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Non-Government Secondary Schools in Tanzania: Issues Related To Their Characteristics, Financing, Unit Costs and Student Selection

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Abstract

This article offers a critical examination of the main characteristics of the non-state secondary school education sector in Tanzania. It discusses the issues involved in the financing and unit costs of running these 'private' secondary schools. Particular emphasis is placed on the sources of revenue for these schools. In the article it is shown that the non-state secondary education sector tends to introduce inequalities in the process of seeking to achieve efficiency and sustainability. Geographic, socio-economic and gender imbalances in the society are shown to be reinforced by the emerging non-governmental secondary school system which itself is shown to be divided between high quality and low quality sub-systems.

Inequalities among religious groups and those between rural and urban areas are also shown to be reinforced by the 'private' secondary school system. The wide differences in the expenses incurred in running boarding schools as opposed to day schools also reinforce gender inequalities. Most non-state schools are day as opposed to boarding schools which offer a more conducive environment for the education of girls. Where a non-state school is a boarding institution the article shows that such a school is likely to be a seminary for boys.

Introduction and Conceptual Framework

To be able to analyse the characteristics and role of non-governmental participation in the secondary education sector in Tanzania, a working conceptual framework is important. Indeed, the words 'private secondary

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school' should be used with care in the case of Tanzania. In this case 'private' does not mean profit-making schools in which new buildings are financed from bank loans, and recouped from fees. This situation does not yet exist in Tanzania, and is outside the boundaries of this article. Rather, we have three situations which can be illustrated by the different arrangements used to secure new school buildings.

The first intermediate position is the one in which a secondary school is non-profit making, but run from a trust. The construction of school buildings and most capital development expenditures are funded entirely from trust funds of non-government sources rather than the community. In this category falls all schools operated by religious organisations like the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC), the Christian Council in Tanzania (CCT) or the Aga Khan Foundation. These type, of schools obtain funds for new buildings from the organisations' headquarters (e.g., the Vatican or a parish in the case of Roman Catholic Schools). The same applies to schools built by Islamic bodies whose initial capital funding may have come from Islamic states or other Muslim organisations/estates.

The second option which seems to have a stronger element of community support is the one in which new buildings are erected by the parents of children either directly doing the work themselves, or employing a contractor to do it on their behalf. Some of the schools under this category have been built through single efforts of an enterprising parent or individual. And thirdly, the most common situation in Tanzania is the one where the buildings are erected by the whole community—both parents and non-parents. In the case of these two options a fraction of initial capital funds, or 'seed' money, may also be given by an external or local organisation, the purpose of the initial donation being to supplement local efforts.

The other conceptual difficulty we are facing is the definition of the Non-Governmental (NGO) community. As an overall concept, a non-governmental community may be defined as "a group of people who share social, economic and cultural interests. Its members recognise social obligations to each other, hold at least some common values, and identify themselves with each other as 'we'" (Bray, 1988: 3).

Among others, therefore, the following types and examples of communities exist in Tanzania. Firstly, a geographic community; for instance this would include all locally formed Village Development Associations (VDA) and District Education Trust Funds (DETF). These are now a major force in secondary education provision. They include secondary schools under the Njombe District

Development Fund (NDDT), Mufindi Education Trust (MET), Several Development Associations in Kagera region (e.g., KADEA, BURUDEA and BWABUKI). Secondly, the world community can also describe ethnic, racial and religious groupings. Examples of these include the schools operated under the Roman Catholic Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC), the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT), the Tanzania Muslim Council (BAKWATA), the Tanzania Youth Muslim and the Ismailia sect. Thirdly, communities can also rise from shared family concerns or from general shared philanthropy. This group would include the Tanzania Parents Association (TAPA) which is based on adults-shared concerns for the welfare of the children, and other community and political functions.

Characteristics and Role of Non-Government Participation in Secondary Education

After nationalisation of education in 1966, the secondary education policy was that of complete control, and thus with the exception of a few seminaries, secondary schooling was put under the state. However, due to high social demand for secondary education, and also because of a crisis brought about by low transition rates between primary and secondary levels coupled with fiscal gaps in financing education in general, the government had to give in to political and social pressure by allowing the opening up of non-state secondary school in the 1980s. The result of this hang in policy can be observed in Table 1 which shows that between 1984 and 1992 the number of NGOs' operated secondary schools increased from 85 to 258 respectively.

Also, it can be noted from the same table that enrolment in NGOs operated secondary schools grew from 33,591 in 1984 to 97,116 in 1992. By comparison, the number of state-owned secondary schools increased from 85 in 1984 to 164 in 1992; while in 1992 the NGOs' secondary school sector enrolment represented 55% of total enrolment in secondary schools in Tanzania.

The tremendous expansion has also generated the following characteristics which can be associated with the NGO secondary schools:

- (a) Most of the schools are concentrated in the Northern Zone which comprises two regions (Arusha and Kilimanjaro); but much so in Kilimanjaro. In this zone alone there are 84 privately owned and managed schools, and 67 out of these are private secondary schools owned and managed by the Christian church dioceses serving a largely Christian clientele.

