Let Them Talk: Voices from the Friends of Education Movement in Tanzania

Fortunata G. Songora and Mary Nsemwa
Let Them Talk: Voices from the Friends of Education Movement in Tanzania

Fortunata G. Songora and Mary Nsemwa

1. Introduction
Primary education is a national concern. Almost every Tanzanian has either a child, brother, sister, or close relative who is in primary school. Most Tanzanians are responsible for the expenses their families or relatives incur for primary education. The Government of Tanzania is taking the issue of primary education seriously. For example, it has ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) which states, in Article 28, that:

States parties recognize the right of the child to education, and with a view to achieving this right progressively and on the basis of equal opportunity, they shall in particular: (a) make primary education compulsory and available free to all…”

The Government is also committed to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which include the goal of achieving Universal Primary Education (UPE) by the year 2015. In line with these international commitments, the Government embarked on the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) 2002-2006. PEDP aims to increase overall gross and net enrolment of boys and girls, improve quality and access of primary education, build the institutional capacity of the education system, and strengthen institutional arrangements to support schools.

In recognition that many Tanzanians are concerned about education, HakiElimu has created a space where citizens can air and share their views on education. This national/public space is known as the Friends of Education Movement. In this paper, we present and analyze a sample of views from Friends of Education. These views were collected in the form of letters and emails written to either HakiElimu or local newspapers.

In this paper, we begin with an overview of the Friends of Education Movement, followed by a brief explanation of the method through which we selected letters and analytical issues that were used in this analysis. We then explore citizens’ views on education and particularly how Friends of Education view education in light of the following broader thematic issues: human rights, policy versus practice, citizen participation, and obstacles and challenges facing the education sector. Finally, we conclude with a discussion of how these views can be incorporated into the broader policy debate on education.

1 The Friends of Education Movement was initiated in 2003 by HakiElimu to provide a space for citizens to participate in education governance. This paper is based on a documentary research that was conducted in 2004 therefore the views of Friends of Education presented herein do not reflect some of the policy changes in Tanzania, such the abolishment of corporal punishment, which have been effected recently. However, by providing the antecedents to these policy changes, this paper gives a glimpse how far we have come in improving education and highlights, albeit in a nutshell, the role of citizens’ views in influencing these changes.
2 Fortunata G. Songora is a PhD Candidate and MacArthur Scholar at the Sociology Department, University of Minnesota, USA and Mary Nsemwa is the Manager of the Citizen Engagement Program Unit at HakiElimu. Email rafiki@hakielimu.org This paper was completed in early 2006, and reflects information current at that time.
3 The Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly Resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989.
2. The Friends of Education Movement

The Friends of Education Movement is an open space for people to participate in imaginative public dialogue on issues pertaining to equity, quality, human rights and democracy in education. The Movement was initiated in 2003 with the broader mission of facilitating communities to influence public policy, transform schools and improve education. It aims to bring together concerned people from all over the country (women, men, children and elderly from all walks of life) to make change in education. The movement has already attracted over twenty thousand groups and individuals who have joined formally and everyone is invited to join.

Through the Movement people are informed about education policies and practice. Information is accessed through sharing of experiences, exchange of ideas, regular distribution of publications, and through print and electronic media. HakiElimu acts as the focal point for communication. It also links them with other actors including government institutions, CSOs and the media. More significantly, some Friends, as proactive citizens and agents of change, organize themselves and take action in their local areas.

3. Methodology

HakiElimu has a large collection of letters and emails written by Friends from all over the country. For the purpose of our study, we selected 221 letters/emails from the Opinions and Members Activities Files. This figure includes letters that were written to HakiElimu and those that were published in local newspapers.

We used a purposeful sampling technique in which we devised a sampling frame that included letters from both rural and urban areas, written by both men and women. Our sample includes 164 men (72.2%), 34 women (15.38%), 10 groups of people (4.52%) and 13 (5.88%) whose gender could not be identified in the letters they wrote. About 52.5% of the total sampled letters came from rural areas.

The letters were categorized according to the following themes: human rights, policy versus practice, citizen participation in education and governance, and obstacles and challenges. Moreover, in each of these four themes there are several analytical issues that we identified, which, in our view, elaborates the four categorical themes.

On human rights we explored different issues that hinder Tanzanian children from exercising their right to education. These issues include user fees for basic education, disability, gender discrimination and other gender related issues, as well as accessibility issues such as distance from home to school.

