

# CURRICULAR POWER

Who influences the curriculum development in Tanzania?

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This study explores primary school curriculum development in Tanzania. Curriculum development is part of a wider socio-political discussion within a society, and has powerful implications in overall educational planning. Therefore, the actors and influences that have the power in curriculum development should be approached critically. With the help of the case study of Tanzania, national curriculum theorising is situated in a transnational and global discussion. Two predominant Western curriculum traditions, the Anglo-American curriculum and the European-Scandinavian *Bildung-Didaktik*, are used to test the theories of curriculum development in Tanzania. The aspects of curriculum politicisation and the decentralisation process in education are used to help to identify who holds curricular power in the national curriculum development process in Tanzania.

The study is based on a case study methodology as it aims to build a holistic picture of the Tanzanian curriculum development process and uses Tanzania as a specific case. The case study methodology draws on general qualitative research and the data is gathered and analysed with methods used in many qualitative research projects. The primary data was gathered during fieldwork in Tanzania. The primary data includes fifteen interviews that were conducted with stakeholders in Tanzanian curriculum development. Simultaneously, the study encompasses features from theoretical research, as it incorporates the curriculum theories into the analyses. The reason for this lies in the opportunity to analyse the questions of curricular power on a general level, and to distinct certain transnational features in Tanzanian curriculum planning.

The Tanzanian curriculum development process is currently marked by the lack of access to the curriculum document and the overall lack of knowledge about the curriculum development process. The curriculum is developed at a central level while there is a rising need to involve teachers and other local stakeholders in the development process. The findings of the research demonstrate that curriculum development in Tanzania is strongly influenced by international forces. The international influences guide the curriculum to follow transnational and global curriculum traditions that draw deeply on the Anglo-American curriculum. Simultaneously, due to strong post-independent self-reliance policies, a strong need for a national curriculum can be distinguished in Tanzanian curriculum theorising. This calls for strong local involvement in the curriculum in order to maintain a self-reliant Tanzania, in which education serves the nation and its population. With reference to the theoretical analysis, the findings demonstrate that traces from both of the two transnational curriculum traditions can be distinguished in the Tanzanian curriculum theorising.

The presence of these transnational features should not guide the interpretations of the Tanzanian curriculum development process towards a narrow global interpretation of curriculum development. Rather, the findings show that Tanzanian national curriculum development can be situated into a larger global discussion of curriculum, in order to identify the actors and forces that eventually are influential in curriculum theorising.

Keywords: education, curriculum, power, decentralisation, Tanzania

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on perehtyä Tansanian perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman suunnitteluun. Opetussuunnitelman suunnittelu on osa laajempaa sosiopoliittista keskustelua ja sillä on suuret vaikutukset yhteiskunnan opetusjärjestelmään. Tämän vuoksi opetussuunnitelman suunnitteluun vaikuttavien tahojen ja toimijoiden valtaa tulee lähestyä kriittisesti. Tansania tapaustutkimuksenaan, tämä tutkimus tarkastelee valtiollista opetussuunnitelmaa teoretisointia suhteessa ylikansalliseen ja globaaliin keskusteluun. Länsimaisessa opetussuunnitelmateoriassa vaikuttaa vahvasti kaksi opetussuunnitelmaa traditiota, angloamerikkalainen opetussuunnitelma ja eurooppa-skandinaavinen *Bildung-didaktik* traditio, joiden ilmenemistä ja vaikutteita tarkastellaan Tansanian opetussuunnitelman yhteydessä. Tansanian opetussuunnitelman suunnittelun valtaa pitävät tahot pyritään selvittämään opetussuunnitelman politisoinnin ja desentralisaatio prosessin avulla.

Tutkimus perustuu tapaustutkimuksen metodologiaan ja sen tavoitteena on muodostaa holistinen kuva Tansanian opetussuunnitelman suunnittelusta ja käyttää Tansaniaa tapaustutkimuksena. Tapaustutkimuksen metodologia perustuu laadullisen tutkimuksen pohjalle ja tutkimuksen aineisto on kerätty ja analysoitu laadullisen tutkimuksen metodien avulla. Aineisto kerättiin tutkimusmatkan aikana Tansaniasta. Tämä aineisto sisälsi viisitoista haastattelua eri sidosryhmän jäsenten kanssa. Samanaikaisesti tutkimus muodostuu osittain teoreettisen tutkimuksen muotoon, sillä aineistonanalyysi yhdistää Tansanian tapaustutkimuksen aineiston ja opetussuunnitelmateorian teoreettista kirjallisuutta. Tutkimustulokset mahdollistavat sekä yleisemmän opetussuunnitelman tarkastelun että Tansanian opetussuunnitelman suunnittelun tarkastelun suhteessa ylikansalliseen opetussuunnitelmateoriaan.

Tämän hetkistä Tansanian opetussuunnitelman suunnittelua hankaloittaa se, että opetussuunnitelma ei ole saatavilla. Lisäksi tietämys opetussuunnitelman suunnittelusta on vähäistä. Opetussuunnitelman suunnittelu on keskitettyä, vaikka tarve sisällyttää opettajat ja paikallisia sidosryhmiä suunnitteluprosessiin on vahva. Tulokset osoittavat, että Tansanian opetussuunnitelman suunnitteluun vaikuttaa kansainväliset virtaukset. Tansanian opetussuunnitelma seuraa ylikansallisia ja globaaleja malleja, jotka pohjautuvat angloamerikkalaiseen opetussuunnitelma traditioon. Samanaikaisesti itsenäistymisen jälkeen omaksutut *self-reliance* ohjelmat vaikuttavat yhä Tansanian koulutussuunnittelussa ja vaativat kansallista opetussuunnitelmaa. Tästä johtuen opetussuunnitelma suunnitteluun kaivataan myös vahvaa paikallista osaamista, joka mahdollistaa Tansanian omavaraisuuden koulutussuunnittelussa ja edesauttaa koko yhteiskunnan osaamista ja hyvinvointia.

Ylikansallisten virtausten näkymisen Tansanian opetussuunnitelman suunnittelussa ei tule johdattaa tulkintoja kohti kapeakatseista opetussuunnitelman suunnittelua. Sen sijaan tulokset osoittavat, että ylikansallisia piirteitä voidaan havaita myös Tansanian opetussuunnitelman suunnittelusta ja tätä tietoa voidaan hyödyntää, kun pyritään selvittämään mitkä tahot ja toimijat ovat oikeasti vallassa opetussuunnitelman teoretisoinnissa.

Avainsanat: koulutus, opetussuunnitelma, valta, desentralisaatio, Tansania

# Table of Content

<b>1</b>	<b>INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>3</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>CURRICULUM IN EDUCATION</b> .....	<b>5</b>
2.1	Defining curriculum .....	5
2.2	Curriculum theorising .....	7
2.2.1	Politicisation of curriculum .....	8
2.2.2	Anglo-American Curriculum and European-Scandinavian Bildung-Didaktik as intellectual systems .....	10
2.3	Educational politics of Tanzania .....	15
<b>3</b>	<b>DECENTRALISATION AND CURRICULAR POWER</b> .....	<b>21</b>
3.1	Forms of decentralisation .....	21
3.2	Decentralisation in education .....	23
3.3	Curricular power .....	27
3.4	The role of teachers .....	33
<b>4</b>	<b>METHODOLOGY</b> .....	<b>37</b>
4.1	Research questions.....	37
4.2	Methodological framework .....	38
4.3	Data collection.....	39
4.4	Analysis and writing process .....	43
4.5	Reliability and ethical concerns .....	45
<b>5</b>	<b>FINDINGS</b> .....	<b>47</b>
5.1	The definitions and significance of the curriculum.....	48
5.1.1	Definitions and views about the curriculum .....	48
5.1.2	The lack of access.....	50
5.1.3	The content of the curriculum .....	54
5.2	The process of curriculum development.....	59
5.2.1	The current curriculum development process .....	60
5.2.2	International influence in curriculum development .....	64
5.2.3	Thoughts about the future of curriculum development .....	66
5.3	Perceptions of centralisation and decentralisation .....	68
5.3.1	Attitudes towards decentralisation.....	69
5.3.2	The need for one national curriculum .....	71
<b>6</b>	<b>CONCLUSION</b> .....	<b>75</b>

7 BIBLIOGRAPHY ..... 78

Annex 1 ..... 83

Annex 2 ..... 84

# 1 INTRODUCTION

Questions of power are intriguing. Someone holds it, someone wants it, someone questions it, and someone stays blind to it. The power relations in educational theorising create a complex and many-folded discussion that involves many ‘someones’. To enter this discussion I have chosen to approach the questions of power through curriculum development in the context of Tanzania. This study elaborates on the influence of the transnational curriculum traditions and combines theories of curriculum theorising and theories of decentralisation in the socio-political context of Tanzania. Curriculum, when defined as the rationale of an educational system (see for example Kelly 2004, 4), encompasses many perspectives relevant to the questions of power in educational planning. The one, who holds power over the curriculum, has a strong position in the overall educational planning of the nation.

This is a case study research that aims to give a holistic understanding of the curriculum development in Tanzania by looking specifically at the influences that affect the power relations in educational decision-making with reference to curricular power. The aim is to elaborate on the actors that are influential in national curriculum development. In order to situate the Tanzanian case into a larger discussion of curriculum theorising, the research also draws on the curriculum theory of Tero Autio (2006, 2013) that introduces two predominant curriculum traditions in the Western world, the Anglo-American curriculum and the European-Scandinavian *Bildung-Didaktik*. Hence this research combines the data collected from the Tanzanian case study with a strong theoretical framework introducing two curriculum traditions in order to study how the Tanzanian primary school curriculum is developed and who influences it.

The curriculum traditions introduced by Autio are not commonly used to theorise on the curriculum developments in a particular country. Rather they serve as a historical overview of the curriculum theorising in the Western world. To take these traditions and to look at traces of their influence in an entirely different context should not be done hesitantly. However, as Autio (2013) also recognises, the Anglo-American curriculum can be seen as a mainstream model for education in the globalised world. This remark places also Tanzanian curriculum theorising under the investigation of how much global influence can be seen in the national curriculum development.

At the same time, the educational history of Tanzania with vibrant educational policies during the post-independence period still influences the national curriculum discussion in Tanzania today. This on the other hand opens an interesting space for theorising relating to the *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition. The *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition that sees education as a more general educational

theory of becoming human and emphasises transformation through education (Ibid, 4–5). The educational history of Tanzania combined with the global influences introduces a rich and interesting ground for this kind of theoretical investigation. When uncovering the national and transnational influences in the curriculum development this study aims to get hold of the actors and influences that are actually developing and maintaining certain features in the national curriculum. To do this, curriculum development is approached through the theories of decentralisation and the curricular power. Further on, the role of the teacher is examined to help us understand the complexity of the development in a national level.

This study is conducted with the data I gathered from Tanzania in May 2012. I travelled to Tanzania for five weeks and I want to extend my gratitude to the Nordic Africa Institute, the University of Tampere and the Tampere-Mwanza cooperation project for supporting my fieldwork.

## 2 CURRICULUM IN EDUCATION

According to Colin J. Marsh (2009, 19), engaging in curriculum theorising involves three activities: sensitivity towards new patterns in phenomena, identification of common issues and relating these issues to the context of education. With these aspects in mind this chapter introduces the theoretical framework of curriculum theory used in this study. The aim is to introduce the field of curriculum theorising with reference to the transnational curriculum theories that apply in the global world, mirroring their influence to the case of Tanzania. Two major curriculum practices and theories within the Western world, the Anglo-American Curriculum and the European-Scandinavian Bildung-Didaktik, will act as the basis of the theoretical framework. The reason for situating these two traditions at the centre of the theoretical framework arises from the acknowledgment that many curriculum theories worldwide have taken these two predominant traditions as their role models both in theoretical and organisational aspects of curriculum development (Autio 2013, 16). Even though the theories are developed within the Western world and include characteristics attached to their birthplaces in the American and German educational discourses, they serve as the basis for critical evaluation of the curriculum development in Tanzania. Before moving on to the theories themselves it is essential to start by conceptualising curriculum and locating the two theories within the larger context of curriculum theorising with reference to the politicisation of the curriculum development.

### 2.1 Defining curriculum

“Curriculum is a complicated conversation,” says William F. Pinar (2011) in the introduction to his book *The Character of Curriculum Studies*. By placing the conversation into the context of continuums such as student-teacher, local-global, national-transnational, political-economical, cultural-historical, individual-public and so on, it becomes evident that this conversation does not lack neither participants nor themes to be discussed. The etymology of curriculum is in the Latin word ‘currere’, which means running, and for example for Pinar (2011) this emphasises the recognition of an individual who is becoming something through education. However, the definition of curriculum can be addressed from various different viewpoints. Colin J. Marsh (2009, 5–9) introduces six definitions and some of the problems that are posed by each definition. The variety of definitions and critique towards the definitions demonstrate a certain hesitation to settle for one definition within the concept of curriculum, which affects the discourses attached to curriculum theorising and curriculum development.



The more general and practical curriculum definitions vary along the lines of total curriculum and hidden curriculum, planned and received curriculum, as well as informal and formal curriculum (Kelly 2004, 4–8). These definitions try to encompass the magnitude of varying definitions the term curriculum can be given within different contexts. For Kelly (2004, 4) the term curriculum means “the overall rationale for any educational programme”, but he emphasises the need to address curriculum as an educational curriculum in order to ensure that the content and planning of it is justifiable in educational terms (Kelly 2004, 3). One of the major threats in defining curriculum is a definition that reduces the meaning of a curriculum to only the syllabus. This kind of understanding of the curriculum limits the understanding of curriculum theorising into the subject content and can be very harmful to curriculum planning (Kelly 2004, 4).

While Pinar’s definition of curriculum as a complicated conversation encompasses something about the nature of curriculum, it leaves the definition very open for the purposes of this study. For that reason, curriculum has to be placed in the context of the teaching and learning experiences so that the significance and purpose of the curriculum can be addressed. From this perspective the curriculum can be seen to serve the purposes of the society, the purposes of the student or the purposes of acquiring knowledge (Marsh 2009, 27–28). In this study curriculum is understood as a combination of the above-mentioned definitions. The curriculum is seen as an educational curriculum guiding the overall educational program while serving certain purposes within the context of its development and implementation. However, this study also places the curriculum development in Tanzania into a global curriculum discourse, which means that the definition also acknowledges the curriculum as a “complicated conversation”.

The curriculum conceptualisation for the purposes of this study already indicates that one of the continuums approached in this study relates to the relationship between the local and global aspects of curriculum development and theorising. This kind of focus sets certain demands on the definition of the curriculum. On top of that, to avoid the risk of over simplification of the definition of curriculum it becomes necessary to approach the theorising and defining of curriculum from a philosophical point of view. This aspect of the curriculum definition will be elaborated on within the context of the two basic models of the Western curriculum theorising.

While curriculum can be defined according to the lines of various conversations, or according to various more practical guidelines, one of the most fundamental aspects of curriculum is its planning, and for that there needs to be some insight to what curriculum actually consists of. The most commonly acknowledged curriculum model is the Tyler rationale (1949), which defines curriculum to have four dimensions: objectives, content, methods and evaluation. These four dimensions still remain deeply rooted in educational thinking and the Tyler rationale is recognised

as the classic model of curriculum planning. According to Tyler (1949), the four dimensions can be addressed in curriculum planning by asking four principle questions relating to the planning of curriculum. Tyler's rationale can still be seen at the heart of the Anglo-American Curriculum tradition (Autio 2013).

The Tyler rationale introduces a straightforward model and introduces a starting point for curriculum planning. However, this sort of four-step model also has many disadvantages, which for example Marsh (2009, 31) has pointed out. To mirror this four-step model to the idea of curriculum as a complicated conversation that is placed in the wider context of intellectual system, the Tyler model, soon seems over simplistic to reach the variety of tasks that curriculum planning actually consists of. Simultaneously, definitions that understand curriculum as a vehicle for ideological or political hegemony, given for example by Michael W. Apple (1990), remark on this kind of a model to lack the understanding of the complexity of the issue of curriculum planning. Next, this complexity will be addressed by focusing on curriculum theorising.

## **2.2 Curriculum theorising**

While the end product of curriculum development is the curriculum itself, according to many theorists (for example Pinar 2011, Giroux 1990 and Autio 2013) engaged in curriculum development, the focus should be shifted towards the process in which the theory itself is being developed, in other words, to curriculum theorising (Marsh 2009, 249). As stated previously curriculum theorising involves three activities: sensitivity towards new patterns in phenomena, identification of common issues and relating these issues to the context of education, that draw attention to the phenomenon that can be seen to appear in educational development transnationally but should always be theorised within the context (ibid, 19). In other words, curriculum theorising focuses on the ways in which curriculum is being formulated in the transnational curriculum discourses.

Marsh (2009, 249–259) summarises the developments in curriculum theorising by introducing the main approaches to curriculum theorising. These include for example the reconceptualist approach, as well as phenomenological and racial theorising. According to Marsh, new approaches appear in the literature all the time but the priority should be in the dialogue between these theories and theorists (ibid). It is neither necessary nor possible to go over the variety of approaches to curriculum theorising, but for the purpose of this study, it is essential to introduce some theoretical thoughts that are beneficial in understanding curriculum development in the

context of this study. These approaches all share one common aspect, which is the political nature of the curriculum. Curriculum is often recognised as a strongly political educational discourse (Apple 1990, Kelly 2004). The politicisation of curriculum has opened up the curriculum theorising to a larger socio-political level, in which the “complicated conversation” can be viewed as a strongly political one, which will be discussed next.

### **2.2.1 Politicisation of curriculum**

After acknowledging the aspects relating to theorising of the curriculum introduced above, it becomes obvious that curriculum is neither theorised nor developed in a vacuum. Each curriculum and each curriculum model always reflects a different educational ideology (Kelly 2004, 16). This ideological aspect of curriculum becomes fundamental when theorising how a curriculum is developed within a certain society. The relationships between powers invested in curriculum development will be discussed in more depth in chapter 3 from the point of view of curricular power and with reference to different actors working within the society. Here, the focus is on the ways in which curriculum can be defined as a political force within the educational system and the whole of society. This political force can further on be identified on a transnational level as well.

Education, as Apple (1990) argues, is not a neutral enterprise, but part of a political sphere as the social institution it is. Hence, the ideological forces that are maintained, reproduced and reinforced by the educational system should be under critical evaluation. With reference to curriculum Apple (1990, 6–7) turns to the question of “legitimate knowledge”, and the ways to uncover what is thought to be legitimate knowledge to be made available or not available to the students. Apple proposes questions such as “Whose knowledge it is? Who selected it? Why is it organised and taught this way?” (Apple 1990, 7) to uncover the economic and political linkages the curriculum can have.

These questions are at the centre of this study as well. Not only are the political forces within the educational system as such interesting, but also the question of “legitimate knowledge” can be addressed from a postcolonial aspect (Shizha 2005, 66). In this context the question of legitimate knowledge is often approached through multiple aspects because of the colonial history and the historical developments thereafter. To add on top of that the views of neo-colonialism and globalisation, the question of legitimate knowledge offers a playground for many actors to claim the power to define “legitimacy”. These aspects will be discussed further on.

