the confidence they need to deal with difficulties in life, and meaningful participation can work as education to active citizenship in adulthood. However, appreciation of youth's participation and agency must never give youth the whole and full responsibility for their lives. The adult part of the society still has to take the main responsibility in building a future where youth are given possibilities to flourish.

5.1.1 Dealing with an unpredictable future.

My experience from interviewing youth in Haydom is that it is difficult to make them talk about the future. At first I thought that the reason was my wording of the questions, and I tried to get to the topic from many different angles, and with many different types of question. In my interest were not only the youths' plans for education and jobs, but also how they pictured other parts of their life to be; where they would live, marriage, children etc. The most common answers to open, wide question about the future I got were *sielewi or sijui* (Kiswahili: I don't understand, and I don't know.). On more concrete questions about secondary school and jobs they answered more easily. [33] The translator also had problems with the future questions, and some of them were dropped because of that. Reflecting over why these questions were difficult, and discussing it with young Tanzanian adults, [34] I think that at least one possible explanation is the feeling of uncertainty. Future in Norway is seen as relatively predictable, and it gets problematic for us when the future turns out different than we planned. Future in Tanzania is perceived as so unpredictable that it is no point of planning for it. This is of course a generalization, and you find groups in both populations with different experiences and perceptions.

The creation of what they saw as a better life was the main aspiration of the children and youth I talked to. A 13 year old girl in standard 6 said this: *I want to go to secondary school…. to get a better life, and to help my parents because they help me now.[35]* A better life was perceived to be a life without poverty, and with the ability to help their parents. The hope for the future was a better life, and the strategy to get that was education and a good job, according to the pupils in the primary school and most of the youth who had stopped school. The strong emphasis on education as the pathway to the future they hope for is also seen in other studies done in Tanzania. Helgesson (2006) found the same among youth in Masai. Nalkur's investigation of hope in three different groups of youth in Kilimanjaro district also connects hope with education (Nalkur 2009). In my study all the youths except two, expressed a wish for further schooling. There are, however, differences in what they see as obstacles to

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[33] I had long conversations with my translator to find expressions that she understood, and were able to translate in a way that gave me the answers I was looking for. At first I only got the answer that they wanted to go to secondary school, when we made it clear that I was interested in their thoughts about the future in general they said that they didn't know, and that they found it difficult to answer it. After we had done several interviews with the same outcome I chose to ask more direct questions about school and work plans instead.

[34] I have discussed the topic with young Tanzanian adults living in Arusha, and with young voluntaries and nurse/ doctor students from western countries at HLH.

[35] The answer is translated from Kiswahili.

that wish, and how the obstacles can be overcome. The two major obstacles the youths saw for further schooling were money and school performances. The pupils in standard six said: *Maybe I fail the exam, or my parents can't pay the school fees*[36]. The following table presents the obstacles young people saw to further schooling and their suggested solutions. I have organized their answers according to their family situation and their attendance in school at the moment.

Youth group	Obstacle to further schooling	Way to overcome the problem	Agent in solving the problem
Youth who has stopped school	Money	Support/ not possible	People outside the family
Primary school pupils from low income families	Money/ failing exams	Study hard	Family/ themselves
Primary school pupils from high income families	Failing exams	Study hard	Themselves
Primary school pupils that did not live with their parents.	Money	Not possible	

Most of the youth that had stopped school, said that economic factors was the main obstacle, while half of the children in school used the same argument. All the children in primary school who lived with their parents said that they hoped the parents could pay the fees, the primary school children that did not live with their parents said that they hoped to go to secondary school, but that it was not likely to happen. The youth who had stopped school during or after primary school hoped for help from outside the family. They suggested that I could pay the school fees, or said that maybe they would find a sponsor. The children who mentioned their own school results as the major obstacle came from families with a reliable source of income. Their solution to get the job and life they desired was to study hard. The answers from the last group tell me about youth who see themselves as the major agent for a prosperous life. They see no one else to blame for their failure, and has the key to success in their own hands.

These findings are similar to Nalkur's findings in his hope research: Youth living with their parents and still in school, connects their hopes for the future to education, and "depend on themselves to bring hope". Youth who have more difficult life situations still hopes for education, but relay on other people or God to bring hope. It is only the most disadvantaged

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[36] The statements are my synthesizing of the answers after they had been translated from Kiswahili.

ones whose hope is totally disconnected from education. Their main hope is to find someone who cares for them (Nalkur 2009).

Growing up in a context were possibilities change fast, the only way to survive is to adapt to these changes as smooth as possible. For a 14 year old girl I interviewed life had already changed many times. Her father took her out of school in standard 3 because he wanted her home to take care of the cows. A few years later her father moved away, and now she lives with her mother and sisters. To help out in a difficult financial situation for the family she was now babysitting a neighbor's children. When I asked her about what she wanted for her future she had few comments, but after a while she said: *I want to go back to school, if my father allows it* [37]. Growing up in hard life conditions can make young people start to avoid hopeful thoughts, because then they will not be disappointed (Nalkur 2009). Avoiding hope for the future will also mean avoiding planning for the future, as I found in my study. Many youth though seem to be able to turn uncertainty and fast changes in their lives into experiences that enrich their capability to deal with other difficult situations. Looking for new ways of livelihood often gives the youth many skills and possible pathways to get a good life (Waage 2006). Experiencing that life is continuously changing, and often not to the better, the youth's ability to adapt to the changes and finding new ways of living are necessary skills. This attitude towards life might also explain their lack of clear future projects, and make it understandable why they find that the best way to meet life's challenges is to take one day at a time[38]. The best attitude to meet these young people with is to see them as agents to the future, rather than victims of unfortunate circumstances, and take seriously their attempt to deal with their hardships. Young people struggling for survival and a better life deserve that respect.

5.1.2 A hierarchy of plans

Expressing their thoughts about future it became clear that the youth in Haydom had great dreams about their future. If they got what they wished for, they would all be having higher education, which in turn was supposed to give them an attractive job. The diagram shows the jobs the pupils in standard 6 wanted if they could wish.

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[37] Translated from Kiswahili.

[38] I have had many conversations about this topic with my Tanzanian friends in Arusha, with Norwegian nurses and doctors at HLH and with two young teachers at Haydom Primary school. These conversations combined with the interviews and literature I have referred to in this section are the background for my opinion.
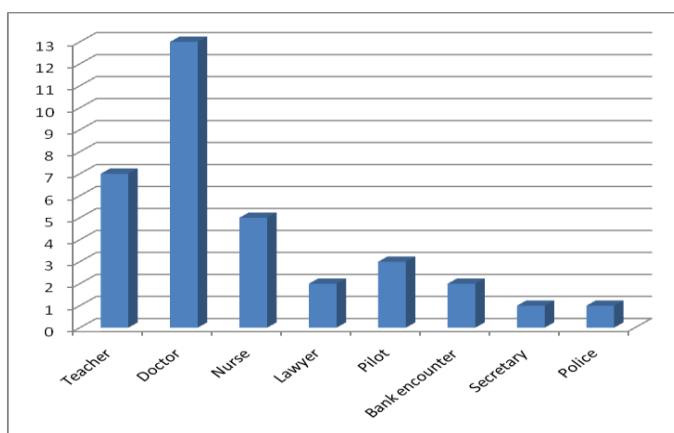
Standard 6 pupils' job wishes for the future:

It was only two pupils who adjusted their wishes after what they saw as realistic. The first was the boy who said: *I want to be a driver* (pause) *or doctor if I can.* [39] The second was the boy wanting to be a secretary. He also made his choice after considering his limited options; due to his physical handicap. There were no systematic differences between genders. Girls had as high ambitions as the boys, and they showed at least the same dedication to make it as the boys, maybe even more. None of the boys wanted to become nurses, lawyers or bank encounters, and fewer girls than boys wanted to be doctors. Hopefully the girls' aspirations are a token on that girls are on their way to get the same education opportunities as boys. If this is so, the girls will have a very different future from their mothers, whose daily occupation was clearly different from the fathers' in the family.

While the pupils in standard 6 only talked about education and jobs which had high status in the community, the youth I met at the water-post had come to the conclusion that this was perhaps not possible for them. They kept the dream of secondary school, but could also be happy with a more practical profession. Especially among the boys carpentry stood out as the most common wish. One 16 year old boy said this:

> *I stopped school in standard 6, because my parents couldn't pay for the school equipment…Now I'm training to be a carpenter. My parents support me in doing that.*[40]

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[39] His statement is translated from Kiswahili.

[40] His statement is a product of a translation process after the interview, and an answer to two questions.

Other young people I have been talking to confirm that vocational training is only a second option, valued mostly by those who have given up on an academic career[41].

Similar findings are done by Helgesson in Masai. She writes that she found "a strong desire to become civil servants, or employees in companies or organizations. The perceived security, the high qualifications and the good pay make these jobs a kind of ideal job for many young people" (Helgesson 2006:229). She also found a wish among the young to maintain farming as a complementary livelihood, but not as the main occupation. I have the same impression from Haydom. Being a more rural area, in a region which the main economical activity for generations has been agriculture, this might be quite surprising.

The wish for a better life though also says something about wishing for a different life; a life different from the life of today, and a life different from their parents' life. Where earlier generations could enter adulthood by copying their parents' way of living, today's youth in Haydom need to look for different lifestyles. First of all there is not enough land for everyone to go into small scale farming and animal husbandry like previous generations did (Vilby 2008) Secondly small scale farming doesn't give the youth the possibilities they are looking for. Hence they have to look for different ways of living. Waage (2006) writes about urban youth in Cameron, who has to combine the struggle of continuously finding new ways of living, and at the same time maintain a respectable identity. A respectable identity is seen as making a living in a social acceptable way. Waage refuses the idea that youths who live under harsh life conditions develop antisocial behavior and stop caring about the values of society. Even though the setting for his research is very different from Haydom, I think his point has relevance to the lives of the youth I have talked with as well. The expectations from society and from the youth themselves are that they manage to find a way to the better life. It might not be straight forward and easy to plan, but the direction is clear: a better life.

5.1.3 The opportunity of choosing, and the competence in doing so.

Youth's view on and hope for their future, are connected to their opportunity to choose life paths, and make decisions related to their own future. Future life can be seen as something

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[41] I have talked to university students, youth who has just finished primary school and young adults who have taken informal courses after primary school. They live in Arusha, Dodoma and Dar es Salam. They all have a clear opinion about what kind of education that has highest status, but they are also saying that all education is better than nothing. And any education that can give better chances to a paid job is good.

that just happens, or as shaped by individual choices. No one's life is only a result of individual choices, but in some parts of the world the individual choices are given more weight. As mentioned in 5.1.1 Tanzanians perceive their future as unpredictable, and the possibilities for choosing are limited, so also for youth. Good things and bad things happen, and are out of their control. In this situation most Tanzanians rely on God to protect them and guide them, and religion becomes a natural part of daily life.[42] By this I do not perceive youth in Tanzania as passive, accepting everything that happens without will to take action. Helgesson (2006) finds many examples on youth organizing themselves to make changes in their lives or in society. I did not find examples on that in Haydom while I was there, but I do not question their ability to do so.

One of the differences between youth in Masai, studied by Helgesson (2006), and youth in Haydom are their access to a youth center and participation in civil organizations. This way of participating in society gives youth an ability to learn democracy and citizenship, and take part in discussions and decisions which involves them (Ansell 2005). In Norwegian schools this competence is a valued part of the curriculum, and to be heard is considered a right for children and youth (UN 1989). In Tanzania the teaching methods do not open for discussions and youth's opinions, therefore it is even more important to get this experience through other channels. Haydom is a community that have developed and expanded fast, and therefore naturally lacks some of the attributes of more established societies. At present youth in Haydom lack the experience in voicing their opinions that a civil society organization could give them, and the possibility to be heard as a group.

To be able to make choices about future career, it is important to know your own strengths and weaknesses. This competence is often received through childhood and youth by experimenting and trying different activities. Feedback from others, peers or adults, also mean much in this process. Boys and girls in standard 6 told about little time to play during the weekdays, and except from one football player and one choir singer, no one participated in organized activities in their leisure time. Schoolwork and house work took up most of their time, and both girls and boys told about helping their mothers and looking after younger siblings. The only day in the week most of them had time of to do what they chose was

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[42] The faith in God in all kinds of harsh life situations, without bitterness was discussed among the western guests and workers at the hospital many times, because it was hard to understand from their point of view.

Sunday. A typical description of a normal day came from a 12 year old girl[43]: *After I come back from school I help my mother with housework, then I study for one hour. My parents think that it is important that I have time to study.* Then I asked: Do you have time for playing? And she answered: *Yes, on Sundays.* It should also be added that many found time in between their duties, in the rest of the week to play also. I have many times observed children playing on their way to or from school, on their way to the water-post, or combining looking after siblings with playing. The same girl also answered the questions about favorite activity averagely: *Napenda kusoma* (Kiswahili: I like to read/study). A significant share of the pupils also answered housework. It is my impression that these answers should be seen in connection with the value put on studying and working in the community. I am not sure that these youths actually answered what they preferred to do. I also asked the standard 6 pupils what people use to tell them that they were good at. The girl sited above said: *My mum use to tell me that I'm good in cleaning the outdoor area.* Her answer was one of the most common ones; other said that parents use to tell them that they were good children, that they were good in helping out with work, or that they were good in their exams. Some of the youth was also clearly proud by the praise from teachers for good schoolwork. All this general feedback is good for the youths' self esteem, but it does not increase their competence in choosing, or continuing the improvement of specific skills.

Choosing education and work after talents and wishes are not common among young people in Haydom. There are often not many possibilities to choose from, so they take the opportunity they are given, and make the most of it[44]. The consequence of this is that many young people go around without knowing about their own talents, and without possibility to use their capabilities to improve their lives, or to contribute in their society. "The capabilities approach focuses on what each and every person is able to do and be, their valuable doings and beings, in making meaningful choices from a range of options; hence having the freedom to choose a life they have reason to value" *(*Walker 2005*).* To really have freedom to choose the life one values, a person needs to have knowledge about the options available and the persons own strengths. A precondition to make a choice of lifestyle is also to have information available and to reflect upon the question of what are important in my life. Youth

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[43] The answers are translated from Kiswahili.

