

**TANDEM Project with
the FOLK
DEVELOPMENT
COLLEGES in
Tanzania 1990 to 1996**

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and Social Development**

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Sida Evaluation 97/22

**Department for Democracy and
Social Development**

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABE	adult basic education
ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)
App	Appendix
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCM	see TANU
CD	community development
CDTI	Community Development Training Institute
CP	Co-ordinator of Projects
CS	Co-ordinator of Studies
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DC	District Commissioner
DED	District Executive Director
DSM	Dar es Salaam
DTA	Director of Training and AudioVisual (MCDWAC)
EMIS	Educational Management Information Service
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance (projects)
FDC	Folk Development College
FHS	Folk High School
GOS	Government of Sweden
GOT	Government of the United Republic of Tanzania
IAE	Institute of Adult Education
IDM	Institute of Development Management, Morogoro
HESAWA	Health, Sanitation and Water Project (in MCDWAC)
JPG	Joint Planning Group
MCDWAC	Ministry of Community Development, Women Affair and Children
MEC/MNE	Ministry of Education and Culture (formerly the Ministry of National Education)
MLG	Ministry of Local Government
NGO	non-governmental organisation
PP	participatory pedagogy
SIDA, Sida*	Swedish International Development Agency
SIDA-DCO	SIDA Office, Swedish Embassy, Dar es Salaam
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation (Namibia)
TanMan	TANDEM Management courses
TOR	Terms of Reference
TOT	TANDEM Training of Trainers courses
TRDC	Training for Rural Development Centre
TT	TANDEM Teacher Training courses
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
VET	vocational education and training
WID	Women in Development

*Note: from 1994, SIDA changed its abbreviated title to Sida. We have tried to adopt this change wherever it is relevant.

INTRODUCTION

This report is the outcome of an evaluation of the TANDEM Project (1991-1996) commissioned by Sida from Education for Development.

The aim of the Project was "to promote a comprehensive development of the Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) in Tanzania". The focus of TANDEM was primarily on human resource development. It followed and complemented SIDA's provision of material support to the FDCs from their inception in 1975.

Education for Development was charged with evaluating the extent to which the Project had met its objectives and the impact of the Project at both local and national levels. We were asked to assess the sustainability of the Project and to suggest immediate on-going activities and longer-term support for the FDCs. The report therefore concentrates on the impact of the Project on the intended target groups and communities, and the goal achievement of the Project. In addition, Sida requested some indication of the longer-term lessons which can be drawn from this case study of overseas aid to adult education in Tanzania.

Two other main areas of enquiry were identified and addressed. These were

- gender issues
- access issues

Education for Development undertook this task through a team approach. Apart from a UK-based team, two local consultants (Colman Riwa and Hamisi Mahigi from the Institute of Development Management, Morogoro) were appointed by Sida to assist with the evaluation. Individual and team 'desk top' research, team discussions and visits, and the collection of data by interviews and questionnaires were undertaken.

We approached the task ethnographically rather than statistically, adopting a participatory approach throughout. A workshop for some of the key stakeholders was held in Dar es Salaam during the final phase of the evaluation in order to present the interim findings for critical analysis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The evaluation team wishes to express its thanks to the following who helped with their task: the staff of the FDCs spoken with or visited; the staff of MCDWAC, both within the FDC Section and in other parts of the Ministry, especially the Permanent Secretary and the DTA (Mr Chiwile); Christine McNab and Abdi Foun of Sida; Maria Stridsman and Joyce Makungu of SIDA-DCO in Dar es Salaam; Dr Johan Norbeck of Linköping University; Urban Lundin and Per-Olof Akesson; Professor A N Kweka; Dr Rest Lasway; the staff of the Institute of Adult Education; the staff of the Department of Adult Education in the University of Dar es Salaam; the British Council in Dar es Salaam; John Cooper Hammond of the City Lit, London; and those librarians who obtained for us unusual requests often at short notice.

NOTE

Much of our material comes from interviews with persons or organisations most involved. These cannot be attributed in the normal way since this information was in many cases given in confidence. Material quoted from such sources is put in the text in italics. The subsequent annotation to each quotation is provided for our own purposes of identification. The documentation can be made available in appropriate circumstances.

SUMMARY OF REPORT

The history

The export of Swedish Folk High Schools (FHSs) to Tanzania in the form of Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) in the mid-1970s was remarkably effective in view of the differences in culture between these two societies and the logistical problems the FDCs faced from the beginning (chapter 2).

We attribute this success to two things:

- a) SIDA's support over a long period
- b) the fact that Tanzanian society found a use for them very different from the FHSs - i.e. as post-primary vocational training colleges for young people (what we call the VET model) instead of the liberal adult education/personal growth model of the FHS ideal (what we call the AE-FHS model) (chapter 3).

Over the period 1975 to 1990, therefore, the curriculum in the FDCs became narrower and most of the outreach programmes died out (chapter 3).

SIDA's support for the FDCs before 1990 concentrated on the facilities rather than on staff development; this weakened the FDCs and increased their dependency (chapter 3).

The TANDEM Project

Between 1991 and 1996, Linköping University with the support of SIDA provided a "comprehensive development programme" (which they called TANDEM) for the whole of the FDC sector, both the colleges and the Ministry, concentrating on staff development. TANDEM set out to try to bring the FDCs back into a liberal adult education mould. Some of the in-country consultants held a rather different model which they offered to the FDC staff but the main thrust of the Linköping team was towards the AE-FHS model (chapter 5).

TANDEM coincided with a move of the FDCs from the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) to the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children (MCDWAC) and with a period of other significant changes in adult education (away from liberal adult education towards a more market-oriented approach), in political structures in Tanzania, and in other areas. Some of these changes were helpful to TANDEM, some less supportive (chapter 4).

It took MCDWAC (justifiably in the circumstances) more than three years to finalise its own structures and to develop its policy. TANDEM found it frustrating working in such a vacuum. Relations between TANDEM and the Ministry became strained (chapter 8).

MCDWAC expected TANDEM to help the Ministry re-orient the FDCs towards an alternative community development centre model (what we call the CDC model) and away from both the VET model and the AE-FHS model. Some members of the TANDEM team found this uncomfortable (chapter 8).

The impact of TANDEM

TANDEM stressed the distinctiveness of the FDCs and therefore kept them ring-fenced from any other Tanzanian network (adult education, community development or vocational training) (chapter 9).

TANDEM sought to keep the FDC Section of MCDWAC separate from the rest of the Ministry; this caused some hostility inside MCDWAC (chapter 9).

The four main elements of the TANDEM Project have had different impact:

- a) The teacher training programme has been most effective in the classroom practice of some FDC teachers; others are implementing the training mechanistically (chapter 9).
- b) The management training has been effective in a number of FDCs in increasing openness, transparent and democratic management styles, and in a few cases in helping them to develop new and more accessible programmes. In other FDCs, the techniques are again being implemented mechanistically (chapter 9). The effects of this training programme on the Ministry staff involved (except for those used as trainers) seems to have been minimal.
- c) the training of trainers programme worked in isolation from other adult education training of trainers, programmes in Tanzania. A group of trainers who are scattered throughout the country has been built up but they do not form a coherent training unit for the FDC sector. This weakens its continued effectiveness.
- d) the skill training programme has reached most of the colleges but it lacked coherence and does not seem to have had a significant impact on practice in this area.

We attribute most of the improved gender practice (the increase of women in positions of responsibility) to MCDWAC rather than to TANDEM. There appears to have been no significant improvement in the FDCs' general understanding of the structural issues relating to gender in Tanzania (chapter 9).

The future

The infrastructure of the FDCs is relatively sound and the standard of staff development higher than in many other educational sectors in Tanzania. This is largely due to SIDA's continued support and the TANDEM staff training programme. However there is widespread demoralisation among the FDC staff caused by the almost simultaneous withdrawal of MCDWAC funds and of Sida support from the colleges (chapter 10).

We recognise the commitment of many Swedish adult educators to the FDCs and the value of the historical links between these two countries. However, we believe that it would be inappropriate for Sweden to continue to try to influence the FDC structure substantially. Such continued support as may be given must not prevent the FDCs from finding within Tanzanian society their own niche which is likely to be very different from the FHSs in Sweden (chapter 10).

We believe that the FDCs and MCDWAC should now draw on the wide experience of community adult education which exists in many parts of the world, particularly Africa. This is likely to concentrate more on short-term education and training programmes for village groups than longer-term courses for individual students. This will mean that the staff of both the colleges and the Ministry will need to develop new approaches to their work. TANDEM has begun to help them to do this, but its 'participatory pedagogy' with its emphasis on individual personal growth and on classroom practices is less suited to this broader remit than contemporary community education (chapter 10).

MCDWAC will need to learn the specific contribution which adult education agencies like the FDCs can contribute to development (chapter 10).

Follow-up:

We recommend that Sida or some other donor agency independently or collaboratively should support a short-term development programme which would consist of the following steps:

- 1. Wide discussions should be held in Sweden to examine critically the views expressed in this report, especially those relating to the conditions for successful cultural transfer, and to consider the form that any future Swedish links with the Tanzanian FDCs might take.*
- 2. In the interests of participation, the Tanzanian staff most involved in the FDC sector need to be empowered to build on the findings of this report. We therefore recommend that within three months of the receipt of this report a conference should be held in Tanzania at which staff of the MCDWAC (both the FDC section and other appropriate departments) and staff of the colleges can discuss the findings of this report and plan their joint future.*
- 3. We recommend that a working party consisting of some of the Swedish and the Tanzanians concerned in the twinning arrangements should be established to explore appropriate ways of continuing on more equal terms the fruitful co-operation in which both parties can learn from each other.*
- 4. We recommend that a second working party of Ministry and college staff should be established to develop the CDC model drawing on the experience of community education world-wide, especially in Africa.*
- 5. We recommend that a second conference should be held no later than one year after the first conference at which reports from the two working parties should be received and debated and a plan for the FDCs within the policy of MCDWAC should be drawn up for implementation.*

CHAPTER 1

THE EVALUATION

Education for Development was invited to undertake an in-depth evaluation of the TANDEM project, to assess the training programme and its impact on the Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) and the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children (MCDWAC), and to explore the effectiveness of the other aid interventions which formed part of this project.

The Terms of Reference are set out in Appendix A1. The evaluation was conducted between August 1995 and December 1996.

The process of the evaluation

The process adopted was a team approach, consisting of two main elements:

a) a UK-based support group under the chairmanship of Dr Alan Chadwick (see App A2). It consisted in addition to the evaluation team listed below of Peter Taylor (University of Reading) and William Tyler (formerly Principal of the City Literary Institute, London, now consultant trainer). This group met periodically to discuss issues relating to the evaluation. Other members of Education for Development have also assisted with the evaluation. This methodology is part of Education for Development's quality assurance strategies and at the same time enables the evaluation to benefit from a wide range of skills and experience.

b) a team of evaluators which visited Sweden and Tanzania: Alan Chadwick spent two weeks in Sweden and four weeks in Tanzania; Alan Rogers spent two weeks in Sweden and five weeks in Tanzania; David Selby spent one week in Sweden and four weeks in Tanzania; and K Leni Oglesby spent four weeks in Tanzania.

All members of the evaluation team contributed to all parts of the evaluation. Drawing on their special experience and expertise, the section on gender was mainly the responsibility of Leni Oglesby, the section on the status of the FDCs today was the main responsibility of David Selby, and the sections dealing with the training programme were the responsibility of Alan Chadwick and Alan Rogers.

Two Tanzanian consultants were appointed by Sida, Colman Riwa and Hamisi Mahigi of IDM. Their main concern has been with those sections relating to the management structures of FDCs. With David Selby, they conducted and analysed the surveys of the sample colleges and the questionnaire survey of the remaining FDCs.

A timetable of the evaluation is listed in Appendix A3. A preliminary visit to Linköping University and Sida in Sweden (Chadwick, Rogers, Selby: August 1995) was followed by a preliminary visit to Tanzania (Rogers, Selby: September-October 1995).

During the preliminary visit to Tanzania, the Education for Development and the IDM consultants were able to visit one of the training courses in action and to meet the TANDEM and Sida staff and to plan the evaluation. It was decided to make two visits to eleven FDCs, roughly a 20% sample of the whole. They were selected on the following criteria: size (number of staff); a representative number of women Principals; a balance between colleges which had participated in TANDEM and colleges who had not yet participated in TANDEM; geographical spread; accessibility.

David Selby and Hamisi Mahigi planned to visit a group of FDCs in the southern parts of the country (Ifakara, Ilula, Kilosa, Kilwa-Masoko, Muhukuru, Nzovwe); Leni Oglesby and Colman Riwa were to visit FDCs in the north (Malampaka, Malya, Nzega, Same,

Sengerema). Visits were made in January 1996 to all but one of these in each sector (Nzega in the north and Kilwa-Masoka in the south). Follow-up visits were made by the IDM consultants during June and July 1996 including Nzega and Kilwa-Masoka.

For each visit, interview schedules for the Principal (where available), the teaching staff, students (where available) and neighbouring villagers were prepared. Information relating to the FDC programme was requested. Premises were inspected against a checklist and a number of documents were requested.

Assistant evaluators were appointed to interview a sample of past students from the sample FDCs and a similar sized group of people from the area surrounding each of the sample FDCs. Questionnaires were prepared and a training session for the assistant evaluators was held before they embarked on their task. Their report compiled and analysed by the IDM consultants is in Appendix B.

During the second evaluation visit in June 1996, Alan Chadwick and Alan Rogers visited or met the staff of six FDCs, five of which were not in the sample group. This formed a control group. Much of their time however was spent on working with the staff of MCDWAC, with meeting a range of individuals and organisations associated with the project, and with visiting two of the training courses in action.

The team thus saw some of the TANDEM training courses and met the staff of 16 colleges (apart from Kibaha), the Ministry and many other agencies who have an interest in the FDCs. The only major organisation we were unable to meet was the Directorate of Adult Education (DAE) in the Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) which we thought to be important since the staff in this Directorate were previously responsible for the FDCs and could have advised us as to how the FDCs could co-operate with the revised national adult education programme. Some other information we requested was not supplied to us but throughout our evaluation we normally received the greatest courtesy and co-operation.

A wide range of literature was consulted during the evaluation (see Bibliography).

A seminar was held in Dar es Salaam under the chairmanship of Professor A.N. Kweka in June 1996. This brought together representatives of organisations interested in the FDCs. It debated a range of issues and contributed much to the final conclusions of the team. A separate report of this event compiled by IDM is available.

The context of the evaluation

TANDEM was a complicated project. Its comprehensive training reached into many different facets of the work of the FDCs and of MCDWAC within which these colleges are now located. Further, the place of the FDCs within the educational and training life of Tanzania is important. This meant that the range of our enquiries grew substantially as the evaluation proceeded.

The evaluation process took place at a time of substantial change in Tanzania - a general election and a change of government personnel, including the Minister and Principal Secretary of MCDWAC. There were more than the usual problems with communications, for Tanzania was updating its telephone and fax systems and new numbers were being assigned to many users. Lines of communication between the UK and Tanzania were thus problematic. The e-mail link to the Swedish Embassy in DSM was available only occasionally and we were unable to depend on that Embassy for logistical or communication support for the evaluation. We were forced to rely on inadequate communications with the IDM consultants at Morogoro (a fax facility which

was 15 kms away from IDM and which was very often not working) or on Per-Olof Akesson who helped the evaluation team very considerably. Without his assistance, this project would not have covered as much ground as it did. Urban Lundin also gave great help both in Tanzania and in Sweden.

We were on several occasions given contradictory information by different respondents. Accounts of discussions held between various persons (for example) were frequently not just stated in different terms but flatly denied by one party or another. It would have been impossible - even if it had been in our remit - to sort out the truth from these differences. We have simply noted them and drawn our own conclusions from them.

The structure of the evaluation report

After discussing briefly the methods of the evaluation, the report considers

- the origin of the FDCs and the period 1975 to 1990
- the period from 1990 to 1996, with special reference to the TANDEM aid programme.
- the state of the FDCs today and of MCDWAC
- the impact of TANDEM.

A concluding section provides the evaluatory findings and looks briefly to the future.

Ethnographic approaches to the evaluation

The evaluation is primarily a qualitative one. Given the context and the scope of the enquiry, an ethnographic mode of working has been adopted as is seen by the range of methods indicated above (1.3), including interviews, visits and surveys, in order to achieve a wide and deep evaluation.

We have provided some statistical data (largely processed by IDM) where it seems to be of particular use, but we do not plan to parallel the earlier surveys of the FDCs (Mosha 1985, Mosha 1992 etc) which provided much quantitative data. Our task was to answer two questions: how far was the TANDEM project a success, and what impact has it had? We have tried to keep these questions firmly before us at all times and not allow the many other issues which arose to distract us from this task. The answers to these questions are largely a matter of interpretation rather than of statistical information.

MCDWAC see this evaluation as providing "research into FDC needs" [Tan20 p6] so as to help them with their planning. We note the word 'formative' in the TOR for this evaluation. We have tried to suggest some possible ways forward but a full development plan for the FDCs at this stage of their history would require further consideration.

Two key words appeared regularly throughout the evaluation. One was the word 'ownership'. We were constantly challenged as to who owned the FDCs, whether anyone in fact owned them, who accepted the responsibilities of ownership and who gained from their existence, and whether the TANDEM project helped to clarify these issues which have been raised consistently since the foundation of the colleges. The second word was 'realistic'. We were challenged as to whether the whole FDC initiative was realistic in the first place; whether SIDA had been realistic in funding them in the way it did for so long; whether TANDEM was realistic in what it set out to do; and whether MCDWAC is realistic in what it plans for the FDCs.

Underlying assumptions to the evaluation

We have felt the need in this task, as in other tasks which Education for Development has undertaken, to balance theory with practice. We have sought to place the practical

elements of this evaluation within the context of a wide and sound conceptual framework of development and adult education.

We have therefore been led to analyse our own standpoint. No evaluation stands free of the socio-cultural context of the evaluators. We recognise that the UK-based team consists of white Western adult educators whose insights have been developed within the practice of adult education in the UK and continental Europe and in a wide range of less industrialised societies. We reflect contemporary understandings of adult education, development and society and cultures which have changed radically in the last few years. It is important that we state clearly at the outset where we are coming from.

First, **adult education** in the 1990s as we see it is characterised by a general distrust of theories of andragogy [Elias 1979; Davenport 1987; Brookfield 1986]. Although we remain convinced of the distinctiveness of the teaching and learning processes with adults, we share the view that universalised methodologies (even participatory pedagogy) are no longer acceptable as a means of dealing with the very wide range of contexts which characterise adult learning today (see page 12 below and App D). The approach of many adult educators to the problem which TANDEM sought to solve would have been to help a wide range of the FDC staff to identify for themselves the most effective methods of teaching and learning within the colleges, taking into account where the college tutors and the student participants are coming from and local conditions, rather than to impart a particular methodology as applicable to all contexts.

Secondly, **development** in the 1990s is characterised by a growing unwillingness to export institutional or methodological models, in education as in other sectors [Burkey 1993; Sachs 1992; Rahman 1993]. We share the view that the role of development agencies today is to assist local groups to find answers appropriate to local conditions to questions raised by the varied experiences of the participating partners. In the current case, the key question might well be, "what role if any has long-term residential adult education to play in the development of Tanzanian society?". This question was of course asked by a small group of Tanzanian and Swedish consultants in the context of the very early 1970s, but it now needs to be revisited on a more general basis in the light of the past 21 years experience with the FDCs. This question was not to our knowledge raised during the TANDEM training programmes.

Thirdly, this evaluation is being carried out at a time of major changes in our **understanding of societies**, including Tanzanian society. Until the very recent past, Tanzania has been seen to be more homogenous and more communally harmonious than most of its neighbours. Today, greater stress is being laid on the diversity of social structures and cultures and language, on the differences between the 120 or so tribal groups which make up the nation. There is growing interest in the country, for example, in the role which traditional leaders can play. This diversity means that the application of universal approaches even to adult education is becoming suspect. What works in one region may not work in another. While TANDEM stressed some measures of local responsibility, it still sought to apply a general approach to adult learning to all the colleges in all parts of the country.

We therefore recognise that although we are sympathetic to many of the adult education premises of the Swedish consultants, our stance will differ considerably from that of those who designed and implemented the TANDEM project. Because of this, we have tried to step back from our own positions in order to assess the impact and value of TANDEM **in its own terms**, while at the same time assessing the validity of its approaches in the light of contemporary understandings of adult education and development. We hope that we have achieved this, but to cite one of our respondents out of context, *"because we tried does not mean that we succeeded"*.

CHAPTER 2

THE ORIGIN OF THE FDCs: AN UNREALISTIC DREAM?

The origins and goals of the FDCs

Following a visit by President Nyerere to Sweden and a number of exchange delegations, a request was made in the early 1970s by the Tanzanian government to the Swedish government for assistance to establish in Tanzania residential adult teaching institutions on the model of the Swedish Folk High Schools (FHSs). A first institution of this kind (the so-called Nordic College at Kibaha) had already been established in the 1960s with support from a consortium of Scandinavian countries; that had been placed under the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) rather than under the Ministry of National Education (MNE).

The period

President Nyerere was one of the few new rulers in Africa committed to the parallel development of education for adults as well as the universal education of children [Arusha Declaration 1967]. This was the age of the Faure Report [Faure 1972] with its doctrine that "lifelong education should be the keystone of all educational policies in the years ahead, in industrially-developed as well as developing countries". It was an era of considerable enthusiasm for non-formal education which it was believed would overcome the ills of the formal system of education and present an entirely different form of educational programme ("lifelong education presupposes a complete restructuring of education. Education was to cease being confined within school walls. Education should become a true mass movement"). This was a time of optimism that Africa would show the world the way ahead. It was also an age which saw other cultural transfers in education [Coombs 1985 p245], including for example the traditions and structures of university extra-mural adult education from the UK to West and East Africa [Titmus and Steele 1993]. In Nyerere's Tanzania, it was the age of *ujamaa* (socialist development) with its concepts of co-operative growth and development. It is possible that the FDCs were part of "the profound antipathy which Nyerere expressed .. towards [formal] post-primary education and its products" [Cooksey 1986 p 200].

The intention at the time of the request was for some 100 institutions to be established, one in each District of the country. The Swedish government responded positively [SIDA 1974] and the programme began in 1975. Over the next few years, more than 50 institutions were set up with support from Sweden.

Changes in ideology

New formats: The inspiration for the FDCs was and remained for many years the FHSs in Sweden: "introducing Folk High Schools relevant to Tanzania as a complementary form of adult education" [SIDA 7 p22]. But several changes took place in the course of this process of cross-cultural transfer (on the issue of cross-cultural transfers, see Appendix F).

First, the institutions were titled 'Folk Development Colleges' rather than 'Folk High Schools', not simply as a recognition that the term 'High School' is a poor translation of '*hochschule*' but mainly to allow for their role in a newly independent developing country. The main focus of the FDCs was to be on economic national and local

development rather than on what has been called 'individuation' or personal advancement as in Sweden (see page 8 below; on the Swedish Folk High Schools, see Appendix E).

However, despite their title, they came to be seen as **educational rather than development establishments**. The justification for these institutions was written in terms of their contribution to a national post-literacy support system designed to prevent "relapse into illiteracy" following the major national literacy campaign which began in 1970 : they were said to form stage 3 (the functional training stage) in this post-literacy programme [Mpogolo 1990 p3].

Further, these institutions were seen to be a **major support for the ruling party TANU**. Many of the first senior staff were party members, and the colleges were used from time to time to train party functionaries. Thus although it could be said that education for democracy would form a major part of their planned role, it is clear that the political education in the FDCs was of a different nature from that in the Swedish FHSs.

Fourthly, all the FDCs would be **under the wing of the government**, unlike Sweden where political parties, churches, trade unions, and various popular movements could sponsor and manage their own FHSs with government support. Despite their title, the new FDCs were placed under the Ministry of National Education rather than under the Prime Minister's Office or the Ministry of Rural Development and Regional Administration or any other Government department more directly concerned with social and economic development.

A uniform system: The transfer of such institutions from a long-established multi-party pluralistic democracy to a newly established, troubled one-party state with a command economy and major concerns with nation-building thus led to experiments with new forms of management. The FDCs formed part of the Tanzanian national education system. Instead of an informal network ("a federation") of differenced independent but government-supported NGOs as in Sweden, Tanzania created a national system of uniform government-owned institutions under the control of civil servants. Although lip-service was paid to the need for local involvement, in practice freedom to meet local needs was never a main part of the role of the FDCs. A common curriculum and detailed guidelines were issued by MNE from the beginning [Kassam 1978 pp94-99].

Conversion from existing institutions: By 1980, 54 FDCs were established in 20 Districts. The plan for one in each District never materialised. This was apparently mainly due to the fact that the FDCs were based on earlier institutions - Farmers Training Centres, Community Development Centres, extension centres, redundant primary and middle schools, mission schools etc. Some were geographically remote and had become redundant to the needs of their initial founders, since they were sited in unsuitable locations (some others however have since then become closer to centres of population as the country's population and especially the towns have expanded). Most of these had become Rural Training Centres (RTCs), at first under the Ministry of Agriculture and from 1970 under the Ministry of Rural Development. Now they were in turn handed over to MNE. Taking over these centres and finding new roles for the existing staff meant that the universal coverage planned never took place (Mosha 1983 p97). It also meant that some of the staff taken into the new FDCs never achieved any clear understanding of or commitment to the philosophy behind these institutions. It is important to remember that these institutions were '*dropped into*' Tanzania [the phrase is Jurgen Andersson's]; they did not grow up naturally to meet local needs.

The ideal

The ideal set for these new institutions was very high indeed. It was intended that they would promote democracy throughout the rural areas, especially the interests of the one-party state. They were to provide poor rural people with an experience of residential education [Sunden p46] in democracy and vocational skills. These students were to be chosen and supported by their local community. It was intended that they would agree with their local community a project which would be selected on the basis of local needs, and the training provided in the FDCs would help the trainee to return to his/her local community and to implement this project. Other target groups included "villagers, extension workers and other employees working in villages particularly in agriculture, co-operatives and other social economic fields" [Tan18: Policy Paper 1990].

The World Bank's policy of 'diversification and vocationalisation' was influencing educational policy in Tanzania at that time [Cooksey 1986]. The FDCs fitted into this policy completely. They would meet national vocational needs and at the same time local developmental needs. They were planned to vary from one region to another. They would promote local development through residential courses (long courses which would be national in nature and shorter college-based courses which would be more local in character) and short community-based training programmes, through exemplar projects at the FDC, through staff outreach visits to local development projects, and above all by sending trained young people as change agents back to their villages to promote development.

Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) was also common in all fields of education for both pedagogical and cost-sharing reasons. This policy has been subject to much review [Cooksey 1986; Moshia 1990; Wort 1994]. FDCs like other educational establishments were required to build in ESR income-generating projects into their programmes.

Recurrent funding for the colleges was to come from three sources:

"At the start of the project, it was anticipated that the Government should pay one third of the costs, the FDCs one third through ESR and the villages the remaining third" [Moshia 1983 p223].

Thus in addition to government funding, the local communities would pay for 'their' students, and money would be earned by the colleges through income-generating projects on which the students would work as part of their training programme.

IDEALISM OR REALISM?

Two questions need to be faced at this stage

- a) were the conditions for successful cultural transfer fulfilled?
- b) was the concept realistic in the first place?

Cultural transfer

Although a coherent case had been made out in the RTCs for a network of **Tanzanian** rural development centres of some kind with their own character, and despite the very significant differences between Sweden and Tanzania which many people recognised at the time [see SIDA 18], the original foundation stones of these institutions were (as we have seen above) taken from the Swedish Folk High Schools. The new institutions were seen as adaptations of European adult education agencies into Tanzania. This was what the Tanzanian government had asked for.

The effectiveness of this transfer needs consideration. Studies of cultural transfers in education (see Appendix F) suggest that we need to examine four facets of this subject.

First, did anyone within Tanzania come forward to claim **ownership** of the FDCs, to take them up and adapt them to local usage? If this were to happen, then they would be more likely to survive in their new environment. The problem which faced the new FDCs was two-fold:

- a) which sector they should stand in, education or development (see page 10 below), and consequently
- b) which part of the government machinery they should be under.

Although they were from the first located within MNE, numerous attempts were made during the 1980s to move them to one or other of the Ministries of Agriculture, Labour or Local Government (the Ministry of Agriculture regarded this as "moving them back" to that Ministry since most of the first group of FDCs had been Farmers' Training Centres). They remained uneasily within the education sector under MNE, later MEC.

Secondly, were there enough similarities in the **ideology**, in the **discourse** and in the planned **functions** between the originating culture and the receiving culture? A relatively close match in these three fields between donor and recipient cultures seems to be required for effective transfer (Appendix F). The mismatch was substantial but not impossible.

a) The very real differences between the **ideologies** of Tanzania and Sweden seem to have been hidden behind the rhetoric of democratic socialism. In Tanzania, the "fundamental assumption was that a central leadership could guide the masses of the population on their way to development... SIDA supported the Tanzanian leadership's efforts to build a nation based on a Tanzanian form of socialism" [SIDA 62 p 80]. But this hides the fact that in Sweden, there was a supportive liberal state promoting individual freedoms. In Tanzania, Nyerere's socialism made an attempt to encourage the population to engage in limited democratic processes through a complex system of new councils and committees at regional and district levels down to village committees within a one-party state combined with a centralised command economy. This programme not only contrasted with the Swedish ideology; it is now heavily criticised for being unrealistic even in Tanzanian terms (for example, "Tanzanian culture was incompatible with *Ujamaa* and Tanzanian socialism" [Spalding 1996 p 95; see Mosha 1990; Cooksey 1986; SIDA 53; Samoff 1990; a more positive picture is in Buchert 1994].

b) Although much of the **discourse** was the same in terms of adult education and democratic involvement, critical language analysis suggests that the 'development' discourse of Tanzania was almost unknown in Sweden. Some development language was used in adult education literature in Sweden, but the meanings behind these words appear to have been very different from what was meant by 'development' in Nyerere's Tanzania. On the whole, 'development' in Swedish adult education [Boucher 1982; Rubenson 1993] meant 'self-education' or personal development rather than economic growth or social transformation [Abrahamsson 1996 p169].

c) On the other hand, the planned programme of **functions** of the FDCs was based closely on their FHS models. They were to provide one- and two-year residential courses and shorter courses for adults in a wide-ranging curriculum.

A third question is whether there were enough 'legs' for the FDCs to stand on. The transfer of single elements of complex networks of education rarely survive (although some have); such transfers stand a better chance of survival when more than one such item is exported. In this case, the FDCs stood alone. No other element of Swedish

adult education such as study circles or study associations [SIDA 18] was exported to Tanzania at the same time. The FDCs in Tanzania had no close connection with other national kinds of folk movements as the FHSs had in Sweden [Sunden p50].

Finally we need to ask whether there was a genuine and widespread **bottom-up demand** for these bodies. Certainly Nyerere and his colleagues were convinced of their usefulness. But it may be doubted whether there was adequate local support for the demand for such institutions. Nyerere was often ahead of or out of step with his own nation [Spalding 1996]. It is likely that the FHS model for the FDCs was accepted primarily because there was Swedish government funding for the project.

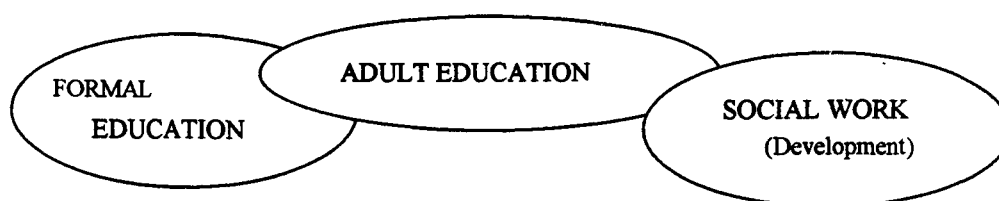
The concept of FDCs in Tanzania in the 1970s

The conditions for successful cultural transfer thus seem to have been unpromising but not impossible. But a second range of issues relates to how far the very concept of 'folk development colleges' was a realistic concept in Tanzania at that time.

First, there was **uncertainty about the roles of these institutions**. This is most apparent in their title - 'Folk' (i.e. for or of the people), 'Development' (whether personal or community), and 'Colleges' (i.e. education). Does the word 'Folk' govern the word 'Development' (i.e. Folk Development) or the word 'College' (i.e. Folk College)? The Swahili is probably clearer: *Chuo cha Maendeleo ya Wananchi*: 'Colleges (or Institutions) for the Development of the People' (see App F p1). It can be argued that the FDCs have never been 'People's Colleges' as they were in Sweden, but rather that they were from the start government institutions intended to promote the development of the people.

But secondly, this does not resolve the problem of **the relationship between their educational and their development functions**. It has never been clear to the staff or to whichever Ministry has owned them whether they are primarily educational establishments offering some development work or development agencies offering some educational programmes or indeed whether they are institutions with completely different goals separate from both. This is not mere semantics but a genuine problem caused by the lack of a clear identity.

This is the classic dilemma of all adult education which needs to be stated clearly at the beginning of this report, for all else hinges upon this. Adult education is not formal education on the one hand. But equally it is not social work (development) on the other hand. Adult education (which is of course much wider than adult literacy or basic education for adults) stands between both, partaking of the nature of both and drawing on the strengths of both but providing its own unique insights.



The relationship between adult education and national/community development has been argued at length but there is still little consensus [Rogers 1992]. Very few people think that 'education' and 'societal development' are the same (Nyerere was one, as his writings show, and there are others, but they were and are unusual). Most people today accept the fact that education cannot (for example) directly create employment opportunities, that by itself it can do little to relieve poverty (except for a few individuals), and that on its own it is unlikely to increase equality. The exact ways in which the FDCs can promote societal (national or local) development still need to be clarified.

A third key issue concerns **individualism and the community**. The issue may be posed in the following form: is (adult) education aimed at helping some individuals to overcome their personal disadvantage (to escape from poverty for example) or is it to help local groups of people to overcome those disadvantages (to reduce general poverty)? Does (adult) education aim at personal rather than societal development? Most people see education (especially adult education) in individualistic terms (as it has been put, "to help individuals to escape from the slums rather than to help communities to change the slums"). The issue for the FDCs was (and remains) whether their mission is to help a few individuals to escape from the poverty of their families or whether it is to help whole communities to address their common poverty through education and training. While this dilemma does not appear to have been raised in the debates of the time, it seems clear that the way in which the FDCs were set up inclined them towards the individualistic end of this continuum. The 1980 Guidelines for the FDCs set as their aims "to prepare an adult citizen to understand his [sic] role in society and to try to make that role more meaningful to the nation; to prepare a citizen to utilise his knowledge in a better way so as to enable him to make appropriate decisions on his own matters and national affairs; to enable Tanzanians to be of greater value to Tanzania, Africa and the whole world". FDC students should "establish self-reliance projects in their villages to promote their social and economic status" [MCD Ann. Rep. 1991 p17]. There is no 'community' transformative development in the stated role for the FDCs.

Fourthly, it would seem to have been **unrealistic to expect such new institutions to have remained as non-formal education institutions** for long. Throughout the world, the formal system of education has proved to be stronger than non-formal education. So it was in the case of the FDCs: they quickly became more formal educational institutions, "an alternative school system for rural areas" [SIDA 18 p44; the Swedish FHS movement was very conscious of this difference; see *ibid* p4]. In part of course this was in response to local demand, but the impetus seems to have come also from the college staff. They were seen, and they saw themselves, as 'form teachers' (see 6.8.5 below) rather than as development workers.

Finally we need to note that all the documents relating to the FDCs treat them on a **grandiose scale well beyond the reality** (see pages 37,39 below). In fact at all times they had very few staff and very few students. They were very small institutions and formed a very small educational/developmental sector in the country as a whole. Mosha [1983 p98] suggests that even if they were full all the time, "the total capacity for the fifty-two FDCs [in 1980: there are now 53] was only 3400 places. This means that in the five years of their existence [up to the time of his survey] the FDCs .. could enrol only 1.2 percent of the eligible adults". The expectations set for them were far beyond their true scale.

Logistical problems

In addition to the inherent problems of identity and role, the practical problems the FDCs faced were enormous.

- a) because they took over existing institutions, they were not always placed in the best position in the country (see map). Their distribution was not planned.
- b) there were huge communication problems from the more remote regions to the centre at Dar es Salaam.
- c) despite this, they were always under central control. The amount of freedom allowed them by MEC was small, despite the rhetoric of their foundation.
- d) they were all given the same tasks. A common curriculum was issued to them from the centre, limiting their freedom to meet local needs.
- e) although they took over existing staff, they all had a uniform staffing structure imposed on them. They often could not meet local demands for lack of appropriate trained staff.
- f) the size of their local area and the difficulties of travel created transport problems.
- g) they always suffered from lack of funds (as did every other government institution in Tanzania). The three-fold sourcing for FDC funds was never realised.
- h) the villages were not really involved as was intended. In some areas, villages did not exist, dispersed settlement patterns being the norm [see Spalding 1996; SIDA 62; Buchert 1994]. Where they did exist, local communities were in fact rarely sufficiently homogeneous or united to agree on any project. In any case their leaders (often "political leaders which the government instructed the people to elect based on artificial units, not real villages" [N9]) were never trained in needs assessment. Nor were these communities able to use the trained students on their return to the villages (it was suggested that many village elders would find it hard to work with educated or semi-educated young people).
- i) on grounds of time and family or social/economic commitments, graduates from adult literacy classes (and indeed other adults) rarely felt that they could get away for residential training, even for short college-based courses let alone for one or two year courses (see responses from villagers App B). From the outset those who attended the FDCs for residential training tended to be younger persons who had no family responsibilities, who had completed primary school and who were seeking a way into some form of post-primary education so as to gain employment. Older persons preferred short courses to meet immediate problems rather than longer courses as an investment for the future. Women in particular could often not attend for lack of child-care facilities.
- j) local communities rarely could find their share of the funds required to support these students.

All of these short-comings came to be recognised as time went on. The FDCs could not fulfil their objective of providing locally relevant curricula to meet the varied local projects, partly because of the centralised curriculum imposed by the Ministry of Education, partly because of the lack of staff with the appropriate required specialisations, and partly because the commitment by the FDC to long-term income-generating projects limited the range of vocational training which the FDC could offer. Several writers have suggested that the FDCs (like other Tanzanian adult education programmes, especially the post-literacy programme of which the FDCs were intended to be a part [SIDA 62]) had been given unrealistic targets from the start [Sunden p49 etc; SIDA 9 pp 51-52 repeated these idealistic characteristics of the FDCs]. The FDCs were sent out to do a most difficult task; but from the start they had metaphorically at least one hand tied behind their backs.

In this, of course, the FDCs were children of their time. The period 1975 to 1990 was dogged by confusions and paradoxes and consequent changes of policy and implementation [Cooksey 1986; Spalding 1996; Buchert 1994]. The political and social climate engendered by the one-party state and the methods of implementing its policies were often at odds with the philosophical rhetoric of the politicians.

CHAPTER 3

THE FOLK DEVELOPMENT COLLEGES FROM 1975 TO 1990

The period between 1975 and 1990 saw many changes.

Some general changes impacting on the FDCs

Adult and continuing education: This was a period in which advances in the understanding of adult education and adult learning made great strides. Research and published studies stressed the concepts of the constructivist view of knowledge, of participation, of learner-centred education, of student-learner aspirations and intentions rather than needs as the basis of the curriculum, of two-way learning ("learning on equal terms"), of learning styles and teaching styles, of experiential learning through critical reflection on experience. There was a greater emphasis on the need for improved training for those who teach adults [Chadwick and Jarvis 1991; Rogers 1996]. Towards the end of the period, however, there was been a move away from the liberal tradition of adult education towards a more market-oriented adult education, a trend which was felt in Sweden as elsewhere: "Civic education to enhance citizen participation more and more is being replaced with competence development and workplace learning ... the 'market' has taken the initiative away from the 'popular movements' " [Abrahamsson 1996 p171].

Development: It was also a period of new understandings of development. As with adult education, a top-down approach to development (economic growth and modernisation) was being replaced by more bottom-up participatory approaches, by the concepts of people's self-development, of development for liberation rather than for what Freire called 'domestication' [Freire 1972]. Two main characteristics emerged: a) a move away from **needs-based** development towards an emphasis on **potential and participant intentions**, and b) the need for **structural transformation** as well as the **modernisation** of traditional attitudes and practices. A key issue which emerged was that of sustainable development. Again changes in the approaches to the training of development workers and extension personnel were being advocated [Rogers 1992; Sachs 1993].

Not all of these ideas found their way into practice. Much that was done in the field remained stubbornly resistant to the new ideas. But throughout the world, much new thinking and new practice emerged.

Globalisation and decentralisation: This was also the period of increasing globalisation and, concomitant with that, of the increasing demand for decentralisation. Most countries found themselves being pushed into seeking a smaller role for government than in the past. All aspects of education were affected by the changes [Coombs 1985].

Changes in Tanzania

The 1980s saw some of these trends appearing in Tanzania (Samoff 1990). Between 1975 and 1990, Tanzanian society changed rapidly, economically, socially and politically [Buchert 1994 pp 144-151]. For a time Tanzania was a world leader in the theory of adult education, but in the field the practice remained dominated by out-of-

date attitudes and structures. Evaluations of the earlier educational programmes, including the internationally praised national adult literacy campaign, revealed that these had in fact been less effective in the long term than had been believed at the time [Carr-Hill et al]. In the same way, other studies have revealed that the concepts of participatory development, so strongly urged through *ujamaa*, had never caught on in practice in the country [UNRISD pp118-124]. The *ujamaa* policy collapsed and development became oriented towards a basic human needs approach [Buchert 1994 p170]. Towards the end of the period, multi-party democratic processes imported from the West replaced the one-party system, creating the need for freer instruments of civic education. The depression, resulting in the strengthening of the market economy and structural adjustment (including cost-sharing and privatisation) undertaken to help to relieve the acute financial crisis which the Tanzanian government faced led to some measure of localisation of decision-making. Economic liberalisation and political pluralism inevitably led to an increase in the importance of NGOs and other private interests.

All parts of education in Tanzania were affected by these changes. Formal education received a smaller share of the national budget [Buchert 1994 p148], and primary, secondary (such as existed) and vocational education were all influenced by the decentralisation policies of the government [Buchert 1994; SIDA 48]. The main thrust of educational planning in the 1980s was towards education for the production sectors (science, technology and vocational training), towards cost-sharing and the smaller role of government. At this time, "the basic concern .. was the academic quality of education, its costs and its training role, particularly at the post-primary level, rather than the previous issues of access, equity and 'relevance' related to mass education reforms" [Buchert 1994 p147]. Such changed ideologies of education would inevitably affect the roles of the FDCs which had formed part of the mass education programme.

CHANGES IN THE FDCs

Both adult education (for individuals) and development (for communities) claim to help people to cope with, control and use changes to improve their quality of life and to achieve greater equality. How far then did the FDCs (which were both adult education and development institutions) under the MEC help the people in their own areas to deal with these changes and use them for their own advancement?

Curriculum: The curious ambiguity which beset the FDCs in relation to the curriculum seems to have been unrecognised. Kassam in 1978, drawing on official statements at that time, reported on the one hand that "the programme offered in the Folk Development Colleges will be determined according to local needs and problems of the people in a given district". But on the other hand he goes on to say that "For a start, the following seven core courses are recommended to be taught: political education..economics .. agriculture... accountancy and management ..domestic science ..technical education (carpentry, masonry, pottery, blacksmithery, tinsmithery, plumbing, automobile mechanics, electricity, drawing) .. and culture (including sports)" [Kassam 1978 pp97-8.] The list of subjects was revised in 1978 and new Guidelines were issued in 1980. For fifteen years, MNE (later MEC) laid down for the colleges a common curriculum based on its post-literacy curriculum [SIDA 62 pp1-10] and staffed each college accordingly.

The FDCs had a wide range of subjects so as to provide a broader education rather than simply narrow vocational training. The 1980 Guidelines laid down the following:

"The subjects are divided into two parts:

a) Theoretical subjects: i.e. politics, economics, culture and accountancy [i.e. book-keeping]

b) Practical subjects: i.e. agriculture, handicraft and domestic science.

Accountancy and those subjects in section (b) above are special subjects which require long term training".

There is an assumption that during this process the students will be enabled "to make appropriate decisions on their own matters" and to "build an attitude of co-operation .. to enable them to understand the importance of good relationships with others".

Democracy: Democracy was a major theme of all educational sectors at this time: "Tanzania .. has attempted to make democratic school structures an integral part of education for self-reliance" [Harber 1986 p32]. This too influenced the FDCs. The interests of the one-party state were still dominant. The aims of the political education syllabus were that the student should

1. understand party policy so that he [sic] can participate fully in development activities
2. understanding better ways of explaining party policy
3. enforce systematically the policy of socialism and self-reliance and to be at the forefront in fostering and defending the policy of *ujamaa* and self-reliance".

The CCM tried to widen the curriculum in 1987: the FDCs should prepare "experts in different sectors of agriculture, animal husbandry, fishing and co-operatives members" [Mosha 1992 p17].

It is doubtful however if much of this were ever implemented in most of the FDCs.

The FDCs had been charged from their inception with "identifying people's needs and village problems before organising any type of training" (Mosha 1983 p192): the "lack of preliminary investigation into people's problems might adversely affect the type of training offered, and the quality of the product of the courses offered might be too general and not geared to solving known local problems". Most local communities however tend to express their needs in terms of 'things' ("*water supply, machines for brick-making, milling machines etc*") rather than training. Local training needs surveys conducted by the FDCs seem to have been rare. Where they were conducted, the results were curiously similar. Every local community apparently needed agriculture, carpentry and domestic science (tailoring), precisely those courses which the college could offer. One cannot help but assume that in the FDCs as in the adult education programme and other educational programmes, these lists "were not necessarily ideas developed by the local population or reflecting their priorities" but rather represented the views of the surveyors [Buchert 1994 pp 83, 159]. There was some local demand for welding, building construction and motor vehicle mechanics courses, but not much else. These courses were on occasion offered where staff could be obtained; but as with other vocational training in Tanzania, the programmes of the FDCs were not on the whole demand-led.