The questions of politicisation should not only be addressed through administrative or governmental point of views, but the whole of educational system should be taken into

consideration. Apple (1990, 43) for example, emphasises that schools are not passive images of the hegemonic economic and cultural powers distributed by the institution, but also an active force, which participates in the processes. Therefore, it is necessary that they be placed under previously mentioned kinds of questioning in order to uncover the actions involved in the educational sector.

Similar thoughts can be found from the writings of Thomas S. Popkewitz (2009), who approaches curriculum as the study of 'systems of reason'. According to Popkewitz, systems of reason that are built on historically and culturally produced rules and standards can be recognised behind curriculum. These standards guide the understandings that are intact in education (ibid, 303). The core of Popkewitz's curriculum theory lies in the politics of schooling, which he recognises in the curriculum planning as a force that has the power to differentiate and divide. The systems of reason can be seen to create categories through rules and standards that open the space for making distinctions of what is possible and what not. According to Popkewitz (2009, 304) "the rules and standards of the 'reason' of schooling partition what is sensible to hope for, reflect on, and do", which shows how the whole system of education in a specific historical and cultural context is being created according to the notion of political domination.

The historical aspect of curriculum theory opens up the discussion to the major political changes that are influential in the modern curriculum developments, of which neoliberalism is one of the most fundamental. According to Popkewitz (2009, 314), historicising of reason brings up the misguided assumptions of the problems of the educational reforms, which claim that neoliberalism has brought up the focus in economics, and has therefore created problems. However, economics is not an isolated part of the society or schooling, and should not be singled out as the sole outcome of neoliberal thinking. Rather economics is entangled with the cultural rules and practices of working, all of which are affecting the educational reforms of today.

Henry A. Giroux (1990 and 2003) approaches the theorising of curriculum as a form of cultural politics. In his earlier works Giroux criticises the critical theorists of simplifying the knowledge and power structures in education and schooling, by arguing for a critical theory based on the textual authority that is present in the education discourse (Giroux 1990). He argues that:

"Dominant approaches to curriculum and teaching employing textual authority are forms of social and political discourse that bear significantly on the ways knowledge and classroom social practices are constructed in the interest of relations of domination and oppression." (Giroux 1990, 370).

For Giroux (1990, 370), teaching is part of a larger curriculum project that is involved in the construction of political subjects and also takes part in forming schools as democratic public

spheres. This viewpoint also emphasises the role of teachers in critically evaluating, questioning and reformulating the political discussion. This aspect of curricular power will be discussed later on. Giroux (2003) has also pointed out the influence of corporate culture on the educational sector brought on by the neo-liberal thinking. He claims that theories of resistance should be mobilised to ensure democratic public life and the pedagogical curriculum build on top of that. For a large part, these views emphasise the negative implications of the politicisation of the curriculum.

However, curriculum can also be viewed as a tool for hegemonic power without attracting so many negative connotations since they can be seen as expressions of national identities. According to William A. Reid (2000), national curriculums are not comparable to each other because they are cultural artefacts. Curriculum defined as a cultural artefact means that curriculum is designed and implemented in a way that the content and the patterns of the curriculum are linked to national identity and national aspiration. (Reid 2000, 121–122). Curriculum can therefore be seen as a tool for creating as well as maintaining national identity. This kind of national ethos, and the role of nation-state as ‘objective structure’ of education, can also be seen at the centre of the *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition (Autio 2013, 26). Hence, the role of curriculum as a nationally formed moral framework for educating for humanity sheds a different light to the politicisation of curriculum.

This sort of understanding of the curriculum counterbalances the strong negative connotations related to the politicisation of curriculum introduced by critical theorists such as Apple, Giroux and Popkewitz. While the politicisation of curriculum can be identified as a force of national identity building, it should still be continued to be critically evaluated. However, it remains essential to remember that when curriculum is viewed as an expression of a national identity, the curriculum should always be addressed and theorised according to the specific context in which it is developed and implemented. Further on, the national theorising of curriculum should not ignore the curriculum theorising happening on a transnational level, but rather the questions related to curriculum planning present on a national level should also be addressed in transnational discourses.

### **2.2.2 Anglo-American Curriculum and European-Scandinavian *Bildung-Didaktik* as intellectual systems**

According to Autio (2013), the Anglo-American Curriculum and the European-Scandinavian *Bildung-Didaktik* can be recognised as the two major curriculum theories and practices of the educational world. These two intellectual systems were created and further developed in different

circumstances and they aim to achieve different outcomes (Westbury 2000). According to Westbury (2000, 16), both traditions try to answer the same questions related to education, but they pose the questions differently and look for answers differently. These questions include aspects of goals, content and evaluation related to teaching and learning (ibid).

While the Anglo-American system concentrates on building an organisational educational system, where the teachers are implementers of a normative curriculum that includes guidelines for the aims, content and methods of teaching to be applied in education, the Bildung-Didaktik curriculum is more flexible and concentrates on embedding certain traditions to the curriculum planning rather than authoritatively organising the curriculum. Moreover, most of the authority in the latter lies within the teacher who is the main organiser of the teaching according to the traditions of Didaktik, while in the Anglo-American system the authority lies within the curriculum program directed by a larger agency (Westbury 2000, 17). However, with reference to Westbury's claim of the differences of these curriculum traditions, Autio (2006) points out that while differences can be highlighted from the intellectual systems, they both still derive from the same universal principles. This aspect can be defended through their common interest in creating an educational culture that eliminates difference and individuality, and is based on universal principles of moral and science. (Autio 2006, 6.) Hence, the relationship between the individual and the society stands at the centre of the curriculum theories.

This brings into discussion the philosophy of education and the ontological and epistemological presumptions from which the two traditions are drawn upon. Since education aims to shape the subject within a society, the curriculum planning traditions have to be approached from the philosophical point of view. Autio (2006) approaches this through Kant's theory of education that emphasises the moral and intellectual complexities of curriculum discourse. The dualism embodied in education derives from the notions of humanity relating to the concepts of moral and rationality. The dualism becomes evident when concerning the freedom of the subject both at the individual and societal level of education and how education is seen to affect this freedom (Autio 2006, 100–103). The two curriculum theories can also be seen to grow out of this dualism especially through their methodological choices. The German Bildung-Didaktik tradition took over the hermeneutics as the methodological approach to education; while the Anglo-American Curriculum was built on the more empirically orientated educational thinking, which grew on social sciences and psychology. (Autio 2006.)

Along the lines of Kant's theory of education, Autio (2013, 7) recognises freedom and rationality as the decisive concepts in curriculum development. These two concepts are also influenced by the global shifts in the educational thinking and are therefore reformulating the

curriculum traditions in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The choices relating to the concept of rationality differ historically between the two traditions. The Bildung-Didaktik tradition was built on the notion of a universalised nation-state where democratic values were spread through the educational system while the Anglo-American curriculum chose psychology and individualisation through instrumental rationality as the centre of the curriculum tradition.

Further on, the Anglo-American educational tradition followed the Cartesian curriculum paradigm, which combines the behavioural aspects of learning based on the moral aspect of education with the knowledge aimed to be achieved by the content offered by education (Autio 2006, 108–110). This was further developed by the Tyler rationale, which is seen as the fundamental icon in the American curriculum thinking (Westbury 2000, 19). The Tyler rationale as already discussed previously worked as a framework for curriculum development taking into account the Western rationality in the industrial society (Autio 2006, 110).

The rationality of Bildung, on the other hand, can be understood through three steps of the socialisation process. The first step refers to the socialisation of an individual to the culture through school and the curriculum. The second step refers to the transcending of the official education and curriculum by individualisation through one's own studies and activities. The ideal aim, and the third step, of Bildung is individual competence to participate in the social life by transforming one's self by continuous studies. (Autio 2013, 4.) Hence, the process of building human is closely related to the notion of the nation-state and the socialisation process.

Further on, the classical definition of Bildung can be seen to maintain four basic dimensions: moral, cognitive, aesthetic and practical, which form the basic structure of any curriculum (Autio 2013, 4–5). These dimensions arise from the classical theorists of Bildung, who were trying to determine how these concepts could coexist in the educational thinking while taking into account the comprehensive “Bildung of humanity”. Fundamentally, the moral dimension, the capability for moral action, was recognised to be at the centre of Bildung. (Klafki 2000, 96.) Hence, the educational philosophy for Bildung-Didaktik sidelined the other dimensions to instrumental rationality, and simultaneously pointed out, with choosing the moral dimension to be at the centre of the rationality, that education is inherently something that cannot be measured by tests (Autio 2013, 5).

Examining the international curriculum shifts, Autio (2013, 12) highlights the importance of the aspect of freedom in education. The conceptualisation of freedom can be seen to affect education in a magnitude of ways, since the consequences of it extend to the role different agents play in the educational system from teachers at the school level, to the curriculum design at the educational policy level. In the Bildung-Didaktik tradition the socialisation of an individual through

education is the aim of education. For the process of individuation this means that the individual freedom is affected by internal and external powers of the society, but it is never completely determined by them (Ibid). The concept of freedom stays at the very heart of curriculum theorising through two aspects, the philosophy of education and the ideological attachments of education.

In the contemporary educational thinking, based greatly on the Anglo-American curriculum tradition, the concept of freedom is influenced by the liberal political theory, which follows the lines of Galileo Galilei and Thomas Hobbes. In this conceptualisation human freedom is related to the concept of free motion. This is also the basis for the neoliberal capitalist system in which “individual freedom is liberated from any external constraints whatsoever” (Autio 2013, 13). The neoliberal shifts in global policy thinking meant that this kind of conceptualisation of freedom in the economical sphere soon became the priority in the political arena, which affected all sections of society including the educational sector. The effects of the neoliberal policies to the educational sector are many-folded including aspects of privatisation of the educational system and accountability and standardisation of the curriculum (Autio 2013).

The effects of postmodern thinking on curriculum development with reference to the concept of individual freedom within a society are worth noting. While the curriculum theorising was previously linked to the nation-state, the situation within the postmodern world has shifted. According to Autio (2013) this has especially had an effect in the Didaktik tradition:

“Nation state policy is subordinated to claim of a global economy, the result being the adaptation of corporate logic ad the operational philosophy and policy of nation building. In this rhetoric, education worldwide under the reifying and colonising effect of the (educational) market is converging towards a standardised performativity culture where there is decreasing space for the humanist or national values promoted by the Didaktik tradition.” (Autio 2013, 27.)

The relationship between an individual and the society is one the cornerstones of education. The psychological and sociological approaches to this relationship have altered throughout history. One of the most recent developments affecting this relationship is the process of globalisation (Autio 2013, 29). The fading of the territorially confined nation-state meant that the social and educational research and theorising had to be built on top of something else. Similarly, the educational system, which was previously maintained to structure the relationship between the individual and the society, had to be formed into a system that could exceed state boundaries, and take into account the multifaceted relationship with various new influences. (Autio 2013, 30).

The effects of globalisation on educational planning should not be underestimated. The contemporary nation-state does not encompass the same kind of control over the citizens but similarly it does not provide the same opportunities for its citizens. Hence, the traditional



educational systems and models that have guided individuals towards the socialisation process of becoming citizens of the nation state do not apply any longer. An individual is no longer only (or at all) a citizen of the nation but also has other concerns and responsibilities towards the global citizenship (Autio 2013, 31).

“Globalisation is undermining the project of modernity by dis-embedding of the political project of the state from the cultural project of nationhood. The most striking feature of these new discourses is the contested nature of national belonging. National culture has lost its integrative function and the nation has been deconstructed in contemporary public discourse. As a result the nation code is opened to new interpretations arising from global cultural opportunities.” (Autio 2013, 31.)

These new conceptualisations of a nation-state force us to re-evaluate the curriculum as a project to build national identity through national ethos, and question the possibility of the curriculum or educational thinking to reflect and reinforce national belonging.

Due to all of the political and ideological changes brought along by global educational discourses, a need to rearrange the theoretical thinking has risen. The post-approaches to curriculum theorising help to identify the fragmented situation in the educational field (Autio 2013, 30), where the concepts of freedom and rationality have to be reconceptualised in order for them to encompass the contemporary educational thinking. The postmodernist approaches aim to contest the fixed interpretations in the society of for example the ways in which reality or knowledge are constructed. Postcolonialism is one of these approaches specifically targeting the colonial power structures (Marsh 2009, 272–276). This postcolonial theorising allows the questioning of the imperial power maintained through political, economic and social constructions. Also the Reconceptualist approach (see Pinar), which aimed to create a paradigm shift in the educational as well as social theorising, is introduced among the other post-approaches.

The differences in methodological interpretations and models of curriculum planning of these two transnational policies are an example of how to create and sustain ideological differences within the curriculum theorising. The question of curriculum theorising becomes even more interesting considering that the juxtaposition between the two curriculum theory traditions has become one of the major issues in contemporary educational thinking. At the same time, the Anglo-American curriculum is recognised as the mainstream model for education and curriculum in the globalised world (Autio 2013, 15). Hence, the educational sector is influenced by strong forces of accountability, privatisation and standardisation. However, there arises a need to reassess the educational thinking in order to tackle the contemporary needs of education. Through international

comparisons and the school export ideology, many countries following the more Bildung-Didaktik based curriculum tradition have attracted attention (Ibid).

The two intellectual curriculum planning traditions discussed above were developed culturally from very different starting points, which take into account the history, traditions, habits and aspirations of the nation in which it was developed (Westbury 2000, 37). However, being the two predominant curriculum traditions in the Western world, they and their modern versions stand at the core of curriculum planning in the globalised world. In situations where these two curriculum theories both try to “win” the mainstream curriculum theorising, the situation becomes even more complex. One of these situations can be found in Tanzania, where the curriculum theorising is placed in a postcolonial context, where the economic, social and political questions are addressed from a developmental point of view with traces of the two predominant curriculum traditions still recognisable. For that reason their implications into the curriculum planning transnationally have to be discussed critically, which can be done after introducing the case study of Tanzania.

### **2.3 Educational politics of Tanzania**

The previous chapters have introduced general remarks related to the politicisation of the educational sector as well as the curriculum in educational thinking. Combining these aspects with the context of Tanzania, we are offered an intriguing combination of different forms of politicisation within educational policy making and curriculum development. While the national curriculum theories and designs worldwide have their national stamp on the curriculum with specific references to the national context, many of the theoretical and organisational ideas come from the two curriculum traditions discussed above (Autio 2013, 16). A glance at the educational developments in Tanzania, since the independence, will show the strong politicisation of the Tanzanian educational sector through socialism and policies of self-reliance, thus introducing a strong ideological politicisation of the educational sector in the past with certain features that can be traced back to the Anglo-American curriculum and Bildung-Didaktik traditions. These interpretations of the curriculum theorising in Tanzania will be further discussed in the findings of the research.

The importance of embedding the educational discussion and curriculum planning into the cultural and historical context is highlighted everywhere. Hence, the context of Tanzania has to be opened up a little before turning into the curriculum theorising within this specific context. Before the German colonisation of East Africa in the 1880s, Tanzania and especially Zanzibar, was an

important trade centre for the Arab world in East Africa. Slave trade and tribal warfare affected the conditions in Tanzania before it became the German protectorate in the 1880s (Hundsörfer 1982, 1). Before German colonial rule the educational system of Tanzania was influenced by two forces: the traditional informal education and the Arab education. The Arab influence on educational thinking affected especially the education for girls, since from the Arab perspective girls' education was not seen as a priority (Siwale & Sefu 1977, 6–7).

The German occupation of East Africa is often characterised by the many rebellions taking place under their rule. However, the situation in Tanzania remained calm, and the Germans tried to prepare Tanzania for colonial development. These developments were disturbed by World War I, which destroyed all the newly constructed railways for example (Hundsörfer 1982, 2). The educational system under German rule was influenced strongly by missionaries and the purpose of education was seen in educating local people for administrative roles. Schooling was further developed by the introduction of government schools, which brought a lot of developments within the educational sector. These achievements were also disrupted by the war (Siwale & Sefu 1977, 9–10). Tanzanian educational development during the colonial time can, in general, be viewed as many attempts to build something all of which were cut short. The next attempt was always managed by another power or different actors, which meant that the aims of the educational developments were also shifted.

Tanzania was under British mandate from 1919 until independence in 1962. During this period two British missions were sent to observe and evaluate the educational system of East-Africa, which resulted in some changes. However, the expansion of schooling was slow and the Second World War disrupted the developments again. After the war Tanzania became a UN Trusteeship, which meant that the demand to build strong and free schools was reinforced internationally. Hence, the emphasis was put on education and the Ten Year Plan came effective in 1947, which was the first official plan to develop the educational system of Tanzania. Changes in the curriculum and in the organisation of the educational system that occurred during this period included the introduction of Kiswahili as the language of instruction for Standard I-IV (grades 1–4), and the organisation of the system into 4:4:4, which then included four years of primary school. (Siwale & Sefu 1977, 12–13.) These concrete changes show signs of outside influence to the curriculum development, which directed the curriculum development in a profound way.

Since independence the Tanzanian educational system was organised according to the Self-Reliance policy and the following Five-Year plans until the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1977. The current Tanzanian primary school curriculum is still strongly affected by the Self-Reliance policies introduced by President Julius Nyerere, who can be identified

as the most influential individual in the formulation of Tanzanian educational practices since independence. After becoming the president of the United Republic of Tanzania in 1962, he soon formulated his own vision for socialist and self-reliant Tanzania. The “Arusha Declaration” (1967/1) of 1967 formulated the broad national goals for the Socialist Democratic Republican government. The Arusha Declaration initially introduced the strong ideological change in the Tanzanian society and the question of education was addressed separately a few months later by the Education for Self-Reliance paper (1967/2). According to Okoko (1987, 42), the Self-Reliance policy can be seen as the most significant document that tries to introduce how the educational system can be mobilised to achieve the socialist objectives and goals within the Tanzanian society. These developments in the educational sector also demonstrate strong politicisation of the educational planning.

For Julius Nyerere, who was educated in Great Britain and worked as a teacher, education was one form of socio-political power. The importance of education becomes evident through the Education for Self-Reliance paper, in which Nyerere looks at the Tanzanian educational system under colonial powers and introduces objectives for the future of education. Nyerere critically observes the inheritance of the colonial educational system and writes:

“This meant that colonial education induced attitudes of human inequality, and in practice underpinned the domination of the weak by the strong, especially in the economic field. Colonial education in this country was therefore not transmitting the values and knowledge of Tanzanian society from one generation to the next: it was a deliberate attempt to change those values and to replace traditional knowledge by the knowledge from a different society. “(Nyerere 1967/2, 3).

For Nyerere, the inherited system of education was neither equal nor appropriate for independent Tanzania. The paper introduces three steps for more adequate education: the abolishment of racial discrimination, the expansion of facilities for education, and the localised curriculum content (Ibid, 4–5). These changes in mind Nyerere aimed to create a Tanzanian educational system.

According to Hinzen (1982, 5), the educational vision crafted by President Nyerere through Self-reliance policies included two aspects. Firstly, the Self-Reliance policies emphasised the development of the society through the accumulation of wisdom and knowledge. This aspect highlights the importance of societal development and the function of the educational system to serve the purposes of the country. Here the emphasis is put on the understanding of education as a force for nation building, which relates to the politicisation of curriculum.

Secondly, the educational vision of Nyerere included an aspect of self-reliance and liberation for an individual as a human being. This included the idea of education being a life long

process that would continue throughout a human life, which would benefit both the individual as well as the society (Hinzen 1982, 5). This latter aspect of education can be seen to include aspects of the *Bildung* tradition of educational thinking, following the three steps identified in the *Bildung* vision of education (Autio 2013, 4). Overall the self-reliance policy aimed to develop a national curriculum that would be free from the chains of the colonial masters. This aspect national freedom is an interesting part of curriculum development with reference to postcolonial politicisation and in the contemporary reading it also introduces an opposite to the globalised world.

The elitist educational system that was maintained under the British colonial rule did not meet the needs of the emerging socialist country, which meant that changes were inherently coming. These changes in the Tanzanian educational thinking demonstrate how education was used as a means of political socialisation. The colonial past of the country meant that the social and cultural subordination and submission by the colonial powers were the key forces thriving for educational developments (Okoko 1987, 44). According to Okoko, the educational policy of post-independent Tanzania

“Is based on the assumption that undesirable social attitudes are a consequence of particular characteristic of Western schooling and that more appropriate disposition can be achieved by means of the restructuring of school experience” (Okoko 1987, 44–45).

Education was recognised as a key component in the society to affect the way how people experience and interpret social life, which is based on the assumption that schools can work as instruments for the formation of social values, and the future political behaviour of their citizens (Okoko 1987, 45). This emphasises education’s role in the process of nation building and socialisation.

The changes introduced by the Self-Reliance policies also included the re-evaluation of the school curriculum. The main purpose of the curriculum changes was to eliminate any traces of colonial rule from the school curriculum. The changes included for example the more intensive use of Kiswahili and the localisation of syllabus content. The aim of these changes was seen in the nationalisation of the educational system of Tanzania as a whole. (Okoko 1987, 62.) The attempts to nationalise the curriculum and use the educational system as a form of socialisation as well as to emphasise the role of the teacher in the educational thinking, can be seen to have some traces of the *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition. However, the outcomes of these changes in the educational system were not as comprehensive as hoped for and the ‘instrumental view of education’ remained in the core of Tanzanian educational thinking (Okoko 1987, 64). This perspective on the educational system

obviously draws on the Anglo-American curriculum tradition where the curriculum is seen as hugely instrumental.

The self-sustaining economic and political control did not continue for long for many of the newly independent African countries, since the economic crisis hit the developing world in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This meant that international assistance to many developing countries became necessary to maintain even the basic functions of the nation. This was the case also with Tanzania, which accepted assistance through structural adjustment programs from the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). According to Lene Buchert (1997, 10), increased economic dependency came alongside with increased political dependency. The conditionalities attached to this economic dependency reached throughout the social sector developments, including education. Outside influence to the national policy making had a second coming through the international agencies and NGOs that have also played a huge role in educational developments since independence (ibid, 11).

The rich educational history of Tanzania was further affected by the international shifts in the policy thinking that reached the developing world through the economic dependency starting from the early 1980s. According to Bucher (1997, 35), there is a huge contrast between the years of 1967-1990s, which started by the formation of the socialist state that emphasised the public responsibility to education, and ended with the market economy driven politics that blend into the educational thinking of both private and public initiatives. The huge contrast appeared specifically because the years before the debt crisis, that created the strong dependency to the Western world in Tanzania, were used to create a system that would be as independent as possible.

The policies of educational planning since independence make the history of the Tanzanian educational system intriguing. To highlight this statement, it must be remarked that Tanzania came very close to achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE) in the early 1980s. However, the various changes in the socio-economic climate meant that by the end of 20th century less than 60 per cent of school-aged children were actually in schools (Wegwood 2007). The situation has improved since then and in 2004 the Net Enrolment ratio was close to 90 % (UNESCO 2010/11). The statistics from the 1980s would argue that the Self-reliance policy and the hope for an independent educational system were beneficial for the education of the people. Of course other reasons such as the access to schooling can be used to explain the high enrolment ratios.

Since 1963 curriculum development in Tanzania has been the responsibility of the Tanzanian Institute of Education (TIE), which is a semi-autonomous institute under the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC). The MOEC has power to decide in which direction the curriculum development should proceed. The development process includes testing of the new primary school

curriculum in a few primary schools. The TIE will monitor this testing period and the curriculum will be revised if necessary before sending it to other primary schools. (MOEC 2001, 15.) TIE has four departments, one of which is called curriculum design and development. The latest reform by TIE included the division of the subject 'general studies' into three subjects, civics, geography and history, and the introduction of new subjects ICT and French. The curriculum currently consists of 12 subjects and is defined as competence based curriculum compared to content based. (UNESCO 2010/11.)

From the 1980s onwards, the global shifts in the educational thinking and curriculum theorising can be recognised in the Tanzanian educational policy making. Ever since the strong economic and political influence from the international agencies, Tanzania has merged into being part of the transnational educational thinking. This does not mean that the contextual characteristics of Tanzanian history should be overshadowed by the transnational shifts in the educational policy making, but rather that the global influence should not be underestimated.

Traces of the two curriculum traditions can be identified from the short recap of the Tanzanian educational history given above. The influence of the Anglo-American curriculum tradition comes evident the latest after the 1980s and the strong neoliberal push from the Western world. Before that, the German colonial history and the need for national-identity building introduced by the Self-Reliance policies especially with the focus on the role of the teacher, could be seen as characteristics of the *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition. However, this is only one interpretation of the complex situation of curriculum development, and further theorising is needed in order to identify features from the curriculum traditions in the Tanzanian context, and to shed light on the reasons for this.

### **3 DECENTRALISATION AND CURRICULAR POWER**

Politicisation of the curriculum discussion means that it becomes necessary to take a look at who actually has power to influence the process of curriculum development. Since the actors who are influential are also the ones who decide what sort of ideological aspects are included in the curriculum, their predominant role in the educational development cannot be bypassed. From the previous discussion relating to the politicisation of the curriculum it becomes clear that the forces influential in curriculum planning include many different actors. The predominant role of the teacher in educational decision-making becomes questionable when other actors are taken into account. These other actors include at least decision-makers, stakeholders and other influences (Marsh 2009. 205). All of these actors can be recognised in the educational decision-making and their role in the curriculum development process has to be elaborated on to understand where the curricular power in the society actually rests upon.

Curriculum development is naturally a part of a wider policy-making apparatus, which means that educational initiatives are often part of a larger political and socio-economic environment. This becomes clear with the concept of decentralization of power. In Tanzania the relationship between national and regional agents in educational planning has been undergoing changes ever since the 1980s without the regional agents being able to come to the centre of the decision-making process (Therkildsen 2000). Decentralisation is, however, recognised as a beneficial step in the overall development process of many countries. This relates to many global development discourses, including aspects of neoliberal economics and democratisation through good governance.

Decentralisation has many definitions depending on how the concept is approached but the key to the definitions lies in the understanding of where the power within the society is being placed (see for example Pellini 2007, Rondinelli 1999, Govinda 1997, Bray 2007). The question of where the power lies in curriculum development is in this study approached through the process of decentralisation. The chapter introduces forms of decentralisation with specific focus on educational decentralisation before turning to the discussion on curricular power. The predominant role of the teacher will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

#### **3.1 Forms of decentralisation**

Centralisation and decentralisation among other terms have become buzzwords in the development discourse. At first glance they can be seen as opposites, but rather than seeing them as absolute



binaries in a long scale of where the decision-making power is placed in a specific system, they are processes that evolve and are not very often static situations (Bray 2007, 175). This means that the level of decentralisation within a society can differ over time. Also different sectors of the society can be decentralised while others can stay centralised. This is also the case with Tanzania, as will become explicit later on (Buchert 1997).

For the purpose of this study a few perspectives on the forms of decentralisation will be introduced. According to Rondinelli (1999), decentralisation can be divided into four types of decentralisation: political, administrative, fiscal and market. Further on, administrative decentralisation, which is the type of decentralisation most commonly relating to questions of governance, is divided into deconcentration, delegation and devolution (Cheema and Rondinelli 2007). Deconcentration is the weakest form of decentralisation that shifts responsibility from the central government to local officials in regions and districts. If decision-making power is actually shifted into other organisations while still keeping them accountable to the central government, the process is called delegation. Finally, devolution is the process by which the central government transfers authority to local governments, which then become legally responsible for the way their municipality is being governed. (Rondinelli 1999, 2–3.)

Some authors have approached the concept of decentralisation by looking at why decentralisation is taking place. According to Turner and Hulme (1997), decentralisation can be either territorial or functional. Territorial decentralisation occurs when the basis of decentralisation is in the need to bring the authority closer to the citizens geographically. By functional decentralisation they refer to the location of the authority into a functionally specialised agency within the society (Pellini 2007, 32). Both of these aspects rest on the idea of giving power to more specialised organisations within society, which highlights the potential in their localised and professional knowledge.

The process of decentralisation in Africa is attached to a larger discourse of the development process. Historically, the introduction of decentralisation into development discourse is quite complicated. From the 1980s onwards the policies pursued by the WB and the IMF concentrating on the market orientated world view through the Structural Adjustment Programs and the introduction of privatisation had huge effects on the role of the state and the way how the society would be governed in the future (Pellini 2007, Kamat 2002). The push towards decentralisation can be identified as a side effect brought in by the need for economic changes towards a more neoliberal market orientated governance.

The apprehension of good governance pursued the administrative decentralisation from a one-party political system into multi-party democracies was the first steps into decentralisation in

the developing process (Pellini 2007, 24). Over time, decentralisation was attached to many conditionalities pointed out by the donors' and finally the call for democratic participation as a means to achieve sustainable development was related to the process of decentralisation. (Pellini 2007, 25–29.) This focus on decentralisation from development agencies, donors and international organisations meant that in order to succeed in the development process decentralisation had to become part of the new order of governance. Whether decentralisation can be viewed as such a positive development force or whether it should be more critically evaluated as another form of international influence will be discussed later on especially with reference to curricular power.

### **3.2 Decentralisation in education**

Decentralisation in the educational sector has become somewhat of a trend in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, while nations globally have started to locate the decision-making power in educational thinking to different levels of the state. This has resulted in a situation of “governance revolution” occurring in the educational system (Baker & LeTendre 2005). The management and administration of education happens on many levels, and curricular power is one of the aspects to be considered in this revolution of the ‘governance of education’. Certain benefits from the decentralisation have become recognised transnationally, which maintains the need to decentralise the system. However, the reality to what decentralisation in operation actually comes down to is often far from the envisaged aspirations (Baker & LeTendre 2005, 135). Let us first turn into some general remarks of educational decentralisation before turning our focus to the curricular control.

The process of decentralisation in the educational sector has interested many authors. Fiske (1996, 5) points out that education is inherently political, which means that the questions of educational decision-making power are never without any effects within a society. The school system can be viewed as the embodiment of national values, a source of political power, a vehicle for exercising this power, as well as a political weapon, which interest other groups of society seeking to hold power within society (Fiske, 1996, 5). Taking these aspects into account it becomes obvious that the question of who holds power in the educational sector should not be dismissed.

Moreover, Bray (2007, 177) mentions the motives of decentralisation in education and distinguishes both political and administrative motives. Politically the motive of decentralisation can be seen as an attempt to spread the decision-making power to other groups instead of just having centralised power. When decentralisation is done because of administrative motives the aim is usually to assist the work of bureaucracies, where the attempt is to affect the efficiency of the

system (ibid). Depending on the standpoint, the efficiency argument can be advocated from the point of view of both centralisation and decentralisation. For the argument to work on behalf of decentralisation, the focus is usually put on the benefits of local knowledge and the possibilities of sub-national units to cater the needs of the people better.

Decentralisation essentially deals with the location of authority within the government. From the educational sector viewpoint, the authority and decision-making power can be located in the central government; the provisional, state or regional government bodies; the municipal, county or district government; or at the school level (McGinn and Welsh 1999, 17). The placement of decision-making power is not and cannot be approximate or obscure; rather it must be properly justifiable within the society as well as to the outside influences.

Furthermore, there are various stakeholders who are involved and interested in the choices made in the decentralisation process. Since education is a fundamental component of a single person's life as well as the whole society, it can be argued that every single person is a stakeholder in educational matters. The extent of the effects on education to everyone might be one of the key issues in educational planning; the decisions made in the educational system have far-reaching impacts. In order to elaborate on those stakeholders that hold key positions in the educational decision-making, one has to start identifying stakeholders from different sections of society. These include the ministries and policymakers, teachers and teachers unions, universities and the research conducted by them, but also local communities, parents and students (Fiske 1996, 6–7).

McGinn and Welsh (1999, 30–49) separate three different justifications for educational decision-making. Firstly, authority can be placed in the society based on political legitimacy. This means that the governance of education is been given to people who have been selected through a political process. Here the reasoning follows the belief that the decisions made are correct, because the person making them has the authority to make them. The justification doesn't come through expert knowledge on the specific topic; rather it is based on the forms of democratic representation within a society. (McGinn and Welsh 1999, 31–36.) The second approach views education as a field of science that should be governed from the point of view of expert knowledge. Hence, the decisions made in the educational sector should be left to the professionals. For this approach the focus is on the expert knowledge that can be gained through research and policy analysis, and for these reasons educational authority should be kept from political activities (Ibid, 37). The third approach relies on market efficiency and privatisation as a form of decentralisation. Here one must recognize the difference between the governance of the production of education and the governance of its consumption. The line of reasoning follows the market economy claiming that the market tells what the people want and what satisfies them, so the justification of educational control comes from

the supply and demand economics. (Ibid 43–49.) Privatisation is seen as one of the forms of decentralisation in general and can be seen as a form of decentralisation that is based on the allowance of private organisations to perform duties that were previously managed by the government (Rondinelli 1999, 4).

Decentralisation in an educational system is a complex process in which the knowledge about educational management systems is essential. Govinda (1997, 18–22) introduces a framework of analysis in decentralisation of education by pointing out four major considerations: decentralisation for decision-making processes, territorial considerations, decision-making authority in the local unit and functional decentralisation. Firstly, in decision-making processes decentralisation can happen on three different levels. These are the policy-making, the programme-formulation and the programme-implementation levels. Usually the decisions made in the policy-making level are made by the central government while the amount of decentralisation can vary hugely on the two other levels. (Ibid, 19.) This separation explains why many of the systems are developed as a mixture of decentralised and centralised sections (Baker & LeTendre, 2005).

The second consideration takes into account the size of the country and the consequences this has on the size of the sub-units, which can be decentralised. The size of the sub-unit depends on many factors and has an impact on how local the decentralisation of this unit will eventually be. Factors that affect the size of the sub-unit include the overall size of the country, the political and administrative alignments in the country, sociocultural aspects such as language and ethnicity, and finally the size of the educational functions to be handled. (Govinda 1997, 19–20.) These factors all play a role when making decisions about decentralisation and some of them can even be obstacles in the decentralisation process. Further on, if decentralisation is not done with certain cautiousness and based on the realities related to the specific country, these issues can eventually even hinder the outcomes of decentralisation. This emphasises the contextualisation of each system taking into consideration the historical changes of the context.

Thirdly, the question of who has the decision-making power in the local unit is a question that has to be considered in the midst of decentralisation. Here the same question of who is entrusted with the power to make decisions arises, but at on a local level. However, this question differs at the sub-unit level because even in decentralised systems, the power is still in some ways supervised from the central government through executive orders. (Govinda 1997, 21.) Therefore, the questions of authority at the local level are important at the local level, but often the impact of the authority is seen smaller since the sphere of influence of the sub-unit is smaller.

Finally, the consideration of placing different functions of the educational system into different decentralised units can create some disagreements within the society. Depending on the

priority and importance of a function, the authority to handle that function can be placed at a certain level of the decentralised decision-making system. While the weight is usually put on efficiency when making these decisions, the acceptability of the placing these authorities has to also be assessed taking into account all the actors involved (Govinda 1997, 21–22). Hence some parts and functions in the educational system are kept centralised since the efficiency rationale agrees with this kind of management. Taking all of Govinda's considerations into account it makes sense that the decentralisation processes in a specific country can only be examined at a specific context.

Educational reforms are largely affected by universal education discourses. The same phenomena that have been identified to affect curriculum theorising and the politicisation of curriculum can be identified also from the decentralisation processes. This highlights the dominance of certain transnational discourses that are influential in every aspect of educational thinking. It is without any hesitation that one has to acknowledge the effects of the IMF and the World Bank in the objectives placed for the educational sector in the developing world. The goals and programs introduced by the IMF and the World Bank ever since the independence of the third world countries have continued to reform the ideals in educational planning. These goals have also opened the educational sector to other forces than just the nation-state.

Sangeeta Kamat (2002) places the questions of educational decentralisation into a wider globalised socio-political discussion by pointing out that the role of the state in the educational reforms has shifted from previous eras. Rather than implying that decentralisation of education essentially hinders the power of the state, he sees these reforms as a means for the state and civil society to access these questions of authority at a global world (Kamat 2002, 116). From this perspective the decentralisation and hence the weakening of the state power can be seen as an asset to educational thinking and reform within a society.

As Kamat (2002, 111) argues, education has changed and is no longer an obligation falling into the responsibility of the civil society and non-state organisations. Universally set and accepted goals for education have opened the educational platform to all agencies, varying from international organisations to non-governmental organisations, to community workers and grass root levels. When education became a matter for all these fractions of society, it meant that they all wanted a voice, which has lead to many discussions about decentralisation in the educational sector.

The hope and demand for decentralisation in Tanzania has attracted a lot of attention (Kiondo 1994, Venugopal & Yilmaz 2010, Therkildsen 2000 and Gershberg & Winkler 2004). According to Gershberg and Winkler (2004, 347), Tanzania provides an example of top-down decentralization reform. This implies that the center still holds on to the most of the decision-making power. Problems relating to further decentralization arise from the lack of clarity relating to

the role of the local government. Another reason for the lack of decentralization in the educational sector was identified in the motivation for decentralization, which in the case of Tanzania was seen in the politics rather than in the educational desires of the country. The top-down power balance is maintained for example by the 1995 revised Educational Act, which strengthened the power of the Minister of Education and weakened the power of the local governments. This has resulted in a situation where the local governments have little real influence on important educational issues, including the curriculum (Therkildsen 2000, 411–412). However, in 1999 the government introduced local government reform programs (LGRP) to guide the local government reform. The affects of these reforms have been acknowledged in the political sphere but the decentralization to local governments in administrative and fiscal issues remains weak and limited (Venugopal & Yilmaz 2010, 229).