**Table 1: Trends in Secondary School Establishment and Pupil Enrollment in Tanzania
(Mainland) by sector, 1985 - 1992.**

Year	PUBLIC (STATE)		PRIVATE (NGO)		COMBINED	
	No of Schools	Enrollment	No. of Schools	Enrollment	No of Schools	Enrollment
1984	85	40,617	85	33,591	170	74,208
1985	86	42,232	104	40,775	190	83,098
1986	95	43,363	124	48,279	219	91,642
1987	103	45,821	142	58,225	245	104,046
1988	113	50,584	175	68,256	288	118,840
1989	124	57,482	195	75,003	319	132,485
1990	152	66,986	213	83,314	365	150,300
1991	158	73,946	247	92,866	405	166,812
1992	164	78,660	258	97,116	422	175,776

Sources: Ministry of Education and Culture Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania
(various Years) and other official reports.

- (b) Most of the schools are located in rural areas as compared with state owned schools which are located in urban and in district centres.
- (c) The majority of the schools under the ownership/management of churches/Muslim/parent organisations are community initiated. This also includes schools funded by the cash crop co-operatives, Development Trust Funds and Development Associations.
- (d) The schools' expansion path has generated three subsystems "... in which European children attend International Schools with some Asian and African children of very rich or powerful families. Asians attend English medium schools with a few Africans from wealthy families. Africans attend public or private religious affiliated schools, a large number of which are concentrated in one region of the country" (Sivalon, p.10).

Secondary School Operated by the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) and the Christian Council of Tanzania (CCT)

The involvement of Christian churches in secondary education is extensive. The impetus started in 1986 when the government made a bold call on churches and other non-governmental organisations to play an even greater role in the provision of education and health care services. Prior to that, the role of the church—save for a few seminaries—was ambivalent given the 1966 nationalisation of the education sector. Table 2 shows some statistics on the size and enrolments in secondary schools operated by the TEC and CCT.

Table 2: Secondary Schools Operated by Churches in Tanzania

	<i>No</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Co-Ed</i>	<i>Enrolment (Total)</i>	<i>Girls Enrolment</i>
<i>Normal Secondary Schools</i>						
TEC	57	1	10	46	20831	12797
CCT	62	-	3	59	20770	9943
	119	1	13	105	41601	22740
<i>Seminaries</i>						
TEC	30	24	2	4	4034	
CCT	5	1	0	4	55	188
	35	25	2	8	4589	497

Source: Survey by the author in TEC and CCT headquarters, Dar es Salaam, March, 1994.

Both TEC and CCT operated 119 normal secondary schools and 35 seminaries. Total enrolment in the normal secondary schools is 41,601, of which 740 are girls. The seminaries have an enrolment of 4,589, and of these 497 are girls.

Table 2 indicates further that 105 of the normal secondary schools are co-education and only one school is for boys only. Most seminaries are for boys only; that is 25 are boys while only 8 are co-education.

A comparison of data in Tables 1 and 2 suggests that the Christian Church schools constitute 47% of total enrolment in the NGOs' sector. Yet, a recent research article by Sivalon (1994) has put up a thesis that this Christian-religiously affiliated secondary education has been a major contributor of gender in-equality, ethnic inequality, religious inequality and to the production and reproduction of Tanzania's class structure. It is argued in the case of seminaries that although these schools' education is of high quality when compared with other Tanzania schools, they appear to have done little to employ their resources specifically for the disadvantaged and marginalised members of society. To emphasise the point, Sivalon gives the following telling characteristics of church operated seminaries and other Christian schools:

- (a) Although the seminaries are for the training of future officials of the church, it is evident that the number of graduates of these secondary schools who actually enter the major seminary let alone proceed to become ordained ministers is very small; in reality they are also training for the general labour market.
- (b) While some efforts are being made by religiously affiliated private secondary schools to deal with the question of gender inequality, in terms of the best religious private schools women are almost totally excluded from the high quality seminaries.
- (c) Christian educational institutions have created regional disparities in the provision of secondary education. Indeed, 43 out of 154 Christian NGO schools are in Kilimanjaro region alone, while the rest are concentrated in the Christian strongholds of Kagera, Mbeya, Arusha and Iringa.
- (d) As will be indicated later, some of these schools which were actually exempted from nationalisation and therefore have enjoyed periods of stability, continue to enjoy an influx of resource input from their dioceses, international religious bodies and the Vatican.

The above inequities will soon increase in the light of a recently formed Christian Educational Board of Tanzania (CEBT) to be operated under the

umbrella of the Christian Social Services Commission. The CEBT, which relates to the education offices in both TEC and CCT, will be involved in the administration of aid money available from the German government and the German Churches. The major objective of the CEBT programme is to address the deteriorating quality of science teaching and education in Tanzania, and to tackle other specific problems faced by schools. The purely church schools like the seminaries are not part of the programme although the initial plan of implementation already includes three junior seminaries because "CEBT found it important to integrate them into the training component."