Thus during the 1980s, the FDC programme became restricted as the colleges moved more closely into vocational training. Leadership training was in most cases dropped. Courses were limited to the three core courses of agriculture, home economics and *ufundi* (technical subjects), the same three subjects as existed in the 412 national post-literacy centres and in the vocational training institutions at that time [SIDA 48; SIDA 62 p1; Sector Review 1991 p6]. The FDCs became more formal educational

institutions, providing two-year courses in place of the one-year courses with which they had commenced. The students took trade tests and other examinations. Over time, the FDCs offered an increasingly limited curriculum. Agricultural courses in particular declined. Attempts were made to reduce the gender imbalance by changing the contents and titles of some of the courses especially in the domestic science part of the curriculum, but apart from this the FDCs failed to innovate.

Students: Originally village leaders and other officials were given the responsibility of selecting suitable students for the FDCs: "The participants at the colleges are selected and sponsored by villages, different Government ministries and parastatals" [Kassam 1978 pp99]. Criteria regarding the levels of literacy required by such students were issued to the villages. One student was often selected from each village for the sake of fairness.

It would seem that the numbers of students in the FDCs rose to a peak in 1985 and dropped thereafter [1982: 13,901; 1985: 16,419; 1989: 11,625: Buchert 1994 p150]. Most of these were on short courses "run by other ministries and institutions". In the year 1980-81, there were 1617 students on FDC long courses and 802 students on FDC short courses and a further 11,073 on short courses run by PMO, CCM, the Rural Development Department and various religious NGOs [SIDA 9 p30].

Throughout the whole period however, the student body on the long courses was predominantly drawn from among young adults. It had always been understood that "in addition to embracing newly-literate adults, these colleges will also try to cater for the continuing educational needs of primary school leavers" [Kassam 1978 pp 93-4]. Mosha [1983 p196] found that in 1981 93% of the students on these courses came from primary and even secondary education, and this became official policy from 1982 [SIDA 6 pp16-17]. "It is quite clear that there is no common stand on the level of education for entry to FDCs. Thus the colleges enrolled students with different educational backgrounds". The FDCs found difficulty in reconciling the teaching-learning needs of younger persons who possessed primary school Standard 7 with those adults who had grades 3 or 4 from the adult literacy programme [Mosha 1983 p98]. As the years passed, the number of younger students increased and the primary school leavers predominated.

Courses: The range of course formats offered also decreased. Most were longer courses (two years was the norm) of three terms a year allowing for tutorial visits to the students in their home villages (which were in fact rarely made). The short courses and the outreach and demonstration functions of the FDCs declined while the number of teaching staff rose from 374 in 1985 to 434 in 1989.

ESR: As with the schools, "the ESR activities, which usually include a school farm and other agricultural activities, are supposed to cover 25% of the school running costs". These activities were seen to be of value in terms of political ideology, pedagogy and FDC-community integration as well as in economic terms. But few FDCs were able to meet the 25% target, and in academic terms, "from the point of view of skill acquisition.. the production aspect is stressed over the didactic benefits .. Rather than being integrated into the general curriculum, ESR activities are tagged on as a non-examined afternoon chore which often serves to reinforce students' distaste.... Few SR projects involve the surrounding community in a direct way" [Cooksey 1986 pp191-192, citing research report by D Kerner 1984].

Relationship of FDCs and the education scene

The FDCs were part of the educational scene of Tanzania at this time and as such were influenced by all the contemporary trends of the time - ESR, education for democracy, the 'diversification and vocationalisation' theme, privatisation and decentralisation, the 'democratisation' of education etc.

But paradoxically, the FDCs became increasingly isolated from the rest of the adult education and development scenes in Tanzania, and they failed to develop new links in the vocational training area. To a large extent, they were from the start ring-fenced. Their funding inside MEC was kept separate from that of adult education [Press 1987 p11]. One example of this is the fact that from October 1975 [Project Proposal 1990 p2/SIDA 7 p23] the training of FDC staff was provided almost entirely in their own training institution at Kibaha rather than in association with other adult teacher training institutions in Tanzania. A small number of FDC staff took some professional training through the MEC Institute of Adult Education, but apart from that they were seen as an isolated group. Despite the recognition that they should form some part of a network [SIDA 18 p4], in practice, they never did.

Their relationship with the formal educational system had never been defined: students at the FDCs do not seem to have been able to gain access into the formal system of schooling as they could in Sweden through the Folk High Schools from the 1950s onwards.

Relationships with other adult education agencies, especially those engaged in post-literacy activities, existed but were limited. Several of the FDCs engaged in the more formal literacy activities (classes) run by the Directorate of Adult Education of MEC, and some of the FDC staff served as part-time literacy teachers. The Regional and District Adult Education Officers were nominally responsible for the FDCs as well as the literacy campaign in their areas, but the links with other parts of the national post-literacy programme such as the 21 Regional Literacy Centres and especially the rural press centres [Press 1987 p20] were virtually non-existent. A number had post-literacy libraries, but these rarely seem to have been effective, partly because of the remoteness of many of the FDCs. The haphazard geographical distribution of the FDCs, the wide region they tried to serve, the lack of adequate transport and the isolation of many of them from centres of population all made it hard for them to fulfil a role in the adult literacy campaigns. But the main reason for this was that they did not conceive of themselves as centres open to the general public but as colleges for enrolled students.

Many of the FDCs had secondary schools in the neighbourhood, although the courses in these schools appear to have been more expensive than those in the FDCs. Post-initial vocational training institutions offering training in such subjects as weaving, carpentry, needlework/tailoring, vehicle maintenance and social work provided opportunities (sometimes free or heavily subsidised, but at times rather more expensive because of their better equipment) for many students, but these did not normally have the general educational elements which the FDCs continued to provide. Eleven National Vocational Training Centres under the Ministry of Labour and Youth (some of them very small like the FDCs but mostly urban-based) offered one and two year courses in the same three subjects as the FDCs and were heavily used by male students (1867 students out of 2200 places in one year basic education courses in 1987-8, SIDA 48 p36); some thirty church-supported training institutions "with a strong local base through parish and diocesan organisations" had an intake of more than 800 for the same three subjects; and 292 MEC Post-Primary Technical Centres throughout the country are said to have enrolled more than 10,000 trainees on two-year courses [SIDA 48 pp50-51]. The FDCs had no links with this sector.

Nor despite their title did they relate to the national rural development provision. There were some 15 Community Development Training Institutes (CDTIs) which trained full-time Community Development Assistants in long-term full-time Diploma courses, and another five Training for Rural Development Centres (TRDCs). There were more than 2000 development field staff apart from the village agricultural field assistants for whom the FDCs were intended to provide some in-service training. But the links between the FDCs and this development sector were virtually non-existent. They remained ring-fenced, originally adult education institutions which had become vocational training centres. MCDWAC was later to allege that *"the FDCs had gone astray because of their links with the Ministry of Education"*. It planned to bring them back into being non-formal education/development centres.

Staffing

Each new FDC, irrespective of the size of its accommodation, was to have a Principal and five tutors [Kassam 1978 p98]. In 1980, the average number of teaching staff per college was less than five tutors [Mosha 1983 p126], although by 1987, this average had doubled: "the number of tutors in the FDCs varies from 5 to 16... However there is no relationship between the size of the FDC in terms of student capacity and the number of tutors in a particular FDC" [Kweka and Chambua 1988 p6].

Most of the original staff of the FDCs came with the buildings which housed the new institutions. All received some two or three months of special training at the Kibaha Training Wing and some attended training programmes in management at the Civil Service College at Bagomoyo. However, the teachers had not really absorbed the philosophy of the FDCs, nor did they know much about their origins in the FHSs of Sweden. Many of them were both untrained and inexperienced, and found coping with students who came with a wide range of educational backgrounds very difficult [Sunden p49]. Some special training courses were run by Linköping University for selected members of staff, largely Principals, but the numbers involved were few and the impact at college level small. Although a few individuals obtained their teaching qualification (Diploma of Adult Education) from the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) in Dar es Salaam, the majority had been trained as formal education teachers and retained that outlook (see page 46).

Mosha was not clear what criteria was used by the FDC Section in MEC when distributing staff to FDCs: "personal problems.. disease.. follow her husband.. disciplinary measures". "When the choice stands between two tutors, one to be posted at the FDC and the other elsewhere, the needs of the FDC were generally considered last and the least qualified teacher would generally be posted to the FDC" [Mosha 1983 p124].

Finance

The original plan was that attendance at FDCs should be free, the students receiving not only free tuition but also free board and lodging. But the ESR projects rarely provided enough funds, and the villages provided nothing in the way of cash, so that the FDCs were heavily dependent on the MEC for course funding and on SIDA for development funding. However, the funds allowed by the Ministry was (it was alleged) in most years only enough for five days' provision in each week for the students, and some FDCs underfed their students [Mosha 1983 p223]

SIDA SUPPORT 1975 TO 1990

Ever since the FDCs were established in 1975, SIDA supported this programme. SIDA's support was crucial to the survival of the FDCs. It provided funds for the construction and renovation of buildings, for the installation of electricity, water supplies and telephones, for the purchase of furniture and for the production or supply of teaching materials. It also provided transport facilities to all colleges, books for FDC libraries and other educational material. While the Tanzanian government paid the salaries of the staff, SIDA supported indirectly some of the activities of the FDCs. In all, it seems to have come to some 13.9m TSh per annum during this period [Moshia 1992 p2].

Most of SIDA's assistance went on measures to build up the external conditions for running the FDC programme. Staff development was on the whole neglected. A skills training programme was launched in 1985. During the 1980s, study visits were arranged to Sweden for some of the senior staff of the FDCs. A link between Linköping University in Sweden and Kibaha FDC was proposed but never implemented. However Linköping arranged two programmes on non-formal education in the early 1980s which were attended by some FDC staff from Tanzania.

The question inevitably arises as to whether this support was realistic. It is arguable that SIDA was keeping alive institutions which had no other possible means of surviving. There are signs that it was creating dependency, that problems of sustainability were recognised at a theoretical level but were never addressed in practice. It would appear that SIDA's approach to this assistance was on the whole a hands-off one. Indeed, there are signs that SIDA became hesitant about this support, either its form or its very existence.

The issue of ownership arises in this respect - this time not solely in terms of which sector or Ministry did the FDCs belong to but also in terms of national or international ownership. They clearly belonged technically to the Directorate of Adult Education in MEC. Yet we were told on several occasions in Tanzania that in fact many people thought that the FDCs 'belonged' to SIDA. When the FDCs came to MCDWAC, *"the Ministry felt that the FDCs were owned by SIDA; the problem was SIDA's, not theirs"* [E9 p11].

Support for the FDCs was not the only educational aid-funded assistance which SIDA was providing to Tanzania. Tanzania was the biggest educational aid programme for Sweden up to 1990, and the FDCs was the second largest sector within that educational aid assistance programme [SIDA 55]. Vocational training and teacher training also featured. The aid to the FDCs was seen by SIDA as part of the assistance provided to the Tanzanian national adult literacy programme in the Directorate of Adult Education in MEC which included support to materials preparation and to the Institute of Adult Education. On occasion, SIDA made attempts to create links between these sectors in order to share experience in this field: as they lamented in 1991 after the move of the FDCs to a new Ministry, "how can we facilitate co-operation between institutions within the field of adult education now that responsibility for the adult education programme supported by Sweden is divided between two Ministries?" [Sector Review 1991 p6].

CHAPTER 4

1990-1996: THE BACKGROUND TO THE TANDEM PROJECT

The Move

During the late 1980s, government in Tanzania was subject to a number of reviews. One of these (the Nsekela Report) related to administrative structures, as a result of which the Ministries were revised in 1989-90. In the course of this restructuring, the FDCs were moved in 1990 first into the Ministry of Local Government and then later in the same year into the newly established Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children (MCDWAC).

Several persons, including some SIDA staff [SIDA 7 p8], saw this move as 'returning' the FDCs to their original roots in development. MCDWAC launched a policy review of 'community development' (CD) in Tanzania in what was called 'the Third Phase' of Tanzania's independent development [Stites and Semali 1991 p65]. The new CD policy was worked out during 1991-2; by February 1992, it had become clear. While 'community' was not clear (it had formerly meant party or government but now was taken to mean "individuals, families, households and group"), the overall objective was restated as being "to bring about socio-economic development to communities through the realization of people's potentials for the improvement of their lives" [MCDWAC Mission statement 1996].

The FDCs formed one of the main components of the resources of the new Ministry. It is clear that whatever policy was adopted, the FDCs would be called upon to help to implement it. How far the FDC staff were involved in helping to develop the outlines of the new policy is not apparent.

Changes in the FDCs 1990-1996

This move to a new home led to plans for substantial changes in the roles and functions of the FDCs. A formal evaluation was commissioned to provide baseline data to help the Ministry with its planning for these bodies [SIDA 7 p8; SIDA 3 p1]. A conference was held at Singida in January 1991 for Principals, and this was followed by a seminar in January 1992. The preparation of new Guidelines for the FDCs was set in hand and they were completed and issued in 1994. The main change was that the FDCs were to be "re-oriented" towards community development rather than adult education.

As a consequence of or at the same time as this reorientation, a number of other changes were imposed on the FDCs. The role of central government through MCDWAC in relation to the FDCs underwent considerable change.

a) In response to strong requests from the TANDEM project team (drawing on their experience of FHSs in Sweden), MCDWAC agreed that the FDCs would enjoy more freedom to operate in response to local demands. It was intended that they should get the local community more closely involved than in the past [SIDA 62 pp 82-3]. Each FDC was to have much greater powers of decision-making. At the same time, the administration of the FDCs was revised. Responsibility for local management passed to the FDC Boards under the District Executive Director (DED). The local Board became smaller and executive in function rather than prestigious and advisory as was previously the case. In practice, this appears not to have been effective, largely because in most

cases there is no sense of local ownership of the FDCs. Years of isolation in the locality have meant that in general the FDCs are not felt to belong to the District: as one staff member put it, *after the move, we had to develop links with DED, but they did not want us. They said, 'You are not CD proper'. They also could not understand us as teachers. We did not know what was their role and they did not know what was our role*". Meetings of these Boards are in most cases rarely held because the members require payment for attending meetings and there are no funds for this purpose.

b) In fact however, central control appears to have increased. Certainly, despite the language of decentralisation, the FDCs felt themselves more controlled than ever. If in fact this is not the situation, then it can be argued that MCDWAC has not done enough to help the colleges to realise their true freedom. In practice, the control exercised is still very substantial. It is likely that this has come about through the concern of MCDWAC to turn the FDCs from being AE colleges into CD institutions. The TANDEM team told us that *"there was a tug-of-war with MCDWAC over this issue [decentralisation] but TANDEM won"* [N5] in the sense that decentralisation was included in the new Guidelines; but it has never been implemented by the Ministry in practice. MCDWAC accepted this fact when discussing whether the FDCs could become development 'centres' rather than colleges: *"If the FDCs become a Centre rather than a College, they will have to be under the District and the funding will have to go to the District. They [the FDCs] have to be a network of colleges if we're to retain control of the funding. We agreed to the decentralisation of the training but not of the administration"* [N32].

c) Despite the intended strengthening of the District level Boards, there were more direct links between individual colleges and the Ministry to which they belonged. The Boards did not have an administrative function. No effective tier stood between the FDCs and MCDWAC. Principals and other key staff found that they visited Ministry headquarters frequently to obtain decisions rather than get them made more locally - which may be as much an indication of a reluctance on the part of the FDCs and the local Boards to assume the responsibility which was offered to them as a desire by MCDWAC to keep close control.

d) There was increased interference in the programmes. For example, from July 1991 to April 1992, the colleges were closed and the students sent home so that the FDC facilities could be used for a crash programme for training village level secretaries.

e) There were problems in communicating the reasons for MCDWAC decisions and approaches to the colleges, so that their decisions and actions appeared to be arbitrary.

f) This last point is most obvious in connection with FDC funding. Not only were the sums allocated to different colleges given without any apparent justification and were even thought to be discriminatory, but the requirement that the colleges should be increasingly self-sustaining rather than rely on Ministry funds placed great stress on them. Indeed, in 1994, the funds to the FDCs for any kind of programme were stopped suddenly; only the salaries were met. In the middle of a course, students were asked to pay fees for their training.

g) It was recognised that the change of orientation would require the FDCs to teach new subjects in both short and long courses [Tan32 p83], but this would require changes in staffing.

h) Finally, plans for the introduction of monitoring of quality standards in curriculum output were drawn up, although these still have to be implemented.

The staff of the FDCs have therefore had to cope with at least four major and to some extent contradictory changes simultaneously:

- from education-centred activities to development-oriented activities,
- from centralised to more local decision-making,
- from government support to self-sustaining responsibility,
- from relative independence in terms of quality to more rigorous quality control procedures.

It is no wonder that some FDC staff left at this time. For others, the TANDEM project offered help: *"MCDWAC asks us for new targets: increased capacity, increased earnings, and increased outreach. TANDEM will help us with all of these"* [N19].

One result of the move from MEC to MCDWAC was that the isolation of the FDCs was increased, not diminished. On the one hand, the whole FDC sector became effectively cut off from any contact which it may have had with Tanzania's (adult) education provision. This can be seen in the New Educational Policy. In 1989-1991, a government review led to the preparation of a New Educational Policy, finally approved by the Tanzanian government in 1995. This document omits all reference to these colleges. Despite SIDA's view that "the FDCs are part and parcel of the Adult Education scene in Tanzania as such, FDCs are included in the Co-operation between Sweden and Tanzania", in fact the FDCs were no longer seen in Tanzania as a part (however marginal) of Tanzania's educational system. Similarly, the University Department of Adult Education has only *"one session (about 2-3 hours) on our courses talking about the FDCs"* [N24]. The recent textbook *Adult Education: the experience of Tanzania* [Bwatwa et al 1989] makes no mention of the FDCs. The interministerial links which had existed under MEC looking at co-operation in the use of the colleges has ceased.

In the field too, they were cut off from their adult education links. Only a few of them (for example Same, Singide, Handeni, Masasi) have retained any literacy work, although the materials remain in many colleges unused. The JPG in 1993 urged that "the FDC library services should co-operate with post-literacy activities in the community" [Tan4a p21]. On the other hand, the FDCs have not become tied into the community development networks of institutions and field workers (see 3.4.6 above) in the regions. In 1991, plans were drawn up for the inclusion of the five TRDCs in the FDC network but this was never done and the differences between these institutions was recognised. [Sector Review 1991 p9; N12: *"TRDCs have few teachers, they bring in local experts to teach the masses"* [N12]; Tan32 p61]. There was no career route in either direction between the colleges and either of these two sectors. This ring-fencing was reflected inside MCDWAC by the separate FDC section.

Changes in SIDA

These changes coincided with changes within SIDA. The most important of these for our purposes are the increasing use of consultants rather than direct project management. The aid programme to Tanzania would in future be more 'hands off'. Secondly there were substantial cuts in aid funding (see pages 87-8) - although it seems clear that the FDCs received a rather better deal than any other sector of SIDA's educational aid programme in Tanzania (Appendix G). Thirdly, SIDA was undergoing review at this time, and this review and the accompanying reduction of aid resources set in train a policy restatement which resulted in a new policy document in 1994 [Sida Policy 1996]. The new policy reveals that primary education will in future form one of the major focuses for Sida's overseas educational assistance. It seems that SIDA began to share the view of the new government of Sweden: "Adult education, traditionally

considered one of the 'jewels' in the educational crown of Sweden, is not a priority for the new government .. the conservative-liberal government gives much higher priority to youth education than to adult education" [Abrahamsson 1996 pp176-7].

With this new approach to the management of its aid programme, SIDA agreed in 1990 that most (and eventually all) of its FDC assistance should be channelled through Linköping University. Discussions led to a proposal for a new human resource development project. The TANDEM project was formulated in an agreement between Linköping University, MCDWAC and SIDA. The plan in brief was for the launch of a new technical assistance programme to help the staff of the FDC sector in the Ministry and in the colleges to develop more effective institutions. What was seen as a major new opportunity was to be met with a new largely in-country training programme directed mainly at the colleges but also at the Ministry. The Linköping consultants would help the college and Ministry staff to cope with the changes which were affecting them.

Issues facing MCDWAC

Apart from the need to re-orient the FDCs in terms of their new (or revived) developmental role, other issues faced MCDWAC which affected the way in which the Ministry responded to the new SIDA-funded project proposal.

First there was **the question of management**. While localisation would create new demands on existing management structures in the colleges, the contradictory need for the Ministry to control and direct the colleges so that they should become effective community development institutions would strengthen the need for more power to be concentrated at the centre. On the other hand, with their commitment to democratic and participatory approaches to development, SIDA and the Linköping team hoped to encourage more participatory approaches to decision-making inside the colleges and inside MCDWAC. There was an inherent tension here between the two partners to the TANDEM project which both sides recognised in terms of a 'struggle' (see page 20 above).

Secondly there was a great need for the new Ministry to **develop its own structures, approaches, and systems** (especially financial and information systems) to meet its own objectives, including the needs of the FDCs.

Thirdly, in the light of the Government of Tanzania's financial situation, there was a need to find **new sources of funding** for the colleges. All sectors of education were feeling the lack of funds at this time: UNESCO commented in 1989 that "a major issue which influences practically all aspects of training [in Tanzania] is the scarcity of funds for recurrent expenditures and the consequent difficulties in maintaining physical facilities and in recruiting and retaining competent staff" [UNESCO 1989 p92]. There was then an acute lack of resources which MCDWAC, in common with all other government bodies, experienced at the time of the transfer. The Ministry's standing within government as a whole was not high and its claim on national resources less than influential. It therefore welcomed the offer of assistance from SIDA, the traditional supporter of the FDCs.

This was the agenda which MCDWAC sought from the SIDA-funded TANDEM project - a new college programme, a new college management system, a new Ministry structure for the FDCs, and new sources of funding. TANDEM set out to meet these Ministry objectives as well as their own agenda, 'participatory pedagogy'.

CHAPTER 5

THE TANDEM PROJECT

THE TANDEM COMPONENTS

The main component of the SIDA-funded project, the staff training programme, consisted of four main elements: a training of trainers programme (TOT); a management training programme for Principals and senior staff of the FDCs and the Ministry (TanMan); a teacher training programme (TT) for the teaching staff of the colleges; and the former Skills Training Programme which was incorporated into this project.

A second component was the provision of technical assistance to the Ministry in relation to the FDCs, both in general terms to the senior staff and in more specific terms to the staff of the FDC section.

Thirdly, from 1992 the Linkoping team also came to share responsibility with SIDA-DCO in Dar es Salaam for the remaining parts of SIDA's assistance to the FDCs, the funds for physical facilities, equipment and materials. This decision appears to have been taken on grounds of convenience, but MCDWAC claim that they were never consulted on this. Certainly the arrangement was queried by some Ministry staff.

The whole project came to be known as the TANDEM project. It ran from 1 July 1991 to 30 June 1996.

SIDA SUPPORT TO TANDEM

The short-term contracts between SIDA and the Linkoping consultants, it has been argued, made long-term planning difficult. At an early stage, SIDA asked the consultants to prepare a five-year plan for the project. Such a plan exists for the years 1992-96, but SIDA was unable to agree more than one or two year contracts at a time. SIDA funded the first year, much of which had to be postponed into 1992-3 because little could be done since the colleges were taken over to train government and party officers. SIDA was asked to fund a two-year project 1992-4 but were only able to agree to a one-year project, since the activities planned for 1992-3 could not be fitted into the existing budget frame. In 1993, SIDA agreed to a two-year project, 1993-5, but gave a clear indication that there would be funding for no more than one further year, and that only if certain conditions being met. Although these conditions were not fully met, in fact SIDA made a further one-year contract with the Linkoping consultants.

We were informed that the main reason for this short-term planning was the uncertainty in Tanzania surrounding the new national development plans and the new educational policy. This meant that the Swedish and Tanzanian governments were only able to proceed for one year at a time. It is possible however that there was also some hesitancy on the part of SIDA in relation to the project as a whole. There is some evidence that SIDA (at least in Stockholm) expressed concern about different aspects of the TANDEM project as implemented by the Linkoping team. The extension into 1995-6 was undertaken at the request of SIDA-DCO [N26].

ORIGINS OF TANDEM

It is important to remember that the TANDEM project had a long pre-history. According to a paper (March 1990) by MEC just prior to the move of the FDC sector to

the Ministry of Local government (MLG), "when the FDC programme started in 1975, a co-operation between Kibaha Training Wing and the University of Linköping .. was part of the agreement between the Governments of Tanzania and Sweden" [SIDA 7 p31]. At the Tanzanian end, Kibaha had been founded as a Nordic College in 1964-9 as a Farmers' Training Centre. Because its Director was on the initial working party which went to Sweden in the early 1970s to discuss the possibility of the FDCs, he was able to ensure that the training of the new FDC staff was located at that college. At the Swedish end, Johan Norbeck, the prime mover of TANDEM on behalf of Linköping University, had worked in Tanzania for three years as Resident Tutor of the Institute of Adult Education. When he left, he maintained his connections with Tanzania, visiting it often and engaging in discussions about the training needs of the FDC staff. A study of different non-formal education programmes in a number of developing countries was undertaken under the title of 'Folk Development Education' (set out in SIDA 18), and this led to the first two INFOLK meetings, bringing together participants in non-formal education programmes from various countries. Some of the participants came from the Tanzanian FDC sector.

However these early courses were not based on any formal assessment of what the Tanzanian FDCs needed, and thus they had limited impact on the FDC activities. Discussion of these shortcomings took place in Sweden at the INFOLK meetings and in Tanzania (1982-6). Particular concern was expressed at the decline of the Kibaha Training Wing for Principals and new staff: "*it got down to one staff, so the Swedes and the MEC set out to revive it*" [N12]. "Owing to a dispute between the PMO and MEC, the Training Wing had not had any money to do its work for many years" [Tan32 pp35,61]. These discussions led to plans to revive the FDC training programme through two special courses specifically for the staff of the Tanzanian FDC sector - TANFOLK I and II - in Sweden in the late 1980s, in which the emphasis was placed on the practice of adult pedagogy/methodology through three-week placements in FHSs. Swedish counterparts visited Tanzania [SIDA 7 pp 8,24]. These exchanges strengthened the Linköping consultants' view that a more comprehensive review of the way the FDCs were performing their educational and other tasks and how they were managed was needed.

Plans for a systematic and widespread training programme for the FDC staff began to be made before the move from MEC, and two sets of plans were drawn up in March 1990 with MEC [SIDA 7 pp22, 30]. A second project proposal was made with the Ministry of Local Government [SIDA 7 p8]. Thus MCDWAC found that with the FDCs they took over the on-going discussions with Linköping University. Although "conscious of the changes in leadership and teaching activities which are expected to take place", the Linköping consultants found they had "*no alternative*" than to carry on with these discussions with the new Ministry. This was made easier since the staff of the FDC Section in the Directorate of Adult Education (except the inspectorate) moved with the FDCs into the new Ministries successively.

PROJECT DESIGN

The TANDEM Project was finalised through a process of discussions between Linköping University and MCDWAC, resulting in a letter of intent (February 1991). The form of the project was an institutional link between Linköping University and MCDWAC. The aim was that the Linköping team would help the staff of the new Ministry to:

- prepare the policy and guidelines for the programme
- develop the central administration system of the programme
- develop new curricula
- promote the leadership and management of the FDCs

- develop more appropriate teaching-learning methodologies
- develop the range of skills training including the application of appropriate technology
- maintain and upgrade the physical facilities of the FDCs
- assist with the transport system of the FDCs
- monitor the performance of the FDCs.

These guiding principles were later elaborated in the Terms of Reference for the project year 1991-2. Implementation commenced on 1 July 1991.

Terms of Reference

The first set of goals and objectives were brief -

- to assist the Ministry in formulating objectives and a new policy for the future use and development of the FDCs;
- to provide the FDC system with an integrated pattern of administration and teaching which will promote such education as will foster active citizens and agents of change as well as effective self-reliance and self-support projects;
- to provide the FDC system with a cadre of trainers as well as curricula and material which can make it possible to maintain and spread such a pattern among the FDCs;
- to provide the FDC system with a model of organisation which will substantially promote an improved cost-benefit ratio of each college and promote income-generating activities;
- and to assist in making the FDCs better adapted to meeting local needs.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the new senior staff of MCDWAC should have been asked to write such TOR within a few months of establishing a new Ministry and before they had had a chance to learn about the FDCs or to decide how they would use them. This gave much greater power to the Linköping team and to the FDC Section staff inside MCDWAC, some of whom were in any case having difficulty in adjusting to the new roles, expectations and status (see pages 26 and 65). *"TANDEM came before our CD policy - this was regrettable"* was how one member of the Ministry staff expressed this.

Different Agendas

Although both parties spoke much the same language and used many of the same terms in these discussions, it would seem that there were from the start fundamental differences between the senior staff of MCDWAC and the TANDEM staff (including most of the staff of the FDC Section in the Ministry). MCDWAC (as we have seen) hoped that the TANDEM Project would help the FDC staff to cope more effectively with the changes which MCDWAC wished to make, that it would encourage the college staff to adapt to their new role of community development workers, to build up self-dependency in financial matters. We are uncertain about how far the Linköping consultants agreed with these objectives of MCDWAC. They offered to help to retrain the staff of the FDCs whose *"role had been widened to be CD centres, to become change agents"* [N29] but it is not clear that they understood the concepts and practices of community development although they clearly understood adult education. They seem to have tried to promote "our own philosophy and policy of non-formal adult education" [letter Norbeck June 1990; S7 p21] including "the unique role of the FDCs as bearers of a humanistic ideal" [paper by Norbeck February 1992; Tan32 p34], as independent and effective adult education agencies. They sought to "bring them back" to an 'adult education' role on a FHS model with a great deal of local autonomy rather than help them to move forward as government-controlled community/socio-economic development institutions.

There was thus a gap between what the Linköping consultants hoped to achieve and what MCDWAC felt it needed. We should also note that a growing divergence began to emerge between the 'Linköping' vision and the in-country Swedish consultants who found themselves adopting a middle role, somewhere between the FHS ideology and the MCDWAC position. But there remains a suspicion that - despite the fact that some of the in-country Swedish staff were aware of the dangers of this happening and tried to avoid these dangers - the TANDEM programme did in fact seek to promote mini-Swedish FHSs rather than Tanzanian Folk Development Colleges (see pages 63 - 66).

Changes in the TOR

Throughout the life of the project (1991-96), there have been constant changes in the TOR. There were two main reasons for this. The signing of each new contract provided an opportunity for the refinement of the objectives in the light of past experience. In addition, it would seem that increasingly both sides felt the constraints of the other's approach more deeply. The gap seems to have widened. The departure of some of the former MEC staff from the FDC Section in MCDWAC during the first two years appears to have been both a consequence of and a contributory factor to this increasing gap (see page 65).

The changing aims and objectives of the TANDEM project reveal this. Some of the aims remained more or less unchanged throughout this period: for example, "to provide the FDC system with an integrated pattern of administration and teaching which will

a) promote such education as will foster active citizens and agents of change;"

but by 1994 two new aims had been introduced to this section: to

"b) make the colleges well equipped to enter as agents of change into the local community;

c) make the colleges increasingly self-sustaining."

As the new Ministry settled down and clarified its own purposes, as new internal machinery was developed, as the changes in the Tanzanian government systems began to impinge on the FDC sector and as new needs emerged, so the objectives of the TANDEM project changed.

These objectives fell into two groups: those concerned with the colleges and those concerned with the Ministry:

a) **For the colleges**, the objectives were to help the staff to design their activities according to local needs, improve their capacity utilisation, improve their structures, organisation and function, optimise their staffing in relation to local needs, design course programmes in accordance with local needs, increase the number of village-based courses, increase the number of under-represented groups in all college courses, improve local contributions to college funding, make optimal use of existing buildings, and improve the maintenance of their existing physical facilities (Appendix C). This was to be done mainly through elaborate training programmes and some on-site assistance. Throughout the early stages of the project, one objective was constantly stated as being to establish seven (later eight) 'model' colleges, one in each region). This was not in fact done, and this objective was abandoned. It is likely that opposition from SIDA and perhaps from MCDWAC led to this change.

b) **So far as the Ministry was concerned**, the project would seek to help the Ministry staff to adapt the central administration to the new roles of the FDCs, decentralise the administration of the colleges, provide the FDC Section with trained managers, capable of leading the change processes necessary to accomplish the goals of the colleges, work out a comprehensive staff development programme with emphasis on local in-service training, provide the college staff with curricula which could easily be

adapted to meet local needs, correlate the distribution of government funds with the capacity utilisation of the colleges, and provide the FDC programme with a cadre of trainers and tutors who would promote such education as will foster active agents of change. This was to be done through a programme of technical assistance to MCDWAC.

An evaluation of these objectives is provided below (pages 74 - 80).

Role of Linköping

A team drawn from the University of Linköping was the main agent for the TANDEM Project as they had been for the earlier training programmes of TANFOLK. The major centre for the training of the Swedish Folk High School tutorial staff, this group played a key role, choosing the trainers, appointing the in-country consultants and negotiating directly with MCDWAC. Its vision informed the whole project, a vision which reflected the major concern of adult educators in Sweden in the 1970s for "access and outreach activities to cater for new learners" [Abrahamsson 1996 p169].

Johan Norbeck took the main lead throughout the project, especially in the early years. It was he who led the negotiations with MCDWAC during his visits to Tanzania. Urban Lundin took the lead of the project in Tanzania from 1993.

Apart from Johan Norbeck's personal experience, Linköping staff had been engaged in the training of exiled SWAPO and ANC personnel in Tanzania. TANDEM was however their first experience of training within a government setting in that country.

Some Basic Features of the Training Programme

A number of features characterised the training programme. Among the most important of these were the following:

- a) The Linköping team sought that, as far as was possible, **the approach to teaching should be participatory**. The TANDEM course itself was built on the methodologies which it advocated for the college staff - adult learning and active learner-centred teaching methods. The teaching staff of the colleges were urged to adopt 'participatory pedagogy' with their students, even though most of those students had experienced little except formal methods of instruction in school. Other methodologies recommended include small permanent groups (SPGs), team teaching (for example, linking carpentry and economics, which would also help to level out the uneven teaching load of the staff as well as promote participatory approaches to teaching), the integrated subject approach in which different subjects combined to create more relevant subject matter for the courses, and modular courses.
- b) The Management courses sought to ensure that **management in the FDCs should be participatory and democratic**, even though the Principals and teaching staff were accustomed to more directive approaches.
- c) **Both management and teaching staff came to be trained in both training and management approaches**. This apparently was not part of the planned programme but emerged as the project developed, even though these staff were more accustomed to separate and hierarchical roles.
- d) **The staff development programme of both managers and teachers included experiential training**. Part of this training programme was thus within a classroom

situation (i.e. in a specified training centre) and part in the field within the implementing agency. The underlying aim was that staff development should be both professional and personal development, not simply academic or skill training.

The rationale behind these features was expressed in terms of the principles of modern approaches to adult education. But it is legitimate to ask whether these were realistic principles in the context of Tanzanian society. It is clear that a few of the FDC staff were able to understand and appreciate these features, but for others, they lay beyond their experience and understanding, especially since their institutions were not in general teaching adults (except in their short courses) but adolescents.

CRITIQUE OF THE PROJECT DESIGN

We would suggest that there were two main problems with these approaches, even though we share many of their basic assumptions:

a) we do not believe that the Swedish consultants allowed enough time and training exposure to overcome the deep-rooted biases they faced within the existing staff of the colleges. Two different approaches to education came face to face. The one promoted active learning, independent thought and action, the other promoted acquiescence and discipline, an approach in which the student "is supposed to be quiet, polite, unquestioning, obedient and uncomplaining .. [in which] pedagogy at all levels of instruction is based on repetition and memorisation with strict adherence to the conventions preferred by the teacher" [Shume K 1993]. While the TANDEM staff could find a few persons to respond quickly to their new approaches (they were after all "carefully chosen"), the majority of college staff would require extensive exposure to training to change their fundamental attitudes towards both management and training.

b) secondly, it would seem that the approach by the Linköping team to the training did not 'start where the trainees are', i.e. with their expectations. The TANDEM staff were quite clear that in participatory pedagogy (PP), it was introducing something which was commonplace in the Folk High Schools in Sweden [SIDA 18 pp44-46] but which was not characteristic in Tanzania: for example, the trainees *"now thought that PP could well be introduced at the FDCs and that it would have a good chance of survival"; "they now feel so convinced of the appropriateness of this new style of arranging learning for the students.."*. One TANDEM paper refers to "PP=Participatory Pedagogy, the term used in TOT for the concept introduced as an alternative to the traditional Tanzanian way of arranging learning in the schools". Confrontational training, opposing one methodology with another, is rarely effective with adults. Indeed, active learning methods in their own way can be used as a tool of imposing new views on the participants:

"Such participant teaching methods as discussions, simulations, projects or group work ...can be used for social control (i.e. to instil the social values favoured by the teacher ..) as well as for critical education" [Harber 1990 p28].

In TANDEM, there appears to have been too little critical reflection on experience, and rather more instruction into how to use participatory approaches in the college training programmes.

Perhaps this is why the various training courses came over as a one-off training programme. The Linköping team did not of course believe in such an approach; through its local consultants, it tried to develop with MCDWAC an on-going programme of staff development. But the TANDEM courses were seen as an induction programme, complete in themselves. As one of the Tanzanian trainers said, *"I don't*

feel that we need any more workshops for these staff - they are now trained" (but for a contradictory view expressed by some of the trainees, see page 31). Perhaps too this is why most of the emphasis was placed on teaching, on communicating knowledge ("how can we get our messages across?") and imparting skills, and relatively little on learning. The TanMan and TT courses which we saw were very didactic, not developing independent study or critical reflection on experience.

We have provided our more detailed critique on the training contents and methodologies of the TANDEM courses in Appendix D. These are the comments of one professional group on the programme of another such group, and as such are best mediated outside the parameters of a report such as this.

Risks and Assumptions

No attempt seems to have been made, so far as we can discover, to assess the risks and assumptions on which the project was based. The risks were in fact very high - that MCDWAC would be unable (either through inefficiency or through factors beyond its control) to sustain the work of the FDCs during the project; that the Ministry would be unable to take over the responsibilities for on-going training when the project came to an end; that the political scene in Tanzania (which inevitably impinged on the work of the colleges, especially as they were intended to be schools for democracy) would prevent them from being effective, etc.

Having said that, we believe however that the decision would have been taken to go ahead with the training programme even if it were short-lived. And we believe that such a decision would have been correct. But an assessment of risks and assumptions should have been made in order that some of the issues it would have raised could have been addressed during the training programme. They were not.

PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION

The FHS tradition in Sweden (App E) saw the teachers as being "responsible for safeguarding and developing the democratic and participatory attitudes and modes of work" [SIDA 18 p4]. The TANDEM training programme therefore was primarily aimed at the teaching staff of the FDCs in relation to their work in college. Three sets of training programmes were implemented:

- a) **TOT (Training of trainers):** Some of the Ministry staff and college Principals and Co-ordinators of Studies were selected for an intensive TOT course. By late 1993, 12 trainers had gone back to their colleges or to the Ministry; eight of these are still operative. A further three have been added to this training team on the basis of their performance in the other training courses.
- b) **TT (Teacher Training):** approximately three quarters of the teaching staff of the FDCs have taken part in training programmes in modern approaches to adult teaching-learning methodologies. The first such courses were held in Kibaha, but subsequently the programme moved out into seven zones (the FDCs have been regionalised). Courses were held in five clusters of about three colleges each. Courses consisted of a theory period (usually 3 weeks), a first practice period (3 months), a second theory period (3 weeks) followed by a second practice period of three months, a final three-week theory period and a follow-up workshop on curriculum, training methodologies and materials.
- c) **TanMan (Management Training):** Three successive management courses for the senior staff of groups of colleges have been held, so that most of the FDCs have been

covered. Periods of theory training were followed by lengthy practice periods. It was originally planned that the final session for managers would be held in Sweden but this was only possible for the first TanMan course. This first course was extended so that the participants could obtain accreditation for their studies from Linköping University. Later courses were located entirely in Tanzania. Part of the first TanMan course was held jointly with the TOT course.

Changes of staff in the colleges have followed some of these courses, so that it is not easy to ascertain how many current Principals have participated in the full training programme. Some of the teacher trainees have subsequently become Principals, and it is asserted that performance in the TANDEM courses was a factor in their promotion.

Skills training: A separate training programme in various forms of skill development was provided. This was field-based, taking the form of individual assistance or short group seminars for staff from several FDCs. "Originally the training .. concentrated on tool production. We found that the technical tutors did not fully agree on tool-making. This made us change the training to product orientated" [Report March 1992; Tan 32 p1]. The programme was intended to meet local needs, but these needs showed a striking similarity from one FDC to another. During this work, some upgrading of the college buildings (especially their kitchens) and equipment was undertaken. Subjects included cookery, beehive construction, vehicle maintenance for FDC drivers, and sewing machine repairs - subjects of relevance to the FDC students but in most cases not so much to the community members. New skill-based training programmes for the community such as latrine building do not seem to have formed part of this programme, mainly because the TANDEM staff encouraged the areas of work to be determined by the FDC staff involved, and their approach to their work was very limited.

Some short courses were also held with non-teaching staff of selected colleges. Training for Board members had been planned but was not implemented because of the changes in the structure and functions of these Boards. Other staff not trained included secretarial, administrative and watchmen personnel.

Staffing

The training courses were labour-intensive. Each had three lengthy residential sessions interspersed with periods of practical work during which visits were made to the staff in their own colleges - a time-consuming schedule taking into account the geographical distribution of the FDCs and the poor communications in the country. The course was staffed by two Tanzania-based long-term consultants. From the start, both MCDWAC and SIDA expressed the wish for the use of more local consultants and more short-term consultants from Sweden [Letter June 18 1991; Tan 32 p86] but the Linköping team insisted on the use of at least one long-term in-country consultant: "the purpose of this .. is to train some of the most successful teacher trainers who will then master the new methods introduced in those courses in such a way as to be able to serve as teacher trainers the following year" [ibid]. Increasing use was made of local trainers for the courses and the follow-up visits, but two full-time Swedish consultants remained in office throughout the programme.

The value of long-term against short-term consultants is often argued. There are advantages and disadvantages on both sides. The long-term consultants allow for more locally appropriate solutions to be found but they can result in greater dependency. The influence of the shorter-term consultants would be weaker, thus allowing for greater local participation, but there would be lack of continuity. The TANDEM team chose the former plan; we note that in this as in other aspects of the project, the Linköping team did not relate to other SIDA projects in Tanzania such as the Vocational Training project [see SIDA 2 and SIDA 5] and learn from their experience.

The staffing of the first TanMan training course consisted of Swedish expatriate staff alone, but later one of the staff of Kibaha (subsequently transferred to the Ministry) became a key member of the training staff. A small number of Principals and other college teaching staff joined the team. They were chosen by the Swedish staff on the basis of their performance in earlier training courses.

In the TT courses, some 18 FDC teachers were involved over the whole period as trainers as well as two of the staff of the Ministry. They were jointly chosen by the Swedish staff and the Tanzanian trainers on the basis of their performance during the earlier training courses.

The skill training courses were led by Per-Olof Akesson and local staff appointed by him.

Note: for a more detailed discussion of what follows, see Appendix D.

Training Curriculum

The training curriculum for the management course was in general taken over from the MEC training programme. The only new subject introduced was accountancy. The accountancy element initially proved difficult for the participants because much of the contents and the case studies prepared by the Swedish team consisted of business accountancy methods. These were found to be appropriate for the income-generation projects but not for the rest of the FDCs' accountancy systems which used government rather than commercial accounting procedures. This was remedied in the later courses. Given that the aim of making the colleges increasingly self-sustaining was introduced, more time given to the skills of entrepreneurship would have been valuable.

But if the course outline was much the same as the former FDC training programme, the detailed contents and the materials used were very different. The TT courses were established with a relatively new brief. A significant element was the development of new locally based projects for the colleges to mount. Outreach, gender issues (in relation to access to the FDCs), and training in needs analysis were included in the programme. Some introduction to teaching handicapped students was provided using tutors from the Ministry of Labour.

It is significant that exactly the same training programme was offered to all the FDCs. It was not tailored to their local needs; all the colleges were treated the same. It is also significant that the training programme dealt exclusively with teaching-learning methods. Apart from the limited skills training programme, no upgrading in subject material such as history, agriculture, etc was offered, although such upgrading is essential if the staff of the FDCs are to develop new courses to meet local needs. Some of the college staff expressed their desire for further development programmes: *"The teachers in the FDC ask for more training, they genuinely want it, not just for promotion"* [N13] (compare pages 28 -29).

Materials

The language of the training courses was English, and most of the teaching-learning materials were prepared in English. Most of them were prepared by the Swedish staff and were adapted as the training programme developed. We noticed some culturally inappropriate material (see App D).

Many handouts were prepared and distributed for the TanMan courses; this formed a portfolio for later use by the participants. The TOT course however used a number of basic textbooks (mainly Malcolm Knowles *The Modern Practice of Andragogy*) but we did not see any subsequent use of these in the colleges we visited. There were very few handouts for the TT courses although these may have been of more use to the participants when they returned to their colleges. In an attempt to relate the training provision to local life, some of the Tanzanian trainers were invited to prepare case studies. Some of the student evaluations indicated the felt lack of reading material - independent self-study was a neglected part of the TT course and this means that self-study features little in the teaching programmes which the college teachers offer.