In relation to implementation of policy we explore the level of understanding regarding policies and areas where common practice deviates from policy. For example, we are aware that user fees in primary education have been eradicated since 2001. But is this the case on the ground? Are Friends of Education aware of the policy? Do they ask questions or do they have views on how this is being practiced in various schools in Tanzania? Thus, we explore how the policy has been implemented. We also explore other policies related to education and how they have been practiced on the ground.

---

5 Opinions and Members Activities Files are HakiElimu’s internal files containing, among other documents, correspondences from public members and Friends of Education. HakiElimu also compile news clippings, including letters to the editor, on educational issues published in local newspapers.
Then we analyze how people/Friends of Education use space for participation in education and governance. Here we analyze the kinds of activities friends undertake, in order to participate in education and governance. For example, we explore whether they are asking questions, report on activities they have done as members of the movement, and seek guidance on how to proceed on different actions. Finally, we explore obstacles and challenges to education that Tanzanians are facing.

It was not easy to analyze data that was not originally collected for this particular purpose. It is important to emphasize that concerned citizens and members of the Friends of Education Movement wrote these letters and, as such, they cover a wide range of topics. However, for the purpose of our analysis we selected several themes related to education before we read and analyzed the letters. We looked for these themes in each of the letters. We then read all of the letters in the files and, while reading, selected 221 letters that touched on the four chosen analytical themes. Thus, this selection process may have had a thematic bias.

4. Education as a Human Right
Many Tanzanians consider education to be a human right. The letters we analyzed had very specific thoughts on how education is a human right, and highlighted several factors that impede Tanzanian children from accessing this right. We present those views here, based on what was repeatedly mentioned in the letters. The major issue mentioned by many people in our sample is the practice of user fees in education and how this hinders the realization of various national and international goals of making education accessible to all. Other issues that were mentioned by many Friends include corporal punishment, quality of education, freedom of expression, gender discrimination, disability issues, and accessibility in general.

4.1 User Fees
On May 26 1991, Tanzania ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which specifically prohibited user fees for primary education. Despite its ratification, Tanzania did not repeal user fees in education until 2001. As the sampled letters indicate, some people who wrote letters asking questions regarding user fees more than two year after the their abolition. Those aware of the abolition of these fees were either reporting what was happening or seeking guidance on how to deal with schools that still ask parents to pay fees. Some asked about the process through which they could be helped to access further education. Others reported being asked to pay several fees or contributions to school and fearing that their children will be sent home if they do not pay, for example, what they call examination fees.

A significant number of Friends of Education, particularly in rural areas, reported that they have been asked to pay registration fees, examination fees and building contributions.

Several factors were mentioned by those who commented on the user fees as a hindrance for themselves or members of their family to exercise their right to education. For example, in one letter cited below, the respondent, a rural woman, was aware that user fees had been abolished but she was wondering why the rural schools were still asking parents to pay them:

…Mheshimiwa Rais alisema sasa elimu ya ms ingi ni bure. Ila kumwandikisha mtoto wa darasa la kwanza tunatakiwa kulipa shs 8,000 kama huna rudi na mwano nyumbani …. Sisi wazazi wengi wa huku vijijini tumeshindwa kuwapeleka watoto wetu shule kutokea na ada kuwa juu mno. (Respondent 022, a woman from a rural area).
The Honorable President said that primary education is now free. But in order to enrol a Standard one pupil we are first required to pay Tsh 8,000 and if you don’t have you go back home with your child… Most of us, parents in the villages, have failed to send our children to school because the fee is too high.

Students also raised their concerns. For instance, a student from a rural area (Respondent 093) reported that she could not continue with schooling due to parents’ inability to pay school fees. Other Friends not only reported how they have been asked to pay user fees for education despite their abolition, but they also described some unpleasant incidences when parents are unable to pay the fees. These include children being sent home until they can pay for examination fees or not being allowed sit for the examinations. In one extreme case, a Friend reported how an education coordinator and headmaster/mistress in one of the wards forced parents to pay for the education of their children:

Mratibu na Mwalimu Mkuu wa Shule ya Msingi XX walipokea waraka maalum toka wizaranini kuwa ada za Shule ya Msingi zimeondolewa, hivyo wasiendelee kudai. Miezi minne baada ya wao kupokea waraka huo (wakuficha) walieni kale wa kwa nguvu na kwa matokeo mengi, k.m. wazazi walinyang'anywa mali zao kwa nguvu kama vile mbuzi, kondoo, ng’ombe, kung’oa mabati ya nyumba za kulala za familia, miti ikakatwa ovyo ovyo tu ikauzwa, wazazi kufungwa mashati na kukokotwa barabarani kama watumwa. (Respondent 048)