The role of civil society movements and especially non-governmental organisations (NGOs) attracts attention in many developing countries for the hope of democratization process they represent (Kiondo 1994). Their potential in development discussion and change is remarkable, but as Venugopal and Yilmaz (2010) note, the NGOs in Tanzania have a potential to take a larger role in accountability, but they have not done it yet. Another remark is made about the social accountability that allows citizens to participate in the decision-making process. It would seem that the avenues for this kind of social movement are weak and therefore the civil society participation remains weak (Ibid, 229).

As discussed above, decentralisation within educational decision-making takes into consideration various issues relating to the geopolitical, socio-economic and cultural aspects of the society. Fundamentally decentralisation is a process by which the power in the educational sector is distributed to different actors in the educational sector. The prospects for decentralising the curriculum development will be discussed next when trying to identify who holds curricular power.

### **3.3 Curricular power**

As discussed above, decision-making in educational thinking is put in the hands of many, and the answer to the question, where the power eventually lies, becomes dependent on various actors and reasons. While curriculum development can be addressed from a transnational viewpoint, there are certain aspects to curriculum development that become evident and essential only in a certain context. Developing countries with colonial history are one of the examples in which curriculum development gets certain contextual readings. The effects of globalisation that reflect on the

diminishing nature of the nation-state get a distinctive reading in the postcolonial context. This means that the space is opened up to new kinds of international influences including the international organisations with their conditionalities and the huge civil society movement with NGOs. On the background there still lies the former colonial history, with various national actors who try to find their own space in the complex power balance. These aspects come evident through postcolonial theorising. According to Giroux (1990), postcolonial curriculum theorising challenges both the ideological and material legacies of colonialism and imperialism.

Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008, 198) distinguish four interconnected developments since the 1990s, which have affected the goals and purposes of education in sub-Saharan Africa. These developments include globalisation, changed focus by the international aid agencies, adaptation of the countries to the new world orders, specifically the political implication, and the coming of new pedagogical ideas from the USA and Europe. All of these developments in the educational thinking have been influential also in the curriculum development within the area.

One of the major themes in the literature related to the educational developments in African countries is outside influence. The question of who is heard and who is silenced in the international debate of the African education, and what kind of role it is given in the larger development process, needs to be addressed in order to understand the diverse situation (King & McGrath 2012). The recollection of the presence of international influences from the missionaries to the complex system of international organisations and the economic dependency helps to understand, how the educational decision-making is affected by a long history of outside influence. According to King and McGrath (2012, 15), the need to secure high quality education for all in African countries has to stem from national funding as well as national research relating to the role of education. Simultaneously, the influence of external international targets and aid has to be marginal.

The educational and economic globalisation processes influence the relationship between the curricular control and decentralisation process. The form of curricular power was at the centre of the study conducted by Astiz, Wiseman and Baker in 2002 (Baker & LeTendre 2005, 137–143). The focus was in the operational decentralisation when studying which authorities were involved in curriculum decision-making. According to Astiz et al. (2002), the centralised and decentralised models of curricular administration have been mixed through the global influences and they have resulted in changes in the implementation of curriculum in classrooms transnationally.

“ In reality, globalisation has pushed more nations into various mixes of decentralisation and centralised administration in education, with all kinds of resulting paradoxes.” (Astiz et al 2002, 86).

The reasons behind strong emphasis on decentralisation can be approached from the possible effects that the decentralisation can be seen to have on education as discussed previously. One of the counterarguments to decentralisation in curriculum development relates to the consistency of curricula taught across the different schools (Baker & LeTendre 2005, 140).

The continuum of curriculum control varies from highly centralised state controlled systems to decentralised educational systems where the control is placed in the hands of local or provincial authorities. This discussion relates to processes of how the content of curriculum becomes defined and institutionalised within the educational system (Stevenson & Baker 1991). Again the discussion addresses the question of legitimate knowledge, and who has the authority to decide this (Apple 1990).

The findings from previous research (for example Stevenson & Baker 1991; Baker & LeTendre 2005) indicate that the more decentralised the system is, the less curricular consistency there is among the different classrooms within the nation. Various other reasons also affect content and the schedule for the implementation of the curriculum but it is essential to distinguish that also the “managerial philosophy and practice” are influential in the classrooms (Baker & LeTendre 2005, 140–141). These kinds of effects of the decentralised curriculum can be seen harmful to the national educational system when there is a strong belief that the curriculum should be consistent throughout the nation. For the purposes of building national identity inconsistencies within the curriculum can be seen as creating unequal opportunities within the educational system.

Africanization is a good attempt to localise curriculum. The localisation of the primary school curriculum is understood as a need to design and implement the curriculum in the reality of where the education and learning will take place (Lethoko 2001, 15). However, the localisation of curriculum should be taken even further with specific aspects of the local environment. The idea of localised curriculum is visible in UNESCO International Bureau of Education (IBE) Training Tools in Curriculum Development. In these tools there is special focus on localisation of curriculum, which includes the local, cultural and socio-economic aspects of curriculum development (UNESCO website/1). Hence, the idea of localisation can be identified as one of the means for the international organisations to develop educational systems via curriculum development.

Curriculum development and the aspect of relevance in the curriculum development from the African point of view has been debated in various occasions (see. Ex. Sefa Dei, 2004; Woolman, 2001; Chisholm & Leyendecker, 2008). From the beginning, the common understanding has been that curriculum development in Africa has to happen in the context of where the schooling takes place (Hawes 1979). The roots of this discussion go way back to post-independent Africa, where the Africanization of education was first brought up. According to Shizha (2005)



“The Africanization process involves making schools and curricula culturally sensitive and responsive to the needs and aspirations of the African people. The process entails bringing various African realities into the school life.” (Shizha 2005, 74).

To allow this kind of cultural sensitivity with regards to curriculum development, means that the process of curriculum theorising must include questions that ask, according to which cultural background and political ideology is this curriculum planned accordingly. With reference to many African countries this kind of cultural sensitivity should be addressed in two levels. First, the cultural reality of the African country has to be taken into account. This should not be blindsided by the postcolonial influence, but also the indigenous cultural traditions should be kept in mind. Second, the strong Western presence can often hinder the possibilities for local traditions to come to be in the centre of the curriculum planning. (Cleghorn 2005, 109.)

The curriculum reform in Africa has gathered a lot of attention especially because of the colonial and postcolonial impacts on the curriculum reforms. According to Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008), histories of resistance might be the cause for curricular reforms that have taken place in sub-Saharan African countries relating to learner-centered and outcome-based education and the problems relating to their implementation.

“Although the critical link between ‘the big idea’ and changing actual classroom practice must be acknowledged, curriculum changes probably work best when curriculum developers acknowledge existing realities, classroom cultures and implementation requirements. This requires understanding and sharing the meaning of the educational change, providing for the adaptations to cultural circumstances, local context and capacity-building throughout the system.” (Chisholm & Leyendecker 2008, 203).

This means that the curriculum development should always be tackled at the micro level, since the actual teaching environment helps to identify the needs of the educational system. However, the macro level of the curriculum development cannot be hidden either, which calls for an elaborate and comprehensive reading of the educational system.

At least one example of an attempt towards a localised curriculum comes from Zambia, where the guidelines for the development of localised curriculum were developed in 2005 (MOE Zambia 2005). This guideline calls for the formation of localised curricula by the schools with the help of a local educational authority. Even the local community is given a possibility to influence the local curriculum. In this guideline for Zambian curriculum development the Ministry of Education is still acknowledged to be responsible for the development of the core curriculum (MOE Zambia 2005). This example of an attempt to localise the curriculum in Africa offers indispensable

knowledge about the process of localisation for this research as well, even though this research does not attempt to build a comparison between countries.

Tanzania is an interesting example of a postcolonial developing country that had strong ideals about independent and self-motivated educational planning. As previously discussed, Nyerere's Self-reliance policy acknowledged the need to develop an educational system that responded to the needs of Tanzanian people. The Self-Reliance policy attempted to take into account the needs of a Tanzanian individual as a member of community as well as integrating this individual to education and society. (Hinzen 1982, 7). These changes in educational thinking meant that also curriculum theorising was affected by the need to develop a society with self-reliance at the heart of it.

“The school curriculum was to be changed so as to make the content of all subjects more relevant to Tanzanian children, to introduce productive activities such as work on farms and in workshops, to relate the lessons very closely to the daily life and work of the pupils, and to merge theory and practice. The parents were to take part in the school activities, and farmers and agricultural extension workers could act as teachers. Education would thus become supportive of the overall development of the country.” (Hinzen 1982, 7).

These aspects of the Self-Reliance policy definitely highlight the need to include various actors to curriculum development. Even though curricular power would not as such be placed to other actors, the importance to involve the whole of society to the educational system can be seen as a means to build an independent nation.

To understand the complexity of the influential actors in curriculum development it is necessary to take a closer look at the case of Tanzania. Many of the actors listed by Marsh (2009, 205–218) can be identified from the Tanzanian society as well. With some simplifying the decision-making in educational policy formulation can be seen to happen on three levels: international, national and subnational. This three-folded power relationship can also be seen to be in charge in Tanzania.

“In Tanzania, as in many other countries, education policy formulation is highly centralized with some degree of involvement of subnational levels in the formulation process. Policy implementation, on the other hand, has relied on the active participation of different stakeholders in the education sector, including at the subnational levels. As argued above, the international community has played different roles in policy making depending on the relative dependence of the Tanzanian Government on international aid.” (Buchert 1997, 44).

The effects these three levels of actors can have on curriculum can only be assessed when the influence of these actors is discussed with reference to curriculum development. On top of the three

previously mentioned levels, the role of teachers in curriculum development has to be recognized and this will be discussed later on. However, at least in the 1990s the predominant actor in educational policy maker was still the national government, since the educational policy formulation was highly centralized (Buchert 1997, 44).

A study conducted by Lene Buchert (1997) tackles the question of dialogue and co-operation between the national government of Tanzania and the international aid agencies. International aid agencies have been present in Tanzania for a long time and the aim of Buchert's study is to see how the influence by international agencies has affected the formulation of the two most influential educational policies Educational and Training policy (1995) and the Primary Education Master Plan (1995). According to Buchert (1997, 2), the Educational and Training policy has a strong national imprint, while the Master plan for example has been strongly influenced by international influences.

According to Buchert (1997, 2–3), Tanzania serves as an interesting case since the recent developments in the educational policy thinking introduce both the constraints as well as the possibilities of the cooperation between international aid agencies and the national government. The international influence can most clearly be seen though the neoliberal thinking affecting the aspects of costs, efficiency and quality of education, which the national government has questioned based on their controversial views relating to privatisation and liberalisation in the educational sector. These differences in the educational thinking have created discussion related to the educational thinking resulting in more mature cooperation. The international influence pointed out by Buchert can also be seen to have traces of the Anglo-American curriculum tradition.

Tanzanian primary school curriculum development has been researched previously. Lydia Kimaryo (2011) conducted research relating to the primary school teachers' perceptions towards environmental education and the integration of environmental education to the primary school curriculum. The results from the research indicate that there is a need to include environmental education to the curriculum, either as part of another subjects, or many subjects, or as an independent subject. Simultaneously there was a worry that adding another subject would overload the primary school curriculum. (Ibid, 181.)

Another interesting finding of Kimaryo's research relates to the teachers' views about the curriculum. According to Kimaryo (2011, 174), teachers in Tanzania are used to a detailed curriculum, which results into teaching practices that firmly follow the curriculum. The problem with detailed curriculum arises when for example environmental education, which on the curriculum is stated to be included into several subjects, is not mentioned in the subject syllabus. What follows is that the integration of the environmental education is left on the shoulders of the

teachers who are willing and possess the necessary capabilities to integrate the topics themselves. According to Kimaryo, this means that the curriculum developers should reassess how they include the topics and issues that need to be integrated into the primary school curriculum in order to ensure that they are covered during the primary education. One of the problems raised by Kimaryo takes into account the need to retrain teachers for them to be able to implement revised curriculum (Kimaryo 2011).

There seems to also be a contradiction between the need to keep a centralised curriculum that ensures consistent education to all throughout the schools, with the mandated integration of certain topics to the teaching by individual teachers. The coexistence of these two aspects is difficult, since the consistency of curriculum in every school can be ensured only by a centralised curriculum that does not leave space for integration of topics according to teacher's own motivation and interest. This kind of strict idea of curriculum cannot of course actualise since teacher is always present in the classroom as an individual. To understand the predominance of teachers in curricular control, we must take a closer look at the role of the teachers.

### **3.4 The role of teachers**

Curriculum theorising without making a reference to the role of teaching would lack a fundamental aspect to the topic, since teachers hold a crucial role in curriculum planning, implementation as well as in the whole of educational discourse (Marsh 2009, Kelly 2004). The role of the teacher can be discussed from many perspectives, but here the focus will be limited firstly, to the role of the teacher related to the curriculum theorising, and secondly, in the role relating to the curricular power and decentralisation.

According to Kelly (2004, 9–11), teachers have a “make or break role”, which attempts to underline the power and responsibility of an individual teacher with respect to teaching and the implementation of curriculum. However, it must be acknowledge that the conceptualisation of implementation of curriculum often belittles the complex process of taking what is in the curriculum and sharing it with students, since implementation happens in a dialogue between human beings in a specific context, which is far from a vacuum, and is therefore anything but a simplistic process (Autio 2013, 9). To speak about implementation as a process of taking what is in the curriculum and sharing it with the students without understanding the complexity of the process will undermine the whole process of education.

For Autio (2013) the crucial role of the teacher becomes evident through the two curriculum theory traditions, which approach the role of the teacher very differently and hence view the educational system through different lenses. While the Anglo-American system concentrates in building an organisational educational system, where the teachers are implementers of a normative curriculum that includes guidelines for the aims, content and method of teaching to be applied in education, the Bildung-Didaktik curriculum development is more flexible and concentrates in embedding certain traditions to the curriculum planning rather than authoritatively organising the curriculum. Moreover, most of the authority in the latter lies within the teacher who is the main organiser of the teaching according to the traditions of Didaktik. In the Anglo-American system the authority is situated within the curriculum program directed by a larger agency (Westbury 2000, 17).

“The image of the teacher is most crucial because the image is, consciously or unconsciously, always embodies in curriculum and education policy decisions or local, regional or (trans)national levels; how we think about the teacher constitutes and even determines the basic mentality and atmosphere of our education systems” (Autio 2013, 6).

This sort of understanding of the role of the teacher tackles the fundamental questions of what the educational process is really about. In the classroom, the teacher is the manifestation of the educational philosophy of the society, and therefore has a predominant role in the curricular control.

Giroux (1990) acknowledges the role of a teacher as public intellectual, who should engage his or her pedagogical knowledge more profoundly to the discussion about democratic public life. Hence the role of the teacher is not limited only to the manifestation of the educational thinking, but the role is attached to a huge responsibility that demands critical analysis of the current system. Whether a teacher is given the possibility to take over this demand depends on various reasons, and one of them relates to the decentralisation of the educational system. If a teacher is not given the necessary insight to the curriculum development, to engage in critical analysis and discussion about the system is quite difficult, or even impossible.

The process of decentralisation and the possible impact of curricular control given to lower levels of the government are hugely important when referring to the work done by teachers. The importance of teacher's influence to the curriculum has been recognised in the research done by Wiseman and Brown (2003) who conclude that there is no direct or positive relationship between the teacher curricular control and student achievements. They continue by explaining that the teacher's role is by no means irrelevant.

“What is clear is that national context and characteristics of a nation’s educational system have an influence on the curriculum that the teachers teach, regardless of whether teachers are also given some curricular decision-making input or not. Education, however, continues to be a tool for social, political, and economic development at the school, state and national levels. As long as this is true, teachers and curriculum will be tied to student performance, often in spite of empirical evidence.” (Wiseman & Brown 2003, 144).

This sort of analysis in previous research shows that teachers remains as key players in the curriculum theorising, even though they would not be given any control over the curriculum content. Hence, the *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition can be traced back to the themes of decentralisation and the control over curriculum development, since the tradition highlighted the predominance of the role of teacher.

No one can deny that a curriculum and a teacher are not in close relations with each other, however, what sort of relationship this is, depends on the views the society and the educational thinking hold about the teacher. The role of a teacher in curriculum development becomes evident especially through the perceptions educational policy makers have about the role of teacher. Arend Carl (2005) provides an insight to the conceptualisation of teacher participation in curriculum development. According to Carl, two approaches relating to the role of teacher with regards to the curriculum, can be identified. Firstly, teachers can be seen as ‘recipients’ of the curriculum, which is developed somewhere else by professionals. This “top-down” approach places the development of curriculum to the hands of specialists while a teacher is limited to the “correct application” of the curriculum (Carl 2005, 223). This approach follows the lines of the Anglo-American curriculum tradition in which the role of the teacher is often controlled by the educational administration (Autio 2006, 3).

The second approach identified by Carl (2005, 223) views teachers as partners in the process of curriculum development. This approach calls for the need to hear the “voices” of the teachers and take them into account in the curriculum making. Even though this second approach does not quite reach the levels of professional freedom and teacher-centeredness (Autio 2006, 3) as the *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition, it still acknowledges teacher as an important actor in the educational policymaking and curriculum development. Many aspects affect what kind of approach is taken to the role of the teacher within a specific context. The degree and nature of participation of the teachers is eventually dependent on the leadership of the nation and the form of administration and government varying from a centralised government to more decentralised system. (Carl 2005, 223.)

One aspect to the role of the teachers arises from the concrete changes that follow from curriculum development. A good example from this comes from the Self-Reliance policy implemented in Tanzania after independence, where the teachers were seen to hold the most crucial

role in the educational process. At the time of this strong ideological change in curriculum and the whole of Tanzanian educational system, teachers were identified as the most influential single group in determining the attitudes in the society and in shaping the aspirations of the country (Okoko 1987, 63). The complex power relations in the curricular power become evident when placing the predominant role of the teacher to the macro level discussion about the global forces in educational planning and curriculum development.

## 4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces the methodological choices of this study. To be able to conduct research certain methodological decisions have to be made prior and during to the research. The same phenomena can be approached through various points of views, and the purpose of this chapter is to introduce and explain the approach chosen for this study. I will start by introducing the research questions, the case study research methodology and then turn my focus to data collection and the analysis of the data.

### 4.1 Research questions

The aim of my research is to determine how the Tanzanian primary school curriculum is developed. According to Yin (2009, 9) when research tries to answer questions of “how” and “why” it steers the research towards the methods used in case study research. My main research question is “How is the Tanzanian primary school curriculum planned?” This questions tries to guide the study towards the agents, actors and forces that are behind the primary school curriculum development in Tanzania.

Besides my main research question, at the beginning of my research I determined four other questions. These questions arose after reviewing previous research, and from the theories of curriculum development and decentralisation processes in educational discourses. These other questions attempt to gain more insight on the particular process of curriculum development. The other research questions are:

- 1) Which actors influence the primary school curriculum development in Tanzania?
- 2) Is the primary school curriculum in Tanzania relevant and appropriate?
- 3) What kind of changes does the curriculum need?
- 4) Who has the power in curriculum development?

These questions also served as the basis for the interview framework (Annex 1), which I constructed before the fieldwork.

Even though I have not set any specific propositions for my research, these other research questions act as suggestive propositions in the research. The advantage of propositions is in the way they can guide the research towards relevant evidence (Yin 2009, 28). Specific propositions also help in limiting the scope of the research and keeping it applicable (Baxter & Jack 2008, 551). While exploring previous research on my topic and building the theoretical framework for my



research these questions were answered, and these preliminary answers guided me towards certain actors in the society to be chosen as informants for my research, and therefore acted as propositions for my research.

## **4.2 Methodological framework**

The research questions and my determination to use Tanzania as a case study in my research guided me to certain methodological choices. However, the methodological framework drafted for his research is not applicable in and does not draw only on a case study research. Rather, it has features from all qualitative research done in the field of sociology, anthropology or education. Further on, the strong presence of the theoretical discussion put the focus of the research during the analysis into comparing and contrasting the findings with the previous theories of curriculum. This feature of the research affected especially the analysis of the data. The case study methodology was still kept at the heart of my methodological choices from the very beginning, and hence the chapter introduces aspects of case study research.

Choosing a topic and drafting research questions is not enough for a research project and conducting case study research shifts focus to certain specific features. According to Baxter & Jack (2008, 545–546), it is just as important to determine what is the actual case you are studying, as it is to determine the research questions. The case in case study research can be any recognisable system or unit, such as an institution, an enterprise, a group of people or a program (Stake 2009, 23). Since the topic of my research was the primary school curriculum in Tanzania, the case had to be identified as the process of curriculum development. In my case study, the case is essentially the process of curriculum planning that involves certain groups of the Tanzanian society. What is actually included in this process and what kind of a case my research becomes will be discussed in depth later on.

After defining what the case in a case study research actually is, it then becomes relevant to fully understand all that is left outside your chosen case. The scope of the research has to be limited, since one of the most common problems in especially qualitative research is that the scope of the research is too broad or that there are too many objectives to be researched. For that reason the boundaries are needed for the research. (Baxter & Jack 2008, 546.) Certain boundaries can be set to my case study with the help of the research questions. My research will focus only on Tanzania and it will be limited into primary school curriculum development. Possible further limitations will be set once the data has been analysed in order to recognise whether further limitations become

relevant. However, it might be useful to turn the focus into the future developments of the curriculum in order to find out what and who should be included in the future process of curriculum development.

The other vital aspect of a case study research is the relationship between the phenomenon that is being researched and the context in which the phenomenon takes place (Baxter & Jack 2008, 545). In my research it becomes obvious that the phenomenon of Tanzanian primary school curriculum development cannot be researched outside the context of Tanzania. This context includes for example the historical, cultural, geographical and socio-political changes and developments in the United Republic of Tanzania. Although the context of my research is Tanzania, the context can be further confined into the Tanzanian educational system and the educational policy making, still realising other factors influencing my research topic. With the focus on primary education curriculum the context is further narrowed into a specific level of education as well as a specific issue in educational planning.

The methodology aims to guide the research from the very beginning of the study. For that reason certain ways to categorise the research you are conducting are introduced. One of the ways to help with categorising is to define the type of the case study. This means that it becomes necessary to determine whether the focus is on one single case study, in a holistic case study or in multiple-case study (Yin 2009 46 – 52). I was able to rule out the multiple-case study easily since my study focuses only on Tanzanian primary school curriculum without making comparisons between several different cases. The difference between a holistic single-unit case study and a single case study with embedded units was a bit more difficult to make. In my research the process of curriculum development will be addressed through various units including teachers, local administrators as well as other agents involved. However, the purpose of my research is not to single them out as units as such. Hence, my research resembles mainly the holistic case study recognised by Yin. My research will approach the same question through various units, trying to form a holistic understanding of the process. This type of research has its own risks, which include the problem of embedding the units together at the analysis. (Yin 2009.) This is a pitfall that has to be kept in mind while conducting the research.

### **4.3 Data collection**

When I started to plan my research, the topic was one of the first things I had in mind. I had chosen Tanzania as my case study for various reasons. These included my own previous knowledge and

interest in the country, the interesting history of Tanzanian educational planning, and the cooperation between the city of Tampere and the city of Mwanza. The historical shifts in the educational policymaking have been discussed previously, and they also explain my interest in the topic.

Further on, the city of Mwanza was chosen because of the cooperation between the twin cities of Tampere and Mwanza. Other researchers have benefited from this connection as well (see. Lehtinen 2008, Pesonen 2008). The cooperation goes back to the 1980s but in 2002 the cooperation strengthened to include cooperation between primary schools with specific focus of teacher training (Tampere-Mwanza 10-vuotisjuhlajulkaisu, 2012). Six primary schools in the Mwanza area are involved in this cooperation project. Three of these primary schools were used in my own research.

Making sure that the localization of primary school curriculum would be investigated from a local perspective it made sense to have one city or region as a focus area. Mwanza is a growing city in northeast Tanzania on the southern shores of Lake Victoria. Currently Mwanza is the second biggest city in Tanzania, even though the estimates for the population of Mwanza are only estimates that vary from 500 000 to over a million. During my fieldwork I was introduced to the system of local governance in Mwanza and thanks to the Tampere-Mwanza cooperation project coordinator in Mwanza I received a lot of information concerning the local administration. Interesting features of the Tanzanian decentralised governance system were introduced to me through documents produced by the Tampere-Mwanza cooperation project, and many unrecorded discussions about the local governance system with various stakeholders helped me build my understanding on the case I was researching.

The research uses triangulation in the data collection in order to increase the reliability as well as the internal validity of the research (Merriam 1998, 207). In my research triangulation includes interviews, document analysis and observation. According to Baxter and Jack (2008, 554), in case study research the researcher can collect and integrate different sources in order to create a holistic understanding of the phenomenon. It is necessary to prepare for the data collection, which means that the researcher has to come face to face with the sources available to the research. According to Yin (2009), the six primary sources available for case study research are documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts. Of course these primary sources are widely used in many kinds of other research methods as well. In my research I will use documents, interviews and observations as data sources, which I will elaborate on in the next paragraphs.

Documents from national and regional educational administrators were gathered before, during and after the fieldwork. These include documents produced by the Ministry of Education and

Culture (MOEC) and the Tanzanian Institute of Education (TIE) situated in Dar es Salaam. Documents from local level were gathered from the regional city council in Mwanza. In addition documents produced by the active non-governmental organisations HakiElimu and TenMent will be gathered to the best of my abilities. The Tanzanian primary school curriculum from 2005, which was revised in 2012, will be examined in depth in order to understand the aims and targets of Tanzanian primary school curriculum. Also the subject syllabi will be reviewed in order to understand their role in teaching and the relationship between the subject syllabi and the primary school curriculum. The documentation gathered will focus on educational planning and policy making in relation to primary schools. In addition, documents related to decentralisation of power in Tanzania will be gathered.

During the fieldwork I was also able to access the subject syllabi used in teaching in primary schools. These syllabi were available in all three primary schools I visited. Usually the syllabi are distributed to the schools for collective usage and not for individual teachers. However, teachers can also purchase the subject syllabi from the Institute of Education. Each teacher has to prepare a scheme of work and lessons plans according to the subject syllabus. The scheme of work is a document prepared once or twice a year for the whole term. It is planned for each subject, for every topic according to the syllabus. Teacher's lesson plan is a very detailed and structured plan that has to be prepared for each lesson. The subject syllabus includes short instructions for the preparation of these documents. The syllabus also includes for example a timetable for the division of topics according to the number of lessons spent on each topic. I was given the opportunity to study these documents produced by one of the teachers working in one of the schools. Scheme of work and the lesson plans are the documents, which a teacher is expected to present if and when his or her teaching will be inspected. All of the documents I studied related to the English subject because all the other documents were written in Kiswahili.

My primary sources include interviews. The format for interviewing in case study research differs from interviews used for other types of research because case study research allows flexibility in interviews. According to Yin (2009, 106), in case study research interviews can be more like guided conversations rather than structures inquiries. Yin (2009, 87) also distinguishes two levels of questions that need to be acknowledged in case study research. Level 1 questions are "questions asked of specific interviewees" while Level 2 questions are "questions asked of the individual case". The interviewer must be cautious with the difference between these levels because the verbal line of questioning is not identical to the mental line of inquiry. Also the juxtaposition between asking questions with focus on the case as a whole while trying to be understanding and amiable to a specific informant can raise difficulties (Yin 2009, 107).

The purpose, the method and the structure of the interview combined together help to acknowledge the type of the interview chosen. Interviews can be done during observation with posing questions every once in a while to clarify the observation situation. Formal interviews are usually recorded with questions and structure thought beforehand. (Delamont 2002, 127.) Interviews in case study research can be in-depth interviews, focused interviews or survey interviews (Yin 2009, 107–108). Woodside (2010, 264) describes long interviews with key informants as one of the data collection methods in case study research. This kind of interview usually takes a lot of time (2-6 hours) and includes open-ended or semi-structured interviews with the possibility of deeper exploration of the topic. These interviews are taped and the results compared to other sources in triangulation. During the long interview the respondent will be able to verify his/her answers, which is a clear strength in long interviews (ibid, 265).

I conducted fifteen interviews during the fieldwork in Tanzania. Since the research questions concentrate on the different agents and groups of the society, the informants were chosen in order to get opinions and viewpoints to the process of curriculum development from as many directions as possible. The informants were confined to stakeholders in educational planning. This meant that for example parents and other community members were not chosen as informants. The list of informants included personnel from the Tanzanian Institute of Education, the School of Education in the University of Dar es Salaam, HakiElimu, TenMet, Mwanza City Council, School inspector's office and teacher's training college. Also headteachers and teachers were interviewed. (The list of informants is in Annex 2). In Mwanza, observation and interviews were done in three primary schools (Igoma, Kirumba and Isenga). Observation was used in order to get first-hand information of the phenomenon in its natural settings. During observation specific attention was paid to the use of teaching material, the subject syllabuses and books in teaching.

Some of the interviews were set up in advance with the help of local connections made prior to the fieldwork. These included the personnel working for the Tampere-Mwanza Local Cooperation project in Mwanza and the University of Dar es Salaam. Also the Non-Governmental Organisations of HakiElimu and TenMet were contacted prior to the fieldwork in order to make sure that they had someone available, who was prepared to be interviewed during my short stay in the field. I chose the organisations and factions of the society that I wanted to include in the data collections according to my prior knowledge about the actors involved in the curriculum development, but the final individual informants were in many cases chosen randomly. For example, all the teachers who were interviewed were chosen with the help of the headteacher of the school. The teachers were mainly chosen for their ability to be interviewed in English. Some

informants were chosen by their superiors specifically because of their knowledge on my research area. All interviews were done in English and they were recorded and transcribed.

Thirteen interviews were person-to-person interviews while two were small group interviews with two informants and myself. All of the interviews followed the question framework I had prepared beforehand (see Annex 1). This framework followed the research questions I had previously drafted but distinguished three topics more clearly. These interview topics later served as the basis for my analysis and helped me organise the findings of my research. All interview topics were covered in each interview and depending on the background of the informant some topics were discussed more in depth since informants at different levels of the society have access to different kinds of knowledge and understanding of the curriculum development process. The duration of the interviews varied hugely. The shortest interview was only 15 minutes long while the longest took nearly two hours. The average duration of an interview was 30 minutes. The transcription of interviews was done after the end of the fieldwork. The recordings themselves were of good quality, but the background noise and other disturbances during the interview made the transcription process of some parts very difficult. Some informants were cautious in the interviews because of their lack of knowledge in English. This cautiousness can be heard from the recordings and some of the comments could not be heard properly.

Due to the strong presence of the theory in my analysis process, previous research and curriculum theory can be identified as my secondary sources. The main framework used in the analysis process relies on the work done by Tero Autio (2006, 2013) relating to the two predominant curriculum traditions. Even though the research has a strong theoretical viewpoint, the methodology of the research always relies on the case study research, and therefore the methods of theoretical research are not further discussed in this study.

#### **4.4 Analysis and writing process**

The qualitative analysis of gathered data is a process that continues throughout the research process. Different methodological theory books refer to the analysis process as a messy and long process that takes time. One of the reasons for these warnings is probably based on the uncertainty relating to any type of qualitative analysis. Even though some computer programs are introduced in various books for the qualitative analysis, the process of getting the data from the primary and secondary sources to the results still seems to be based on a process of reading, thinking, questioning and doing it all over again. This sort of hermeneutic process seems to be the core of getting into your

data analysis. According to Dowling and Brown (2010, 86), the analysis of all the gathered data is in essence about referring it to a theoretical framework you have developed during the analysis itself. This kind of attitude toward the data can help the processing of the data, since it becomes necessary to mirror the results into previous research and a theoretical framework in order to judge the results of your own analysis.

Delamont (2002, 173–183) introduces the process of qualitative data analysis through processes of coding, generating contrasts and finally moving into the generalisations. Yin (2009, 130–136) on the other hand, divides data analysis in case study research into four strategies: relying on theoretical propositions, developing a case description, combination of qualitative and quantitative data, and examining rival explanations. Yin explains that all these strategies need the presence of analytical techniques that are essential in producing a compelling case study analysis. Techniques that Yin introduces are: pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic models and cross-case synthesis.

My data analysis process started with extensive reading of the transcribed material. While reading the data, I started recognising answers related to the different interview topics. The reading process was followed by classification of the themes into three broad categories: the content of the curriculum, the process of the curriculum development and the decentralisation of the educational sector. After distinguishing these three themes, I started coding the data systematically. After the coding process I was able to recognise patterns relating to curriculum development, which helped me organise the analysis even further.

The theoretical aspect of my research strongly influenced the analysis of my data. During the analysis process I became aware of the similarities and dissimilarities of my data with the curriculum theories introduced in my theoretical framework. The similarities of the features guided me to analyse the data with reference to the existing theories and hence to analyse the case of Tanzania with reference to transnational curriculum theories. This aspect of the analysis meant that the data I found from the case of Tanzania questioned and agreed with the curriculum theories. Therefore, the findings of my analysis therefore draw not only on the case of Tanzania with reference to the data I collected from my primary sources, but also with reference to curriculum theory introduced previously that is built on previous research, and which eventually became secondary sources for my research.

The analysis process was strongly influenced by the need to build a holistic picture of the case study. This meant that all the data gathered from the different informants was gathered together trying to make as little distinction as possible with the role of the informant in the society. However, during the analysis process it became evident that the role and occupation of the

informant in the society has an effect on the information and attitudes that the specific informant could give. For this reason the informants were grouped into three categories depending on their role and occupation in the educational sphere in Tanzania (See Table 1). This grouping was done primarily to help in making distinctions on the understandings different educational stakeholders have of the curriculum development process at different levels of the system. However, the grouping does not introduce the findings in an evaluative manner.

*Table 1: Grouping of the informants*

Categories	Informants	Code for analysis	Number of informants
National: state department and local education authorities	Institute of education, three local educational authorities, Inspector's Office	NATION Includes informants N1-N5	5
Civil society: NGOs and other educational stakeholders	Two NGO personnel, University of Dar es Salaam, Teacher training college,	CIVIL Includes informants C6-C9	4
School: School personnel	Two headteachers and six teachers	SCHOOL Includes informants S10- S17	8

The codes for analysis will be used in the findings and will appear at the end of quotations and when referring to findings brought up by specific informants. No further distinctions of the informants will be given in order to keep the identities of the informants hidden.

The distinction of the three groups was done along the lines of the different influences recognised by Marsh (2009, 205–207), even though the categories did not fit completely. The grouping was done primarily according to my own understanding of the viewpoints and focus areas that each informant represents. The grouping also takes into account the ways each informant has to influence curriculum planning. The grouping allowed me to continue my data analysis and organise the findings in the format presented in the next chapter.

#### **4.5 Reliability and ethical concerns**

Questions of reliability and ethical concerns should be at the heart of the research from the very beginning. These aspects of the research do not only guide the research on the way, but they also affect the trustworthiness of the research results. The questions relating to the trustworthiness of the



results will be discussed in the conclusion, but here I introduce some of the aspects related to the ethics of the research.

Research is always subjective, as we come to acknowledge in the social sciences. Even purely quantitative research that represents numbers has been subjected to certain features that question its objectivity. This becomes important especially from the point of view of the analysis, which eventually leads the researcher to the results. Case study research comes face to face with these concerns but on top of that it also has to deal with the quest for authenticity. Authentic representation of the data recovered helps to form truthful research results. As case study research discloses research results from a specific case, the authority that the researcher has, becomes a vital part of the study. The questions of authenticity have also been approached from the point of view of the researcher speaking on behalf of those who have been under research. (Hammersley & Gomm 2009, 6.) The methods of my case study research obligated me to think of these questions prior to my fieldwork. I had to acknowledge the problems relating to the authentic representation of data collected from a foreign environment and the fear of using my authority over them. These questions that relate to questions of confidentiality, truthfulness and respect stayed with me throughout the research process reminding me of the ethical responsibilities of the research.

These questions of authenticity and authority relate also to other ethical concerns that become important during the research process including for example the ethical concerns in the empirical field (Dowling & Brown 2010, 36–37). Whenever making interpretations from the comments of other people, one has to be careful. My case study was conducted in a foreign culture, which creates certain ethical concerns that are not present in other types of qualitative research. The aspect of the strangeness of the case study meant that I had to keep my own personal perceptions at minimal when conducting the research. Simultaneously I had to remember that subjectivity could harm the results, since I did not have any personal experience in the socio-cultural context. This becomes essential especially in case study research with ethnographical dimension, since the researcher is usually coming from the outside of the specific culture to observe and make interpretations (Dowling & Brown 2010, 36–37).

## 5 FINDINGS

In this chapter I present and analyse the main findings of my research. My main research question was how the Tanzanian primary school curriculum was developed. With the help of the research questions I constructed a framework for the interviews, which distinguished three discussion topics according to which the findings of my research will be presented. The main focus is on the representation of the data concerning the different aspects of the phenomenon in question as thoroughly as possible. In certain cases the occupation and status of the informant affected the knowledge the specific informant could provide on the topic in question. In these cases the findings rely on the experts who had knowledge about the topic in question. For this reason the grouping of informants presented in the methodological chapter helps to recognise the role of the informant in the society.

Another aspect related to the informants' occupation became evident during the data gathering and analysis. The informants who were the most involved in the curriculum development process presented their opinions with certain cautiousness. Other informants were much more willing to critique and point out the problems within the curriculum development process. For this reason the knowledge gathered from all the rest of the informants is equally valuable because it helps to build an understanding on how much the stakeholders know about the curriculum development process. It has to be kept in mind, that all the informants are involved within the educational sector, so they do not represent the views of the common public.

One general remark relating to the interview process is that during the interviews the discussion often came back to money. The lack of funds given to the educational system was seen as one of the major obstacles in development. The political system was characterised as being corrupt, where money is seen as the main element causing problems in the educational system. The influence of the economic situation is worth noting here, since for many informants the lack of funds seemed to be the main reason for the current situation in the educational system. Also some informants mentioned the economic situation as the predominant problem, and the focus during the interview shifted from curriculum development to more general observations of the educational system.

The findings present the views and opinions that the informants recognised in the functions of the primary school curriculum and the process of curriculum development. To recognise the viewpoints that stakeholders in the Tanzanian society encompass, the focus is kept on the importance the informants recognised in the curriculum discourse, in order to compare how these views combine with transnational curriculum theorising. In this analysis I will first present findings

related to three important aspects of the Tanzanian primary school curriculum, and then proceed to with the actual process of curriculum development.

## **5.1 The definitions and significance of the curriculum**

Even though the significance of the primary school curriculum was not separated as one of the discussion topics for interviews, analysis of the data revealed that the opinions about the curriculum and attitudes towards its significance affected the overall understanding of this research topic. In order to attach the curriculum discourse to the wider theoretical framework it is essential to start with the question, how the curriculum is made significant in the society according to the informants in my study. The significances of the primary school curriculum will be perceived through three topics: the definitions and meanings given to the curriculum, the access to the curriculum, and the content of curriculum.

### **5.1.1 Definitions and views about the curriculum**

At first glance, curriculum meant the same thing as the syllabus for many informants at the school level. This kind of definition limits the curriculum to refer to the content of education presented in the subject syllabi. As Kelly (2004, 4) points out, this kind of definition of the curriculum is harmful and limiting. My research does not draw from this kind of definition, and hence during the interviews specific attention was given to the definition of curriculum. The concept of curriculum was clearly separated from the syllabus during the interviews in order to avoid misunderstandings. After remarking that the curriculum is not equal to the syllabus, the primary school curriculum was defined from various perspectives, which mainly followed the definitions introduced by Kelly (2004, 2–8).

Analysis of the responses by informants' associated with the national level indicated that the primary school curriculum was seen as the most influential document in steering the primary school education within Tanzanian society. At the same time, some informants at the school level perceived the role of the curriculum in everyday school life as fairly unimportant. This was mainly because of the lack of access to the primary school curriculum, which will be discussed in depth in the next chapter.

After consensus in the definition of curriculum was achieved, the analysis revealed that the significance of the primary school curriculum was primarily related to the aims and focus of the

education in a larger social viewpoint. Since the curriculum was not part of the informants' everyday life, the curriculum document was viewed more as a document that is part of the educational policy making within the Tanzanian society rather than as a tool needed for classroom teaching. The majority of respondents described the curriculum as a document, which guides the teaching, provides principles, and gives a sense of direction for the education. These definitions follow the lines of Kelly's definition of the rationale of the educational programme (Kelly 2004, 4). The curriculum was also metaphorically seen as the engine of education.

“What will I call it? I will say it is the... engine of education. Without the curriculum the education cannot run and without the curriculum the country will not know where the people are preparing, or the learners are preparing, what they want them to become in the future. So I say it is an engine because it provides standards.” (N3)

The way the informant described the role of the curriculum underlined the importance the curriculum has in a larger educational discourse. It is seen as the main document that guides the educational system within the society.

This social aspect of the primary school curriculum recognised by the informants relates to the philosophy of education. Analysis of the data indicated that one of the tasks of the curriculum was seen as the need to make the philosophy of education, on which the educational system is fundamentally constructed, visible.

“The role of curriculum is to plan what we want to achieve at the end of the day in terms of education at different levels. For example, the curriculum in primary, what we want to have in primary education, and this has to be based on the philosophy of education. I think you know that our philosophy of education since 1967, that we have to have education for Self-Reliance. That is our main philosophy. So the curriculum is based on that, that we are developing courses, the syllabuses, because at the end of the day we should achieve all the students who graduate to be self-reliant or will be able to be self-reliant at the end of the day. That is our main philosophy.” (C6).

The philosophy of education and the purpose of the primary education with reference to self-reliance and the need to educate Tanzanians was a reoccurring theme in the informants' responses. The purpose of the curriculum was seen specifically in setting the norms, objectives and the standards to education in order to reach these goals at different levels of the educational system. These definitions draw on the curriculum theories of Giroux (1990) and Popkewitz (2009), in which the ideological aspects of the school curriculum are taken into account.

Also the process of nation building was linked closely to curriculum development as discussed by Autio (2013). The curriculum was seen as a tool for creating and maintaining national identity, which indicates that the Bildung-Didaktik tradition and the perspectives of socialisation are closely linked to the meanings of the national curriculum in Tanzania.

### **5.1.2 The lack of access**

Analysis of the data revealed that the access to the Tanzanian primary school curriculum has become one of the current educational problems in Tanzania. The lack of access to the primary school curriculum in Tanzania has certain implications on the significance of the curriculum as seen within the society. Although Kelly (2004, 16) does not downright recognise the lack of access as one of the features of ideological affiliations related to the curriculum development, the lack of access to the curriculum can indicate some sort of reluctance to open the curriculum theorising to the wider public, which is acknowledged by Kelly as well. The situation in Tanzania is quite startling since the primary school curriculum was not made available to anyone at the time of the fieldwork.

HakiElimu, which is one of the most influential NGOs working in Tanzania, brought the lack of access to the curriculum to the public's attention. In a research conducted by HakiElimu in 2012, they compared how the national curriculum objectives and the examination practices correspond to each other. The results of this research caught media attention. For example, the English newspaper in Tanzania, *The Citizen*, wrote an article in November 2012, with the title "Why TZ students fail national exams", which introduced the main findings of the HakiElimu research. According to the research, in 2010 in the National Form Four Examinations, 177,021 (50%) candidates scored Division 0 and 16,633 (38,6%) scored Division IV (the lowest pass mark) (HakiElimu 2012). These poor results provoked public discussion that also brought attention to the primary school curriculum. According to the HakiElimu (2012), the major problem with curriculum was the implementation of the 2005 competence based curriculum, which emphasises a learner-centred approach to teaching and learning methods. The problem of implementation was primarily due to the fact that the teachers had nearly no competence in implementing this new curriculum.

According to the findings of my research, the problems did not only relate to the implementation of curriculum, even though that was one of the major discussion topics with many informants. However, the analysis of the data showed that the access to the Tanzanian primary school curriculum is nearly non-existent. The hardcopy of the 2005 primary school curriculum was not available at the TIE, which is the national institute responsible for the curriculum development,

and none of the informants had the curriculum document. This of course links with the problems of implementation, since the implementation of a curriculum that is not accessible is, if not impossible, at least very challenging. According to the TIE, the primary school curriculum is currently under revision and the next edition of the 2005 primary school curriculum is made ready to be published. With the help of UNESCO's International Bureau of Education, I was able to get hold of a copy in Kiswahili of the primary school curriculum, which is published in 2005 and revised in 2012.

The knowledge and impressions related to the distribution of the primary school curriculum differed quite drastically between the informants. Some informants at the school level were under the impression that the copy of the curriculum would be available through the local educational officers or other educational stakeholders. Other informants, especially in the civil society level, had more critical and sceptical opinions and stated that the curriculum does not even exist. According to some comments among the teachers, anyone could get hold of the curriculum if they would ask for it by contacting the Ministry. While the impressions on the possibilities of access to the primary school curriculum varied drastically, the common ground was that none of the informants had access to the curriculum at the moment.

“No, no. I have not yet touched the curriculum” (N2)

“The curriculum book? I have never seen it.” (N4)

All of the informants were through their occupation involved in the educational sector, but they had not read the curriculum document itself and had therefore no clear knowledge of what the curriculum was about. However, as the definitions covered in the previous chapter indicated, all the informants still had an understanding in what the curriculum is about. Hence, the theorising of the curriculum had created general knowledge of the significance of the curriculum while access to it was restricted. This indicated that there is abstract theoretical and conceptual knowledge of the content and importance of the curriculum, but this does not transmit to concrete contact with the curriculum.

The informants were concerned with the current situation, since they felt that they could not do their job without the primary school curriculum. The analysis disclosed that the most common reasoning or defence for the lack of access to the primary school curriculum was the presence of the subject syllabi.

“Maybe they think that if you just write the overall role of the education in Tanzania in the syllabus like this, it is enough. Maybe. “ (N4)

The subject syllabi for all the subjects taught in the primary schools were available in all the schools I visited. I reviewed the English syllabus (English Language Syllabus for primary schools, MOEC 2005/1), which included chapters relating to the overall aims of the education, such as “Objectives of Education in Tanzania” and “Objectives of Primary Education”, which corresponded to the topics written in the national curriculum. Outside the short introduction to the objectives of education, the syllabus included a very detailed plan for teaching. The syllabus was essentially meant as a guideline for the scheme of work that the teacher is required to prepare once or twice a year for the whole term/terms.

Analysis of the data revealed that the subject syllabi and their strong presence in the primary schools around the country improved the situation in the current educational system. The way informants perceived the current situation relied on the belief that education follows the nationally set objectives precisely because of access to the subject syllabi. However, the need to get access to the primary school curriculum was still emphasised by the informants.

“The teaching is normal because there are syllabuses, but people want to see what is in the curriculum, what is included in the curriculum, so that we can see together and discuss together, that this is good, take this out, include this one. But without the curriculum it makes maybe the stakeholders to think that maybe there is something hidden in the curriculum, so we want to see it.” (N2)

The lack of access to the curriculum can also limit the teachers’ possibility to work as public intellectuals (Giroux 1990), and hence hinder the possibilities to be involved in the curriculum development.

The lack of access to the primary school curriculum generated different reactions, and some of them were very sceptical, like the excerpts below show. The analysis of the data indicated that the need to get access to the primary school curriculum is really a strong element in the current educational discussion.

“So it’s supposed to be available for them, all of them. But of course, even right now, if you visit all the schools, not all, a number of schools, and you’ll never find the curriculum.” (C7)

“ The curriculum is had not been made public. And that is why I have never seen it myself. So that is why people say that maybe Tanzania doesn’t have one basic education curricula.” (C8)

“We have had a lot of debate about the curriculum. We have a debate. The issue, which is all over. Now the politicians they want to see the curriculum, they want the teachers to hold the curriculum. There was a parliamentary debate about this.” (N2)

“The government is saying it is not for the consumption by anybody. That it is a government document.” (C6)

These views that disputed the existence of the primary school curriculum, indicated that educational policy making was not made transparent enough to the public or the educational experts, which in turn indicates the reluctance of the curriculum planners to advertise the curriculum development process (Kelly 2004, 16). The way the informants described the current situation indicated certain frustration towards the current state of the educational policy. Moreover, there seemed to be obscurity relating to the role of the primary school curriculum. While some informants felt that they had access to the curriculum through syllabi and that this was enough for especially the teachers, some felt that the curriculum is a government document that should not even be distributed. This signalled that there is no common understanding on the role of the primary school curriculum among the people working in the educational sector.

Even though the informants did not have access to the curriculum at present time, some of them had been introduced to the primary school curriculum in the past. This was essentially done in one of two ways. Either the informant had seen the curriculum in teacher training during his or her studies, or then the new curriculum was introduced to the informant in some sort of seminar.

“When they go to teacher training colleges they get access to the curriculum. They are introduced to the curriculum. They are informed of what is a curriculum, what we are following. And they are given the basic documents in the curriculum. For example the Educational and Training policy. They are given syllabuses depending on the different specialisation in terms of courses.” (C6).

The extent to which the curriculum was introduced or gone through, as part of the teacher training, was not discussed with the informants. However, many of the teachers interviewed did not remember the primary school curriculum from their own studies. The seminars mentioned, on the other hand, were organised after the development of the 2005 primary school curriculum in order to help the teachers cope with the revised curriculum. The informants mentioned only seminars given to teachers, and did not mention how many teachers had participated in such a seminar. The amount of these seminars, or the method of choosing the teachers for attendance to these seminars, was not discussed with the informants.



To conclude this section, the introduction of the curriculum to the teachers was viewed as vital. The HakiElimu (2012) research presented similar findings, since it reports that the majority of the teachers that took part in the research had not attended any training in the past five years. Hence, the research recommended professional development opportunities for teachers in order for the teachers to hold on to their competence and professional standing and to familiarise themselves with the curriculum.

### **5.1.3 The content of the curriculum**

The discussion about the content of primary school curriculum was started in order to identify, what is seen as important in the primary school curriculum and whether the content of the curriculum reflects the curriculum theory traditions or transnational trends in curriculum development. Moreover, the Tyler rationale includes the aspect of curriculum content in the form of selecting the appropriate learning experiences. But as Marsh (2009, 30) points out, Tyler does not refer only to the content of curriculum, but rather the learning experiences in general that the curriculum should guide towards. Still, the chosen learning experiences are vital when assessing how the primary school curriculum is being created and according to what kind of curriculum theorising. Since the teachers accessed the primary school curriculum only through the subject syllabus, the content of the primary school curriculum was mainly discussed in reference to different subject syllabi.

The primary school curriculum of Tanzania (MOEC 2005/2) lists twelve subjects that are part of the primary school curriculum. The number of sessions for each subject differs between Standard I-II and Standard III-VII. This difference has its roots in the previous primary school curriculums, in which Grades I and II had a limited curriculum with only three subjects. According to the national curriculum, the sessions in Grades I and II should last 30 minutes and 40 minutes in Grades III to VII. Even though the national curriculum listed twelve subjects, the informants talked only about nine subjects. This contradiction between the national curriculum and the informants' awareness can be explained by the existence of a subject called social studies. Geography, history and citizenship were combined into one subject in the school syllabus and curriculum implementation, which was called social studies. The other confusion relating to the number of subjects being taught in primary schools arose from the fact that the subject social studies was not part of the grade I and II curriculum.

The subject syllabus, which functioned as the main document for the teacher, presents a thorough plan on the scheme of work for each grade. The topics expected to be covered within the subject and the amount of hours spent on each topic in each grade is presented in the syllabus. The

teacher was expected to plan his or her scheme of work and lessons plans according to this timeframe. Analysis of the data revealed that not much flexibility was expected from the teacher, since there was only one remark that suggested adjustments to the timeframe given.

“The teacher is reminded that he/she is free to make some fine adjustments to the estimated number of periods for each topic depending upon the needs of the respective class.” (MOEC 2005/1, viii)

Apart from this phrase in the English Language syllabus, there was no mentioning of adjusting the curriculum and the content of each grade for the specific class depending on the environment or other characteristics that arise from specific teaching situations. The image of the teacher brought forward by the Tanzanian primary school curriculum follows the contemporary situation of the Anglo-American curriculum tradition, in which the teacher is seen as a passive agent of the system (Autio 2013, 6).

With regard to the content of the curriculum, the informants gave recommendations of subjects that should be included in the curriculum. The majority of the recommendations related to topics that could be integrated into already existing subjects, since the curriculum was described as being full. The few additions given could be understood as components within the existing subjects rather than new subjects. Similar findings were presented in the research conducted by Kimaryo (2011), in which the integration of the environmental education to other subjects was seen as the beneficial way. Topics to be added to the primary school curriculum arose from the needs of the students as well as from the needs of the society. Analysis of the responses indicated that the curriculum should consist of topics located in the child’s environment, where the education takes place.

The answers related to the possible additions to the primary school curriculum can be divided into two categories. Firstly, the answers included current topics with fact-based value. These included environmental issues, such as climate change and taking care of the water supply. The other current topic mentioned was the HIV-epidemic and the need to include knowledge about the epidemic into the curriculum. The above-mentioned additions draw on transnational ideals of educational knowledge that should be added in the students’ learning experiences in primary school. However, the content of the Tanzanian primary school curriculum can be placed within the same continuum between local and global aspects of educational thinking as the whole educational system, as discussed previously. This becomes evident since the answers also included hopes to add emphasis on local cultures and traditions into the curriculum.

Secondly, the additions included topics that have more value to the student from a social perspective. These additions can be related to the aspects of the Bildung-Didaktik tradition, where the emphasis of education is put on the socialisation (Autio 2013, 4). The significance of education as part of the socialisation process was emphasised with the answers that asked for more attention to elements of good behaviour and the teaching of communication skills into the national curriculum. Apart from these additions, guidance counselling was mentioned as a separate subject that should be included into the primary school curriculum. Only a few respondents included this sort of additions to the primary school curriculum. This can be an indication that the Bildung-Didaktik theory is not dominating the curriculum theorising in the context of Tanzania.

Moreover, from the point of view of the society, entrepreneurship was seen as a fundamental addition into the primary school curriculum. Characteristically entrepreneurship is seen as a triumph for the neoliberal capitalist worldview, which implies that while the Bildung-Didaktik tradition stays at the background of curriculum theorising, the Anglo-American curriculum theory gets attention. The reasons for this are probably many folded, but the findings support the belief that the Anglo-American Curriculum tradition with its neoliberal aspects is affecting curriculum theorising transnationally (Autio 2013). The importance of this was seen with reference to the policies of Self-Reliance, with the hope that even after finishing primary education students could be taught to be self-reliant and grow capital in order to sustain their lives.

”After finishing maybe standard seven, the pupil should be self-reliant.” (N4).

“So I thought that if the children would learn about entrepreneurship, so if they are failing in school they do not fail in life.” (N2)

The informants described the possibilities of learning about entrepreneurship, as a means for the children to sustain their life and become self-reliant after graduating primary school, which still stood at the core of the Tanzanian educational philosophy. There seemed to be a need to include this type of education into the primary school curriculum because many students did not continue with their studies after the end of Standard VII. These attitudes also point towards the instrumental views of the curriculum, which are shared by the Anglo-American Curriculum planning and theory (Autio 2013). Interestingly, the Tanzanian historical developments through Self-Reliance policies in the 1960s were the foundation of a Socialist Tanzania. In contemporary reading, the same Self-Reliance policies can be interpreted along the lines of neoliberal policy making, which was created through capitalist policymaking.

Since I had access to the national curriculum, which I had to first translate to English with the help of my contacts, I was able compare the informants' opinions with the curriculum document. I did this in order to find out, which topics are actually left out from the national curriculum, and which topics are included but the lack of access to the curriculum hinders the knowledge and teaching of these topics. At the same time the purpose was to identify how well the objectives set for the national curriculum by the people working in the educational sector correspond to the objectives written to the national curriculum. Of course I was not able to analyse all of the subject syllabi, so the content of the curriculum is rather discussed with reference to the informants impressions on the subject syllabi. It is also possible that certain topics are actually included in the subject syllabi, but the informants were not aware of these facts.

The findings regarding the suggested additions to the Tanzanian primary school curriculum are actually all already included in the Tanzanian primary school curriculum (2005). The national curriculum document includes chapters, which state the vision, the mission and the objectives of the education. Within these chapters the need to include entrepreneurship into the primary education as a general objective of the education (MOEC 2005/2, 9) is mentioned. The philosophy of Self-Reliance is highlighted (Ibid, 2 and 8) in the general remarks of the national curriculum and the need to address local, traditional culture is included in many parts of the curriculum.

Besides the additions suggested to the primary school curriculum, the majority of the informants were concerned with the magnitude of the primary school curriculum. Prior to the 2005 primary school curriculum revision, the curriculum for Standards I and II of consisted of only three subjects: reading, writing and arithmetic. Since the curriculum revision of 2005, students have learned the same nine subjects throughout the seven years of primary school. These subjects include Kiswahili, English, mathematics, social studies (science, geography, citizenship) Stadi za Kazi (vocational studies), sports, Tehama (ICT), religion and French.

Analysis of the data revealed that this shift towards a more extensive curriculum already at Standard I and II created some concerns for the students learning outcomes. The informants were worried because this change made it possible for a student to reach Standard VII without knowing how to read and write properly, because too much emphasis was put on the learning experiences straight related directly to content of the curriculum. In addition to concentrating on the knowledge-centred curriculum, a lot of emphasis was also put on testing.

The call for decreasing the subjects for the Standard I and II primary school curriculum had various arguments, but in general the curriculum was seen as overloaded. Emphasis was given to the needs and capabilities of the children, because Standard I is the beginning of their educational career. One informant perceived the beginning of the primary school as a path that demands small

steps. First it was seen necessary for the children to get used to being at school. Then it was time to learn how to read and write, time to learn the basics. The magnitude of the curriculum for Standard I and II was described as a means to hinder the wellbeing of the student.

“And then you start them with seven subjects, I mean, it’s torture. The kid just becomes confused.” (C7)

This child-centred attitude towards curriculum development was seen as a necessity in order to develop the educational system so that it answers the needs of the population, and especially the students who are the receivers of the education. The hope of increasing the motivation of the students, which would lead to the continuation of the school careers as well as better achievements in the school examinations, were all described as being behind this argument that called for suiting the curriculum to the needs of the students. These aspects to the curriculum development also indicate a need to redefine the curriculum theory to include aspects from the *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition. According to Autio (2013, 4), the *Bildung* can be understood to combine the three aspects of socialisation, which include the steps of socialisation through the formal school curriculum, after that through hobbies and own activities, and lead to a participation in the society as a whole. This kind of hope for the curriculum was indicated by the analysis of the informants’ responses.

The informants were also concerned with the question of language. Due to the historical and cultural heritage of Tanzania, many children acquire a tribal language in the village, community and family from where they originate. Hence, many students especially at rural areas have to learn Kiswahili at the beginning of primary school. For that reason, there was a growing need to shift the focus of the first years of the primary education into learning the basic knowledge. Once the student reached Standard III, he or she would have acquired the basic knowledge and basic skills, so it was seen possible to acquire more knowledge through the introduction of other subjects. Hence, the teaching should be adjusted to the age of the students and the capacities they have for leaning at different times. The informants also recognised a need to have specialised teachers for these first two years of primary school, since teaching these Standards demands pedagogically different things than teaching other Standards.

Analysis of the data revealed that the difficulties related to the implementation of the curriculum arose from the content of the curriculum. The absence of teaching materials and adequate teacher training were mentioned as obstacles to appropriate curriculum implementation. The shortages in teaching materials affected the opinions related to the content of curriculum. Especially Tehama (ICT) was seen as a problematic subject in the primary school curriculum.

Computers as well as electricity were scarcely available and the teachers themselves still lacked adequate knowledge of ICT. At the same time the use of computers, ICT in general as well as the use of Internet were perceived as important in this global world.

“Because the curriculum says that we have to learn ICT, but in reality ICT in school we teach it theoretically, but not practically.” (S10)

The push for the inclusion of ICT into the primary school curriculum can be seen as pressure coming from the transnational educational theorising, which sees the future of education in the hands of ICT. In this case, other actors just the specific needs of the people, of the nation, and the students affected the content of the curriculum, which emphasises the aspect of “legitimate knowledge” (Apple 1990, 6–7; Shizha 2005, 66).

The informants were also concerned about the lack of materials that are required for the teaching of especially the vocational studies (Stadi za Kazi), which include many topics that need practical teaching and specific materials. Education given only at a theoretical level was not seen as beneficial to the students and was not regarded pedagogically rewarding. Some other topics within the syllabus were mentioned in order to emphasise the difficulties teachers face in implementing the syllabus for certain subjects. For example the use of cameras or the learning of mixing colours were mentioned as examples where the teachers themselves did not have enough knowledge to teach these topics to the students.

These sorts of findings once again raise the question of the role of the teacher, which in the Tanzanian case seems to follow the lines of the Anglo-American curriculum tradition, in which the teacher is seen as the follower of the normative curriculum with no real authority at all (Autio 2013, Westbury 2000). However, the historical perception of the teacher planted in the self-reliance policies questions this Anglo-American vision of the teacher, and the need to give the teacher more power in curriculum development was acknowledged by the respondents as well. This approach to the role of the teacher gives attention to the Bildung-Didaktik tradition and will be discussed later on.

## **5.2 The process of curriculum development**

The process of curriculum development was discussed in depth with all of the informants. One of the main findings of my research is that the curriculum development process is not very transparent to the public. Not much of the process itself was known. The informants’ knowledge about the

process differentiated hugely depending on their role and occupation within the Tanzanian educational system. The informant working at the Institute of Education held a special role while characterising the curriculum development process, since this informant was giving out information related to the work done by her office. As a result of the analysis, the findings in this section will be presented starting with the current situation of primary school curriculum development.

Another remark related to the findings of this section has to be made before moving on to the findings themselves. The questions related to international influence on the curriculum development, as well as the decentralisation process in the educational system were discussed with reference to a larger socio-political discussion and draw on other aspects of the educational system and society than just curriculum development. The reasons for this are probably many folded but at least two reasons became obvious from the informants' responses. Firstly, international influence and decentralisation are strong socio-political phenomena, which run through the whole society. Hence, the influence they have on the educational system or the curriculum more specifically can be difficult to separate. Secondly, many of the informants, especially at the school level, had not discussed these phenomena related to the curriculum previously. This meant that their focus easily turned to more general remarks related to their effects on the society.

### **5.2.1 The current curriculum development process**

The current curriculum development process was discussed with all of the informants. One of the aims of this research was to map out the knowledge the informants have on the current curriculum development process, and to create a comprehensive understanding on the process. Analysis of the data revealed that the Ministry of Education was recognised as the most important actor in the primary school curriculum development process. Also, the curriculum developers and the role of the Institute of Education were mentioned by many of the informants.

“There are people called curriculum developers. They are called the TIE. Tanzanian Institute of Education.” (I5)

The majority of the informants' answers related to the curriculum development process were in many parts quite vague. Analysis of the data showed that the informants were aware that curriculum development was done at the national level and the process was under the management of the Ministry.

“The process itself involves different stakeholders in basic education. Involving many. Collecting ideas from NGOs, public, also other officials, special officers, teachers, they usually collect the information, ideas, of the people.” (I1)

While the informants were able to identify many of the educational stakeholders involved in the process, the actual process of gathering knowledge and ideas for the development of the curriculum was not clear to many. Hence, the knowledge related to the curriculum development was confined to a list of the stakeholders and did not include much information about the process.

Analysis of the data revealed that curriculum developers were experts who were responsible for the curriculum development. They were employed by the TIE and there were currently 45 of them working at the TIE. The number of developers was recognised to be low and the curriculum developers were overloaded with work especially at the time of the reviewing of the curriculum.

“Few are employed because of their expertise in curriculum design, but it’s not only that. But they are also experts in research, experts in material design and experts in training.” (I10)

The curriculum developers are responsible for reviewing and monitoring the curricula in Tanzania. They were also involved in the writing of the materials, such as the subject syllabi and textbooks. Consultancy work and other activities with other organisations were also part of their job description. These findings correspond to the MOEC report from 2001 introducing the development of education (MOEC 2001). At the time of this research, TIE was also introducing a TIE-school partnership, which aimed to help the curriculum developers to get easy access to the school environment in order to be able to develop the curriculum so that it was rooted in the school environment.

Analysis of the data indicated that the process of subject syllabi development was closely related to the process of curriculum development. The subject syllabi were developed with the help of subject panels that bring together people from different sectors of the society.

“And these panels are subject panels that have stakeholders who are names. We have experts. We have schools, colleges, examination officers, inspectors, policy makers, retired and competent teachers. So stakeholders are chosen depending on the area of expertise and the role they play in the educational system. And on the level. It is very important, we have to check first if this is the primary school, who are the beneficiaries. “ (I10)

These subject panels were described as the main way to involve teachers in the curriculum development process. However, the informants were concerned about the fact that only some teachers were picked to the subject panels and other curriculum development processes through



random sampling, and that this was not an adequate representation within the curriculum development process. On the other hand, some of the informants thought that this was the correct way to involve teachers and they were not worried about the situation. These aspects of teachers' involvement will be discussed further on. The way the informants rationalised the selection of teachers to participate in the curriculum development process involved arguments that take into account geographical and monetary issues.

“Of course when you are developing that, sometimes it means funds. We cannot stakeholder all the people of the society. We just pick some of the people who are representative for them. And other, we cannot include all, but we are involving them.” (I14)

Analysis of the informants' responses indicated that in a sense people from all over the country were involved in the curriculum process through these random samplings. And at the same time more people could not be considered in the curriculum development process because of the lack of funds. The informants were also concerned that meetings and discussions between, for example local educational experts and the community or schools, might not involve topics related to curriculum development, since the educational sector had various other problems that were more visible in the schools. Hence the representatives called to take part at the subject panels or other development processes, were not aware of the diverse opinions relating to the curriculum. The lack of discussion about the curriculum in general was explained by the various current problems at different levels of the educational system. The majority of the informants recognised these problems and they included for example the overcrowded classrooms, the lack of adequate funds and materials, and the poor overall performance of the students.

The informants acknowledged the utilisation of ICT as an important aspect in how to get teachers, as well as other stakeholders, involved in the curriculum development process. According to the TIE, they received emails from teachers and other educational stakeholders on issues related to the ways the curriculum should be improved. However, there were major limitations to this kind of involvement and participation in the curriculum development process due to the scarce resources. For example, the use of ICT as a means to collect data from various teachers around Tanzania could not be utilised since the availability of computers and Internet was very limited.

Analysis of the data revealed that the current situation of curriculum development has been widely criticised, even to the extent that the curriculum was described as not being important for the teacher because of the fact changes that happen in the curriculum. Teachers were concerned that they are not able to take the changes into account in their work.

“Also this curriculum is not important to us because every minister who comes to the government changes the curriculum. (...) And they change the curriculum because of their own benefits.” (I13)

This kind of view on curriculum development underlined the need for a comprehensive primary school curriculum and the benefits that come from it. Analysis of the data explained some of the attitudes that teachers had towards the curriculum. The teachers’ responses indicated that they did not recognise the importance of the curriculum in their classrooms because the curriculum was not available to them. Simultaneously the teacher’s role as public intellectuals (Giroux 1990) was not acknowledged, since they were not given the access to the curriculum. As well as taking a stand in the significance of the curriculum, this viewpoint also criticized the fast changes happening in curriculum development. This phenomenon could be partly explained by the way the curriculum was currently processed, and how the teachers were not consulted during the process, or how they were given limited possibilities to access the revised curriculum at the time of its implementation.

Since the curriculum was kept out of the reach of the teachers during the development process, it was not distributed to them when changes to the curriculum were made and it was seen as a power tool in politics, there is no wonder that teachers did not think of it as influential for their own work in the schools. Even though the national curriculum was not viewed as important for the teachers, the implications of changes in it were recognised at the classroom level. These findings show that while the curricular power was not given to the teachers, they were still expected to implement the curriculum.

The informants were concerned that the current process of curriculum development was happening at the level of the Ministry, even though the developments should start from the people.

“When we start on the curriculum developers, the people who should be considering are the people in the education side. But all the way, everything is top down.” (I8)

The fact that curriculum development was characterised as a top down process, emphasised the centralised processes in the educational sector. The responses also signal the frustration at the local level, since the grassroot levels were not seen as being involved in the current processes. These aspects of curriculum development relate to the process of decentralisation within the educational sector, which will be discussed later on.

### **5.2.2 International influence in curriculum development**

The knowledge and understanding of the possible outside influences on the curriculum development process varied vastly between the informants. The more general remarks noted that Tanzania being part of the global world is inevitably influenced by the outside world. Analysis of the data indicated that the global aspect of educational developments came visible for example in reference to the big push for ICT, which was seen as a focus point by the Ministry of Education due to global trends in curriculum development. The discussion about international influence on the Tanzanian curriculum development process distinguishes global phenomena related to curriculum development, especially with focus on the Anglo-American curriculum tradition. The neoliberal and global market orientated politicisation of the curriculum can be seen to affect Tanzanian primary school curriculum development as well.

As became evident from the analysis on the current curriculum development process, many stakeholders from the educational sector are influential or somehow engaged in the curriculum development process. These educational stakeholders also include international agents, as indicated by previous research (Buchert 1997). The informants described the United Nations, and especially UNESCO, as the most noticeable international organisation involved in educational processes. Also, international policies such as the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All were described as being influential. These globally accepted targets related to the primary school education were seen as affecting the curriculum development by shifting the focus on educational decision making towards specific topics that are pointed out by outside influences.

International influence was also brought up with reference to comparative research related to curriculum development. The possibilities of comparing the curriculum development in Tanzania to other countries were seen as an asset that should be mobilised. Informants perceived these comparisons helpful when determining to which direction the national curriculum should be developed. Especially comparisons made with other east-African countries were seen as beneficial to curriculum development at home.

Some views on the international influence were more controversial and critical. Curriculum development was seen to be affected by the conditionalities set by international organisations such as the WB and the IMF. More generally, the development was seen to go hand in hand with the donors. The results from this kind of international influence shed dark light on national curriculum development. The curriculum was not seen as “their own”, and the influence was seen to have negative impacts on their educational system.

“There are things we are doing because of the influence from the outside.” (I2)

This kind of influence was noted to affect the national curriculum development in a negative way, possibly hindering the educational policies most beneficial for Tanzanian society. The international influence was seen as a political force affecting curriculum development that could end up steering the developments into a wrong direction. These questions relate to the aspect of autonomy and curricular power, which become questioned through these kinds of attitudes.

One informant gave an example from the global push towards universal primary education, which had an effect on the educational policies within Tanzania.

“The demand came from the development partners, it is the pressure from the development partners. The enrolment, it is universal, that everyone has to get part of the education as a human right. So there was this big push in that. But of course these people were clever enough, I think the problem came with a lot of factors. We managed the enrolment of a number of kinds. (...) But we forgot about the quality of learning, which is coming from the particular school.” (I11)

This kind of analysis of the Tanzanian educational developments clearly points out the force of international influence. The demands set by transnational agencies and actors, as well as global educational discourses, affected the Tanzanian educational theorising in many ways. Chisholm and Leyendecker (2008, 198) identified globalisation, changed focus by the international aid agencies adaptation of the countries to the new world orders specifically the political implication, and the coming of new pedagogical ideas from the USA and Europe, which can all be recognised in the Tanzanian educational developments since 1990s. All of these aspects can be identified from the findings of this research as well.

The transnational movement that called for universal primary education (UPE) can be seen as a good example of international influence that pushed the national educational developments to certain direction without local considerations of these changes. The UPE serves as an example of international influence that bypassed the national educational theorising and pushed for certain transnationally demanded features in the educational system. The implications of this international influence were harmful to the educational system in the long run since the reality of the education was not taken into consideration. The questions related to the reactions taken by the national government under these kinds of international movements were not discussed further with the informants.

### 5.2.3 Thoughts about the future of curriculum development

The questions related to the stakeholders that should be considered in the curriculum development process provoked the most discussion with the informants. Many of the interviewees had strong opinions about the people within the society who should be taken into account. Involvement of teachers, parents, other community members, the local government, the NGOs as well as the students themselves, was discussed with the informants.

“NGOs dealing with education, they can help. Using our own professionals. I think they can help. Also teachers. They can use teachers, because teachers, they know what they are doing, what kind of a job it is.” (I5)

“The local governance is the owner of the school. They are the owner. So the curriculum development must involve them. They are the ones who are supposed to run the school.” (I7)

Analysis of the data revealed that there was a strong belief that with involving all these different agents of the society in the curriculum development process, the curriculum would serve its purpose better. The NGOs, for example, were seen as whistle-blowers in the educational discussion and their role should not be disregarded. Similarly, the role of the local government was emphasised as a stakeholder that is able to gather information from their area and then bring that into a larger discussion at the national level. The need to organise meetings that involve all these parties was mentioned as a means to assist the curriculum development process.

Consulting parents and community members was seen as a vital part of curriculum development. The need to call out meetings with the community members was seen as a way to involve the whole society. The involvement of parents was mentioned as a means to enable the primary education to actually benefit the children.

“In my opinion, I think even the parents should be included in the curriculum. Because they are the ones who know their kids, how they learn. After going home the parents are the ones who are assisting. They should know the curriculum also.” (I8)

Parents, as well as teachers were recognised as the key informants in the search for a relevant and appropriate curriculum for primary education. This was mainly because of the urge to root the primary education to the local environment of the children. All of these aspects of the curriculum development rely on the belief that decentralisation of the curriculum would benefit the society as a whole through the idea of expert knowledge (McGinn and Welsh 1999).

Teachers' role was emphasised even more since they are the facilitators of the curriculum. Analysis of the data showed that because teachers are the one group of people who are responsible for implementing the curriculum in the classrooms, they are the ones who are familiar with the reality where the teaching takes place, and should therefore be involved in the process. It was pointed out that no one else in the society is aware of the problems in the classrooms, so no one else can bring out the reality of where education is happening. Hence, the findings call for the voice of the teacher (Carl 2005). This approach relies on the role of the teacher as identified in the Bildung-Didaktik tradition (Autio 2013).

The analysis demonstrated that the current curriculum development process was criticised from various points of view. The first aspect of the critique pointed out the lack of research done about the curriculum development process as well as the implementation of the curriculum. The process of gathering information on curriculum implementation and data from the people working with the curriculum was criticised as being nearly non-existent. The need to conduct comprehensive research was mentioned as a key element in future curriculum development processes.

“Check some little research regarding the curriculum, benefits, challenge it. Put them forward with the educational stakeholders. Call a meeting you know. And put proposal that you have to change the curriculum. Work from that on the new curriculum, propose a new one. And then put some few schools to test, piloting them. And see the results. Go back to the evaluation board and say that okay fine, you have 1,2,3,4,5 results from this, the implementation etc. And then come and say we recommend this further. [...] It [the curriculum] has to be planned. But overnight and saying we change the curriculum, that is not professional.” (I11)

This excerpt shows that the process of curriculum development involves many different stages that seem to be missing from the current curriculum process. The fast and unexpected changes in the curriculum development were criticised and the process itself was characterised as lacking important stages of piloting and evaluation. Whether the current curriculum process actually includes these aspects, or whether the process is just not made transparent enough, cannot be evaluated from this data. However, the important part is that the process should be made visible so that the whole society has knowledge on the curriculum development process.