Secondary Schools Operated by Muslim Council (BAKWATA) and Other Muslim Bodies

The Tanzania Muslim Council (BAKWATA) operates fourteen secondary schools. Once again the schools are concentrated in Kilimanjaro region which has 4 schools, namely Kibohehe, Jitengeni, Kiriki and Kirongaya. The others are spread in only six regions as follows: Dar es Salaam (2), Tanga (2), Morogoro (1), Dodoma (1), Tabora (1), Arusha (1) and Mwanza (1).

BAKWATA has an organisational structure of centralised support and regional control. In the organisational structure, the education officers are directly responsible to the top leadership of BAKWATA (Sivalon, *op. cit.*). The Regional Education Committees and Education Boards are supposed to exercise independence and control. The following characterise the BAKWATA education sector:

- (a) Schools operate in unkept environment, and there is neglect of facilities and general upkeep.
- (b) Most schools seem to be lacking in qualified teachers and there is a high concentration of form six leavers and unqualified teachers.
- (c) General school supervision and management tends to be informal.
- (d) Few, if any, of the schools have managed to score highly in the National Examinations.
- (e) Unlike their Christian counterparts which are built in Christian regions, BAKWATA schools are not concentrated in the Muslim dominated coastal areas.
- (f) A substantial number of enrolment is Christian when compared with the number of Muslims in Christian schools.

Several Muslim organisations have sprung up recently to own and manage schools. Most of these are concentrated in Dar es Salaam and the Coast. They include the Muslim Youth who operate Taima Secondary School, the Islamic Publication Centre, a group of Moslems who operate the Masjid Quba Secondary School, Jamaat-Ithnasheri who operate the Al-Muntazir Secondary School, and the Munadhamat-Al-Daawa who own and manage the Kunduchi High School.

Secondary Schools Operated by the Tanzania Parents Association (TAPA)

The Tanzania Parents Association (TAPA), an affiliate of the ruling party (CCM), operates 75 schools. Fifty one of these schools are registered while 24 operate without registration. The original policy of turning all TAPA schools into technical ones, and having a technical schools in every region, has not worked as expected because of lack of funding, and the absence of innovative planning at local and headquarters levels.

Table 3 shows some characteristics of TAPA schools. Mbeya region has the highest number of 20 schools, Kilimanjaro has 13, and Tanga has 6. Kagera, Pwani, Singida, Shinyanga and Kigoma have three schools each. Dar es Salaam, Songea, Mwanza, Iringa and Arusha have two schools each, while the rest of the regions, Zanzibar and Pemba have one school each.

The objectives of TAPA as a mass organisation, whose original role was to establish, run and control parents-sponsored secondary schools, have not been effectively met. These objectives included the training of a large number of primary school leavers in trades such as motor mechanics, welding, masonry, plumbing, civil engineering and agro-mechanics; and to make the rural areas self-sufficient in these skills by ensuring that the graduates from the parents school will go back to their respective villages and form a nucleus for small scale industries as co-operative groups.

Several reasons may have led to the non-attainment of TAPA's objectives. These include the following:

- (a) TAPA works within a centralised administration of education modelled on the government working machinery with all those regional and district offices duplicating headquarters and school tasks and functions. This administrative system has proved incapable of securing education resources, and monitoring the distribution of financial and instructional materials.

**Table 3: Selected Information on Schools Operated
by Tanzania Parents Association (DISTRICT) as at January 1994**

<p>Total 75 schools: 51 Registered; 24 Unregistered schools</p> <p>Regional Distribution of schools Mbeya (20), Kilimanjaro (13), Tanga (6), Kagera (3), Pwani (3), Singida (3), Shinyanga (3), Kigoma (3), Dar es Salaam (2), Songea (2), Mwanza (2), Iringa (2), Arusha (2), Morogoro (1), Lindi (1), Mtwara (1), Zanzibar (1), Pemba (1)</p> <p>Sources of Funds</p> <p>(a) School fees Tsh. 40,000.00 boarding; Tsh. 30,000.00 day (b) School projects: Tsh. 100,000.00—1,000,000.00 per school (c) Contributions: High-demand schools, Tsh. 10,000.00; Low-demand schools, Tsh. 5,000.00 (d) Central government Grant to TAPA headquarters: Tsh. 96,705,600.00 (e) Several donor support, e.g., Teaching Volunteers: NORAD, Peace Corps, British Volunteers, Swedish Volunteers, JICA (f) Individual schools attracts: funding/financial/resource support from foreign donors depending on aggressiveness, public relations of headmaster and school board. Donors here include: The European Development Fund, British Council, NORAD, FINNIDA, Community Development Trust Fund</p>

Source: Interview with Education Secretary, DISTRICT headquarters

- (b) The exercise of putting up technical schools proved to be expensive because of the capital intensive nature of the curriculum which needed high initial investment.
- (c) The technical trade schools are still looked down by parents and pupils who prefer a general curriculum track.
- (d) The schools outputs and pass rates in the National Examination have generally been poor; this situation has led to low demand for *district* schools places among parents and pupils.

Secondary Schools Operated by Development Association Trust Funds and Co-operatives

Cash crop co-operatives, Village/District Development Association and District Education Trust Funds (DETFS), form another major grouping of self-help and mutual aid institutions in the financing of secondary education. The cash crop producing areas—notably the coffee growers of Kagera and Kilimanjaro regions—have for some years been using a proportion of their coffee income to form Education Development Funds. According to Ishumi (1993) the only pre-1980 community development formation was the Kilimanjaro Education Fund (KEF) created in 1974/75 from the savings of the regional Kilimanjaro Native Cooperative Union (KNCU) and its subsidiaries just before a planned government order to revoke native farmers cooperatives. Ishumi continues to show that the KEF supports over 60 'private' self-help secondary schools across all the districts of Kilimanjaro region, and is in turn augmented by the treasuries of the local cooperative which were reinstated in 1984/85.

The Balimi Education Fund (BEF) under the Bukoba Cooperative Union runs five secondary schools in the region. The BEF subsidises a selected number of pupils who attend any non-state secondary school either in the region or outside it. It also offers grants to other non-state secondary school initiatives in the region. All coffee growing parents in the region who are members of the cooperative contribute to the Fund indirectly through an amount levied on each kilogram of coffee sold. This money forms a proportion of the whole which is used to build new schools, pay teachers' salaries, and other recurrent expenditures.

The development associations and the district education trust funds grouping is another community self-help effort addressing other development concerns besides secondary education. This self help movement is growing stronger than the list in Table 4. Through an elected body of village/district members, committees are formed to mobilise effort and resources to be invested in secondary education provision.

Schools built in this way are indeed a model of decentralised education provision through private and community initiative. Yet they face a number of constraints and problems. These include the following:

- (a) Several schools, like in the case of those established by the Njombe District Development Trust, were established without adequate support, pre-plans and availability of teaching and learning materials and they are ill-staffed (Maduki, 1993).

Table 4: Major Community Development Associations/Formations that Trace their Beginnings to the 1980s

Name of Association	District of location	Year of Formation	Area of Operation	Current No. of Sec. School run	Year First School(s) Opened
Njombe District Dev. Trust (NDDT)	Njombe	1983	District	9	1983
Mufindi Dev. Asso. (MET)	Mufindi	1984	District	7	1984
Kanyigo Dev. Asso. (KADEA)	Bukoba Rural	1984	Single Ward	1	1985
Bunyango-Ruzinga Dev. Ass. (BURUDEA)	Bukoba Rural	1984	Two-Ward	1	1985
Tweyambe-Ishozi Dev. Ass. (TIDESCO)	Bukoba Rural	1984	Two-Ward	1	1985
Network of Madaba Villages (WILIMA)	Songea	1984	Single Ward	1	1985
Bwanjai-Bugandika-Kitobo Dev. Soc. (BWABUKI)	Bukoba Rural	1985	Three-Ward	1	1986

Source: Ishumi (1993)

- (b) Several of the schools' responsibilities lie in the hands of the school boards which are co-ordinated by the board of trustees or the development association. The balance of power tends strongly to favour the professionals and politicians or bureaucrats, and this has tended to limit the effectiveness of the local community or even the boards' work.
- (d) In some instances, criteria for appointment of school heads are not followed; instead, unofficial relationships, patronage and nepotism influence appointments of people who lack vision, innovative thinking and creativity which are the major requirements of a community school.

Financing of Non-State Schools

To be able to produce non-state secondary education capacity, a sustainable finance and management system is a pre-condition. Sustainable finance and management is also essential to be able to maintain minimum levels of quality services. In this regard sources of revenue and the amount raised have to be consistent and enough to cover the costs of essential activities. And probably most important, the raised financial resources have to be efficiently used by avoiding unnecessary waste.

Several issues have a bearing on the non-state secondary education sustainability. One of them is the involvement of local bodies in planning, management and maintenance of educational facilities. The other one is the adoption of special monetary and non-monetary measures to motivate and encourage the non-state to participate fully in sustaining the system by earmarking funds in a form of grants-in-aid for supporting these efforts. In the end it is the school financial viability and the parents demand for places which will demonstrate that parents are willing to pay for the kind of education they want their children to get.

Sources of Revenue/Finance

All non-state schools charge fees and other contributions, or as in the case of Mzizima, 'parents commitments'. These charges and other annual fund-raising activities constitute a reliable and stable source of revenue. The exceptions in this case are the schools which get grants or funding from the founding bodies. Most parent contributions are pledged at the time of admission and registration of new pupils. The major fund-raising activities are the charity walk, raffles, and mixed-music evenings.

The government regulated fees in non-state schools amount to Tsh. 30,000 and Tsh. 40,000 for day and boarding pupils respectively. The thinking within the non-state sector is that the imposition of norms regarding fees stifles non-state education because other sources of revenue are not reliable, and yet there is strong public demand for secondary education and willingness to pay more than the mandated charges.