[44] I got this impression after talking with young people in Kampala, Arusha and Dodoma in addition to the youth I interviewed in Haydom. Their reasons behind their choice of education were mainly the possibility for work, not their own interests. I found it difficult to make them understand my question when I related education and work to wishes, interests and dreams.

in Haydom see poverty as the biggest constraint to live the life they choose, and perceive education as the way to escape the poverty trap (Chambers 1983). It is though my impression that the constraint to what people actually can be and do also lays in the view on education as the only ticket out of poverty, and hence not on the qualities people have in themselves. In this way all the resources invested in schooling can reinforce the poverty trap instead of breaking it (For a further discussion of this topic see 5.3).

5.2 Parents' View on their Children's Future

This section will present how the parent's see their children's future and analyze how this affects the youth's possibilities for making choices about the future. I will also discuss in what way the modern emphasis on education can be related to the traditional value of having children. Parents influence young peoples' lives both by their opinions and by being the foundation for the youths' lives. The latter is extra visible when youth for some reason no longer can rely on their parents for supporting them. In 5.1 I showed the differences in youth's view on their future possibilities connected to the family background they had. Youth with other caretakers than their parents was the one with least faith in their future, while the ones who lived with their parents, who had a secure source of income, was the ones with highest faith in their own opportunities. Parents' opinions are highly respected among youth in Tanzania, and though sometimes ignored, making choices without consulting parents are for most young people unthinkable.

5.2.1 Hopes and fairs

Parents in Haydom are like parents everywhere concerned about their children's future. They are occupied with their future possibilities, and also with what kind of society their young ones will be a part of. Most of them were also very aware of the rapid changes in society and that their children would need a different competence than they had themselves in order to make a living in the future.

All the parents thought that secondary education was important. These two answers show their arguments for sending their youth to secondary school. One from a father who works at the hospital, and the other from a mother working as a housekeeper:

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> Secondary is important because if they don't get good education they can easy get in to problems of alcohol and go in bad groups.[45]

> Now a day, if a person is not educated it is very hard to find work. Secondary is important in order to study further or to get work.[46]

When I asked if they thought that giving all their children secondary education was possible, the parents' answers differed after the economic means they had available. The ones who doubted that money to pay for secondary school was feasible did not come up with any alternatives for the youth. One mother said: *If they do not go to secondary they will stay home with me*[47]. My interpretation of her answer is that she perceives her children to be in her responsibility for many more years. None of the parents I talked to suggested that their children should move to another town to hope for better possibilities there, or that the youths were expected to find a way to make a living on their own. Youth are seen as the parent's responsibility as long as they live in the parents' house, and becomes adults only when they are economically independent or married (Argenti 2002). Parents argue for secondary education as a mean to further studies and work. My research shows that helping their children to be able to stand on their own feet economically, are important to the parents. In that struggle the parents rely on help from the extended family, but they also have obligations to help their nieces and nephews.

The parents I talked to did not articulate any prioritizing of their sons when it comes to secondary education, even though it is traditionally the men who have the main responsibility to have an income in this community. The enrolment in secondary school in Manyara region shows slightly more female than male students in 2006 in O-level. In A-level though, only 78 of totally 318 students are females (BEST 2006). The reasons behind the parent's answers can be a realization of the need for an income from both men and women, and education gives better chance for getting a job. But they might also have more traditional arguments like the importance of a fortunate marriage for a girl, concluding that the chance for their daughter to marry upwards increases if she attends secondary school. I cannot prove which of these two explanations that is most likely, but the result is anyhow that girls are given more equal opportunities for education than last generation of women had. The parents' hopes for all their children are a better life, achieved through education.

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[45] The informant spoke English.
[46] Interview translated into English.
[47] The answer is translated into English.

The statement from the father in the previous paragraph shows that parents in Haydom also fear the future for their children. They see a life without education as a life without working possibilities, and this make them fear two things. Either that their children end up in the same life struggle as they did, or that they end up in big trouble involving drugs and criminal activity. Some parents talked about the latter as a result of moving to the big cities, other feared that their children could be involved in criminality also in Haydom.

5.2.2 Youth's future plans as a topic for discussion

Most of the youth in standard six had discussed further education options with their parents. The parents I talked to also said that they had discussed future and education with their children. I have not observed any of these conversations because they normally belong in the families' private sphere. Some statements from parents however give a picture of what kind of discussion they had, and say something about roles in the families. One mother said: *My children are too young to make responsible choices of their own, and it is my task as a mother to decide what is best for them* (Two of her children were more than 13 years old.)[48]. A father phrased it this way: *I advice them, and they agree me.*[49] Many parents I have talked to and their youths can tell about relatively open discussions about what kind of choice that is smart to do, but when it comes to make a decision the parent's words have most weight[50]. The family structure in rural Tanzania is traditionally hierarchical and authoritarian, headed by the father (Liljeström 2004). All the youth who had stopped school after only a few years in primary school or never started at all said that they did not attend school because their fathers did not want them to. Young peoples' subordination to the power of the elders, and especially the male elders is a costume that goes back to pre-colonial history, and also affects youth possibility to make choices today (Argenti 2002). Education seems to affect this tradition however both because the parents get less control over the youth when they spend most of their day in school, or move away because of school, and because children with higher education level might have a tendency to underestimate their parents judgment (Nsamenang 2002, Liljetröm 2004).

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[48] The answer is my phrasing after listening to what my translator explained that the informant had said. We listened to the interview several times to make sure we got the whole content.

[49] The statement was in English.

[50] Here I refer to conversations I have had with Tanzanian families in Arusha and Dodoma, and with people employed at HLH.

Being the second generation in Tanzania with education possibilities parents of today has a better chance of guiding their children and helping them to make choices about further schooling than the previous generations had. A father in Haydom saw this as an advantage compared to his own schooldays:

> *The children now days are better off, because at least their parents have primary education. But when I was in school my parents was not educated, and then when we went home we didn't even use Swahili, then we talked the traditional language. So this was pulling me a bit back, and the environment back home, there were poor houses and no lights. So at least that was more difficult in those days than today..... The parents can foresee the progress of the children, and if it is not well they can hire a private teacher. But back then if the child didn't perform well it was quite ok for the parents, because the parent wouldn't now[51].*

Thorsen (2006) gives examples on parents and children disagreeing about youth's migration were the youth's solution after a while was to run away. This can be interpreted as a way of showing their maturity, and expressing a wish for an autonomy that they rarely can have if they continue to live in their parents' house. Even though this elope are not accepted by the parents, and are seen as disobeying, it rarely means that the intergenerational contract is broken forever. The family ties are strong in African communities, and based on a reciprocal dependence in terms of work, economic benefits and social security (ibid).

Migration might be a topic for negotiation between parents and children in Haydom too, but education is not. First of all because both sides in most of the cases have the same wish for continuing education, the constraint are in most cases lack of money, not of will. In the cases where the youth wants more education and the parents do not see the point, it is not possible for youth to ignore them because they lack the economic means. Because education has so high value in society, a situation with a youth that refuses to go to school when it is possible is hardly likely.