Another point of critique toward the current process of curriculum development relates to ignoring the work done by the NGOs. For example, HakiElimu was pointed out as one of the most influential agents in educational processes, and they are constantly bringing up the ill practices in the educational sector. The Ministry was criticised by the way they dismiss the concerns these NGOs point out. The possibilities of NGOs to take part in educational theorising were also

acknowledge by Venugopal and Yilmaz (2010, 229), who also highlight that the avenues for this kind of social movement are weak, and therefore the civil society participation remains weak. This problem with the lack of avenues that enable NGOs and the public to engage in civil society participation were also mentioned during my interviews.

Analysis indicated that the involvement of many stakeholders from the society were recognised to be important in the curriculum development process, but not many means of achieving this involvement were pointed out. Informants saw the need to organise meetings with different stakeholders as one way of achieving this. Also emphasis was put on the timeframe of curriculum development. There should be enough time to gather data and involve different stakeholders in the process, rather than change the curriculum in fast cycles that do not benefit anyone in the society.

The informants were also concerned about the lack of the public's activity in expressing their ideas about the curriculum. One informant made the point by saying that changes in the educational system do not happen because people are not shouting. The reasons behind this phenomenon of 'not shouting' are many folded, but probably the most fundamental problems relate to the lack of access to the curriculum, which results in the public not knowing enough about the curriculum or the process of curriculum development to be able to participate in the public discussion.

“Of course people here are not aware about the curriculum. So there is no one who can encourage [them to saying their opinions]. They can't write about the curriculum, they are not understanding about the curriculum. So how can they prepare?” (I6)

The restricted access to the curriculum can therefore be seen as an obstacle for a wide public discussion on the topic of curriculum. The reluctance of the people in power to open up the curriculum discussion for the general public can be recognised as one possible reason for the lack of access to curriculum theorising, as pointed out by Kelly (2004, 16). The reasons for the reluctance can include many aspects, probably including the fear of critique towards the curriculum theorising that could result in the loss of power.

### **5.3 Perceptions of centralisation and decentralisation**

The informants described the current primary school curriculum of Tanzania as a centralised curriculum. The country has one national curriculum that is developed by the Institute of Education.

The reason why it was labelled as centralised related to the lack of local government influence on the development process.

### **5.3.1 Attitudes towards decentralisation**

The need and hopes for the decentralisation of the curriculum were discussed in depth with all of the informants. This discussion topic also created the most uncertainty with the informants because for some the idea of decentralisation of the curriculum development process was a new perspective to curriculum planning. Analysis of the informants' responses indicated that the possibility of creating other curricula at different levels of the educational system created a lot of confusion for the informants, since the core of the primary school curriculum was still placed at the national level.

In more general terms, the decentralisation of Tanzania was characterised as a process of shifting power from the central government to the local governments, which is a very common definition of the decentralisation process (See for example Rondinelli 1999, Bray 2007). While this has been happening at the official level, the reality of the decentralisation process was seen with more sceptical eyes.

“What can I say is that the decentralisation process is not done only with the educational system alone, but it goes with the rest of the system. For example if you're talking about decentralisation then it means leadership, finances and decision-making should be decentralised. But if you look at the system we have now in Tanzania it is more decentralised on the other side but they want to decentralise only a section of these things. For example if they want to decentralise education, they are giving power to teachers, they are giving power to the schools, but the finances and other things will not be decentralised. And if that will happen then decentralisation is not effective. That is what I think. It is the same like what we are having now. They are saying schools should make sure that they manage their own planning and management of schools, but if you look at the other end, all the money remains in the Ministry. So how can these school do whatever they want to do?”  
(19)

This excerpt shows that decentralisation in Tanzania is not necessarily as effective as one would hope because of the way it is implemented within the society. Especially related to the funding available for the schools, the central government was still characterised as being responsible for holding this sort of power. Analysis of the data revealed that funding was recognised as the most influential part of the educational system, and while the power that comes with the distribution of the funds stayed at the national level, the obstacles within primary schools were seen to be persistent.



According to the data, decentralisation in the Tanzanian educational system has happened to some extent, which was also recognised by previous research by Gershberg and Winkler (2004, 347). Decentralisation has divided the roles of educational management between the Ministry of Education and the Prime Minister's Office. The division of roles means that in most cases the policy issues are managed by the Ministry, while the power to guide the implementation of these policies is given to the Prime Minister's office. This ensures that all the power within the educational decision-making is not placed in the hands of one national body of governance. The way in which this aspect of decentralisation has affected the educational system, or how this division of power has benefited the educational sector, was not discussed further.

Analysis of the data also revealed that decentralisation at the level of curriculum development and planning was minimal. Therkildsen (2000, 411–412) presents similar findings and highlights that decentralisation does not yet reach the most important aspects of educational developments. Decentralisation in terms of curriculum was recognised only at the level of teaching and learning strategies, which means that the teacher has power to influence which strategies he or she wants to use in the classroom.

Informants acknowledged the need for decentralisation of the curriculum development process and were very aware of the benefits it would bring about. The need for teachers, parents, communities and local government to influence the curriculum was seen to be possible to achieve by decentralisation of curriculum development. The decentralisation process was discussed further by trying to identify how the locally developed curriculum and the national curriculum could coexist. The way informants perceived these questions indicates that his line of reasoning brought a lot of difficulties for many. The coexistence of two or even more curricula at different levels of the society was a new way of perceiving the curriculum for the majority of the informants. However, some informants were also intrigued by the possibility of having curriculum at the school or regional level as well as at the national level.

“For us here it's still a challenge [having national and school curriculum] and it's because of the... maybe the size, I'm not sure, of the country. But challenges in terms of awareness in decentralisation on how you can manage decentralisation process into the curriculum.” (I10)

This excerpt shows that there is a lack of awareness of the possibilities to develop curriculum at different levels of the society without them being contradictory. This calls for more discussion regarding the possibilities of curriculum development.

Locally developed curricula were seen to benefit especially those people who do not continue their education after primary or secondary school. The need to differentiate the primary

school curriculum according to the locality of the school environment was mainly discussed in reference to the different regions of Tanzania. Informants acknowledge that the differences within Tanzania are huge, especially from a geographical perspective and that it would be beneficial for the primary education to localise some aspects of the primary school curriculum.

“Decentralisation of the curriculum, not everything, not all aspects of the curriculum, but some aspects of the curriculum. Particularly when it becomes to the competences or skills.” (I12)

Here the emphasis was put on the need to help the students who do not continue their studies to be able to sustain their life at the local areas.

One of the biggest worries related to decentralisation of the curriculum relates to the uncertainty it was seen to develop at the educational system. The informants were concerned that if people are able to decide for themselves what to include in the primary school curriculum, the system will lose its core.

“So if they want to decentralise then everybody is picking up something here and there. Things will be lost in the process. Yeah, things will be lost.” (I9)

The worry of losing the core of the Tanzanian curriculum relates to the ideas that will be brought up in the next section on the national identity discourse that seems to be at the middle of the curriculum thinking.

While the localisation of the curriculum, in order to include local aspects to the education and to root the teaching into the environment, was acknowledged, there was still a belief that the national curriculum plays the most important role in primary education. Some informants were also convinced that the national curriculum does give enough room for localisation within the subject syllabi, and there is no need to develop anything else except for the national curriculum.

### **5.3.2 The need for one national curriculum**

While the benefits of the localisation of the primary school curriculum and the possibilities of the decentralisation of the curriculum development process were acknowledged, the final impression with all of the informants was that Tanzania needs one national primary school curriculum. Analysis of the data distinguished four arguments that support the idea of one national primary school curriculum. The fact that four arguments that call for national curriculum and hence at least some form of centrality in the educational sector seriously questions the theories of decentralisation

or at least the need for Tanzanian educational sector to fulfil the necessary steps for decentralisation. Of course the arguments for national curriculum do not necessarily work as counterarguments for decentralisation, but certainly they encourage to approach the call, need and forms of decentralisation from a different angle.

The strongest argument for one national primary school curriculum relied on the nationalistic appreciation towards Tanzania as one nation where all of the people should be educated the same way. This line of reasoning relates to the impressions the informants had on the significance of the national curriculum discussed previously.

“Because a curriculum means the identity of the country. A curriculum is everything, like this is what we want to have, this is what we want to achieve at the end of the day.” (I9)

“But in reality it [one national curriculum] is good, because we are all Tanzanian, and we’ll all be the same. We know the same things.” (I4)

These excerpts underline the importance of education as a means of the socialisation process and the need to ensure that all children in Tanzania will be educated according to the same curriculum.

For many respondents, the existence of the national curriculum underlined the importance of education as a means of the socialisation process. This nationalistic curriculum thinking was highlighted by the ideas of self-reliance, which came explicit from the findings. The national ethos still seems to draw upon the self-reliance ideologies adopted after independence. These aspects of the national curriculum planning indicate, that in Tanzania, the socialisation process still rests upon the nation-state, and national belonging.

While certain similarities to the formulation of national ethos through the educational system can be seen between the current Tanzanian curriculum development and the *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition, one must not make hasty conclusions. As Autio (2013, 26) remarks, for the *Bildung-Didaktik* tradition, the nation-state is seen “as an objective structure of education”. In the Tanzanian case, the ‘objectivity’ of the nation-state as an educational structure has to be questioned, since strong political influences can be identified in the background. These influences include traces from at least the post-colonial ideology in the form of Self-Reliance policies and from the neoliberal discourses transmitted by globalisation.

The second argument builds on the same assumptions of building one country but focuses even more on the need for people to know the same things at the end of their educational career. This argument highlights the mobility of the Tanzanian people within their country.

“Because when getting job, we go around Tanzania, you can get anywhere. So you have to be able to practice your education on a specific area.” (S14)

According to the informants, Tanzanians are a very mobile population, which means that after finishing with their educational career people tend to find jobs all over the country. This aspect of mobility was mentioned as one of the reasons behind the need to hold on to the national curriculum. The line of reasoning presupposes the idea that only one national curriculum will be able to accomplish the desired outcomes in students educational career.

The third argument that supports one national curriculum points at the existence of the national examinations at the end of primary school. All the students take part in final examinations at the end of Standard VII. The results from these examinations affect the educational future as well as the future careers of the students. Informants perceived the examinations as the most important way to measure the educational success of their country and were therefore kept at high value.

“I think it [one national curriculum] is good because when for example standard one to standard seven, if they don't have one curriculum, when they reach standard seven, they have national exams. The national exam is only one for the whole Tanzania. So if Dar es Salaam have their own curriculum and Mwanza their own curriculum, there would be a problem.” (I5)

According to this line of reasoning the national curriculum is perceived as the means to ensure that the students will learn everything included in the primary school curriculum so that they will all be able to take part in the same national examinations. This argument also emphasises the value informants put on the national curriculum as the only right way to achieve the nationally set objectives during the years students spend in primary education. If this argument is placed at the heart of the curriculum it shows that the Tanzanian education relies strongly on the Anglo-American curriculum tradition that values standardisation, targets and tests at the centre of education (Autio 2013, 15).

The fourth arguments that stands for one national curriculum relates more directly to the management of schools and further on to the funding of education. Analysis of the data indicated that the central curriculum was seen as cheap to manage. By this argument, the focus is shifted to the idea that when the development of the curriculum is done in a centralised manner by one national body, the resources will be limited into the work they do. If local or regional governments would start to develop their own curricula for primary, and possibly also to other sectors of the educational system, this would call for more funds at the local or regional levels. Hence, the idea of managing the primary school curriculum at the central level is seen as a cheap way to ensure that the education is at the desired level.

Taking all these arguments into account, it seems that currently the nation rests firmly on the idea of developing their educational system on top of one national curriculum.

“I think we still have to centralise [the curriculum], as for now. I feel we still have to centralise. Because the process of curriculum is not something small. It is big and we need maybe a framework where by the government has to be abide to the framework and most of the people should be according to that.” (I9)

This excerpt summarises the current situation of the primary school curriculum development in Tanzania. The problems facing the educational system were seen so widely spread out that the need to keep the system together for now was seen as a main priority. The curriculum development process is also at a phase where it is still trying to find its shape and direction, which argues for the need to get the basics of the system in the right form before any new developments can be taken into consideration.

## 6 CONCLUSION

To conduct this research I travelled to a foreign country to study a socio-political phenomenon, curriculum development, in a certain cultural and historical context. Conducting research in a foreign country presents certain ethical concerns that relate to reliability and authenticity of the research. Namely, foreign perspective, researcher's subjectivity and forehand expectations can seriously harm the research results. These questions were kept in mind from the beginning of this research, in order to minimise their influence on the reliability of the findings.

A few specific remarks about the ethical concerns should be made, even though their influence on the reliability of the findings was minimised. The first notion relates to the certain misconceptions the informants had about the concept of curriculum. These misconceptions were instantly corrected during the interviews so that the interpretations of curriculum were as similar as possible. However, because of the lack of access to the national curriculum, many of the informants' opinions were formulated without first-hand knowledge of the curriculum. This meant that the findings concentrated more on the perceptions the informants had about the syllabi, rather than the real content or the actual development process of the curriculum. The second notion takes into consideration the status or role some of the informants had in the society, which could have affected their responses to specific questions. Hence, certain amount of cautiousness might be attached to some answers. Also questions of language could have affected the exact formulation of answers since both parties used a foreign language to communicate.

Although these remarks can be made about the trustworthiness of the findings, the well-prepared research questions, the methodological framework, and the truthful analysis of the data ensured that the findings of this research are worthwhile. Most significantly, the curriculum development process in Tanzania is marked by the lack of access to the national curriculum, as well as lack of transparency in the curriculum development process. Curriculum development is kept at the centralised level, in the hands of the institute designed for curriculum design and development. More involvement from the teachers and other more local stakeholders is desired, but at the same time there is a strong perception that Tanzania needs one national curriculum.

Tanzanian curriculum theorising is strongly influenced by international forces. This became evident from the data analysis, as well as from the theoretical research drawing on the transnational curriculum theorising. In short, the Anglo-American curriculum represents a curriculum model for an organisational education system, where the curriculum is used to guide, direct and control schools and teaching (Westbury 2000, 16–17). The Tanzanian primary school curriculum fits this model as well. In the Anglo-American curriculum model, teachers nationwide replicate the national

or institutional curriculum, taking into consideration the specific circumstances of their schools. In Tanzania, partly due to the lack of access to the national curriculum, teachers nationwide implement the national curriculum through the subject syllabi drafted by the national institute. The extent to which the specific circumstances of teaching are taken into consideration is left as the responsibility of the teacher, since the nationally produced subject syllabi give little to none inspirations or instructions for this.

The aspect of international influence can also be seen to have imperialistic features. These features are transmitted through neoliberal educational policies that affect education including curriculum (Autio 2006). This aspect of neo-imperialism that is presented in the form of development aid and its conditionalities, or strong international influence on the curriculum control, should be approached through strong critical analysis (for example by Shizha (2005), Giroux (2003) and Apple (1990)). Critique towards international influences should be taken into consideration, since the negative impacts of the international influence were recognised.

To sum up the two transnational curriculum traditions, it can be argued that the philosophy of education incorporated in the Bildung-Didaktik curriculum tradition seems to be “immune to the mentality of ‘teaching to the test’” (Autio 2013, 5), while the contemporary Anglo-American education policy that is formed along the lines of neoliberal educational doctrines, is spreading in the world and setting the targets into outcomes, tests, and standardisation (Autio 2013, 15). While this seems to be the trend transnationally, the findings of my research indicate something else to be happening simultaneously in Tanzania. In Tanzania there is a strong sense of national belonging, which is at least partly sustained by the national curriculum. For many respondents, the existence of the national curriculum underlined the importance of education as a means of the socialisation process. The national ethos still seems to draw upon the self-reliance ideologies adopted after independence. However, the current educational system in Tanzania is simultaneously strongly influenced by testing and setting targets and outcomes. The future of curriculum development in Tanzania can be influenced by the tensions these two traditions hold, and during those developments the questions of power relations become essential once again.

The questions of power in the educational setting, or even in curriculum development, are by no measure exhausted in this research. Questions of politicisation of curriculum and the impacts of the curricular power remain intriguing. Further research should also be directed at international influences, and looking for the traces of the influence at the policy level, to see how transparent the guidance is through for example development aid or transnational consultation in educational planning. These approaches could help to identify the impact international influence can have at a

policy level. Also, comparative research from other East-African countries related to the traces from the two transnational curriculum traditions could create interesting comparisons.

To study a socio-political process like curriculum development, which spreads out to the whole of society at a national, but also a global, transnational level, means that the magnitude of the aspects and approaches can easily become overwhelming. This phenomenon was also recognised from the findings of this research, where the actors and influences and their impacts and effects overlap and intertwine into a ‘complicated conversation’. The conversation cannot be continued rationally as long as all the stakeholders are not given access to all the resources, which calls for the distribution of the national curriculum to the relevant actors in the curriculum development process. After the curriculum is available to all relevant players, Tanzanian national curriculum development faces many more conversations at the national, as well as global levels, about the future of curriculum development.



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## **Annex 1**

### **Interview questions**

The interview questions will be adjusted to fit the position the informant holds in the society. For that reason the questions for the interviews are presented according to the topic.

Introduction

Background of the research

Topics for discussion

#### **CONTENT OF CURRICULUM**

Does the primary school curriculum suit the children?

Is the curriculum present in classrooms and schools?

Have you read the curriculum?

#### **AGENTS AND INFLUENCE**

To your knowledge, who decides the content of the curriculum?

Do international development initiatives or policies influence the Tanzanian educational system?

In your opinion, who should decide what should be taught in primary schools?

#### **DECENTRALISATION AND POWER**

Should teachers/parents/communities/ local administrators have more say in educational policy?

Is the local city council influential in your school?

## Annex 2

### List of informants

Mr	Amin Abdullah	Project Coordinator in Tampere-Mwanza co-operation project
Mrs	Angela Katararo	Director, Curriculum Development and Review, the Institute of Education
Mr	Aron Kagurumjuli	Mwanza City Education Officer
Mrs	Cathleen Sekwao	Coordinator, Tanzania Education Network Ten/Met
Mr	Chacha Kitima	Teacher in Igoma primary school
Mr	Charles Mtoi	Monitoring and Evaluation Officer, HakiElimu
Mr	Oscar Kapinga	Mwanza City Academic Officer
Mrs	Devota Muhobuta	Headteacher in Kirumba primary school
Mrs	Devotha GAspary	Teacher in Isenga primary school
Dr	Eugenia Kafanabo	Head of Department of Educational Psychology and Curriculum
Mr	Githbert K. Mushonela	Butimba Teacher's training college
Mrs	Jovitha Bernardi	Teacher in Isenga primary school
Mrs	Juliana Madaha	Headteacher in Igoma primary school
Mrs	Magreth Maina	Teacher in Kirumba primary school
Mr	Paulo Bushesha	Teacher in Kirumba primary school
Mrs	Pendo Elkana	Teacher in Igoma primary school
Mrs	S. Kinanga	Mwanza Inspectors Office