While there was a good deal of identification of problems facing the FDCs, there was apparently very little attempt made to help the participants to find answers to these problems, even as case studies. The main approach appears to have been one of helping the trainees to develop new knowledge, new skills and new methodologies, and to urge the participants to take these away to try them out. But the application of the concepts contained in works such as those of Knowles to the FDCs is the most difficult part of any training programme based on culturally alien works, and this would seem to have been a weak point.

Training methods

The main method would seem to have been the use of case studies. These were chosen and prepared by the teaching staff. Group work was a key feature of all the training. Some role play was included.

One feature of the training courses was what was described as free, open and frank discussion. This is unusual in Tanzanian education at any level and was greatly appreciated by the participants. It was intended that this characteristic would be taken back to the colleges to inform their own staff meetings and staff training sessions.

Between each of the theory sessions, there was a practical session. One of the reasons for including the Principals in the TT course was that they could help to supervise this period of teaching practice for their own staff. Follow-up visits were made to the trainees by both the Swedish and Tanzanian staff. The aim was to see whether the desired learning changes had become embedded and maintained and to provide further supervision and advice. Not all of these visits had been completed by the time of the evaluation visits.

Trainees

MCDWAC selected the trainees for the training programmes although the Swedish trainers were also involved in the decisions. Staff were instructed to attend these courses. We were told that all staff wanted to attend the courses even though successful completion of the courses did not lead to increments or promotion. There was at times some resentment about the choice of trainees ("why not us?"). But the voluntary nature of the trainees was not always apparent to us. The decisions were taken on the assumption that all the colleges must be covered in due course. The main factors considered included geographical spread, good practice, gender balance and the avoidance of known troublemakers, the 'untrainable' (not our term!) and staff about to retire. Auxiliary teaching staff were often excluded from the TT courses.

Gender

The first TanMan course had nearly 50% women enrolled on it. Since women form a minority of staff in FDC sector (a fact which the MCDWAC is now trying to redress), it was inevitable that women would form a minority in the remaining courses. A few sessions were included for women staff on how to help female students (see Gender 9.9 below).

COVERAGE

The information relating to the coverage of these courses is not easy to interpret since some trained staff have moved to other colleges. It would seem that all but ten FDCs have been covered by one or other of the TANDEM courses. All of the Principals save four have participated in one or other course [these figures are based on a list dated October 1995]. We were informed by the Ministry that 306 out of 466 of the college teaching staff have participated in TANDEM.

ASSESSMENT AND EVALUATION

The first TanMan and TOT courses were rigorously assessed. The criteria included written assignments, attendance, participation in classroom discussion, evidence of the power to analyse as revealed in discussions and written work, the level of co-operation, and what was called 'social tendency'. Participants on TanMan1 were assessed by Linköping University and a certificate was awarded in five grades [Tan6 p9]. The recognition of TanMan1 from the University of Linköping was not followed up with later courses because such certification was felt to be irrelevant to the trainees and because it was not possible to include a lengthy visit to Sweden as part of the later programmes. Thus the trainee assessment procedures became less rigorous as the programme developed, and the trainees on later courses received a certificate of attendance only, calling into question the comparative value of these awards. Four persons 'failed' the TanMan1 course, 2 'failed' TanMan2.

More general evaluation was conducted throughout the programme. The whole programme was subject to revision in May 1994. The main criteria seem to have been participant reactions to the training programme, including those elements which they found most helpful and those which they felt they could not understand. The follow-up visits were intended in part as an assessment as well as further training, but some staff felt that these visits came too early [N9]. An annual meeting of trainers was held for the evaluation of the training programmes [Misc 11; Tan9].

The main evaluation criteria presented to SIDA would seem to have been in terms of the number of courses delivered and the number of participants and colleges covered or goods supplied.

While some indicators were established as measures of success for this training programme, such as the number of modular courses introduced in the participating colleges, and the number of local projects or outreach courses which had been developed, it would appear that no serious attempt was made either by Swedish or local staff to assess on a systematic basis whether these indicators in the participating FDCs had been met or not. A list of indicators of success was prepared at a relatively late stage in the programme (February 1993) [Tan4a p18], but it does not seem to have been adopted or utilised.

Much of the recorded success is anecdotal. For example, current complaints by staff that Principals or other senior staff have been acting in arbitrary or unfair ways are taken as a sign that TanMan training programmes are inculcating among the teaching staff more democratic ideals as against the autocratic styles of some senior staff (we found no evidence that such complaints have increased since the TANDEM training programme began). The Linköping team feels on an impressionistic basis that the TT courses were more successful than the TanMan courses.

Recognition

The courses have not been recognised formally by the Tanzanian Government. Even the University of Linköping Certificates (page 33) have not been recognised by the relevant authorities in Tanzania [Tan6 p9]. Recognition would depend on the content of the course, the qualifications of the trainers, and the entry qualifications of the participants. The TANDEM courses would have difficulty in satisfying the authorities in all of these. For example, the TT courses took a wide range of participants, from holders of Masters' degrees to primary school leavers, and therefore it was impossible to convince the Teachers' Service Commission of the standard and value of these courses.

THE FUTURE OF THE TRAINING PROGRAMME

There is no coherent group which can ensure its own continued development as well as planning, developing and implementing on-going staff development programmes. The sole guardians of the achievements of the TANDEM training programmes are the training staff inside the FDC Section in MCDWAC. The training group itself has not reached critical mass.

There are no opportunities as yet for the staff who have participated in the TANDEM courses, whether as trainees or as trainers, to continue their training, to plan their own self-development, to set learning goals for themselves and undertake continuing professional development. In part this is because the format of the TANDEM training programme stressed the course and workshop mode rather than help the staff to develop self-directed training programmes which they could pursue in their own colleges. Plans for comprehensive staff development of the whole sector have been drawn up in general terms, mainly still in terms of off-the-job training programmes, but no commitment yet exists to its implementation.

TANDEM AND MCDWAC

Linköping University had from 1 July 1991 an institutional link with MCDWAC. The aim was to provide technical assistance to the new Ministry during its establishment phase. This assistance took two forms - to provide general assistance to the senior staff of the Ministry, and to provide more technical assistance to the FDC Section.

Two persons served in this position between 1991 and 1996, Per Andersson and Urban Lundin. During Andersson's period, the assistance was planned to relate more closely to the FDC Section [see project proposal with MLG in 1990: "to work in an advisory capacity with the MLG-FDC Section" SIDA 7 p9]. Urban Lundin was appointed with a specific brief to work more generally within MCDWAC, especially with the senior staff, the Principal Secretary and the Head of the Training Division (DTA) as well as with the FDC Section.

Andersson seems to have spent most of his time setting up the computer-based EMIS (education management information system), and some training was provided for some of the Ministry staff to run this system and to use the equipment supplied. Lundin worked with the FDC staff on different aspects of the administration: the student weeks formula, new guidelines, a staff development plan, the new curriculum, the inspectorate as well as the training programme (see pages 26 - 27 above).

A number of the FDC Section staff of MCDWAC were involved in the TanMan1 course as participant trainees, and one or two seminars were run for other Ministry staff who did not attend the TanMan course.

We would wish to record our view that the amount of work undertaken by these consultants during the six years of the project (apart from the first year when special conditions applied) is very impressive.

OTHER TANDEM SUPPORT

There were other aspects to the TANDEM project than the training courses. One of these was the "development of a teachers (documentation and) resource centre at Kibaha for utilization by all FDCs" [proposal 1990: SIDA 7 p 9; project plan 1992-1996, Tan 32 p28], but this seems never to have happened.

Apart from the training courses, from 1992 [Sector Review 1991 p8; SIDA 3] TANDEM also included substantial funding for various facilities in the FDCs: the buildings, equipment, travel costs, and curriculum and materials development. This money was intended for capital costs rather than for the running costs of the courses. In broad terms, a quarter of these funds were intended for curriculum development, half for upgrading and maintaining the college facilities, and the remainder for transport and textbooks. Funds were thus distributed to specific colleges for identified and approved items such as building repairs, new equipment or vehicles. At first much of this was distributed as what were known as C funds (funds supplied to the government of Tanzania Treasury to be sent to the Ministry and from there to the colleges). The sums allocated were determined in the FDC Section of MCDWAC. There were however growing difficulties associated with this distribution, and in 1995 SIDA suspended the distribution of C funds.

By 1994, the TANDEM project with the assent of SIDA had decided to concentrate this assistance on 25 carefully chosen FDCs ("we have instead tried to favour somewhat those colleges where we know that the money will be efficiently used" [Final Report 1993-4 p18; Sector Review 1994 p 38; SIDA 3]. This was in line with the growing opinion of the TANDEM and SIDA staff that there were too many colleges and that there should be fewer of them, a policy which MCDWAC staff in general never accepted.

Towards the end of the project, serious problems arose between TANDEM-SIDA and MCDWAC over this aspect of the project. In February 1994, the Swedish review delegation expressed concern about "the late release of, and also lack of, local funds which has affected the implementation of different programmes in a very negative way" [Sector Review 1994]. It was suggested that the release of funds from the Treasury to the Ministry and from the Ministry to the colleges was being delayed with the result that sums remaining at the end of the financial year would be regarded by the Treasury as unexpended totals and would therefore be lost to the FDCs. It was the fact that the funds were not reaching the nominated colleges and were not being applied to the designated activities which led SIDA to withhold their funds for the year 1994-5: "consequently all activities that have been budgeted for under C-funds (a figure

amounting to 1,833,000 SEK) are still dormant". The reports of the Swedish Advisor during 1994-5 refer constantly to the non-distribution of funds. The Swedish delegation in February 1995 (in common with other donor agencies at that time [see UNESCO *Courier* 1993 p43]) declared that "the reasons for the proposed reduction of the country allocation are insufficient co-ordination on the Tanzanian side, inefficient implementation of the programs and corruption" [Sector Review 1994 pp32-35]. The Tanzanian authorities replied that the situation was more complicated than appeared at first sight ; that management weaknesses and gaps in institutional and capacity building had led to some inability to cope with the new environment of economic deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation; that a general tendency among donors to expect instantaneous development of capacities to manage the on-going reforms and changes made the charge of corruption inappropriate and unfair.

ADMINISTRATION

Prior to 1993, the project was administered informally but from November 1992, a Joint Planning Group (JPG) was established consisting of the Swedish staff, the Director of Training (DTA) at MCDWAC, and three members of the college or Ministry staff. It was originally set up to draft the long-term plan which SIDA had asked for, but it continued to administer the project.

The JPG received information from the Ministry on the needs of the colleges individually or in different regions based on the reports received from the FDCs. There seems however to have been little general planning either in the JPG or in the Ministry, whether in terms of raising the threshold standards in certain skill areas across the country or in terms of how special local needs might be met. The JPG decided what courses should be held and who should participate, and allocated the funds to the colleges for TANDEM.

As a Steering Committee, this apparently worked well. There were inevitable differences of opinion but matters generally were settled satisfactorily. Attention was paid as to how to transfer control of the programme from the Swedish staff to the JPG but the programme ceased before this could be fully implemented. The JPG ceased to function from June 1996.

CHAPTER 6

THE FDCs TODAY: MANAGEMENT AND STAFFING

INTRODUCTION

The basis for this section is the detailed survey undertaken of eleven FDCs, each of which was visited twice, visits to a random sample of other colleges, the questionnaire survey of the remaining FDCs, and a great deal of written material (see Chapter 1). We are however clear that one or two institutions which are exceptionally active and progressive (such as Kisaware FDC which has constantly been recommended to us as an example of what a FDC could become) have been omitted. Our comments refer to the generality of FDCs, not to a few exceptions.

Our general impression is that after twenty one years, the Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania remain intact and viable, although most of them are struggling. Although they have found an accepted role as training centres in a limited range of vocational skills for young people, their position has been undermined by the withdrawal of funds and by the requirement of MCDWAC that they should change this role.

We should recognise that myths relating to the early history of the FDCs are constantly perpetuated - that they once enrolled more mature adults, that they formerly engaged in outreach programmes, that they once enjoyed and used freedom to develop local courses (for example, *"in the 1970s, the approach of the FDCs was to go out and find needs and use non-formal education to meet local needs"* [N5]). The new Guidelines for the FDCs repeat these myths. It appears that such a situation never existed except on paper.

MANAGEMENT

Two general points need to be made. The first is that in determining the management structures of the FDCs (as we have noted above page 10), both MEC and more recently MCDWAC have treated the colleges as if they are much bigger and more elaborate institutions than they are in reality. The Guidelines which have been issued and reissued, the various curricula, the committee structures and the number of designated posts within the college, some of which are elected and some rotating (see for example the diagram in the new Guidelines), and the proposed management procedures all add to the impression that the Ministries concerned saw each college as a larger institution than in fact it is. Most FDCs are very small but formal institutions, although they are usually larger than primary schools.

Secondly, they are all treated alike. Despite frequent statements about the need for each of them to adapt their organisation to meet local conditions, exactly the same pattern of management and administration has been predetermined for all FDCs by the Ministry which runs them. This is one consequence of being part of a unified national system.

The Board: each college is governed by a local Board, appointed by and nominally responsible to MCDWAC. A new structure for the Boards has been recently developed but it is too early to see if it will work effectively. The District Executive Director (DED) is now the chair of the Board in place of the District Commissioner who was the chair until the changes. The Board has been reduced in size. It had some 15 members in the 1980s; today the Board consists nominally of seven members. Although the local MP and other "influential individuals" are still on the Board, in general the members are less prestigious than on the former Boards. There is (surprisingly for a Ministry for Women's Affairs) no gender policy in relation to these Boards, but many of them do have at least one female member. There is no automatic representation of MEC on these Boards despite the educational role of the FDCs.

The new Boards are meant to meet more frequently and to be able to take more executive decisions. In fact their powers are still very limited. They cannot deal with staff matters such as recruitment, transfers, remuneration, or discipline; these are left with the Ministry. The Boards meet rarely because few colleges possess funds for this purpose and many members (although local) require payment for attendance at meetings.

The Board (when it meets) advises on a range of topics brought to it by the Principal (who serves as its secretary and determines its agenda) such as courses, recruitment of students, the economic activities of the college and the lettings of premises. In practice all these matters are usually left to the Principal and his/her staff. In those cases where the Board meets, it discusses the matters which the Principal lays before it. The Board is becoming increasingly important especially now that the Government is failing to disburse funds to the colleges for recurrent and development expenditure. Its role could become even more significant if the Principal were to see it as a valuable resource and support agency.

Each Board is supposed to prepare and discuss in detail a five-year development plan for the college. Frequently, this document has been prepared by the Principal or the staff management team and has not been discussed by the Board. Most Board members have received no training or preparation for their role. From time to time seminars for members have been held, and some orientation of new members is provided by the FDCs. At least one joint meeting of chairmen of Boards and Principals has been held. But apart from this, there is little help available for Board members to fulfil their responsibilities.

Internal management: The Principal is the chief executive officer of the FDC. In theory he/she is responsible to the Board but in practice they are still answerable to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry [Guidelines]. Principals have very limited powers and resources but they carry heavy responsibilities. For example, they have no say on staff recruitment but they are the first line of responsibility for staff discipline. Their chief control lies in financial management. They can spend the sums raised, subject to subsequent Ministry checks.

Most of the Principals are men, but since the move to MCDWAC, the number of women Principals has increased markedly, so that currently there are ten in post (see below page 73).

Vice Principal: under MCDWAC, there is no longer a Vice-Principal, but in almost all of the colleges visited, one of the senior staff (usually the Co-ordinator of Studies but on occasion other staff such as the Co-ordinator of Projects or of Agriculture) serves in this role without the title.

Councils: According to the structure handed down from the Ministry, there is supposed to be a staff council of all the academic staff and a student council for every college. The staff councils are in place. The student councils (drawn only from students on long-term courses) exist on an ad hoc basis and have little participation in the day to day running of the college, perhaps the temporary result of the current decline in student enrolments on long courses.

For all the FDCs visited, there was a fixed timetable for **staff meetings** (usually twice a term). Staff meetings were held regularly and minutes were compiled and sent up to the Ministry on a regular basis to show that meetings were being held. (In one FDC, the minutes for the three previous meetings had not been typed up and distributed because of shortage of typing and duplicating paper). The colleges tried to adhere to the timetable

for routine meetings, even when there was no business to transact, for the Guidelines issued by MCDWAC say that the management of the FDC must be democratic.

At staff meetings held at the beginning of every term, teaching timetables, staff duty rosters, staff responsibilities and the economic projects which the college runs are discussed and agreed. In addition, the staff council discusses any changes in the job descriptions of the academic staff (page 45). In most of the FDCs visited, unscheduled staff meetings were becoming more frequent as decisions had to be reached by all staff in view of the financially crippled condition of the Ministry.

Management team: Two key staff are appointed in each college, the Co-ordinator of Studies (CS) and the Co-ordinator of Projects (CP). Each subject too has its Co-ordinator. Qualified teachers and auxiliary teachers and non-teaching staff form the remainder of the staff of the FDCs. In the last few years, the senior staff have been elected by the rest of the staff, the CP by both the teaching and non-teaching staff, a practice which most of those we met told us was one outcome of the TANDEM training programmes but which the TANDEM staff say did not form any part of their training. Indeed, the TANDEM staff indicated that such elections are antipathetic to the team approach which they were trying to build. Certainly the Guidelines suggest that heads of subjects should be elected by the staff. Several Principals reported to us that these elections could at times create staff problems (one Principal told us that the academic staff chose as Head of subject someone who would not be rigorous in their demands on the rest of the staff). Such elections deprive the Principal of a useful way of recognising merit and commitment through promotion.

The Guidelines indicate that three key staff are to form a team with the Principal - the CS, CP and the teacher on duty. The last-named is required to make a daily report to the Principal on matters relating to student health, housing, food, teaching attendance, visitors, transport and other such matters.

In all colleges, non-teaching staff exist in the form of cooks, attendants, drivers, secretaries etc. The non-teaching staff (who often equal and sometimes even exceed in number the total teaching staff: one FDC, for example, has 10 teaching staff and 16 non-teaching staff) are either directly or (for those who work under the Co-ordinator of Projects) indirectly under the Principal. Meetings between non-teaching and teaching staff are held at least once a term to discuss matters of common interest, but as with the staff council, these meetings are being held more frequently owing to the uncertainty caused by the financial situation of the FDCs.

Such is the outline of college management laid out in the Guidelines and implemented in the field. However this picture can be very misleading to those who have not seen a FDC. We need constantly to remind ourselves that we are discussing very small institutions indeed (see App B, tutors). Most colleges have an academic staff (qualified and auxiliary) for all subjects of no more (and sometimes less) than ten persons. Some have no more than five teaching staff.

COLLEGE ACTIVITIES

We were unable to see the annual reports, but the oral reports of the Principals and senior staff of the FDCs during our visits indicated what was remembered of the college programme over the last six years.

Long courses: Between 1991 and 1995, the FDCs visited conducted long residential courses in *ufundi* (technical subjects such as brick-making, metalwork, carpentry, commerce), home economics (cooking, domestic science, health education, needlework and tailoring) and agriculture. Almost all of these courses were of one year or two years in length. In 1995, there were many fewer students who enrolled compared with the year before. Returns from a group of 14 colleges in September 1995 show that six had at that time no students on long courses, and the remaining eight had a total of 360 students, 211 male and 149 female on *ufundi* and home economics courses (only one had an agricultural course).

Short courses: Most colleges have held some short courses, most of them on the FDC premises, fewer out in the surrounding villages (see pages 50 - 51).

Projects: All the colleges visited reported their engagement in projects. For the FDCs in or close to urban centres, emphasis was laid more on projects that had to do with providing services, while in the rural areas, greater emphasis was laid on agriculture and related programmes. Projects visited included agricultural livestock, running a canteen and other domestic services, carpentry and metal work. Most of the projects were long-term, running continually. However some of the colleges visited informed us that during the current year, projects were not operating owing to lack of funds: out of the fourteen FDCs surveyed in September 1995 (see page 40), three had no projects, while the remaining eleven reported 40 projects between them, perhaps a record of past years rather than of the current situation. Agricultural projects seem to employ more labour than non-agricultural projects. Most of the labour is however provided by the students, even on the farms. The projects are all very traditional in their nature and methods, they are not innovative or exemplary [Misc 23].

External use of FDCs: Several of the colleges are being used by other agencies for housing their activities. In some, part-time or evening schools are being held. Other training courses have been held, using the premises but not the FDC staff. The Ministry of Agriculture has for many years run short courses in some 24 FDCs, and the women's organisation UWT uses FDCs for several of its local programmes. Two or three colleges host other government offices in part of the buildings. On the whole this is more typical of the FDCs in or near urban centres, but even more remote colleges are able on occasion to let part of their premises to other bodies including overseas development agencies for their own programmes. We note for example the current or planned use of FDC premises by ILO for a Skills Development for Self-Reliance Project in 15 FDCs, by UNHCR for a refugee programme, by DANIDA for an afforestation programme, and by the World Bank for some short training programmes (which did not involve the local FDC staff). NGOs, especially the churches and local women's groups, locate agroforestry programmes [N14] and other activities in several FDCs (see pg 51).

FINANCE

From the beginning, the plans for the FDCs outran the ability to pay for them. In addition, as time went by, staffing increased before the original staff were fully employed. The salary bill for the FDCs therefore grew.

The colleges have thus been under-funded from the start but at the same time they are considerably over-staffed even in those cases where there were only five tutors to a college. Today the average is ten tutorial staff. The staff-student ratio is very low - 1 staff to 2.25 students from a sample of colleges which had students at the time of our visits (see App B). The paradox is that the Teachers' Services Commission is paying the cost of staff that are not needed while at the same time there is no money for the support of courses or maintenance of buildings.

Ministry funding: MCDWAC's contribution is intended to cover the cost of residence and food. There is no specific allocation for teaching costs.

The funding allocation made to each FDC is nominally based on student numbers, but at times it has appeared to be arbitrary or even discriminatory. On the other hand, the claims made by the colleges on which the chief accountant in the Ministry was expected to allocate funds were based on the plans of the colleges rather than on their current activities. In an attempt to overcome some of these problems, the TANDEM Project worked with the FDC Section staff to introduce what was known as the 'student week formula' which has been agreed in the Ministry and is followed in the colleges when submitting their claims.

Funds are paid into the college bank accounts, to be spent under the direct control of the Principal (few FDCs have a bursar or similar officer or a finance committee). A monthly return is made by the college to the chief accountant with receipts. Colleges are visited by auditors at least once a year and from time to time surprise visits are made from MCDWAC to check that funds are being properly used and accounted for.

In 1994, the Government indicated that it was unable to fund the FDCs even for their current programmes. Students in the middle of their courses were sent home with the information that if and when they resumed their studies, they would be required to pay substantial fees for the remaining parts. This was a blow from which many of the colleges have not yet recovered.

But this situation, although extreme, was not unheralded. Mosha's first report describes a catalogue of underfunding and mismanagement. Colleges were less than accurate in their student returns in order to squeeze as much money out of the Ministry (MEC) as possible. FDCs also raised funds from various sources and kept no records of how these funds were expended: "some FDCs used part of the money from other sponsors to supplement the costs of their own programmes" [Mosha 1985 p169].

The situation appears to have become worse. Of the colleges visited, none had received any funds from MCDWAC for running costs during the past year. The last registered distribution of Ministry funds to the FDCs was in August 1994 when TSh80,000 had been sent to most colleges irrespective of size, student enrolment or need. Since then, few further funds have been distributed (one special disbursement of TSh1m was made to one college (Bigwa) for reasons unknown while most of the others received nothing).

Instead the colleges have received instructions that they are to move as quickly as possible to becoming self-reliant for funding purposes rather than relying on MCDWAC. During its last two years, those responsible for the TANDEM programme were tasked to help the FDC staff with this new charge. This accounts for one of the changes in the Project TOR.

Village contributions: In the survey conducted by Professor Mosha in the late 1970s, only 2 out of 141 villages visited made any kind of contribution. During the current evaluation, the only village contribution identified was the gift of 30 acres of land to one college for it to grow maize, but this involved the FDC concerned in the cost of fuel to get a team of workers to the land. No machinery for the channelling of funds from the villages to the FDCs has been created. One or two Districts have allocated funds to their local FDCs towards the running of their long courses, but this appears to be unusual.

Student contributions: The new element in the funding of the FDCs are the fees paid by the students or their families (they too have been unable to secure village support for their training). The colleges have been asked to charge each student at least TSh25,000 a year as a contribution towards the cost of food. One college is charging TSh50,000 per year. This charge was introduced without warning in 1994. We note however that the TANDEM team proposed student fees in January 1992 [Tan32 p36]. Some colleges plan to raise these fees to TSh70,000 for the coming year [N8]. The Ministry recognised that many students would find the acquisition of such sums a real problem, and it suggested that alternative methods of payment might be possible. There was a substantial but unrecorded drop-out rate during this course, greater than normal drop-out rate which occurs owing to the length of the courses, the perceived irrelevancy of the curriculum, the lack of value added from the course and the bad conditions within the colleges. All the FDCs we visited at first denied this drop-out but eventually admitted it existed: in one course, attendance fell from 50 students to 27 within one year [N2]. Nevertheless, several students returned to complete their courses. While most of the students managed to pay their contribution in cash, a few others paid in kind (charcoal, maize or beans and rice); one college at least has increased its residential student enrolment through a systematic use of this procedure.

Project funds: According to Mosha, income-generation (ESR) projects raised some 11% of the costs of the FDCs (excluding staff salaries) in 1979-80. Kweka and Chambua listed the self-reliance projects that each of the colleges in their survey had mounted, and of the 15 FDCs surveyed, 4 colleges were classified as rich, 7 as average and 4 as poor [Kweka and Chambua]. The September 1995 survey suggests that of the eleven FDCs with projects, two were rich, six average, and three were poor.

The balance between the roles of the projects as a source of revenue for the FDCs and as the practical element of the college educational programmes does not seem to have been achieved (see 7.5.10 below). Nor do they involve the local community.

The evaluation team discussed the various projects with the Principal, the Co-ordinator of Projects (CP) and various members of staff involved. The CP was intended to receive daily reports from the persons in charge of each project, but accounts were rarely forthcoming and few could indicate whether the projects made a profit or not. All Principals said that their projects were in profit but several of them could not prove this. Indeed, during our visits, few projects were operational (page 40), so the figures supplied relate to earlier times. In the September 1995 survey where the figures may be notional, the 40 projects averaged profits of TSh74,000, but the range of profit varied greatly, from TSh3,600 to TSh705,000. Ilula recorded five projects with a profit of TSh750,000. We need to note for purposes of comparison that the primary school ESR projects only contributed between 3 and 5% to the costs of their schools [ILO survey cited in Cooksey 1986 p191].

Principals have discretion to spend what they wish on such projects, although the Guidelines indicate that they must present an account to the staff (and if possible to the students). More than one Principal admitted that they took money from the projects to meet emergencies. A shop was run by one college but the staff felt that this would close shortly because of lack of funds to purchase goods to sell. A tailoring scheme that produced school uniforms in another college had ceased because there was no money to buy materials. In another college, pigs were bought in for rearing rather than farrowing their own sows; only two pigs had been sold in the year. Similarly with goats and pigs elsewhere, the numbers sold did not contribute much to the college income. The one poultry project seen was based on deep litter rather than free range (by which most staff reared their own poultry); with the small number of birds, badly pecked, and the lack of nesting boxes, it is doubtful whether the income exceeded the cost of feed, and the project has now closed.

One factor which has affected a number of projects is the decision of some local government officials with their own share of cuts in expenditure no longer to give the FDCs work as in the past. For example, in one college, we were informed that substantial earlier orders for desks and chairs for local primary schools were no longer being passed to the carpentry project of the local FDC, and the FDC had been unable to replace this order with other work.

Carpentry projects, house building and metalwork projects could no doubt provide a larger income, but in several colleges finished products were being stock-piled (for example, in one FDC nine completed door frames made without an order were found). It is clear that only a few FDC projects have yet developed a genuine enterprise culture, analysing market opportunities and meeting specific local needs. Throughout our studies of the projects, one of the most remarkable features is the unwillingness of many colleges to take entrepreneurial risks. Potential for local business activity has not yet been tapped.

Lettings: The colleges visited revealed that some (but not all) of the Management Boards had a policy with regard to lettings. A token sum was on occasion charged for the use of the premises, but where such bodies were other government departments (as was often the case when the District Commissioner was chairman of the Board), no charge was normally made. In one FDC, for example, a room was provided for a police station and no rent was paid for this. There is a growing awareness that in the new climate, more realistic arrangements need to be made. The sums raised in this way have not in the past been applied to any particular purpose, but now Principals have been urged to use those sums for the rehabilitation of the FDC buildings.

The financing of the colleges is in a critical condition. Although technically the staff, especially the Principal, have been freed by the Ministry to raise funds and expend them in any way they wish, provided they keep the courses continuing, the staff of the FDCs we visited have been substantially demoralised by the sudden withdrawal of Government funding (page 41). There was no gradual reduction of funding which would have enabled them to become increasingly less dependent on MCDWAC. They have had no time to develop new attitudes, strategies or skills. Some of the staff have pointed to the continued flow of instructions from the Ministry which is not matched by funding, and (as one former Principal put it) some of them have suggested that the colleges should be freed from MCDWAC control even further, with a slogan of "*no funding, no directives*". However, what is clearly happening is that all the colleges are adopting short-term measures to meet immediate costs: as one of our respondents put it, the FDCs are "*eating up the seed money*".

STAFFING

Staffing Quotas: The original staffing of the FDCs was very rigid (see 3.5.1 above). The paradox of a formal institution trying to provide non-formal education is apparent.

Career paths: Most of the colleges have increased their staff since their foundation (see page 17). The teaching staff of the FDCs are registered as 'teachers', and MCDWAC reports that it has "*lively links with the Ministry of Education*". The FDC teaching staff have their salaries paid by the Teachers' Service Commission and are professionally attached to MEC and to the Teachers' Association [SIDA 7 p9]. Staff in a public service like teaching in Tanzania are drafted into positions. There are few signs of a chosen career with a clear progression. Thus the Ministry (formerly MEC, now MCDWAC) appoints the senior staff of the colleges and moves other staff on the recommendation of the Principals. Career paths are uncertain and usually unexplained. One teacher had been appointed to work in a primary school, then a teacher training

college, and then a FDC; another had been transferred from a primary school to become an Adult Education Co-ordinator and then into his FDC [N1]. When questioned, several teachers had no idea why they had been transferred from a primary school to an FDC. Only a few teachers indicated that they had volunteered to work in FDCs, and most of these appointments consisted of transfers from another FDC, although one or two came from neighbouring primary schools. Transfer from the FDC sector into other sectors of education apparently rarely happens: it is significant that when one FDC was closed and became a secondary school, the staff were retained in the FDC sector, not transferred to the new school.

Staffing in the FDCs is still rigidly controlled under a central allocating system. This contrasts sharply with a key objective of TANDEM that "FDCs should optimise their staffing in relation to local needs". The students therefore have to follow the courses that the staff are qualified to teach, irrespective of local needs. Some of the FDCs are aware of and can articulate some of the training needs of local communities, but they do not have the properly qualified staff to meet those needs.

Relocation of staff: It is widely recognised on all sides that there is a great imbalance of staff. Some FDCs have too many tutors in certain subject areas while others do not have enough in these same subject areas. One college, for example, has three agricultural tutors but no agricultural long courses [N19, 26]. Relocating staff is costly, although the recent Civil Service Reforms will make this easier in the future. The opportunity for MCDWAC to relocate these staff at the cost of SIDA was not however taken up. Thus, despite the TANDEM training programme with its emphasis on transparency and greater efficiency, the Ministry seems to be no nearer addressing the real problem of relating teaching staff qualifications and experience to the perceived and articulated needs of the local communities that they serve. Local Boards are still unable to appoint to their FDC appropriate teachers, on either a full-time or part-time basis, in a wider range of subject areas, although they are able with the Principal to select and recommend for appointment the non-teaching staff of the college who often equal in numbers the teaching staff.

Teaching staff

It would seem that with regard to staff qualifications, matters have improved since the Mosha Report of 1983 when it was noted that more than one third of FDC tutors had had no teacher training [Mosha 1983 p124]. Almost all of the teachers interviewed were certificated teachers. Further training is still open to the tutors of FDCs although there are few signs that any are taking this route to career development.

Opportunities for self-advancement are few. Not many can look forward to any career progression inside their own FDC. Undertaking additional responsibilities does not bring any salary increase, only more duties and some recognition and powers. All staff are on the same salary scale, so there are few incentives to undertake additional tasks. Promotions are open to only a few, and now that the TANDEM courses have ceased, new criteria for such promotions are being drawn up.

Gender: although there are many women staff in the colleges (the Ministry could not provide us with exact figures for the numbers of men and women tutorial staff), they are almost always gender stereotyped. Although there are now more women Principals (MCDWAC has made a special effort in this respect), the other teaching staff are kept within traditional roles, with women concentrating on domestic science and men in the other roles. We noted that in staff meetings, the women staff were often very hesitant to speak, but that out of these meetings they were often articulate and full of practical ideas.

Staff responsibilities

Job descriptions for teaching and non-teaching responsibilities are set for all staff as the Ministry Guidelines of April 1994 instructed. The TanMan courses with their emphasis on participation and transparency at both student and staff levels have begun to make their mark on the question of staff review. Several Principals, on their own or in association with the staff of the college, make amendments to the job descriptions, but there appears to be no systematic review of these descriptions. Some of the FDCs suggested that this was a matter for consideration at staff meetings and that each teacher's job description might be modified by the group as a whole in the light of changing circumstances (e.g. the death or transfer of a staff member which called for a review of the responsibilities of the remaining staff). For example, in one college where the former CP had been transferred and no replacement had been made by the Ministry, the Co-ordinator of Studies became in addition Co-ordinator of Projects, and this arrangement was made subject to approval by the staff meeting. Three Principals said that staff changes had made such reviews necessary; two others indicated that they reviewed staff roles annually and one *"every six months at a staff meeting"*. One Principal reviewed the job descriptions of the college Co-ordinators individually. There is however little recognition of the value of this procedure as part of the college development plan and/or an evaluation of staff effectiveness.

When asked to comment on who reviewed their own jobs and when, the responses of the Principals varied: *"rarely"*; *"I followed the job description in the Guidelines"*; *"the Board"*; *"changed my job description after attending the Principals' Annual Meeting where I was told what to do"*.

One of the main concepts of the TANDEM courses has been 'team building'. Shared teaching roles have become more common.

Staff evaluation

The Guidelines require Subject Co-ordinators to obtain from all tutors their schemes of work at the beginning of each term. Each teacher is supposed to submit his/her lesson plan to the Co-ordinator for checking every Friday. Principals and Subject Co-ordinators say that they visit the classrooms regularly, apparently to check whether the tutor is present. The student diary (page 69) is seen by the senior staff as a further check on the effectiveness of the tutors. These activities were displayed to the visiting evaluation team and we were assured that they are done all the time. There is some evidence to indicate that a few Principals or Subject Co-ordinators watch tutors teach but little evidence of them engaging in analytical discussion about the lessons.

The non-teaching roles are evaluated, if at all, in the staff meeting in the form of examining jointly problems that an individual might be encountering.

The changes facing the colleges, especially the lack of financial support from MCDWAC combined with the inability of the villages to find the fees for the students, are radically altering the initial concept behind the development of the FDCs and with this the demands on the staff. In response to the reduction of student enrolment for long courses, many staff realise that village-based or college-based short courses need to be developed to recruit additional students. Such activities however call for resources - travel costs and extra teaching-learning materials for going out to the villages in addition to the residential costs for college-based courses since what the students contribute can only meet part of the costs. It will also call for more flexible staff who can adapt their material to new teaching-learning programmes.

Currently many staff are not teaching a full load. Although staff timetables and a calculation of 'Student Weeks' adorn most Principals' offices, these are in many cases hypothetical. One Principal admitted that out of fifteen staff, only three were teaching a full timetable. Some (especially the craft teachers in carpentry and masonry) are teaching up to 20 hours per week; others as little as two hours per week (e.g. in agriculture, civics and culture). Several make up additional hours working on projects; in one college, a tutor who had been on the kitchen management course run by the TANDEM project is making charcoal stoves for sale. Others are engaged on college maintenance (e.g. kitchen improvement). Some work their own fields.

Despite the projects and the expressed desire for outreach work, the tutors in the FDCs see themselves as classroom teachers rather than as small-business managers, outreach workers or change agents. One tutor told us the staff *"regarded themselves as form teachers rather than as development workers"*. Another tutor in carpentry pointed out that he wore a white shirt and was therefore not *"just a craftsman"*. Although TANDEM has had some influence on some staff in relation to running small enterprises, there is still today *"the need for more competent teachers who can integrate the imparting of production skills and the search for self-employment in the local community.."* [Kweka and Chambua 1988].

Continuing staff development

It would seem to be clear from the surveys undertaken that the staffing of the FDCs is too inflexible to meet new needs. College 'self-sufficiency' is not adequate to enable the existing staff to take action to develop their own programmes in response to local needs. We saw few signs of staff being willing to develop themselves to meet the new challenges (although there are some signs that some of the women Principals had a more positive attitude to self-training through their network); on the whole the staff are dependent on outside agencies for any training they may feel they need. They appear to be unwilling to spend any money themselves on their own professional development. None, so far as we know, is for example taking any Open University course: several told us they are *"waiting to see how it goes"*.

CONCLUSION

The overwhelming impression we gained from our visits is of demoralisation, discontent and even some anger among the staff of the FDCs (pages 88 - 89). Some of the staff are excellent, showing much initiative and being very articulate. But even these are often frustrated, seeing what could be done but not having the resources to do it. Others have ceased to try to find ways forward at all. Such staff fulfil their duties and apply what they have learned from the TANDEM courses more or less mechanistically (team teaching; integrated subjects, participatory pedagogy etc - see page 69). That they are capable of responding when challenged is clear from their participation during the TanMan and TT courses we visited. They worked well in groups and were usually forthcoming in discussion; but back at the colleges they appear to resume their concern for their personal interests rather than those of the college as a whole.

CHAPTER 7

THE FDCs TODAY: PROGRAMMES AND ACTIVITIES

STUDENTS

By students under this section, we mean the residential students on long college-based courses. The short courses and outreach programmes of the FDCs are discussed below. We need to remember that on average for every long-term residential student, there are three and a half participants on short courses.

Currently as we have seen above, the school leaver group predominates. TANDEM supported this trend: "The experience of fifteen years work with the FDCs .. has .. shown that it is neither desirable nor realistic to draw students to the FDCs from those groups of young people only that have successfully completed the various literacy stages in the adult education system. Experience has shown that the FDCs play an important part in helping to solve the 'standard-seven-leavers' problem" [Critique of Mosha 1992 by Norbeck: Tan32 p 33b]. But others have not been so complacent with this development: "Over recent years, the balance of trainees has shifted from adults to youths (standard VII leavers). This anomaly has been identified and will be balanced by outreach support to adults" [Minutes of meeting of SIDA, Linköping and MLG October 1990: Tan7 p4]. However in the colleges visited, there was no evidence of a recruitment policy for students. Several of the FDCs indicated that prior to the recent fee increase, they set a limit of Standard 7 as the entry level to the FDC. This clearly ruled out the adult literacy graduates. After the new financial regime was introduced in 1994, recruitment of students came to depend not on prior educational experience but on the ability of the student or his/her family to pay the fees, on the availability of staff and enough students to make a viable class, and on the demand for the skill being offered in the surrounding community.

Some of the effects of introducing fees for the courses may not have been foreseen. Concern about the social effects of educational fees has been expressed: "establishing .. fees affects not only who will have access to [the courses] but also who will decide who is to have that access. Privatisation transfers to participating groups .. the authority to make important educational and thus societal decisions. To privatise [the FDCs] is to privatise, at least in part, public policy. ...Privatisation .. is likely to compound inequality" [Samoff 1990 pp 4-5].

The result of all these trends is that today overwhelmingly the students on the longer courses are younger adults. We were told that most of them were between 18 and 30 but our surveys revealed they were more often between 16 and 20 years of age (see App B). The FDCs are not catering for those adults who are already established in their social context; instead they serve younger persons who are still seeking their niche in the modern world. As MCDWAC put it to us, "*Having younger students in FDCs is not an accident: it is a deliberate move to rescue the casualties of the primary schools, to meet the demands of the parents*" [N32]. None of the long-course residential students we met, either currently in the FDCs or past students, had families depending on them while they were studying. The FDCs in terms of their long-term residential courses have ceased being (in all but name) adult education institutions but have found a role as young people's vocational education and training institutions.

The fact that most FDCs take students who can pay fees irrespective of the primary school standard they have achieved means that they are teaching students with a very wide range of prior educational experience and study skills. For most of them, primary school experience is very recent. Staff informed us that these students "*are shy to use new methods; they want notes*" [N11]; "*we don't think they can choose the topics to*

study" [N16]; "we need to provide a bridge to the students who are not used to participatory approaches" [N18]. The changing nature of the student body will pose new problems for FDC staff: "There has been some trouble with students at FDCs ... because they have paid for these courses" [N4].

When the FDCs were set up, although the numbers in the colleges varied according to the accommodation available, it was recommended that there should be some 40-60 students on the long courses [Kassam 1978 p99]. However, in all the FDCs visited, courses are still heavily undersubscribed. This is now attributed to the fee increase. It is noteworthy that one of the lowest recruitments (10 students for eight staff) seems to be at the FDC which has set a fee of TSh50,000, twice the figure recommended by MCDWAC. Most courses have been shortened to eighteen months or even one year to meet the demands of the students.

There are a substantial number of women students. Most go into the tailoring courses (which are taken almost exclusively by women) but a few go into carpentry. Several colleges have begun to provide creche and childcare facilities, mainly apparently aimed at the short course students, but many do not yet have these. One or two colleges have more women students than men (see chapter 10 below).

Some FDCs have begun to take non-residential students. There is however a certain amount of resistance to this because some staff have found the attendance of day students to be irregular. A number of colleges, especially those located in or near towns, have been more successful in recruiting and retaining non-residential students. But few if any colleges have introduced part-time courses; the courses are almost all (even the short courses) full-time.

Although originally students were supposed to be sent to the FDCs by their villages, in practice the majority of the past students we met had applied on an individual basis to go to the college. Some students are still recruited by the local District officials and recommended to the FDC. It would be almost impossible for a college to refuse to take such a student. The staff of most FDCs do not have the transport or other facilities to do more than a very limited amount of recruiting directly even in neighbouring villages. In some cases, we found students being recruited regularly from the villages in which members of staff of the college had their homes. Several former students told us that they recommend other young persons to go to the FDC but that the high fees prevent them. It is noteworthy that some staff recognise that the fees are attracting students from a different social category from those who came when the courses were free (see above), and that former students are therefore less able to recruit the new kind of students required.

Some colleges recruit from outside their own District, even from Districts in which there is another FDC. One college was getting students from outside its region for carpentry courses since the demand for this skill was high in that region. We also noted in another case that when one college was temporarily closed, students attended another FDC in another region involving very long travelling times. It is not normally any particular speciality which the recruiting FDC is offering which attracts the students: the courses provided are exactly the same.

As a generalisation, the students we met were articulate and confident, apparently very committed to their courses and the futures they intended to make for themselves. It would seem that many of them were determined to succeed almost despite the FDC which was training them.

CURRICULUM

It would be perverse to suggest that the curriculum of the FDCs in the middle of the 1990s should be based on the ideological objectives which were set for these institutions in the middle of the 1970s (see above pages 13 - 14). All institutions will inevitably be called upon to adapt to meet changing conditions over a period of twenty one years.

However, very little appears to have changed in the FDCs since 1975 in the formal outline of the curriculum. The curriculum has recently (August 1994) been revised by the Ministry but it still bears an uncanny similarity to the various earlier curricula. The document is very elaborate, including recommended textbooks (which very few colleges actually have). Discretion is given to staff to develop topics within the headings given, according to a formula which the TANDEM training programmes are promoting on behalf of the MCDWAC, but the freedom to develop wholly new long courses (such as secretarial skills) not included in the approved curriculum to meet local potentialities is apparently not envisaged, for there is no machinery for any college to obtain approval for new subjects.

The long courses are still intended to be the same throughout the country in order to fulfil the FDC objective "to consolidate and perpetuate national culture" [Draft Guidelines 1992: Tan 4a p 23]. The FDCs which we visited in practice limit their long and principal courses to carpentry and tailoring. We do not deny the relevance of these courses to some local needs [SIDA 34] but they are very limited. While we saw several examples of successful past students who were now operative (almost all from courses dating back to the late 1980s), their work did not seem to be of significantly higher standard than the village-trained artisans. There is evidence in some locations of over-production of graduates in these subjects. Young men told us that they could not get a job or start up on their own in carpentry, not simply because they lacked tools but because there was not enough work for them to do in their locality. Similarly some young women in tailoring found it hard to get enough work to repay the bank loans they had incurred to purchase their sewing machines. This may of course be the consequence of the colleges drawing their long-term students from a very limited range of villages. But there may be deeper roots to the problem than this: the crafts may not be applicable to all villages. We note the comments of a recent report:

"The research team was informed about the FDC's .. programmes where one of the problems seemed to be that many of those who were trained did not practise what they learned after coming back to their villages. Providing successful trainees with tools is sometimes thought to be the solution. But, though the idea of a work-oriented programme seems attractive, a careful study should be made of the opportunities that exist for those who followed the training to practise it. Apparently it has been assumed that such opportunities would exist in the villages. Questions to be answered are not only if the trained craftsmen [sic] will have the capital and equipment needed to establish themselves as such, but also for what purposes use might be made of their crafts in the villages and whether the villagers can afford it. Why is it that in some villages the craft has not been developed while it did in others? Is it only a lack of training? Before deciding on organizing a training course for carpenters, for instance, a study should be made of the role of this craft in villages where carpenters work: what they do, for whom, what equipment and materials they use, how they are paid, how they acquire their skills etc" [SIDA 62 p82].

The assumption that skills in these two areas are uniformly needed in all villages throughout the country must be challenged.

The FDC long course curriculum includes two supplementary groups of subjects - those supposedly useful for conducting a self-reliant activity (such as book-keeping), and those which are aimed at educating a more confident and participatory citizen (economics, civics, culture etc). The original intention of the 'cultural' element was to understand the traditional Tanzanian practice of *ujamaa* [Honeybone 1979 p 151] but it has been retained even though *ujamaa* is no longer a live issue. We note the absence of any serious education in contemporary understandings of 'development'. This is hard to understand in the light of the FDCs' title and the original curriculum which contained an element on rural development. The course in which this topic occurs is now a more formal economics course. Equally there is virtually nothing on family education [N23].

In more practical terms, we note that in some cases the book-keeping training is not being used. Former students now in business told us that they did not in fact keep formal accounts, they did it all in their heads. We found only one case of a more comprehensive approach to small business training. It would seem that despite the projects, some of the existing staff of the FDCs are not themselves able to manage small enterprises and therefore are not able to teach or inspire their students in this subject. Once again this was an issue which former surveys had identified and which TANDEM set out to remedy.

Certification: Some FDCs give their own certificate of attendance to those who wish to leave after one year and then groom those who stay on for a second year to take the trade tests. One or two allow former students to return at a later date to take the trade tests; these are in many cases now optional, the student paying the examination fee. They are felt to be "*useful to get a job but not for self-employment*" [N20]. The current emphasis in Tanzania is on training for the informal and rural economic sectors rather than for the employed economy:

"The reality of Tanzania in the early 1990s is that a growing number of school leavers have to rely on their capacity for enterprise, because of the lack of formal sector opportunities and capital inputs needed in order to survive well in the rural sector. If education is to lead development, this situation should be reflected in the content of education in terms of curricula which promote knowledge and skills for enterprise, could lead to fulfilling informal sector jobs, and could promote a possible growth potential in the dominant informal and rural sectors" [Buchert 1994 p172:].

It is likely that local certification will be more useful to the FDC students than trade tests.

Short courses

It is in the field of short courses that there are some signs of change. Both college-based and village-based short courses - where they exist - show greater variety and certainly go some way to meeting identified local needs.

The value of short courses has recently been emphasised. Fay Chung for example has indicated her belief that the way forward for a more relevant African education must include short courses:

"The system of providing short vocational courses to develop specific skills is also crucial, particularly at this period of development where employment creation and a changing economic scenario make training and retraining critical. These courses can last a few weeks or a few months. Zimbabwe has run such courses in the agricultural industry, involving cotton farmers, pig farmers and tobacco farmers. These are run by commercial farmers' unions but .. they have opened their doors to peasant farmers" [Chung 1996a p44]

It is very difficult to obtain hard facts on short courses in the colleges. Many of the figures provided relate to courses in the past, not current provision; and many of these courses are provided in the college premises by agencies other than the FDCs (see 7.3.6 below). In a survey of fourteen FDCs in September 1995, 9 colleges are listed as having short courses; but this is not complete, for from other evidence at least one of the remaining colleges had some short courses. The nine responding FDCs recorded thirty-one such courses: one college had ten courses, the others 2-4 each. Enrolment varied greatly: one FDC reported 298 participants in two short courses, another had 172 participants also in two short courses. On the other hand, one FDC had 4 participants in one course. To average such participation rates would be misleading. However it is clear that the FDCs reach a far wider range of local persons through the short courses: these fourteen FDCs had a total of 360 students on long courses and 11,241 participants in their shorter courses. It is in the shorter courses that the real impact of the FDCs will be felt in the development of their areas. It is therefore strange that the focus in the FDCs is primarily on the long-term students.

It is not clear from the survey described on page 51 which of these courses were college-based and which were village-based. Our field work indicated that a number of colleges had both kinds of courses. Some had no college-based courses but only outreach (for outreach courses and activities, see page 54 below), and a few had neither. We were unable to determine the reasons for this failure to develop the shorter training opportunities which other institutions have found to be very rewarding and for which our field visits to the community have shown there is a demand from the immediate neighbourhood.

College-based short courses: At least one FDC has started courses leading to 'O' levels. Many have run 'seminars' - short (often one-day) conferences, demonstrations, training and orientation events for local participants. We noted courses on English language, typewriting and book-keeping. A short course run by Ifakara can serve as an example of the kind of provision which colleges can make, using their own teaching staff: A group of 14 local farmers (aged between 16 and 63 but with only 5 under the age of 30) who wished to start up dairy units for themselves attended the college for half a day six days a week for three months to learn new skills. The course was taught by the college staff. (It should surely be acceptable for such a demanding course to lead to a college certificate of attendance to acknowledge the commitment of the participants).

However the majority of short courses in the FDCs were mounted by other bodies. Organisations such as CCM, and other Ministries (notably Health and Agriculture) ran courses on the college campuses. The Ministry of Agriculture had run for many years two week training courses in 24 FDCs, but these now seem to be declining, if they take place at all. The Ministry of Health too ran occasional courses (for example on family planning, and up-dating courses for local nurses, etc). Programmes for Co-operatives also feature in this programme. The FDCs thus stood as host to many other bodies - the list we compiled included HIMA, DANIDA, DMO, CDS, the AIDS programme, GTZ, World Vision, the churches (see page 40 above). The expansion of this programme depends on the maintenance and upgrading of the physical facilities of the FDCs; when local churches and other NGOs can offer better facilities at reasonable prices, the FDCs will suffer.

General comments on the curriculum

The main problem with the FDC curriculum seems to lie in the assessment of needs. It is becoming more widely understood that the concept of 'needs' as the basis of developing a curriculum is inadequate on its own. Apart from the distinction between

'needs' and felt or perceived needs ('wants') - i.e. the view of the outsider and the insider (Chambers 1983) - more recently increasing emphasis has been given to two other aspects of developing a curriculum to meet local conditions: a) **aspirations and intentions** (what the local community intends and plans to do, not what it needs) and b) **potentialities** (what can be developed using local resources) (Rogers 1992). On aspirations and intentions, we note that some women have asked for training in how to build their own houses and several others for English language courses. The non-teaching staff, many of whom who come from the immediate neighbourhood unlike some of the teaching staff, could help with the identification of these intentions. For potentialities, in some parts of the country such as the Kilimanjaro area, there appears to be potential for developing trades and crafts linked to tourism and cross-border trading - carvings or cloth making, for example. Here is a possibility for developing skills and designs and businesses. One college in the south has embarked on this route - there is almost certainly room for others to do the same. Some demand for certificates has been recorded; this is often resisted by the FDCs, but as we have seen at least one college has launched a successful programme.

Doubt was expressed about the value-added nature of FDC training: *"embroidery is simply doing what the girls have already learned at home"* [N12]. We were told on several occasions that the students *"can get trade training in the town through workshops [i.e. small businesses] or on state farms"* [N8], that they could get good skill training - almost as good as they could get in the FDC - by working for some established artisan in the community. Indeed, we note that a significant number of the former students we met are in fact training others when such trainees are unable to afford the high fees now being charged by the FDCs. (Incidentally, this raises the question as to whether the FDC curriculum should include some topics on how to train others and how to manage apprentices. This has been stated on several occasions and forms on paper part of the TANDEM TT course, but we saw no signs that this element was being implemented in the colleges).

Democracy: On the whole the FDCs played little part in the political education of people in the rural areas in multi-party democracy during the recent elections. That this did not form part of their programmes is surprising in the light of their stated concern for the promotion of democratic procedures. Apparently the justification for this was that as a government agency, the FDCs should keep themselves apart from the contemporary political debates, a policy which will of course rule out all forms of citizenship education except that which is in the interests of the current government. This failure may be interpreted in one of two ways: either a) that the FDCs in Tanzania lack the freedoms of other adult education institutions elsewhere or b) that the FDCs have become vocational education and training colleges and can no longer fulfil the wider functions of adult education agencies. The truth may vary in different cases. If however the FDCs are to involve themselves more fully in the promotion of democracy in a society where changes are occurring at a rapid pace, they will need to learn more about their own society (we have noted the recent interest for example in Tanzania as in other African societies in new roles for traditional leaders). This will be even more essential if they are to fulfil their new role in community development.

Nor did we find many former students who participated actively in any form of local democratic activity in their own community, despite the fact that the alleged ethos of the FDCs (like other Tanzanian educational institutions) was to develop active participatory and more democratic procedures in order to provide practical training in democratic approaches to life. The initial concept of the FDCs helping to develop the villages through the education and training of young people and adults who would return to use the skills they had learned and thus become change agents for the benefit of their village has foundered on the desire of the individual to improve her/his own lot in life rather than participate in the more selfless goals of joining with others to improve the lot of the

community as a whole. It is estimated (there are virtually no tracer studies to prove it, see below) that some thirty percent, and probably a higher proportion (one well informed source suggests that it is a majority [N10]) of graduates from the FDCs do not return to their villages but go to the towns to earn a living with their new skills [in Bigwa in 1990, the proportion was 42%: Survey 1990, SIDA 7 p28].

This is not of course a problem for the FDCs alone. Although the TANDEM team set as one of their goals that "[adult] education should counteract the migration from rural areas to urban centres" [SIDA 9 p29], it has been well remarked that this would require some form of social revolution: "As long as structural inequalities continue to be perpetuated between peasant farmers and other classes, the call to students to serve and work in the rural areas will continue to fall on deaf ears" [Cooksey 1986 p 200].

The curriculum and staffing

The range of courses offered is limited by the staffing available. The imbalance of staff has already been noticed, and relocation is one possibility (page 44). Some of the existing staff could of course develop new teaching programmes within the areas of their competencies - the domestic science staff, for example, in family welfare. And although the FDCs have been informed by MCDWAC that they are able to employ part-time local artisans to run courses, relatively few Principals seem to believe that they are in reality able to do this. Only two or three do so (courses on electrical fitting, shoe making, cycle repair, pottery for example).

Materials

Another limitation is the lack of appropriate teaching-learning material. The staff have not yet developed the skills of writing their own materials: further training in this field would yield considerable dividends. There is little initiative in searching for material produced and/or distributed free of charge by other agencies. Booklets dealing with agricultural topics provided by the agricultural extension services, or UNICEF health education leaflets and posters and similar material are rarely to be found in the colleges. The Institute of Adult Education informed us that they were willing to supply the FDC libraries with some of their post-literacy materials free of charge; these would form suitable teaching-learning materials. A recent survey of several villages in Tanzania revealed that publications on agriculture, AIDS, child care and other subjects have been provided by other government and development agencies and are to be found in most villages [SIDA 62 p56] - these would be most useful for the FDCs. Further afield, we note some excellent materials on relevant topics which are available very cheaply in Swahili in Nairobi, but despite several study tours to Kenya by FDC personnel, no-one has drawn this material to the attention of the FDCs. They insist they have no money to buy any materials, and that (remote as most of them are) they lack the contacts to acquire materials from other sources. (We note that when asked about 'materials', the FDCs tended to reply in terms of equipment not study or teaching-learning materials).

OUTREACH

As we have seen, one of the areas which the FDCs are charged with developing further is outreach. Building on the support of the local communities, the FDCs are encouraged to take their expertise into the villages and to assist with the development programmes of their neighbourhood. This will help to reassert their role as educational institutions for adults rather than for young people. The college staff are urged to become change agents rather than classroom teachers.

This injunction has been repeated several times. Kweka and Chambua listed some aspects of this in their Recommendations. Not only must

"the aims and objectives of the FDCs .. be disseminated to the local community so that the local people can co-operate with the colleges in the implementation of its objectives... {In addition}, a mechanism must be worked out whereby FDC tutors can understand the local community better .. The FDCs must learn to co-operate and/or liaise with other institutions in the community.."

but MCDWAC is now asking the colleges to go further, to take their training and advisory roles out into the local communities. The FDCs are being urged to be "mobile training units", although this depends on the provision and maintenance of adequate and appropriate forms of transport being available to the staff (cycles could work for many local villages).

Off-campus courses: Off-campus courses are provided by several of the colleges. Carpentry and masonry, horticulture and small business enterprise courses have been offered in local communities (in at least one case free of charge but there seems to be no justification for this). Some of these local courses are for women only. In one village, *"there is a women's group which meets twice weekly: they learn weaving, tailoring, cookery etc. They have a tutor from the FDC (it is within walking distance of the FDC). They buy their own material but cannot afford a sewing machine"* [N9]. Several colleges reported that they regularly receive requests from local villagers for courses: *"the latest was on animal husbandry"* [IDM Itin]. In some FDCs, teaching staff give occasional or regular continuing assistance on a personal basis to some of the most accessible of their former students to support their work in villages which are within easy reach of the college or in villages where staff have their homes. Such visits also serve as recruiting visits.

There are many precedents for such training programmes being located in the villages. It will be well to remind ourselves of what other SIDA-assisted reviews have found recently: villages with poultry-rearing and dress-making skills training programmes for small groups of women run by the churches, with courses on animal husbandry and home economics also run by the churches, often with religious teaching, with Ministry of Agriculture seminars on agricultural knowledge and skills, with Ministry of Health monthly workshops on nutrition and other subjects, with twice-weekly seminars on water (government-sponsored), with MEC work-oriented post-literacy training programmes, with demonstrations and lectures provided by the agricultural extension service four times a month, with UNICEF training programmes in agriculture. The District Commissioner's Office often organises seminars for village leaders on political education, management, leadership etc. MCDWAC is itself very active in this range of activities: with HESAWA training programmes, with monthly lectures for villagers on environmental, health and self-reliance issues, with village-based courses on child care, nutrition and communicable diseases. The NGOs are growing increasingly important in this activity: *"The case studies showed that sometimes NGOs are more active in the villages than government services"* [on the advantages of NGOs for this kind of training programme, see SIDA 62 pp 80-81]. The FDCs have a strong basis on which to build their own programme of outreach courses and many other adult educators in their own areas with whom to relate [SIDA 62 pp 32, 45-6, 67, 75-8]. They could help to service and advise other providing bodies within their area.

However in most cases the FDCs do not yet undertake such activities. The usual reason given for this is the lack of transport or lack of funds to cover the cost of fuel. The villagers, it is alleged, are unwilling to pay for their training - although we found at least one case where the villagers already pay the travel costs of the tutors as well as for the consumables required for the training course, and another case where the villagers said that they would be prepared to pay the costs of such training if it were in their own village. In one FDC, the tutors are using bicycle transport to go to the outreach classes.

However, the difficulties of transporting machines for tailoring or tools for carpentry without vehicles make the provision of short courses in these subjects more problematic.

It is important to realise that 'courses' are not the only form of assistance which can be offered by the FDCs to the villages in their neighbourhood. Kisaware FDC has shown some different forms of practical assistance which can be provided in terms of resource provision, advice and networking [SIDA 8 pp 53-4]; but in this it seems to be unusual. Most colleges see their role in terms of some form of 'teaching' (training or other forms of guidance). It is not possible to say whether such activities have increased in recent years, nor if so what are the reasons for such an increase. But it is clear that the future of the FDCs lies in the expansion of such activities. A foundation for such an expansion exists.

Other opportunities for community involvement in more general terms which are within the reach of the FDCs are neglected. Very few have open days for the local communities or even for the parents of the students despite several earlier exhortations [Mosha 1992 p28]. Very few invite local neighbours into the college. There are in many villages a growing number of small groups - youth groups, farmers' groups, women's groups, co-operatives, a few savings and credit groups, a growing number of NGOs, especially the churches etc - all of which would benefit from the support of FDC personnel. The lack of initiative of many of the staff of the colleges in the face of very real opportunities is the most striking feature we have discovered. Many of them are set firmly within an existing model of providing a limited range of in-college teaching. Only a very few of them see their role as change agents and fewer still put their perceptions into practice.

FDCs cannot of course solve village problems; but they can encourage local groups to meet and discuss and initiate action leading to local development and they can provide links to other services. As development-oriented training organisations, the FDCs are ideally placed to help local community leaders to develop their concepts and practices of development, for example in needs and potentiality assessments. Development is now seen holistically. For example, the contemporary programme RIPS in Tanzania has shown ways of integrating the various development elements into a single programme. But in the FDC sector, the training of village leaders in leadership or in development has declined, and there is as far as we could see no training for the local village committees which are springing up in many locations. There is no other agency yet for this kind of provision. As the Guidelines show, the FDCs still tend to think more of individual students than of local groups. The TANDEM courses stressed the need to "see the individual aspirations of the students as assets for development" rather than look to offering support to local groups ("the new goals must be such as to make the FDCs work both for meeting the needs of the community around and the needs of individuals, whether they will decide to return to the local community or not" [Critique by Norbeck on Mosha 1992, dated February 1992: Tan32 p 33b]. Examples in the field show that the FDCs could help with local community needs; they could assist the local communities for example to gain access to the many services which are available to them - specialist agricultural knowledge or house building skills or improved water provision, for example. The potentialities of the FDCs, despite their lack of financial resources, are still very great. One or two FDC staff have made a start as a result of the TANDEM training programmes by taking a small number of very local villages and working with these intensively, but this is not yet widespread.

Agriculture

One major missed opportunity is agriculture. Few FDCs today teach agriculture as a long course. Such agriculture as is taught is offered as part of the general curriculum to the *ufundi* students, mainly to train the students so that they can help with the

agricultural projects. College courses and projects do not seem to be adapted to local farming requirements (dryland farming or livestock or rainforest farming etc). Instead they all offer the same curriculum in agriculture, despite the suggestion of MCDWAC and the encouragement of TANDEM that the college staff are free within limits to develop agricultural programmes to suit their own locality.

The main agricultural activity of the FDCs are the projects (page 40). Such projects however are often stronger in name than in fact. Most colleges have a farm attached, sometimes two. One at least has the offer of the use of a local farm which the farmer is no longer running. However, most of the staff say they cannot farm their *shamba* because they lack the transport to visit it regularly enough (they do not envisage that the profits from the farm will cover the cost of such transport). And the agricultural projects, where they do exist, are often not good examples of what could take place; they are not innovating or pioneering. They can hardly be called 'exemplary'. This is probably the reason why they are not often used for demonstration purposes for local farmers. They are more often used for produce for staff and students to consume themselves or to sell. The college is only occasionally a centre for training local farmers, its main training role is reserved for its own students. It can be argued that if the tutors cannot practise good farming, then they should not be teaching agriculture.

Apart from the fact that they need to be seen as examples of good practice in the neighbourhood, the colleges under MCDWAC have been instructed to take their programmes out into the villages. This must include their agricultural expertise. This increasing emphasis on the outreach activities of the FDCs calls upon the colleges not only to run experimental and demonstration plots on the college campus which should be open to local farmers at the same time as they help the students to learn new methods and techniques. The colleges also need to provide advice to local farmers in the villages from their own experience.

Here the relationship between the FDCs and the agricultural extension service is crucial. One problem however seems to be the fact that the FDCs see such outreach work as the task of the agricultural extension service, not their role. To both the FDC staff and the agricultural extension staff, *"FDC staff are agricultural teachers, extension staff are more specialist"* [N4]. But many would argue that there really is no difference. Both are forms of adult non-formal education.

The only experimental programme we saw was in bee-keeping for which there is a demand. We saw no others such as mushroom growing or fish farming. Some agro-forestry is being done with tree nurseries, but this is more often done by a different agency like DANIDA using the college as a base. The missed opportunities are enormous.

COMMUNITY

In the FDCs visited, the majority of the members of the surrounding community who knew anything about the local FDC were primary school leavers. In a very narrow geographical area immediately around the FDC, there was a good deal of knowledge of the institution, but further afield, the college was either unknown or not seen to be relevant to local needs at all. Bigwa reported in 1990, "Very few villages know about the college and its activities" [Bigwa Study 1990: SIDA 7 p28], and a survey conducted around Sengerema by the participants of TanMan1 in 1993-4 showed the same situation.

The general opinion in the community, so far as it could be assessed, seems to be that the FDC should encourage self-reliance among the youth, particularly through agricultural education, precisely the area which most colleges have abandoned. *"We*

need the FDC to provide knowledge and skills to our young people"; "the FDC belongs to the young people" [N9,11]. Few felt that the graduates could become development leaders in their villages, but that they would be better off running their own small enterprise. And few were of the opinion that the FDCs should be turned into other kinds of institutions including secondary schools.

Views about the FDC expressed by the primary school leavers within the community were that the FDC is a useful institution. The hopes of these members of the local community were usually expressed in the same terms as the colleges themselves - that they should provide carpentry, masonry, domestic science and agricultural training. Very few included metal work in the list of subjects to be provided by the FDC. In other words, local needs were expressed in the community in the same terms as those in which the question was asked, not as a genuine informed review of local potentialities.

However this group also indicated that they would prefer to attend very short courses at the FDC - of one week or so - rather than longer-term courses.

Older members of the local community, so far as we were able to assess their views, felt that the FDCs were 'not for them'. Some said that the colleges neglected their interests, that they felt that they could not visit, let alone attend events at, the FDCs. They were not seen as community institutions, 'People's Colleges'. They were 'owned' by the teachers in them or the Ministry, not by the local people.

Some of the teachers of the FDCs were involved in various activities in their home villages including local education, finance and other village committees and co-operatives. These communities in general thought that the presence of the FDC was beneficial to the community in several different ways, and that the surrounding area would be adversely affected if the college were to be closed. It is however difficult to assess precisely how far round the college these views were held.

PAST STUDENTS

We met several past students. Most of them came from courses run in the FDCs before TANDEM (and before the new fee regime had been introduced in 1994). We also met some more recent graduates. It is important to note that they can scarcely be called a random sample since they were chosen by the FDC from among those past students with whom they kept in contact. It is important also to stress that there are virtually no tracer studies, so that it is impossible to say with any authority what is happening to the students, especially to many of the female students who have married and left their former homes. *"We have no idea where the students go - we do not follow up the training" [N2]* was repeated to us by at least three of the colleges we visited. Nevertheless, we were impressed with the way that some of the colleges had retained close contact with a small group of past students and visited them regularly. Such visits were ad hoc, not systematic, and were usually confined to those students who lived in towns or in villages on convenient bus routes or in villages where members of staff of the FDCs had their homes.

The former students sampled were now involved in carpentry or tailoring, with a few in agriculture and small businesses. Those who were still living in the same village they lived in before they went to the college were doing so because they had found gainful occupations there.

The former students indicated to us that when they attended the FDC they had liked the classes but did not like the college organisation, the food, the bedding, the farm work

(especially with livestock) and the cultural activities. However, most of them said that they recommended the FDC to their family members, friends and neighbours. As we have seen, some of the past students were now taking trainees of their own independent of the colleges. One or two were running small informal businesses with some four to five production workers (usually, we understand, in a co-operative group rather than as employees). A number of graduates in carpentry and welding were being used by some colleges for 'placements' for student practical work, more often because the FDC lacked the materials to provide practical training in the college than because they believed in the value of mentoring or apprenticeship in vocational training. In one or two cases, past students were kept on by the FDC as auxiliary teachers.

None of the past students we met were engaged in village government or in village projects, even those who had been sponsored to attend the FDC by their village.

FDC FACILITIES

We looked at the college facilities with a view to determining how far the TANDEM Project had contributed to the upgrading of these facilities. We have tried hard not to apply European standards to this aspect of our evaluation but to compare what we saw with similar local institutions. The most useful for this purpose are those training institutions provided by the churches, and in comparison with some of these, the FDCs are clearly lacking, although they can on occasion be somewhat better than some secondary schools.

Most of the staff residences are of a better standard of building than the surrounding domestic architecture. It is clear that in many cases priority has been given to staff housing rather than to the rest of the college buildings. In one college, student dormitories were being converted into staff housing.

There were few signs of provision for the storage of rain water on any of the buildings, even in arid areas. Ongoing maintenance such as the repair of broken windows and leaking pipes and regular cleaning were often lacking. Residential colleges, to be successful, should be exemplars of good practice in the living and working environments. Several colleges were without water and electricity (either because of the non-payment of bills or lack of fuel for the generator). One FDC had its own pump-assisted borehole, the running costs (but not the maintenance costs) of which were covered by supplying a neighbouring organisation with water.

It would be easy to produce a list of deficiencies in the accommodation provided for the students. Student dormitories varied but in general the standard was low. More than one staff member admitted that on the whole the standard is lower than most of the students would experience at home. This may well account for the high drop-out rate recorded by several FDCs during the first few weeks of the term. The cause of such low standards would seem to be mismanagement rather than lack of funds. Some colleges had managed to keep their buildings in good order and at least one provides guest accommodation of a relatively high (and certainly clean) standard, but this was unusual.

Kitchens received special attention from the TANDEM programme. One of the new fuel-saving stoves was in use but in other cases these were either not yet installed or were installed but not in use. Again this is a management problem.

All FDCs have a library or library facilities (books retained in a tutor's room). However the stock of books was always old, usually consisting of sets of textbooks which are often irrelevant to the college's needs (it is difficult to envisage what use can be made of

40 copies of *Adult Education in Tanzania* volume 1 found in one college). The cases we saw were simply visible storage rather than living libraries. Very few have funds to buy new books or periodicals, and steps are rarely being taken to acquire material from other sources. We found a great demand for books and teaching-learning materials: *"we need more books and materials"*. Many FDCs said they did not have the textbooks which the Ministry required them to have to teach the courses: *"all tutors must buy their own textbooks"*. The service formerly provided by MEC of having a staff member compiling lists of textbooks for the colleges is no longer provided. Some criticism of TANDEM for not buying textbooks for the colleges rather than reference works for the Ministry which was voiced seems to be justified, and there was a clear request for writing workshops for staff to write their own teaching materials. [N13,20].

Teaching furniture was not always available, on occasion being borrowed from a neighbouring school. One or two colleges were making some of their own furniture. Blackboards often needed to be repainted. The practical rooms were considerably better. Despite constant complaints about the lack of equipment and tools, many were reasonably well furnished with sewing machines and carpentry tools. Several had cookers (few of them connected or used) but students were said to be rarely interested to learn cookery. In any case the relevance of these cookers to the students' future activities is not clear - such equipment would not normally be available to them when they leave the FDC. At least one tutor had attended a sewing machine repair course and she undertook her own running repairs on these machines. New supplies of machines and tools were being received by several of the colleges from the donor agency Tools for Self-Reliance, but the tools were rarely carefully looked after.

All colleges have received a vehicle of some kind. Many had both a van and a motorcycle. We found no van working, although more motorcycles were operating. The problem of finding funds for regular replacements (e.g. tyres) as well as for fuel meant that almost all of these vehicles were unused. They were not even utilised for car maintenance instruction; they occupied space and remained a tangible focus of frustration. There is no scheme in the FDCs, as in some other Tanzanian government programmes, to give the vehicles to staff members after a period of years as an incentive for the staff to keep them in good repair.

The main factors for this picture of neglect would seem to be the low morale of the staff (which the withdrawal of financial support from MCDWAC had exacerbated) together with the lack of management skills and clearcut responsibilities. In all the colleges visited, the Principal could not indicate any staff member who had responsibility under him or her for equipment or for the regular maintenance of the buildings.

CONCLUSION

We do need to note that the problems which face the FDCs are the same as those which face other parts of the educational provision in Tanzania. A recent study (Cooksey 1993), like other studies, speaks of "the non-availability of school equipment, parental opinions on educational quantity and the causes of absenteeism.. educational costs, .. teacher quality, .. the widespread disillusionment and resentment of rural parents who feel they get little or nothing for the fees they are forced to pay". Such studies show that all sectors face lack of funds, under-utilised capacity (Vocational Education however may be better than the FDCs in this respect), the lack of training for staff, the arbitrary assignment of staff, poor buildings, the decline of activity and increase of costs [Misc 9]. The post-literacy programme, agricultural extension and community development face many of the same problems.

FDC:Programmes

It is however important to state that the FDCs in total are not yet beyond revival. Some are considerably better off than others but virtually all are usable. Indeed many are in better order than comparable institutions elsewhere. Above all, they exist in the rural areas, potential centres for development education and training. What is needed is commitment to the maintenance and development of these facilities together with some imagination in the developing programmes. Both are in many cases still lacking despite the TANDEM programme.

CHAPTER 8

THE MINISTRY OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, WOMEN'S AFFAIRS AND CHILDREN.

THE MINISTRY

MCDWAC is a new Ministry, bringing together a number of elements from different government locations. Formerly Women's Affairs was under the Prime Minister's Office, while 'Development' was under the Ministry of Local Government. The former Principal Secretary of MCDWAC came from the Prime Minister's Office. The FDCs were first transferred from the MEC to the Ministry of Local Government and then to MCDWAC. Along with them came most of the staff of MEC who ran the FDC Section inside that Ministry. The establishment of that Section was six staff at that time.

The transfer of this section from MEC to a completely new Ministry (MCDWAC) via the Ministry of Local Government clearly caused considerable disruption. It took until at least March 1992 before the organisation was settled inside MCDWAC. During that time, few decisions could be taken within the FDC sector generally. Tasks which had been scattered in other parts of MEC now had to be undertaken within the FDC Section or elsewhere inside the Ministry. New ways of working had to be formulated. MCDWAC anticipated that TANDEM would help with these tasks. It has taken time for the FDC Section to settle down and to become fully staffed and operational. This may help to account for the many delays which the FDCs experienced in obtaining decisions which were cited to us: *"I go to MCD to get a problem solved - but then I come back to tell the staff that no decision has been made yet, it has been put off"* [N9].

The FDC Section has been kept whole within the MCDWAC under the Training Division which also deals with the CDTIs and the TRDCs. This separation of the FDC Section has resulted in some friction between that Section and other parts of the Ministry. Apart from the facts that there are more funds concentrated in this one section than in any other section and that it brought with it a major donor (other sections also had donor support but not on the scale of the SIDA-TANDEM Project), the other staff of MCDWAC at central and at District levels regarded the FDCs as educational rather than "proper development" agencies. The Linkoping team was charged by the Terms of Reference of the institutional link with MCDWAC with bringing together "the two cultures", that is, the FDC adult education culture and the Community Development culture. In this they have not been successful. The distinction still exists, so that even today, the FDC secretariat indicate that there is a deep divide between "the Community Development proper" staff and the FDC staff. It would seem that TANDEM in fact fostered the sense of distinctiveness of the FDC sector rather than seeking to develop a compromise or hybrid of both points of view.

The MCDWAC systems for administering the FDCs are still inadequate. Although many returns are required from the colleges on a regular basis, the methods of collecting, retaining and retrieving these returns (despite the computer systems which TANDEM set up) are inefficient. Adequate data was not available for this evaluation; much information we requested was never supplied. The way the Ministry is structured has meant that decisions relating to the colleges (especially to funding) are taken outside of the FDC Section, but the lines of authority within the Ministry were and still are not always clear. For example, one section of MCDWAC is responsible for 'Self-Sustaining Projects' but it has no input into the ESR projects in the colleges. The delegation regulation which SIDA urged and which TANDEM staff helped to formulate would seem to have been intended to consolidate decision-making in relation to the FDCs within the FDC Section rather than being dispersed throughout the other staff of

the Ministry. The Order did not consider any decisions which may need to have been taken in other parts of the Ministry [Tan6 p53]. It is therefore not surprising that MCDWAC never agreed to implement this in full since this was not the policy of the senior staff of the Ministry.

MCDWAC operates by issuing to the colleges general rather than specific development targets and immediate policies. This has caused considerable difficulty for the staff of the colleges who are more accustomed to being told in detail what to do. In part TANDEM was tasked to help staff to cope with this change.

One result of the move would seem to be that the colleges now have more immediate access directly to MCDWAC than they had to MEC. This could be an advantage with a reduction of bureaucracies, but equally it could prove a difficulty for the more remote colleges because of distances and poor communications. Some of the FDC staff have intimated that they feel that the colleges closer to Dar es Salaam like Kisaware and Bigwa have an undue advantage over those colleges which are further away (although the case of Arnaoutogl indicates that perhaps this is not always true, see below page 63).

TANDEM and MCDWAC

The major achievement of the TANDEM Project in relation to MCDWAC during its first years was the establishment of the computer-based EMIS in the FDC Section. We understand that this has been used from time to time by other sections of the Ministry. It is not clear how many of the staff of this Section are able to manage and run this system or how relevant they see it to their tasks. Certainly there is no trained computer worker in the FDC Section: *"we don't have a computer worker: most of us need deeper training in computers"* [N31].

Most of the staff of the FDC Section attended various TANDEM training sessions - although it is clear that some of them had greater difficulty in and less motivation for completing the tasks than most of the field staff of the FDCs [Fin Rep 1992-3 p20]. Other Ministry staff attended TANDEM orientation seminars.

The FDC Section was closely involved in the administration of the TANDEM project. With the Head of the Training Division (DTA), they formed the nucleus of the Joint Planning Group from 1992, and all the major decisions relating to the funding and the activities of the Project were taken in this Group. The training programmes were planned and to a considerable extent staffed within the FDC Section.

Critique of the TANDEM-MCDWAC Programme

It is admitted by the TANDEM staff that inadequate attention was paid to the orientation and development of the Ministry staff: As one of the Swedish resident consultants commented: *"I had too much to do"* (personal interview). But both sides were in fact uncomfortable in this relationship: a senior staff member said, *"I would say that the work with the secretariat was OK; the consultants were housed there. But the DTA was different, because they [the consultants] wanted smooth management, and real delegation. I am not prepared for this"* [N32]

The staff of the FDC Section do not seem to have been fully involved in the establishment of the computer-based EMIS. To some extent, this can be viewed as an imposed solution to what the Swedish consultants saw as a problem. We are not clear that the FDC Section saw the need for such a system, nor that they have been enabled to continue it fully after the end of the project. It can be argued that here, as in the

TANDEM training courses, the Linkoping consultants did not start where the staff were, by making an attempt to understand the existing system and to help the staff themselves to develop a system which would work better through human resource development rather than introduce a completely new technologically based system. This is what appropriate indigenous development would call for. Instead there was a tendency to import new approaches.

Disagreements

The minutes of the JPG and other documents reveal that relations between the TANDEM Project staff and the senior staff of the Ministry had already deteriorated before the establishment of this committee and that they degenerated further during the following three years. In December 1991-January 1992, the Linkoping consultants threatened to close the project because of what Norbeck saw as non-co-operation from the Ministry. TANDEM staff found it hard to work with some persons inside MCDWAC, and some inside MCDWAC found it hard to work with some of the TANDEM staff. In the 1994 Sector Review, SIDA wondered whether the FDC project could be administered through the Districts as some other donor programmes at that time were [Sector Review 1994 p13]. As time went on, TANDEM supported by SIDA undertook more and more of the implementation work itself rather than rely on the government machinery to share the work. Sida's new policy calls for greater government commitment as a prerequisite for Swedish aid: "In countries where governments do not pay enough attention to adult education, support through government-run departments has been found to be hardly worthwhile" [Sida 1996 p17]. There is we believe some truth in saying that SIDA decided to withdraw its assistance to the FDCs in part because the Swedish staff found themselves unable to continue to work with some of the staff of MCDWAC.

There seem to be have been two major elements in the discontent which SIDA and the Swedish consultants felt:

a) First, they felt that the Ministry was putting blocks on the work of the FDCs. Examples can be cited of decisions taken by MCDWAC in relation to the activities of the FDCs at very short notice and without consultation or apparent reason. For instance, the decision to suspend courses for a time (instructing the colleges to send the students home) and later to resume the courses (to bring students back); the failure to disburse any funds to the colleges for courses after 1994; the failure to resolve issues quickly, such as the future of Kibaha Training Wing; delays in developing the new Guidelines; the length of time taken to obtain decisions about local matters such as the appointment of the new Principal to Same or the location of Arnaoutogl FDC in Dar es Salaam; and the ad hoc decision-making in relation to some of the colleges (for example, the decision relating to Sikonge and its reversal to which the TANDEM team reacted strongly, perhaps too strongly) - these taken together left the FDC staff in the field confused and frustrated. Above all, there was the inability of the FDC Section staff in some circumstances to help the FDC field staff, so that several college staff when visiting the MCDWAC found themselves needing to go to other parts of the Ministry to obtain decisions relating to their work. On all of these matters, the Swedish consultants expressed themselves in strong terms to be discontented.

b) Secondly, SIDA and TANDEM staff felt that the Ministry was hindering the efficient administration of the project. Examples which can be found in the documentation include the failure of the Treasury to set up systems to handle SIDA C funds adequately, so that in the end SIDA decided to merge the C funds with the D funds which the Linkoping team disbursed directly; the failure of MCDWAC to fulfil items which were stated as 'preconditions for aid' such as the effective provision of counterpart funds or access to Vote of Funds records etc. On several occasions, clear

and often time-bound undertakings were given by Ministry staff at all levels and were recorded in the minutes of the various meetings held between the TANDEM staff and/or SIDA staff on the one hand and the staff of the Ministry on the other hand, but they were not implemented.

We have not seen it as part of our remit to go into the questions at issue in any depth. But in those which we have examined (e.g. the failure of MCDWAC to take up SIDA's offer to pay for the relocation of FDC staff or the Sikonge episode based on inaccurate information or the disagreement over whether there should be one or two full-time expatriate consultants during the final year of the project or the lack of funding to the Kibaha Training Wing), we have to say that there were valid reasons on both sides. It would seem to us that the Linkoping consultants could not see this and in fact did not try. SIDA-DCO was perhaps too close to see this; they could have viewed the project more dispassionately. At the heart of the increasingly unsatisfactory relations between the two parties, there would seem to have been a growing conviction inside MCDWAC that SIDA's continuing assistance was preventing the Tanzanian side from developing true ownership and use of these institutions.

We accept the view expressed to us that there was a difference between the attitudes and vision of the Linkoping Swedish-based staff (Johan Norbeck and others) and the Swedish consultants based in Tanzania (see page 26). There would seem to have been more realism among the Tanzania-based Swedish consultants than with the Linkoping-based team. But neither found it easy to work with an African bureaucracy (they would not in our opinion have fared any better with any other sector of the Tanzanian government). We wonder as to the range of experience of such work which the consultants brought with them to this relationship. In particular, the approach of the Swedish consultants to the Ministry seems to us at times to have been confrontational. The language used in minutes and reports is not always designed to secure co-operation. The consultants acted in an executive rather than an advisory capacity: and the Ministry senior staff queried this on several occasions (*"the PS wonders what a general consultant's job should be .."* [Notes of Meeting November 1991]). We note the letter which Johan Norbeck sent direct to the Minister, breaking traditional Ministerial protocols to which the Permanent Secretary objected. We note the meeting which the TANDEM staff had with former President Nyerere asking him to call upon the Minister to help the project, which many would feel inappropriate action for a Northern consultant. All of these are of course signs of intense commitment and of growing impatience. On the other hand, there was periodically a lack of diplomacy.

There was a similar difference between on the one hand the views of the FDC Section staff within MCDWAC, most of whom were close to the Swedish consultants, and on the other hand the views of the senior staff of that Ministry. Some of these differences came to light during the meetings of the JPG. It is therefore a tribute to all concerned that in fact these meetings continued, that they were relatively harmonious and that they sought to advance the project despite increasingly divergent views.

One way to view this series of disagreements is that it represents a clash between two different civil service traditions. On the one hand is the view that the MCDWAC only existed to serve the FDCs (the Linkoping team's view but not the Ministry view). On the other hand is the perception that government is a system of bureaucracy which exists in its own right (indeed, some might even feel that the FDCs were being used to justify the existence and activities of MCDWAC). In fact MCDWAC has little autonomy, unlike Swedish Ministries. The Linkoping consultants tried to insist on openness (e.g. it laid its own accounts open to full inspection and felt aggrieved when MCDWAC did not do the same) and participation (shared decision-making instead of hierarchical decision-making), but a number of the staff of MCDWAC (although some of them had participated in TANDEM) did not really believe in these approaches.

Another way to view these disagreements is that the Swedish team tended to treat the FDCs and the FDC Section within MCDWAC as NGOs. As one of our respondents put it, *"TANDEM wanted to make them independent. The FDCs are a government department, they have never been given autonomy. In this respect, TANDEM was a bit naive"* [E9]. TANDEM staff often seemed to expect immediate decisions without understanding the implications of these decisions for other parts of the bureaucracy or the limited scope for decision-making which lay with the staff with whom they were dealing. The Swedish tradition is relevant here. In Sweden, government is willing to fund agencies which would operate independently and would in fact be free to criticise the government which fed them [SIDA 18 p5; see App E]. In Tanzania, such a situation would be hardly thinkable.

We also wonder whether the Swedish staff appreciated the difficulties of creating a new Ministry. Not only were there the normal administrative procedures to be settled like the confirmation of appointments which always takes many months [Minutes of Meeting November 1991: Tan32 p62]. There were also personal issues which affected the work of the Ministry. There was for instance considerable jockeying going on inside MCDWAC. There was at least one person (unidentified in the records) who was described by staff within the Ministry as being a 'loose cannon', making and implementing decisions outside the normal channels without apparent justification or authorisation and creating chaos at times. Some of the FDC Section staff who moved from MEC were less than happy with their status or roles or with the new climate within which they had to work; indeed, a number left after a relatively short time (see page 26).

Further, we question whether the TANDEM staff fully appreciated the fact that MCDWAC is part of a large government bureaucracy with its own procedures and concerns, whether they saw that all parts of the government were struggling with a wide range of problems including lack of resources, acknowledged inefficient procedures and corruption, and that part of the work of technical assistance is to share those problems with the government agency concerned rather than to personalise them and confront them. It would seem that they could not see that they were not in fact dealing with one Ministry (let alone one small part of one Ministry) but with a whole government bureaucracy with its own processes. For example, several decisions relating to the work of MCDWAC (and therefore of the FDCs) do not lie inside MCDWAC; MCDWAC "does not have the power to say no to the Party taking over the colleges for training courses" [Minutes of meeting November 1991: Tan32 p62]. Nor could they see how their interventions could help MCDWAC to cope with this situation.

We cannot believe that the Linköping team and SIDA had not expected some problems in this area. But we can find no sign that these issues were tackled, and in the end their patience (which seems to us to have been very great) ran out. SIDA's patience expired before that of the TANDEM staff. SIDA had ultimate responsibility for the project, even though it had been contracted out to consultants (we note that one of the members of the donor committee on education in Tanzania said that *"SIDA never mentioned FDCs in donor meetings: it is as if they have given all responsibilities for them to Linköping"* [N32]), and SIDA negotiated annually with the Government of Tanzania on this and other aid matters. However, we cannot find any evidence that they and the Linköping staff together tried to identify where the problem lay, whether in personalities or in systems, and how to deal with it (*"We talked a lot but we did not discuss the MCD problem in depth"*). We do not feel that SIDA and the Linköping consultants made a team together in this respect (the reason for this is not clear).

We wonder too if MCDWAC felt that TANDEM was going too far in its demands. We note that on one occasion, "Linköping has already started a dialogue with the Ministry .. on the organisation of the FDC Section and its position within the Ministry" [Letter

January 1992: Tan 32 p45]. It can be argued that TANDEM saw itself as a general advocacy agent on behalf of the FDCs, promoting one particular view of the work of these institutions and in any dispute being always on the side of the field workers against the Ministry. Were they felt to be interfering with internal decisions of Ministry in too much depth?

On the other hand, it would seem that the values of TANDEM, especially the decentralisation of decision-making and immediate response, had not been fully internalised by some of the staff within MCDWAC. *"MCD did not understand TANDEM or saw it as a threat but were keen to get the donor aid"* [N6]. It can be argued that the Ministry wished to take the technical assistance but to change itself as little as possible. There was apparently an unwillingness among the senior staff of the Ministry to adopt the ideology of the Swedish consultants, especially in relation to centralised control (MCDWAC) versus decentralisation (TANDEM), and particularly since the Ministry was stressing the developmental model more than the adult education model which the TANDEM Project was advocating for the FDCs.

In conclusion, we would suggest that the Linköping consultants saw a problem (inappropriate pedagogy and management) in the FDC field (which some of the FDC staff also came to see during their visits to Sweden), but it would seem that most of the staff of the colleges and the Ministry did not see the problem in the same way. TANDEM developed an answer (training the FDC staff in more appropriate ways of teaching and managing) and with the support of this small supportive group of FDC staff, they attempted to promote this solution through the TANDEM project, even if at times parts of this solution were felt by some of the Ministry staff to be against the interests of MCDWAC.

CHAPTER 9

THE ACHIEVEMENTS AND IMPACT OF THE TANDEM PROJECT

INTRODUCTION

Any evaluation of a training programme will need to assess the overall impact which that programme has had directly on the relevant sector and indirectly elsewhere. But this assessment of impact is not enough, since it may bring with it the use of inappropriate criteria. It is also necessary to judge the effectiveness of the programme in its own terms. Therefore some examination of goal achievement will be needed.

This chapter therefore falls into three parts:

- a) a discussion of the way in which the implementation of TANDEM both at college and at Ministry level impacted on the participant groups and the community;
- b) some assessment of the achievement of the objectives which TANDEM set for itself;
- c) a conclusion with some general points about the overall effectiveness of TANDEM and its limitations.

IMPLEMENTATION

General:

The TANDEM training programmes reached a wider audience than just those who participated in the courses. The new ideas of participatory management spread to those colleges which were not involved directly in the training programmes through zonal meetings, through staff transfers and in other ways; and some of the new teaching techniques also spread. Virtually no FDC was left untouched by these programmes.

It is too early to assess the long-term impact of the TANDEM project. The real assessment will come after several years. At the moment, there is no doubt that the TANDEM training has helped to raise the confidence and morale of some of the staff of the FDCs. As a local official closely involved said, *"we saw a great difference - making the FDCs marketable, lots of parents and the general public fighting for places. Staff became more motivated. Although there were not more funds, there was much more confidence"* [N10]. One Principal asserted, *"the FDC training programme is one of the best in Tanzania, and the FDCs represent the best example of adult education in the country"* [N15]. As another member of staff said, *"Before TANDEM, we could not tell visitors like you our views"* [N16]. The fact that subsequently these benefits have in many cases been blighted and in some cases destroyed by outside factors which could not realistically have been foreseen does not detract from the very real achievements of the programme.