The coordinator and Headmaster/mistress of XX Primary School received a special directive from the Ministry, on the abolition of primary school fees stipulating that they should not continue soliciting it. Four months after receiving that directive (hidden) they continued to oppress parents of schoolchildren by forcing them to pay using various oppressive measures, for example, parents were forcefully stripped of their properties such as goats, lambs, cattle, removing the roofs of their family houses, cutting and selling their trees messily, tying parents’ shirts and dragging them on the road like slaves.

The observation demonstrates how parents in this village suffered abuse because they were unable to pay for the education of their children. Despite the fact that the Government had issued a statement that user fees had been abolished, some leaders decided to use their power to humiliate poor people and confiscate their properties.

The incidences of forcing parents to pay fees despite their abolition did not only happen in rural schools but also in urban schools. In one of the cases in an urban school, parents were asked to pay an extremely large amount. After parents queried as to why they were being asked to pay such a fee the answer was that their school was non-local. However, the parents asserted that their school was 100 percent Tanzanian - that is, local. Parents also perceived that primary school administrators in the ministry might be collaborating with school heads to enforce the payment of fees, which had hitherto been abolished by the Government.

These examples depict what is happening on the ground with respect to the abolition of user fees and the way parents were still being asked and even forced, at times humiliatingly, to pay the fees. There were also many letters asking whether HakiElimu could sponsor them or connect them with donors who could fund the education of their children.

4.2 Corporal Punishment

Corporal punishment was another issue raised by several respondents as a human rights issue that denies children’s’ right to education. The debate on corporal punishment was two-sided. On one side, there were those who were supporting corporal punishment, arguing that it is good for disciplinary purposes and it helps children learn. Those in this camp, who were either students
themselves or parents, saw no harm on exercising this form of punishment and some even condemned those who argue against it. Those who argued against it insisted that it is a human right violation. This group argued that corporal punishment creates truancy among children because of the fear of being severely punished. Some of them gave examples of incidences where students were severely hurt because of corporal punishment and how no measures were taken against teachers who committed these violations of human rights. Below are some of these examples:

Watoto wanapigwa hadi matoke kuvimba, mashati kubaki na alama za fimbo. Walimu watano wanawezu kupiga mtoto mmoja. Wanapewa adhabu ya kushika masikio na huku fimbo zinalia mgongoni (Respondent 005).

[Children are caned until their buttocks swell and their shirts are left with marks from the strokes. Five teachers could cane/beat one child. They are asked to hold their ears as a form of punishment while strokes are applied loudly in the back]

… some punishments do not make a student realize his/her mistake but make a student feel that he/she is not wanted at school […] a student is asked to lift big blocks, such punishments cannot make a student realize his/her mistakes (Respondent 011).

… kitendo cha Desembe 2003 ambapo mwanafunzi ___ ambaye ni kaka wa mwanafunzi ____aliyepigwa na kudhirai [kuzirai] hali iliyosababisha kulazwa hospital[il] ukiumuisha na kitendo alichofanywa mdogo wake havistahili kuwepo mashuleni kwani ni ukiukwaji mkubwa wa haki za binadamu pia ni uvunjaji wa sheria. (Respondent 034)

[…The incident that occurred in December 2003 in which the student ____ who is a brother of the student ____ who was beaten until s/he passed out, a condition which led him/her to be hospitalized, and what was done to his younger sibling are not supposed to take place in schools because they are a serious violation of human rights as well as the law]

4.3 Access

Many respondents mentioned access as an obstacle for exercising their right to education. The question of accessibility covers many fronts. On one hand, the Government, which builds education infrastructure, has built schools very far from where people live. On the other hand, there are personal as well as socio-cultural factors that deny children access to education. For example, some people were of the opinion that the issue of accessibility depends largely on parent’s knowledge of the importance of education. For example, one female commented that parents, especially in the rural areas, do not insist that their children go to school but, rather, they allow them to do other activities, such as hunting and farming, which they see as important. Below are some of the comments on accessibility:

Baadhi ya watoto hushindwa kwenda shule kwa sababu tofauti. Kwanza inasababishwa na wazazi wenyewe kutoona umuhimu wa elimu. Hali hii mara nyingi hutokea huko vijijini ambako wazazi hupuuzia elimu na kuwaacha watoto wao wakienda kuwinda na mambo mengine. (Respondent 024)

[ Some of the children fail to go to school because of various reasons. First, it is because of the parents themselves do not see the importance of education. Most of the time this occurs in the villages whereby parents do not take education seriously and leave their children hunting and undertaking doing other activities.]