5.2.3 The meaning of having children

Children's importance within families is culturally varied, and hence intergenerational contracts also vary. In most of Africa children represent both lineage continuity for the kin, and a guarantee of survival and wellbeing for the parents when they grow old. Having many children is both connected to social status and to make sure that enough children reach adulthood and can take care of their parents (Ansell 2002). When infant mortality declines and the level of education among women rise, the number of children per women goes down.

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[51] The informant spoke English.

In Tanzania the fertility rate in 2007 was 5, 2. The number is higher in rural Tanzania and also among women with few years of education (UNICEF 2007). The more likely it is that the children will survive, the more the parents tend to invest in their children's education, "enhancing their children's future capacity to assist rather than requiring immediate contribution" (Ansell 2002:65). This perception among parents is visible in the time the primary school pupils told me they used on different activities. The 12 years old girl does once again give an answer representative for many of the others: *I help my parents selling sunflowers in the weekends and I help on the farm in the holidays.[52]* Even though all of them told about helping their parents with work, most of their time was used on studying. Working on the farm or with the livestock were activities only expected from them during the schools' holidays. This is a change from earlier years when children had a significant role in the family's domestic work force.

The family in Tanzania serves the purposes that social security services do in Western states. Parents, and in their absence the extended family, is the guaranty for children's survival. Conversely they are their parent's security for support when they grow old. Normally the expectation of support extends the nuclear family, and includes aunts, uncles, grandparents etc (Nsamenang 2002). Having many children also means having many to provide for. The parents in Haydom said: *Now days you need to go to secondary school.[53]*The consequence of higher expenses per child can either be to reduce the number of children, or to prioritize some children over the rest. Urban, young adults told me that they only wanted one or two children, because they wanted to be able to give their children a good life, and good opportunities. In Haydom I did not hear anyone articulate this view. Instead they coped with high expenses per child by choosing one child at the time to pay the education for. It was then expected that the youth who got the education helped their siblings to increase their opportunities.

In the end of the day spending money on children's education are viewed as an investment in the future, both in the children's future, and their own future. "To make good such expectations, parents spare no effort to support and educate their adolescents in order to raise their status and potential to improve the welfare and resource base of the family" (Nsamenang 2002:73).

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[52] The answer is a synthesis of two of her answers, after translation from Kiswahili. For the more of her answers see section 5.1.3.
[53] All the parents expressed this opinion; the wording used here is taken from two of the English answers.

In the next two sections youths' and parents' view on education and its role in their future will be used in a theoretical discussion. There will be no new empirical information in these sections, but I will use the findings I have already presented to show how the theories used fit in to the reality in Tanzania, and especially at Haydom.

5.3 Education as a Ticket to a Better Life?

In the previous sections I have shown that youth and parents share an instrumental view on what education is, and the purpose of schooling. The possibility of a poverty free life is perceived as the reason to attend school. The Tanzanian government's vision for 2025 is: "achieving a high quality livelihood for its people, attain good governance through the rule of law and develop a strong and competitive economy" (Tanzania 1999). In achieving this goal education has got a major role to play. In Vision 2025 the government emphasizes many different effects of education important to development. In practice in everyday life in primary schools however, the major purpose with education is to get as many pupils as possible through the national examination and ready for secondary school.[54] I do not blame headmasters or teachers for this focus, but see it as a consequence of the practical politics of the last years, encouraged by donors. I will in this section discuss the implications of this view on basic education for society and youth in particular. Can education be the ticket to a better life that everyone hopes for?

5.3.1 Education and Social Mobility

Social mobility is the movement of individuals, families or groups from one level in society to another. When social mobility includes whole groups, or the whole society we talk about structural mobility. The industrial revolution can be seen as a structural social mobility. The other type of social mobility is called exchange mobility and refers to a situation where individuals or small groups change their position in society (The Canadian Encyclopedia 2010). Social mobility theory builds on an understanding of society as divided in hierarchic groups, in a totally equal society there would be no need for social mobility.

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[54] See Chapter 4 and HakiElimu's critique of measurement of quality: Rajani, R and Sumra, S (2006): *Secondary Education in Tanzania: Key Policy Challenges*, Dar es Salaam, HakiElimu

Social Classes in Tanzania

Different levels in society are often called social classes, also when the usual Marxist classes are not used. Thomson (2004) describes social classes in Africa as divided in five national and one international group. I will only concentrate on the national classes here, because they are the only one relevant for social mobility.

Social class	Characteristics
I Peasants	Majority of population, subsistence agriculture
II Proletariat	Landless laborers, miners
III Informal sector entrepreneurs	Street vendors etc.
IV Petty bourgeoisie	Self employed artisans, teachers, police, soldiers, public officers of low rank, small scale business owners
V Bourgeoisie (Bureaucratic, Commercial)	Political class, higher rank bureaucrats, commercial farmers, big scale businesses owners

(Source: Thompson 2004)

The terminology used to define the different groups is close to the traditional Marxist terminology. I will however not apply Marxist theory in my thesis; only use the groups because I find them relevant in understanding the social classes in Tanzania. The ranking of the groups are indications of level of income, social status and level of education. In Tanzania today group I-III are the poorest in society and the ones with maximum primary education. The majority of the population belongs to these groups. Group IV is the relative small middle class, who earns enough to cope with daily life, but is still poor according to international measurements. A primary teacher's salary is as an example two dollars a day[55]. In this group the education level varies, but they normally have some type of education after primary school. The last group is the small well educated, rich elite. At Haydom group V is not present, the upper-class there are perceived as the doctors at the hospital and their families.

Tanzania is a relatively equal society compared to many of its neighboring countries. Nyerere's African socialism which built on the traditional ujamaa (Kiswahili: family hood), advocated unity and equal opportunities as a foundation for economic development. The heritage after Nyerere might not be economic development, but it is certainly a remarkably stable and equitable society (Thomson 2004). After the liberalization of the economy in the

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[55] I got the information from the headmaster at Haydom Primary School in the interview.

last 80s this could have changed a lot, but Tanzania has kept the values of equality through the last 30 years. Unfortunately though, this does mean that most of the population still is equally poor.

Education, a strategy for all or for the few?

In terms of social mobility, parents' and youth's dream of a better future can be understood as aspirations to move to a higher level in society. The ticket they use for this journey is education. Their experience tells them that some people have done this journey successfully in the past, and they try to follow in their footsteps[56]. Instead of waiting for a structural social mobility driven by the government, they try to lift themselves up to a higher level of well-being one by one. The result of this struggle is probably success for a few and big disappointments for the rest. The World Bank also states that secondary education "creates opportunities for social mobility" (Verspoor 2008:6). There are however reasons to believe that the opportunities for social mobility are not equally distributed. Hence some groups in society are more likely than others to access a higher social level. Bourdieu (1986) explains this with the capital available to people according to class. The economic, cultural and social capital available to the middle and higher classes makes it more likely that they will keep their positions or advance, than for people from the lower classes to move upwards.