Table 5 shows the amount of fees and other contributions charged by selected non-state schools in Dar es Salaam. The total charges amount to Tsh. 48,000 at St. Antony, a high quality but ordinary school owned and managed by the Roman Catholic Diocese. They are between Tsh. 100,000 and Tsh. 150,000, depending on 'parent commitment' at the high quality Mzizima Secondary School, a school managed on behalf of the Aga-Khan Estate/Foundation.

**Table 5: School Fees and Other Direct Contributions
in Selected NGOs' Secondary Schools in Tanzanian Shillings**

	St. Anthony	Mzizima	Vituka (TAPA)	Al-Muntazir
Fees: Day	30,000	30,000	0,000 (Day)	30,000
Boarding	NIA	(35,000) Form V-VI	0,000 (Boarding)	35,000 (Form V)
Building contributions	10,000	5,000 (Books)	12,000	20,000
Desk Contributions	3,000	2,500 (Computer)	10,000	
Caution Money	1,500	5,000	1,000	Unknown
Student Union	1,500			Others
Exams/Regist. /Admission	2,000	Parent Commitment 70,000- 100,000*	2,000	
Total	48,000	112,500 to 150,000	54,000 day (64,000) Boarding	Around 120,000

Source: Interviews with Headmasters/Students/Parents

* This figure was given in confidence by one of the teachers; other contributions are not easy to get.

At Vituka, a low quality *district* technical secondary school, the charges amount to Tsh. 54,000 for day pupils and Tsh. 64,000 for boarders. The total of fees and contributions is estimated to be around Tsh 120,000 at Al-Muntazir Islamic Seminary of the Shia-Istnashari sect which recruits mainly Indians and wealthy Muslim Tanzanians.

The experience of user charges and contributions raises some issues, namely:

- (a) The introduction of fees tends to improve the non-state efficiency because it provides incentives to both students and school managers to scrutinise costs more closely and thus reduce unnecessary costs.

- (b) In spite of fees payment there are more willing parents/pupils than available places, and this excess demand is reflected in the high number of applicants as compared to the few who get admission into form one every year. Indeed in 1992/93 admission year, the number of applicants at St. Antony were around 3,000, and only 124 were selected. Out of 1,240 applicants at Mzizima, only 124 were admitted in the 1992/93 form one streams.
- (c) There is greater demand for admission at Mzizima Secondary School and other more efficient schools like St. Mary's, Mazinde, and Kifungilo Secondary Schools. These schools have reacted by expanding their programmes and enrolment (e.g. introduction of computer courses at Mzizima and Mazinde).
- (d) Given the poverty situation in the rural areas, and the fiscal incapacity of most districts, it is doubtful if the Mzizima model of raising parent contributions can work in schools outside the big towns and cities.

A study by Babygeya (1993) indicated that private secondary schools around lake Victoria get their finance from seven sources. These include: education funds from school founding bodies which contributed an average of 51% of the sampled private schools' annual current expenditures; school fees which contributed 39%; religious organisations which contributed 5%; and the local community development associations contributing 2%. Other sources were the parents contributions which gave 2%, and the school economic projects whose contribution was found to be less than one percent.

There is no dominant source of financing private secondary schools, although school fees as a source is observed to be consistent and reliable. In 1992/93 schools fees contributed up to 96% of Taqwa Secondary Schools' funding; 55% of Vituka Secondary School; and 87% of St. Antony's Secondary School finance. It is only in some seminaries (e.g., Nyegezi Seminary) where school fees contribute around 15% of the schools' funds. This is because these schools are preparatory institutions for the clergy, and they are thus heavily subsidised by the church and respective diocese.

Education funds of various school bodies are another source of private secondary school's finance. In 1992 the Balimi Education Fund, which is responsible for running four secondary schools in Kagera region, contributed

about 71% of Kashozi Secondary Schools' finance. The same is observed in Mwanza region where the Board of Trustees for private secondary schools contributed 75% and 29% of Bukumbi and Busweru Secondary Schools resources respectively. Findings from Babyegeya's study indicated further that the Ikimba Area Development Association provided 39% of Rubale Secondary School financial resources, while the Tanzania Parents Association (District) provided 47% of its Omwani Secondary Schools revenues. The Archdiocese of Mwanza Roman Catholic Church provided 85% of Nyegezi Seminary financial support in 1992.

Donations and grants play a significant role in financing non-state secondary education. Examples of these abound. Prior to 1993 the Mzizima Secondary School could cover the budget deficit through grants from the Geneva Aga-Khan Foundation headquarters, or from his Highness' estate in Tanzania. The Tanzania Parents Associations received a block grant from the central government amounting to Tsh. 96,705,600. The costs of the physics room and the computer centre at Al-Muntazir were covered by donations from the Ithale Sawab of Ayatullah-Al-Uzama Ruhullah Khomeini and Ithale Sawab of Marhum Mohammedalli Jaimond respectively. A government grant pays the salary of the Headmaster at Vituka Secondary School.

International organisations have also offered undocumented support to non-state schools. In the case of District schools, the donors have a choice of regions and districts to support. The OXFAM supports schools in Shinyanga region, while the Norwegian Agency for Development (District) supports schools in Mbeya, Iringa and Rukwa.

Case 1: Financing Al-Muntazir S School

Al-Muntaziri is owned and financed by the Jamaat Ithnasheri and Merno Jamaat. The two bodies are responsible for the school's budget emulating the Aga-Khan Foundation run schools. Finance originates from the Jamaat Contributions, school fees, and volunteer contributions as '*Sadaka*' (Money contributed as part of worship rite). funds for renovations and repairs stem from pledges also as part of a religious rite. Substantial support comes from Iran.

The Finnish Development Agency (FINNIDA) offers material support to schools in Ruvuma, Mtwara and Lindi regions, while the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) concentrates in the Lake and Western Zones.

Individual schools get other forms of assistance depending of the aggressiveness of the headmaster or that of the Board of Trustees, and on the soundness of the project designs. In this case Namfua Secondary School gets financial support from the European Development Fund (EDF), while Mombo Secondary School gets support from the Canada Fund and the Community Development Trust Fund (CDFTF).

Donor assistance, which is not always based on district/regional-wide needs has encountered some fundamental problems typical of aid in general, including the following (Cooksey 1994):

- (a) Projects and programmes are non-sustainable because facilities and standards are not maintained when donors withdraw their funding and technical assistance.
- (b) Support is always channelled through the central government, and this tends to reinforce the power of the state in a system which is already over centralised and autocratic. This is despite the fact that the government has inadequate management capacity.
- (c) Donor assistance is itself uncoordinated, with each donor negotiating with a different part of the country or the bureaucracy, a situation which makes policy making and priority setting almost impossible.
- (d) Most parts of the bureaucracy have turned into being donor serving units which uncritically accept and carry on donor projects without evaluating their long-term implications.

The Role Of The National Education Trust Fund (NETF)

The National Education Trust Fund (NETF) was established with seed money from ET to enhance local initiatives in the process of establishing, managing and maintaining secondary schools through community self-help, in line with education policy. Amongst others, the objective of the NETF included: support of community initiatives to expand access to secondary education; to reduce regional imbalances in access to education; to increase educational opportunities for girls, and to upgrade the quality of education provided by community secondary schools' trust funds.

While the objectives of NETF remain valid, their attainment under the present arrangements seems difficult and elusive because of the following reasons:

- (a) Bureaucratic procedures which tend to affect operations of the NETF, including the registration of the fund as a NGO with several government officials in its board of trustees making its status difficult to define. This, coupled with the involvement of several actors (e.g., MOEC, treasury, donors, the boards) make decision making unnecessarily cumbersome.
- (b) Lack of local component support for the fund which is designed to be donor-dependent. Whatever local support that exists is loaned from the government. Thus without donor support, the NETF would be non-existent.
- (c) Factors militating against girls' access to secondary schools, such as payment of fees and provision of hostel facilities, are not adequately tackled by the fund. There is no provision in the fund to sponsor individuals who cannot afford to pay fees, and NETF does not provide for construction of girls' hostels, although studies have indicated that girls who stay in hostels out-perform girls who are day scholars.
- (d) Traditionally motivated communities are likely to continue to enjoy more funding from NETF because not only do they have many schools and many applications for funding but they are also able to defend most to them. While the Fund's policy is to give priority to the educationally disadvantaged areas, these areas do not respond in a manner that would attract increased funding.
- (e) NETF's money tends to be allocated automatically and even though this 'automatism' provides comfort to the schools, it does not guarantee quality, address priority issues, or ensure there is a coherent overall school programme. This also leads to a situation where—if the number of applicants is large and the available funds are small—everyone is under-funded, and the quality of all schools suffers as a consequence. It has not been realised that there is more to be done than there are resources available.

Unit Costs and Financial Management

With the exception of district secondary schools which are actually quasi-non-state, most non-state schools operate decentralised financial and administrative arrangement which does not restrict the innovative operations of school managers. In some schools which are high quality, the fees charged recover

only a fraction of the cost of providing education. Yet in others—and indeed most rural community schools—the unit costs are lower than the fees charged which is an indication that in these schools in fact the pupils are not subsidised (subsidy defined as the difference between the long-run cost of the service to the providers and the price charged to the parents).

Certainly, there is at present greater competition among non-state schools because several controls have been eased. Within the non-state schools efficiency tends to be high when compared with the state schools because of managerial accountability. Efficiency of operations is reflected in the unit-costs of selected schools.

Three cases studied indicate that the unit recurrent costs for 1993 at St. Antony Secondary School and at Vituka Secondary School were Tsh. 53,122 and Tsh. 50,410 respectively. However, the full unit costs (recurrent plus capital costs) were Tsh. 120,000 at Mzizima Secondary Schools. The major cost items at St. Antony and Mzizima which are both day schools was payment of salaries. In the case of Vituka Secondary School, which is partly boarding, the major cost item was food and boarding.

Table 6 indicates the unit recurrent/private costs in selected public and private schools as found out by Babyegeya (1993). The table suggest that:

- (a) The average unit recurrent expenditures are higher in public schools (Tsh.54,000) and lower in 'private' schools (Tsh.35,000).
- (b) The average private unit costs were higher in 'private' schools (Tsh 25,000) than those in public schools (Tsh. 17,000).
- (c) The total unit costs (recurrent + private) are higher in public schools (Tsh. 73,000) than those in 'private' schools (Tsh. 60,000).

While public schools expend on average less than 30% of their financial resources on teaching-related activities and more than 70% on non-teaching related items, non-state schools show higher expenditures on teaching-related items not considering salaries. In fact, according to Babyegeya, they spend more than 60% of their finance to purchase teaching-related items, yet financial resources in private schools were meagre when compared with public schools. As such, even though more of their finances were used in teaching-related activities, teaching facilities were inadequate, but well-kept when compared with public schools.

Several factors explain the differences in cost efficiently between non-state and public schools. Some of these are:

- (a) There is the motivational and *accountability* factor for managers, students and teachers in non-state schools. And also there is a relatively large amount of local community involvement in running the school, selection of teachers and students; and this makes them much more accountable to the community or to the funders.
- (b) The non-state schools can avoid corrupt and inefficient elements imbedded in the existing public school government tender board system by involving their own system for procurement of materials. For example, they encourage procurement of materials and food items at competitive prices from small suppliers.

Table 6: Unit Recurrent/Private Costs in Selected Public and Private Secondary Schools in the Lake Zone (1992)

	Unit Recurrent Expenditure (Tsh)	Private Unit Costs (Tsh)	Unit Costs (Tsh)
<i>Public Schools</i>			
Bukoba	51,000	17,000	68,000
Bwiru Girls	75,000	18,000	93,000
Kahororo	65,000	20,000	85,000
Mwanza	30,000	18,000	48,000
Nsumba	69,000	20,000	89,000
Nyakato	61,000	19,000	80,000
Rutabo	34,000	13,000	51,000
Total—Average	54,000.00	19,000	73,000
<i>Private Schools</i>			
Bukumbi	28,000	61,000	89,000
Busweru	22,000	14,000	36,000
Kashozi	30,000	65,000	95,000
Nyegezi Seminary	15,000	65,000	80,000
Omwani (Distr.)	30,000	44,000	74,000
Rubale	24,000	23,000	47,000
Taqwa	23,000	10,000	34,000
Average	35,000	25,000	60,000

Source: Interviews with Heads of Schools/students conducted by Babyegeya (1993).

Case 2: Vituka Secondary School—1993

Owner: Tanzania Parents Association
 Enrolment: 618 (150 boarders)
 Teachers: 24; 16 support staff
 Level: Form I—IV (Co-ed)

Major Sources of Income/Revenue

Fees: Tsh. 18,000,000
 Contributions:
 Desks/Buildings —Tsh. 2,100,000
 Productive activities— Tsh. 5,300,000 (net)
 Industries—Tsh. 3,000,000 (Mostly in pledges)
 Government grant to pay salary of headmaster.

Major Current Expenditure Items

<i>Item</i>	<i>Tsh</i>
Salaries	6,500,000
Allowances of Duty	860,000
Transport on Leave	990,000
Food	14,000,000
Electricity	350,000
Training	350,000
Sports & Games	485,000
Teaching Materials and Exams Expenses	1,936,000
General Administration (Vehicles, Fuel, Spares)	800,000
Others	<u>3,985,272</u>
Tsh.	30,256,272

Approximate Unit Current Cost: Tsh 50,410

Source: Interview with the School Headmaster.

Case 3: St. Antony Secondary School**Major Sources of Funds (1993)**

<i>Source</i>	<i>Amount in Tsh.</i>
School fees 30,000/= @	48,300,000
Professional courses fees	800,000
Registration fees @ 2,,000/=	6,000,000

Contributions (in Tsh and for each student):

Maintenance:	10,000
Desks:	3,000
Student Union:	1,500

Usually the deficit is covered by asking parents to make contributions. In 1993, Tsh 475,000/= was collected in this way.

Capital development expenditures are covered by mobilising funds from the RC church, and also by involving the School Board in fund-raising.

Major recurrent expenditures (Tsh)

Salaries:	33,000,000
Building Maintenance:	3,800,000
Books:	3,500,000
Stationeries:	3,000,000
 Total Recurrent Expenditure:	 Tsh. 58,434,000
 Enrolment:	 Tsh. 1,100
 Unit-Recurrent Cost :	 <u>Tsh. 53,122</u>

Case 4: Mzizima Secondary School—(1993)

Enrolment : 760

Source of revenue:

Fees, fund-raising, parents, other contributions (or commitments) operating donation from The Aga-Khan Foundation.

Income from fees: Tsh. 25,225,000 (1993) (If allowed by government they could charge Tsh. 65,000 per student as fees)

Total Operating Income: 63,000,000

Total Recurrent Expend.: 7 0,200.00

Total Capital Expend: 2,400,000

Total Expenditure: 72,600,000

Emoluments to Administrative and Academic Staff consume 50,700,000

Every year the school offers scholarships to the needy pupils amounting to Tsh 500,000 (1993) (recipients of scholarship have to pass the qualifying test and be of deserving or unable to pay fees parents).

Units costs: Tsh 120,000

Source: Interview with Headmaster on 10th March, 1994.

Selection and Socio-Economic Inequalities

There is always an overlap of socio-economic inequalities with geographic ones. As it has been indicated elsewhere in this article, high quality non-state schools are concentrated in particular regions, towns, suburbs and communities. At the same time, it is usually the richer groups in society who can afford community self-help activities, and this tends to widen the gap. In some situations, non-state schools and other similar community-initiated projects have a mechanism of exploitation of the poor people by rich although it is the former who help to create these projects. This is much so in districts and villages where all community members are expected to contribute, but only a minority members are expected to contribute, and only a minority stands to benefit. These inequalities can be, and have been, enhanced by the selection mechanisms.

Since there are more applicants than the places available, there needs to be some selection mechanisms which chooses the pupils to be admitted and. Certainly the mechanism which can best do this is competition. If there is to be competition there will also have to be procedures, criteria and some body that applies these impartially.

Most of the non-state schools have something like an entrance examination with items constructed to test cognitive ability achievement on Mathematics, English and General knowledge. There are variations across schools. At St. Antony Secondary School, the selection is done after the PLSE results, and after selection into public schools. English and Mathematics items constitute the test, and pupils are selects according to their rank order. However, there are places 'reserved' for the Headmaster and the teachers' families. The same procedures are followed in the *district* schools, except that five places in each school are reserved for the *district* headquarters.

At Mzizima Secondary, the entrance tests is administered *before* the PLSE selection into public schools. The school puts up an advertisement and printed application forms in the *Daily News*, a daily English-medium newspaper, in August of each year. Two tests of one hour, each in English and Maths, are administered to the applicants in and around October of each year. Usually more than 1200 pupils apply, and only 240 are first pre-selected according to examination rank order.

After an interview has been administered to the 240, only the last group of 160 is selected for admission. A few are put on the waiting list because some of those selected sometimes choose to join public schools if later selected on state PSLE criteria.

Since entrance examinations/tests include English items, few rural background pupils and those from low socio-economic status are selected into high quality schools. Indeed the majority of pupils who join Mzizima, St. Antony and Al-Muntaziri come from the elite primary schools of Olympio, Bunge, Oysterbay, and Mlimani. These are the 'elite' primary schools of the rich, wealthy or professional parents' children, and since a bulk of pupils in these schools supplement classroom teaching with private tuition in English, their selection is always a formality.

An interview with the Headmaster of St. Antony indicated that the majority of pupils come from high class residential areas of Oysterbay, Upanga, Mikocheni, Mbezi Beach and Ubungo. Another survey of high ranking non-seminary private secondary schools by Sivalon (1993) shows that it is mainly the children of upper and middle class parents who are enrolled in Form V places in these schools (see Table 7).

Table 7: Occupation of Students Parents Enrolled in Form Five

Profession	No. Enrolled
Top 91/Managers	24
Mid-Level Prof/Managers /Civil Servants	40
Businessman	12
Low Level Civil Servants	11
Modern Farmers	6
Skilled Workers	4
Peasants	0
No. Responses	10
Total:	107

Source: Sivalon (1993:15)

Overall female enrolments have increased the opening up of non-state schools, and because most of them are co-education. However, girls' chances of access to non-state secondary education depend more than boys on the socio-economic development of the communities. The social division of labour fetters girls' efforts to concentrate on their studies. The day non-state schools do not yet provide conducive environment for study as girls have to spend a great deal of time on house chores (Sumra, 1991). Boarding schools for girls tend to even out differences resulting from socio-economic background of parents. However, boarding schools are very expensive and would involve high user charges, and therefore a boarding policy for girls would involve high subsidies.

Conclusions

This article has highlighted the following which are related to non-state secondary schools in Tanzania. Firstly, the main characteristic of non-state education is that it is dominated by the religious organisations, the Tanzania Parents Association and the village-ward development organisations. Almost all of these organisations are non-profit making, and the service they provide is highly subsidised given the costs of delivery. Secondly, the article discussed some issues in the financing and unit costs of non-state secondary schools. It was shown that the major sources of revenue are fees, contributions, fund-raising ceremonies and donations/grants. The fees are government regulated, and thus

below what the non-state would have liked to charge. Yet, they are the most reliable and consistent source of income. High quality non-state schools have unit-costs which are comparable to those in public schools, while those in low quality schools are low because of under-funding and inferior services provided.

Issues of inequities should be interpreted with care because the non-state sector tends to introduce inequities in the process of trying to achieve efficiency and sustainability. These inequities are both geographic and socio-economic. They are also gender related. There is a general lack of equalisation in non-state provision of education. This lack is pronounced in two areas: lack of equalisation in educational programmes manifested by differentiation between high quality religious, and urban schools, and low quality rural schools; and the lack of equalisation of effort required to provide the programmes in existence.

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