…hata watoto wa kike waliocagulwaa kuendelea na masomo ya sekondari, hunyimwa nafasi na kulazimishwa kuolewa kwa visingizio vya wazazi (hasa wa kiume) kukosa fedha za kugharamia.”(Respondent 193)
Even some of the girls who have been selected to continue with their secondary education are denied the chance to do so and they are forced to be married on the basis of excuses given by their parents (especially the fathers/men) that they do not have money for financing their education.

Pregnancy has also denied girls’ access, especially when they are expelled from school. A male Friend of Education (Respondent 072) raised concerns about girls who get pregnant, sometimes by their own teachers. These girls, it was asserted, are expelled but nothing is done to the responsible man. The Friend recommended that the Government should allow pregnant girls to continue with schooling.

Other factors affecting accessibility, which were mentioned, include having to make too many financial contributions, lack of food at school, poverty and being orphaned.

4.4 Gender Discrimination and Disability

There were comments on issues of gender and education, especially in relation to access and gender preferences in sending children to school. It was argued that some parents prefer to send girls to school while others prefer to send boys. Other respondents were of the opinion that both boys and girls should be given equal opportunity when it comes to sending children to school. One female from an urban area had the following remark on why some children are unable to go to school:

In other cases some children have not been going to school because of gender discrimination. Some parents discriminate girls from going to school. Moreover, some have not been going to school because they have some disabilities (Respondent 011).

Another respondent, a male, from an urban area (Respondent 097) asserted that both girls and boys have equal rights and they should be valued equally when it comes to education. In a similar vein, a female from an urban area suggested that all girls and boys should equally receive education without harassment, discrimination or bullying. Furthermore, there were many views on disability. It is known that although Tanzania has many people with disability, little has been done to safeguard their rights on various fronts. For instance, in many places there are no parking spaces for people with disabilities and many buildings, including schools, are inaccessible to people with disabilities. This, Respondent 110 asserts, creates a challenge for people with disabilities to realize their right to education.

Consequently, many respondents suggested that schools create an environment conducive to children with disabilities. In his own words one male respondent from a rural area commented that:

If the Government can put in place things that will attract children with disability to go school, that way they will be able to exercise their right to education. For example, if the Government can provide equipments which will help children with disability. Also the Government should sensitize parents with disabled children through the media it will help because in some families if they have a disabled child they will hide this child and view this child as useless to the family (Respondent 013).

Another woman from a rural area was of a similar opinion, that parents needed to be educated on the need to give equal rights to all children without discriminating against those with disabilities. These views depict the fact that some parents’ perceptions of children with disabilities contributes to the small number of disabled children in local schools. Not only does the mentality of the parents need to be corrected but the Government should also create a school environment that is comfortable for children with disabilities and conducive to their learning.
5. The Gap between Policy and Practice

It is true that the Government has enacted some good policies. However, it has been revealed that, in some cases, the practice is not consistent with the policies. Some of the letters pointed out such contradictory practices. Others suggested solutions or alternative measures to improve the situation. Subsections 5.1- 5.3 briefly revisit some of issues discussed above, albeit with particular emphasis on policy versus practice. Subsection 6.4 briefly highlights Friends’ perceptions about the gap between policy and other governmental statements regarding teaching conditions and the actual practice on the ground.

5.1 Corporal Punishment Revisited

As noted in Section 4.2 of this paper, many people have argued against corporal punishment while others support it. Most of those who support it would like it to be administered as per government policy. According to the National Education (Corporal Punishment) regulations, 1979, corporal punishment is supposed to be used for serious offences only under the supervision or delegation of the school Head Teacher. The maximum number of strokes is not more than 6 at any one occasion. The amount of strokes was further reduced to four in a directive. However, in practice use of corporal punishment is common or used excessively.

5.2 User Fees Revisited

The Government has abolished user fees in primary education to enable all children, including those from poor families, to attend primary school. However, several people complained about being asked to pay user fees. The surveyed letters indicate that many people across the country were aware of the abolition but were confused as to why they were being asked to pay. Others did not know where to present their complaints.