A structural social mobility can be seen as a different word for poverty eradication in Sub Saharan Africa. In this process the state is a central actor. Moving a whole population out of poverty can only be initiated by the state, because it demands a wide range of initiatives. It is Tanzanian Governments' aim to achieve "a high quality livelihood for its people, attain good governance through the rule of law and develop a strong and competitive economy" (Tanzanian Government 1999). To reach this goal by 2025 they intend to use education as one of the most central means. But while secondary education has had a proven effect in initiating social mobility on individual level, enrolment in secondary school alone will not automatically lift a whole generation out of poverty. The Governments emphasis on secondary school is supported by the Tanzanian population and the International community, with the World Bank in the lead. At the same time the World Bank warns about getting caught in the "low-equilibrium trap", with high enrolment rates but low quality in the

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[56] In my interviews with the pupils in standard 6 I asked if they knew anyone, family or friends, which had studied at a university. The most common answer was one.

education received, and youth finishing school without the competence that are needed in the economy (Verspoor 2008).

A big amount of low quality secondary education can in worst case undermine the whole project of social mobility by education. Creating a big group of youth with a secondary education they cannot use in the labor market, there is a risk that secondary school neither becomes a mean to lift the population out of poverty, nor a mean for social mobility for the individual.

The expanding of the secondary school system as I have observed it in Haydom though, gives more youth than before access to secondary education, and hence reaches out to a bigger part of the population than before. Having more education gives young people an advantage compared to the previous generations, and in the following paragraph I will look especially on how education gives youth an opportunity to climb in the social hierarchy.

New possibilities for youth
For youth post-primary education can lead to a changed position in society and in the family. With the increased focus on secondary schools recently, follows more attention on youth as recipients of education, and as actors of development. This is a welcomed change in attention for the youth group who earlier in both research and policy documents often has been seen as victims or associated with problems (Argenti 2002). Youth are by number a big part of the Tanzanian population, but have up to now had little influence in society. If the focus on secondary education will empower youth as a group are yet to be seen. Being such a big cohort, the youth's contribution in society is definitely needed; maybe even more developing countries like Tanzania than in the Western societies.

On individual level though, there are examples of education having changed youths' roles in their community and in their families. Post-primary education can give the youths the opportunity for a higher level of wellbeing than their parents had, and if it results in waged work, a position higher up in the social hierarchy. As a result the youths' role in the family becomes more important. The teenager in school is given a role as the family's hope, and investment in the future. In school the youth learns new skills that makes them better equipped for the modern society than the elders are; who experience that their competence are

not used and respected the same way anymore (Liljestöl 2004). In some situation the traditionally roles of the elder advisor and the younger receiver of advices are totally altered, because the elder person experiences the need to seek knowledge through the young person.

Education creates bigger physical distance in the family when the youths are in school most of the day, and even have to move away from home many times. This gives the parents less ability of control and the youth more autonomy. This can make it easier to develop the youth's identity and create an individual role in society, but it also makes it more difficult to find a position in the family and kinship. Post primary education prolongs the transition period from child to adult because the youth are economically dependent for much longer time, and hence do not have the right to enter the world of adults (Argenti 2002). The youth that comes home for holidays might therefore experience that their peers who stayed in the village are regarded as adults long before they are.

5.3.2 Education and Reproduction of Social Differences?

Social mobility is closely linked to the issue of equality of opportunities in education. If the opportunities in education are not equal for all, then education is reproducing social differences instead of fostering social mobility. Equality in education includes equality in access, equality in treatment and equality in results (Lauder et al 2006). Even in school systems like the Scandinavian, where access is equal, schools have a tendency to reproduce social differences, because school failure or success often are connected to socio-economic background (Bourdieu 1986, Ansell 2005). Tanzania also struggles with unequal access, especially to post-primary education, and have therefore even bigger chances to end up with an education system which reproduces inequality.

Equality in Access

Children in Tanzania who enters school age after 2002 are supposed to have equal access to primary school. With the removal of the school fee, and building of more schools, the government has done a big job in securing primary education for all. For the few that still lack the opportunity, the disadvantage is even bigger. In Mbulu district the children that still do not attend school belong to small ethnic groups like the Hadzabe and the Tatoga. Both of the groups have livelihoods that implicate moving. The Hadzabes are hunters and gatherers and the Tatogas are pastoralists. Even if there have been attempts from the government to include

them in the formal school system by building boarding schools (NBS 2005), it does not seem to make education accessible or interesting for all of them. Equal access and equal treatment does not necessarily give equal outcomes. Especially for ethnic minorities to be treated as the majority might feel threatening to the preservation of their own culture.

Access to post primary education is not free, and hence the opportunity is not equal for all. Access to secondary school becomes dependent of the economic means in the family. Even if all the families I have talked with said that they prioritized secondary school strongly, it is not possible for most of them to raise the capital needed. Using the social groups from 5.3.1, it is mainly group IV that has access to secondary education today. In this group the parents also have more education than primary school, and most of the children are in reality staying at the same social level as their parents, although some in this group may get the possibility to advance further. It also has to be said that this group covers a wide scale of both income and social status, and movement within the group can also be characterized as social advancement. To compensate for the disadvantages among the poor but bright students the government has promised 12 000 scholarships (Wedgwood 2005). I do not know how these are distributed in Haydom or in the rest of the country. The number of scholarships however is very small compared to how many that are in need for them, and this might foster hard competition and possibilities for corruption.

Equality in treatment and in results

In chapter 4 I discussed quality in both primary and secondary schools, concluding that the variations are big from school to school, with biggest differences between urban and rural areas. This means that children get different chance to learn in school, despite their access to the school. Equal treatment also refers to the curriculum, both the visible and invisible part of it (Lauder et al 2004). A learning climate that is inclusive and open or one that stimulates attitudes of discrimination also affects youth's opportunities after school. Even when the pupils receive the same education, and are treated equally, they do not benefit equally from it, and schooling then contributes to persistence of differences (Ansell 2005).

5.3.3 "The Opportunity Trap"

I have borrowed the title of this section from an article of Phillip Brown. In this article he discusses the relationship between education and employability, and education's role in the

social structure of competition. He refers to the English-American societies in his descriptions. The article does however discuss some fundamental questions that are relevant to all societies. I will in this section discuss the place the opportunity trap has in the Tanzanian society, and use the context of Haydom more specifically.

The Diploma Disease

The "diploma disease", as used by Dore in 1976, is the need for a diploma from higher education as an attribute of success. It is not the knowledge gained that is the point, but that you were able to reproduce it in an exam and got a paper that proved your ability. When the number of educated people is increasing in this way, without a higher demand from the labor market, higher education does not automatically lead to a good job anymore (Brown 2003). The solution for the individual to this is of course to get another degree, and hope that is enough for the job wanted. Or he ends up taking a job he is overqualified for, because he after all has to make a living. If many highly educated people continue to be employed below their qualification, the situation turns and the employer will ask for a degree also for jobs were it was not needed before. This of course, leads to difficulties in getting a job for those without any degree, and again increasing demand for schools and universities which allows more children to climb the education ladder. This problem is described as educational inflation because it works like credential inflation; the education you have can be converted in to less and less value over time (ibid). Inflation in education widens the opportunity gap, because it is only the already well-off that can afford to go on competing for the best universities and the highest degrees in the end. And the less education available to you the further away you are from the opportunity to success. The opportunity trap then describes a situation where it for most people is impossible to win, but they cannot afford not to play along either. Brown further writes about the schools function in selection of those who are qualified for higher education, and those who are not. Lately the focus has been on quality measured in grades and pass rates, where the goal is that as many students as possible are going to at least pass, and preferable get good grades. The consequence of this practice is the undermining of the selection system. This leads to everyone having the same educational competence, and its meaning in the employment market becomes less (ibid). Selection and preparing for higher education is though only one part of schools role in society, even if this side at the moment seems to be valued most among the decision makers.

Tanzania

Tanzania has so far had a small amount of high educated people, and they are a small portion of the workforce. There has been argued that Tanzania lack the competence needed for economic development, and therefore has become dependent on foreign expertise to do important jobs in society. The number of doctors, teachers and other professions needed for human development has also been too small. To get a big enough share of the population with higher education, a good basic education is needed. This is what Tanzania has realized, and that has resulted in the increased enrolment rates in both primary and secondary school, and the attention to better quality (Tanzania 1999). In addition to the domestic need for higher education, Tanzania was in a situation where it consequently lost in global competition, partly because of its lack of educated people. The need for more highly educated and skilled people is hence not questionable; there are however a question if there are jobs for all of them. In Tanzania as in many other poor countries the need for doctors or teachers are not equivalent with the numbers of these jobs. If the domestic job market is not capable of absorbing all the newly educated people, the risk is big that Tanzania has started producing well qualified workers for countries with far bigger national budgets than themselves.

The other big challenge on a national level is that at the moment Tanzania are giving many young people an opportunity to a secondary education that means less and less. To graduate from secondary school does not mean a lot of opportunities any longer because too few get the chance for further advancement. Instead they end up taking jobs they also could get without secondary school, and we can see a danger of educational inflation on this level. Where many of the Western countries already have experienced the opportunity trap (Brown 2003), there are however no reason why Tanzania should follow directly in the same track. Being in the start of a process of enormous expanding of the whole education system it is an important moment to reflect over what they want to achieve with all the education. Because there are no reason why education should be valued only by how it prepares people for the job market, or increases income. This is a utilitarian view of education that very easily sneaks in when we discuss the results of education (ibid). Learning has a value in itself. And learning as a mean to improve people's lives includes, but are not restricted to, increased earning. I will discuss the meaning of education further in section 5.4.

Haydom

In this discussion I will use Haydom as an example of a rural area in Tanzania, to show the effects of the opportunity trap there. Haydom, as a business center, or small town for the surrounding rural population, has got its share of school development. I have earlier showed how this has lead to a faith in secondary school as the hope for a better life among youth and their parents. They invest what they have of resources to get at least one child through secondary school. The further options in Haydom after secondary school are however small, and many youth move to the city in search for better opportunities. Secondary school, as it is in Haydom now, does not qualify the youth in Haydom for improving their life in a rural area, but works as an incentive to leave. Those who do not see moving away as an option, end up living life under the same life conditions as their parents have done, the conditions which the parents invested resources in to get their children away from. Post primary education is hence experienced as a way of escaping rural life, not improving it. With 80% of the population still living in rural areas, expanding the secondary school system without taking the discussion of what the youth living there get educated into, is perhaps Tanzania's opportunity trap. The way I see it, the opportunity trap is best avoided if the content of the education, and its purpose, gets more weight in the discussion on school politics. Secondary education has got to have a meaning in itself. How this can be achieved is discussed in the next section.

5.4 Education as a mean to what?

There seems to be a broad international agreement on the importance of education for development. This does however not necessarily mean an agreement on how education contributes to development, what kind of development that is wanted, or what kind of education that is needed. The perception of development influence the view on education, hence an emphasis put on education will mean different things according to who the actors are. In the first paragraph I will look at what impact the different views on development and education among the stakeholders in Tanzania have, and discuss the power relations between the different actors. In the two last sections I will discuss considerations which often are presented as contradicting, and advocate for the need to include both perspectives in the education discussion.

5.4.1 Whose reality counts?

In my fieldwork in Haydom one of my aims was to find out how youth perceived their future. It turned out to be a difficult question to answer, more difficult than I thought before I started. Still I am glad I asked the question directly to the youth, both because it helped me understand how they were thinking, and because it showed them that I found their opinions interesting and important. In my reading of governmental publications and international organizations plans for development I still have not seen any attempt to ask the youth about their future, and how they want it to be. They are at best described as a resource (and not only a problem) for the future, as tomorrow's citizens, and the object for development. I might not have succeeded fully in getting clear answers about the youths' perspective on the future, but I have no doubt that it is possible to involve youth in the important discussion about the future. HakiElimu has showed one way of getting access to young people's opinions. They managed to get more than thousand respondents to a writing and drawing competition with the topic: "What is a good school?" Some of the respondents chose to turn the topic upside down and described a bad school, a school they didn't want to attend; others described the school of their dreams (Rajani 2003). Children's and youths' expressions are often considered to be inconsistent, exaggerated or just not true (Ansell 2005). The contributions of Tanzanian youth in HakiElimu's competition are one of many examples that show youth's competence in evaluating their present situation and look forward to the future. The question is more if the adult population dares to ask them.

Chambers (1995) discusses whose reality counts, emphasizing how the powerful and rich set the standards for the development discourse, and leaves the poor and powerless to be only objectives for research. The ones setting the standards for the development discourse are normally the same that defines what education is supposed to be, and what purpose it should serve. Here the national government in developing countries only plays a small role, while the major parts are played by the big development agents like the World Bank. The distance between what the leaders in Washington see as important to learn and what youth and small scale farmers in Haydom see as important to learn can of course be similar, but the chance is big that it differs a lot. My point here is mostly that still 15 years after Chambers made his point; there is not much difference in whose reality that counts.

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5.4.2 Education for the present and the future

Listening to parents and youth in Haydom, and reading governmental papers I find a similarity in the emphasis on education as an investment in the future. They have however a different timeframe for that future. While the inhabitants in Haydom tend to want a return from their investment in education in a few years, the government has a longer perspective for their policies. To get quick results of their policy are maybe one of the demands that are hardest to fulfill for politicians and their bureaucracy. And when it comes to the planning and implementation of education and development strategies for a whole country this has to be a long term project. At the same time the population's needs to see some result in their daily life. It does not help a 14 year old girl if the secondary school system works perfectly well 20 years from now, her demand for education is in the present.

When it comes to the discussion about the content of education, what the children and youth should learn in school, the dualism of present and future should also be kept in mind. Competence needed in the society as it is today is important, but without developing capabilities that are useful in a future society, there is not much contribution to development. Nyerere (1967) wrote that education has a purpose and "that purpose is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or development." Later in the same paper he continues to emphasize the importance of preparing a new generation for life as we know it today, and for the future that we don't know (ibid). This is not less true today. Education therefore has to be aimed to make the youth able to meet the future, and participate in further development, and at the same time give them capabilities to enhance their freedom to live the life they value in the present.

The arguments for making secondary education part of compulsory education, and O-level the terminal stage of formal education for most pupils are also related to the concern about present and future. Secondary school in Tanzania today has only one purpose; preparing the youth for further schooling. This is solely a future perspective, and is also limited to only one part of the future, which does not become reality for most youth in Tanzania. Secondary education has the potential to make a difference in youth lives in the present and in the future by taking its responsibility of enhancing youth's capabilities seriously. In addition to qualifying for work and study secondary education has to equip youth with life skills. This

includes self-confidence, endurance, solidarity, cooperation, the ability to use the language orally and written to express opinions, and more. Secondary education has the advantage of having pupils in an age were finding their own identity, and defining their role in society are the main issue. In this strategic period of life, knowledge about health, sexuality, nutrition, hygiene, alcohol, tobacco and drugs etc are seen as relevant to the youth. Therefore there is a bigger chance of making an impact on the youth and the society's attitudes, by making these topics a part of secondary education instead of primary education. Many of the above mentioned topics are also relevant to improve youth's skills to adapt to the various conditions life will offer them. The youth of today will more than ever before need to be able to navigate in a fast changing society. The youths and parents I have talked to, have not expressed these arguments for schooling. Maybe this is because the school of their experience does not serve other purposes than preparing for further education at present. To get other kinds of knowledge and skills they have to rely on other forms of learning.

5.4.3 Education for urban and rural development

People at Haydom tell about educated youths that move away from the village, and the DEO tells about pastoralists that do not want to send their children to school. In many ways they talk about the same phenomena. Education, especially after primary school is seen as a path away from how the generations before them have lived. This development is appreciated by some, because they see it as an opportunity to finding a better life, and a threat to old values and traditional lifestyle by others. The development education foster today can hence be seen as urban biased and little sensitive to the reality in rural areas.

Taking the signals from young people seriously, mean to make a real choice possible for them. It has to be made possible to live a life they value either in town or in villages. The youths, as I hear them, do not necessarily want to escape the village or farm of their childhood, they want to escape its poverty. Haydom has grown from a place where no one lived, to a small town in few years. Even if the history of Haydom is special, it seems to follow a pattern of villages that grow into small towns. Not because they are planned to do so, but because more urban centers are needed among the population. The small towns offer health services, schools, and trade opportunities needed also by rural people. The small towns often fall in between in the discussion of urban versus rural development, but maybe they are a solution for a sustainable development (Baker & Claeson 1990). This discussion is outside

the scope of this thesis, and I will only address the part of it that is related to education for youth. Small towns in a rural context are the most natural locations for post-primary schools. Every village cannot have a wide range of opportunities, but the small towns can. The advantage of a small town compared to a big city, is also the closeness to the rural context, which make it natural to locate education for improved agricultural practices etc there. "Just as small towns and their services may have a positive influence on rural development and agricultural productivity, the development of the small towns depends on the growth of rural incomes" (Pedersen 1990:90). The improvement of agricultural techniques, to achieve higher yields are wanted and needed in Tanzania. It has been part of the political rhetoric since the 60's, but has had small impact on the rural development (Vilby 2008). At the moment agricultural development and education are seen as two separated spheres, belonging to different ministries. An education who takes rural development seriously has to include agricultural improvement in one way or another. At present this issue is not even discussed.

Small urban centers have a role to play both as the location of schools, but also as the place for the youth to find their first jobs. The development of education and commercial businesses has to follow each other closely. While everyone I have talked to in Haydom wished for an academic higher education, the society needs a lot of other skills too. While the natural location for the universities might be the big cities, the natural location for the vocational schools might be the small towns. And in a context where it is a need for a trade school, and visible work possibilities after graduation, vocational education might be perceived as a sensible choice to young people.

If development of good and relevant post primary education is situated in the small towns, this can have consequences for development in both agricultural sector and for the big cities. Giving education for improved farming and livestock husbandry strategies, the quality of life in rural areas can be better, and the wish to stay in the village to contribute to the development there can be increased. On the other hand the population pressure on the two, or three biggest cities due to migration, might decrease, or at least be stabilized. This will make it easier to plan for the unavoidable population growth in the big cities, and increase the possibility to lift more people out of poverty.

6 Concluding Remarks

In this thesis I have been exploring the relationship between education and development, with focus on formal schools' ability to enhance capabilities among youth in rural Tanzania. I have built my discussion on the analysis of findings from my research in Haydom. Youths, parents, and teachers seem to share an emphasis on education as important to the youth's future. This view is also shared by the Tanzanian Government and all of the multi lateral development agents, who are influencing the national politics. Parents and youth argue for education as important for the individual and for the family, while the government's representatives argue for education as important to society; for economic growth and the need for a well educated labor force. Throughout the Tanzanian society I find an instrumental view on education, and very little reflection about what other purposes education might have.

In Tanzania there has been a massive enhancement of both primary and secondary education in the last decade. This has made schooling more accessible to children and youth all over Tanzania, but has not at present given them qualitatively good education. The government seems to be aware of this, and is at the moment working to increase the number of teachers, classrooms and books, to make more pupils able to pass the exams. However, this thesis shows that the focus on quality is only on the quantitative aspects, and do not take the debate about what kind of education the youth needs. The consequence of this might be that youth in Tanzania are offered an education that does not enhance youth capabilities, but are giving them only academic knowledge, most useful for the very few that are going to study further.

The reality in Tanzania today is that the majority of the population is still living in rural areas with an economy closely linked to agriculture. Most of the people with other sources of income are self-employed, and the possibilities for regular employment are few. In such a situation there is a need for an education that promotes innovative and creative thinking; fostering youth capable of improving the current situation and creating jobs. Hence do practical skills related to agriculture and other vocational professions need to be a bigger part of the post primary education. Fostering youth also means protecting them from being only tools of production, and give them the chance to personal development.

When education is perceived only as an instrument to better economic wellbeing and employment it can in fact be a constraint to development and to enhanced life quality. One of

the reasons for this is that all the other good effects of education then get little attention, and hence little priority in the classrooms. Seeing good school results as the only way to a better life can also constrain the youth's ability to be open to possibilities and seek various solutions to the challenges in life.

In this thesis I have pointed to the fact that Tanzania's development of the education sector seem to be following an international pattern. The globalization of educational politics leads to a more common educational practice. This might lead to improved quality in the Tanzanian schools, but it might also lead to an even less sensitivity to the local reality than today. At present Tanzania is investing a lot of time and money in building a good education system, to serve the countries development. This is a strategic point in Tanzanian history where the choices made will have big consequences for both present and future generations.

This thesis has highlighted a big and important topic; the meaning and relevance of education. This is a topic which could and should be discussed continuously by everyone responsible for education. It is also this thesis intention to point at the importance of involving the people affected by the political decisions in this important discussion, including youth. This thesis has put focus on a topic that has got little attention in the currently dominating education and development discourse. There is therefore certainly a need for further studies of what a relevant and good education is, and how it is achieved.

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Appendixes

TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (COSTECH)

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RESEARCH PERMIT

No. 2009 –255- MFS-2009-143

6th October 2009

1. Name   :   **Inger J. Dahl**

2. Nationality   :   **Norwegian**

3. Title   :   **"Education, Capabilities and Development-Youth in Rural Tanzania"**

4. Research shall be confined to the following region(s): Arusha and Manyara

5. Permit validity **6th October 2009 to 5th October 2010**

6. Local Contact/collaborator: **Esto Mduma, Haydom Lutheran Hospital, Manyara**

7. Researcher is required to submit progress report on quarterly basis and submit all Publications made after research.

M.Mushi
for: DIRECTOR GENERAL

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Regional Commissioner's Office,
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BABATI.

E.mail: rcmanyara@habari.habari.co.tz
In reply please quote:

Ref. No.FA.262.347.01/88   15/12/2008

District Administrative Secretary,
Mbulu District,
P.O. BOX 1,
MBULU.

RE: RESEARCH PERMIT.

We wish to introduce to you Inger J. Dahl who is Norwegian that have been granted a research permit No. 2009-255-MFS-2009 dated 06th October, 2009 issued by Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH)

The permit allows her to do research in Manyara Region Particularly Mbulu District. The title of the research in question is "Education Capabilities and Development – Youth in Rural Tanzania".

The period for which this permission has been granted is from 6th October, 2009 to 5th October, 2010.

Please give her every assistance to enable her to accomplish her research.

Upendo C. Kavishe
For: **Regional Administrative Secretary**
MANYARA REGION

C.C:-   Inger J. Dahl

HALMASHAURI YA WILAYA YA MBULU

(Barua zote zitumwe kwa Mkurugenzi Mtendaji wa Wilaya)

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Kumb. Na. MDC/DED/M.7/6/1/184.

16/12/2009

Mwalimu Mkuu,
Shule ya Msingi Haydom,
MBULU

YAH:KUMTAMBULISHA INGER J.DAHL.

Tafadhali husika na mada hapo juu na barua ya Katibu Tawala Mkoa wa Manyara yenye Kumb.Na.FA.262.347.01/88 ya tarehe 15/12/2009.

Kwa barua hii ninamtambulisha kwako mtajwa hapo kwa ajili ya kufanya utafiti wa kielimu katika shule yako.Ni matarajio yangu kuwa utampa ushirikiano

Nakutakia utekelezaji na ushirikiano mwema.

E.A.Tango
Kny:Mkurugenzi Mtendaji (W),
MBULU

Interviews with pupils in standard 6, Haydom Primary School

I am here to study young people in Haydom, and I am going to ask you some questions about yourself, about your family and about the school. If you don't understand the question it is ok to ask us. I will use this recorder to tape the interview to make sure that I remember all the things you tell me.

1. General information

a) How old are you?

b)How many brothers and sisters do you have?

c)How many of your sisters and brothers are older than you?

d)Do you live with your mother and father?

e)At what level did your mother stop school? (Primary Standard… or Secondary form…)

f)At what level did your father stop school? (Primary Standard… or Secondary…)

g)What kind of job does your mother have?

h)What kind of job does your father have?

i)What kind of job would you like to have when you grow up?

j)What will you have to do to achieve this goal?

k)What may stop you from achieving this goal?

2. Questions about the school:

a)What subject do you like best?

b)Why do you like this subject?

c)Do you think it is easy or difficult to understand when the teachers explain?

d)Can you tell me one thing you have learnt in school, that you have used outside the school?

e)Is it something you wish to learn in school that you have not learned yet?

f)What subject do you perform best in?

g)What will you do after primary school? (Secondary school, work, help your parents, etc)

h)Have you discussed this with your parents, and do they agree with you?

i)Why do you want to…………….?

j) Do you have any sisters or brothers in secondary school?

k)Do you have family or friends who have studied at a university?

3 Questions about life outside school:

a) How much time do you use on the following activities?

- Homework (Study back home):

- House chores(cleaning, cooking):

- Look after and help younger brother and sisters:

- Help your family earning money:

- Helping out with farming activities or looking after cattle:

- Playing:

b) What is your favorite activity?

c) Is it anything people use to tell you that you are very good at?

Interview with youth that are not in school

My name is Johanna, and I am a student at a University in Norway. I am doing a research here at Haydom about youth, education and work. I would be grateful if you could help me by answering some questions.

1) How old are you?

2) How many sisters and brothers do you have?

3) How many of your sisters and brothers are still in school? (Primary or secondary?)

4) In what level did you stop school?

5) Why did you stop school?

6) How are you spending your days now? (Working, helping on the farm, fetching water, hanging out with friends etc.)

7) Do you think it is easy or difficult to go back to school?

8) If you could go back to school, would you wish to attend secondary school, or a practical trade school?

9) Why would you make that choice?

10) Is it difficult or easy to find work for youth in Haydom?

Interview with parents

My name is Johanna, and I am a student at a University in Norway. I am doing a research here at Haydom about youth, education and work. I would be grateful if you could help me by answering some questions.

1. At what level did you stop school?

2. What kind of job do you have?

3. How many children do you have?

4. Can you tell me their age and gender?

5. How many of them are in primary/secondary school?

    - If some are not in school: Why not?

6. Do you think that all of your children will attend secondary school? (Why/why not?)

7. If they don't start in secondary school what will they do?

8. Do you know any youth that has moved to Arusha or another town in search for work?

9. What do you think is most important that your children learn in school?

10. What do you think about the quality of the education your children get?

Interview guide headmaster primary school

1.a) Facts about the school:
- Number of pupils totally:
- Number of classes:
- Number of teachers:
- Number of pupils in 6th grade:
- How many percent of the pupils passes the final exam?
- Expenses for parents per child:

1. b) How common is it to drop out of school before 7th grade?

2. The last ten years it has been much focus on Primary Education For All, both internationally and in Tanzania. How has this influenced this school?
(Changes in number of pupils, changes in resources available etc.)

3. In a scale from 1-5 how satisfied are you with the quality of this school?

4. What do you see as the biggest challenge for the teachers in this school?

5. What do you see as the biggest challenge for the pupils in this school?

6. Which possibilities for post-primary education exist in the area?

7. What does this school do to inform the children and parents about the opportunities?

8. What do most children do after primary-school?

9. How many percent of the 7th graders from this school continue to secondary normally?

10. What do you think is the biggest hinder for the pupils here to continue with secondary education.

11. In what way do you think the change of language of instruction from Swahili to English influence the choice of continuing to secondary school?

12. In what way are practical skills and life skills included in the schools teaching?

13. How do you perceive the situation for youth in this area (Possibilities, problems etc.)?

14. If politicians asked you what they could do to improve the primary education, what would you have answered?

15. If you could create the ideal school system for children and youth in your area, how would that be?

Questions to District officer of education.

Facts about schools in Mbulu District

1. How many primary schools?

2. How many secondary schools?

3. Private schools?

4. Are there any Vocational Schools in the district?

Other questions

1. Can you tell me about your job? What kind of responsibilities?

2. How do you consider the number of schools compared to the number of students? Plans for new schools? (Primary and secondary)3. How do you perceive the situation in the schools in this district? (Lack of teachers, schools, equipment, books etc.)

3. What are the challenges to give all children and youth in Mbulu district primary and secondary education?

4. Is there any plan for how to include the youth that has dropped out of school?

5. How does vocational training fit in to the plans for post-primary education?

6. Most people in this district are either farmers or pastoralists. Are there any schools, courses or counseling facilities for them?

7. How do you perceive the quality in the schools in this district?

8. What can be done to improve the quality? Challenges? Plans? What do you see as most important? (Teachers, education level, motivation, working conditions and salaries)

9. In what way do you think education can contribute to the development of the society?

10. How do you see the youth's role in this?

11. In what way can Vocational Education and Courses contribute in giving Tanzania a more skilled population?

12. Can you tell me about the latest educational policies?

13. School fees are considered as the biggest hinder to continue with education after primary school, are there any plans to do anything about this?