There appears to be a greater sense of identity among many of the staff of the FDCs. The intensive programme of activities aimed specifically at the colleges has created a new sense of worth. TANDEM has helped to develop a feeling of solidarity among the different FDCs which does not seem to have existed previously, perhaps because of the distances involved: *"it is not easy to make links when the nearest FDC is 300 kms away"* [N3]. TANDEM brought visitors to the colleges, sometimes for the first time for many years. It provided (again for the first time) opportunities for staff from different FDCs to meet intensively and at length, and enabled them to share views and experiences. Those who are now meeting in the current training programmes are however sharing also their sense of demoralisation.

However the exclusivity of the TANDEM project has increased the ring-fencing of the FDCs. TANDEM did nothing to link the colleges into any kind of Tanzanian network. In fact, it increased their isolation from other national sectors.

TanMan:

There are signs that TanMan helped to liberate a number of the senior college staff who before this initiative felt there was little they could do within the tight and rigid framework which successive Ministries had laid down for the FDCs. They have begun to feel that they have greater room for movement and could help to determine the future development of their own institution, that each college could be distinctive, that they do not all have to be the same. They saw the TanMan courses as the start of a process of empowerment: *"More time is needed, but we have tasted it"* [N13].

One indication of the success of the TanMan courses is the fact that new appointments to the Ministry or to Principalships have been made on the basis of performance in the TANDEM courses. Criteria for such appointments include the individual's activities in and since the TANDEM training programmes (although one Principal saw in this a problem: *"TANDEM is a disadvantage because it leads to staff moving away"* [N11]).

There are other signs of the success of the TanMan courses. New procedures have been introduced into the FDCs such as the student weeks formula for determining financial allocations and teacher period budgets. Participatory management also means that there are more staff meetings in the colleges. There is a greater sense of unity in some FDCs: *"we are now a college community, including the students"* [N18]. As one staff group said, *"This has strengthened the Principal and there is better communication between the Principal and MCD because he is backed by the staff; he can say, 'this is the staff view'"* [N18]. In some places, there are *"new programmes and new links"* [N5]. The staff of one college said, *"Before TANDEM, there was no openness; now we know everything, even the money the Principal gets for the FDC and we decide jointly. Transparency - it helps us because for example agriculture creates money: now we know how it is used. We are more happy, motivated. There has been a complete change in mode and structure for the better. We feel more involved and communal"* [N18]. *"TANDEM has given this FDC a push - not a big push but a push"* [N18].

On the other hand, there are signs that what was taught is in several cases being applied mechanistically. For some of the participants, TANDEM partook more of the nature of training than education. Democratic management was a concept which most of the participants in TanMan1 accepted eagerly; but by TanMan2, some Principals found they had difficulty with it. Open staff meetings, often involving non-teaching support staff; transparent budgeting; election of Co-ordinators (we were informed that this did not form part of the TanMan ideology but came from MCDWAC; but every participant we spoke to indicated that they had learned it from TanMan, a clear example of the different perceptions of teacher and taught which is a common feature of adult education) were introduced into many colleges, not because the senior staff felt they wished to do so but because they felt they ought to do so. One Principal who taught Civics (Political Education), when asked the main changes he had seen in his college since the beginning of the TANDEM project, replied that *"democracy had been imposed on his college"* (we do not believe this to be the result of inadequate English; rather it reflected his view of 'directive participatory' management). One participant said that TanMan consisted of *"beautiful words"* [Misc15].

Attention was paid to helping the FDC staff to develop attitudes towards outreach programmes - short courses in the colleges for identified target groups, short village-based courses and other outreach assistance programmes. The resulting work which Kisaware undertook [SIDA 62] shows that at least one FDC took these messages to heart, but this does not seem to have had the same effect on the other colleges.

The conclusion must be that TanMan was relatively successful with the first group of participants, but that the planners (perhaps misled by that very success) underestimated the difficulty of helping the next groups to develop new attitudes. They even shortened the training programme when they should perhaps have allowed even more time to change attitudes with trainees who were less committed and more sceptical from the start.

Training of Trainers (TOT):

The plan to develop a number of 'master trainers' seems to have had limited success. Those who performed well (the criteria are not set out clearly) were selected to facilitate in later programmes. With the dispersal of the trainers from the Kibaha Training Wing, it cannot be said that a 'team' of trainers has been established. Indeed, there is no set membership for this group. After the experience of the Kibaha Training Wing, it deliberately has no institutional base: *"we do not want to establish a training institution"* [N29]. These are ad hoc trainers, called upon at the whim of the senior planners and without real explanation as to why they should have been chosen for this particular assignment; they may never be called upon again. They are scattered: two are in Kibaha, two are in the Ministry, the rest are distributed around the colleges at Principal or teacher level. They do not meet regularly to review training needs, evaluate training experiences, or develop joint approaches of an agreed training policy. In short, they do not form a 'Unit', a coherent cadre of trainers with the possibility of developing their skills and insights further. Any future training for FDC staff will be planned and managed from within the FDC Section of MCDWAC. But the future of this training group is not yet clearly determined.

Teacher Training (TT):

The implementation of many aspects of the TT courses could be seen in a number of the colleges visited. The key elements of the training methodologies - what is called 'team teaching' (by which different tutors share teaching time and space, tutors new to the subject learning about it from their more expert colleagues), integrated subjects (by which a tutor seeks to apply his/her subject to another subject being taught), participatory pedagogy (normally consisting of the use of 'small permanent groups' (SPGs) and more informal seating plans), democratic procedures (by which is meant the election of a class chairperson and secretary and the keeping of a daily diary, a procedure which we saw operative only in men's classes, not in women's classes, though this may have been by accident) - all of these were being applied, sometimes with conviction, sometimes (as the TANDEM evaluators also found [FinRep 1993-4 p14 etc] mechanistically, in all colleges we visited. We were constantly informed that none of these methodologies was new to the staff. Many said that they had been taught such activities in the teacher training programmes which they had attended: *"TANDEM is a very useful course: it reminded us of things we've forgotten"* [N15]. Although some FDC students recorded that before TANDEM small ad hoc groups had been used but not SPGs, in most cases the staff of the colleges said that they had never had the encouragement and confidence to implement participatory methods before. The main reason for this increased confidence is that these methods were used in the TANDEM training programmes themselves, whereas in the teacher training programmes which the staff had attended, only formal methodologies had been employed in practice.

The value of even the mechanistic application of these methodologies must not be overlooked. Although several of the FDC staff writings were said to be *"more descriptive than analytical"*, it must be pointed out that to get such staff writing at all was an achievement. Visits to the colleges and the training courses show that TANDEM has given the tutors schemes and frameworks and systematised outlines. There is of course the danger that these will be used mechanistically rather than

creatively; but the tutors are better off with these than without them. They are forced to think about certain topics which would not normally engage them. On occasion, the participants are often preoccupied with what others would call details (e.g. the title of the college must be exactly right, the number sequencing must be correct), but this is their way of doing business with educational activities.

However, although in many colleges the tutor had discussed the syllabus with the students as they were exhorted to do in an attempt to mould the courses to the students' perceived needs, the resulting courses do not appear to be any different from those mounted previously. The FDCs have little room to manoeuvre in that they are bound by the existing levels of staff knowledge and skills and by the very limited teaching-learning materials which they already possess. The failure to include enhanced subject matter along with teaching-learning methods, even in the proposed plan for continued staff development, was a major weakness. The curriculum appears to have changed very little as a result of TANDEM. Any changes that have occurred appear to be in process rather than content.

The TANDEM training course failed to deal adequately with the gap between the adult education approaches being advocated and the learning needs of young people - a difference which is widely recognised: see, for example, the comment recorded that "the two groups - adult literacy learners and former primary school pupils - differ considerably in age, socio-economic status, literacy and numeracy skills" [SIDA 6a p 40]. The need for reconciling what the tutors were encouraged to do with adult students and what they could do with younger students was not so far as we could see explored in the training course.

The programmes offered to the non-teaching staff in some of the colleges had some impact, but it was the TanMan courses which most clearly affected these staff. There were many expressions of pleasure at the changed atmosphere in some of the participating colleges, for example, in the increased openness and accessibility of all the staff.

Skill Training:

We saw a good deal of work undertaken on college kitchens, although in several cases these were not in use. Some of the new fuel-saving stoves had not been acquired or fitted ("for lack of funding"). We saw no signs of new activities. The seminars mounted in new subject areas such as bee-keeping, women's issues, kitchen management etc are not in general being converted into action at college level because of the lack of concrete support and local management drive. And the range of new skills, building upon the existing skills of the staff, was too limited to enable the staff to develop their own more relevant area of expertise. In large part, this was because of the participatory way in which this programme was determined: it can be argued that participation frequently leads to limited vision and that it is the role of the external trainers to help the participants to widen their vision.

OTHER SUPPORT TO FDCs

Throughout the five years of the project, substantial funding was supplied to individual colleges, either through the Treasury and MCDWAC or directly, for the upgrading of their buildings or for materials and equipment. We have no reason to believe that this aid was either inadequate or ill-advised; and in most cases it seems to have been well used. We saw some equipment supplied which had not yet been installed. We question the priorities set by TANDEM: some of the equipment supplied was less useful than some of the other needs which the colleges had. We regret that the planned provision of

textbook material did not take place, because above all the colleges need teaching-learning materials both for the staff to develop their own expertise and for the students to engage on self-directed learning activities. Their library contents are woefully inadequate for such isolated institutions. But we understand that TANDEM encouraged the FDCs to identify their own needs to be met from this part of the project, so that any inappropriate priorities cannot be laid solely at the door of the TANDEM staff, though that cannot totally absolve the TANDEM team. Once again, the limitations of participatory approaches are apparent in this area as in some of the training areas.

We note the assistance given by TANDEM to the Karibu Association in Tanzania which has been in existence since the late 1970s [Tan6 p3]. We feel that this Association is important to help to continue and to build up the sense of solidarity among the FDC staff. We regret that it meets irregularly, and that the Newsletter apparently is no longer compiled and distributed. We are not sure where the blockage comes - it seems to come from MCDWAC where the secretaryship of the Association is located. We regret that the Association is not truly a staff association, independent of the Ministry. We note that the Swedish end of this organisation provides funds to some of the colleges, although it is not working efficiently at the moment: we have hesitations about its strong links with Sweden (see below page 94).

MCDWAC

The impact of TANDEM on MCDWAC is more difficult to assess.

We have already noted that the FDC Section remains ring-fenced within the Ministry. It is a matter of judgment as to whether this is desirable or not.

There have been some major achievements in the five years which followed the move of the FDCs to MCDWAC. Various new procedures have been developed in the Ministry. TANDEM provided the FDC Section with a computer-based EMIS so that better records can be kept, although this may be too far advanced for continuing use; we wonder whether it will be operative in three or four years time. TANDEM assisted with and influenced the new Guidelines issued in 1994 and the new curriculum issued in 1995 (we have hesitations about the new curriculum, see pages 76-7 below). And the FDC Section has been working with the assistance of the TANDEM team to establish a new inspectorate. This work is not yet complete, although the outlines are clear - the new inspectorate service will not be "*a prefect as under MEC*" but more of an Advisory Service. TANDEM had expected to be able to orient and train the first group of inspectors but this was not possible.

One achievement would seem to be the student week method of allocating funds to the FDCs, although this is no longer fully operative since the steady flow of funds from the Ministry to the colleges for programme activities has dried up. An outline plan for continuing staff development has been prepared but it is not yet finalised.

We do not find the same conviction among the FDC staff in the Ministry as in some of the colleges. A number of the staff in MCDWAC, particularly those who have served in the FDCs themselves, have high levels of commitment to the programme, but in general there appears to be little continuity between their work in the field and in the Ministry. When entering the Ministry staff, they seem to have shed their college experience and adopted the hierarchical approaches of the civil service. In particular, their attitudes are not entrepreneurial; they do not seem to be looking for solutions. We have not always been able to identify the innovativeness and confidence which characterise the best of the TANDEM-trained college Principals.

GENDER

It is difficult to determine which of the advances in gender aspects which have undoubtedly taken place during the last six years are attributable to TANDEM and which to MCDWAC.

The Ministry indicated to us their view that TANDEM had done little to encourage gender sensitisation and equalisation programmes in its training (see below page 72). The TANDEM staff were conscious of the need to include gender issues in their work in two ways - as an integral part of the implementation and as a subject to be taught.

Gender and the implementation of the training programmes: Deliberate steps were taken by TANDEM to encourage women to participate in the TANDEM courses. More than half of all the participants in TanManI were women, a fact which could hardly be repeated in later courses since less than a third of all the academic staff of the FDCs are women.

These initial participants formed a **women's staff network** which had two aims:

- a) to increase the number of female students in the FDC programme. They planned to implement this through outreach programmes and through 'access' courses providing orientation, encouragement and study skills for women. In Kisaware and other colleges, a two-week 'try-out' course has been run.
- b) to break down stereotyping within the college curriculum - for example, to encourage more women to participate in masonry and brick-building.

Where this network functions, it has strengthened the participants. But its limited aims in terms of more women students and the difficulties of communication make it less effective - we have not found this network working widely. We hope that it might attract funding from a donor agency. Many of the women staff we met felt that they would like to take part in it but they did not have any means of communication and resources to participate in such links. The women staff felt themselves to be isolated and were as demoralised as the rest of the FDC staff.

Staffing of TANDEM: The Linköping team included some women lecturers from Sweden, and several of the FDC staff who joined the training group as facilitators for the TanMan and TT courses were women.

Gender-related training curriculum: Initially MCDWAC said that the Ministry rather than TANDEM would provide the gender training inputs in the form of a Women in Development (WID) course, but later when these contributions did not materialise, TANDEM included some sessions in the TanMan and TT courses. Gender issues appeared in the curriculum of the training courses however very rarely and very briefly. Such provision as was made was not in terms of MCDWAC's own policy on WID (1992; see App H). The gender provision in TANDEM, as with the network, was concentrated mainly on the increase of women among the college students. One or two sessions for women staff on how to deal with the specific problems of female students, and discussions on changing course descriptions to try to overcome gender stereotyping - these are not the way to develop real gender awareness. Access and participation seem to have been taken to equate with empowerment in its wider and deeper senses.

Apart from a visiting lecturer (an American female) who came into some of the courses for half a day to 'enlighten' the participants on women's burdens, this, there was little or no exploration of the participants' own experience of gender issues. Every participant, trainer and trainee, experiences and contributes to the gender construct of

society; and this experience needs to be analysed and reflected on. We saw no signs of any discussion on how aware the participants are of these constructs and what steps can be taken to modify such constructs with a view to changing attitudes and behaviour in relation to gender inequalities. This is surprising since there are many Tanzanian women well equipped to undertake such studies, and many of these are known to and have been used by SIDA in Tanzania. The courses, insofar as they dealt with such questions, concentrated on the immediate and practical issues of gender rather than the longer-term structural aspects such as oppression and liberation [Moser 1993]. The staff of the FDCs are still ill-equipped to teach gender issues within their college courses. Many of the participants in the TANDEM programmes, staff and trainees alike, felt that more needed to be done in this area.

We feel that this has been a major weakness of the programme which should have been monitored and encouraged more actively in joint consultations with SIDA, MCDWAC and TANDEM project staff.

Gender and the FDCs

Curriculum: We found no college teaching their students about such gender issues.

Boards: Most of the Management Boards have women members, but there is no pressure from the Boards to increase the gender aspects of the work of the FDCs. We found no signs of any college policies on gender and equal opportunities or sexual harassment.

Principals: There has been a marked increase in the number of women Principals who have been appointed since the FDCs came under MCDWAC. The Ministry has reversed the approach of MEC which on the whole was reluctant to appoint married women as Principals because of what were perceived to be the consequent problems of reconciling family and professional commitments. The number of women Principals thus has risen from 4 in 1991 to 10 (out of 52) in 1995. They have been appointed on the grounds that they performed well during the TANDEM training programmes. MCDWAC has acknowledged that this deliberate policy of promoting women as Principals has at times led them into family problems.

Staffing: some one third of all the staff of the colleges are women. There seems to be little change in this from the period before TANDEM, and the women occupy the same stereotyped roles as before. More of the auxiliary teaching staff (non-qualified teachers) are women than men. There is still a lack of women technicians (only two at present).

Students: FDCs have been encouraged to adopt a gender balance in their student recruitment. There has apparently been an increase in the number of women students. At least one college has more women students than men. A few women are taking *ufundi* courses (mainly carpentry) which have traditionally been preserved for men, just as a small number of men are now taking cookery (now called catering and hotel management) and tailoring (now called laundry and tailoring rather than domestic science) courses (page 77). Stereotyping however remains strong among the majority of the FDCs. There are no signs that women students in the colleges are being empowered in terms of Tanzania's own definition of that term (App H). Real changes will only come about when the colleges begin to widen the scope of the courses which they teach and when issues of gender appear on the timetable for all students, men as well as women.

Outreach: The FDCs at the moment are equally ill equipped to increase gender sensitisation and women's empowerment programmes outside of the college. Most of the village leaders are men, and it has been suggested to us that they will need training in gender awareness before the colleges can engage wholeheartedly in women's development programmes.

Ministry

A renewed effort is being made within MCDWAC to develop women's programmes. But we note that within the FDC Section, there is only one woman member of staff.

OTHER OUTCOMES

Every project brings with it a number of unplanned outcomes.

TANDEM has brought with it a number of links with other agencies. Forum Syd (a Swedish NGO) has been providing volunteers to some colleges and it is likely to continue to help. The Swedish Volunteer Service too has continued to provide assistance to the FDCs [Tan6 p8]. **The preparation of these volunteers for their work within this specific sector will need to be reconsidered to fit in with the Ministry's revised goals.**

Several FDCs have developed twinning arrangements with Swedish Folk High Schools. One organises an open day on the same day as its Swedish counterpart so as to publicise the work of both institutions. Exchange visits by staff in both directions have been made (in one college, three of the ten staff had visited Sweden) and individual support programmes exist. Such international links are not normally available to educational institutions in rural Tanzania.

TANDEM has encouraged the British aid agency Tools for Self-Reliance to assist the colleges with the supply of second-hand equipment, mainly for carpentry and tailoring. Other FDCs have individual links with smaller international aid NGOs - for example Mwanhala with a British Aid agency called Friends of Urambo and Mwanhala (FUM) [Tan5].

GOAL ACHIEVEMENT

We have taken the Aims and Objectives as set out in the Final Report for the year 1994-5 in order to make an assessment of the achievements of the TANDEM project in its own terms (see Appendix C).

Once again, we feel it is necessary to state that it is too early to be certain whether these goals have been achieved or not. We would also say that we found that a number of the objectives, even at this late stage of the project, would seem not to have been designed to lead to any kind of measurable assessment. Some are too vague to be more than aspirations rather than objectives. Finally, we note that none of the aims and objectives relates to the teaching-learning methodologies which (as participatory pedagogy) formed the key element of TANDEM. The discrepancy between the objectives and the programme was substantial.

AIMS

- *to promote "such education as will foster active citizens and agents of change"*: Of the students (past and present) we met, none seemed to be interested in "active citizenship" or being "agents of change". They sought solely self-employment in village or in town. It is much too early to say if TANDEM will eventually bring any changes in this respect, but we are hesitant. We found few FDC staff who really understood what these phrases meant. Most seemed to feel that being a productive carpenter/welder or tailoress in the village or town was fulfilling the role of 'active citizen and agent of change'. Nor did they see any need to change the educational programme they were offering to meet the new MCDWAC community development aims.
- *to equip the FDCs "to enter as agents of change into the local community"*: We found relatively few cases of this happening (Kisaware is exceptional). Even where there is a desire to undertake such activities, lack of transport or funding for transport is said to be a constraining factor. However, apart from this, there is often a very limited vision. The terms 'change-agent' and 'development' are used constantly by the staff with little real understanding of their meaning. The role of the FDCs in this respect is thought to be to provide short village-based skills training courses, not to assist village groups with any other forms of change or development. The concept of societal transformation is not part of the thinking of these staff. The staff of the colleges and the staff of the FDC section at MCDWAC still see the FDCs as 'colleges' rather than as development institutions, and the tutors as teachers of courses rather than as facilitators of village change.
- *to help the FDCs to become "increasingly self-sustaining"*: There are few signs that this is happening. Even with charging fees to the students, the colleges visited did not look as though they could be self-sustaining even in the longer term. We understand that some of the colleges not visited are in fact on the verge of being self-sustaining, but they would seem to be exceptional. In most cases, the resources and facilities are deteriorating, and there are some signs of enrolled students leaving at an early opportunity (page 42). Compared with other nearby institutions of similar nature catering for the same clientele (such as the church-based or NGO vocational training institutions which are providing similar courses free or cheaper [N8, 11] and which are recorded as "*flourishing*"), the FDCs will find it hard to compete.

Equally in only a very few colleges are there any signs of improved projects. In most cases, projects which could bring in more funds are not yet well managed, and new projects are not yet being imaginatively developed. Most of those who have participated in the training programmes are waiting for resources before applying their minds to making the projects more profitable. But most of the FDCs have more resources to deploy than they think. The resource myopia which has in the past characterised the staff does not seem to have been greatly reduced by the TANDEM courses. The culture of dependency has been turned into a culture of enterprise in only a very few cases, although it may be too early to be sure of this.

OBJECTIVES

The FDCs rarely show the ability to "*design their activities according to local needs*". Apart from the growing number of short courses and one or two experiments such as Kisaware, the FDCs today show a disturbing similarity in all parts of the country. How long it will take for the TANDEM training to bring about real changes in this respect and for each college to develop its own distinctive nature is not clear. Nor is it clear whether the Ministry will really allow this. Only when significant autonomy is granted to the FDC Boards to employ staff related to local needs will this institutional self-determination appear.

Although TANDEM sought to *"improve capacity utilisation"*, the financial cuts has led to a substantial reduction in the numbers of long-term students enrolled. The under-employment of many of the staff (despite team teaching) continues. There are signs however that some recovery is being recorded. Applications for the coming year have been reported in several cases to be growing. But until new courses are introduced (in particular by some of the existing staff showing their capacity to develop on their current fields of expertise), it is not likely that the capacity utilisation will reach anything like the 65% proposed in discussions between SIDA and MCDWAC.

The objective that *the FDCs should "improve their structure, organisation and function"* is too vague to assess. What is one person's improvement is a retrograde step for another. It is not clear what the TANDEM team had in mind for this objective. What may have been anticipated is a series of approaches such as democratic management and transparency which were advocated according to a formula laid down in the training programme, whether or not they were appropriate in individual circumstances. Holding staff meetings and electing Co-ordinators democratically have done nothing to increase residential or short-course student numbers, nor given a boost to the hoped-for self-sustaining enterprise culture. But we cannot measure any achievement in this respect because of the vagueness of the objective.

The intended outcome that the colleges should *"optimise their staffing in relation to local needs"* is not possible when the appointment of staff continues to rest with the Ministry whose staff are unable at that distance to match staff skills to local learning needs, such as they are known. Variations in FDC staffing are still rare. In this area there appears to have been no advance at all.

TANDEM was intended to help the colleges to *"design their course programmes according to local needs"*. Two points need to be made in relation to this objective:

a) A new outline curriculum has been prepared and published. It is however faulty in that the learning objectives are not included: it is suggested that these are to be prepared by the teaching staff when working out the contents to be taught. Most educationalists would argue that learning objectives form part of the curriculum and should precede the contents and not the other way round. Any negotiation with the students in relation to the learning programme must mean that learning objectives will come before the determination of the subject matter.

b) The new curriculum encourages the staff to adapt the subject syllabus to local characteristics. Although training has been offered to college staff to help them to make such adaptations to meet local needs, the format in which the curriculum has been issued is directive rather than outline only. The TANDEM training programme devised a formula for doing this, and this formula was taught in all TT courses. However, this did not always work out. When dealing with the development of a specific local syllabus from this curriculum, the TT courses brought together subject staff from very different colleges. To take one example, agricultural staff from arid Handeni in an area of Maasai nomads met with staff from the lush rainforest of Msinga and its banana crops and with Kiwanda college staff with yet a third form of agricultural practice to develop from the set curriculum a new programme for agricultural education in their respective colleges using the set formula. The outcome was that instead of exploring the differences, all staff felt they should cover all agricultural subjects. The resulting syllabus would have taken a student in an agricultural college at least four years to cover! Participation in TANDEM does not in this instance seem to have led within the time allowed to the development of creative thinking but simply mechanistic applications. The colleges plead the lack of funding and the lack of staff with appropriate expertise, but there are no signs of any new ideas in respect to new training programmes to meet local needs or potentialities and aspirations.

There are indications (page 54) that there has been an *"increase in the number of village based courses"*. Some colleges have begun to work with local communities in an intensive way, and this tendency appears to be spreading to others. The barriers identified include lack of transport for staff and equipment or lack of funding for fuel. But in fact the current and persistent ideology of the FDCs to teach in college and to teach individual students, not community-based groups, is the real and continuing barrier in most cases.

The success or otherwise of TANDEM's hopes to *"increase the number of the under-represented sex in all college courses"* cannot be assessed since statistics cannot be supplied to us of the gender balance of the student body prior to TANDEM. There are signs of more women taking carpentry (in Chilala there are as many women as men in carpentry courses, but this is untypical) and of a small number of men taking home science. In the survey of fourteen FDCs in September 1995, 195 men took *ufundi* courses as against 23 women, while 122 women took home economics courses as against only 8 men. Further we would comment that it is regrettable that this is the only gender-related objective. Nothing is said about increasing awareness of the gender construct of society and of helping local participants to identify some strategies to develop greater equality, which perhaps accounts for the fact that gender sensitisation features relatively little in the TANDEM or in the FDC programmes (see pages 72-3).

The sole financial objective was set in terms of the FDCs *"improving local contributions to college funding"*. One college has been given a grant of land; another had struck a deal over a water-pumping station with a neighbouring institution. Some have been able to obtain funds from their District, but to date very few FDCs have really improved the amount of local financial support except from student fees (see page 42). As long as *"there is a feeling in the local communities that FDCs do not belong to the local communities"* [N6], local financial support is not likely to be forthcoming. As one District officer put it, *"why should I pay when I don't own the FDC?"* [N3]. Whether this will change in the future remains to be seen.

Certainly very few colleges were making *"optimal use of existing buildings"*. It is not clear if this refers solely or mainly to the long-term residential students, to increasing capacity use up to the 65% decreed by SIDA or to other uses. Numbers of long-term students seem to be steady or declining in different areas because of the new fee requirement. Lettings, although not rare, are frequently not charged for on a realistic basis, if at all (page 43). The mentality of changing from a public service institution in support of other government agencies to one of full cost-recovery has not yet had a chance to take hold. In any case, many of the buildings are in such a bad state of repair through lack of regular maintenance which the staff could themselves have undertaken that lettings are not in general really possible, although a number of colleges have more presentable facilities.

As for *"improving maintenance of existing physical facilities"*, it has to be said that where maintenance is taking place, it is being overtaken by further dilapidation because of chronic shortage of funds.

THE MINISTRY

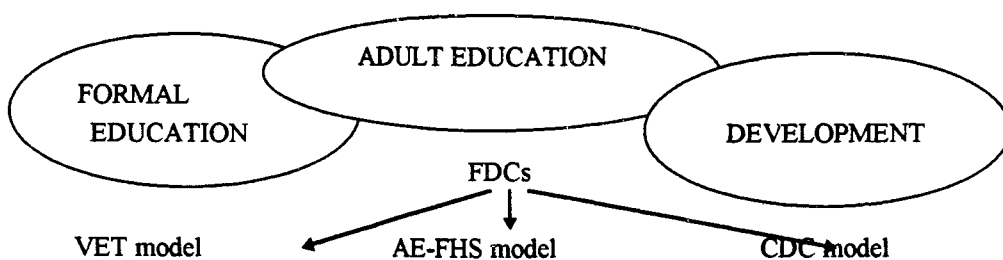
TANDEM set for itself a number of objectives in relation to the Ministry. An assessment has been made here of the achievements in terms of the objectives set by the project for this part of the work.

TANDEM was requested by MCDWAC to help "to adapt the central administration to the new roles of the FDC programme". Two points need to be made here:

a) First, it is unfortunate that this clause is so vague. We believe that TANDEM and MCDWAC should have discussed this ambiguity in detail, for it would seem that the Ministry and the Linköping consultants had different objectives at this point. MCDWAC several times suggested that on transfer from MEC to MCDWAC, the colleges would adopt a new role as developmental institutions rather than as purely educational institutions as they had hitherto been. The Linköping team on the other hand seems to have assumed that they would now have an opportunity to reclaim the FDCs from their formal vocational training role and help them to revert to their original concept of non-formal adult education centres.

Three different models based on different ideologies were thus in contention for the FDCs:

a) the existing **vocational training** programme for young immature adults which the colleges were (and still are) providing (the VET model),
 b) the more **liberal participatory** programmes for adults which the FDCs had originally been called upon to provide and which the Swedish consultants was advocating in its training courses (the AE-FHS model),
 and c) the **community development** approach of the Ministry (the CDC model). It is likely that discussions of these differences would have been very exciting and rewarding, resulting in innovative approaches to the FDCs, but they do not seem to have taken place, or if they did, the results have not been recorded.



b) Secondly, we do not know how this adaptation of the central administration was to be done, what MCDWAC or the TANDEM team were looking for in this respect, nor even which parts of the central administration they were intending to help to adapt. Again there are different possible interpretations. One inference is that the FDC section staff should adapt to the rest of the Ministry; but it is unrealistic to assume that the Linköping consultants could help these staff to move away from an adult education model to a community development model. On the other hand, an alternative possibility is that the rest of the staff of MCDWAC should be helped to adapt to the needs of FDCs; but this is equally unrealistic.

We know from other documents that the Ministry was looking to TANDEM to "bring the two cultures together", to harmonise the different approaches of community development with the adult education ethos which the FDCs were meant to follow (see above page 61). As we have seen, this was a failure. The other sections of MCDWAC never came to accept the role of FDCs as adult education institutions; and the FDC section kept itself separate from the rest of the Ministry. One member of that section admitted, "there are still lots of territorial ambitions in MCD; there is a group not at all in favour of my views" [N13].

Indeed, the most significant impact of TANDEM on MCDWAC has been to perpetuate and even to strengthen the distinctiveness of the FDC Section within the Ministry. TANDEM sought to concentrate all the Ministry decision-making processes relating to the FDCs within the FDC Section. TANDEM encouraged the staff in that Section to feel that they were different, and that they should hold fast to adult education principles. How far this was because the Linköping consultants did not understand the community development approach of MCDWAC or how far it was because they were unable to endorse those approaches is not clear.

One concrete form in which this objective of "adapting the central administration to the new roles of the FDCs" was met was by the provision of the computer-based data collection system. During the evaluation visits, the system was not working, but we understand that this was a temporary situation. It will once again take time before the effects of this provision can be assessed, but we fear that as with other aspects of the project, this is a Swedish solution to what the Swedish staff have identified as a problem. It is probably not the way the Ministry would have developed naturally.

It was intended that TANDEM should help the FDC Section to "*decentralise the administration of the FDCs*". It is odd that MCDWAC should still have agreed to this objective as late as 1994-5. Decentralisation was a key element in the TANDEM programme but the Ministry came to resist it vigorously (see page 20 above). Decentralisation has been accomplished to some extent. More (but still limited) autonomy has been given to local Boards. On the other hand, the central administration still does not seem to be willing to allow the colleges or their Boards real autonomy. As with other sectors of education in Tanzania, "community and central control are clearly incompatible where the sector is administered from the Ministry in all matters concerning staffing, curriculum, examinations and finance" [Cooksey 1986 p 192]. Central control of the Folk Development Colleges remains in fact even if not in theory for the present, although here as elsewhere, "a certain decontrol of education by the state is likely to be embraced" [ibid p200].

TANDEM was intended to "*provide the FDC system with trained managers at the centre*". The TANDEM courses were used as a recruitment ground for the FDC Section of MCDWAC. Several staff came from the colleges to the Ministry on the basis of their performance in the courses. However there are few signs that they show or have been allowed to show much initiative when in their new posts. In fact they may have less scope for innovation inside MCDWAC than if they had remained in the colleges. The training of effective managers at the centre has been a weakness of the programme.

As we have seen (page 71), "*a comprehensive staff development programme with an emphasis on local in-service training*" has been worked out by the TANDEM staff. It has still to be implemented by the Ministry.

The introduction of the student weeks formula was intended help the FDC Section to "*correlate the distribution of government funds to the capacity utilisation*" of the colleges. However this has never been fully implemented by MCDWAC, and in the event funds dried up completely owing to factors beyond the control of the FDC Section.

In addition to these objectives, as we have seen, a cadre of trainers and tutors has been built up for the further development of the college teaching staff. But it lacks an institutional base (see page 69).

TANDEM's main focus was on the college training and support programmes rather than on the Ministry. However, several of the staff of the FDC Section in the Ministry were closely involved in these training programmes, and almost all of the staff of the

FDC Section worked closely with the Swedish Advisers. The impact of TANDEM on this part of the Ministry was considerable but not on other parts of MCDWAC.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The negative picture painted in assessing the TANDEM training programme against the aims and objectives needs to be relieved by a number of factors. For the objectives do not properly represent the achievements of the project.

The picture is very varied. Those Principals and senior staff who participated in TanMan1 are very keen and committed and seek to implement the training they have received. But these were staff who were carefully selected on the basis of their potentiality, and they are relatively few. Those who have participated in later courses have yet to prove the value of their training.

The length of time involved is short. We were informed that in the case of one or two of the participants in the TanMan1 course, it took two or three years before the fruits of the training began to show. It is worth noting that both TanMan3 and TT3 are still in progress. The effectiveness of these programmes will be seen over the coming years.

One of the key tests of the value of the TANDEM project will be seen over the coming years which will be a particularly testing time for the FDCs. It is likely that those FDCs which have benefited most from the TANDEM project will survive rather better than those which have not been able to participate as fully.

Our conclusion is that many of those teachers and Principals who attended the TanMan and Teacher Training courses have benefited from the experience. They are attempting to implement what they have learned. In some cases, there is a considerable sense of freedom and responsibility. Where teachers have not attended the courses, it became apparent during the course of discussions and on visits to the colleges.

The current financial situation militates against these staff making full use of the skills that they have learned through the TANDEM programme. The centralised system of appointment of teaching staff undermines any attempt the colleges might make to meet locally articulated needs for further education and training such as vehicle maintenance, electrical installation, childcare, nursing and midwifery. The administration and funding policies exercised by the Ministry are restricting what the staff are able to do as a result of the TANDEM courses. Further, their staffing policies do not bear any relationship to local needs. The staffing of the colleges is too inflexible to allow for real local development. At the same time, FDC self-sufficiency cannot be created without a stable financial base. Given basic resources and a shake up in staffing procedures, there is no doubt that the colleges could implement much more of the TANDEM training programmes. They are in far better shape than many other educational institutions in Tanzania at this time. But training is of little use to staff who have virtually no resources to work with. Equally it can be argued that TANDEM should have faced this situation more directly, that it should have explored in more detail with the FDC staff the problems which they were to face and attempted collaboratively to identify possible solutions.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUDING CRITIQUE AND FUTURES

This chapter will seek to draw together the main strands of what has been a complicated evaluation. It will of necessity repeat some of what has gone before.

There are several parties concerned in this evaluation. The most important players are SIDA (both the Swedish office and the DSM office), the Linköping team, the Swedish in-country consultants, the senior staff of the MCDWAC, the staff of the FDC Section of the Ministry, and the staff of the FDCs. All of these at stages had different agendas.

THE TANDEM PROJECT

We repeat what has been said on several occasions throughout this report, that it is too early to state clearly whether TANDEM has been a success or not. Even for those parts of the programme which have been completed, it will take several years before the fruits of the training will become apparent (page 80).

However, this is not to say that any form of judgment is impossible. The following comments would seem to be apposite at this juncture.

Ultimately, TANDEM set out to help the staff of the FDCs and of the MCDWAC to become more professional as adult educators. Being professional is usually equated with making and living by self-judgment - critical reflection on experience leading to action (Schon 1983). In the end, the only persons who can tell the staff of the FDCs whether they are doing a good job or not are themselves. It would seem from our surveys that TANDEM has enabled a number of the staff of the FDCs to make such assessments of their own performance. **Our final judgment must be that several of the staff (it will be impossible to know for some years yet how many) have embarked on the professional road.**

REASONS FOR THE LIMITED IMPACT OF THE TANDEM PROJECT

However, the size of this group of FDC staff would appear to be quite small. There are several reasons for this.

First, TANDEM set out to achieve **much too much in too short a time**. SIDA should have appreciated this at the project design stage. Throughout the papers, the Linköping consultants reiterated time and again that "TANDEM is a comprehensive development project for the FDC Sector". Such a claim should have alerted SIDA to the fact that an unrealistic aim was being set for donor-funded intervention. The scheme was grandiose in its vision.

We do not believe that the Linköping team allowed enough time and training exposure to overcome the deep-rooted biases they faced within the existing staff of the FDCs (page 28). While they could find a few persons to respond quickly, the majority of the FDC staff would require more extensive exposure to training to change their fundamental attitudes towards both management and training. It would seem that in the light of the extended time taken over the first training course, TANDEM tried to do the later courses too quickly.

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It is arguable that to undertake what the Swedish trainers had in mind would have taken at least a decade, probably longer. The Linköping consultants had no grounds for believing that SIDA would continue to support the project until the whole of the FDC staff had been covered by their training programme.

A more realistic approach might have been to take a pilot project and build up from that - not the 'model colleges' approach, but rather to take a small area of the country and work with all the colleges there for a period to assess how far the intensive training approach would have worked. It would also be necessary to work with the pilot FDCs in applying the training into the field - developing with them short college-based and village-based courses appropriate to that area. Only thus would the Linköping trainers know from experience whether their approach could work in Tanzania. What Kisaware did indicated the possibilities but Kisaware and its leadership were unusual among the FDCs. We appreciate the reasons for the original decision to work with all the colleges. After all, SIDA had agreed with the Tanzanian government until the last two or three years to fund the whole of the FDC Sector. But a smaller project would have stood a much greater chance of success than a "comprehensive development plan for the FDC Sector" as a whole. It was an approach which SIDA was urging on the post-literacy programme and had applied to the distance education teacher training project [Sector Review 1994 p7]; it should also have been applied to the TANDEM project. The suggestion of Norbeck that *"we thought we could cover all the colleges and treat them all equally, not increase inequality"* [E8 2/1] fits ill with the oft-repeated intention of TANDEM to build up seven or eight 'model' colleges from among the 53 FDCs.

Secondly, TANDEM had a very weak base in Tanzania. The Linköping team started by carefully choosing a group of staff from within the FDC Sector and working with them over a three year period, taking them to Sweden, giving them a long-term certificated course, and building the first group of training staff for future courses from among the high achievers in this group. They did not find a Tanzanian-based institution on which to build their training programme. Instead, they worked with two counterparts, one at Kibaha and the other in the FDC Section in MCDWAC [SIDA 7 p17; Tan32 pp50,89; Tan6 p10]. Their intention to pass over control of the training programme to local Tanzanian trainers was carried out but unlike the Linköping team, these trainers have no institutional basis for this part of their work. This is the main reason why the training programme is unlikely to be sustained into the future.

One of the most significant results of the TANDEM project was that it isolated the FDCs rather than integrated them into Tanzanian society. It did nothing to tie the colleges into any kind of Tanzanian network. The Linköping consultants worked almost exclusively with the FDCs (some visits were made to one or two of the TRDCs at an early stage during field visits but these were dropped from the FDC programme) and with the FDC Section inside MCDWAC. SIDA proposed linkages with the VTCs in 1994 [SIDA 3 p9] but this was not implemented.

The main example of this ring fencing is the training programme itself. MCDWAC inherited several training programmes, among them a separate training facility from the MEC for the FDCs in the Training Wing in Kibaha. TANDEM decided to build up and use this existing specialist training unit. When Kibaha proved inadequate because of lack of funding, staff changes and continuing uncertainty over the role of this Training Wing, *"we decided to have a training team based on the Kibaha Training Wing but not in it because it would be idle as before - either no work or no funds"* [N29]. TANDEM thus built up a new training capacity within the FDC sector (the core of which was located in the Ministry while the remaining trainers came from among the staff of the colleges) rather than find and use other training facilities in Tanzania. All the trainers came either from Sweden or from within the FDC sector. No 'good practice' inside Tanzania was identified and used in the training programmes on the

grounds either that it did not exist or that the Tanzanian adult educators did not share the FHS vision. This reinforced the separation of the FDCs from the rest of the adult education and training sector in Tanzania.

SIDA from time to time suggested that TANDEM should use more local training organisations. And there were alternative possibilities. The Institute of Adult Education in the Ministry of Education has run training courses for adult education staff for many years. There was the Department of Adult Education in the University of Dar es Salaam. Some of the FDC staff have adult education qualifications from one or other of these two institutions. While we understand the hesitations which the TANDEM team felt about these bodies based on experience, there are other agencies within the public or private sectors which share values in participatory training and which could have been used. USAID was using participatory approaches in its training programmes with the CDTIs [N32]. World Vision encourages participatory approaches to training, and CARITAS uses the DELTA and the Training for Transformation programmes (whose training manuals were recommended to the trainees in the TANDEM courses [Tan14], although we saw no sign of their use) [SIDA 62 p67]. We understand that the SIDA-supported Co-operative College in Moshi [SIDA 48] has a participatory training programme which is highly spoken of in parts of Tanzania. Participatory pedagogy is not unknown in Tanzania. We recognise the weakness of some of these institutions; but it may still have been better to work with one or more of these bodies to strengthen their work and make them relevant to the FDCs rather than set up a small and unsustainable FDC training group on its own.

There were therefore possible partners but all of these were rejected by the Linköping trainers because "they did not share the vision". As TANDEM said, *"We made numerous attempts [at the beginning] to involve persons in Tanzania outside of the FDC sector but we realised that they didn't have the adult education perspective"* [N33]. *"We do not take upon our responsibility to include in the team ... people whom we cannot come to know and work with closely enough to see that they will really be able to work in accordance with the particular demands of this course and in the necessary harmony with the rest of the team"* [Letter of Norbeck June 1991: Tan 32 p87]. They did not feel they could do with any other organisation what they proposed to do with some of the FDC staff themselves - train them to become trainers by engaging in the training programmes. *"Linköping refused to accept SIDA's recommendation to involve local training organisations; they said that their approach was unique"* [E9].

This raises a third point - what was this uniqueness, **this vision?** And how far did MCDWAC (the institutional partner in this enterprise) share it?

The question at the heart of this issue is how far the Swedish consultants tried to build up a popular educational movement as with the FHSs in Sweden on which to base the FDCs. It may even be suggested that Linköping's understanding of its own adult education context was faulty, for the FHSs could not have survived in Sweden without a basis of popular support - and that popular support was lacking in Tanzania. TANDEM did nothing to help to build up such support. TANDEM treated the FDCs as free-standing institutions which could be developed independently of their socio-cultural context. Indeed, it can be argued that they treated the FDCs as NGOs rather than as government agencies. Did they in fact appreciate the difference between these two kinds of bodies? We feel that the Linköping team in particular tried to make and keep the FDCs within the FHS mould (see page 25 above) rather than help them to become truly Tanzanian institutions different from the FHSs of Scandinavia. The whole project after all set out "to improve the relationship between the FDCs in Tanzania and the folk high schools in Sweden" [Letter of Intent February 1991; TAN15 p5]. As one of the Tanzanian trainers said: *"The FDCs were established by the Swedes and have to follow the Swedish model. The Swedish inputs are appropriate,*

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to change the Tanzanian character..." [N29]. We know that some of the Swedish team were conscious of the dangers of cultural colonisation and tried to avoid these dangers [SIDA 9 p50]. But as one of them admitted very openly to us, "because we tried does not mean that we were successful" [N33].

The Linköping team's concern for the ideology is clear from the interviews and from the documents. Norbeck repeatedly stressed "our own philosophy and policy of non-formal adult education": "one of the basic characters of the FDCs, i.e. the liberal arts studies.. the risk of collision between [other organisations'] philosophies and that of TANDEM.." [letter of Norbeck June 1990: SIDA 7 p21]. They feared that the distinctive approaches of the FHSs - the long residential courses - might be lost [SIDA 7 p37]. The vision was set out by Norbeck in 1984 [SIDA 18 pp 2-4], and the TANDEM team sought to "reclaim" the FDCs for liberal values and suggested that this is worth "fighting for" [SIDA 18 pp 4, 64-5, 68]. "The FDCs are not vocational schools! and hence their curricula must be broader" [Critique by Norbeck 1992: Tan32 p36].

We would point out that such an approach is being viewed in Africa with increasing hesitation. Fay Chung, one of Africa's leading educationalists, calling for a *Fresh Start for African Education*, speaks of the danger of the perpetuation of foreign systems of education in which

"a very small elite enjoys exactly the same kind of education as it would have in Europe, while the vast majority are deprived of any form of modern education whatever" (UNESCO *Courier* April 1996 p26).

This is surely one of the key issues which face the FDCs today - how far the FHS model will encourage the provision of education for a very small number of persons and how the colleges can be helped to become instruments of mass education and development within their own context.

The Linköping consultants approached the TANDEM project as missionaries, to advocate a purist approach to adult education as seen from a Swedish perspective. Despite the fact that non-examination long courses on the FHS model have not transferred well to other parts of the world in recent years [see for example Titmus 1981 pp200-1: "outside Northern Europe and areas of the mid-West of America, the folk high school has been much imitated but not really successfully"], they continued to urge this on the FDCs in Tanzania. The relation too was an unequal one - that of teacher and taught: we did not find any indication that the Swedish trainers felt they had learned anything from their Tanzanian colleagues, a key characteristic of two-way adult education.

There were then, as we have seen (page 78) at least three different agendas at work. MCDWAC wished to reorient the FDCs towards a development model. The Linköping team wished to bring them back to a more liberal adult education model for participatory democracy (we note the title was TANDEM - with its implications of 'Tanzania' and 'democracy'). And thirdly there was the existing FDC agenda of providing vocational training to some younger persons so that they could go out and earn a living. We believe that the Linköping group was following its own goals in its "comprehensive development plan for the FDCs" rather than the goals of MCDWAC which were in fact very different.

The gap between TANDEM and MCDWAC seems to us to have widened. There were differences of view (as we have seen) over education (as passive acceptance or active learning). There were differences of view about how a Ministry should operate (immediate decisions with maximum delegation as opposed to bureaucratic procedures based on centralised authority). There were differences of view about the agenda (whether TANDEM should promote the MCDWAC views of bringing the two cultures together or whether it should promote its own understanding of liberal adult education).

In addition, there were differences of view about the final outcome, whether the colleges would ultimately be adult education or community development institutions. All of the more detailed issues - decisions about courses, funding, delegation orders, votes of funds etc - in the end come down to differences of understanding of adult education, development and government.

There were also **ambiguities about who were the target group** for the TANDEM project, especially within the MCDWAC. All agreed that the primary target group was the staff of the colleges themselves; but inside the Ministry, was Linköping working with the whole Ministry or with the FDC Section alone? Initially it is clear that the institutional link was intended to be with the FDC Section rather than with the Ministry as a whole, but later MCDWAC felt that it should be with the Ministry as a whole, seeking to promote the Ministry's goals and not only the FDC goals. During this latter stage, the Linköping consultants seem to have identified the staff of the FDC Section as 'friends' and some of the other staff in the Ministry as being more inclined to block the work than to support it. "It is important that the whole Ministry is well informed about current development activities within the FDC programme" [Planning meeting November 1992: Tan4a p19]. The TANDEM programme added to the ring-fencing of the Section rather than promoting an integrated culture and an integrated structure inside the Ministry, an outcome which few senior staff of the Ministry could have accepted. As one of them said, *"When they [the FDC section] came to MCD, they tended to keep themselves as alien; they still don't see themselves as CD"* [N27]. TANDEM did not see their training programme in participatory pedagogy as being of value to any other section of MCDWAC [N28]. Theirs was a separate kingdom, and the senior staff of MCDWAC became increasingly hesitant about this.

Fifthly, it would seem that the approach by the Linköping team to the training programmes for the FDC field staff did not **'start where the trainees are'**, i.e. with their aspirations and expectations. They may of course have been misled in this by the responsive attitude of the small group of carefully selected FDC staff who participated in the initial TANFOLK courses, taking them as typical of all the FDC staff. But if this were the case, the consultants made a mistake; for the majority of the FDC staff were not convinced of the need for change. TANDEM was confronted with the classical dilemma of many developmental programmes, how to motivate the trainees. The approach adopted was not one of building on what existed (indigenous practices) but of seeking to introduce radical change from outside (see page 28 above). Confrontational training rarely is effective with adults.

The Linköping consultants claimed that its use of participatory methodologies ensured that its approaches were in fact bottom-up rather than top-down. But many studies have demonstrated that participatory approaches in the form of active learning methods are not adequate on their own. As we have seen above (page 28), 'directive participation' can be used as a tool of hegemony. Our experience of the training courses suggest they were just that - training, not education; that they represented bottom-up theory and top-down practice. There appears to have been too little critical reflection on experience, rather too much instruction into how to use participatory approaches in the college training programmes.

Sixthly, we wonder whether TANDEM aroused **unrealistic expectations among the participants**. There was a feeling expressed to us that the staff of the colleges were led to believe that after the TANDEM training programmes, they would be able to engage in a series of wonderful programmes, a feeling that once they were 'trained', their problems would be at an end (see pages 28-9 above). There was little appreciation of the real barriers to implementation which prevented this from happening. We note that the training sessions we saw and some of the materials for these courses concentrated more on the identification of problems than on devising strategies to overcome these

problems. One former participant indicated that one aspect which was most appealing to her about the training programme was the prospect of being able to apply the training immediately. In her case, this was possible, but for many others, there were more barriers, both perceived and real.

One of the core debates among development agencies at present is between those who believe that the main hindrances to development lie in the attitudes and skills of the people of the developing countries and those who think that the main problems lie in the systems and structures of developing societies. On the one hand, there are those who believe that through training and human resource development, all things are possible; that the cause of under-development lie with the people themselves, and that therefore all that needs to be changed are the people. On the other hand, there are those who suggest that the real barriers to development lie in the systems, that no amount of training will change those structures, that human resource development without any action taken to free the participants from the systems which bind them will increase frustration rather than bring about development. The TANDEM team recognised both sides of this development debate; they certainly experienced both parts and planned to engage in structural and organisational change as well as staff training. TANDEM tried to bring about HRD changes inside the FDCs and structural changes inside MCDWAC, but on the whole it concentrated its efforts on the training rather than on the systems transformation. Since it failed in the latter, its training programmes with the former have been less effective.

Finally, the objectives set for the project were sometimes too imprecise to be of value. SIDA should have paid much closer attention to these objectives and the ways in which it was proposed their achievement was to have been measured. To take two examples, to set out to "improve the organisational structures" of the FDC Sector, and to help the FDCs to be "better adapted to meeting local needs" (see above page 76) is thinking unworthy of any academic department or educational aid agency.

At the same time, however, it can be said that MCDWAC have never become aware of the real nature of the concept of adult education agencies devoted to development programmes. Just as the Linköping team's concepts of development seem to us to be somewhat limited and dated, so MCDWAC's approach to adult education was and remains equally limited. Because of the problems of creating a new Ministry, the pace of change inside MCDWAC was slower than in the colleges. For TANDEM to have concentrated so much of its energies on the FDCs themselves and so little on the government agency which would either make or break the FDCs suggests that the consultants thought of the FDCs as being adult educational institutions independent of government control but not independent of their resources - which they are not and never can be. TANDEM made a strategical error in this approach.

THE IMPACT OF SIDA'S SUPPORT

When we put the TANDEM project within the wider context of SIDA's total involvement with the FDC Sector, the picture takes on a rather different hue. First, the main tribute to SIDA's and Linköping University's involvement with the FDCs is that after more than twenty years, the colleges are still in existence and remain the only grass-roots network of institutions which Tanzania possesses. The 53 FDCs and their staff "represent one of the most valuable assets in promoting development through education outside the formal system" [SIDA 6a p36]. We note that of the 16 Agricultural Institutes (training for agricultural extension staff) *"only five are now active because of the budget"* [N27]. All 53 FDCs still have buildings and some (admittedly limited) equipment which can be used. Some of them still have students. The system has been maintained intact through difficult times, ready to be utilised for

development purposes as and when resources become available. Tribute must be paid to SIDA, to MEC, and to Linkoping University and the TANDEM project for this.

Secondly, some of the FDCs are relatively speaking in a better shape than they have ever been. Several possess better facilities than neighbouring primary and secondary schools. This is a tribute to SIDA's support to the Tanzanian government combined with the work of the TANDEM staff.

Thirdly, some (but not all) of the staff of the FDCs are poised to take action if they are given their freedom and some basic resources. They exhibit greater understanding of and often real commitment to the FDC ideals, and increased skills with which to operate. The very real anger which we saw in some parts of the field directed both at MCDWAC and SIDA is a sign of commitment. This anger is a positive problem, less serious than the demoralisation which is more widespread. This enhanced staff capacity too is a tribute to the work of the TANDEM team, SIDA and MCDWAC.

However we note the inability of SIDA to make links between the various projects it funds in the same country. A Sida-funded research programme into political education in Tanzania through the University Department of Adult Education does not draw upon the resources of the FDCs. There are other Sida-supported programmes in MCDWAC which could have usefully been linked with the FDCs. This would have helped to strengthen the FDCs and perhaps mitigate some of the effects of Sida's withdrawal. The division of responsibilities for discussions with the Ministry between different officers in Sida-DCO in DSM is not helpful here. This is an area which Sida should examine.

SIDA'S WITHDRAWAL

SIDA decided to withdraw from any further support to the FDC Sector after twenty one years. There will be no further funding for the FDCs beyond the end of June 1996 except for some small tidying-up activities. A joint management and TT course is planned for later in 1996. The long-standing twinning arrangements with Swedish FHS will continue and more are being planned, the initiative for this coming largely from the Swedish side. Forum Syd, a Swedish organisation providing volunteers to various countries, too, will seek to maintain some Swedish assistance, *"to carry on the ethos of TANDEM"* [N7].

The context for this withdrawal must be recognised and appreciated. First, it is not in anyone's interest for aid to continue too long in any one sector. All donor aid must come to an end sometime. Growing concern to overcome dependency and increase sustainability necessitates that regular reviews and reassignment of aid in all fields should take place. Changes in educational priorities, especially as a result of the world-wide 'Education for All' programme, encourage such reviews to be seen in positive rather than negative terms.

At the same time, all aid agencies are reducing the amount of aid to Tanzania as to other countries. The IMF has reduced its assistance to Tanzania from US\$29m in 1991 to only US\$888,000 in 1994 and again in 1995 [UNDP Report 1996]. Norway's aid fell from US\$86m in 1991 to US\$52m in 1995. Sweden's reduction from US\$124m in 1991 to US\$36.7m in 1995 is thus similar to that of every other agency except UNHCR which has (exceptionally) increased its assistance to Tanzania. This has meant that Sida along with all other agencies has had to concentrate its dwindling resources on fewer areas.

Time and again it has been said to us very strongly that the withdrawal of Sida's assistance has been precipitous. (We note in passing that although MCDWAC and TANDEM knew of this decision from 1993, information relating to it was not passed

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down to the colleges themselves until very recently; this is most regrettable). It is true that this withdrawal has certainly not been phased (in the sense of being tapered off). But it has not been without warning. It was first mooted in 1993. Over the last few years, the aid was always allocated for a limited period - one year or at the most two years, although the Linköping team believed that to do all that it wished to do would take at least six years. SIDA asked their consultants to prepare long-term plans for this project, but it was unable to give a commitment that it would be able to support the project on such a basis. The Linköping group went from year to year believing they could persuade SIDA to continue to extend the project. It would seem in this they misled themselves and some of their Tanzanian colleagues: *"We all thought SIDA would always be around"* [N30].

We understand the reasons for the lack of tapering off of funds before the final and complete withdrawal of Swedish support. Sida had been discussing with MCDWAC the more effective utilisation of the FDCs, especially their increased capacity use. Recognising the lack of funds in MCDWAC, Sida proposed that the assistance should be concentrated on 25 of the FDCs, while alternative uses such as secondary education should be found for the remaining colleges. At first, so we have been informed, MCDWAC agreed to such a scheme but later changed their minds. When Sida realised that there were no real resources in MCDWAC to maintain all the 53 FDCs, they decided to withdraw funding. The logic of the debates between Sida and MCDWAC led to this conclusion. But the failure of Sida to taper off funds is regrettable. Not only do aid agencies constantly exhort their own consultants to pay as much attention to the withdrawal phase as to the entry phase for any intervention; but Sida already had experience of a similar problem when they withdrew their financial support from the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) in Tanzania: "SIDA pulled out of the IAE in the middle of the seventies. Perhaps it acted prematurely, but these were the days when early take-over was an encouraged and desirable goal...The IAE was now left with a big set-up and meagre funds. To survive, they had to run courses that paid their way.. The element of folk development had all but gone in the 1980s .." [Cassara 1995 p130]. Sida does not appear to have learned from this experience. Giving notice which allows local bodies to plan for taking over the responsibilities as with the FDCs and the Vocational Training support programme is not the same as tapering the withdrawal of support. Many within the FDC Sector who were not fully cognisant with the discussions between the Ministry and Sida asked whether Sida could not have considered a period of "gradually reduced support" [Prog Rep Feb 1994 p13] which would have made the transition easier to manage. **We hope that Sida might consider this for all future projects.**

What made the Sida withdrawal harder for the FDCs to bear was the fact that it followed closely on the withdrawal of government funding from the colleges which was equally abrupt. This withdrawal of support was however more difficult to bear in that it was without warning. For most of the FDCs, it occurred in the middle of a two-year course. The natural response of the staff of the colleges was to expect Sida to pick up the Ministry support as they had on an earlier occasion. Hence the frustration felt and expressed. *"The colleges are crying"*, was one recorded reaction. Just when the staff were beginning to feel a little more confident, daring to innovate and even to take risks for the first time, the last strand of support was withdrawn. *"I know a lot but can implement very little"* [N1]. It can be said that "It was the best of times" for Sida to have made its withdrawal in that a goodly number of staff were now more able to pick up the threads of the training and adapt it to the local needs, and that there was a new political team in place at MCDWAC and a new policy for the FDCs. Equally however "it was the worst of times" in that other financial resources have been withdrawn at the same time. TANDEM has enthused some staff but not resourced them to cope with this sea-change. As one individual put it, Sida's withdrawal may *"kill buds which have a good chance of sprouting in a not very distant future"*.

We are aware of the dangers of generalising from a particular case, but it is worth quoting one outburst in full to give a flavour of the reaction we found in several places: *"Why is Sida leaving us now? I am angry. Why are they leaving so late? Why introduce TANDEM when they are withdrawing? There is some agenda but I don't know what it is. I had very high expectations, I was going to do wonders. We had meetings with the staff, we involved them in the running of the college. BUT we couldn't go out to recruit students; we couldn't go out to teach in the villages. We don't get teaching materials, we can't pay for the teachers. We talk about democracy; we decide, let's do this, but we can't because we have no resources. How can you be self-reliant when you've got nothing? Thus I am disappointed that although the course gave us good theoretical insights, it was unrealistic in practice". [N8].* We do need to note that such statements reveal the achievements of the TANDEM course as well as its failure: one cannot imagine such reactions from many primary or secondary school teachers.

Perhaps this anger may in part be ameliorated by Sida being prepared to support a **FDC Principal's or staff conference to receive the evaluation report** and to develop for themselves an action plan based on the Ministry's new Community Development policy.

THE FDCs

The reaction to the withdrawal of Sida's support has revealed that the FDCs have become very dependent on outside assistance, either from Sida or from the government. Many of them are not yet able to think creatively, to identify the precise nature of the problems which face them and to innovate and experiment in their attempt to solve those problems for themselves. Many are unable to see the very real resources which are available to them.

Perhaps one reason for this is that the FDCs have not been allowed to indigenise themselves to Tanzania's requirements. They have been maintained in the Grundtvig model (we note the constant use of the word 'enlightenment' both in the training programmes and now in many of the FDCs themselves [SIDA 7 p29; Tan32 p91; N13; Misc p20], a term which encapsulates the Grundtvig ideology). The twinning scheme between the FDCs and the Swedish FHSs may be intended to serve the same purpose. Until (like the IAE and the former university extra-mural departments in East and West Africa [Titmus and Steele 1995]), the FDCs become truly African institutions, moulded to take indigenous forms very different from the original form, they will find it hard to take root in Tanzania.

Arguably, SIDA's withdrawal will be in the long-term best interests of the FDCs. It will certainly test the quality of the TANDEM training, and some FDCs may fail. Those that survive, however, may paradoxically become increasingly recognisable as authentic Tanzanian institutions. It is important to realise that 1996 is very different from 1975, that it is impossible and undesirable to try to recreate the original mission for the FDCs. The different times call for different responses. The TANDEM project has prepared some of the colleges to make such responses for themselves.

SUCCESSFUL FDCs

Throughout our evaluation, we have been impressed by the general agreement about the conditions which underlie a successful FDC in Tanzania. A leadership with a clear vision; good management skills (which may not always be democratic); some assured resources, however limited; political support and recognition of value; the support of networks and a clear sense of identity of the sector; a career structure with adequate

rewards for the staff to increase their commitment. We are reminded of Herzburg's motivational factors - of the fact that the removal of demotivators (those outside factors which deter effort) must be accompanied at the same time by the development of motivators (those more positive internal factors such as recognition and responsibility which lead to professional satisfaction). This could serve for an approach to FDC development in the future.

THE MINISTRY

The coming of a new team to MCDWAC with a new policy for Community Development accounts for the fact that the Ministry staff made few efforts to persuade Sida to rescind its decision, a reaction which the TANDEM team found surprising: "The possibility of SIDA withdrawing their support to the FDC programme has been taken very calmly by the Ministry, and no efforts have been made to try to convince SIDA to change their views. This is very surprising to us .." [FinRep 1993-4 p22]. Some indeed inside the Ministry welcomed this withdrawal: *"we welcome the withdrawal of Sida. It is possible to support a programme for too long; it becomes necessary support, it can slow down or inhibit development. Now we have an opportunity to develop. We welcome the opportunity to grow up; it will release energies. It would have been difficult if they had continued"* [N22].

The Ministry now has a Community Development policy which places the FDC system central. It has come to claim the colleges for its own, to re-orient them to community development institutions instead of adult education bodies. This is a high risk strategy. To the struggle of adult education institutions against vocational training centres for younger people is to be added a community development dimension. The staff of the FDCs have been encouraged by TANDEM to become more like adult educators; now they are being told to become more like community development workers, to seek to promote community development more than personal development through their training activities. It is to be hoped that the FDCs can survive this extended struggle.

The new strategy will however mean re-orienting the MCDWAC staff into **community adult education** as well as re-orienting the FDC staff into **community development** programmes. Ministry staff will need to learn about those approaches to adult education which can promote community development. There are sound and tested strategies for adult education agencies working in community education in developing countries - providing training for existing or newly formed community groups rather than for individual students at the time and point of need rather than in colleges, for example. Summer schools such as the Antigonish and Highlander models in America form one strand for college-based activities. Particularly significant advances in the practice of community development education are being made in South Africa at the present time. Sweden has not been noted for such **community** developments in adult education. There are as we have seen several examples in Tanzania already (page 54 above): not just Kisaware FDC, for instance, but also the earlier Singida adult and community development project [Buchert chapter 5]. Indeed, there appears to be a new understanding of adult education oriented to development emerging in Tanzania at the moment. We note recent pronouncements of OCEA and UNFPA as well as the more proactive policies of VETA and Agricultural Extension. We note the apparent disillusion with traditional adult education and the new interest in community-based education [Odara report 1995; SIDA 62 etc].

MCDWAC, like all other Ministries, will of course be grossly hampered by the lack of funds and by the lack of time to develop the new procedures which are now necessary so as to cover the costs which will no longer be borne by Sida. It is most unlikely that the Government of Tanzania can pick up the whole bill. That is of course common to all sectors of education and development in Tanzania at the end of the twentieth century.

THE FUTURES

We have been asked to give some indications of ways in which MCDWAC can build upon TANDEM and take its work forward, and in particular ways forward for the FDCs under the new Community Development policy. We are hesitant to do so, since this would call for the creation of a full development plan for the FDCs. We would wish this to be the subject of a pilot project, to explore ways of working in the field rather than to suggest a programme from the outside on the basis of only a few visits. Nevertheless, we would make some suggestions based on our limited experience of Tanzania and a rather wider experience of developmental adult education in other parts of the world.

Several of our respondents have proposed other futures for the FDCs -

- to close them all;
- to choose a smaller number and concentrate on these as a national resource of small-scale residential colleges for a small number of students, closing the rest;
- to abolish the term 'college' and to turn them into rural development 'centres' open to all government and NGO developmental services, in which case the staff would become 'centre managers' rather than 'form teachers';
- to privatise them;
- to keep them in the public sector but make them entirely self-sustaining;
- to bring the ages of the student body down even further and turn them into middle schools;
- to develop them into small business training institutions (for example, for those retiring from some of the professions who need mid-career re-orientation);
- to hand them back to the adult education service to join the number of adult learning centres, including rural libraries;
- to link them into some other existing network of institutions (e.g. agricultural extension, rural development centres, vocational training centres etc);
- to use them for Open University and correspondence learning centres; and so on.

Some of these roles are not of course mutually exclusive: the FDCs could serve several of them at the same time.

We note however that MCDWAC has indicated its intention to use all the FDCs for a more integrated approach to community development (especially family education and training) than before. It may therefore be useful if we were to indicate some of the general points which will need consideration in the development of possible futures for the FDCs. We do not set out to develop a detailed plan but to indicate principles on which this plan can be developed.

One point needs to be made at this juncture which will pay appropriate tribute to the TANDEM project. Many of the points mentioned below have formed the foundation stones of the TANDEM project. This is what they have been aiming at throughout the past six years. That they achieved only a small amount of it is a sign that they underestimated the difficulties to be faced and the length of time it would take to reach these goals - but that does not invalidate the principles themselves.

First, we would point out that the FDCs (like all adult learning institutions) bridge the world of education and training on the one hand and the world of development on the other hand. They will in one sense feel at ease in both; but equally they will sit uncomfortably in both worlds. They will be a challenge to both. They will challenge the educational world to try to make their learning programmes really relevant and

useful, not simply academic and award-oriented. They will challenge the development world not to rely on simple skills transfer and message-giving but to develop learning programmes for the whole person. The staff - and the Ministry which supports them - will find this dual role hard to accept.

But if this is true in general terms of all adult education agencies everywhere, it is equally true that **the FDCs will need to find their own niche within Tanzanian society as that society changes.** It will be hard for external adult educators to see that role and often harder to accept it when it has been found. It may for example include a much higher vocational training element than in Western societies. There may be a smaller place within them for 'individuation' as the core concept of adult education. It is worth noting that as long as the FDCs remain colleges aimed at the enhancement of individual skills, they are unlikely to contribute much to local village development; most of their students will continue to go to the towns.

Nevertheless, it will be important for **the new roles of the FDCs to be built on their existing roles.** They cannot simply abandon what they do at the moment and pick up new programmes. Their existing work will need to be continued; but most staff are under-employed and they all have capacity to develop new activities. But they will need to develop their subject specialism further, an element of all professional development which TANDEM neglected. Their long courses and especially their follow-up visits give them clear entree to many villages; and their existing short courses, both college-based and village-based, provide a platform for the development of new outreach programmes. In particular, if the FDCs are to work on a development model based on local intentions rather than needs (page 52), they will find themselves working more and more with groups rather than with individual students. For this to develop, they will need much greater freedom than the MCDWAC is prepared to allow, judging by the curriculum and guidelines which it has issued. One or two colleges such as Kisaware have shown the way ahead: but they have done this by 'breaking the rules' and asserting more independence than the Ministry is normally prepared to allow. It is to be hoped that the senior staff of MCDWAC will give the FDCs more freedom than the Training Division seems willing to grant.

On the other hand, the Ministry would need to channel its other programmes through the FDCs as well as directly in the villages. HESAWA for example would form an ideal programme for many of the FDCs. **The FDCs need to be fitted into the overall programme of MCDWAC, not be kept in a separate compartment.**

This will mean that **the Ministry will need to help the colleges to acquire a coherent and positive development plan for themselves, both as a system and as individual locally oriented colleges, and not just a maintenance plan.** They have perhaps too often been regarded only as instruments of development. SIDA and TANDEM on the other hand have regarded them as one of the objects of development. This role will need to be taken up by the Ministry. Any development agency must itself develop, just as any good teaching organisation needs to be receptive to new learning. We note that most FDCs have begun to develop their own action plans.

One role which TANDEM sought to help the colleges and the FDC section in the Ministry to develop is that of the training of adult educators. We would refer to a recent Tanzanian study *Adult Education: the Tanzanian Experience* [Bwatwa et al 1989 p140] which points out that all those who work in the training of adults in development programmes, "whether teachers, instructors, community developers, welfare workers or extension agents, and whether they see themselves as adult educators or not, to be effective in doing their job beyond merely transmitting a particular technical

knowledge,.. need a range of competencies related to communication and interpersonal skills:

- knowledge of a particular subject or specialism
- knowledge of the broader development goals to which their own work is related
- sensitivity to the needs and potential of adult students
- skill in using various methods of teaching adults
- skill in mobilising, leading and facilitating learning groups
- skill in using techniques of assessment and evaluation".

TANDEM has given to MCDWAC a tool for a good deal of this kind of training of all their community workers and also of training other workers in rural development programmes. It should be possible for the Ministry to build on this foundation.

In terms of funding, **it is not necessary for the FDCs to be funded through one mechanism.** We note the interest of some other donor agencies (especially DANIDA) in specific programmes (agro-forestry, women's development, family welfare etc) which could be mounted in part through the FDCs. One college for example is being supported in several ways (including electrification) by HIMA (DANIDA). As long ago as 1991, a SIDA-funded national workshop on 'education in Tanzania with a gender perspective' identified the FDCs as one important channel of women's empowerment through lifelong education (App H). The current interest of donors in Tanzania to route some of the development programmes through District level institutions would fit in with this suggestion. Several of the colleges suggested that they would wish to approach donors directly but that they did not know (especially those more remote from DSM [N3]) which donors to approach nor how to go about this (the preparation of project proposals could have formed part of the TANDEM training programme). Whether this funding should come through the Ministry or through the Districts or go directly to the individual college concerned will need to be worked out not only within MCDWAC but within the framework of the Tanzanian government machinery as a whole. Experience elsewhere suggests that it would be useful if the FDCs were to have several purses rather than one.

It is likely that **the FDCs will need to have some small amount of core funding.** We would point out that no-one expects primary schools or primary health centres to exist without some kind of funding. However this will need to be accompanied by a greater measure of freedom of action and responsibility for accountability. This will be a hard role for MCDWAC to accept.

In our opinion it is vital that **the FDCs are linked into some kind of network, that their ring-fencing comes to an end.** They belong to Tanzania; and just as the FHSs in Sweden form part of a wider system, so the FDCs must find their place within one or other of Tanzania's needed networks. They cannot, we believe, survive long, not least for the sake of the health of the staff, if they continue to remain isolated.

At the same time, **the FDCs must be encouraged to develop their own more informal local networks.** This concept needs to be explored more fully here. Networking does not appear to be a familiar concept in Tanzania. We note that MCDWAC itself says that this is not a practice with which they are very familiar: *"Networking is a new idea to us, we are used to secrecy, separateness .. we work vertically, not horizontally..."* [N23,27]. We have periodically referred to opportunities for the colleges to engage with other bodies with a view to mutual self-interest as a basis for collaboration. By way of illustration, we were able to inform the Principal of one college of an impending meeting in his locality involving the local Development Association. The aim of the meeting was to identify how the area could be developed

on a large scale. Clearly this was an event at which the FDC would have much to contribute. But a combination of isolation and a lack of early information seemed likely to deprive that Principal of any opportunity to participate in this event. A second and more general example may also be pertinent. There seem to be very few links currently between the FDCs and the higher education sector in Tanzania. Thus the opportunity for collaborative research lies dormant. Although the FDCs have been the object of some research, they have not been involved as participants in such rural research. Clearly there are dangers in networking: to paraphrase one Principal, co-operation is fine as long as you are not then taken over by your collaborators! But the example of Kisaware with its links with building specialists, agricultural extension staff and health workers shows the value in the field of such networking [SIDA 8 pp53-4].

We are keenly aware of the value of the historical links between Swedish adult education and Tanzania. These need to be maintained and built upon positively. We suggest that there should be an exploration of the way in which this link might be modified for the benefit of the Tanzanian partners, of the way to build the future without being constrained by the past. We suggest that the twinning arrangement with Swedish FHSs should go ahead on the clear understanding however that it will explore the differences and contrasts rather than seek to 'maintain the vision', and in the belief that the Swedish institutions have as much to learn from their African counterparts as they have to teach. We would respectfully suggest that **Sweden should now set the FDCs wholly free**; that they should let the crew - half-trained as it is - sail the ship on their own, to take it into strange and uncharted waters, to put into new harbours, to refit it to meet new storms and to carry new cargoes; in short, to allow the FDCs to find their own identity as truly African institutions. And in this process, we would suggest that the Swedish partners might revisit their fountain of wisdom, Grundtvig, whose nineteenth century concept of 'enlightenment' with its underlying belief that the group which possesses light should help those who remain in darkness fits ill with the modern understandings of adult education as 'learning on equal terms', both sides changing through a joint process of critical reflection on experience leading to action. All those who have been involved - including the evaluation team - have much to learn by reflecting critically on this experience of cross-cultural transfer in adult education. The fact that there are still FDCs in Tanzania and staff and students in them is a massive tribute to Sida, to the various Ministries concerned, to Linköping University and to the wider world of the Folk High Schools in Sweden, and we hope that this will be recognised - if not immediately, at least in the future.

If the TANDEM training programmes for the Tanzanian Folk Development Colleges have helped some of those who direct and manage these institutions to come to terms with these inherent contradictions, to see and to fulfil these roles more fully, rather than simply imitate the Swedish Folk High Schools, it will have been a success both for Linköping University and for Sida. Only time will tell. The true evaluation of the TANDEM project will come after a second twenty years. We suggest, to invoke a famous phrase, that what we are seeing 'is the end of the beginning, not the beginning of the end'.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Evaluation

Terms of Reference

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Timetable and Itinerary

Appendix B: Analysis of Surveys (IDM)

Appendix C: Aims and Objectives of TANDEM (1994/5)

Appendix D: Critique of TANDEM Training Programmes

Appendix E: Folk High Schools (Sweden)

Appendix F: Essay on Cultural Transfer

Appendix G: SIDA Funding of FDCs in Tanzania

Appendix H: Essay on Gender

APPENDIX A: Part 1

TERMS OF REFERENCE

Terms of Reference for Formative and Summative Evaluation of the Tandem Project

Background

Ever since the Folk Development Colleges were started in 1975 SIDA has supported the FDC programme. SIDA has provided funds for construction and renovations of buildings, for installation of electricity; water and telephones, for purchase of furniture and for production of teaching materials. SIDA has also provided transport facilities to all FDC's, books for the FDC libraries and other educational material.

Beside these measures to build up the external conditions for running the FDC programme, SIDA has also been engaged in staff development activities. During the 80's, study visits were arranged to Sweden for principals from the FDCs. Likewise, Linköping University arranged two courses on non-formal adult education in the early 80's.

However, these courses were not emanating from any assessment of what the FDCs needed in this field, and this brought with it a very limited impact on the FDC activities. These shortcomings were acknowledged and in 1988 a course - TANFOLK I - was organised, where the emphasis was placed on pedagogy/methodology. This was further accentuated in a second course with a similar design.

The above mentioned staff development activities gave rise to a discussion on how to design a more comprehensive support to develop - not only the physical facilities but first and foremost - the FDC programme as a whole and the activities carried out at the colleges. This discussion coincided with the transfer of the FDC programme to the newly formed Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children in 1990. The Ministry and Linköping University jointly elaborated a Letter of Intent, where the aims and principles of the co-operation project were outlined. The project, named TANDEM, started in July 1991. The overall aim of the project has been to promote a comprehensive development of the Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) in Tanzania. The project has encompassed structures, routines and activities both at central level - the Training Department and the FDC Section at MCDWC and at nearly forty colleges involved in training activities.

Terms of Reference for Linköping University have developed over the four project years, but throughout the project period, five major fields of operation have been pursued.

1. General advisory support to the Ministry.
2. Training of Teacher Trainers (ToT) and subsequent Teacher Training.
3. Training of FDC Managers.
4. Development of Skills for technical, agricultural and domestic science teachers.
5. Upgrading and maintenance of physical facilities at the colleges.

SIDA has announced that the support to the FDC programme will be phased out. The present stand of SIDA is that the support will cease in June, 1996.

SIDA and the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children have an interest in making a formative and summative evaluation of the changes that have taken place within the FDC programme and summing up the experiences from the Tandem project.

Objectives of the Evaluation

Main objectives:

- A. To evaluate to what extent the project has met its objectives
- B. To evaluate the impact of the project on local as well as central level
- C. To evaluate the sustainability of the project
- D. To provide information for:
 - a) design and execution of ongoing activities
 - b) design of future support of the same or similar kind.

Specific objectives:

To identify and evaluate:

1. The changes in the structure of the FDC programme

To identify and evaluate effects on:

2. The central administration of the programme when it comes to guidelines, administrative routines, reporting system, allocation and monitoring of funds distributed, communication between colleges and central administration.
3. College administration when it comes to administrative structure, involvement of staff and students in college affairs, staff development, delegation of power and responsibilities.
4. College co-operation with surrounding community, e.g. establishment of day care centres, the college's role as a community centre, general PR work.
5. The ability of the colleges to sustain themselves by running viable self-reliance projects, generating other types of revenue, cost sharing with participants, reduction of costs.
6. The training programmes run at the colleges when it comes to their correlation to local needs, relation on-campus/off-campus courses, course length, subjects taught.
7. The teachers' way of organising and conducting learning situations of the students.
8. The students when it comes to attitudes to learning and knowledge, quality of learning, improved skills, ability to sustain themselves after completion of studies, self-confidence analytical capacity.

Tasks

In order to identify and evaluate the components listed above the evaluation should be carried out in the following three steps: describing, analysing and concluding.

The descriptive part should encompass:

- the original objectives of the project
- amendments to these objectives over the project period
- the principal approaches and strategies employed in order to meet the objectives
- organisation, management and co-ordination of the project
- how all the different items mentioned under specific objectives 2 - 8 above were dealt with or handles when the projects started
- how the same items have been affected as a result of the project activities

The analysis should encompass:

- if the objectives were relevant and realistic
- to what degree the project has met its objectives
- organisation, management and co-ordination of the project
- to what degree the project has enabled the recipient to continue developing the FDC programme after the support has ceased
- to what extent the project activities has enabled the individual colleges involved in the project to attain their goals

The conclusions should emanate from the above description and analysis. The evaluation should focus on why certain ideas introduced through the project have been particularly well received and easy or difficult to apply. Project features which can be of importance for future projects of the same kind should be highlighted.

Methodology

Since the Tandem project has aimed at a comprehensive development of the FDC programme, it has encompassed several aspects of the programme, indicated in the list of specific objectives above. It has worked at both central and local level. Therefore it is thought that a "standard type" of evaluation will not be able to probe deep enough into the successes and/or shortcomings of the project. In order to get a more profound evaluation, the evaluation team should be given more time to get a thorough understanding of the character of the FDC programme and the Tandem project than is normally the case.

The evaluators should:

1. Acquaint themselves with the FDC programme in order to get a thorough understanding of the "pedagogical and organisational culture" of the FDC programme, the aims of the programme and the context in which the FDCs work.
2. Study all relevant documents of the Tandem project.
3. Organise and direct the work of the evaluation assistants.
4. Collect data and information from the central administration and a sample of no less than ten colleges involved in the training activities.

Evaluation team

The evaluation will be done by a team of two external evaluators, one from Sweden and one from Tanzania. The team should have expertise in both management-organisational development and pedagogy/andragogy.

The team of experts will be assisted by some of the participants in the training courses of the project, whose tasks are:

- to assist the evaluators in working out a format for interviews and observations.
- to make systematic interviews and observations at the identified colleges.
- to write reports on their observations, which will serve as an input to the work of the evaluators.

Reporting

The report should be written in English. A draft version should be completed before the end of June 1996. Copies of the draft should be sent to SIDA-DCO, Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children and Linköping University for comments. Such comment should be handed in to the evaluation team before September 1996. A final report should be elaborated immediately after receiving the comments.

The report should have an executive summary. In total it should be 30 - 50 pages long.

Timing

June 1996 to November 1996

**APPENDIX A: Part 2
EVALUATION TEAM**

The evaluation was undertaken by Education for Development using the following members as part of its evaluation team:

Dr ALAN CHADWICK: Chairman of the team
Ms DERYN HOLLAND (Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist)
Professor K LENI OGLESBY (Gender Specialist)
Professor ALAN ROGERS (Executive Director of Education for Development)
DAVID SELBY (Inspectorate Specialist)
Dr PETER TAYLOR (Curriculum Development Specialist)
WILLIAM TYLER (Adult Education Management Specialist)

This group formed the UK-based Support Group.

In addition Professor BRIAN STREET (Cultural Transfer Specialist) provided specialist advice as needed.

The overseas visits were made by
Alan Chadwick
K Leni Oglesby
Alan Rogers
David Selby

In addition, Peter Taylor was engaged on another project in Tanzania at the same time and made visits to the country.

IN-COUNTRY CONSULTANTS

The team was assisted by two in-country consultants:

Hamisi Mahigi
Colman Riwa

of the Institute of Development Management, Morogoro, Tanzania who appointed and trained assistant evaluators and supervised their field work and drafted the report of their findings.

APPENDIX A: Part 3**TANDEM EVALUATION: TIMETABLE AND ITINERARY****ITINERARY FOR FIRST VISIT TO SWEDEN 21-25 AUGUST 1995: ALAN CHADWICK (AC), ALAN ROGERS (AR), AND DAVID SELBY (DS).**

Sunday 21 August: arrive in Stockholm: travel to Linköping
Monday 22 August: meeting all day with Johan Norbeck
Tuesday 23 August: meeting all day with Johan Norbeck
 return to Stockholm
Wednesday 24 August: meeting at SIDA Office: Abdi Fom and Christine McNab
 AC departs for London
Thursday 24 August: meeting and documentary work at IDA Office
Friday 25 August: meeting with Abdi Fom
 depart for London

ITINERARY FOR FIRST VISIT TO TANZANIA 28 SEPTEMBER - 6 OCTOBER 1995: ALAN ROGERS (AR) AND DAVID SELBY (DS)

Friday 29 September:
 David Selby arrived in Dar es Salaam;
 meeting with Hamisi Mahigi (HM) and Colman Riwa (CR) of IDM
Saturday 30 September:
 discussions HM, CR and DS
 Alan Rogers arrived.
Sunday 1 October:
 planning meeting: HM, AR, CR and DS
 meeting with Urban Lundin (UL) and Per-Olof Akesson (POA).
Monday 2 October:
 morning: meeting at SIDA Office with Maria Stridsman (HM, AR, CR and DS).
 evening: meeting with UL and POA (HM, AR, CR and DS).
Tuesday 3 October:
 meetings at Ministry of Community Development, Women Affair and Children (MCDWAC):
 Mr Chiwile, Head of Training Division
 Mr Singo,
 Mr J Kimori, Desk Officer Inspectorate Service
 Mrs Masanja, Co-ordinator of Manpower
 Mr Goda, Desk Officer, Finance and Income-Generating Projects.
 (the meeting with the Permanent Secretary was cancelled)
 afternoon: meeting HM, AR, CR and DS.
Wednesday 4 October:
 visit to Kibaha FDC and Training Centre: meetings with Principal Mr W M Kimambo and Urban Lundin
 visit to training programme TANMAN III
 meeting with Principals and other trainees in two groups
 meeting with Mr Mlale Head of FDC Unit, MCDWAC
 return to Dar es Salaam
 evening: meeting with Dr A N Kweka (AR, DS)
Thursday 5 October:
 planning meeting (HM, AR, CR and DS).
 visit to Hifab to arrange travel
 visit to Institute of Adult Education (AR); working on documents (DS)
Friday 6 October:
 meeting with Per-Olof Akesson
 planning meeting (HM, AR, CR and DS).
 visit to SIDA Office
 visit to British Council (John Virtue)
 DS departs

App A:Eval

Saturday 7 October:

meeting with Urban Lundin (AR)
AR departs

OCTOBER 1995 TO JANUARY 1996

Documentary survey
Meeting of UK-based support group to receive report from AC,AR and DS
Preparation of interview schedules

**ITINERARY OF FIRST EVALUATION VISIT TO TANZANIA: K LENI OGLESBY
(KLO) AND DAVID SELBY (DS) 28 DECEMBER 1995 TO 25 JANUARY 1996**

ITINERARY K LENI OGLESBY 2-21 JANUARY 1996

Tuesday 2 Jan:

Arrive in DSM
Briefing meeting with IDM consultants

Wednesday 3 Jan:

Negotiations over vehicles

Thursday 4 Jan:

Meeting with Per-Olof Akesson
Travel to Morogoro with Colman Riwa

Friday 5 Jan:

Car repair
Travel to Dodoma

Saturday 6 Jan:

Travel to Nzega via Singida

Sunday 7 Jan:

Travel to Mwanza

Monday 8 Jan:

Sengerema FDC

Tuesday 9 Jan:

Malampaka FDC

Wednesday 10 Jan:

Malampaka FDC

Malya FDC

Thursday 11 Jan:

Sengerema

Friday 12 Jan:

Study day

Saturday 13 Jan:

Free day

Sunday 14 Jan:

Study day

Monday 15 Jan:

Fly back to DSM

Tuesday 16 Jan:

Meeting with Joyce Makungu
Visit British Council

Wednesday 17 Jan:

Meeting with Dr Rest Lasway

Thursday 18 Jan:

Meeting at MCDWAC (Mr Goda)
Meeting with Dr Rest Lasway

Friday 19 Jan:

British Council
Review meeting with David Selby

Saturday 20 Jan:
Meeting with David Selby
Report writing
Sunday 21 Jan:
Depart for London.

ITINERARY OF DAVID SELBY 2-25 JANUARY 1996

Tuesday 2 Jan:
Arrive in DSM
Briefing meeting with IDM consultants
Wednesday 3 Jan:
Negotiations over vehicles
Thursday 4 Jan:
Meeting with Per-Olof Akesson
Friday 5 Jan:
DSM
Saturday 6 Jan:
Travel to Makambako with Hamisi Mahigi

Sunday 7 Jan:
Travel to Mbinga
Monday 8 Jan:
Mbinga FDC
Tuesday 9 Jan:
Mbinga FDC
Wednesday 10 Jan:
Travel to Mbeya
Thursday 11 Jan:
Nzovwe FDC
Friday 12 Jan:
Nzovwe FDC
Saturday 13 Jan:
Travel to Lake Ngozi

Sunday 14 Jan:
Travel to Ingara
Monday 15 Jan:
Travel to Ilula
Ilula FDC
Tuesday 16 Jan:
Ilula FDC
Travel to Ifakara
Wednesday 17 Jan:
Ifakara FDC
Thursday 18 Jan:
Ifakara FDC
Travel to Morogoro
Friday 19 Jan:
Travel to DSM
Review meeting with Leni Oglesby
Saturday 20 Jan:
Meeting with Leni Oglesby; report writing

Sunday 21 Jan:
Report writing
Monday 22 Jan:
Meeting with HM and Per Olof Akesson
Tuesday 23 Jan:
Travel to Same
Same FDC

App A:Eval

Wednesday 24 Jan:

Same FDC

Return to DSM

Thursday 25 Jan:

Depart for London

JANUARY TO APRIL 1996

Documentary Search

Meeting of UK-based support group to receive report from KLO and DS

IDM: Final preparation of questionnaires and interview schedules

Selection of assistant evaluators

Training session for assistant evaluators

Local surveys by assistant evaluators

Returns to IDM from assistant evaluators

Preparation of preliminary report from returns of assistant evaluators

MID-TERM VISIT TO SWEDEN APRIL-MAY 1996: ALAN CHADWICK AND ALAN ROGERS

Monday 29 April:

arrived Stockholm

Tuesday 30 April:

all day meeting with Urban Lundin.

brief meetings with Abdi Foum and Christine McNab.

Wednesday 1 May:

Labour Day (holiday): working on the documents.

Thursday 2 May:

meeting with Ken Wickmann (Sida); telephone discussion with Jurgen Anderssen;

meeting with Christine McNab and Abdi Foum

Friday 3 May:

meeting with Abdi Foum, Sida.

depart for UK.

SECOND EVALUATION VISIT TO TANZANIA: ALAN CHADWICK AND ALAN ROGERS

ITINERARY

Sat 1 June:

arrived Dar es Salaam

meeting with Colman Riwa and Abraham Mwangakala (IDM)

meeting with Per Olof Akesson.

Sun 2 June:

collected vehicle

discussion with Per Olof Akesson

meeting with Colman Riwa and Abraham Mwangakala.

Mon 3 June:

Public holiday

visit to Kibaha (TanMan III/3); interview with Fadhili Mbaga, Principal of Kiwanda

FDC; with Frederick Rweyemamu, Acting Principal of Kibaha FDC and Mathew

Titus, Agricultural Co-Ordinator, Kibaha.

Tues 4 June:

visit to MCD: Mrs Masanja.

visit to British Council: Linda Fox; Development Services Centre

visit to Sida: Joyce Makungu; Maria Stridsman

meeting with Colman Riwa

interview with Joyce Makungu

Wed 5 June:

visit to Kibaha (training course): discussion with staff and participants including Mr Mattowo, Mr Chiwile. Also Ronny Lundberg, Forum Syd; visited electrician and tailoring courses (FDC year 2);
drive to Tanga

Thurs 6 June:

drive to Same
discussion with Mr Mahimbo M Myombo, Principal, and Gabriel Mvungi (Agriculture)

Fri 7 June:

field visits: Mama Marietta Madio, chairperson of village
meetings with District Executive Director (DED, chair of FDC Board); Peter Kwanga, District Commissioner; ex-students in carpentry and welding; Mr and Mrs Robert Mzirai, villagers
meeting with FDC staff.
drive to Arusha

Sat 8 June:

rest day:

Sun 9 June:

reading and writing notes
drive to Moshi

Mon 10 June:

visit to Msinga (TT3/3 course): discussions with Mattowo and other facilitators, with Kiwanda staff (AC) and Handeni staff (AR) and Msinga staff (AC/AR).

Tues 11 June:

visit to Mamtukuna: Principal Joel K Kiriama and G A Kiangi, Co-ordinator of Projects
watched classes and visited projects;
meetings with staff and students

Wed 12 June:

visit to Msinga FDC: TT3 training course: watched classes;
interview with Archard Kato Principal of Handeni and other staff.
visit to ex-students of FDC (tailoring and carpentry)

Thur 13 June:

drive from Moshi to Morogoro

Friday 14 June:

drive back to Dar es Salaam
visit to British Council (John Virtue)

Saturday 15 June:

free day

Sunday 16 June:

reading and writing

Monday 17 June:

British Council (Linda Fox, Sharon Garnett and John Virtue)
meeting with Principal Secretary, MCDWAC (Mrs Rose Mang'anya)

Tuesday 18 June:

meeting with Mr Archard Kato, Principal of Handeni
visit to Institute of Adult Education (Mr Mayoka Director and Mr Sango, Deputy Director).

Wednesday 19 June:

visit to Department of Adult Education, University of Dar es Salaam (Prof Victor Mlekwa)
visit to SIDA Office (Maria Stridsman)
visit to MinAg: Commission for Extension (Michael V Mtweve, Senior Agricultural Officer (Extension))

Thursday 20 June:

Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children
meetings with Paul V Chiwile, Director of Training and Audio-Visual; L G Msimbe,
Director of Technical Services; R E Kimaro, Chief Accountant; Mr Mlole, Head of
Training Department; Mr Kimori, Inspectorate; Mr Paul V Chiwile (DTA)
meeting with Dr Rest Lasway

Friday 21 June:

meeting with Urban Lundin
Open University of Tanzania (Z J Mpogolo Secretary; Professor G Mmari
ViceChancellor).
meeting with Professor Kweka
meeting with IDM consultants.

Saturday 22 June:

free day (Zanzibar)

Sunday 23 June:

writing all day:

Monday 24 June:

joint writing day with CR and HM
meeting with Professor Kweka

Tuesday 25 June:

seminar on FDCs
final meeting with Per Olof Akesson

Wednesday 26 June:

discussion with Linda Fox, British Council (gender and aid)
final meeting with Colman Riwa of IDM
report writing
meeting with Dr Rest Lasway

Thursday 27 June:

meeting with Sida DCO (Maria Stridsman)
depart for London.

JULY TO OCTOBER 1996

JULY 1996:

preparation for first draft of final report
25 July: First draft sent to AC, KLO, DS and IDM for consideration

AUGUST 1996:

Consideration of first draft report by AC, KLO, DS and IDM

SEPTEMBER 1996:

Receipt of comments
Revision of first draft; preparation of second draft
Consideration of second draft by UK-based support group at residential session
Preparation of final draft report.

OCTOBER 1996:

Despatch of draft report to
Sida/Linkoping
Sida-DCO/MCDWAC/IDM
Request for comments by 15 November 1996.

DECEMBER 1996:

Preparation of final version
despatch to Sida.

APPENDIX B: ANALYSIS OF SURVEYS

Introduction:

1. The data on which the following figures are based is not entirely reliable. The lack of adequate data has been commented on in several earlier evaluations, and it does not seem to have been remedied. Statistics do not always seem to have been kept in the colleges themselves adequately. However, we were able to obtain figures for students in eight of the sample FDCs over the past five years as requested. We have had in addition to this two further surveys, one of 13 FDCs with student enrolments by ages and gender from 1991 to 1995, and the other of 14 FDCs (some of which overlap with the survey of 13 FDCs) taken during the TANDEM course. It is not always clear what the data provided actually refers to. The conclusions drawn from this data must therefore be treated with caution.

Part 1: Students

2. **Student enrolments:** we have the figures for 1995 for 31 FDCs. We have two sets of figures for four of these FDCs; none of these tallies. It is not clear whether some FDCs include short course students although it is clear that others exclude these students. We have used the figures as far as we are able.

3. **Balance between short-course students and long-course students:** We have figures for both kinds of students for 7 FDCs (we assume for the year 1995-6 but in one case it may be for 1994-5). The average for these FDCs works out at 30 long-course students to 127 short-course students. We have short-course students only for 2 more FDCs; the average works out at 110 short-course students for these two FDCs - which gives us an overall average for all the countable FDCs of 123 short-course students. In other words, on this evidence, there is on average some 3 or 4 short-course students for every long-course student. To talk of 'students' only in terms of long courses (as is the case in much of the literature and reports of the FDCs) is misleading; it does not adequately indicate the impact of these colleges.

This feature was one reason for the TANDEM 'student week' formula as a more realistic indicator of the work of the FDCs. But this formula did not provide us with usable information at this stage.

4. Short-course students:

4.1 We have the number of short courses and student enrolments in nine FDCs. It is not clear whether these short courses refer only to courses run by the FDC itself or to short courses run by other organisations within the FDC. Nor is it clear that these relate to current short courses because during our visits such short courses were said not to be running. They may refer to the last set of courses run at the FDC.

4.2 The figures hide wide variations.

a) Some FDCs record no short course students but this is probably a result of a failure to make the return since in at least one case we know that there were a number of short courses at that FDC.

b) Those which did record such course students ranged from 4 to 397 students. Four were between 30 and 100; two between 100 and 200; one was at 298 students and a final one at 397.

App B: Stats

c) The average of enrolments ranged from 4 students to 149 students in a short course. Three were between 13 and 20; three between 30 and 40; and one further one at 86 students per short course.

d) There are then enormous differences between FDCs. We were unable to determine the reasons for this difference but some of it seems to have related to staff attitudes rather than solely to location and opportunities.

5. Long-course students:

We have figures for enrolments from 1991 to 1995 from 21 FDCs. These reveal the following trends.

5.1 Total enrolments over this period fell as follows:

1991: 1266
1992: 1042
1993: 782
1994: 831
1995: 688

We do not wish to give the impression that these figures are accurate to the last digit but they give the general impression. Average enrolments per FDC in these 21 colleges fell as follows:

1991: 59
1992: 50
1993: 36
1994: 40
1995: 33

Taking all the FDCs for which we have figures for 1995, the average enrolment was about 27 students in long courses. But again they range widely, from only 5 students in one FDC to 132 students in another FDC.

5.2 **Gender balance:** Out of the 26 FDCs for which we have figures for 1995, eleven had more women students than men. Again the range is wide: from one FDC with 2 men and 4 women to another with 79 men and 43 women. The total for all 26 FDCs amount to 502 men and 506 women.

5.3 The trend over the last five years has been an increase in the number of women students. In 1991, only 2 FDCs out of 21 FDCs for which figures have been provided had more women than men; in 1992, 3 FDCs were in this group; in 1993, there were eleven FDCs and in 1994, only 3; while in 1995 out of this group of 21 FDCs, there were ten FDCs with more women than men students in long courses.

5.4 The total figures for these years were as follows:

	men	women	total	% of women students
1991	826	441	1267	35%
1992	676	366	1042	35%
1993	399	383	782	49%
1994	524	307	831	37%
1995	502	506	1008*	50%

* this figure is for 26 FDCs, not 21 FDCs.

5.5 It would seem clear that in this sample, when student numbers dropped in 1993, the numbers of women students remained substantially the same; it was the men students who dropped off. When enrolments recovered somewhat in the following year, it was among the men students that the recovery was strongest.

6. Ages of students in FDCs.

6.1 We have figures for enrolled students in 21 FDCs from 1991 to 1995. It is possible that some of these include short course students but that cannot be determined.

6.2 The percentage of students under the age of 20 years in these FDCs was as follows:

1991: 53%
1992: 53%
1993: 64%
1994: 56%
1995: 53%.

We do not have figures for the percentage of students between the ages of 16 and 25 but all the other evidence suggests that most of the students fall into this group.

6.3 These figures are so out of line of all earlier research as to make us query them. Some colleges recorded substantial numbers of older students: out of the 21 FDCs for which figures have been provided, 12 had students aged between 26 and 30, 10 had students aged between 31 and 40, 8 had students between 41 and 50, and five had students aged over 50. But again we cannot be sure whether some colleges included figures for short courses while other colleges excluded them - the figures vary widely.

7. Staff student ratio:

Out of six colleges for which we have both the numbers of the tutors and the numbers of the long course students, the staff student ration ranged from 1:1 to 1:4.6 (the intermediate figures being 1.35, 1.5, 2.3 and 2.75).

Part 2: Summary of field surveys by assistant evaluators

8. Villagers:

8.1 Total surveyed 164: 104 men, 60 women

Age distribution:	16-20: 17
	21-25: 31
	26-30: 28
	31-40: 43
	41-50: 27
	50+: 17

77% had dependants; 23% had no dependants.

20% had no stated occupation. Of those working, most (29%) were in agriculture, 10% were in carpentry and in administration.

8.2 77% of them had attended primary school, 20% had been to secondary school; only 2.5% had not attended any school.

App B: Stats

8.3 27% of them said they were engaged in some form of village/community activity as member, chairman, etc. They supported youth groups, women's groups, ten-cells, health committees, employment committees, education committees, security committees and other bodies.

8.4 The villagers and the FDCs:

Almost all of them had heard about the FDCs a long time ago. [It is not clear how far round the FDC the sample came from]. 89% of them knew a student and 37% knew a tutor in a FDC.

82% said the FDC was excellent or good; only 18% said it was average or poor.

Almost exactly half said that a FDC tutor was involved in some community activity in their village (church, security, village government committees being the most favoured).

When asked if they would wish to attend an FDC, 30% said they would wish to study agriculture, with carpentry, domestic science and motor mechanics coming close (24%). They indicated that they would wish to study partly to gain employment (37%) and partly to develop their skills further (39%). 23% wanted non-residential courses, 17% very short residential courses (one week), 35% courses up to three months and 23% long courses.

When asked if the FDC was good for their village, all but three answered 'yes'; 90% thought that closing the FDC would harm their village. 60% thought their village would contribute to the maintenance of the FDC, 33% said it would not.

9. Past students

9.1 A total of 156 past students were interviewed, 95 men and 61 women. Although most of them were young, several were older persons:

Age distribution:	16-20: 30
	21-25: 67
	26-30: 31
	31-40: 16
	41-50: 7
	50+: 4

This younger group had less dependants: only 25% had dependants.

9.2 63% of them were still living in the village from which they came to the college. 18% had no occupation; 23% were in agriculture, 25% in carpentry, 9% in tailoring and 10% in small business. Other trades included masonry, office clerk, librarian, welder, motor mechanic.

94% had attended primary school and 6% secondary.

9.3 They had attended the FDC between 1981 and 1995:

1981-85: 17%
1986-91: 40%
1991-2: 18%
1993-4: 14%
1994-5: 11%

63% of them had applied to the FDC directly; 28% had been selected to go there.

Only 3 of them had attended very short courses (up to 3 weeks in length); 17% had attended courses of less than three months; 5 had attended one year courses and the vast majority (77%) had attended two year courses. They had taken agriculture (26%), carpentry (35%), domestic science (25%); a very few had attended motor mechanics, masonry, welding, and village leadership.

Asked if they would have preferred to study some other subject, 78% replied that they would but no new preferred subjects are indicated in their responses.

80% of them received a certificate.

92% said they liked the college; complaints related to poor food, poor facilities (11%), poor teaching, lazy students, cultural activities (5%) and ESR activities (3%), physical exercises (*mchakamchaka*) (6%).

9.4 They claimed that their studies at the FDC had helped them to get a new job (48%), to do their existing job better (48%). 23% said that going to the FDC had encouraged them to participate in village activities, 53% said it had helped with better relationships or in other ways. However only 24% said they were engaged in any form of village activity (planning committee, production committee, school committee, security committee), and only 17% were engaged in any village project. 95% said they would recommend the FDC to others, only 5% said they would not.

**APPENDIX C:
THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE TANDEM PROJECT AS SET OUT
IN THE FINAL REPORT FOR 1994/95**

Aims.

The ultimate goal of the TANDEM PROJECT is to provide the FDC system with an integrated pattern of administration and teaching, which will:

- a) promote such education as will foster active citizens and agents of change;
- b) make the colleges well equipped to enter as agents of change into the local community;
- c) make the colleges increasingly self-sustaining.

Objectives.

Objectives A. As a result of the TANDEM PROJECT the Folk Development Colleges should be able to:

- 1. design their activities according to local needs;
- 2. improve their capacity utilization;
- 3. improve their structure, organisation and function;
- 4. optimise their staffing in relation to local needs;
- 5. design course programmes in accordance with local needs;
- 6. increase the number of village based courses;
- 7. increase the number of the under-represented sex in all college courses;
- 8. improve local contribution to college funding;
- 9. make optimal use of existing buildings;
- 10. improve maintenance of existing physical facilities;

Objectives B. As a result of the TANDEM PROJECT the Folk Development College Section of the Ministry should be able to:

- 1. adapt the central administration to the new roles of the FDC programme;
- 2. decentralise the administration of the FDCs;
- 3. provide the FDC system with trained managers, capable of leading the change processes necessary to accomplish the goals of their colleges;
- 4. work out a comprehensive staff development programme with emphasis on local in-service training;
- 5. provide the FDC programme with curricula which can easily be adapted to meet local needs;
- 6. correlate distribution of government funds to capacity utilization of the colleges;
- 7. provide the FDC programme with a cadre of trainers and tutors, who will promote such education as will foster active agents of change.

APPENDIX D

SOME DETAILED CRITICISMS OF THE TANDEM TRAINING COURSES

Introduction

These points are based on what we saw; on what we have read; and on what we heard in our discussions with staff and participants during the evaluation. We can only go on the basis of our own data. Some of this may be wrong: but we hope that the points we raise may provoke further thought by the providers of the training.

We must also put these comments within a context of our overall impression of a training programme which has had much thought and commitment put into it and one which shares many common values of adult educators.

Finally by way of introduction, these comments are based on reading and talking about the first set of courses and visiting the later courses. There may have been some changes between the earlier courses (TanMan1 and TOT and TT1) and the current courses.

1. Trainee-trainer relationships

1.1. The training course does not seem to us to start where the trainees are. While there was some lower-order negotiation with the participants, this was confined to content rather than objectives. The course seems to assume that all the FDCs and all the staff in them have the same problem(s) rather than exist as distinctive institutions and unique individuals; and that the same solution(s) will apply to all the FDCs and to all the staff (i.e. if you teach in this way, you will be effective). The same goals were set for all the participant learners and for all of the FDCs rather than each of them being encouraged to take away something different to meet their own particular immediate needs. This is a denial of modern approaches to adult education which sees adult learning as unique to the individual person or organisation, continuous and changing.

1.2. We cannot find any indication that the Swedish trainers felt that they had anything to learn from their Tanzanian colleagues. This is not 'teaching on equal terms'.

1.3. The TOT course in particular seems to be based on a curiously dated approach: "we transfer to you [master trainers] our truth (or some of it); you will then be 'trained' and you can pass this truth on to others". We note the statement that "the participants of the TOT had embraced most of the ideas which had been presented to them by Linköping University" (JPG Mins 1993-4). Negotiations with the participants seem to have been limited to relatively minor matters rather than the basic structure, contents and format of the courses. We note that in other courses, especially the TanMan courses, the subjects to be discussed were drawn up with the participants. But in the TOT courses, surely exemplars of good practice, although the aims are stated in participative terms, the objectives are stated in teacher-, not learner-centred terms.

1.4 This 'training' is done in a one-off programme, even though lip-service is paid to the need for continuing development). It is what is now called an 'autonomous' model of education, it is thought to stand free of all local ideologies and can be applied in any situation. This is Freire's banking model. There appears to be no process by which the master trainers can reject, change or add to this 'truth'.

2. Approaches to knowledge

2.1 The courses seem to be based more on a "transfer of knowledge and skills to all" approach than on an individually developed "personal growth (especially attitudinal development) of each of the participants" approach. This may have been because of the desire to provide the original participants with a Linköping University certificate (which called for examinations); but that does not account for the perpetuation of this feature once the certification element had been

eliminated. The amount of time allowed for personal attitudinal development was inadequate to overcome many years of alternative experience in the formal system of education in Tanzania, as is shown by the fact that the levels of confidence built up in many of the teachers and in some of the managers appears to have been inadequate to enable them to do more than mechanistically apply the techniques in which they had been instructed.

2.2 Concepts of knowledge: We did not find any sense of knowledge being contested. Knowledge seems to be thought of as something 'real', 'out there', something which the participants (who are thought to lack it) need to gain from the trainers or from books. There is little idea of knowledge as the personal construct of the student. Everything was passed on as truth, universally and eternally valid. This probably springs from the fact that the whole programme was based in essence on one textbook (Knowles) with supporting writings. There is no hint that the theories of Knowles et al need to be challenged by other approaches, or that they need to be 'tested' to see if they are true for each of the FDC teachers. The concept of andragogy is widely contested in Western writings today (Brookfield 1995; Tuijnman 1995; Tight 1996). In TANDEM, different points of view do not seem to have been presented as a basis for discussion so that the participants could make their own decision in the light of their own experience. It may be that the trainers felt that a disputatious approach to learning was not appropriate to persons with the formal education background of Tanzanian schools and colleges; but that was clearly not true of the first group and it is doubtful for some of the later participants.

2.3 Surprisingly for adult educators, all the courses start with theory and move on to practice. Experiential adult education usually starts with the participants' own experience or with the concrete, and moves from that to develop new theoretical insights (for example, Kolb's learning cycle). It is true that "training will always be based on theory" in the sense that the effectiveness of all that we do as teachers of adults depends in large part on the clarity with which we hold our logic frame. But that logic frame is built up from experience, not from textbooks. To give one example, the barriers to participation which the FDC tutors know about need to be drawn out of experience first and then examined in the light of the theories of Cross, rather than the theories of Cross being studied first and then the local barriers being examined. There is no reference in the training outlines to a possible 'themes and issues' approach from which the direct experience of the participants could lead to general and specific theoretical concepts. Despite the recognition that the training should be inductive, that "its starting point should be the factual situation at local level", the study of Knowles and the other works came before any focus on the status or roles of the FDC teacher or the particular issues which face them.

2.4 We noted that in the sessions we attended and in the materials we were given, there was much about identifying needs and problems; but relatively little about how to solve those problems or how to develop strategies to cope with the problems. In more than one of the courses we participated in, the trainees spent most of their time identifying the various difficulties which the FDC staff faced (and which they were very adept at defining), but no time at all was given over to discussing how these difficulties might be overcome. This appears to have been characteristic for the programme as a whole. The materials on communications for example develop understandings of the problems which arise but there is nothing to help the participants to determine for themselves how to overcome those problems.

3. Curriculum

The curriculum seems to us to be inadequate in the following respects:

3.1 Approaches to adult learning: to rely on Knowles (even when supplemented by Cross, Boud and one or two other books) is very limiting. Where is the work of Freire on learning for freedom? of David Kolb on learning styles? particularly of Donald Schon on critical reflection on experience? the recent work on personal life histories? We are not suggesting that the trainees should have been introduced to any arid academic debates about constructivist approaches to knowledge. We are suggesting

- a) that the course is too oriented to teaching and not enough attention has been given to the different ways in which adults learn and the implications of this for teaching adults
- b) that even in the area of teaching, there is not enough to suggest that the teacher of adults has to choose between many different methods and approaches (there is nothing we have seen or heard on 'teaching styles').

Arguably a more appropriate and more recent textbook would have been Chickering A (ed) *The Modern American College*, for, even though it is somewhat dated (1981), its various and wide-ranging essays by different authors raise issues which are more appropriate to the context of the FDCs, and it does present alternative and contrasting approaches.

3.2 Development: There is very little in the taught courses on current debates about development. There is nothing so far as we can see on the differences between the community development models of Batten and the social action models which succeeded it; between the basic needs approach and human resource development; between development as participation and development as structural transformation; very little on indigenous knowledge and learning systems, on sustainable development or on the current discussions on people's self-development (Sachs 1992; Burkey 1993; Rahman 1993). Integrated development such as the 'farmer first' movement (Chambers 1983) lie at the heart of most modern approaches to rural development and apply as much to FDCs as to other forms of development activities. In TANDEM, insofar as the subject is discussed at all, development is seen more in terms of personal change than structural change. There is in this approach a tendency to "blame the victim" - the attitude which says that to overcome poverty only the poor need to change, that if they could be persuaded to abandon their traditional attitudes and practices and develop new (modern) attitudes and new (appropriate technology) skills, all will be well. Development thought of in these terms aims to help some individuals to escape from their poor environment rather than to join with others to change that environment. This model of development seeks to raise the poor one by one rather than contribute to 'community development'. We note that in TANDEM as a whole, the consultant team were aware of the need for development to deal with structures as well as personal attitudinal change. After all, they experienced this for themselves in their dealings with MCDWAC. They thus sought to tackle both the training and the necessary structural changes in order to bring about real development within the FDC sector. But this experience does not seem to have fed itself into the taught courses.

3.3 In this context, we note that the course seems to be based on the assumption that if the FDCs change their management systems and their training methods, they will be more successful. There is relatively little examination of the whole system in which the FDCs operate to see where changes are needed and how these can be brought about. The problems of the FDCs are largely (but not entirely) structural. Such structural issues need to have been addressed in the training programme.

3.4 Management curriculum: We understand that the management curriculum again is very limited and does not deal with current issues. For example, modern understandings of adaptive management are not discussed. Once again it is a rather mechanistic approach to management - do this or that and the problems will be solved.

3.5 Gender curriculum: The gender-awareness-raising part of the courses is very inadequate. To bring in an expatriate expert for half of one day "to enlighten" the participants (as if they are ignorant of gender issues) is to degrade the issue. Every participant, trainer and trainee alike, experiences, participates in and contributes to the gender constructs of society; and what is needed is to ensure that all become increasingly aware of the gender implications of all that is done, and that ways of changing these constructs towards a greater equality and less stereotyping than exists at present can be identified. Those disempowered by gender constructs are not empowered simply by gaining increased access to education and training: the whole systemic structures of society need to be examined and addressed. This issue is notably missing in the courses.

3.6 There have apparently been great strides forward in the practice of gender in the FDCs. These changes seem to have come more from MCDWAC than from TANDEM. We suggest that the Linkoping team needs some gender sensitisation; and we suggest that Sida needs to monitor the projects it supports much more closely on gender issues as on other matters.

4. Materials:

4.1 These were imported and in some cases in our judgment were culturally inappropriate. Specimen pre-written case studies were taken, although we understand that some of the Tanzanian trainers have been asked to prepare case studies based on more locally appropriate materials. We regret that apparently few real cases which the participants faced seem to have been taken for detailed study. Such a process would have enabled the new local trainers to develop and manage a process of accumulating new materials as a growing and developing training resource bank, just as it would encourage the participants to develop and manage a system for recording and reviewing issues relating to their own work. We note the absence of records kept by the teaching staff in the FDCs.

4.2 We would have expected to see much more work being done with both the Tanzanian trainers and the trainees in writing workshops, developing in small groups their own teaching-learning materials and sharing these between each other. If this work was done during the TANDEM training courses, it does not seem to have found its way into the FDCs. None of the staff met showed any skills or indeed motivation for writing their own materials.

5 Methodologies:

5.1 We welcome the use of active learning methods, the practice and advocacy in the course of what is referred to as 'participatory pedagogy'.

5.2 But it is increasingly being recognised that "such participant teaching methods as discussion, simulations, projects or group work are necessary but not sufficient. These methods can be used for social control (i.e. to instil the social values favoured by the teacher of the education system) as well as for critical education" [Harber 1990 p28]. A SIDA review of 1994 pointed out that

"a solution is proposed in 'bottom-up' or 'participatory' approaches in which people organize themselves in order to formulate their learning needs, learn and undertake activities. But this approach is an 'approach' used by others who want these people to formulate their needs and to learn. The approach itself has been developed at the 'top', and the question remains if a bottom-up approach is not a contradiction in terms" [SIDA 62 p82].

The word 'participation' has two meanings: a) participating in class activities (active learning methods such as group work, discussion, project work etc); and b) participating in deciding the contents and approaches and format of the programme with all that this implies for the concept and practice of negotiation. The first can be and in fact often is very directive: "you will join in this or that activity; you will form (small permanent) groups" etc. The courses tended to autocratic democracy rather than to full and real participation; they thus created a new form of orthodoxy rather than genuine freedom for course members to work out their own solutions. This would account for the "rather mechanistic performance" of some of the participants which the TANDEM team themselves noted (JPG Mins 1993-4).

5.3 We have been given to understand that a training manual on participatory pedagogy is being prepared for the FDCs. The situation regarding this manual however is still obscure. Neither we nor the Tanzanian consultants have seen any part of it, and it does not seem to have been used in any of the later training courses. Such a training manual (which could be most useful) could have formed the focus of the TANDEM programme right from the start. It should not have been left until towards the end of the programme. It should have been (and still perhaps should be)

prepared by some of the Tanzanian staff for and with their colleagues rather than by the Swedish consultants.

6 Evaluation:

6.1 This appears to have been limited. Apart from the University certification of TanMan1, it is based mostly on subjective judgments by the trainers ("we achieved this goal") and by the participant trainees ("we found this bit useful") taken at the end of the course. Apparently, at a late stage, a list of indicators of achievement was drawn up (once again by the Swedish consultants, not in a participatory way by the participants) but it does not seem to have been applied and we have not seen that list.

6.2 Follow-up to the training was made by a visit to each participating FDC during the practice session in the middle of the course. This was intended both as a support visit as well as an evaluation. The staff team recognised that the real test would need to come one year or more after the end of the course, but it has not been possible for such evaluatory visits to be made. This will be one function of the inspectorate team if and when that is established.

6.3 The ultimate evaluation of the effectiveness of the TANDEM training project will come from the products of the FDCs themselves. However, the course team themselves noted the difficulty of proving the effectiveness of the trainees and especially of their students as change agents.

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APPENDIX E

BACKGROUND PAPER ON FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS IN SWEDEN AND THEIR POSSIBLE INFLUENCE IN THE TANDEM PROJECT

THE PREMISE

We do not dispute the statement by the Linköping team that they were very keen to try to develop Tanzanian institutions based on appropriate adult learning methodologies rather than simply transfer a Swedish FHS into a new cultural context. There is an awareness among those most concerned of the difficulties of such transfers. The issue was debated at an early stage and formed an element in the TANDEM training programme. And there was a long history of transfer to draw upon in this debate. The transfer of FHSs from Denmark to the other Nordic countries in the nineteenth century was not done without discussion as to the appropriateness of this process, and there was then as now an emphasis on difference as well as on similarities: "Grundtvig's ideas can be sown like seeds and grow elsewhere, but they cannot be directly transferred to other countries" (Borgen 1981). We note that in Norway and Finland (but not in Sweden), some of the FHSs have joined themselves into a Grundtvig Association to try to preserve the original vision, while other FHSs in those countries have remained outside of this, preferring to stress local adaptation.

However, it is most likely that the underlying assumptions relating to the experience of the Swedish FHSs influenced the Linköping approach to their task. We note the statement of the Nordic Council of Ministers in 1995, when speaking of the international transfer of lifelong learning: "Greater insight and openness vis-a-vis the outer world require an awareness of one's own roots. In this context too, high self-esteem and a firmly rooted identity constitute the best basis for worthwhile learning activities" [Bjarnadottir et al 1995 p28]. We have therefore decided to look at the FHS situation in Sweden to see if these influences can be detected. What follows is our interpretation of the current situation. It is based on reading, discussions and visits by members of the team.

BACKGROUND

The FHSs represent the oldest strand in Sweden's adult education programmes. The first three FHSs in Sweden were founded in 1868; others soon followed. They were intended to be training schools in democracy and leadership for the sons of landowners and the major farmers who would control the new municipal local government bodies being established at this time, with some relevant vocational education and training (new technology and methods in agriculture) [Simon 1960]. They were based on the ideas of N.F.S. Grundtvig and the implementation of those ideas by Christian Kold in Denmark but with significant differences from the rest of the Nordic FHSs. For example, the Swedish FHSs, like the Swedish study circles, laid great emphasis on written teaching-learning materials rather than discussion and oral forms of communication [Burgman 1968]; and they tended to give more weight to a scientific approach to knowledge.

It must however be remembered that Sweden quickly became an industrial nation with a high level of employees. This gave birth to voluntary movements such as trade unions, co-operatives, the free church movement and (in educational terms) the study circles and the Workers' Educational Association. These movements adopted the FHS model: the FHS movement itself "derives from the popular movements of the nineteenth century, especially the churches, the labour movement and the temperance movement" [Boucher 1982 p155]. Although by intention these popular education movements aimed at building a new participatory and democratic society [Albinson 1984 p2], in fact they gave added impetus to the vocational training element of the FHSs. They left the agricultural training courses on one side and (apart from offering leadership training for the popular movements) provided training for jobs or for further education; "for a long time the folk high school was an alternative to formal secondary school" [Kasimir 1991 p190; see Titmus 1981 pp 194-201].

At the last count, there were 132 (1991) FHSs with some 17,000 students on long-term (16+ weeks) courses and 230,000 on shorter courses.

BASIC PRINCIPLES

The government of Sweden support the FHSs and therefore prescribe *in general terms* their mission. But their hold over the FHSs is very light: "Popular adult educational activities comprising studies at folk high schools .. are partly State-subsidized. To qualify for subsidies, the education has to meet certain general conditions, but otherwise the mandators are at complete liberty to decide the emphasis and content of educational activities for themselves" [Abrahamsson 1996 p173].

Their task was set by the FHS Decree of 1958 as being "to give the students insight into their responsibilities as individuals and as citizens. They should be organised so that the students' abilities to work co-operatively are strengthened, their abilities for independent thought and critical judgment are developed and their maturity and interest in study is encouraged" [Boucher 1982 p155]. Grundtvig insisted that the most appropriate time for education "is youth, not childhood"; that the best means of education "is the living word (of the native tongue) as opposed to book language", and that "conditions in the native country should form the main topic of instruction, so that the poetry and history of the Nordic countries were to be the most important means of creating enthusiasm, with popular Danish culture providing an alternative to the Germanic classical" [Jacobsen 1982 p10].

The three founding principles of the original FHSs built on these beliefs remained intact in the Swedish FHSs:

- a) '**rootedness**' (implying that education should arise from experience, not from an imposed external cultural system such as the Germanic or the Greco-Roman tradition). Associated with this is the concept of 'revival' of traditional culture.
- b) '**flexibility**': that FHSs should adapt their programmes to the immediate needs of the region and locality. Within the total mission, "each school is .. free to design its own curriculum" [Boucher 1982 p155]. Variety of institutions and programmes is one of the characteristics.
- c) '**enlightenment**': the term implies a concept of ignorance and an approach to learning based more on the transfer of information and skills from the 'educated' to the ignorant than on a constructivist approach to knowledge, of learning through the active search for meaning or through critical reflection on experience.

The distinctiveness of the FHS movement is marked: "One thing which all folk high schools have in common .. is that to a greater or lesser extent they keep their distance from the rest of the educational system and have historically regarded themselves as an alternative to that system" [Jacobsen 1982 p11]. This is embodied in the Nordic term *folkeoplysning*: "*folkeoplysning* is not education in the traditional sense; the method of learning should ideally be comprehension through dialogue between peers" [Dialogue 1 1994-5 p4].

TODAY'S IDEOLOGY

Government legislation in 1991 set the mission for popular adult education (including the FHSs). "It

- stimulates democracy, equality, and international solidarity and understanding
- starts from the individual's own voluntary search for knowledge
- is characterised by democratic values and co-operation
- aims at strengthening individuals' ability to influence their own life, and to be able, together with others, to change society in accordance with their values and ideas
- helps to develop a popular culture
- stimulates the development of an idea-oriented adult education within the popular movements

- helps to provide all, but particularly the educationally disadvantaged, with good basic knowledge, and helps stimulate further search for knowledge" [Rubenson 1993 p54]

Democratic participation then lay at the heart of the FHS mission: "popular education [in Sweden] has the declared objective of developing basic democratic values in society .. Its main importance lies in strengthening the self-confidence of the participants, increasing their understanding and respect for other people's opinions and in this way contributing towards the democratization of society" [Abrahamsson 1996 p 173]. The individual base of education, personal growth leading to social development, is thus firmly entrenched in the FHSs.

CONTEXT

Sweden is a country characterised by a high employment ratio and by a commitment to education and training. Paid education leave is highly valued and is governed by law. Training is part of the labour market policy: rather than direct assistance, Sweden sees short-term job creation, training and the encouragement of self-employment as the most appropriate social policies to cope with unemployment. Recent changes in social policy are bringing with them changes in the relationship between government and education, including adult education [Rubenson 1993]. The FHSs exist in this context, although they try to hold to sets of values independent of these social policies as providers of general civic education based on socio-cultural premises.

THE TRADITION OF PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

Participation in adult education is very high in Sweden. Between 35% and 45% of the adult population aged 18 to 64 are said to participate every year, one of the highest participation rates in Europe (although this high rate has been challenged since it conceals the fact that many of these enrolments are 'multiple enrolments', i.e. that one person often attends more than one course each year). Nevertheless, the figures are impressive. In 1986 there were some 300,000 study circles with 2.6m participants, although the numbers have declined somewhat since then [Rubenson 1993 p57]; more women attend than men. Between 1970 and 1990, state expenditure on adult education rose from a base of 100 to 228, whereas compulsory schooling rose from 100 to 121 and higher education rose from 100 to 130. Admittedly the base in 1970 was very low, only 5% of public expenditure on education; but today some 15% of the government education budget is devoted to adult education. The total private and public expenditure on all forms of adult and continuing education is estimated at 3% of GNP compared with between 1% and 2% for the rest of Europe. In 1987, it was suggested that on average, employing organisations spend some 5% of the payroll on training and that 25% of the workforce receive enterprise-related training.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN SWEDEN IN GENERAL

Apart from the Folk High Schools and the study circles (some 2.5m participants each year), the general adult education and training programme in Sweden (KOMVUX) run by the municipalities mainly for access purposes and by the Labour Market Training programme is characterised by

- open entry
- modular courses
- a mixed full-time/part-time programme
- local municipality involvement

There is an adult literacy programme (GRUNDEVUX) for 'functional illiterates' which is mainly used by immigrant populations today.

FHSs AND THE ADULT AND CONTINUING EDUCATION SCENE

While the FHSs are seen to be independent of the school system, they are nevertheless seen as an integral part of the adult education scene in Sweden. They are rooted in a larger setting. Staff transfer from one part to another; student paths draw upon all parts of the adult education

App E: FHSs

programme. In particular, the FHSs are closely linked to the mass 'folk education movements' which have characterised Sweden for several centuries. Some of the popular movements (churches, temperance, labour and trade unions, etc) provide their own FHSs.

The FHSs in Sweden have become rather more institutionalised than in some of the other Nordic countries (e.g. Denmark). They remain constant whereas in other countries, FHSs are closed and new ones are opened. In Sweden, new FHSs have continued to be established until very recently (10 between 1960 and 1988); very few have been closed. Stability has until very recently been an assured reality for most Swedish FHSs, although there is now a growing sense of uncertainty.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FHSs CURRICULUM

The FHSs continue to seek to offer both non-vocational general 'civic' and political education, and also vocational education. They are increasingly offering preparation for higher education (access courses). Many of the longer courses are school continuation courses. However, special courses are now supplementing and in some cases replacing general civic education. The FHS Enquiry of 1976 "led to an increase in culturally and vocationally oriented courses according to student demand as long as they do not compete with courses already available through other sources" [Boucher 1982 p157]. Courses are now more utilitarian, more for career development than personal growth. This is perhaps largely owing to the fact that the students have a big influence on the contents of studies.

There is a great stress on the balance between theory and practical elements in the courses. Project work and thematic studies are a key feature of many FHSs' learning programmes.

COURSE PATTERNS

The courses are normally full-time, long-term and residential (30-34 weeks lasting for two or three years). To gain government support, the FHS must have at least one long (30-week or two linked 15-week) course.

However, there has been a marked increase in the number of short-term courses, often of only one or two days. Numbers of students enrolled on short courses rose from some 3000 in 1970 to over 150,000 in 1988. Many of these are planned in association with voluntary or statutory or private bodies. Most courses are held on the campus; outreach courses are relatively few.

RESIDENTIAL

The value of the residential experience has been stressed from the start. But increasingly the costs of residential education and training are militating against it. Less than fifty percent of the students on long courses are now resident; day students are encouraged. Some FHSs today are entirely non-residential. One or two have recently opened non-residential local branches and are promoting informal out-of-lessons learning (Svanberg Hard 1992).

Originally the teachers lived on the campus; but increasingly they are living off the campus.

MANAGEMENT

The FHSs are run by various organisations - religious, voluntary, municipality and political. They are in most cases closely linked to the local authorities who support them.

The teachers, either directly through the FHS or through their teachers' union, have a strong influence on the running of the FHS.

Under legislation governing the FHSs, they receive public funding but are free to determine their own programme, "to decide on the general profile of the school, the orientation of its educational programme, the curricula, working methods and the recruitment of teachers and students .. all activities should originate not only in the culture of one's own country but in that of one's own province or village" [Arvidson and Gustavsson 1996 pp 647-8]. The Swedes see

no contradiction in "providing state subsidies for free and voluntary popular adult education that is self-governing" [Rubenson 1993 p54]. A Council for Non-formal Adult Education distributes funds according to a formula which takes into account the aims and objectives of the FHS and external performance indicators. The salaries of teaching staff and the buildings are paid for in this way. Grants and/or loans for students are available from central, regional and/or local authorities. The *de facto* privatisation of the FHSs is now being translated into actual privatisation, some county authorities seeking to hand over FHSs to private groups and bodies.

STAFFING

The teachers are seen to be the key to the special contribution of the FHSs to Swedish adult education. Most staff are full time, with a degree or professional qualification and increasingly with a teacher training qualification. They are joined together into a trade union, the Swedish Union of Folk High Schools Teachers and Principals (SFHL). There has been an ambivalence about formal teacher training, the union and many staff seeking it but many also fearing it as perhaps leading to the imposition of a uniformity on the FHSs and to the exclusion of non-traditional students from teacher training courses.

"There were many claims in the folk high school sector that it required a special teacher training programme for its teaching staff since the aims and objectives of the movement are different from those of primary and secondary schools" [Kasimir 1991 p 194].

In 1970, a parliamentary measure established a separate training programme in the teachers training college of Linköping within the secondary school training programme. In 1977, this became an independent programme, consisting of a one-year full-time course at Linköping University covering aspects of andragogy, didactics, and applied teaching methods; it leads to a qualification (Kasimir 1991). A first period of study (six weeks) is followed by six weeks of supervised teaching practice and eight weeks of further study, then a period of some sixteen weeks of teaching practice with a final four weeks of study. It is clear that the role of the FHS teacher is seen to be on-site classroom teaching rather than community or outreach work.

Although there is a government-funded national system for in-service training of all teachers, the FHSs undertake such in-service staff training as is done through Linköping which also assists other adult education agencies with in-service programmes. Some parts of the full-time course are opened to practising FHS teachers as refresher courses. Study tours are arranged; mixed programmes of study and practical work form the main pattern of staff training; and participant involvement in the curriculum formation is encouraged.

STUDENT BODY

The lowest official age of students is 18 but some FHSs take students at 16 years of age. There is some evidence that the average student age is coming down. In 1973 the average age for men students on the longer courses was 23 years and for women students 20.7 years [Boucher 1982 p155]. Today, anecdotal evidence suggests that younger adults form a larger percentage of the participants, in both long term and shorter courses.

The majority of FHS students on the longer courses have had more than ten years of schooling.

CERTIFICATION

Accreditation of courses is growing, especially under the pressure of access courses to higher education. Some provide secondary school equivalents; and leadership courses sometimes carry a professional qualification (two-year certificate equivalence).

KEY DEBATES:

Among the key areas of current debate within the FHS movement are the following questions:

- whether they are mainly concerned with general education for participatory citizenship (democracy) or with vocational education and training, with career development or personal growth.
- whether they should insist on residential education or adjust to the economic realities of the times and move to part-time non-residential courses.

SWEDISH ADULT EDUCATION EXPORTS

We need to remind ourselves that the FHSs are only one of the adult education elements which the Swedish movements have sought to export (see SIDA 18 for other examples). Study associations are one such export: "the egalitarian adult education study group is an ideal that Swedish organisations and educators are keen to transfer to other countries" [Cassara 1995 p 128]. This is underpinned by the Nordic Council of Ministers' recent statement: "support will be provided for efforts intended to make the 'Nordic model' of *folkeoplysning* and adult education better known at international levels" [Bjarnadottir V H et al 1995 p28].

PARALLELS WITH THE FDCs

- FDCs are moving to making provision for younger students;
- FDCs provide vocational education
- FDCs are funded by government for teachers' salaries and by 'public' funds (i.e. SIDA funds) for buildings; and until 1994, courses were free, the students only paid for residence
- Local government (the municipalities) has the main responsibility for the FDCs.
- Concentration on civics in curriculum
- Preservation of residential and long-term courses; but also growth of shorter courses
- Teachers are classroom oriented.
- Teachers live on the premises
- Independent of school system

PARALLELS WITH TANDEM GOALS

- TanDem promotes modular courses, no entry requirements
- TanDem promotes local authority involvement
- TanDem promotes local variation, flexibility and also public funding
- TanDem uses term 'enlightenment'
- TanDem promotes democracy
- Balance between theory and practice
- Teachers to have a strong voice in the FDC
- Beginning of certification
- Key debate: democracy or vocational education?
- Use of project work and thematic teaching (integrated subjects)
- Teacher training for FDCs separate from all other forms of teacher training
- Formula for distribution of public funds

DIFFERENCES, TANZANIA FROM SWEDEN

- no tradition of adult education or mass movements in Tanzania.
- FDCs cut off from adult education scene
- adult education is imposed;
- very low national participation rates;
- no paid education leave
- low level of employment in the workforce; employees rarely involved in adult education
- central curriculum, central control of courses and staffing
- no privatisation of adult education in Tanzania (yet - but it is beginning - churches and NGOs)

- FDCs are government agencies and are instruments of government policy and programmes, whereas FHSs are independent bodies supported by the state; adult education in the West is largely independent of or even anti-government;
- community outreach is a key element of programme.

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APPENDIX F

ESSAY ON CULTURAL TRANSFER IN ADULT EDUCATION; THE CASE OF THE FOLK DEVELOPMENT COLLEGES IN TANZANIA

"It can be asked if it is an entirely good thing to try to export a concept, born and bred in Swedish circumstances, to societies with quite different cultural backgrounds". [Cassara 1995 pp 143-4]

"How feasible is engineered cultural transformation?" [Spalding 1996 p105]

The question of cultural transfer is one which is beginning to receive closer attention. In particular, cross cultural transfers in education, which have grown significantly over the past fifty years, as Coombs has pointed out ("the process of cultural interbreeding and penetration [in education] has vastly speeded up all over the world", Coombs 1985 p245), have begun to receive attention. There is as yet no agreement relating to this subject, and what follows is an attempt to bring together some disparate elements and to apply them to the case of the Swedish Folk High School - Tanzanian Folk Development College transfer 1975 to 1996.

THE TRANSFER

Following a series of visits from the very early 1970s, Olof Palme Prime Minister of Sweden made an agreement with Julius Nyerere President of Tanzania in or about 1973 to provide help with the creation in Tanzania of a large number (originally more than 100) of adult education institutions based upon the Swedish Folk High Schools (FHSs). The agency used to support this programme was the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA). Thus began a long saga. 54 such institutions were established; 53 of them survive to this day, thanks to the support of SIDA and of Linköping University who became a key player in this story.

The fact that Tanzanian society was different from that of modern Sweden, which Olof Palme called "a study circle democracy" [Abrahamsson 1996 p169] seems to have been acknowledged from the start in the changed title given to these institutions in Tanzania - Folk Development College (FDC) - or *Chuo Cha Maendeleo ya Wananchi* (CMW), literally "COLLEGE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE". The early history of the FHSs as residential educational and training centres in rural areas for the younger members of farming families in the latter half of the nineteenth century [Foster 1943] seems to have made them attractive to Nyerere. But it is unlikely that any of the parties really appreciated the fundamental contrasts between on the one hand a network of independent FHSs, each of them different, each with their own sponsors (trade unions, churches, local government boards etc) and different management structures, objectives and programmes (see Appendix E), and on the other hand a group of uniform institutions all under one Ministry, with exactly the same management structure, staffing, objectives, programme and even curriculum, despite the very different local conditions in which they were set within this vast country with climates which varied from mountainous rainforests to arid deserts sparsely populated with nomadic herdspeople. [Note: there are some 132 Swedish FHSs for eight million persons, mostly urban, in a comparatively small country against Tanzania's 53 FDCs for 18 million population, mostly rural, in a huge and very varied country]. The Swedish FHSs formed part of a movement; the Tanzanians built a system.

CULTURAL TRANSFER

Several different lines of enquiry are currently being developed in answer to the question of the conditions required for successful cultural transfer. It is unlikely that at this stage in the discussion any clear agreement can be reached, but some of the lines of enquiry appear to be

fruitful. It will be useful to set out four of the most relevant of these approaches before looking at the case study in detail.

1. Ownership and adaptation: One line of enquiry suggests that successful transfer depends on the way in which the receiving populations take up and adapt to their own uses the imported innovation. To use an analogy, what one person may use as a fighting stick may be taken over and used as a support for walking. The feature has transferred but has been used for very different purposes. It is a question of ownership and the right to adapt the innovation to new uses, of 'taking hold' of the institution or practice transferred. [A useful study of this is in Street 1993 pp30-61].

2. Matching factors: A second line of enquiry suggests that a number of factors need to be similar on both the donor and receiver sides if the transplant is to stand any chance of success. Some of these factors are relatively clear:

- a) the **ideology** on both sides needs to be matching;
- b) the **discourse** in which these ideologies are expressed on both sides need to have matching points
- c) and the **functions** required of the item being transferred need to have enough similarities to ensure 'take up'.

Without parallels in each of these areas, the chance of the transplant being successful will be greatly reduced.

[The first two factors have been taken from a suggestive paper by Norman Fairclough in which he speaks about 'ideology formation' and 'discourse formation'; to these, a third factor 'functions' has been added: N L Fairclough, Critical and Descriptive Goals in Discourse Analysis, in Journal of Pragmatics 9 1985 p 751. I owe this reference to Professor Brian Street].

3. Systems transfer: A third line of enquiry, based on a recent study [Titmus and Steele 1995] of the export of the concept and practices of University Extra-Mural Departments (especially the Oxford Delegacy pattern) to East and West Africa, leads to the suggestion that successful transfer is less likely when one element in what is a complex network of organisations and systems is isolated for export. There are of course some exceptions: the Montessori school system is one such. But in general, it would seem that greater success is probable where more than one such element can be taken. Thus University Extra-Mural institutions became relatively healthy in West Africa where they were accompanied by the export of the UK Workers' Educational Association model, adapted into the well-known Peoples' Educational Associations of Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria, more than in East Africa where such adult education partner associations were never exported or taken up. [On the general issue of systems transfer, see Wright 1981]

4. Bottom-up or top-down: Finally, we need to take into account in any discussion of cultural transfer the difference between cultural imposition and cultural acquisition. 'Cultural transfer' is a neutral term: it simply describes the transferral of something from one culture to another. 'Cultural imposition' and 'cultural acquisition' refer to the processes involved. 'Cultural imposition' is always 'top-down'. It is the export of one or more element on the initiative of the donor country or agency for the good of the receiver. 'Cultural acquisition' on the other hand is bottom-up. It is the identification by the receiving country or peoples of some feature within the donor country or body as valuable for the meeting of their perceived needs. Both sides work together to make sure that the transfer is appropriately and effectively made.

The development of literacy skills provides an illustration of this distinction. In the majority of cases, the development of literacy skills among non-literate populations is a question of cultural imposition: the literate identify the need and impose the solution on more or less reluctant 'learners', nearly always with relatively little success [see Street, 1995 pp 28-50]. Street

distinguishes different kinds of 'imposition' - what he calls 'colonial' literacy where outside countries or agencies impose new literacy practices on non-literate peoples, and 'dominant' literacies where an internal elite does the imposition. Literacy development is always much more successful when it is cultural acquisition: when non- or semi-literate populations and groups identify literacy skills as one of the requirements which they need to accomplish some task or other they have voluntarily undertaken, when they seek it for themselves.

Without the bottom-up element then, the transfer is likely to be less effective. Cultural transfer is like adult learning: imposed learning is much less effective (and is of course demeaning to the adulthood of the learners) than voluntary sought-after learning [Rogers 1996].

Each of these four lines of enquiry suggests a key question which can be asked about any cultural transfer issue:

1. **ownership and adaptation:** how far have local bodies taken up and used for their own ends the item being transferred? who owns it and uses it?
2. **matching factors:** how far are the conditions in the two cultures matching?
3. **systems transfer:** how many 'legs' does it have to stand on?
4. **bottom-up or top-down:** how far did the transfer arise from local demand rather than from donor initiative?

We need to make one last general point before examining our case study in these terms. It is important to remember that no one country has a single culture, that there are many differing cultures within any society. The fact that one can find some persons or groups within any society who take up and use the transferred item, or with suitably matching conditions, providing some measure of support for the transfer, initiating a demand or responding positively to the initial suggestion does not mean that the transfer will be successful. Here as elsewhere we are faced with issues of power. Relatively weak or powerless organisations or individuals may support and promote the transfer; but because of their weakness and relative powerlessness, the transfer may never take root. Donors may be misled by the response from some elements within the receiving culture that the conditions for successful transfer in fact exist. They will however in this be making judgements about the power structures and relationships within the receiving society.

THE FDCs AND CULTURAL TRANSFER

If we look at the FHS-FDC transfer in Tanzania in the light of these four lines of enquiry and their questions, we can see some clear trends.

1. **Ownership and adaptation:** One interpretation of what happened in Tanzania is that the Tanzanians 'took hold' of these institutions and adapted them to their own purposes. Between 1975 and 1990 under the MEC, the FDCs became vocational training centres for which clearly there was a considerable demand. Long residential courses in the FDCs, their main work, became limited to technical subjects (almost exclusively carpentry), home science (mostly tailoring) and agriculture (there were very few of these in practice). And the student body for these long courses became limited to younger primary school leavers with Standard 7 achievements rather than including graduates from the adult literacy programmes as was the original intention. These tendencies were resisted by the Swedish consultants: statements such as " .. there are always forces in a society that co-opt such ambitions and one has to start all over again" [Cassara 1995 pp 143-4], suggest that such co-options are thought to be 'wrong' and that the strong desire was to keep the vision pure. The TANDEM training programmes run by Linköping University for the teaching staff of the FDCs between 1991 and 1996, it can be argued, were designed to revive the FHS ethos and structures (openness, democracy in the classroom, 'participatory pedagogy', team teaching, integrated subjects, modular courses etc), all of which can be thought to be non-Tanzanian. The use of the word 'enlightenment' throughout the TANDEM training courses can be taken to indicate that the model which was being urged was still that of Grundtvig. Although there was an acknowledgement that "Swedish

folk development education is a method that can be emulated rather than imitated. It should be regarded as an inspiration and not as a blueprint" [Cassara 1995 pp 144], this was more rhetorical than real. During the period 1975 to 1990, much of this attempt to keep the FHS vision alive failed, mainly because the formal educational methods to which the Tanzanians are more accustomed than the open transparent democratic classroom procedures of the Swedish institutions proved too strong.

2. Matching factors: At first sight, there was enough in common between the key factors to enable some element of transfer to take place, but not enough to ensure their effectiveness. It can be argued that the **ideology** of democratic socialism which both countries have sought after was the same or similar enough; that the **discourse** in which the educational aims of the FDCs in relation to this ideology was expressed (despite the change from 'highschool' to 'development college') is clearly similar; and that the **functions** of providing residential educational opportunities to adults who have some grounded educational skills but yet have been denied full access to the formal systems of education with which the FDCs were charged are close enough to the ideals of the Swedish FHSs. All of these can be seen in similar terms on both donor and receiver sides.

But in fact these parallels are more apparent than real. First, the single-party central command normative and non-participatory socialist **ideology** of Tanzania was and is very different from the liberal pluralist participatory socialist ideology of Sweden. Recent more realistic analyses of Tanzanian ideologies [for example, UNRISD 1995] reveal precisely how far removed Tanzanian society is in fact from that of Sweden. This fact was of course recognised by the Swedish consultants; and they and those FDC staff who joined them saw their task as one of trying to overcome the non-participatory character of Tanzanian society. The FDCs were to be local bridgeheads for modern democratic pluralism, locally relevant rather than centralised, a forum in which rhetoric would be turned into reality.

Secondly, the **discourse** fails at several points. The terms 'participation' and 'democracy' are used in different ways in Tanzania from Sweden [UNRISD 1995 pp 118-124]. In particular, the understandings and expression of 'development' are obscure in both countries. On the Swedish side, we have been unable to identify any defined philosophy of (societal) development among the Swedish consultants or the FDC staff trained by them. The language of development is used, but precisely what is meant and the strategies to be adapted are not clearly articulated. On the whole, the Swedish trainers sought to encourage the FDCs to implement a philosophy of personal growth, helping individual students to develop their skills in order to escape from their poverty, rather than social community development, helping local villages communally to build up collective ways of working in order to overcome their collective poverty. Whether societal development consists of individual attitudinal and technical change or structural changes or indeed both, and how these changes are to be brought about, such issues have not formed major themes in the Swedish-supported training programmes.

On the other hand, the ambiguity is also clear on the Tanzanian side. The FDCs were not 'Folk Colleges' as the FHS were 'Folk High-Schools': they were not People's Colleges, although this term is sometimes used for them. They were (as we have seen) in Swahili, (government) colleges for "the development of the people". Precisely what this 'development' meant is not clear. Does it mean the development of individuals or the development of communities or both, or the development of the community through the development of individuals who would serve as change agents and leaders among the community? On the whole, most of those Tanzanians concerned with the original establishment of the FDCs seem to have been agreed that societal development rather than individual advancement was the main aim of these new institutions. But the discourse once again was unclear.

Only the **functions** were in common - in practice (whatever the rhetoric), the provision of residential education and training to a relatively small number of younger adults to meet some of their personal ambitions.

3. **Systems Transfer** : The difficulty which the FDCs have had in fitting into the Tanzanian scene - whether they are adult education agencies or development centres, for example; which Ministry they should come under, Education, Agriculture, Local Government, Community Development etc - may well have been exacerbated because of the fact that this element alone from the complex Swedish adult education provision (study circles, access courses etc) was selected and exported without any supporting 'legs'. Devoid of supporting systems, "there is always the tendency for an educational set-up to become a world to itself, cut off from the surrounding community." [Cassara 1995 p144]. The Tanzanian FDCs did not have those links with other folk movements in their own country which their Swedish counterparts had [Sunden p 50]. There are no adult access programmes in Tanzania; there are no study circles - the concept is 'alien' (in every sense of the word) to that country. The FDCs stand alone. That they have survived is a very real tribute to those who persevered so long with them, especially SIDA and Linköping University and their dedicated band of staff.

4. **Bottom-up or top-down:** In one sense it can be said that the demand for the FDCs came from the Tanzanian government, that it is a case of 'cultural acquisition' rather than 'cultural imposition'. Certainly there was no intention of cultural imposition by Sweden or SIDA. Nevertheless the request actually came from Nyerere himself; and there are many signs that, with his burning commitment to all forms of adult education and adult learning, he was not always in tune with his own countryfolk. This was a case of collusion: Nyerere perceived the needs and also the solutions, and through his one-party state, he imposed these on the people along with his concept of *ujamaa*. The FDCs did not emerge out of the hustle and bustle of everyday life in Tanzania, nor from the slower and deeper streams of rural social and economic activities as they had in Sweden. They were an imposed answer - but the question to which they were an answer was never satisfactorily defined. It can be argued that the group of FDC Principals and staff which Linköping identified and worked with initially were not typical of the majority of the FDC staff, let alone the wider range of educationalists and development workers who were stakeholders in the FDCs or in other educational traditions in the country. Once again the fact that they survived the downfall of the one-party state and *ujamaa* is a considerable tribute to the donors and their long-standing commitment to them.

One interpretation then of what happened is that a demand came from a small group within Tanzania for this single element of the Swedish adult education scene; that the FDCs were kept alive by Swedish support; that they never found real ownership but that nevertheless (as we have seen above) they came to be used for a different purpose (young people's vocational training); that the Swedish supporters tried to reverse this by building up a stronger group within the FDCs to support the original vision; that however they made their own work more difficult by ring-fencing the FDCs from any other Tanzanian network. Through it all, the FDCs somehow have survived.

THE FUTURES

The government has now embarked on a risky enterprise. At a time when the Swedish support has been withdrawn and the FDCs are very exposed, rather than strengthening the indigenous use which the FDCs have identified and fulfilled over the past twenty years, the MCDWAC will try to reorient them into being community development institutions.

There are three possible models for the FDCs. They can remain more or less formal young people's vocational education and training (VET) centres in a few limited trades which is apparently what local people want. They can revert closer to the original Swedish (AE-FHS) model of non-formal general democratic education and training centres for adults (which is what TANDEM and some in the FDCs have sought to make them). Or they can be converted into community development centres (CDC) concentrating on outreach work more than college-based courses which is what MCDWAC want. Each of these models - the VET model, the AE-FHS model and the CDC model - will be supported by different groups of interests. The struggle will be difficult.

In terms of our lines of enquiry concerning the issues surrounding cultural transfer listed above, the following comments can be made.

a) Ownership and adaptation: In a rapidly changing society, politically and economically and (perhaps at a somewhat slower pace) socially, the Tanzanian government and the civil servants who manage the FDCs will be able to take complete control of them, adapt them to national usages, especially in assisting development in Tanzanian terms within a multi-party democracy. The question of **ownership and use** may at last be about to be settled within MCDWAC. The Ministry is unlikely to be supported in this by several of the staff of the FDCs, especially those who have been through the TANDEM courses; for although there has been much emphasis on the necessity for outreach courses, there is little conceptual grasp of 'community development' in the FDCs (even those trained through TANDEM), and the two other models (the FHS model and the VET model) both tend to concentrate on the classroom and individual student development rather than the community.

b) Matching factors: The clashes of **ideology** are likely to persist, for some of the staff of the FDCs will continue to advocate the FHS model and others will seek to perpetuate the VET model. The differences in **discourse** have already increased. We find it significant that the former Principal Secretary and several of the current staff of MCDWAC have spoken of 'two cultures', the adult education culture and the community development culture. The staff of the FDC will need to learn to use new language. And thirdly there will be calls for significant changes in the **functions** of the FDCs. However, the reduced Swedish support is likely to assist the MCDWAC in imposing its view of the FDCs as CDC institutions.

c) Networks: There will be an opportunity (and, we understand, the intention) to tie the FDCs into one or more of the existing community development **networks** of health, women's development, rural industries training. Given the goodwill of MCDWAC, there may even be an opportunity to tie them additionally into one of the educational networks such as the adult education centres and/or the rural library movement (with which they once had proposed but not actual links) and/or the Open University study centres, from which they have been kept apart - in short, to build other legs for them to stand upon.

d) Bottom-up: The danger is that although they are in the process of becoming, almost for the first time, 'wanted' institutions, this demand will not be **bottom-up**. There is still no sign that anyone in the Districts actually wants the FDCs. They will be useful to the central government to get over messages to the people. The only bottom-up movement so far seen in relation to the FDCs is that of providing technical training to the sons and daughters of several families who live in rural areas. It is possible that the success of this new adaptation of the role of the FDCs will depend on how far they can build a real bottom-up demand for their services, particularly through the village-based short courses and development assistance programmes.

In this it is not clear exactly where the staff of the FDCs (whether trained by TANDEM or not) stand. On the one hand, many of them have been trained and encouraged to be more innovative - but within limits. Most of them still see themselves as 'form teachers', not community outreach workers. The TANDEM courses have resulted in an increased measure of confidence and a willingness to make new efforts among many of the staff. Because of SIDA's long-term support and the training programmes of Linköping University, the Tanzanian authorities in the form of MCDWAC may now be in a position to take fuller advantage of these institutions. A great deal will depend on how far the Ministry imposes these solutions on the staff or how far it can carry the staff with it in a participatory way. Actively engaged in a real rather than a rhetorical sense, the staff of the FDCs and of the Ministry may be better able to mould and to use them to face new situations and new tasks (for example, health education, women's craft skill development, family welfare programmes, and many other non-formal development programmes in the surrounding villages, taking advantage of specific local potentialities).

The ultimate lesson of the FDC experiment is that institutions transferred from one culture to another will only survive if and when they cut their links with the originating culture and become acclimatised to their new environment. Adaptation of organisation and functions; the development of new forms of language to express the new objectives and functions; new forms of inter-dependence with other indigenous networks, firmly rooted within a new and compatible soil; some nurturing from their new 'owners'; and the meeting of genuine bottom-up needs rather than fulfilling the top-down requirements of government - these would seem to be some of the conditions of successful transfer of ideas, organisations and activities from one culture to another.

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APPENDIX G

SWEDISH FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO THE FOLK DEVELOPMENT COLLEGES OF TANZANIA.

1. General Notes:

- 1.1 Tanzania received the largest share of Swedish financial assistance between 1983 and 1990 and probably subsequently.
- 1.2 Education received normally twice as much as all other aid.
- 1.3 In education, primary education came first, vocational education second and adult education/literacy came third.

2. Total educational aid to Tanzania 1985 to 1990 (in SEKs):

1985-6	39.9m
1986-7	50.5m
1987-8	47.4m
1988-9	51.5m
1989-90	70.3m
1990-91	74.0m

3. The FDC share of SIDA aid 1990-1995:

(Notes: a) since the budget indicates SIDA's willingness to fund these programmes, both the budgeted sums and the disbursed funds are given here.

b) the FDC share is compared with educational materials which was the biggest component of SIDA aid and against which the FDCs normally came second; percentages are of the year total)

All figs are in mSEKs

	BUDGET	DISBURSED
1990-1 Materials	25.85 (53.8%)	
FDC: C funds	1.95	
D funds	6.65	
total	7.6 (15.8%)	
Year total	48.00	
1991-2 Materials	24.75 (51.6%)	16.46 (50.4%)
FDC: C funds	2.43	
D funds	5.57	
total	8.00 (16.6%)	6.7 (20.5%)
Year total	48.00	32.6
1992-3 Materials	23.3 (51.8%)	6.81 (31.7%)
FDC: C funds	2.575	
D funds	4.925	
total	7.5 (16.6%)	7.654 (35.75%)
Year total	45.00	21.44
1993-4 Materials	16.1 (44%)	
FDCs: C funds	1.965	
D funds	4.785	
total	6.75 (18.4%)	
Year total	36.6	
1994-5 Materials	12.00 (30%)	
FDCs: total	7.00 (17.5%)	
Year total	39.90	

The missing figures have not yet been supplied to us.

APPENDIX H

REPORT ON GENDER ISSUES AND THE TANDEM PROJECT

1. THE COUNTRY CONTEXT

According to the 1988 population census figures, which were the latest available, women comprise 51% of the population in Tanzania as a whole (Bureau of Statistics 1992)

1.1 Employment

The employment sector in Tanzania is categorised roughly into 3 groups:

- waged/salaried employment
- informal/domestic service employment
- agricultural labour

Women's employment and involvement in all the 3 sectors is governed by several factors, the key one being their generally poor educational background.

The 1988 population census revealed that only 3% of women were engaged in the wage/salary employment sector. The vast majority are engaged in the agricultural and informal/domestic sectors. Most of those in the wage/salary employment sector are concentrated in the traditional fields of nursing, teaching, clerical and related jobs, while men are concentrated in technical fields, science and technology, managerial and other decision-making categories. Although the number of women engaged in waged/salaried employment has been increasing at a slow pace, they are mainly employed in stereotypical female occupations such as midwifery, typing, machine operating, and low-skilled activities which are monotonous and carry minimal pay levels. There are very few women who occupy high positions of responsibility in the public service. In addition there are provisions in the statutory book (e.g. the Employment Ordinance CAP 366, section 3.1) which restrict and discourage the employment of women.

Typical conditions in the informal sector, which includes enterprise activities and individual businesses, are struggles to obtain finance, work premises, trading licences, reliable markets, appropriate training and appropriate technology. Domestic servants are usually young, female, standard 7 leavers, who have migrated to town from rural villages, many working mainly for board and lodging (Mbilinyi 1992.)

Tanzania's economy relies heavily on agriculture, engaging 90% of the population, of whom 75% are women. Throughout the developing countries, women play a central role in agricultural production. In Tanzania, 98% of the women are involved in both subsistence and cash crop production (1974 figures). The tasks they perform include land preparation, planting, weeding, applying fertiliser, bird-scaring and harvesting. However, evidence suggests that women are not the target groups for information and training in new agricultural techniques, innovation and training, and the development assistance available to women is usually geared to their domestic role. (SIDA 62). The FAO (1982) reported that women received only 2%-10% of extension contacts even in areas where they were the major agricultural producers.

The production of cash crops in the Tanzanian agricultural economy altered the sexual division of labour and significantly increased women's workload, as men commonly withdrew from food production tasks to concentrate on export crops. Women not only took up the slack in food production but helped with the new cash crops. In the case of a cash crop production such as cotton, a report in 1990 found that women contributed more labour than men to all tasks except site-clearing. (Killalea B J, 1990).

The recent Structural Adjustment Policies (SAP) are considered a priority issue by a growing number of women in Tanzania, especially in terms of their contradictory impact on women and patriarchal gender relations. Some argue that SAP has harmed women and made gender

relations even more oppressive than before. Retrenchment, privatisation, cost-sharing and evaluation have led to higher costs of living, lower incomes, decline of public social services and growing economic insecurity for the majority of Tanzanian citizens. Others argue that SAP has led to increasing opportunities for women and the poor in the economy, has increased the range of choices for goods and services in the market, and provided a boost for the informal sector.

One outcome of SAP has been to throw increasing emphasis on cost-sharing and other austerity measures in order to reduce the contributions for social services and infrastructure from central government and donors, so as to free capital for investment in major companies, with the ultimate goal of increasing the export of cheap foodstuffs and raw materials overseas, and the profitability of companies. It is possible that this economic strategy has influenced the policy of the MCDWAC in relation to the FDCs and would account for the sudden demand for students two years ago to contribute significantly to their tuition fees and the requirement for FDCs to increase their entrepreneurial behaviour and income generating activities. However, this policy is likely to harm women students more than the men, since the likelihood of most female students ever being in a position to contribute further is remote, given their position in society and their access to resources.

A group of researchers, assessing the impact of SAP on women, particularly in employment, income, health and gender relations, stated: "The rising costs of living and increased production costs in smallholder farming and in the informal economy have increased the workload for women. Women have remained responsible for families. Since the mid-1980s many more children drop out of school than before to help with household work (girls especially) and to help earn cash income through petty trade and other economic activities. Despite the fact that women engaging in business are overburdened with work, they do become economically empowered to a certain level and this gives them some degree of independence in deciding household issues. This has made women more self-confident in household politics, especially when making decisions on the use of income. One major achievement of such women is to become 'providers of shelter'. Most African traditions determine homemaking, i.e. house building, to be the men's role and this used to be one of men's greatest tools of insubordination of women." (Kaihula 1995). It is significant in the light of this to hear a number of FDC staff report that potential women students are particularly interested in the technology of house building. However, there is no evidence of any course curricula being considered to support this interest.

1.2 Legal Status

The law postulates equal rights for women and men. Nonetheless, there exist also legal provisions which do not work in the interests of women. The most significant of these are the laws related to marriage and divorce, division of matrimonial assets, custody of infants and the application of customary laws governing inheritance matters. Customary laws, which are still in use, include strict adherence to gender roles, bride-price and men's control of family income. Tanzanian women researchers consider that much of the gender inequality in their society originates from customs and traditions relating to these matters (Mbilinyi 1992).

In the 1983 Agriculture Policy of Tanzania, the lease of land is referred to in terms of family or household lease and not in terms of the individual farmer. Although in Tanzania all members of the village, including women, have the right to be allocated plots, in practice the allocation is made by family and thus given to male heads of households. It is rare that women are allocated their own land by the village authorities. The only exceptions are those who by virtue of their status as divorcees, widows or unmarried mothers, are counted as heads of households. Accordingly, the physical or legal possession of land is important in order to have control over the products and to have access to the market economy, including access to credit. Individual women's lack of legal title from either the village, the government, or physical control of the land, can be the most fundamental cause of their subordination. Generally they are excluded from participating in development planning and decision-making at village level and they may not even receive their share of any income or benefit from the sale of farm produce (SIDA 62).

1.3 Participation of women in decision-making in the country

Very few women participate in decision-making in the country's and communities' affairs (*Policy on Women*). An analysis of the participation of women and men in different village communities in 7 regions showed that, of a total of 4,850 committee members, 498 were women and 4,352 were men. Of these there were only 5 women chairpersons and 40 secretaries; the rest of the women were ordinary members. Women, in effect, comprised 10% of the decision-making bodies in those 7 regions.

The decision-makers in each district are those in the District Development Committees (DDC) where very few women are represented. At regional level Regional Development Committees (RDC) co-ordinate those activities carried out by the districts. Senior positions include: Regional Commissioner (RC), Regional Development Director (RDD), District Commissioner (DC), District Executive Director (DED), City Director (CD), Municipal Director (MD) and Town Director (TD). An analysis of senior government employees in regions and districts by position in 1991, undertaken by the Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government, showed that at RC level women make up 10%. They are not present at all at RDD level. At DC level they make up 10%. At DED level they make up 5%. They are not present at CD or MD levels, and are 10% at TD level. There has been a growth in the number of women members of parliament between 1961 and 1990, rising from 8% in 1961 to 11% in 1990 (Bureau of Statistics 1992).

It would therefore appear that the reduction of illiteracy rates for women which has been achieved has not as yet brought about the anticipated result of women's fuller participation in decision-making processes in the rural areas.

1.4 Education

The access of women to education and employment has in practice not been equal to that of men. Efforts by the government to bring about changes have proved difficult since the task involves a significant change of existing cultural values.

Primary education

Universal primary education was introduced in November 1977. However, the enrolment in primary schools is about 75% of the population in the age group 7-13 years. While drop-out rates are high for both girls and boys at standard 3 and standard 6, the drop-out rate for girls is higher than for boys.

Secondary education

The primary school leaving examination (PSLE) taken at standard 7 entitles those who pass successfully to enrol in public secondary schools. However, there is a lack of alternative opportunities for primary school leavers who are unsuccessful. For those who do continue to secondary school level, there is evidence of general gender stereotyping of curriculum subjects, with women concentrating on arts, commerce and domestic science and men on science, mathematics, agriculture and technical subjects. Statistics on students in secondary schools 1982-1989 show that the number of women students enrolling at this level of education declined progressively during that period.

Higher education

Women's enrolment in higher education is lower than that of men. The same applies to those selected for studies overseas. The gender composition for the University of Dar es Salaam in 1988 was 487 women to 2,256 men; and in 1990, 531 women to 2,296 men. At the University of Sokoine, the respective balance in 1988 was 56 women to 410 men; and in 1990, 59 women to 324 men, but this university dealt mainly with agriculture, forestry, veterinary management and other scientific subjects. For both universities in 1988, the total percentage of women students was 17%, and in 1990 18% (*Ministry of Education figures*).

Adult Literacy

Although the National Literacy Campaign managed to reduce national illiteracy rates from 67% in 1968 to only 9.5% in 1986, the 1988 figures show an illiteracy rate of 12% for women compared with 7.1% for men (Bureau of Statistics 1992). Low rates of literacy and limited opportunities for schooling at all levels have also been an obstacle to the recruitment of women in agriculture and technical-biased professions and, in addition, training opportunities have rarely taken into consideration women's workload and the extent to which this hinders them from taking advantage of the opportunities.

Basic education for adults is given in literacy and post-literacy classes as part of non-formal adult education programmes. A higher level of non-formal education is provided in Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) and specialised courses are provided by the Institute of Adult Education through evening classes and correspondence courses. According to figures from the National Literacy Centre at Mwanza, the official illiteracy rate for women has fallen from 81% in 1969 to 12% in 1986 and for men from 55% in 1969 to 7% in 1986.

The relative educational poverty of women has been attributed, among other factors, to:

- the structure of the education system, inherited from the colonial governments, which offers progressively fewer opportunities for female students as they move from one level to another.
- the cultural bias by some parents against educating daughters.
- the expectation that girls can be diverted from their studies for domestic and economic duties which militates against satisfactory performance in examinations and, in turn, denies them opportunities to qualify for higher education.
- the paucity of career guidance programmes in almost all secondary schools which reduces the probability of girls considering careers in agriculture or technical-bias professions.
- the concentration on domestic science for girls as opposed to science subjects.
- the limited number of women in agriculture and technical-occupations at a professional level. Where they are employed, it is usually at the lower levels which do not offer positive role models for younger women and girls.
- the effectiveness of the woman farmer is being hampered by the fact that the majority of them do not have access to agricultural and development information.

(Mbilinyi 1992)

2. GENDER STRATEGIES AND THE FDCS

2.1 Women's major concerns

The main concerns of the poorer women are falling standards of living, low wages, declining returns from farming, the rise in unemployment and under-employment, and the growing inability to provide food and other basic needs for their families. These concerns influence the women's attitudes to and priorities for education and training (Mbilinyi 1992).

The Honourable Shamin Khan, Member of Parliament for Morogoro Urban District, pointed out to the Structural Adjustment and Gender Empowerment Symposium in 1994 that the major concerns of women who talked to her from her constituency included:

- low-level incomes
- insufficient resources to feed and clothe their families
- the low price of crops
- rising costs of living
- falling standards of social services

Education and training did not appear in the list (unpublished text of speech).

2.2 Strategic and practical approaches

One of the goals of the Policy on Women in Development in Tanzania is to identify the “obstacles hindering the participation of women in development and to direct ways of removing the same” (*Policy on Women*). Similarly, the underlying assumption of many donor projects seems to be that the women are not sufficiently integrated into development. However, there is an argument that women are already integrated too much into practical, as opposed to strategic, development: they weed the rice, pluck the cotton and the tea, transport the coffee, but do not receive any direct payment for their work, especially if they are married. Marketing agents pay the male household head without enquiring who actually did the work. Women grow the food to feed their families and to sell, and these cash incomes are used for family needs and supporting the household.

Barriers to women’s independent economic activity have been successfully identified as including: inequalities in access to land, credit, farm inputs, markets, and education and training. However, the strategies adopted to change things usually remain focused at the level of the individual household or group rather than the wider social groupings. The TANDEM project appears to have attempted to address this issue on a number of levels: the individual and the local village community. However, it would appear that the major tension underlying the education policy for the FDCs lies in the imbalance between the strategic aims for the colleges as an instrument for melding the country as evidenced by the nature of the early curriculum laid down by the Ministry, the policy statements on the transformation of women’s role in society as evidenced in Ministry publications, and the practical aims of most of the students which are much more instrumental in nature.

The practical needs approach driving most of the women students’ participation in the FDC programmes is to improve their welfare, while that of the strategic interests approach as indicated by TANDEM was on a much grander scale, “to promote such education as will foster active citizens and agents of change” and, by implication, to transform to some degree the gender relations of rural Tanzanian men and women. While TANDEM was attempting to move forward in accord with the principles of national policy, it was still too rapid a movement for women in rural societies. It is very difficult to impose a strategic transformative perspective without sufficiently developing the practical instruments which would empower women to contribute to these strategic movements.

While a few individual women have benefited from the FDC programmes, there has not been the substantial social change necessary to benefit the majority of women. More attention is needed to practical steps which can be taken to address the inequalities and support the strategic action to transform the social relations involved. Communities will not do this on their own and the TANDEM project addressed the issues insufficiently for the FDCs to make much impact.

The practical orientation of much donor agency input emphasises the immediate levels of causality for any given situation, such as women’s overwork and low income, and ignores the basic causes of women’s position in society. One reason for this emphasis is because the immediate needs are more easily perceived by the donors in the situation and because possible changes are more easily achieved. However, the real causes of gender inequities are more complex, less visible and are often hidden by the dominant discourse, i.e. by men, leaders and villages.

One explanation for the FDCs’ bias towards practical needs rather than strategic interests is that the steps necessary for the former are easier to implement by local people as well as satisfying government and donors. Building a well and providing a water pump are much easier than transforming the way people relate to land, water and basic social services. They are also much less controversial. Women, especially poor women, have to have faith in their ability to

empower themselves before they will be ready to risk the anger and hostility of men, especially the wealthy and powerful people in their society. Individual acts of assistance are highly significant, but without some basis of moral support and solidarity from other women and men, the rebellious women get exhausted and mentally stressed. Moreover, their actions will have limited results because gender oppression depends not just on one husband or in-law or employer but on the wider society.

Women are also conceptualised differently in the two approaches. The improvement approach projects the image of women as victims, whereas the strategic transformative approach assumes that women are active agents capable of acting on their own behalf and therefore potentially transformative. In the practical improvement approach, grassroots women usually lack power decision-making or control over resources. Instead they become passive recipients.

2.3 Empowerment

It has therefore been argued that grassroots women have to become the major decision-makers if the strategic transformative approach is to be successful. They have to take control of the major resources themselves to become empowered. Some of the FDC female staff who attended TANDEM training programmes seem to have been addressing this and requesting and even writing their own training materials, but there is little evidence that the female students in turn were becoming empowered.

There appeared to be a confusion, on the part of the staff, between the concept of empowerment and the concept of self-help. The essential difference is the change in power relations. Empowerment is taken to mean "enabling a group to address a situation, analyse it and take positive action towards solving it".

Empowerment should:

1. Help women's access to resources.
2. Assist women to improve their situation.
3. Increase women's awareness of their legal rights
4. Help women to analyse their own problems and come up with their own solutions.
5. Make education and information more available to women.
6. Assist women's increasing control over resources.
7. Increase awareness amongst women on social, economic and political issues, and their involvement in those issues.
8. Increase women's recognition of their own autonomy and independence.

A number of FDC staff stated that women students were being asked what they wanted to study but their approach erred more towards self-help than empowerment. The national policy on women was operating at a strategic level; some parts of the TANDEM project was trying to move in accord with this; and the FDCs were operating a practical 'self-help' basis approach. From the reported requests of women students, they clearly wanted self-help as a first requirement, but if staff had worked more closely with women's groups in the villages instead of relying mainly on the village elders, they may have achieved more in respect of empowering women and promoting their improvement.

2.4 Problems and constraints for women students and staff

Women students

The problems and constraints relating to women student attendance at the FDCs would appear to have been common to those of men, but there were some additional ones. In summary these were:

1. Lower economic development resulting in women students being more unable to contribute cash but only goods in kind in relation to their fees. This was a particular difficulty for women where they had no control over the disposition of resources
2. Cost-sharing was increasingly mentioned as a solution for the difficulties in financing the programme. However, this implies that people who basically live on subsistence farming will have the means to participate in programmes based on this principle, and it is unlikely that this is the case in relation to the very poor and to the women.
3. The long distances which women have to walk in order to attend the colleges makes the issue of women's security more pressing.
4. Poor communication infrastructures: most of the villages cannot be reached by motorised transport during the rainy season when the roads are impassable. Colleges tend to end up concentrating their outreach provision on one or two villages which are relatively easily accessible.
5. The very poor living conditions for students at the schools, especially the dormitory accommodation, which inhibit women students more than men.
6. A need for stronger representation over curriculum provision. For example, some women in the villages who were single and divorced asked for help in the development of skills in how to build a house, which is their first necessary stage in development: without that they have nothing.
7. Lack of curriculum and programme supervision from the district regional and ministerial level: the remote villages are seldom visited.
8. Inadequate technological support for women: where intermediate technologies exist, they are usually orientated towards male occupation income-earning activities.
9. Doubts that the programme timetable for classes matched the women's typical work patterns.

A day in the life of women in rural areas can be typified as:

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| • 4.35am to 5.00 am | Wakes up, washes and eats |
| • 5.00-5.30am | Walks to the fields |
| • 5.30am-3.00 pm | Ploughs, hoes, weeds, plants |
| • 3.00-4.00pm | Collects firewood and come home |
| • 4.00-5.30pm | Pounds and grinds |
| • 5.30-6.30pm | Fetches water up to 2 kms away each day |
| • 6.30-7.30pm | Lights fire and cooks |
| • 7.30-8.30pm | Serves to family and eats |
| • 8.30-9.30pm | Washes children, the dishes and herself |
| • 9.30pm | Goes to bed |

An analysis by DANIDA of the use of time by women in 4 villages in Iringa District showed that

- 28% of the working day was spent on food preparation,
- 25% on work on the farm,
- 5% on fetching water,
- 3% on fetching wood,
- 2% on childcare,
- 8% on cleaning,
- 14% on resting between activities and
- 15% on other unspecified activities.

It would seem that, apart from a small number, many women villagers do not know about the existence of the FDCs or what they can offer. They have very little time to participate in courses, even on an outreach basis. They do not see the relevance of much of the current provision to their lives and they are not motivated to attend activities.

Women staff

The women staff in FDCs also have their own problems:

1. Their promotion and career prospects are, on the whole, not as good as those of their male colleagues.
2. Any additional activities they undertake in the FDC are not matched with additional remuneration.
3. There is a shortage of instructional materials for their programmes.
4. There is no funding to allow for the depreciation of the equipment or the replacement of teaching materials.

However, many are provided with houses and a plot of land on which to grow food for their families.

3. GENDER AND THE TANDEM PROJECT

3.1 Goals and Objectives

One of the purposes of the policy on women in development as set out by the MCDWAC is "To ensure full participation and involvement of women in national development programmes so as to tap and fully utilise their abilities/potentials (sic)". Some of the proposed means of realising this are to

- identify the "obstacles hindering the participation of women in development and to direct ways of removing the same..."
- integrate women issues into all sectoral development plans as well as to involve them in administrative responsibilities and in decision-making...
- eradicate all obstacles hindering women from having access to education and training opportunities to the level which they desire...
- promote the potentials (sic) and strengthen the talents of women"

(Policy on Women)

The TANDEM Project's Terms of Reference (April 30 1994) restrict their gender agenda to "...increase the number of underrepresented sex in all college courses". Nowhere could we find in the project literature any specific practical goals other than this one. If the performance indicator they used to evaluate their success in this respect was a simple tally of the number of students on programmes atypical or otherwise, then the success has been very limited: the number of women students appears to have remained fairly constant, and the numbers attempting non-traditional courses have been small. However, the more successful outcome has been the proportion of women staff on the first TANDEM training courses which was over 50%, although this proportion is unlikely to be retained for future courses because of the overall number of women staff in the FDCs.

The MCDWAC itself has hardly set a good example, given that it employs only one woman within the Ministry FDC section and she is close to retirement.

There appeared to be a general awareness in the national media of the gender issue. The *Guardian Newspaper* (18.1.96, Tanzania) reported that a meeting organised by the World Bank and several NGO organisations in Dar es Salaam had stated that women are over-represented in the lower levels of staffing in most donor projects and under-represented at the senior levels,

partly because of inequalities in on-the-job training opportunities, and that women receive less opportunity in employment, including self-employment, education, politics and culture. The cause of these problems are complex and tend to interact with each other within each project and in society as a whole. However, the problems reflect the general lack of awareness and attention to gender issues in the country. Mr Tony Thompson, the World Bank operations officer, informed the meeting that mainstreaming of gender concerns at all stages of projects and all cycles was needed, and the World Bank would aim to give special attention to gender issues, to make sure that the national goals of gender strengthening in the country were achieved.

3.2 Training programmes

As urged by Urban Lundin in his memo on staff training for the FDC programme within the MCDWAC, all activities relating to the programme's intentions have to be realised through the efforts of the people engaged in the programme. The FDCs are institutions aimed at bringing about development at community level. Their ultimate aim was to encourage and promote the participants to become change agents ready to disseminate their skills to other members of their local community. The task would have been impossible to realise if the staff of the FDCs were not properly trained for their tasks, and this staff training should meet at least 4 basic demands:

a) The teachers should have knowledge and skills in their subject areas which are of relevance to the participants and the needs of the community.

The staff in the FDCs appeared to have the basis of this but were not being particularly creative in developing their subject expertise further or formulating novel ways of disseminating their expertise.

b) The teachers should employ teaching methods that involve the participants as much as possible in planning their studies as well as raising their enthusiasm for studying and implementing their knowledge after completion of the studies.

The courses which were aimed primarily at women students were the traditional domestic science courses. However, there was talk of attracting women into non-traditional areas of training; and staff referred to the now more widespread albeit rudimentary kind of market research practice which involved the students in the devising of the course curriculum.

A number of staff who had been on the training courses mentioned the value of the sessions on skills for teaching women students.

c) All staff should have a good understanding of the concept of community development and the role of their own institution in bringing about developmental activities.

We could see no evidence of particular programmes designed to encourage and empower women to take a more active role in relation to their own futures or village affairs.

d) All staff should fully understand the objectives of their institution, its specific traditions and "organisational culture", and realise the importance of good team spirit in order to achieve the goals of the organisation.

The staff recognised that there was an issue in relation to the recruitment of women students but too often offered the solution of more of the same programme.

It also appears vital to involve non-teaching staff of the FDC in discussions of needs assessment because they have the background and the culture of the village.

3.3 Curriculum

Gender was included in the curriculum content for the training programmes, in relation to the objective on increasing the number of women in the colleges.

The training material consisted of a two-page handout of possible actions, compiled from college reports, for the major stakeholders, (i.e. the community at large; leaders, functionaries and organisations, the college generally, the staff, and the students) to take in relation to this objective. The suggestions ranged from the idealistic “introduce new laws”, “scrap the system of separated education of the two sexes”, “conscientize society that days are changing and that they must have revolutionary attitudes”, to the small-scale “show educational videos”. There were some practical goals which might have been achievable under strong leadership from the college staff (conversion to a modular format for courses, changed recruitment and selection procedures, the initiation of day-care centres) and some which there was some evidence of being attempted by some of the colleges visited (e.g. “team teaching with teachers from both sexes; “conduct seminars for staff”, “run animation programmes in the villages”). Other activities intended to contribute to changed gender relationships were planned, such as introductory courses; teachers advertising their subjects to the students; “using short courses as springboards”.

Some sessions for male staff were also provided on curriculum and the teaching and learning skills of teaching women students attending non-traditional vocational courses. But it was felt strongly by one former participant of the course and a former principal that a special separate course for training staff to teach women and consider their particular aspirations, special teaching needs, special design of courses, because of the specifics of their situation, should be mounted if the situation was to be more fully addressed.

3.4 Course organisation

Modular courses and team teaching approaches were encouraged and appear to have been popular with some staff and enabled them more easily to promote courses across the gender participation lines. The team teaching approaches which were being strongly encouraged appeared to be successful in promoting curriculum development, and where it was being operated, e.g. mainly between domestic science and carpentry, it seems to have been working reasonably. There were a number of male participants in the tailoring and cookery classes, but the success of this was attributed to the renaming of the courses as hotel management/catering, laundry and tailoring. Similarly the childcare course was to be renamed family life education.

3.5 FDC management and organisation

Gender policies

There was little evidence of policies on gender equal opportunities or on sexual harassment, although these were stated to be a matters of concern by a number of staff.

Management Boards

Management boards usually have some women members. The women’s network advocated the appointment of women board members as support for female Principals. It was argued that although they would always be a minority of board members, their role and influence might increase given the changes in the powers of board members. Boards used to have advisory powers only; they could state a preference for the appointment of particular staff, but this could be ignored. Now the boards have executive powers, although it is too soon to gauge whether there will be any effect on the employment of women Principals.

One matter which was highlighted was the need for training for college board members. A general meeting for board members was held in Dodoma but further work could usefully be done on educating board members on their roles, functions and responsibilities by the chairs and principals.

Staffing

There are nine women Principals in the FDC system. A few women hold Co-ordinator posts, but on occasion a college exists with only one female member of staff.

The majority of women staff, other than those holding management posts, are to be found in the domestic science curriculum arena.

The women staff whom we spoke to were very articulate about what could and should be done about this situation, but this fluency was usually confined to one-to-one conversations and was not apparent in open meetings.

There are now more female Principals. This has been attributed as a positive outcome of the TANDEM programme. It was stated that the performance of the women on the training courses showed that they had the capacity to hold a Principal's post and formed an important element of the criteria for their selection. In the past the Ministry of Education had tried not to promote women if they were married. However, the move of the FDCs to the Ministry of Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children engendered a change as the Principal Secretary very much supported the promotion of women. It was reported that problems did arise from time to time in husbands objecting to their wives being moved but these were being overcome.

There is still a lack of female technicians. There are only two, and it was felt that more would be useful to serve as role models for students.

Women students

A significant increase in the number of women students is claimed as have being achieved in the FDCs. The statistic was offered that there are not less than 20% female participants in current college programmes overall.

Recruitment of women students

It is clear that many leaders in villages need advice in relation to the training and development needs of women in the villages.

Although the FDCs try to involve communities in the selection of participants to their two-year training courses, a recent evaluation seems to show that, although community involvement in the selection has been realised in 75% of the cases, these communities make little use of extra trainees who come back to their villages.

The lack of resources to provide fees or payment in kind for courses or for the materials required on the courses will, we suspect, have an increasingly deleterious effect on female recruitment, and that in turn will impinge on the women staff and their position in the colleges. The colleges will need to rethink their approaches to women students.

Women's network

The gender success story for the TANDEM project appears to be

- the number of women participants on the TANDEM courses
- the appointment of women trainers to work on the courses
- the increase in the number of women applying for posts of responsibility in the FDCs as a result of their training experiences
- the formation of a women's staff network resulting from the TANDEM courses. The women formed their own network to exchange information on their experiences, to discuss the

problems which were particular to them, and to offer professional and moral support for each other.

The approach and content of the courses has promoted the empowerment of the women staff attending, and especially the discussions on questions of democracy and participation. The women made their own inputs into the content of the later training sessions and courses and had special topics included on the necessary conditions for female staff and students in FDCs. These were reported as frank and open discussions which were very important for the female staff. It was interesting to note that there were 13 female Principals and Co-ordinators who reported experience of harassment in the FDC system, either sexual, social or psychological.

Their own professional agenda for the women's network is

- to increase the number of women student participants on courses, mainly through outreach work because that is easier for childcare, and also
- to instigate orientation courses for women so they can make more informed choices about which courses to follow. For example, there were two-week courses one or two colleges during which women students could try different skills. Examples of these courses were girls attending masonry and brick-building courses with men students. These were cited as doing more to break down gender stereotypes than any amount of preaching by FDC education staff to village leaders.

The success of this network remains a limited one, given the communication constraints facing the number of women staff in the FDC system who had attended the TANDEM courses. Its efficacy in terms of professional and moral support would also seem to be doubted in those colleges where there are not enough female members of staff to provide a viable support group either for staff or students.

4. POSSIBILITIES FOR THE FUTURE

4.1 A local agenda

A national workshop funded by SIDA in 1991 discussed the possible use of FDCs and their role in relation to women, and their discussions still appear to be pertinent. The view was that Folk Development Colleges were under-utilised and had a potential value as lifelong education centres, embryonic community colleges and women's institutes. The possible actions suggested then were:

- incorporate in the FDCs a content relevant to the needs of different kinds of women. Introduce life skills such as bookkeeping, business management, food processing and preservation, public speaking, project proposal writing, potential sources of funding, government regulations and laws.
- take affirmative action to ensure equal participation of women and men in adult education programmes.
- introduce day courses with women-friendly facilities, such as family residential units, child crèches, day care centres, to enable more women to participate in FDC courses.
- allow flexibility in programme organisation and content to accommodate the learning needs of individuals and communities (along the lines of Ruaha College in Iringa).
- make FDCs and other similar institutions genuine people's colleges by democratising organisation and management, increasing the participation of local communities and learners in decision-making, defining learning needs and administration.

(Towards Gender Transformative Education 1991)

4.2 Matters of special concern

There is growing concern at the increasing poverty and landlessness amongst rural women as shown in the growing proportion of agricultural labourers who are women. But similarly there is an increasing concern about the position of urban women. Problems relate to elderly women, young women, abused women, destitute women, those victims of trafficking and involuntary prostitution, those deprived of traditional means of livelihood, those who are self-supporters of their families, particularly mentally disabled women, women in detention, refugees, displaced women, and migrant women.

It is still felt strongly that life-long education programmes are a crucial part of reaching women outside the formal walls of the classroom. One of the major aims which the appropriate Ministries could promote is capacity building for women's groups in a wide range of skills and knowledge, analysis, organisation, facilitation of communications (Mbilinyi 1992).

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