5.3 Disability and Education Revisited

Equal access to education for people with disabilities is a government policy. But as explained earlier many people with disabilities are denied access to education due to lack of a disability friendly environment.

5.4 Teachers’ Living and Working Conditions

The Government is committed to improving teachers’ working conditions in order to raise the quality of education. The improvement includes increasing teachers’ remuneration, paying salaries on time, improving their academic qualifications, and/or providing them with in-service training. However, it was argued that: teachers were receiving low wages in an untimely manner (Respondents 050, 052 & 107). It was also argued that sometimes teachers’ salaries were being deducted by the authorities without their consent. Other problems include the lack of housing or poor quality housing for teachers, limited opportunities for promotion, and discouragement as a result of long stays at one station.

6. Participation in Education and Governance

As indicated earlier, the Friends of Education Movement creates a space for ordinary people to make a difference in education and democracy. The nature of the Movement is such that Friends have a choice of how and when to use the space. No one dictates the nature or extent of Friends participation. How Friends use the space is determined by either their perception of the Movement or the kind of activities they are engaged in. Below are some of the ways in which this space is used.
6.1 Inform and Communicate

Based on the letters surveyed, some Friends of Education and other citizens use the space to request, receive and share information on various issues. Some request general information regarding education policies while others request specific information on particular issues. For example requests were made for information on procedures, laws, and regulations or clarifications on a particular concern. One Friend (Respondent 058) asked about the steps that need to be taken against a teacher who denies students their right to education. Another Friend (Respondent 098) needed information about teachers’ training opportunities and gaining to access to these opportunities.

Others wrote to HakiElimu to request publications on educational issues and information from newspapers on how to improve education. Some (e.g. Respondent 098 and 109) requested more publications from HakiElimu after having read previous publications. Others (e.g. Respondent 109 and 105) wanted to know how to access government, policy makers and media.

Significantly, some respondents wrote to share information about a situation or what they are doing in their communities in relation to education and governance. For example, Respondent 095 wrote an informative letter about the schooling situation in their village, where children walk long distances to school due to lack of schools in the village.

6.2 Raise Concerns and Share Opinions and Ideas

One of the most common ways in which Friends use the Movement is to comment, raise concerns and give opinions on various issues regarding education and governance.

Many Friends of Education and other citizens have raised concerns and shared opinions on various issues based on their experiences in their communities, schools, and other levels. Some of the issues raised include quality education, equal access to education, teachers’ conditions, corporal punishment, child protection and gender equality/equity in education. Other issues include the right to participation, school finances and their use, parents’ participation in making decisions in schools, lack of clarity on how PEDP funds should be utilized, education governance, accountability and inequalities between rural and urban schools.

For instance, one Friend wrote to share his concerns about child protection against health hazards in the school environment caused by lack of clean water. He was also concerned about sexual harassment, which could happen if children were forced to walk alone between home and school. He suggested that food (lunch) be provided at school to prevent children from having to go home for lunch. After reading the PEDP document, another Friend (Respondent 104) wanted clarification on how funds for school committees were utilized, and how and when would the money be sent to schools from the central government.

Most of these concerns/questions are either forwarded to relevant government authorities for information, response and follow-up or addressed directly by HakiElimu. Some letters are sent to newspaper editors for wider sharing and public debate.

6.3 Organize and Take Action

After joining the Movement, either as individuals or in groups, some people seek to network or work with others. For example, one Friend (Respondent 109) wrote to request contact details of other Friends in his district so that they can work together. Some Friends do not only ask for information, but also take action.
For example, after joining the Movement, a Friend (Respondent 095) organized discussion among colleagues on ways of improving education. They specifically raised concerns about excessive use of corporal punishment, which affects the quality of education. They suggested alternatives to corporal punishment and emphasized the role of teachers and parents in facilitating children’s learning. In another example, Respondent 098 reported that, after joining the Friends of Education, parents in their area met and decided to establish a nursery school.

Another concerned Friend (Respondent 091) took the initiative to engage a photographer to take photos of school children performing heavy tasks such as carrying bricks and other kinds of work during class time as evidence. However, the head teacher destroyed the photo film.

6.4 Seek Advice and Support
A number of citizens write to seek advice, guidance or assistance on various issues. For example, one Friend (Respondent 038) wrote to seek guidance on how to help a student who was not allowed to sit for an examination due to failure to pay fees. And as we have seen above, another Friend wanted to know about the measures needed to be taken against teachers who deny students their right to education.

In another example, a secondary schoolgirl could not continue with her studies due to parents’ inability to pay school fees. She wrote to seek financial support or advice on securing assistance in order to continue her studies. Some Friends also requested that seminars be organized for teachers and students on issues related to education.

7. Obstacles and Challenges
Obstacles and challenges include those faced by Friends when trying to engage on/with matters pertaining to education and other general challenges facing education and governance in general.

7.1 Obstacles to Citizens’ Engagement
A lack of information and clarity about policies hinders citizens’ ability to effectively engage in educational governance. People often do not know what to do or where to go to address their concerns. This particularly hinders citizens from bringing positive change to education. For example, a lack of clarity on PEDP funds allocation and how they are utilized tends to hinder citizens from demanding accountability from authorities.

When Friends engage in the Movement they face some resistance, especially from leaders and community members. For instance, in one of the example cited above, when a Friend engaged a photographer in taking photographs of working school children, the head teacher of the concerned school destroyed the film. As a result the Friend did not have proof of the situation.

7.2 Challenges facing Education and Governance
As mentioned in previous sections, poor working conditions of teachers caused by long distances to schools, delays in paying teachers’ salaries and other claims, are all challenges facing education and governance. One Friend (Respondent 099) writing to share his opinions clearly argued that poor education was a result of teachers’ de-motivation and demoralization due to: being poorly paid, working at one station for too long, and rarely being promoted.

It was also observed that excessive use and misuse of corporal punishment affects the quality of learning and contributes to truancy and dropout. It should be noted citizen views on the use of corporal punishment varied greatly. Yet this is one of the most serious violations of human
rights. It is mostly attached to attitudinal behavior and cultural practice. It can be a challenge to initiate policy change when some members of the public support the current practice. The debate needs to be further stimulated and more advocacy work should be done to bring change to practice.

8. Conclusion
Ordinary people at the community level are well informed regarding the issues that affect their lives, including education. Given the opportunity, Tanzanians are ready to share and debate issues that affect their lives. In such a small sample of letters a wealth of information has been gathered.

On the other hand, it is essential to have space to share and debate these concerns. This means that if people are given space and are encouraged to participate, they can indeed do so. This can ultimately bring change in education and democracy.

Recent Government policies, including PEDP and local government reforms, affirm the space for citizen engagement. Steps taken towards policy change are appreciated by many Friends of Education and other citizens. However, turning policy into practice remains a key challenge. Many of the letters note that the Government does not ensure or monitor that practices are consistent with policy.

Turning the situation around is unlikely to be achieved by Government on its own. It is the responsibility of both the Government and citizens to ensure that policies are fully implemented. Citizens who are well-informed about these policies are in a better position to follow-up on implementation of new policies, debate the findings and exert pressure, and thus both support and hold government to account. The Friends of Education Movement is one initiative that seeks to contribute to the vitality of such citizen action. The challenge remains to continue to renew, broaden and deepen the movement; and in particular nurture the spaces through which ordinary people can speak and exercise influence on public policy.
References


HakiElimu (2004). Opinions and Members Activities Files

HakiElimu

HakiElimu works to realize equity, quality, human rights and democracy in education by facilitating communities to transform schools and influence policy making, stimulating imaginative public dialogue and organizing for change, conducting critical research, policy analysis and advocacy, and collaborating with partners to advance common interests and social justice.

The Working Paper Series

HakiElimu has established the Working Paper Series in order to reproduce meaningful analyses in an accessible format. The Series is expected to contribute to public knowledge and debate on education and democracy issues.

The working papers include reports and papers written by staff and members of HakiElimu, along with partner individuals and organizations. Some have been written specifically for the series, whereas others are reproductions of previous work. Most of the papers are works in progress and not meant to be definitive.

The views expressed herein are of the author(s), and do not necessarily represent those of HakiElimu or any other organization. Correspondence related to specific papers should be directed to the author(s) directly; wherever possible their address is indicated in the footnotes on page 1 of the paper.

Papers may also be downloaded from www.hakielimu.org. They may be reproduced for non-commercial purposes by written permission of both HakiElimu and the respective author(s).

Our aim is to publish short, concise papers preferably of about six to twelve pages. However, papers of up to twenty pages in length will also be considered. Submissions are highly welcome. They should be provided to us in electronic format and addressed below: