

**Youth Agency and the Efficacy of Basic Education
in Tanzania: An Inquiry into Post-primary School Structuration**

by

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores how youth in Tanzania, with low levels of basic education, manage their personal lives and seek opportunities in the workplace or in post-basic education training programs.

In Tanzania, Education for All (EFA) has served as a key focal point of coordination between the government and the international donor community. While substantial attention has centered on the challenges of ensuring the sustainability and quality of EFA, there is relatively little known about the socio-economic circumstances of young school leavers and their perceptions of education and its relation to their post-school life trajectories.

Using structuration theory as the theoretical framework to illuminate the dynamic interconnectedness of social structures and youth agency, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 14 young male and female school leavers. Disturbing patterns of social reproduction and a fundamental discontinuity between basic education and post-school challenges were revealed in the research. Yet, in view of their resilience, orientation to the future and entrepreneurial resourcefulness, findings suggest that despite profound qualitative shortcomings, aspects of basic education and the structuring effects of economic liberalization may be contributing to enhanced youth agency.

The dissertation contributes to the theoretical discourse in the study of youth phenomena by adapting and advancing Klocker's (2007) use of the notion of *thinners* and *thickeners* of agency within structuration theory. Exploring factors like educational quality and attainment level, in addition to those already established by Klocker (tribe, gender, age, and poverty), my research shows how young people's agency can be attenuated or accentuated in space and time. This dissertation contributes empirical, hermeneutic and

narrative data to illuminate the educational experience and post-basic education realities for a group of Tanzanian youth, reducing what has heretofore been described as a paucity of such qualitative accounts of marginalized African youth and the challenges they face.

LIST OF KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

EFA	- Education for All
SSA	- Sub Saharan Africa
GoT	- Government of Tanzania
WB	- World Bank
UPE	- Universal Primary Education
CIDA	- Canadian International Development Agency
MDG	-Millennium Development Goals
RD	-Restless Development
NGO	-Non-Governmental Organization
HCT	-Human Capital Theory
UNCRC	-United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
OAU	-Organization for African Unity
SAP	-Structural Adjustment Programs
ODA	-Official Development Assistance
NYA	-Northern Youth Abroad
CCM	-Chama Cha Mapinduzi
GDP	-Gross Domestic Product
PRSC	-Poverty Reduction Support Credit
HBS	-Household Budget Survey
CSOs	-Civil Society Organizations
FBOs	-Faith Based Organizations
PMO-RALG	-Prime Minister's Office (Regional and Local Government)

CSEE	-Certificate of Secondary Education Examination
PSLE	-Primary School Leaving Examination
ISEs	-Informal Sector Entrepreneurs
ESA	-Education Sector Analysis
NSGRP	-National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
QT	-Qualifying Test
TVET	-Technical and Vocational Training
TVETDP	-Technical and Vocational Training Development Plan
FDCs	-Folk Development Colleges

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For my Father, John S. Da Silva (1934-1999).

He would have proudly edited (and improved) this work.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The direction in which education starts a man will determine his future in life. (Plato)

1.0 Introduction

Even a cursory observation of streetscapes in cities like Dar es Salaam, Mwanza, and Arusha, or of village life in thousands of rural communities across Tanzania, animates what the demographic statistics already say; Tanzania is a country with a rapidly expanding population of young people. As elsewhere in Sub Saharan Africa (SSA), groups of young children will invariably include several who are carrying younger brothers or sisters on their backs in the remarkable way (to western eyes anyway) that children shoulder (literally) responsibilities usually reserved for adults in Europe and North America. Urban areas especially are bustling with young street hawkers pacing among cars stuck in congested traffic, selling everything from ground nuts to cell phones. The demographics of a rapidly growing and largely unemployed youth population is not only statistically factual, it is readily observable in the legions of young people crowding African cities trying to forge livelihoods. Today, there are approximately 23 million Tanzanians in the labour market, with this number projected to reach 45 million by 2030 (World Bank, 2014). Although overall unemployment is low, due to the large number of people employed in subsistence agriculture, the Government of Tanzania's (GoT) 2006 integrated labour force survey

revealed high youth unemployment of 14.9% among people aged 15-24. This rate is estimated to be as high as 24% for urban youth.¹

The impressive expansion of primary and secondary education in Tanzania is striking, but even more so are the number of young people failing or exiting the school system early. This research aims to understand what is happening in the post-school lives of young people in Tanzania. Schooling is a particular form of structure that equips, or fails to equip, young people with the skills to engage with the economy and the exercise of citizenship. Schooling thus influences the strength of one's agency and, by extension, the nature of the interplay of those agents with the various social and economic structures that constitute Tanzanian life. Through the lens of *structuration theory*, and using the qualitative study of the life stories of 14 young Tanzanians, this research highlights the varied and complex relationships among the forces of structure and agency that show young people to be both passively and actively instrumental in re-shaping the borders of their lives. The study also addresses the paucity of Tanzanian youth narratives while demonstrating the efficacy of *structuration theory* for the study of youth phenomena.

1.1 Rationale for Research with Youth in Tanzania

In 1993, while conducting MA research² on environmental education in Tanzania, I arrived at a regional Government boarding school in the rural Tanzanian town of *Same* (pronounced sam-eh) to observe an A level (Form V) biology class. Some 30 or more students were present but their teacher was not. In fact, the teacher had been absent for more

¹ Although underemployment is not captured by this survey, it is thought to be very problematic. (African Development Bank, 2011, p. 8)

² The MA thesis entitled *Divergence of Convergence; Local Environmental Knowledge, Secondary School, and Environmental Education in Tanzania (1995)* fulfilled final requirements for a Master of Arts in International Affairs from the Norman Paterson School at Carleton University, Ottawa.

than a month – ostensibly busy supplementing his inadequate teacher wages by tending to his *Shamba* (small farm). Clearly focused on education as their best pathway out of the poverty from which most had come, these students were determined not to allow the absence of their teacher to cause them to fail imminent national examinations. Instead, the students divided up the single biology textbook (literally ripping the book into sections) and assigned themselves the task of learning specific topics before teaching the material to each other in turns. Faced with a serious dilemma, the creative use of individual and collective agency by these students to overcome an imposed structural situation impressed me deeply and has stayed with me ever since.

I have spent most of my working career in experiential, non-formal and formal educational settings with both advantaged and disadvantaged youth from various cultural backgrounds. In the late 1980s, I was closely involved in development education work through two Canadian NGOs - *Canadian Crossroads International* and *Canada World Youth*. This work included lengthy postings in Guyana and Indonesia respectively, leading groups of mainly middle class adolescent youth through experiential cross-cultural and development education programs. In 1991, I obtained a Bachelor of Education degree and began working in a series of non-formal education settings with a focus on outdoor education. In 1995, I moved to a regular high school position in the Northwest Territories³ teaching social studies and mathematics to a predominantly Inuit student population. I came to recognize that this group was uniquely disadvantaged by a myriad of developing country like socio-economic conditions. Two years later, and in an attempt to address extraordinarily high dropout rates among Inuit youth in the territory, I led the creation of Nunavut's first

³ In 1999, the NWT was split to create the new territory of Nunavut where I remained an employee of the new Nunavut Department of Education.

international development and youth leadership NGO called *Northern Youth Abroad* (NYA).

The mandate and design of the NYA program borrowed heavily from the pedagogy and theory underlying both the development education and outdoor experiential education program experiences from years earlier while also addressing issues specific to indigenous youth. NYA utilizes this adapted pedagogy to address the unique challenges facing disadvantaged Inuit youth at risk of dropping out of school. The organization has been recognized repeatedly for significantly improving high school completion rates and the life trajectories of Inuit youth across the Nunavut Territory.

Moving from Nunavut to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and a posting to Tanzania in 2010 as the Deputy Director of Canada's aid program allowed me to re-visit my interests in Tanzanian youth issues specifically. My previous experience with non-formal and formal education, combined with CIDA's significant support to the education sector in Tanzania, provided the perfect confluence of circumstances from which this dissertation topic emerged. The plight of large numbers of Tanzanian youth exiting a poor quality education system into a rapidly evolving free market economy enticed me to search for the kind of resilient and resourceful responses I had witnessed in that Tanzanian Government boarding school 15 years earlier. Humbled by the struggles and inspired by the successes of youth in - or from - difficult circumstances, the stories and discussions revealed in the balance of this dissertation flow naturally from my experience and interests, giving voice to the significant challenges facing many Tanzanian youth. The research ultimately comments on the efficacy of basic education while highlighting the determination of these youth to overcome significant obstacles and forge meaningful lives.

1.2 Tanzania and the Global Education Agenda

Education has occupied a central role in the socio-economic and political development efforts of impoverished African countries for decades. From the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* onward, treaties and summitry have combined to advance and reinforce the idea of universal access to basic education.⁴ International agreements like the *Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women* (1979), the *United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989), and the *African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child* (1990), among others, include strong guarantees of children's right to education. Summits like Jomtien (1990), Dakar (2000) and the proceedings leading to the *Millennium Declaration* (2000) manifested renewed efforts toward universal basic education newly elevated in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs⁵) and Education for All (EFA) initiatives.

In Tanzania, the MDG and EFA compacts have given rise to the country's second era of massive basic education expansion.⁶ Access to primary schooling has doubled in a decade, and data suggest the country is on track to do the same for secondary schooling. This donor-driven expansion has been impressive, but the myriad issues of poor quality and outcomes, misalignment with labour markets, and the truncated post-basic education pathways for school leavers, call into question the underlying efficacy, policy agendas and assumptions underpinning the expansion effort itself. Juxtaposed against a mobile, increasingly urbanized, and rapidly growing under or unemployed youth population facing unfettered market

⁴ Although the literature often refers to universal primary education (UPE), the term *basic education* will be used throughout the thesis to capture both the primary (standard I-VII) and secondary school (Form I-VI) components.

⁵ MDG #2 calls for the provision of UPE by 2015.

⁶ The expansion of UPE during Tanzania's socialist period in the 1970s and 1980s was very successful but also marked the beginning of a decline in quality and regard for the teaching profession (see Wedgwood, 2006).

liberalization and chronically high poverty rates, the complex structural constraints faced by young Tanzanians is daunting.

Viewed historically against the backdrop of earlier western-driven development paradigms in education, notably functionalism and modernization in the 1950-60s (Welch, 1985), human capital theory - 1960-70s (see Bennell 1996a; Samoff, 1996), rate of return analysis - 1970-80s (Lee, 2011; Wedgewood, 2005), and structural adjustment - 1980-90s (see Samoff, 2003; Whitty & Power, 2000), the present and ostensibly country-led⁷, donor-funded paradigm of EFA in Africa continues to produce what Foster (1965) long ago termed the “unplanned consequences of educational growth” (p. 303).

The long-advanced notion that investments in education are both a goal of development and a means to its achievement (Cremin & Nakubugo, 2012) produce mixed results in sub-Saharan Africa (Al-Samarrai & Reilly, 2008; Rose, 2005; Samoff, 2007). Rate of return studies in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) where access is less than universal, including Tanzania (Bennell, 1996a, 1996b; see also Kerr & Quinn, 2010), suggest that the best poverty reduction impacts are linked to primary school investments. Others (see Wedgewood, 2006) show that investments in secondary schooling – especially if coordinated with primary expansion rather than being developed sequentially - can support quality teacher recruitment for an entire system, thereby improving outcomes, livelihoods and earnings. However, with serious concerns about the quality of primary and secondary education available, combined with one of the lowest secondary enrolment ratios in the world, the conundrum of large numbers of mostly primary school leavers entering uncertain formal and informal labour markets in Tanzanian towns and cities persists.

⁷ ‘Country-led’ development plans are one of the key principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness – a paradigmatic agreement influencing many aspects of current aid design and delivery.

Scholars have historically questioned the emphasis on basic education itself as the central issue (King, 2003; Mehrotra, 1998; Samoff, 1996). Many children are simply not able to take advantage of basic education on offer due to lack of household resources or by being on the wrong side of the opportunity-cost calculation of poor families.⁸ For girls, decision metrics in families are further exacerbated by gender roles in society, which “change the balance of incentives for girls and boys to attend school,” (Colclough, Rose & Tembon, 2000). Moreover, frustration is mounting among post-primary school-leavers searching for coherent pathways to employment or further training. Calls for a broader consideration of alternate pathways such as non-formal education (Labelle, 2000) and skills training (King, 2007) are ever more urgent as numbers of primary school leavers swell. In addition, gains made in expanding universal primary education (UPE) may be threatened by families reconsidering the poor economic returns on their investment in basic education, weakening their resolve to make similar choices for younger siblings. Unchecked, this dynamic could reverse the much-trumpeted enrolment gains in basic education.

1.3 The Youth Bulge

Almost two decades ago, Kaplan (1996) described burgeoning populations of poorly educated or out of school, unemployed youth as “loose molecules in an unstable social fluid that threaten to ignite” (p. 317). As the demographic picture has unfolded (see Figure 1), others have echoed Kaplan by talking of a problematic “youth bulge” and its potential volatility and propensity for antisocial behaviour or political violence (Ismail & Alao, 2007; Sommers, 2010; Sukarieh & Tannock, 2008). Conversely, Mbala (2011) says, “merely by

⁸ For these families, the key calculations include: the direct cost of schooling being too high; child labour is required by the household; insufficient school spaces available; and low quality of schools.

virtue of their age...[youth] are regarded as resourceful, creative, self-sufficient, committed and untainted by the corruption of their elders” (p. 166).

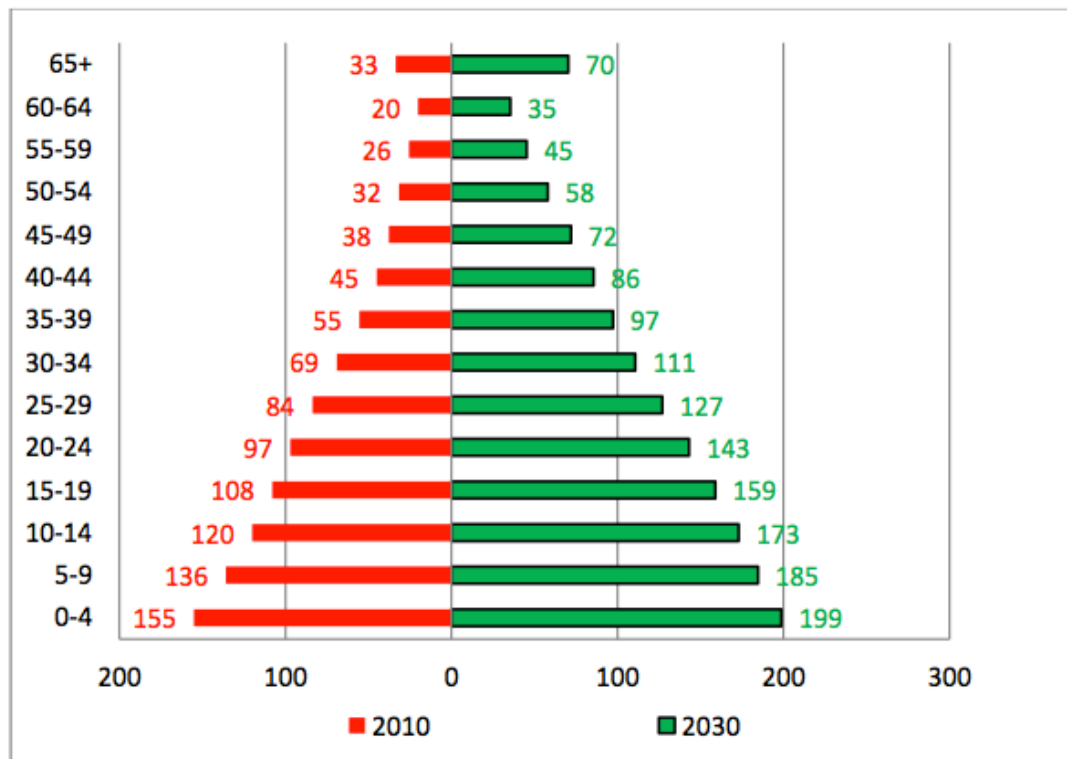


Figure 1. Africa’s Population in millions by Age Group 2010 and 2030. Adapted from African Development Bank Group, 2012.

Nowhere is this conflicted view of youth more prevalent than in World Bank discourse where youth are alternately constructed as the “ticking time bomb” of disengaged, under and unemployed troublemakers (Ismail & Alao, 2007) or the leaders and change agents of tomorrow (Christiansen, Utas & Vigh, 2006; Sommers, 2006). To promote the neo-liberal agenda⁹ and resolve the youth dilemma positively, the World Bank and its allies in the

⁹ Neoliberalism is a combination of political liberalism based on concern for social justice with an economic belief in global market liberalism, deregulation, and free trade. Strongly promoted by the World Bank, IMF

business of development have situated youth in a “political construction and rhetorical frame” (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2008) that implies a hopeful future without necessarily supporting adequate structures for it to be attained.

Many have argued that neo-liberal economic reforms emphasize economic concerns like the reduction of bureaucracies, privatization of state entities and other austerity measures without due regard for “people’s social and cultural lives” (p. 375). Such policies have been shown to “disproportionately heighten the vulnerability of poor and marginalized people (Kamat, 2008, p. 374). Yet, youth themselves do have a say in their own destinies and, like adults, exercise various types and degrees of agency (Ismail & Alao, 2007; Jeffrey, 2012; Maclure & Denov, 2006). In an attempt to challenge their poverty, for example, rural youth migrate to urban centres in huge numbers attracted by “new and modern trends, fashions, ideas and technologies that hit cities first” (Sommers, 2010, p. 323), looking foremost for a hopeful future through additional education or decent work.¹⁰ Young people do not necessarily accept their marginalization “but are *agentive* in achieving what they desire for their lives [by]... forging new ways forward in socially and economically difficult circumstances” (Langevang, 2007, p. 269; see also Jeffrey, 2012).

Some achieve relatively stable incomes but most, unwilling to return to idleness or agrarian work in their home villages, find themselves instead struggling and disconnected from labour markets and woefully unprepared to establish meaningful and sustainable livelihoods. The obstacles youth encounter – an overcrowded informal economy with high inflation and poor access to capital, weak or non-existent government support programs,

and other bilateral and multilateral institutions, “neoliberalism is the prevailing political and economic paradigm in the world today and has been described as an ideological monoculture” (Ross & Gibson, 2006).

¹⁰ The *Decent Work Agenda* of the International Labour Organization is one notable effort to frame social and labour policy in Africa to promote inclusive, job-rich growth to benefit youth.

inadequate infrastructure, poor access to health and other social services, and other social/structural inequalities (Honwana, 2012) - can lead to the reproduction and expansion of what some term the urban “underclass” (see Kamete, 2006). Distinguishing between culturist and structuralist roots of underclass formation, Kamete (2006, pp. 72-73) argues that the former assigns fault to members of the underclass themselves for their status while the structuralist perspective views the underclass as collective victims of a hostile economy, inappropriate government policy, and social structural inequalities – a causal perspective favoured in this work.

The differentiated and collective agency of a marginalized youth underclass is critical to both the reproduction and transformation of social, economic, and institutional structures, and directly implicated in a competitive and rapidly evolving space that blends the realities of free market reforms with rapidly expanding but poor quality schooling, intense urban migration, and high rates of under/unemployment with the varied aspirations of young people. To better understand how youth live their lives and enact their agency in relation to the social, institutional, and economic transformations underway in a globalized and expansionist neo-liberal context, a direct discussion with young people is required.

1.4 Research Aim

Observers like Tilleczeck (2011), Sommers (2011), and Tukundane, Zeelen, Minnaert and Kanyandago (2014), among others, recognize the paucity of research with the youth majority in Africa who generally exit formal schooling early and “live in a liminal, neither here nor-there-state” (Honwana, 2012, p. 3) of prolonged pre-adulthood. Consequently, they advocate for more study of this particular population (for example, Tilleczeck, 2011, p. 478). This research endeavors to address this research gap by illuminating the interplay of

variables that produce the unique circumstances, and resultant perceptions and actions, youth face in the context of Tanzania.

The aim of this research is to understand how young Tanzanians – equipped with low levels of education at best, and facing significant social, institutional and economic change and disruption - locate, develop and utilize opportunities in both the formal and informal economies, and through various post-basic education programs. The lens of *structuration theory* is used to understand the marginalization of Tanzania's youth majority, as well as their efforts - individually and/or collectively – to work within, contest, or even occasionally alter the structures that have contributed to their current educational status and socio-economic position in Tanzania. Using *structuration theory* to discuss the social, economic, and institutional constraints - and youth responses (agency) that arise to cope and contest structural challenges - this study will examine the life histories of a cohort of 14 young people navigating two distinct post-basic education environments: a) those surviving in the informal economy, and b) those pursuing additional education or training. Thus, the study will improve understanding of the efficacy of basic education in the life course of young Tanzanians and the manifestations and interconnection of youth agency and structural change happening in Tanzanian society, while also making an empirical contribution to the literature on *structuration theory*.

1.5 Partner Organizations

In an effort to ground this research in the local context and to build on the knowledge and networks around youth issues already present in Tanzania, I enlisted the assistance of two primary partners to help situate and utilize the work. The first partner organization, *Restless Development (RD)*, is a UK-based NGO working on livelihoods, leadership, and

adolescent sexual health issues in Tanzania. RD is concerned with many of the issues explored in this field work, including the exclusion of young people from labour markets, rural-urban migration, poor school transition rates from primary to secondary school (especially for girls), the lack of access to credit or livelihoods training, and the poor participation of young people in decision-making processes. RD engages youth, usually secondary school A-level graduates¹¹, in their core programs as outreach volunteers to engage and promote change among more marginalized youth populations. In this regard, RD has been an important partner for gaining access to youth, and also a key informant on youth policy and programming. Similarly, a second organization, *Umma Wa Wapanda Baisikeli*, active in bicycle advocacy and micro-enterprise creation with young people in Dar es Salaam, was very helpful in establishing contacts with youth informants.

Two other informal partner organizations, *Haki Elimu* and *Uwezo*, concern themselves with public advocacy on education issues and performance analysis respectively. There is an alignment of interests between this research project and the work of these informal partner organizations that is mutually reinforcing and beneficial and several key studies by both Haki Elimu and Uwezo are widely quoted in this thesis. Working in collaboration with all four of these Tanzanian NGOs facilitated access to diverse groups of youth while linking the findings to the research, advocacy, and applied programming agendas of established and effective local NGOs.

¹¹ Tanzania uses the British system of secondary schooling with Ordinary or 'O' - levels from Form I-IV and Advanced or 'A' - levels in Forms V-VI.

1.6 Overview and Organization of the Thesis

The dissertation is comprised of eight chapters. This introductory chapter is followed by a review of the relevant literature on structuration, youth issues, education, the Tanzanian country context and the structure of the education system in chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 4 addresses the research objectives and methodology. The empirical core of the dissertation begins in Chapter 5 with a presentation and discussion of the first seven informants focusing on those youth most closely engaged in informal sector entrepreneurship. Chapter 6 continues the life history analysis by examining the remaining seven informants – a subgroup slightly better educated and resourced in their pursuit of post-basic educational goals. This chapter also examines several informants assisted through their engagement with NGO programs. Chapter 7 discusses the interaction between dominant social, economic and institutional structures and the informants' agency more systematically, as illuminated by their life stories. Finally, Chapter 8 reflects on the contribution of this study to *structuration theory*, and provides some suggested policy implications, recommendations and possibilities for future research.

1.7 A Word about Structure

The term *structure* has already appeared in this introduction and re-occurs frequently throughout the paper. Given the design and theoretical framework of the dissertation, it is important to define and clarify early on what I mean when using the term. Social structures in society are those patterns, interactions, rules, and relations that alternately emerge from, and shape the actions of individuals. Social structures can be loosely compartmentalized into macro, meso, and micro scale phenomena. Class-structures of socio-economic stratification,

for example, represent a macro scale social reality that may be reinforced by macro-level policy, institutional, and economic bias. Micro-structural phenomena include family and community dynamics, and the value systems that shape the behaviour of people within society. At the meso-structural level, one might consider the social relationships between individuals and organizations, and the legal and other community scale regulations that constrain or enable the actions of actors. This explanation is meant to capture the broad range of economic, socio-cultural, and institutional structures in play in society while also employing a useful conception of scale in the description of micro, meso, and macro phenomena.

CHAPTER 2: STRUCTURATION, YOUTH, AND EDUCATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

“All that is valuable in human society depends upon the opportunity for development accorded the individual.”

(Albert Einstein)

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature in a number of broad areas germane to the research topic. The theoretical framework of structuration, including critiques and conceptual extensions of the theory, are discussed first, followed by a review of literature on the constructed notions of childhood and youth and disrupted social structures in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The chapter also includes a review of critical contextual literature concerning education for development, including modernization and human capital theory, the global EFA and MDGs agendas, and the role of donors in the ongoing dissemination of westernized education models in SSA. Demographic trends and issues such as rural-urban migration and the so-called youth bulge are discussed, including contrasting notions of youth as both a threat and unharnessed resource. The chapter closes by reviewing the challenges African youth face in adapting to rapidly changing free market economic systems.

2.1 The Theoretical Framework

Theorizing the distinct relationship between agency and structure has been a central enterprise of the social sciences for decades. Scholars in sociology and anthropology have left a complex storyline concerning what have generally been considered separate and

sometimes opposing phenomena. Rooted in polarities of the classic structural/functionalist positions of Durkheim (1938) and the agency-centric counter-arguments based on the theories of Weber (1922; 1978 trans.), this epistemological debate is ongoing (Tan, 2011).

2.1.1 The Concept of Structure

My definition of *structure* was presented in 1.7, however, the concept has been central in sociology and other disciplines for decades and, for that reason, it is helpful to review some fundamental and historical aspects of the discourse. Structure can be defined as ‘patterns’ of social relationships and a system that identifies how these patterns operate in the society. The difference between structure and system is that ‘structures’ are patterns of social relationships whereas ‘systems’ refer to the actual functioning of such relationships (Giddens, 1979).

Historically, where scholars like Marx and Althusser (1971) debated the relative determinism of cultural, religious, and economic structures in the political context of early Marxist theory, most sociologists point to the work of Emile Durkheim for emphasizing the role of social institutions and practices in the integration of society into a unified and self-reproducing whole. The structural emphasis of Durkheim (see also Parsons, 1949, 1951) holds that there are social pressures and coercive powers that largely shape society. These objective, external forces are said to constrain and define the behaviour of human beings. Structures are constituted in social facts easily recognized in “legal rules, moral obligations, popular proverbs and social conventions” (Durkheim, 1938). The structures of society exist above human action with structures exerting a unidirectional force on the latter (Tan, 2011). For Durkheim, these constraints are largely beneficial, responsible for the very “social milieu in which we think, breath, and have our being” (Cladis, 1999, p. 4). Durkheim was influential

on a number of social anthropologists (for example, Radcliffe-Brown, 1940; Fortes & Evans-Pritchard, 1940), where the structural-functionalist emphasis in sociology was “simultaneously reflected and validated” (Cladis, 1999, p. 40) effectively rendering humans as passive “recipients of social (and structural) determinations” (p. 41).

This structural emphasis also finds its way into the contemporary sociology of education, which has been dominated by two fundamental and dichotomous camps that alternately view structure as immutable and flexible. Structuralist and post-structuralist perspectives emphasize the constraining force of structure while simultaneously characterizing agency as a weak and ineffective counterbalance. On the other hand, interpretivists have more recently focused almost exclusively on agency while often not recognizing or sufficiently conceptualizing the ever-present forces dealt by structures.

2.1.2 The Concept of Agency

Agency is the capacity of a person to act in the world through conscious or unconscious decision making processes. The emphasis on agency and individual freedom is rooted in the work of Max Weber. Sztompka (1994) says in the “wake of the critique of structural-functionalism, the pendulum [swung] to the opposite extreme” (p. 30), marking the ascent of what Giddens (1984) terms the “era of the imperialism of the subject” (p. 2). Aided by references to associated theories in economics (Smith’s ‘invisible hand’ in the *Wealth of Nations*, for example) and linguistics (Merton’s unanticipated consequences of social action, 1976), the notion of agency has gained ground asserting that, while each individual makes only a minor contribution to social change, the “composite result of what all individuals do” (Sztompka, p. 27) is significant.

Many scholars of the agency/structure debate choose to elevate the role of agency, in part, because agency is easier to understand, observe, and influence whereas the concept of structure has typically been more opaque and nebulous. Resistance theory, for instance, emerged in the 1970s in response to deterministic accounts of the power of schools in the process of social reproduction. Falling broadly into two camps, resistance theorists like Willis (1977) see individual agency as opposition to dominant cultural discourses and practices that often result in “self-damnation” (p. 3) and agency as potentially transformative and “involve[ing] a larger critique of one’s social realities and a willingness to act upon them” (Bajaj, 2009, p. 552). Transformative resistance, for instance, “purport[s] to offer the possibility of education producing creative agents capable of changing social structures,” (Kingston, 1986; Mehan, 1992 as quoted in McFadden, 1995, p. 295).

Other disciplines, like geography, have perspectives on agency that pertain specifically to marginalized youth. Citing Coe and Jordhus-lier (2010), Katz (2004), and Shakya and Rankin (2008), Jeffrey (2012) identifies three emerging analytical frames for theorizing agency. The first recognizes agency in relation to multiple structures rather than a single form of oppression such as capitalism. Youth agency, he says, “can only be apprehended by understanding how children and youth navigate plural, intersecting structures of power” (p. 246). A second analytical frame emphasizes the influence of space and time on the nature of young people’s agency. The spatial variations in the quality of education and employment opportunities illustrate that “structures in a particular place do not press down on people in an even way over time” (p. 246). The meaning and impact of these variations – such as a poor quality school experience – also changes with the passing of time. A third frame concerns the distinctive agency of youth relative to older people, juxtaposing

the constraining effects of globalization – including impacts on families – with young people’s rapid and assertive engagement with “state of the art cultural and social practices” (p. 246) including informal economic activities, technology, fashion and political mobilization. A consequence of this crossroads of “subordination and assertion...[is the characterization of young people as] heroes and zeroes, innocent and guilty, problem and panacea (p. 247) – counter characterizations discussed later in this chapter in the context of contemporary youth bulge discourse.

2.1.3 Structuration

Shilling (1992) says the dichotomy in the agency/structure debate is to blame for having generally divided educational research into studies of macro, structural phenomena like national education policies vs. micro scale, agency-focused phenomena using school-based case studies and ethnographies (p. 69). He says, “not only are the respective conceptions of structure and agency found in macro and micro-level education research deficient in their own right, they also contribute to an unresolved dualism which has characterized the sociology of education” for years (p. 70). Some, like Davies (1991), characterize the intellectual sparring as a “search for the holy epistemological grail” (p. 23) - something Wilmott (1999) says approximately three-quarters of contemporary sociologists have since found in Giddens’ (1984) theory of structuration.

Giddens (1979, 1984; also Kilminster, 1991) contends that structure and agency are a mutually constitutive duality. Social phenomena are neither the product of structure or agency alone, but rather a function of the reciprocal relationship between the two. He suggests that human agency and social structure are in a relationship with each other, and it is the repetition of the acts of individual agents that simultaneously instantiates and reproduces

structures. Put another way, while there is, for example, a social structure - traditions, institutions, policies, moral codes, and established ways of doing things - these structures can be changed when people start to ignore them, replace them, or reproduce them differently (Gauntlett, 2002). Put succinctly, Giddens (1984) says, “it is hard to exaggerate the importance of the unintended consequences of intentional conduct” (p. xxxiv). For Giddens, structure is entirely dependent upon human agency for its existence nullifying any notion of a binary relationship in favour of an inseparable cycle of reproduction.

Structure is, for Giddens, best understood as a set of rules and resources used by individuals or groups to enact social practices. Rules are comprised of stocks of knowledge while resources can include both physical aspects (i.e., money, land) and social relations. However, rules and resources “only exist temporally when presenced [sic] by actors” (Dyck & Kearns, 2014 p. 87) who chronically reproduce social practices over space and time such that the patterns become systematized as a feature of social life. Structures exist precisely because of the day-to-day routines of knowledgeable actors (Siiner, 2014) and the “knowledgeability” of these actors is critical to understanding what Shilling (1992) describes as layers of human agency (p. 82). Structuration allows that actors know a great deal about their social contexts by relying on one or both of what Giddens terms discursive and practical consciousness. Discursive consciousness recognizes that actors routinely monitor their own activities, the activities of others, and the contexts in which these activities take place (Shilling, 1992). People take into account and “alter their actions in light of information gained from discursive consciousness” (p. 82; see also Dyck & Kearns, 2014).

Practical consciousness, on the other hand, includes knowledge that individuals use in everyday encounters “without being fully able to articulate the techniques they employ in

social interaction” (Shilling, p. 82). Practical consciousness tends to dominate, and through the repeated constitution and reconstitution of social practices, this practical consciousness demonstrates enormous power for transformative human agency and social change “as it grows out of the everyday activities of individuals” (Dyck & Kearns, 2014, p. 88). It is through the conscious and unconscious reproduction of these myriad small social practices that systems are both established and changed. In other words, the structures created by the enacted social practices of individuals become the rules and resources actors subsequently draw upon (filtered again by their discursive and practical consciousness) to guide the reproduction of those social practices. This cyclical dynamic is what Giddens (1984) calls the duality of structure (See Figure 2.).



Figure 2. Drawing Hands by M.S. Escher.

Giddens’ (1984) theory of structuration stands as one of the earliest and most significant attempts to reconcile the Cartesian divide between structural-functionalist and interpretivist perspectives, providing instead a multidimensional and synthetic approach. Structuration has been employed by various disciplines touching on youth research including

geography (see Jeffrey, 2012; Dyck & Kearns, 2014), political science (McGrath, 2009), life course research (McMillan, 2007; Hitlin & Elder, 2007), entrepreneurship studies (Sarason, Dean & Dillard, 2006) civil society (Mabala, 2011), education (Bajaj, 2010; Day Ashley, 2010; Maclure & Denov, 2006; Shilling, 1992) and of course, sociology (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001; Giddens, 1984; Healy, 1998). Structuration theory does not favour agency over structure or vice versa, but rather, views both to be in a mutually reinforcing and constitutive interplay. Structuration theory seeks to bridge the historical disparities outlined above by providing arguments to understand agency and structure as a “mutually constitutive cycle” (Siiner, 2014, p. 148).

In this dissertation, *structuration theory* serves as the framework for examining the relative efficacy of basic education in relation to the lived experience of schooling and the subsequent post-basic school pathways of a cohort of young people in Tanzania. It is not an applied theory or a methodology but rather provides sensitizing concepts for the analysis and discussion of the constitution of the individual and society (Dyck & Kearns, 2014). Punch (2002) says it is difficult to separate the structural constraints facing young people from their agency as the “two are often intertwined” with factors combining to “influence what young people decide to do” (p. 126; see also Maclure & Denov, 2006). Structuration theory, therefore, offers “a theoretical framework that allows the discussion of both agency and social structure without rationality being ascribed to the system (McFadden, 1995) and a world-view that emphasizes the freedom of the individual (Kilminster, 1991).

2.1.4 Critiques of Structuration Theory

Dissent among sociologists over structuration and the root tensions between structure and agency remain. According to Stones (2005), a fundamental flaw of structuration is the

ability to lean one way or the other with the theory depending on the emphasis chosen. If the emphasis is on *agency* in structuration, the theory can be seen as overly voluntaristic – “overestimating the knowledge and power of agents” (p. 7). Conversely, the theory can also be presented as “overly fatalistic and deterministic” (p. 7) where structures are presented as all powerful.

Others have accused Giddens (1984) of being too complex, abstract and even outdated, likening structuration to a “theoretical omelet [where] all sorts of usual, conventional, and unusual ingredients have been added together to form the theory” (Krone et al. in Braithwaite, 2006). Some argue that it is difficult to know when and where the ideas Giddens has developed apply (Craib, 1992), while others (Clegg, 1994; Thompson, 1989) argue that structural constraints are disproportionately downplayed in structuration theory. Seeking to address this last criticism, prominent post-structurationists reject the pursuit of an “ontological holy grail” (Wilmott, 1999, p. 5) in favour of a more nuanced understanding of the separation of agency and structure they call “analytical dualism” (Archer, 2004, p. 434). This concept accepts the “irreducible” distinctness of agency and structure while still promoting their “interplay over time” (Wilmott, 1999, p. 5). In particular, Wilmott argues for *structure* to have increased autonomy. Paraphrasing Marx, who said that we are all born into a socio-cultural context not of our own making, Wilmott argues that it is precisely that irreducible “something” into which we are born that necessitates an ontological status for structure separate from the human agency that created it (p. 10). While he accepts the consensus across various disciplines that a strict Cartesian dualism ignores the effects of human agency in creating and shaping social structures, he argues that Giddens has gone too

far in “squash[ing] together structure and agency into one tightly-constituted amalgam” (p. 7).

In the counter-paradigm of analytical dualism found in Archer’s (1995) sustained critique of structuration, she argues that Giddens’s emphasis on duality, “whereby structures exist as memory traces and in the instantiation of practices” (Stones, 2005, p. 52), does not allow one to see where “structures begin and agency ends, or vice versa” (Stones, p. 52). Archer argues that structuration theory ignores the temporal aspects of structure and agency. This, she says, precludes the possibility of structure preceding action which, “in turn, leads to a more or less attenuated structural outcome, which, in turn, provides the pre-conditions for action, and so on” (p. 53). Archer’s morphogenetic approach, on the other hand, emphasizes this temporal dimension “through which and in which structure and agency shape one another” (Archer, 1995, p. 92).

2.1.5 Conceptual Extensions of Structuration

Agency

Recent research focusing on the challenges confronting youth in Africa has relied on other theoretical frameworks worth mentioning for their inspiration by, and subsequent similarity to, *structuration theory*. Among these, *hope theory* (Nalkur, 2009; Snyder, 1994), *future orientation* (Nurmi, 1991; Seginer, 2001), the *capabilities approach* (Nussbaum, 2000; Sen, 1993) and *resilience theory* (Unger, 2003; 2005) - although not directly acknowledged as having emerged from or being subordinate to *structuration theory* – nonetheless offer parallels and consistencies that suggest the strong interplay of agency and structure. Young people’s perceptions of their lived experience, for example, manifest in their expressions of

hopefulness and future aspirations while the implementation of resultant strategies represents actions that find expression in the notions of capability and resilience.

Hope theory involves three components, namely the presence of goal-oriented thoughts, the production of strategies to achieve those goals (known as pathway thinking) and motivational thoughts that sustain the strategies and efforts to reach established goals (Snyder, 1994). In a 2009 study of adolescents in Tanzania, for example, Nalkur compared the degree of hopefulness expressed by male street youth, former street youth, and youth attending school. While these youth populations shared the common and distinctively Tanzanian refrain of *Maisha magumu* (life is difficult), they also demonstrated unique perceptions of hopefulness correlated to their living environment, the presence of supportive adults, and the chance to attend school. Among other things, Nalkur found that “relying on oneself and one’s inner strength was an important pathway to hopefulness” (p. 684), especially for youth who had some formal schooling – an important finding that will be shown to resonate strongly with the research presented in this dissertation as well.

Similar to *hope theory*, the study of *future orientation* among youth populations looks at the images individuals hold about their futures from a psycho-social perspective. The work of Seginer (2008), and Nurmi (1991), among others, shows the increasing pertinence of *future orientation* research to adolescent populations. As Seginer observes, “future orientation provides the grounds for setting goals, planning, exploring options, and making commitments that guide [a] person’s behavior and development course” (p. 272), especially during periods of personal and cultural change that require young people to prepare for what lies ahead.

The parallels between a capabilities approach (Nussbaum, 2004, 2000; Sen, 1993) and structuration theory are clear. The capabilities approach can be broken down to its three constituent components, namely, *endowments*, *capabilities* and *functionings*. Endowments include the resources and assets of individuals that can be used to develop livelihood opportunities. Capabilities are synonymous with the options and opportunities one has available and the degree of freedom to choose, and functionings are those choices put into action – “the life someone actually lives” (Sen, p. 70). The endowments of the capabilities approach bears a strong resemblance to the authoritative and allocative resources of structuration wherein both include physical assets like land and finance but also the social suasion to influence circumstances or the activities of others (Siiner, 2014). Capabilities and functions align on a continuum where the relative strength of individual agency is dependent on space, time and context. The capabilities approach assumes that more discursive rather than practical consciousness is in play, although the resultant functionings parallel the reproduction of social practices (drawing on endowments, rules, resources) described by Giddens (xxxx) where the transformation of capabilities into functions is both the outcome of a social practice and the medium for the social practice - (see Day Ashley, 2010). DeJaeaghre (2012) argues that this theoretical framework can be a useful lens through which to examine informal sector entrepreneurship - a dominant post-education livelihood strategy employed by marginalized youth throughout Africa.

Marginalized youth are often characterized as “resilient” people. Resilience theory (Bird, 2010; Schoon & Bynner, 2003; Unger, 2013) has emerged as a way of considering the coping mechanisms and characteristics that young people develop and utilize in difficult circumstances. In exploring the kinds of assets and characteristics that improve one’s

resilience to shocks or negative circumstances, Bird (2010) has looked specifically at the efficacy of education in conflict-affected areas of Uganda. Her findings about the positive contribution of education to the strengthening of individual resilience, raises important considerations for this thesis.

Structure

Like the complimentary extensions of agency found in *hope, future aspiration, capabilities, and resilience theories*, extensions of the notion of structure – including *globalization* and *governmentality* - are also important to mention. Kellner (2002) presents globalization as a “strange amalgam of both homogenizing forces of sameness and uniformity and heterogeneity, difference, and hybrid-ity, as well as a contradictory mixture of democratizing and anti-democratizing tendencies” (p.289). Within this dichotomous frame, he argues that globalization can be negatively critiqued as a structure being *imposed from above*, or lauded as emancipatory whereby the change processes embedded in globalization also provide increased opportunity for *contestation from below*. Kellner says that “globalization significantly increases the supremacy of big corporations and big government, [but] it can also give power to groups and individuals who were previously left out of the democratic dialogue and terrain of political struggle” (p. 289). In particular, globalization – which inherently implies the restructuring of capitalism and the spread of neoliberalism as a hegemonic ideology and practice - has also encouraged increased access to education for individuals.

However, there is a disconnect between the rapidity of economic change and the expansion of basic education wherein the social contract between states and their citizens to provide education that efficiently relates to the labour market is weakening (Honwana, 2012).

The proliferation of basic education predicated on modernization and human capital theory and imbued with the institutional structures that articulate with a statist economy, have not evolved quickly enough to provide smooth transition between schooling and work in a neo-liberal context, particularly in Africa. Meanwhile, as Kellner (2002) writes, “the market and its logic have come to triumph over public goods...[with] the state subservient to economic imperatives and logic” (p. 289). Buchmann (2001) considers advancing neo-liberal economics as a macro-structural force that also shapes and stratifies education. Combined with family structures, “school effects” (p. 77) and the impacts education has on economic and social mobility, the disconnection between rapid change and structural adaptation is intensified.

As a result, there are signs that people are losing faith in the poor quality education systems they experience. Yet, despite some growing discontent, the attraction of formal schooling as a pathway out of poverty remains incredibly strong. In countries like Tanzania, anger or contestation by the polity is largely muted suggesting that Kellner’s (2002) notion that globalization can improve *contestation from below* is likely still subordinate to the forces of *globalization from above*.

In addition, the interface of agency, education, and the economy warrants a brief exploration of Foucault’s notion of *governmentality*. Like Gidden’s (1979) mutually constitutive interplay of structure and agency, Foucault “stresses the interdependence between the exercise of government (practices) and mentalities that underpin these practices (Fimyar, 2000, p 5). Put another way, governmentality is the effort to create “governable subjects through various techniques developed to control, normalize, and shape people’s conduct” (p. 4). Governments may create approaches, policies, and institutions that shape the

citizenry in such a way as to facilitate or fulfill government policy. Schooling, for example, is a public good, and the nature and quality of the education being offered citizens can be viewed through the lens of governmentality. In so doing, one might recognize that important elements like pedagogy, curricula, and examination structures, shape the educational experience and the reaction citizens may or may not have to this experience.

In terms of the decline in state control of the economy in favour of the adoption of expanded free market economic principles, governmentality is again an interesting lens. Neo-Foucauldian approaches to the sociology of governance understand neoliberalism as an intensification of an economy of moral regulation (Besley and Peters, 2007). More than just the absence of administrative obstacles or the presence of incentives to innovate or encourage risk and investments to create economic activity, neo-Foucauldians view neoliberalism as an “artificially arranged or contrived form of free, entrepreneurial, and competitive conduct of economic-rational individuals” (p. 133). In this way, the notion of governmentality suggests more intentionality or even design of the seemingly chaotic, and rapidly expanding informal sector economic environments across SSA.

2.1.6 Youth structuration

The intersection of structuration theory and youth issues most often focuses on either the institutions (like schools) most immediately concerned with the lives of young people (see Day Ashley, 2010), or with respect to certain dysfunctions in which youth are implicated, like child soldiery (Maclure & Denov, 2006), and criminality (Farrall & Bowling, 1999; Vaughn, 2001). In addition, aspects of youth structuration are seen in applications to the study of family communication (Brathwaite & Baxter, 2006), technical and vocational training (Barratt-Pugh, 2007), and entrepreneurship theory (Sarason et al., 2006). However,

the work of Klocker (2007), in which she employs structuration theory to examine the lives of young female domestic workers in Tanzania, is most intriguing.

Klocker uses the terms *thin* and *thick* to describe degrees of agency that, like Giddens (1979), avoids establishing a structure/agency duality. Instead, she employs a continuum that assumes some agency is always operating although it is constantly attenuated or amplified depending on the contexts and relationships (structures) that “can act as thinners or thickeners of individuals’ agency, constraining or expanding young people’s range of viable choices” (p. 85). Thin agency describes everyday actions and decisions “carried out within highly restrictive contexts characterized by few viable alternatives” while thick agency reflects “latitude within a broad range of options” (p. 85). Klocker names age, gender, tribe and poverty as the most crucial thinning and thickening factors among many - specifically for the agency of young, female Tanzanian domestic workers. Klocker’s continuum also relates to Giddens’ notion of practical and discursive consciousness where thin agency would almost always be exercised using practical consciousness. Thick agency, on the other hand, requires the discursive reflex because it implies the presence of options that agents must discern and from which they must choose. While structuration theory itself, as well numerous variants on the use of structure and agency in educational research, offers several theoretical possibilities with which to work, the logical adaptation and furtherance of Klocker’s use of structuration theory is the most promising.

2.2 The Social Construction of Childhood in Africa

The constructed notion of childhood and youth in Africa follows logically from a theoretical discussion of structuration, for the processes at work reflect a long and iterative interplay of the forces of agency and structure that are still underway today.

Childhood is a stage of development all adults have experienced but which is always “itself historically located” (James & James, 2001, p. 31) rendering the nature of childhood and the children who pass through it unique in space and time. In the dynamically impacted social spaces within developing countries such as urban slums, poor rural communities, or crowded primary classrooms, where the disproportionately rapid and intense perturbations of globalization are combined with the marginality that accompanies extreme poverty, the temporal experience of childhood is especially intense and unique.

For young people in Africa, the transition to adulthood has traditionally been marked by certain symbolic social and educational milestones (Honwana, 2012). These childhood to adult transitions have been disrupted by a number of factors including the new norms and values propagated by globalization and the expansion of western models of formal education - value structures reinforced by, inter alia, the ratification of the United Nations and African Conventions¹² on the Rights of the Child. In addition, rapidly changing economic structures exacerbate transitions to adulthood where large numbers of young people are unable to obtain sufficient employment or income to construct houses, to marry, or otherwise to establish the contemporary physical or social assets that help distinguish them as independent adults. Instead, increasingly large numbers of young people occupy extended periods of their lives in what Singerman (2007; see also Calves & Schoumaker, 2004; Honwana, 2012) call *waithood*. This section of the chapter traces the evolution of the construction of childhood, the global pressures that influence it, and the current predicament of prolonged waithood in which African youth today are situated.

¹² The African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child was adopted by the OAU in 1990 and ratified in 1999. It is distinct from the UNCRC in emphasizing the need to include African cultural values and experiences when dealing with the rights of the child.

The seminal work of historian Philippe Aries (1962), and his thesis that childhood did not exist in mediaeval society, established the foundational premise in contemporary childhood studies of a socially constructed notion of childhood/youth¹³ (Durham, 1999; James & James, 2001; Jenks, 1996; Paulny, 2006; Sukarieh & Tannock, 2008). While Aries has been challenged (Cunningham, 1995; Pollack, 1983), the central idea that notions of childhood are socially constructed and temporally situated is widely accepted; so too is the almost universally ratified children's rights agenda embodied in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). Debate, however, continues around the consequences of a universally transmissible notion of childhood (Boyden, 1997; Christiansen et al., 2006; Shepler, 2005) and the impacts that this notion, accompanied by the force of international convention, holds for localized construction of children's realities today.

The case for a nuanced understanding of childhood has been widely advocated (Bissell, Boyden, Cook & Myers, 2008; James & James, 2001; Jones, 2005; Zinga & Young, 2008). For example, while childhood can be defined in terms of age¹⁴, many societies have non-chronological milestones demarcating childhood and adulthood, such as the fulfillment of certain rites and traditional obligations (Nsamenang, 2002; Selvam, 2008). In others, the integration of children into socio-economic life may begin so early, and the transition to adulthood may be so gradual, that it may be impossible to clearly identify a distinct phase of

¹³ The UNCRC, uses 0-18 yrs as a definitive range for childhood, however, some of the literature uses 'youth' or 'adolescence' both differently and interchangeably with childhood. I also recognize that some (for example Fyfe, 1993; Langevang, 2007; Nsamenang, 2002) contest age delineation altogether arguing that things like status, land ownership, and parenthood often demarcate children and youth from adulthood rather than arbitrary age criteria.

¹⁴ The lack of an effective age record system in many countries, especially in urban slums and marginalized communities where most street children come from, further complicates the objective definition of a child for both legal and practical purposes (Champagne, 1994; Fyfe, 1993).

childhood. As (Bissell et al.) have argued, “majority world¹⁵ children commonly assume proto-adult roles” from which they derive meaning and take pride while contributing to household income (p. 16). Moreover, the meaning and value of children may be understood differently in western and non-western societies, as well as within those same societies. Ansell (2005) for example writes that where “western culture views children as individuals moving towards autonomy, many cultures construct children as fundamentally part of a family, lineage or clan” (p. 68). As a result, the negotiations with children toward autonomy familiar in a western context may be relatively unimportant in much of the developing world.

Certainly, some aspects of human development are experienced by children everywhere and, while space and mandate do not permit a detailed discussion of physical, psychological and cognitive development in childhood here, the acquisition of language and other cognitive abilities, as well as processes of physical, sexual, and emotional maturation, share some universal patterns (Boyden, 1997; Mead, 1928). However, recalling structuration theory, “childhood not only shapes children’s experiences, but children also help shape the nature of the childhood that they experience” (James & James, 2001:30) through an intricate interplay of structure and agency and by a myriad of socio-cultural, political, economic, and historical factors.

Most scholars point to the industrial revolution and the increasing use of child labour in the late eighteenth century as the origins of a modern concept of childhood (Boyden, 1997; Dale, 2000; Paulny, 2006; Jones, 2005; Selvam, 2008; Stephens, 1995). In reaction, protectionist sentiments and the desire to shelter children from the harsh realities of adult life

¹⁵ Punch (2003) differentiates between majority and minority world children, stressing that, among other things, the minority world children are ‘first world’ whose construction of childhood dominates the literature, programs, approaches, legislation, etc.

emerged. In this space, the provision of mass education gained prominence where government was “able to create a homogenized construction of childhood that was enforced by schools” (Paulny, 2006, p. 21) while being readily and rapidly transmitted through the growing economic interdependence of nation states. Others (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2008) credit capitalism itself for having created and reinforced a self-serving notion of youth to meet business and consumption needs, the consequences of which were a widening of the gap between generations, and a distinct separation of childhood from adulthood. The convergence of adult ideas about what a “proper” childhood should be and what activities should or should not be encouraged for children has led to what Boyden (1997) calls the “globalization of childhood” (p. 195). This, in turn, frames the key issue in contemporary sociology of childhood, namely “the problem of how to reconcile, at one and the same time, the commonalities and diversities of childhood” (James & James, 2001, p. 26), especially where such reconciliation is required across and within political, cultural, linguistic, economic and geographic spaces.

2.2.1 The Advent of the Children’s Rights Agenda

Integrated and complicit with this “Euroconstruction” of childhood is the evolution of a global children’s rights agenda. Liberationists advance the notion that children should have all the rights accorded to adults including the right to vote, work, have sex and own property (Ansell, 2005). Strongly influenced by feminist critiques (Haig, 1997; Howe & Covell, 2005; Paulny, 2006) they reason that children’s incompetence is an ideological construct used to perpetuate dependence on adults. Others uncomfortable with the extension of rights to children argue instead for children’s interests to be governed in a “moral economy” situated

in the private sphere and respectful of family and parental authority (Howe & Covell, 2005, p. 228).

The development of the UNCRC in the 1980s was the ultimate negotiation of the diverse and varied forms of childhood expressed across the world. In ratifying the convention, states imported a construction of childhood that enhances the “gap between domestic law and everyday practice” (Jones, 2005, p. 339), and threatens local structures and traditional forms of agency through which local notions of childhood are constructed. Most (Howe and Covell, 2005; O’Neill & Zinga, 2008; Stephens, 1995) describe the UNCRC as a compromise between caretaker and liberationist viewpoints, offering children both protection and enabling rights. The convention attracts detractors from across the caretaker-liberationist continuum unified only in their shared criticism of the Eurocentric, westernized, and overly individualistic notions of children, youth, and rights, which the UNCRC is accused of propagating. At the nexus of these criticisms, the debate not only re-joins the sociological heritage of childhood construction, but also allocates epistemological space to the powerful role of education and schooling in advancing a universal notion of the child/youth.

2.2.2 The Role of Schooling

The decades long provision of western-style (Nsamenang, 2002; Reagan & Mahwah, 2000) mass education culminating in the unprecedented global consensus around primary EFA is potentially problematic. Backed by most bilateral and multilateral aid agencies (Colclough, 1996; King, 1992; Rose, 2005; Samoff, 1993; Tikly, 2004), basic EFA seeks to occupy that space where most of childhood is lived and, in so doing, may supplant indigenous structures and processes through which it is formed. In this, one can see an almost perfect storm mounting against localized notions of childhood.

Modern schooling is based on a conception of childhood free of other pressures or responsibilities (Ansell, 2005). Where such freedoms are lacking (for example, where children work instead of, or in addition to, attending school), school is intended to “secure the withdrawal of children from the labour market” (Boyden, 1997, p. 212). Moreover, the normative standards, enshrined and reinforced in the language of rights¹⁶ have been accused of pathologizing children, their families, and communities when UPE is rejected, resisted or attenuated for various reasons, including the cost benefit analysis instinctively performed by poor families (Boyden, 1997; Colclough et al., 2000; Samoff, 1993). Failure to situate children’s agency in cooperation with, or contestation to, this epistemological (Tabulawa, 2003) framework¹⁷ would be to ignore the essential dialectic between newly formed or forming notions of childhood and mobile, trans-national, dominant forms of economic power and influence implicit in “education for development”.

In addition, the pressures of urbanization, modernization and globalization are weakening traditional kinship relationships as young people migrate to urban centres in search of schooling or wage labour (Honwana, 2012). Formal education competes strongly with traditional apprenticeship or informal skill transfer as a primary form of socialization. With most “agricultural, judicial, and economic systems heavily tied to Western institutions and markets, ...African youth ...see their cultural survival pegged to their ability to be as Western as possible” (Ntarangwi, 2009, p. 22). There is an emphasis youth place - regardless of the livelihood strategy they employ - on gaining respect through employment or

¹⁶ See article 28 of the UNCRCR RE: the right to free primary education at: <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm#art28>

¹⁷ Some scholars argue that aid agency interest in learner-centred pedagogy has increased steadily since the end of the cold war primarily to advance ‘democratization’ as the necessary pre-requisite for the expansion of neo-liberal capitalism (Ismail & Alao, 2007; Tabulawa, 2003). This pedagogy, Tabulawa (2003) says, has “an ideological outlook [and] a worldview intended to develop a preferred kind of society and people” (p. 7).

educational status, and the financial and material success to be regarded as adults rather than as youth stuck in the “process of becoming” (Durham, 2008). Declining opportunities in rural areas push young people to move to cities where they are “forced to survive in an oversaturated informal economy” (Honwana, p. 23) which does not easily provide the security or income for social and economic autonomy.

Arrested, therefore, in a protracted, pre-adult status period of *waithood*, the lived experience is different but also intractably connected for young men and women struggling to make the transition from *youth* to adulthood. For young men, the pressure mounts to find steady and secure income that will facilitate the acquisition of housing, food, school fees and other necessary resources for marriage and family formation. For women, although they too are increasingly educated, active migrants, and wage labour participants, they are still largely reliant on marriage and motherhood to mark their transition from *waithood* to adulthood. In this regard, they *wait* on young men to emerge from their own *waithood* with the means to offer marriage (Honwana, 2012, p. 23). However, even when the important decision to marry is taken, evidence suggests that ongoing economic change and instability penetrates the social lives of young couples leading to high rates of separation and divorce (Kamat, 2008).

2.3 Youth and Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

The steady export and expansion of schooling in Tanzania and elsewhere in SSA has long been rationalized as fostering prosperity (Jellema, 2000; Samoff, 1993), improving the status of girls (Leach, 2000; Stromquist, 1998; Zinga & Young, 2008), and challenging established patterns of social reproduction (Bajaj, 2009; Jeffrey, 2012; Levinson & Holland, 1996; McFadden, 1995; Welch, 2001). This process of linking education to social and economic development has created a situation where, in most developing countries, school

systems serve to signal a “commitment to western-style progress and modernization” and a willingness to abide by capitalist economic systems (Levinson & Holland, p. 16).

Western socio-economic and political influence in Africa’s development is variously linked to historical processes of merchant capitalism (including slavery and plantation economics), colonialism (including the influence of missionaries), and neo-colonialism as well as to the more contemporary processes of modernization, liberal and neo-liberal capitalist penetration and globalization (Ansell, 2005; Bray, 1984; Sukarieh & Tannock, 2008; Webster, 1992). Concomitant economic, ideological, linguistic¹⁸, and cultural influences, including the imposition of incongruous systems of education, have brought new forms of imperialism (Tikly, 2004) and the rapid transformation of whole societies. Punctuated by world events (two World Wars, a protracted Cold War, economic recessions and expansions among others), African development has been determined historically by forces outside the continent.

In the 1950s and 60s, economic and institutional functionalism and western knowledge combined to advance the modernization paradigm¹⁹ despite considerable post-colonial resistance (Bhabha, 2001; Bhola, 2002; DaSilva, 1995; Odora-Hoppers, 2002; Reagan & Mahwahm 2000; Welch, 1985). Inspired by the success of the Marshall plan for post-war reconstruction in Europe, modernization theory in development discourse was widely promoted with “education for economic development” (Welch, p. 11) achieving almost paradigmatic status in modernization literature of the era.

¹⁸ For example, the rapid spread of English in Africa laid the foundation for a functionalist argument based around the inevitability, global reach, and natural affinity of English to the inherited school system (see Mazrui, 2004, p. 40; Ngonyani, 2001)

¹⁹ Voices for the inclusion or consideration of indigenous knowledge systems within the education system are absent from the discourse in Tanzania. Research by Ryan (1995) and others (DaSilva, 1995; Thrupp, 1989; Wickham, 1993) suggest, however, that most rural people adhere strongly to cultural and religious belief systems.

Western and developing economies stalled in the 1970s and early 1980s undermining investments in human capital²⁰ and the promise of modernization. Population growth outpaced educational expansion, educational reforms were only partially implemented, and serious urban/rural, gender, and class divisions were exposed for the first time. In this post oil-shock period of economic recession and rising economic conservatism, conditions were set for a new paradigm based on liberal democracy and free market solutions underpinned by the profoundly ideological “Washington Consensus” (Nordtveit, 2008; see also Sukarieh & Tannock, 2008). The rigid structural adjustment programs (SAPs)²¹ that characterized this period were gradually supplanted by the discourse of globalization (De Moura Castro, 2002; Jones, 1998) and the widespread adoption of neo-liberal macroeconomic policies persists today as preconditions for Official Development Assistance (ODA). Current aid theory promotes participation and ownership by recipient governments but tensions remain in the alliance that joins international financial institutions, donors and western NGOs in what some see as an ongoing effort to establish neo-liberal systems of economic and political management while “legitimizing the increasingly intrusive supervision of African political communities by northern actors” (Takyi-Amoako, 2008, p. 52).

In this context, the provision of formal education promised positive, western-style growth (Farrell, 1999). Appropriately skilled labour was seen as the capital or missing ingredient situating “education even more squarely in the centre of this optimistic vision” (p. 150). By mimicking and expanding broad-based access to the type of educational

²⁰ A seminal work in this area is Harbison & Meyers (1964) – *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth*, in which human resources were seen as a form of capital, a product of ‘investment’ and a vital ingredient in economic development (see Welch, 1985, p. 13).

²¹ Structural adjustment under the leadership of the IMF and World Bank typically included massive social sector cuts as well as taxation, fiscal, and monetary policy more typical of fully developed economies. One of the most serious implications of structural adjustment policies was the spread of privatization of education (Colclough, 1996; Whitty & Power, 2000).

opportunities enjoyed in Europe and North America, donors and development policy-makers hoped the natural conditions for economic “takeoff” (Rostow, 1971) could be quickly re-created in less developed countries.

Although challenges to modernization theory have emerged through various epistemological critiques rooted in post-structuralism, post-modernism, and post-colonialism (Welch, 1999; 2001), and through alternative development paradigms such as dependency theory and sustainable development (see Klees, 2007), the modernization/economic growth imperatives still dominate. Supported by, and increasingly dependent upon, major donors and international financial institutions (Bennell & Furlong, 1998; Samoff, 1999a), most SSA countries are inclined to shape their education systems²² to support neo-liberal objectives. The parallel global agendas of EFA and the MDGs have reinforced rather than challenged this paradigm by linking education, development, economic growth and employment in a compelling global program (Cavanagh & Mander, 2002; Jones, 2005; King, 2004, 2007; Rose, 2005; Samoff, 1999b; Tikly, 2004).

The education for development discourse maintains the centrality of both a rights-based and human capital theory approach to education (Carnoy, 1974; King, 1991; Maclure and Lavan, 2008; Resnik, 2006; Samoff, 1996; Tikly, 2004) with UPE said to hold the highest rates of return on investment (Bennell, 1996a, 1996b; Heynemann, 2000). Values around education have been constructed as a personal responsibility, “a question of individuals and their families making rational choices to secure their future positions” (Wyn and Dwyer, 1999, p. 18; see also Jones, 2005). Some, like Vandebroek and Bouverne-de Bie (2006), argue that the construction of the autonomous child/adult “may be another

²² Roger Dale (2000), among others (Carnoy & Rhoten, 2002), talks of a common World Educational Culture, universal models of education, and an extraordinary level of global isomorphism across curriculum categories.

example of how a social problem [like] unemployment is reinscribed as an educational problem and subsequently individualized” (p. 136).

The screening and social reproductive function of formal schooling creates unique and differentially impacted strata of youth in most SSA countries. There is an increasingly small group of mostly male elites educated in first class institutions abroad using colonial languages; then there is the majority – young people who have had little or no access to secondary school and, in most cases, a marginal primary school experience. With the growing emphasis on expanded secondary spaces, there are more and more young people with low quality secondary education but without secure, formal sector employment – what one might call the reasonably educated under/unemployed (Jeffrey, 2012, p. 743).

Studies of youth in Burkina Faso (Calves & Schoumaker, 2004) and Uganda (Tukundane, 2013), for example, noted that urban educated youth, especially women, suffer in this employment crisis where a lack of formal sector employment creates a loss of credibility and prestige leaving “informal sector jobs ...the only viable solution” (Tukundane, 2013, p. 1343). Higher education still serves a screening function for social reproduction, but it too increasingly leads to un/underemployment, and for women at virtually all levels of education, significantly higher unemployment rates exist. Describing this same social reproduction phenomenon, Tikly (2001) says there is a tendency for a top socio-economic tier to benefit from a private education that may make them globally competitive, while a middle tier receives a good but not world-class education, and the majority third tier receives a state education that will leave them only marginally competitive for low-skill jobs.

The improvement of girls' education is also a key objective within the larger EFA mandate. It is widely held that improving equity and education issues for girls contributes positively to economic development as women are critical players in household economies, and is also good for promoting social change recognizing that women are generally the primary care givers and recipients of health and other information. However, there are constraints to the improvement of girls' education in Africa with poverty itself triggering *opportunity cost* analysis by poor families (Colclough et al., 2000; Leach, 2000; Mickelson & Nkomo, 2001; Stromquist, 1998) that often disadvantages girls over male siblings. Some, like Colclough et al. (2000), argue that gender disparity in schooling has more to do with cultural practice than with poverty. Others look to the administrative decentralization trend in education where "the consequences are likely to be negative for girls' education in poor areas if provision is to be met from local revenues" (Stromquist, p. 337). She dismisses local control where that control is expressed more traditionally, such as in the provision of training of women for domestic roles. She also says that school heads and teachers with greater autonomy "are unlikely to be ardent supporters of broadening female pupils' horizons beyond early marriage and childrearing into higher education and worthwhile careers" (p. 338).

2.4 The Youth Bulge

Chronically high birth rates²³ combined with rising unemployment and inequality among youth across much of SSA present potential challenges to development and security. Structural adjustment and neoliberal economic policies have contributed to a declining

²³ Half of the 6.3 billion people on earth are under age 25 while half of the 500 million inhabitants in sub-Saharan Africa are under the age of 15 (Ismail & Alao, 2007, p. 6).

formal sector and a crisis of public authority (Sukerieh and Tannock, 2008). There is mounting concern about the increasing numbers of young people channeled out of African primary or post primary education systems with little or no formal options for employment or continued training (Vavrus, 2009). In most of Africa, the majority of secondary and post-secondary age youth are no longer in school but rather live in informal settlements unable to get jobs and often out of touch with any public or civil society organizations at all. National efforts to address youth issues are confined to ministries with minimal budgets and influence. Usually, only small groups of the most educated, mainly male and older youth are reached, who are then hailed in international meetings as the creative resourceful “leaders of tomorrow” (Mabala, 2011, p. 157).

Sommers (2011) argues that the negative discourse or “instability thesis” that has emerged around the youth bulge issue has unfairly influenced the dialogue, and in some cases, the policy environment in Africa where youth bulge demographics are rapidly taking hold. According to Sommers (2006), the negative connotations of the youth bulge and instability thesis are linked to strategic demography that uses population characteristics such as age, ethnicity, and geographic location to help locate terrorist or criminal threats (p. 3). Scholars like Kaplan (1996) and Shoumatoff (1988) have characterized African youth, particularly males, as the “perpetrators of future violence” (p. 295) for years. Bolstered by statistical correlations (Cincotta et al, 2003) that show linkages between youth bulge demographics and political instability, the instability thesis is commonly cited by policy makers (see Goldstone, 2010 for example). Recent events in the Middle East have only

served to reinforce the correlation between growing populations of urban youth²⁴, instability and even violence.

Yet Sommers (2011) points out that a “great majority of African nations with youth bulge populations have not experienced conflict... [nor do] the vast majority of young men get involved in violence” (p. 296) when conflicts do arise. Moreover, such negative theorizing is happening without researchers and policy-makers having adequately heard from the African youth who are assumed to pose these threats. Seeking to confirm or refute the urban threat thesis by addressing the paucity of qualitative accounts of youth marginalization, Sommers (2006) and Tunkudane et al. (2014) offer perspectives from Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda respectively.

Sommers (2006) interviewed youth in Rwanda and Burundi and found “an entirely different view of contemporary Africa: one where innovation and resourcefulness characterize the increasingly separate social worlds of African youth” (p. 297). Tukundane et al. (2014), although focused on the negative individual effects of early school leaving, nonetheless observed strong expressions of hope and ambition among young Ugandans (p. 486). In addition, Ayittey (2005), (see also DeJaeghere, 2013; Stambach, 2000; Wedgewood, 2007), offers positive observations of the growing entrepreneurial youth generation. Ayittey calls this emerging demographic the “cheetah generation” - young, creative and entrepreneurial Africans free from old colonial narratives and dependencies, in contrast with the stodgy, pudgy “hippo generation” wedded to the old colonialism/imperialism paradigm and its abiding faith in the potency of the state (p. 389).

²⁴ While I have characterized the informant cohort as “urban youth”, it is important to clarify that all of them migrated to Dar es Salaam from rural villages. In this sense, the term “Newly Urbanized” might be more appropriate.

This dichotomous youth bulge discourse influences, and is influenced by, structural dilemmas in education and the labour market in particular. Still heavily dependent on development assistance, most of Africa today is deeply engaged in the new “aid effectiveness agenda” set out under the Paris Declaration²⁵, using aid modalities²⁶ which many believe renders aid more effective and efficient (Helleiner, 2002) but some argue also serves to re-colonize education under the guise of local/national ownership, design, oversight, and implementation (Samoff, 2007; Tabulawa, 2003; Tikly, 2004). Among the more critical, some are asking whether sector-wide planning and the emphasis on targets have overwhelmed the importance of school-level planning and input entirely (Foster, 2000; Klees, 2001; Samoff, 2003). More importantly, the shortcomings of these aid approaches and policy pressures may be linked to the declining quality of education upon which Africa’s young people depend.

To complicate matters further, youth are affected by quickly changing economic structures under the neo-liberal policy emphasis of African governments seeking poverty reduction through economic growth (Tabulawa, 2003). Aid flows, privatization and foreign direct investment (FDI) have exacerbated economic inequality in cities, exposing the disconnect between human capital and labour markets. Supported by donors, EFA and the efforts of domestic and international NGOs attempt to bridge the education/labour market divide through the provision of a basic education with some success. However, the assumption that a shrunken state can both “play mid-wife to the birth of a productive African entrepreneurial class” (Sommers, 2010, p. 318) and sustain the additional investments and recurrent expenditures required to achieve quality in the basic education on offer, is

²⁵ The 2005 Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness marked a fundamental change in the delivery of aid.

²⁶ Paris ‘friendly’ aid modalities favour central control with considerable donor influence on policy-making.

ambitious. Lacking the requisite base of education and skills, including numeracy and literacy (particularly English), economic inequalities are likely to persist for young people.

These varied challenges for youth invite conflicted interpretations from academics and policy-makers. From a neo-liberal perspective, young people are expected to learn to help themselves and develop appropriate skills for a changing labour market. In this paradigm, youth “identities and voices are to be welcomed and celebrated” (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2008, p. 302). Where youth resist, question or disengage from the paradigm’s basic precepts and promises, they become framed instead as “global society’s worst nightmare” (p. 302). The implication of this latter prejudice is that “measures have to be taken against irresponsible risk-takers rather than the structural factors that constrain [or influence] them” (Mabala, 2011, p. 162).

2.5 Rural-Urban Migration

Since the fall of the Berlin wall and Francis Fukuyama’s assertion in his seminal paper, *The End of History* (1989), that societies had reached the end point of ideological evolution and the start of the universalization of Western liberal democracy as the preferred form of socio-economic governance, free market economic systems have been adopted world-wide. In SSA, these dramatic economic shifts have brought improved infrastructure – including improved roads, new schools and health clinics, better regulations, an improved business climate and a stronger civil society – but the chronic poverty of poor, rural farmers and other marginalized segments of society remain relatively unchanged. The children of impoverished people have been migrating in the thousands to cities and towns all over Africa (African Development Bank [AFDB], 2011). Often, these young people come from families with little income, unable or unwilling to support their children’s education given the need

for their services at home or in the fields. Many youth leave home due to violence or abuse – additional, unfortunate by-products of crushing poverty (Sommers, 2011).

Additional “push” factors from rural communities – boredom, lack of employment and educational opportunities and restrictive cultural pressures – combine with “pulls” to the cities like the prospect of employment or further education to improve employability. Other factors are in play as well; Mabala (2011), for example, says that by migrating, “young men escape rural power hierarchies and earn money, which allows some independence and access to women” (p. 168), while others are encouraged to go to town to find employment and subsidize their rural families with remittances, an expectation that is not easy to fulfil given the nature of jobs open to them and the exploitative wages they are paid. As Sommers (2010) points out, “African formal sector economies... are generally far too small to absorb large numbers of out-of-school urban youth. What work they find is likely to be temporary and holding onto it may be impossible” (p. 320).

Powerlessness and marginalization are more pronounced for young women. Cultural norms, domestic pressures, early pregnancy, sexual harassment and violence at school and even the school experience itself, can reinforce rather than challenge the disadvantages experienced by young women, leaving them less mobile, less able and often less likely to be as engaged in challenging the social and economic structures that limit their choices (Okkolin, Lehtomaki & Bhalalusesa, 2010; Stromquist, 1989). With significantly fewer economic options than their male youth counterparts, the struggle for viable urban livelihoods is even more difficult for young women. The negative effects of gender discrimination with respect to home and schooling is still deeply entrenched so that female educational attainment suffers, leaving them disadvantaged in the labour market from the

outset. Parental attitudes toward investing in the education of daughters as opposed to sons, early pregnancy, and the increased burden of domestic duties in AIDS-affected communities are among the socio-cultural structures still disadvantaging girls (Okkolin et al., 2010).

Billings (2011), for example, observes that for girls especially, furtherance in schooling is made difficult due to cultural tendencies to invest in boys first, and also because educated girls are commonly labeled as promiscuous or "prostitutes" for being too independent, western-oriented and modern, "all qualities considered to be linked with, and even acquired by, their secondary education" (p. 297).

Generally socialized toward domestic work, many young women seek urban employment as housemaids or nannies in middle class homes where they are subject to low wages, long hours and, often, sexual harassment (Klocker, 2007). For some of them, when other employment options fail, "prostitution may be the only means of survival" (Sommers, 2010, p. 327) and there are plenty of other young women around to coax them into the trade (Pieterse, 2011).

Insecurity and stimulation greet many male and female migrants to cities. To cope, youth tend to stratify by socio-economic class, formal or informal sector occupation, religious affiliation, association membership or even regional or tribal affinity (Mabala, 2011). Some, looking for a sense of belonging, join "religious communit[ies which] provide structure, support, and a wealth of resources and activities, possibly even help in finding housing or a job" (Sommers, 2012, p. 324). Alternatively, it is not unusual to see mainly male, informal sector youth forming groups in city neighbourhoods and assigning themselves names such as "Action Boys" or "Sunglass Boys" and using the sidewalk location as the meeting place for members of that particular youth group. Common in cities like Kampala,

Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, Sommers (2010) writes, “at the end of a difficult day of searching for work or some action, joining peers to discuss economic, social and political events at dusk is an important way for male youth to create community and belonging in huge African cities” (p. 325).

Once in cities, youth rarely leave. As Sommers (2010) states, “the heartland of modernity in Africa is the urban world” (p. 324) and cities hold the allure of development and the prospects of wages and a better life. Recent evidence suggests that these instincts are correct; Beegle, De Weerd, and Dercon (2011) found the individual benefits of rural-urban migration to be high, with migrants experiencing consumption growth 36% higher than those who remain behind in rural areas (p. 1028). Not surprisingly, the most positive impacts are found for those migrating to the most connected areas – typically the biggest cities.

2.6 Conclusion

The power behind the notions of structure and agency in the social sciences generates interesting and debatable dichotomies, but also the attempts at unifying approaches. Among these, structuration theory provides a framework and set of “thinking tools” (Day Ashley, 2010, p. 338) for understanding the interplay of youth agency and structure in a developing country context. Adapted to consider the autonomy of structures, the thinning and thickening effects of structure on agency, and the utility of conceptual extensions of *structuration* found in other work with youth, structuration theory is established as the theoretical framework for this dissertation.

The construction of childhood/youth, and the way many young people today find themselves occupying a space of “waiting to become adults”, represents a critical social structure in and of itself. Historical and epistemological underpinnings detectable in

developmental psychology, anthropology, and sociology have combined with strongly westernized notions of childhood – reinforced by a global children’s rights discourse and the homogenizing effects of globalization and modern education - to disrupt locally constructed notions of childhood. Underlying epistemologies of modernization and human capital theory continue to dominate expansion efforts, such as EFA, underway in the education sector today. Western formal education, although buffeted by historical paradigm shifts and periods of weak resistance, has invariably served the political and socio-economic interests of corporations and landed elites in the pursuit of capitalist penetration and globalization. SSA education systems largely perform a screening function which reproduces an indigenous elite with access to English medium instruction and tertiary options at home and abroad while the vast majority make do with poor quality education and outcomes.

Demographic trends are exacerbating youth dynamics in Africa. The youth bulge discourse is conflicted but tends to be overly negative and prone toward a “youth as threat” thesis despite the fact that recent empirical work with African youth has found considerable optimism and entrepreneurial enthusiasm. This binary discourse is linked to underlying expansion of neo-liberal economics that tend to see growing legions of under or unemployed youth alternately as a threat and an opportunity. Closely linked to youth bulge demographics is the strong trend of rural-urban migration drawing very large numbers of post basic school leavers to cities in pursuit of further schooling or employment in the informal economy. Insufficient levels of education combined with a weak formal labour market and an overcrowded informal economy have left the vast majority of youth without the means to transition from youth to adulthood, leaving many young people in prolonged phases of waithood. Integral to the rural-urban migration dynamic is the pursuit of both the means to

transition into adulthood, and the desire for those young adult lives to be an expression of modernity.

The disconnect between the promise of individual and collective prosperity through expanded education and the reality of growing numbers of under or disengaged youth is real and growing in Tanzania (GoT Education Sector Analysis, 2011), across Africa (Sukarieh & Tannock, 2008) and even much of the rest of the world (Morison, 2012). The activities and aspirations of young people at the interface between schooling and livelihoods combine with a myriad of socio-economic, policy, and institutional structures which impact the quality of education, the formal and informal economies, and the choices young people make to migrate, work or attempt more schooling. Emerging from among these varied dynamics is the need to examine the experiences, perceptions, and decisions of young people in response to the key structural factors shaping their lives. By focusing on a particular country context and using the lens of structuration theory, the manifestations and interconnections of youth agency and structural change can help us gain insight into the extent to which youth are able to navigate their lives and the degree to which structural shifts are occurring in response to the circumstances and actions of African youth.

CHAPTER 3:

TANZANIA: PREVAILING STRUCTURES AND THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

“Youth is easily deceived because it is quick to hope.” (Aristotle)

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the most critical issues faced by youth in Tanzania. To set the country context, the chapter provides a brief societal overview covering issues of demography, language, religion, and geography among others. This is followed by a historical and contemporary overview of the political economy including the legacy of Ujamaa and the ongoing influence of donors and aid on Tanzanian policy over time. The current socio-economic overview includes issues of poverty, rural-urban migration and urbanization, and the informal economy. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the education system including critical issues like language of instruction, curricula design, and teaching. Current national educational indicators are presented to give some indication of both the progress and shortcomings in the development of the sector and on subsequent life trajectories of Tanzanian youth.

3.1 Demographic Overview

Founded in 1964 by the union of mainland Tanganyika and the islands of Zanzibar, Tanzania borders four other East African Community (EAC) members (Rwanda, Uganda, Burundi and Kenya) and serves as an important ocean gateway for both the EAC and

landlocked southern African neighbours like Malawi and Zambia. The country enjoys rich biodiversity and natural resources, including newly discovered deposits of natural gas. With a landmass almost identical to that of the Province of Ontario, 78% of Tanzania's 46.2 million people are subsistence farmers living in very poor conditions. Migration and population growth is causing cities like Dar es Salaam and Arusha to grow at unsustainable rates while rural areas remain relatively sparsely populated (see Figure 3).

The country's religious profile includes approximately 35% Muslims living mostly along the Indian Ocean coastline and on Zanzibar, 30% Christians of Catholic, Protestant and Evangelical traditions, with the remainder split between Hindu and indigenous African believers. English is strongly associated with higher education (Ngonyani, 2001), although it shares equal status as an official language with Swahili. In practice, however, Swahili, along with over 130 vernaculars, is used in the marketplace and day-to-day working environments of the civil service and private companies. There are over 120 tribal groups spread across 20 regions of the country. While people generally regard themselves as Tanzanian first and foremost, awareness of tribal affiliation does form an important, if subtle, part of social discourse and underlies nepotism within state and other institutions. Generally speaking, Tanzanians will ascribe distinct characteristics to people based on tribe such as being soft spoken (the Sukuma), or business savvy (the Chagga). Age is a highly important socio—cultural characteristic with very specific hierarchies (in the workplace for example) and greetings reserved for denoting one's age and status.



Figure 3. Administrative Map of Tanzania. Adapted from Education Sector Analysis, 2013.

Zanzibar is dominated by people of Arab/Islamic origin that, in the context of the inclusion of Zanzibar in the *United Republic of Tanzania*, forms the basis of cultural-religious and political tensions with the mainland. Lastly, a large East-Indian population dominates ownership of the private sector. This community tends to isolate themselves culturally and geographically from Tanzanians of African origin and, while they are sometimes accused in the press and elsewhere of taking advantage of African workers, they have never been subject to expulsions like those faced by Ugandan East Indians in the 1970s.

3.2 Political Economy

3.2.1 The Legacy of Ujamaa

In order to understand Tanzania's current level of social development, particularly in education, it is necessary to consider the socio-political dimensions of the post-independence period. With respect to modernization, Tanzania has been both the exception and the rule in Africa. The post-colonial project of nation building in Tanzania introduced heavy demands on education, including massive expansion and emphasis on primary schooling and adult literacy, buoyed by a nationalist critique of the pre-existing colonial order and the motto "we must run while they walk" (Ngonyani, 2001, p. 250). The socialist *Ujamaa*²⁷ ideology promoted by President Nyerere helped dissipate tribalism and unify the country through policies like the propagation of Swahili as a *lingua Franca*. However, *Ujamaa* also relied heavily on nationalization of most private sector entities and institutions, including networks of private or semi-autonomous church-run schools, ultimately damaging the sector.

The eventual failure of the socialist experiment was marked by domestic economic collapse - exacerbated by the worldwide energy crisis of the 1970s and the subsequent global economic contagion – and the acceptance of World Bank structural adjustment policies through most of the 1980s and 90s. Before its demise, the pro-poor focus of *Ujamaa* sought to equip Tanzanians for self-reliant, agriculture-based rural livelihoods where the majority of people would need and attain primary education but only a small minority was selected to advance further. The failure and residual effects of these policies, officially disavowed since

²⁷ Ujamaa is rooted in the 'Arusha Declaration' and Nyerere's socialist doctrine of self-reliance.

the mid-1980s, are often cited for holding back Tanzania's economic and human resource development (Phillips, 2011).

Ujamaa marked Tanzania's first concerted attempt to reach UPE starting around 1967 and lasting until the late 1980s. Wedgwood (2007) explains why primary school graduates at that time could not translate education into poverty reduction saying *education for self-reliance* – “deposited graduates into a context where the central state was the main provider of employment, goods and services and where there were few means for setting up businesses or investing in farm improvements” (p. 50). The nationalization of the economy signaled a decidedly anti-capitalist disposition creating obstacles like heavy taxation and licensing fees to discourage small enterprise development. In fact, three decades of socialism are often cited as the reason why Tanzanians have been slower than regional neighbours to engage in free market activity and why, on many social and economic indicators (Uwezo, 2011; UNESCO, 2011; Ease of Doing Business, 2014), Tanzania lags behind Kenya in particular, despite having vastly more natural resources and a contemporary history free of ethnic conflict.

With an emphasis on primary schooling and self-reliance, access to secondary or other post-primary education was deliberately constrained through a central manpower planning model to carefully produce only what was able to be absorbed by the civil service. This approach to post-primary education contributed to the notion that post basic education led to secure, formal employment in state “positions that did not necessarily involve much work” (Wedgewood, 2007;4-5). Effectively, Ujamaa produced a culture of state reliance rather than self-reliance. Tanzania did enjoy almost universal access to primary schooling prior to the structural adjustment reforms of the late 1980s that negatively impacted access to

education at all levels through the imposition of fees and civil service reductions (see Al-Sumarraï & Reilly, 2008; Wedgewood, 2005). However, this positive legacy of *Ujamaa*, did not yield poverty reduction benefits such as “reduced fertility, greater agricultural productivity [or] overall economic growth” (Wedgewood, 2006, p. 67) for two reasons; first, the quality of primary education had suffered due to rapid expansion and; secondly, the socialist economic environment into which primary graduates emerged was not conducive to that education being used (Wedgewood, 2005). The implementation of major education sector reforms over the last decade - including the elimination of school fees - has effectively restored universal access to primary education, yet many of the characteristics that undermined educational expansion in the 1970s and which exacerbate persistent poverty in the country – like high population growth - remain.

Today, with early post-independence gains in education eroded, and with systemic issues like teaching quality and resources negatively impacting the quality of present educational expansion, a quarter of adult Tanzanians have no formal education and 32.5% of women and 16.9% of men are illiterate. Educational policies under *Ujamaa* played an important role in creating and/or reinforcing a small political and economic post-colonial elite, the reproduction of which persists today. This elite has, of course, evolved over time, influenced by a variety of historical discourses (pre-colonial, colonial, Tanzanian socialist, Western democratic, neoliberal) that legitimate the interests and policy-making tendencies of a diverse set of political actors with ongoing consequences for the structure of education in the country (Ngonyani, 2001; Philipps, 2011).

3.2.2 The Influence of Donors and Development Assistance

The relationship between development assistance and Tanzania's political economy has historically been very strong. Changing donor priorities are closely linked with domestic policy change over time. Development assistance, for example, enabled socialist policy experimentation in the early independence period and, more recently, forced significant adaptation and compliance with emerging new economic and political world orders. (Edwards, 2012; 2006; Hoffman, 2013; Sundet, 2010).

The immediate post independence period (1961-67) was dominated by private sector-led economic growth and increasing income inequality that largely gave rise to Nyerere's Arusha Declaration and the start of Africa's most peaceful and extensive socialist transformations. This also marked the first of what Bigsten (2001) describe as three distinct historical phases highlighting the interrelationship of aid and political economy. An aid *expansion* phase (1970-82) represents extensive post-independence enthusiasm shown by donors – particularly social democratic governments in Western Europe – for Nyerere's grand socialist vision. The radicalization of policies during this period necessitated massive investments in adult literacy and primary education²⁸ but also the near total nationalization of the economy and the voluntary and (later) forced policy of “villagization” designed to organize nomadic and/or disperse peasant populations into productive, agricultural collectives.

²⁸ Results of massive investments in UPE and adult education increased literacy rates from 33% in 1970 to 90% in 1985 but, ultimately, these achievements could not be financially sustained and eroded considerably once structural adjustment policies, including public expenditure reductions, were implemented (see Edwards, 2011)

Now widely regarded as a colossal failure, nationalization, villagization and other Ujamaa²⁹ policies nonetheless struck a chord at the time - particularly with Nordic donors who related to and embraced Nyerere's charisma and ideology of egalitarianism, respect for practical work and physical labour, and the importance placed on peasant culture in the creation of a modern socialist ideology. Van Arkadie and Havnevik (1996) go as far as to say, "if the Arusha experiment had not existed, the Western social democrats of the 1970s would have had to invent it" (p. 6). Referring to this deep admiration for Nyerere and his policies as a "cult of Tanzaphilia" (p. 24), Edwards (2011) shows how development assistance from the World Bank and other bilateral donors more than quadrupled in per capita terms during this time, enabling the socialist experiment to continue until the country was over 60% aid-dependent and the economy and related social objectives in ruins.

A second *contraction* phase (1983-85) mirrored the global economic recession triggered by the oil crisis starting in 1977, but also reflected growing disenchantment with Nyerere's failed policies. Punctuated by an impasse with the IMF, development assistance contracted drastically³⁰, prompting Nyerere to ask "*who made the IMF President the Finance Minister of the World*", while steadfastly resisting pressure for reform in favour of homegrown solutions like import substitution and the nationalist symbolism of promoting Kiswahili language in education and in the workplace (Ngonyani, 2001). Growing disillusion at home and the country's deepening financial crisis eventually saw Nyerere concede to major structural adjustment policies starting in 1986. These policies would ultimately erode

²⁹ Ujamaa - brotherhood in Swahili – was the name given to Nyerere's socialist plan.

³⁰ Estimates put the net reduction in aid at approximately 36%.

expansion, access, linguistic focus³¹, and quality of basic education setting the stage for today's systemic problems and poor outcomes.

This structural adjustment period (1986-96) forced political and institutional reform, including foreign exchange and trade liberalization, public service streamlining and expenditure management, and the introduction of multi-party politics which all served to keep aid flows stable. In this context, Tanzania re-introduced school fees under pressure from the World Bank for what it termed “cost-sharing” (see Vavrus & Moshi, 2009). The re-introduction of fees precipitated a decline in school enrolment at all levels but, most acutely, in primary school enrolment (Vavrus & Moshi). Reductions to teacher ranks and salaries effectively de-professionalized teaching and irrevocably damaged its status and attractiveness as an occupation – a stigma at the core of school quality issues today.

An upswing in aid funding, starting in 1995, marked the beginning of donor-funded education reform culminating in the global EFA initiative. Edwards (2011) suggests that the period from 1997 to the present can best be described as an *expansion phase* and also a period of what Amani et al. (2006) says has been a focus on institutional reform. Encouragingly, some of this reform has produced marked improvement in corruption and governance indices (see Mo Ibrahim governance indices³²) though notable cases of grand corruption have dominated the headlines and even resulted in high profile political resignations.

The strict structural adjustment programs of the late 1980s and 1990s represented the policy prescriptions of the Washington Consensus and, in the context of the fall of

³¹ Citing financial constraints, Nyerere abandoned ambitious plans to make Swahili the language of instruction at all levels of schooling, opting instead for the status quo which favours economic elites with access to English medium private schooling.

³² <http://www.moibrahimfoundation.org/interact/>

communism in the USSR, were part of a paradigm shift that entrenched neo-liberal economic thinking for most donors and recipients. While that basic free-market ideology has not changed since, the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) attempted to reform the dialogue structure between donors and recipients from prescriptive to cooperative, ostensibly placing recipients in the driver's seat of the development agenda in return for continued improvements in governance, transparency, macro-economic performance, and openness to foreign direct investment.

3.2.3 Current Context

Tanzania's current political and administrative system can best be described as *neo-patrimonial* where a clear distinction between the private individual and public office is unclear. According to (Sundet, 2010), neo-patrimonialism uses "the discourse of the legal-rational" to justify the operation of what essentially remain patrimonial structures (p. 3). This weakly democratic situation owes much to the hegemony maintained by the current ruling party since independence (Carlitz & McGee, 2013). Formal structures of the state and the bureaucracy are used as "instruments of negotiation and contestation" (Sundet, 2010, p.46) remaining weak, corrupted and fundamentally challenged by the exercise of individual patrimonial power. Functionally, Tanzanian organizations exhibit highly centralized modes of decision-making. These underlying characteristics are important in understanding the practices and challenges of Tanzanian governance and the resultant impact on the economy and public and private services and institutions.

The country enjoys political stability, although one party – the CCM or Chama Cha Mapinduzi – has held power continuously since independence. An ineffective constitution and almost total dominance of the civil service and other organs of the State has made the

ruling party increasingly difficult to dislodge despite progress on transparency and governance reform. Multi-party democracy was introduced in 1993 but the ruling party has easily managed to maintain power. The current constitution includes clauses that favour the status quo (for example, coalitions between opposition parties are not permitted) and widespread corruption and conflation between the civil service and partisan politics means that the ruling party has virtually all of the state's resources at its disposal to maintain its monopoly on power. However, the main opposition party – Chadema – made impressive gains in the 2010 general election. Several by-elections since 2010 have witnessed ongoing momentum for Chadema, particularly from youth, causing the media and others to increasingly brand this right of centre group as the “party of youth”. Recognizing the combined threat of increased scrutiny of the electoral process by the international community, growing numbers of disenfranchised but increasingly accessible and connected youth, and the youth-outreach efforts made by the political opposition, CCM is also now actively courting the youth vote in the lead up to the 2015 general election.

3.3 Economic Performance and Structural Change

Tanzania has maintained high economic growth rates of between 5 and 8 percent over the past decade, explained in part by sound macroeconomic policies and economic liberalization, and by significant public sector investment. Public expenditures grew from 15 to 27 percent of GDP over the past 15 years (World Bank, 2013 PRSC 9) mostly to expand education and health care services using foreign aid. According to the World Bank Economic Update (WB Economic Update, 2014), GDP growth remains strong at 7 percent, inflation has dropped from 20% in 2011 to just 6% at present, and a much improved current account

balance has put Tanzania among the top performers of many other developing and industrialized countries.

Despite this sustained economic growth, Tanzania's fiscal situation is deteriorating with the budget deficit having now reached 6.8 percent of GDP – one percent higher than initially targeted in 2012/13. In addition, in 2013 Tanzania reported its weakest export growth since the late 1990s (WB Economic Update, 2014). Collection of domestic revenues is still weak and the composition of public expenditures is increasingly biased toward wages and debt-service payments (recurrent expenditures) instead of development spending. While the debt to GDP ratio rises and the government struggles to meet recurrent costs like teacher salaries, donors are also reducing aid transfers (IMF, 2010), and the resources available for crucial development expenditure (infrastructure most prominently) is becoming more constrained.

Although unemployment is quite low at 4%, this figure masks the fact that most people, especially younger entrants to the labour market, do not earn enough to sustain themselves above the poverty level (GoT NBS, 2011). The actual structure of the economy is shifting quickly as shown by the changing contribution to GDP from various sectors. Agricultural employment, for example, still occupies 75% of the workforce, but contributes only 25% to GDP while other, mostly urban sectors like construction, communications, and wholesale trading, have grown rapidly (WB Economic Update, 2014).

3.3.1 Poverty

Tanzania's poverty rate is stubbornly high. Using the \$1.25 a day international poverty line (World Bank, 2013), poverty headcount (meaning the percentage of the population living below the poverty line) declined from 89% to 68% between 2001 and 2007.

However, using the country's official national poverty line and *Household Budget Survey* (HBS) data last collected by NBS in 2007, poverty declined only marginally over the same period from 35.7 percent to 33.6 percent (see also Nalkur, 2009). In rural areas especially, poverty decline has stagnated dropping only 1% from 38.7 in 2001 to 37.6 % in 2007.

Interim 2012 results from the National Panel Survey (NPS)³³ suggest that, due to population growth, the real number of Tanzanians living in poverty has actually increased by over one million since 2007. The slower growth in agriculture mentioned above helps to explain the disparity between rural and urban poverty declines, and also underpins the acceleration of rural-urban migration by those seeking higher wages.

Tanzania's rank³⁴ in the UNDP Human Development Index has improved since 1995, but the country's progress toward the MDGs has been uneven. Tanzania is expected to reach only three out of seven MDGs by 2015, two of which relate to HIV/AIDS and the reduction of infant and under-five mortality. The country is lagging in primary school completion, maternal health, poverty eradication, malnutrition, and environmental sustainability.

3.3.2 Migration and Urban Employment

Rural to urban migration among youth is intensifying with approximately 85% of new inhabitants of Dar es Salaam arriving from rural areas (African Development Bank Group, 2011). The cultural and commercial capital of Dar es Salaam, fueled by this influx of people, achieved the status of fastest growing city in East Africa almost a decade ago (Sommers, 2003) and is now regarded as the second fastest growing urban centre in the world (WB,

³³ The National Panel Survey is usually conducted between HBS's and gives an unofficial, interim poverty measure.

³⁴ Comparative country rankings offer only a relative measure where improvements in position may be due to the poor performance of other countries rather than achievements at home.

2014). The push factor of poverty from rural areas, combined with the pull of educational and employment prospects in cities, is borne out by the poverty rate differential – 33.3% in rural areas as opposed to 4.1% in Dar. Access to basic services like water and electricity illustrate the point; 85% of households in Dar have access to clean water but only 43 percent of households do so in rural areas. Similarly, 34% of urban households have access to electricity, compared to 1.3% of rural households (WB, 2014). Moreover, as Sommers (2003) has observed, Dar es Salaam is known to rural youth as a place of extravagant wealth, its lure confirmed “by returnees, who come with money in their pockets and gifts for their relatives” (p. 23).

In reality, formal sector jobs are insufficient to absorb unemployed youth (Government of Tanzania, 2011, Chap. 6), and the informal sector is chaotic, marginal and even dangerous (Sommers, 2010). Indicating the kind of social structure awaiting migrating youth, Sommers writes “Dar es Salaam is known to youth across Tanzania as ‘Bongoland’, an illuminating nickname, since ‘bongo’ is slang for ‘brains’ implying that it requires cunning and smarts to make it in Dar es Salaam” (p. 323). Those able to secure or create employment in the informal sector find themselves engaged in activities such as street hawking of fruit and cheap consumer goods, driving Bajajis³⁵, working as parking attendants or casual construction labour or, for women especially, working in domestic labour, roadside food vending, stone breaking and even commercial sex work.

The growth of urban areas in Tanzania does create opportunities for increased employment and structural transformation. If done well, urbanization can foster equitable economic growth and job creation through agglomeration – a process that sees businesses

³⁵ A Bajaji is colloquial for a small, motorized, three-wheel taxi common in Tanzanian cities.

benefit from closer proximity to each other, and lower transportation and communication costs that can boost profits and expand markets (WB Economic Update, 2014). However, most small and large Tanzanian entrepreneurs have to deal with corruption and rent seeking - by-products that flow from uncertain rule of law and excessive bureaucracy - as well as expensive and unreliable basic services. In fact, Tanzania's recent low ranking on the *Ease of Doing Business Index* (2014)³⁶ (145th out of 189 world economies³⁷) confirms an extremely challenging small business environment.

3.3.3 Gender

Tanzania's legal and policy framework promotes gender equality and empowerment of women; however, Tanzanian society is still male dominated with socio-cultural barriers hindering women's full participation in economic and social development (World Bank PRSC, 2009). Statutory law co-exists with tribal or customary tradition, laws associated with Indian cultural practice, and Islamic Sharia law rendering women vulnerable to regressive jurisprudence. Gender parity is almost achieved in primary education enrolment, but persistent gender gaps exist in secondary education and disparity increases at successive levels of higher education. Violence against women is widespread, and often awareness and enforcement of women's rights is lacking. While women play a key role in the labour force, significant gender disparities exist in the quality of their participation. Only 6 percent of women, for example, are engaged in formal employment compared to 15 percent of men.

³⁶ The annual Ease of Doing Business Index is a product of the World Bank based on the study of laws and regulations in 185 economies.

³⁷ By comparison, EAC partners, Rwanda and Kenya, were ranked at 32nd and 129th place respectively - significantly higher than Tanzania (Ease of Doing Business, 2014).

The vast majority of Tanzanians (82%) are employed in smallholder agriculture and the majority of these are women (Wedgewood, 2005).

3.3.4 Civil Society

In conjunction with foreign aid and political liberalization, Tanzanian civil society organizations (CSOs) – including faith based organizations (FBOs) - play an increasingly active role in poverty reduction through policy dialogue and advocacy, as well as direct service delivery. Largely driven and funded by external development actors, most Tanzanian CSOs function as supply-sensitive, development contractors (Green, Mercer & Mesaki, 2012). CSOs have increased in number and capability as donor priorities and funding shape CSOs into important instruments in the delivery of the “good governance agenda” (Green et al.). In so doing, CSO capacity has improved monitoring of government performance, and helped engage citizens in holding government to account. Notably in the education sector, NGOs such as Uwezo, Haki Elimu, and Twaweza generate pressure through the production of evidence-based outcome data, advocacy, public awareness raising, and policy analysis that effectively contest government performance reporting for the sector. That said, CSOs are precariously reliant on foreign aid and the GoT has been known to suppress NGO activity it finds overly critical.³⁸

3.3.5 The Nature of Tanzania’s Informal Sector

The growth of urban, informal enterprises in Tanzania’s cities reveals a number of similar characteristics. Often referred to as household enterprises (GoT NBS, 2011), most

³⁸A high profile crackdown on Haki Elimu in 2002 was directly linked to that organization’s public criticism and awareness campaign highlighting poor educational outcomes (see Mongula, 2007).

(90%) have less than 2 employees including the owner (WB Economic Update, 2014).

Typically, informal entrepreneurs will cope with the negative business environment (corruption, burdensome administration, taxes and regulations and, increasingly, robbery and other violent crime) by employing only family members or members of one's own tribe – a tendency that reduces efficiencies by blocking the recruitment of the best-qualified employees. Small business owners describe themselves as reluctant entrepreneurs due to the fact that they have resorted to self-employment for survival brought on by the absence of sufficient formal employment – a rationale DeJaeghere (2014) describes as “necessity entrepreneurship”. These household enterprises generate low levels of income. The average informal entrepreneur reported monthly profits of less than 150,000Tsh or approximately \$100 Canadian dollars (GoT National Panel Survey 2010-11). With such low profits, these businesses barely sustain the owner-operator and provide little opportunity for expansion and additional employment. The few firms that do grow tend to reflect the higher education levels of the owner. This translates into better access to credit and basic services, as these “opportunity entrepreneurs” (DeJaeghere, 2013) know better how to make an already difficult business environment work for them.

3.4 The Structures and Constraints of the Education System

According to the World Bank (2014), the average Tanzanian completes seven years of education, with only approximately 12% of the population completing some secondary education (see Figure 4).

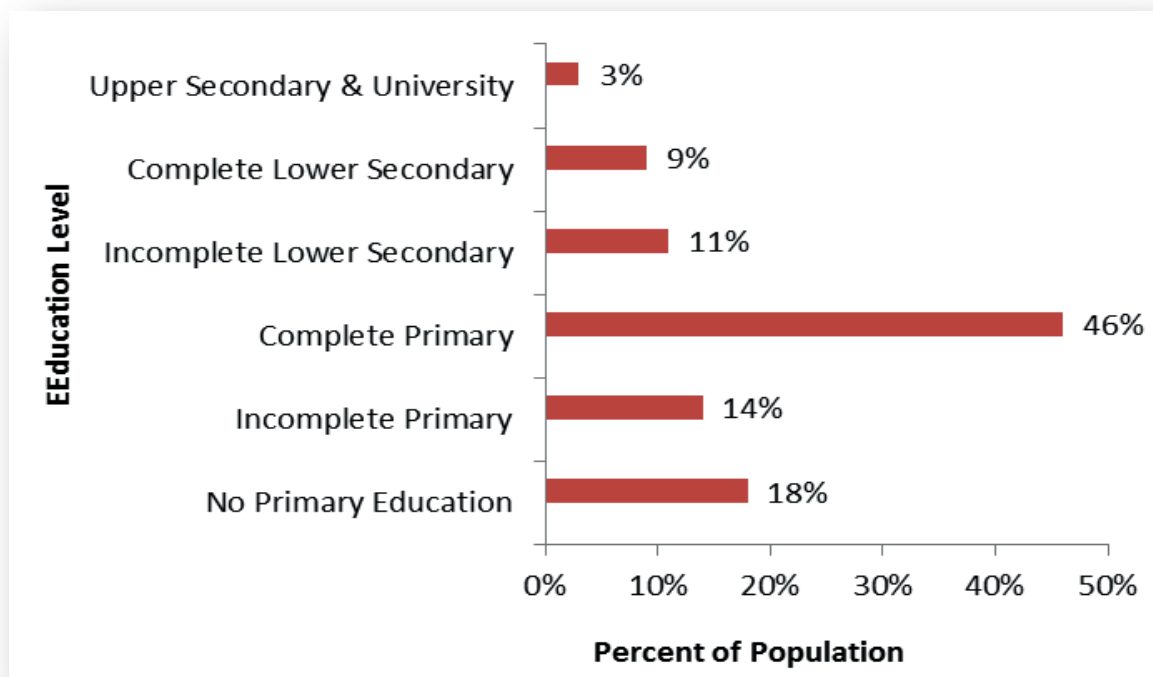


Figure 4. A snapshot of education levels in Tanzania. Adapted from Tanzania National Panel Survey 2010/11.

Tanzania's formal education system is a legacy of British colonial rule, following the 2-7-4-2-3+ model of required years for pre-primary, primary, secondary (O-level), senior secondary (A-Level), and tertiary education respectively. The mandatory age to enroll a child in primary school is 7 years. Primary education, including pre-school (ages 0-4 years) and pre-primary (5-6 years), has been left mainly to NGOs and private providers, while primary and secondary education falls under the administration of the Prime Minister's Office – Ministry of Regional Administration and Local Government (PMO-RALG) (Baser, 2012).

The expansion of public primary and secondary education over the last decade has been impressive by developing country standards. Enrolment has increased at all levels (pre-primary to university) but post-primary coverage is still comparatively low, especially at "A"

level (Form V-VI) in which only 4/100 school aged children were enrolled in 2009. While 94% of school-aged children are now enrolled at primary level and 35% enrolled at secondary (O-level), the pace of expansion has exceeded the Government's capacity to provide quality-learning inputs (GoT Education Sector Analysis, 2013). Primary schools across the country face shortages of qualified teachers, as well as textbooks and other learning materials. The situation in secondary schools is worse as the infrastructure and staffing levels at many new schools remain incomplete. Tanzania also faces a major challenge in managing the unprecedented numbers of students who are exiting from primary and secondary school, creating pressure for greater access to high quality and relevant vocational, technical and university education. See Figure 5 for transition rates from primary through to tertiary levels.

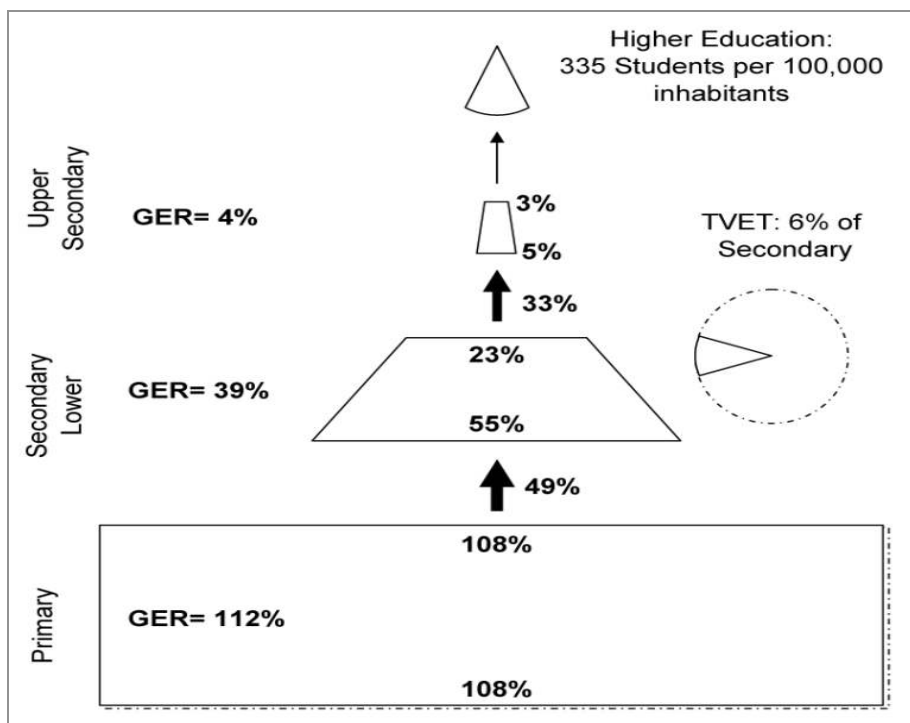


Figure 5. Transition rates from primary to tertiary levels. Adapted from Tanzania Education Sector Analysis, 2012.

These different levels of education are also provided by the private sector where English medium instruction is generally the norm. However, concomitant with the abolishment of fees for public schooling, use of private (non-governmental) institutions has dropped considerably over the past decade. Private school enrolment at the primary level is low at 1.5% of students and at “O-level” private enrolments have declined from 42% of students in 2000 to less than 11% in 2009 (Government of Tanzania Education Sector Analysis, 2013). The provision of “A levels” in private institutions has also decreased to 32% from 49% during the same period of government expansion of public schooling. Table 1 shows student enrolment in public and private institutions combined, and the total number of teachers.

Table 1. Enrolment Volumes by Level and Sex (2010)

Level	Teachers	Enrolments		
	Total	Male	Female	Total
Pre-primary Education	14,779	460,628	463,837	925,465
Primary	165,856	4,203,269	4,216,036	8,419,305
Secondary Education: Forms 1-4	40,517	866,734	699,951	1,566,685
Forms 5-6		43,437	28,577	72,014

Note: Adapted from Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania, (BEST) 2010.

In 2006, out-of-school children represented 13% of the 7–13 year old age group, 88% of whom had never attended school. Under the primary and secondary education development programs, supply of schools has greatly improved, driving up enrolment.

Improvements in enrolment rates and an undersupply of classrooms have, however, contributed to overcrowding as the ability to train, attract and retain sufficient teachers stagnates. High student-teacher ratios are exacerbated by late enrolments and repetition and conspire, with numerous other factors like poor teacher training and lack of desks and books, to generate a decline in education quality (Carr-Hill & Ndalichako, 2005) where, for example, crowding in classrooms leads to failure and repetition, and repetition adds to classroom crowding. Although the ratio of pupils to qualified teachers is improving, the averages remain high at 49:1 for primary and 40:1 for secondary in 2011 (see Figure 6 for regional averages).

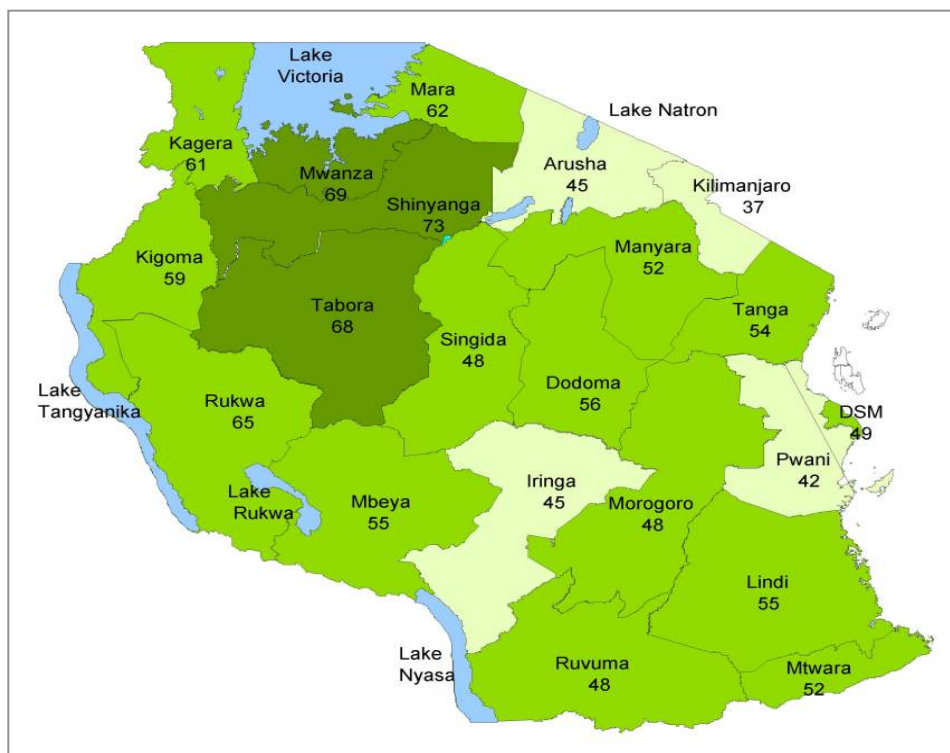


Figure 6. Government school pupil-teacher ratios, by region (2009). Adapted from Government of Tanzania Education Sector Analysis, 2013.

Moreover, since it is difficult to attract teachers to rural and hard-to-reach areas, there are significant regional disparities, with primary student-teacher ratios ranging from 37:1 in the desirable Kilimanjaro region, to 73:1 in rural Shinyanga (Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania, 2010). Secondary school student-teacher ratios vary from 29:1 in the Coastal Region to 60:1 in Mara (Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania).

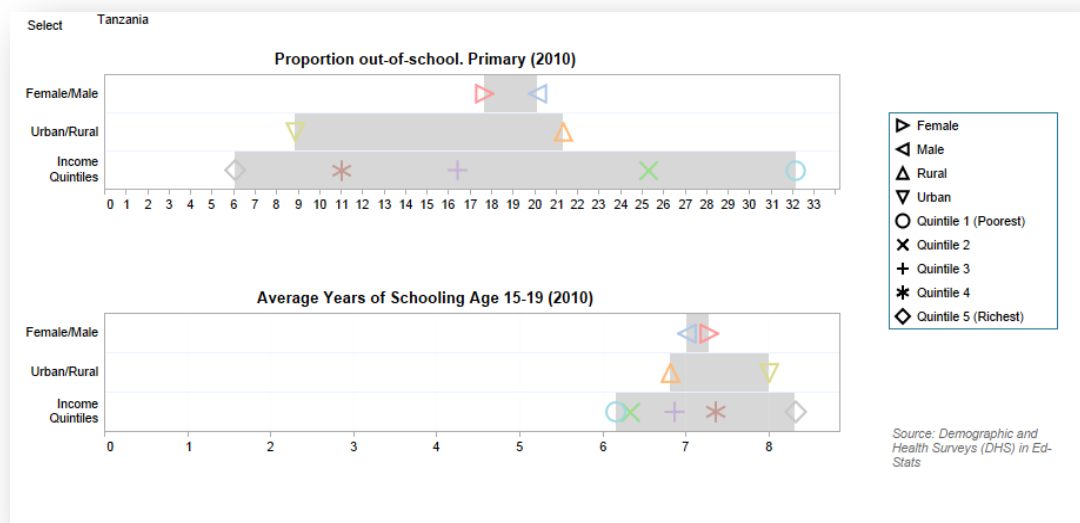
Overall, there is a 400% difference between average spending per capita on primary and secondary schooling in the top group of educational districts versus the bottom group (Lee, 2011). The policy to have a secondary school in each ward has had a very positive impact on secondary access and on primary retention rates. Having a secondary school nearby gives primary level students hope that they can attend, and the pursuit of ward school expansion is expected to improve both O-Level and A-Level access and retention in the coming years. However, school coverage is presently uneven from one level to another, and post-primary access is still low compared with other African countries, hindering access to O-Level and A-Level especially (Government of Tanzania Education Sector Analysis, 2013). Despite significant capital expenditures in the education sector, distance to schools was still cited in the most recent NBS Tanzania household budget survey (2007) as a key reason for non-attendance.

For cultural, economic, or other reasons, parents often choose to enrol children later than the mandatory age of 7 years, particularly in rural areas, where 52% of Standard I students are over aged (against 41% for urban pupils) (NBS Tanzania household budget survey, 2007). By the time they reach the end of primary school, the majority of rural students are teenagers: 64% are aged 15 and over (compared to 51% in urban areas). Late entry is often correlated to rising earning capacity and associated with early dropout as the

opportunity cost of schooling increases with children's age (Uwezo, 2011). Some differences in the reasons for dropout are apparent according to the area of residence and gender. In urban areas, the major reasons for dropout are financial (24% of cases compared to 11% in rural areas), whereas in rural areas, the greater concern is over children's age and the need for labour at home (63% of responses, against 52% in urban areas according to the 2007 HBS).

Considering gender issues, enrolment parity between boys and girls at the primary level is good, although some regions and rural areas still have major disparities. At the secondary school level, however, gender is a key determinant of access. Strong cultural beliefs against female secondary schooling as well as early marriage and pregnancy play a major role. In Form I, the proportion of girls is still below 45%, dropping steadily to 35% by Form VI. Disadvantages tend to be cumulative, with poor rural girls performing the worst in academic achievement. Girls' underperformance at CSEE is of particular concern. Table 2 highlights several of the gender, poverty and regional dimensions discussed above.

Table 2. Gender Disaggregated Wealth and Location Factors Impacting Schooling



Note: Adapted from Government of Tanzania Demographic Health Survey, 2010.

3.6 Indicators of Quality

Like many SSA countries, Tanzania's rapidly expanding population - currently 46.2 million but growing at 3.0% per year (UNESCO, 2011; GoT NBS, 2011) - is young with over 44.7% under the age of 15 years. Unmet demand for youth employment is compounded by limited technical and vocational pathways, misalignment between educational outcomes and the labour market, and a lack of state or private sector support for small business development - leaving most youth to rely on the informal economy and their own ingenuity.

During the past five years, pass rates for the national Primary School Leaving Exam (PSLE) have hovered around 50%, meaning that only half of primary school leavers qualify for transition to public secondary school (Mkumbo, 2012b). Pass rates for the Secondary School ordinary level exams have plummeted from 90.3% in 2007 to 50.4% in 2010 (Mkumbo, 2012b). Of the students "passing" O levels, 90% received a Division 4 or lower – essentially a fail – rendering them ineligible to continue in publically funded education and only minimally qualified and competent for private tertiary options. This downward trend in secondary pass rates continued in 2011 with less than 10% of lower secondary students qualified to continue to higher levels of formal education (Lee, 2011). These national averages mask significant gender disparities and regional inequalities in performance in primary and secondary education, which are also key issues of concern (Lee, 2011; Uwezo, 2011).

Poor pass rates have been attributed, in part, to the challenge of maintaining sufficient levels of key educational resources in schools during the rapid expansion of enrolment. Indeed, educational institutions at all levels are currently experiencing significant shortages

of qualified teachers, textbooks, teaching guides, reference books, and other teaching and learning materials (Mkumbo, 2012a). Though this chapter does not permit a full analysis of the relationship between development assistance and the education sector, suffice to say that aid is declining in real terms while the government struggles to budget among competing demands for the recurrent costs of an expanded education sector. Table 3 lists the donor-funded education sector programs of the past decade.

Table 3. A Decade of Education Sector Reform in Tanzania.

Primary Education Development Plan I:	2002- 2006
Adult & Non Formal Medium Term Strategy:	2003 - 2008
•Secondary Education Development Plan I:	2004- 2009
•Teacher Education Management Strategy:	2006- 2010
•Primary Education Development Plan II:	2007- 2011
•Folk Education Development Program:	2008- 2013
•Secondary Education Development Plan II:	2008- 2015
•Science and Technology Higher Education Plan:	2008- 1013
•Higher Education Development Plan:	2010- 2015
•Technical and Vocational Education Program:	2011 - 2016

Note: Adapted from Government of Tanzania, Draft Education Sector Analysis, 2011

A recently released World Bank value for money study (Lee, 2011) on Tanzania's basic education sector synthesizes many of these schooling quality and performance

concerns. Citing extraordinary gains in enrolments since 2002 and a steadily increasing share of national resources (including donor funds) allocated for education sector programs, the study nonetheless concluded:

The return on investment for students and their families remains relatively low...[and] as a general rule, a household is more likely to invest in education if its future earnings exceed the direct and indirect cost of schooling. Unfortunately, in Tanzania, these rates of return are comparatively very low and have not improved over time, except for tertiary education. While low rates of return are the result of multiple factors, they are partially due to the persistent low quality of education, with many school leavers unprepared for the labour market. If this is the case, households may rightly determine that they are not getting value for their money in terms of their investment in education (p. 19).

The 2011 Uwezo³⁹ *Annual Assessment of Learning Report* for Tanzania further highlights declining academic performance through learning assessments targeted specifically at primary school learners. The methodology involves administering Standard II level Swahili, English and numeracy tests to over 128,000 children aged 7-16 (an age cohort that captures students from Standard II through to Form IV). In other words, each grade level starting at the functional level of the test (Standard II) is tested for their ability to master the Standard II material in Swahili, English and Math. The assessments found “the quality of education in Tanzania’s primary education system to be significantly worse than Kenya and Uganda” (p. 18). The findings of both studies are strikingly disappointing and suggest that

³⁹ A four-year, multi-country study of learning outcomes released in 2011 and covering 132/156 districts in Tanzania.

increased access to schooling has not translated into quality learning outcomes for all. Table 4 summarizes the key demographic and education indicators:

Table 4. Key Demographic and Educational Indicators

Total Population –	46,218,000*
Annual Population Growth rate –	3%*
Youth (15-24) literacy rate (2011): 69.5%*	
Adult literacy (2011): 59% (UNESCO, 2010)*	
Percentage of the population 0-14 years old	(45%)*
School life expectancy:	(avg for boys and girls 8.8 years) **
Primary Gross Enrolment Ratio:	101%*
Primary Net Enrolment Rate: boys;	79% - 75% girls*
Children out of school:	812,000**
Dropout from Standard 1	(2005): 0%***
Dropout from Standard 7:	65%***
Primary cohort pass rate (2009):	(boys: 55.6%; girls: 43.2%) **
Transition to secondary of those completing primary:	41%*
GER for lower secondary:	39% **
GER for upper secondary:	4% **

Note: Adapted from *UNESCO Country Statistics (2009); **GoT Education Sector Review (2011); *** USAID Country Statistics (2010).

3.7 Tanzanian's Perceptions of the Value of Education

One might assume that poor quality and outcomes in formal education would weaken the promise and allure of investing in education. Yet the demand for, and hope associated with, schooling remains intensely strong in Tanzanian society. The work of Stambach (2000) and Billings (2011) helps to unpack the allure of formal education from two perspectives;

Stambach's notion of schooling as inheritance and Billings' examination of English and the idea of an educated person.

Stambach (2000) provides insights regarding Tanzanians' heavy emphasis on formal education. Focused on the patrilineal inheritance customs and the central role of banana groves in the social reproduction of the Chagga, she argues that investments in children's education have become synonymous with the notion of inheritance. Juxtaposing the deeply traditional villagers around mount Kilimanjaro for whom the banana grove represents the immutable dimensions of Chagga life with those who see it as an "icon of underdevelopment and emerging class poverty" (p. 36), Stambach reveals the social processes that are slowly altering the view of the grove as convertible to formal education. She argues that, although schools orient youth to urban, modern life and land inheritance toward affective relations in agnatic hierarchies, both symbolize success in local contexts (p. 38-46). Contesting modernization or school to the rescue theorists who characterize schools - and the students who attend them - as outside, different and better than local communities, she says there is instead a transfer and transformation of sociocultural principles, like inheritance, that pulls schooling and traditional ways into "symbolic relation with one another" (p. 38). Chagga and other tribal communities in Tanzania increasingly find ways to co-mingle the values of tradition with the modernity schools symbolize, and youth increasingly define success for themselves relative to school achievement.

The notion of schooling success is also strongly conflated with English language proficiency and the social capital it represents (Ngonyani, 2001). Billings (2011) unpacks this complex social construct in a unique way by exploring the phenomenon of Tanzanian beauty pageants. Increasingly criticized in the west as misogynistic and shallow, beauty pageants in

Tanzania are largely understood by the young female contestants who participate in them as an opportunity to earn endorsements or scholarships to further their education. The general public accepts them on various levels as entertainment or even a sign of modernity. Billings argues, however, that the configuration of contestants as schoolgirls and the social construction of education on display in these pageants are highly mismatched with what schooling actually offers these young girls (p. 295).

Three observations in particular highlight the complex values embedded in the notion of education. First is how contestants “foreground education, either as a personal achievement or a social agenda” (Billings, 2011, p. 298) when given an opportunity to speak. Billings says the phrase “education is the key to life” is a commonly invoked trope dominating pageant discourse. Often stated without specific details, education is nonetheless, put forward as the solution to problems as diverse as street children, road accidents, and HIV/AIDS. Secondly, contestants using English in their pageant speeches - even when the delivery is poor, rehearsed and even nonsensical - tend to be strongly rewarded. Billings’ work on such language bias is insightful. In the 153 samples of recorded onstage contestant speeches at these pageants, she found that 108 were in Swahili. Nonetheless, of the eight pageants studied in detail, six of the first place finishers used English in the Question & Answer session (p. 300). Affirmation in the form of loud audience applause was the norm whenever contestants responded in English no matter how poorly delivered.

Finally, the blending of the notion of English fluency and an educated person are exemplified through the attention paid to English register and code switching⁴⁰ and the way

⁴⁰ ‘Register’ is the adaptation of language use to conform to standards or traditions in a given professional or social situation while ‘code-switching’ refers to the practice of moving between variations of languages in different contexts.

the value attached to those linguistic attributes shifts in geographic space. So thorough is the blurring of lines between education and English language proficiency, most youth do not realize that the “impracticality and artificiality of their language learning” (Billings, 2011, p. 306) encourages them to visualize a better future through education without actually acquiring enough proficiency to create one for themselves. With this, the discussion turns now more directly to the historical and contemporary policy issues in the language of instruction debate.

3.8 Language of Instruction (LOI)

3.8.1 The Legacy

The historical discourse around LOI policy is critical to understanding the issue today as a structural constraint and profound point of contestation. British colonial rule left many legacies, chief among them the perceived supremacy of English. Having sought to reverse German colonial support of Swahili as the language of administration and LOI in schools, English was, at independence, already established as the LOI from Standard V onward and formed the fundamental prerequisite for employment in the civil service. Conversely, Swahili was relegated to a low status and taught only in the lower elementary grades (standard 1-4).

As anti-colonial sentiment grew, so too did support for Swahili as the language of emancipation. The 1962 independence constitution made Swahili equal to English as one of two official languages. President Nyerere emerged as Swahili’s strongest advocate, using it in Parliament, directing all government business follow suit, and promoting the successful spread of adult Kiswahili literacy throughout the country (Brock-Utne, 2005). By the late 1960s, official policy of the government was leaning decidedly toward the gradual spread of

Kiswahili as the LOI throughout the entire education system (Qorro, 2013). Nyerere's socialist ideology added momentum to the *Swahili first* movement by acknowledging the class effects of remaining with a two-language system:

...the division between Kiswahili education at the primary level and English education at the secondary level will create and perpetuate a linguistic gulf between different groups and will also tend to lend an alien atmosphere to higher education... (Nyerere, quoted in Brock-Utne, 2005, p. 56)

Through the early 1970s, signs of policy implementation were evident with newly translated Swahili science texts, subject lexicons, and even a new political education course implemented in Swahili. In 1982, a Presidential Commission established by Nyerere to study the LOI issue reasserted the idea to gradually phase in Swahili LOI for all levels of education. However, according to Tibategeza and du Plessis (2012), Nyerere suddenly and inexplicably changed course in the early 1980's stating publically that "to reject English amounted to foolishness rather than patriotism" (p. 198). As he was widely revered, Nyerere's new stance effectively quashed any efforts to assert Swahili LOI past primary school and entrenched an English LOI status quo for higher level basic and tertiary education.

Supported by the influential British Council, Brock-Utne (2005) and others (Qorro, 2013; Ngonyani, 2001) posit that a 1984 British-funded study by Crippler and Dodd - along with British aid funding conditionality attached to the *English Language Teaching Support Project*, created circumstances too compelling for Nyerere to resist. Although Crippler and Dodd found that only 10% of Form IV pupils and 20% of University students were at a level

of English proficiency sufficient to even attempt their respective levels of study, they nonetheless reached what Brock-Utne (2002) describes as the “astonishing conclusion that the Ministry of Education ...issue an unambiguous circular setting out the policy on English medium education” (p. 27).

3.8.2 Current Situation

Tanzania is multi-lingual with approximately 120 vernaculars spoken. It is, however, unique compared to most African countries in possessing a near universal common African language – Kiswahili – which is understood and spoken as either a first or second language by 95% of the population (Brock-Utne, 2007, p. 488). Kiswahili dominates most radio and print media, and is the language of parliament and government offices, the lower courts and the marketplace, as well as the streets of fast growing urban centres where most youth head looking for a better life. The long-standing policy in government schools requires Swahili to be the LOI in primary schools, with English taught as a subject starting in standard 3. The inverse holds for secondary schooling where English becomes the LOI starting in Form I and Swahili is offered as a subject.

Viewing English as the ticket to success has reinforced “the objective of education as being primarily [about] learning English” (Phillipson, 1997, p. 36; see also Ngonyani, 2001). This dominance of English is re-asserted and maintained by the “establishment [through] continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (Quorro, 2013, p. 47), of which the language of instruction policies operating in primary and secondary schools is a major factor. Indeed the current policy has been legitimated in secondary and tertiary education by the notion of English language proficiency as the main indicator of success in school (Billings, 2011). The structural and cultural

inequalities reinforced by LOI policies today “ensure the continued allocation of more material resources to English than to other languages and benefit those who are proficient in English” (Phillipson, p. 47). Despite compelling research (Billings, 2011; Quorro, 2013; Utne, 2007) revealing the limiting effects of English LOI, the interests of the Tanzanian elite, the reproduction of class inequality, and the newer pressures of globalization and privatization have stalled LOI reform. Brock-Utne (2007) characterizes her position bluntly:

The LOI in Africa, and in Tanzania in particular, is an instrument used to make education inaccessible to the poor; and as a gate-keeping device for the children of the elite. (p. 40)

Detractors of Swahili LOI in post-primary education like Kadege (2010), argue that Form IV national results on Swahili language tests have been equally dismal suggesting that if other subject matter had been taught in Swahili, one could not have expected performance to have been any better than the poor results achieved using English.⁴¹ Using an empirical study involving the teaching of Physics, he further argues that the lack of suitable Kiswahili scientific terminology actually impedes subject matter learning compared to equivalent instruction delivered in English.

3.9 Curricula and National Examinations

While politicians and policy makers have tried to argue that examination failures are partly explained by demand-side issues such as increased access of students with learning

⁴¹ This finding is also supported by the 2011 UWEZO assessment that found less than 20% of students in standard III could read and comprehend the standard II Swahili text.

difficulties following the implementation of the fee-free primary education policy, most critics fault the government and deteriorating quality of educational supply (Uwezo, 2011, Tao, 2014). A collaborative effort between Haki Elimu and the University of Dar es Salaam led by professor Kitila Mkumbo (2012b) found that government changes to the Form I-VI curriculum in 2005, from *content* to *competency*-based, had important implications. Competency-based curriculum emphasizes learner-centred pedagogy and multiple teaching/learning methods. For teachers, this means using varied teaching materials – including non-textual resources – as well as different pedagogical approaches. Similarly, assessment strategies require varied methodology including “portfolios, rating scales, checklists, oral presentations and project work” (Mkumbo, 2012b, p. 8) as well as in class tests and written exams. Mkumbo’s study found strong alignment between curriculum and examinations but also a lack of proper training and implementation of competency-based teaching and assessment methods, due largely to lack of in-service training for teachers.

Although the curriculum approach changed in 2005, only 1/3 of teachers reported having had any orientation to the concept. According to Mkumbo (2012b), neither the examination designers nor “the majority of teachers have [any] idea what a competence-based curriculum is (p. 18). Teaching methods were found to be clustered primarily around two strategies, namely oral presentations and in class examinations (p. 10) and not the wide variety of methods envisaged in a competency-based approach.

Using a subject-by-subject analysis, one encouraging finding showed strong content validity between curricula (what should be taught) and what is included in the examinations. While this congruity is a positive sign of articulation between curriculum writers and examination designers, it does have the obvious effect of directing blame for poor

performance back on teachers responsible for adequately covering the curriculum and preparing students for those examinations.

3.10 Teachers and Teaching

Facing numerous systemic constraints such as shortages within their ranks, poor pay and training, inadequate infrastructure, poor mobility, geographic and professional isolation, and the weight of often unrealistic expectations (Avalos, 2000, Jennings, 2001, Welmond, 2002, Villegas- Reimers & Reimers, 1996) teachers everywhere are “placed at the uncomfortable intersection of contradictory demands made on education systems” (Welmond, p. 37), yet their role in the discourse over quality of education cannot be overstated.

In the context of Tanzania’s second attempt at rapid school expansion, the aforementioned issues of school quality face a considerable additional burden; though many high school graduates train to become teachers, few actually do so out of a commitment to the profession but rather as an alternative pathway to other career objectives. This distortion in the production of Tanzania’s teaching force may be both a root cause of poor quality schools and an ongoing source of ineffective teacher candidates, potentially sending the basic education system into a quality free-fall that is increasingly difficult to arrest with every new wave of newly minted teachers.

In a study of Tanzanian teachers’ commitment to their profession, Mkumbo (2012a) cites three key reasons why people become teachers. The first and most prominent is the ease with which graduates can gain employment. GoT incentives guarantee jobs for new teachers – an attractive proposition in a poor country with high unemployment. The second most-cited reason is the lack of sufficient grades or subject qualifications to join more desirable

professions. Finally, a small number of the study respondents attributed family persuasion, personal interest, or a desire to serve society as other reasons for pursuing teaching.

The frustration of teachers who find themselves in a profession they do not believe in, and for which they receive little respect from students or community members (see Mkumbo, 2012a, p. 226), manifests itself in negative ways. Tao (2014), for example, found “that corporal punishment is often the product of teachers attempting to exercise agency within constraints” (p. 1) – including the impoverished educational contexts in which they work and the behavioural issues students present which make it difficult for teachers to meet the outcome expectations of headmasters and peers. When *valued capabilities* such as learning outcomes are constrained, compliance is often gained by suppressing student interest through violent methods (p. 5).

This notion of valued capabilities extends to other outcomes linked to teacher roles like completion of homework assignments and student performance on national exams. Combined with the previously discussed constraints that flow from language of instruction policies and the resultant obstacles to real learning and lack of textbooks and other educational resources, the sense of control a teacher has over those outcomes for which he/she is held accountable is probably tenuous at best.

In addition, Tao (2014) finds teachers “anxious about the surveillance activities of the education administration” (p. 6) that employs punishment regimes against teachers including the threat of transfer or dismissal. Feeling their livelihoods threatened, teachers resort to corporal punishment and other tactics to enforce valued teacher protocols in pursuit of specific outcomes. Administrative practices that include threat and intimidation of teachers

may manifest as violence against students thereby reproducing an educational experience that, Tao argues, is of diminished quality because of the presence of punishments.

The use of certain pedagogic practice within Tanzanian schools is another manifestation of constraints inherent in the system with critics often citing an over-reliance on rote learning and “teaching to the exam”. Some point to the reliance on exam results as the proxy for quality and blame the pressure for results, demanded by the new aid orthodoxy, for poor student achievement (Kiernan, 2004). There seems to be much pedagogic practice within Tanzanian schools that may deserve to be dismissed as authoritarian, inequitable and teacher-dominated (Perullo, 2005; Tabulawa, 2003). It is also true that for the most part this may be attributed to economic scarcity, which leads to negligible or insufficient preparation, development, supervision and monitoring of teachers as well as working and living conditions that spread demoralization through the teaching force (Anangisye & Barrett, 2005).

3.11 Skills and Entrepreneurship

NGOs are entering the liberal economic space - opened by government policy but left void of state sponsored support or training - and intervening in a number of spheres including the promotion of entrepreneurship. DeJaeghere (2013) asks important questions, however, about the entrepreneurship “panacea”, drawing a careful distinction between two fundamental development approaches, namely job creation for economic growth and poverty alleviation. The former stems from the articulation between neoliberal economic and human capital theory that positions formal schooling and technical training to provide skills for employment. This, in fact, reflects Tanzania’s current basic education and Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) approach which submits to the neoliberal

economic model emphasizing flexible forms of production and “assum[ptions] that individuals equipped with the appropriate skill sets have the freedom and autonomy to improve their livelihoods” (DeJaeghere, p. 69; see also Vandenbroeck & Bouverne-de Bie, 2006).

The failure of skills for employment to materialize in jobs for young people has given rise to entrepreneurship models that are similarly underpinned by the ideological dichotomies embedded in job creation for economic development vs. poverty alleviation.

Entrepreneurship discourse distinguishes between those individuals who choose self-employment (opportunity entrepreneurship) and those for whom self-employment is the only option (necessity entrepreneurship) (DeJaeghere, 2013). The needs and social assets of these two target populations are very different yet some emerging programming assumes entrepreneurship education will foster entrepreneurs without due consideration of the material and social conditions that could prevent implementation of viable livelihood strategies.

3.12 Summary and Conceptual Framework

This chapter has provided the country context by reviewing key socio-economic and political issues in Tanzania. The historical review of Ujamaa and the long-standing influence of donors and aid are important to understanding contemporary patterns of economic and social sector development. In this, Tanzania can be seen as a “policy-taker” rather than a policy-maker, largely buffeted by the overt and covert demands of globalization and neo-liberal economic expansion. Current economic conditions and constraints including persistent poverty, increased rural-urban migration, and the challenges and opportunities of rapid urbanization are among the most important trends converging to create the dynamics

associated with the informal economy where most young Tanzanians make their livelihoods. Given that increasing numbers of young people have access to basic education, the structure of, and issues within, the sector are very important for the impact they have on the quality of schooling. Evidence of state weakness, including the inability to meet the demand for tertiary education, extreme urban/rural inequality (Buchman, 2001), and functional issues around language of instruction, examinations, and teaching quality are posited as the core problematic structures within the sector. It is largely these structural deficiencies in the system – compounded by donor funded, EFA-driven expansion – that has led to the discharge of cohort after cohort of minimally and/or poorly educated young people to compete for the few opportunities that exist in the formal or informal labour markets, or the even more constrained prospects for additional educational opportunities. Given these interrelated issues of governance, migration, rapidly evolving economic conditions and education, there is a need to understand how Tanzanian youth are coping. The chapter has sketched the essential structures within which youth agency is articulated and, in the broadest terms, the research seeks to understand youth agency as it reacts with, and shapes, these local or national structural spaces. This interplay of forces as delimited by Figure 7 forms the essential thrust of structuration theory as applied to this investigation of Tanzanian youth:

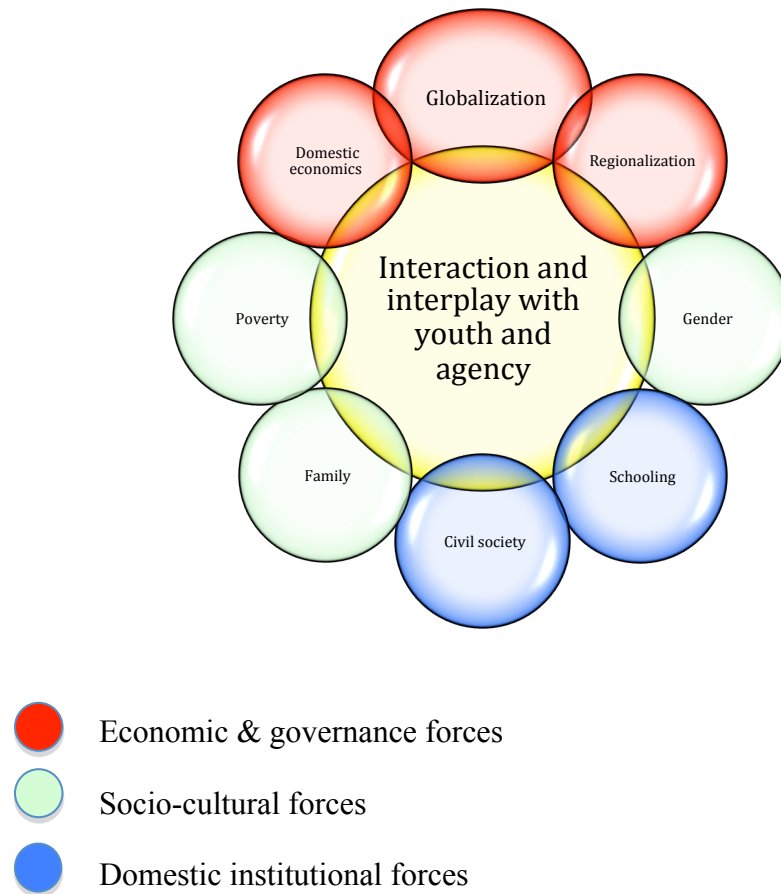


Figure 7: Conceptual frame of the key interfaces of structure and agency.

This conceptual frame identifies categories of forces (economic & governance, socio-cultural, and domestic institutional) where the literature and current Tanzanian context suggests the interplay of structure and agency is most critical and intense. These are the major structural factors affecting the lives of youth and triggering the question; *How are youth coping with and negotiating their life trajectories within the context of these structural realities?* As the youth narratives are explored in detail in Chapters 5 -7, the focus of the discussion will shift to the relative thinness or thickness of youth agency that emerges in response to these structures. With this partial framework in mind, research objectives and a qualitative methodology to accomplish these objectives are introduced next.

CHAPTER 4:

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

“What we observe is not nature itself, but nature exposed to our method of questioning”

(Werner Heisenberg)

4.0 Introduction

This is a qualitative study focusing primarily on the life histories of 14 young men and women living in Dar es Salaam. The design of the study is influenced by the hermeneutic tradition, the objective of which is to interpret the world from the point of view of specific actors. Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2011) assert that interpretive paradigms like this are actually “double hermeneutic” in which “people strive to interpret and operate in an already interpreted world... [where] researchers have their own values, views and interpretations” (p. 31). Furthermore, the research goes beyond a strictly interpretive position to allow a certain degree of interrogation about the relationship between educational, social, and political phenomena and the concomitant outcomes for youth. In this regard, the methodology includes elements of *critical theory* and *critical educational research* that question the conditions, policies, and agendas that structure the lives of young Tanzanians. The methodology is strongly influenced by the theoretical framework of structuration. Positing a dynamic relationship between the forces of structure and agency necessitates a methodology that can actively query the individual human experience at the friction point of this interaction. The static quality of agency vis-à-vis structures and structures vis-a-vis agency

can be deduced by an observation of the political economy of a given society, but the dynamic ebb and flow requires description and the interpretation of affected actors.

4.0.1 Research Objectives

By exploring the ways young people employ agency to navigate post-basic education transitions, the research attempts to understand the strength and quality of both youth agency and socio-economic and institutional structures as well as the interaction between the forces of structure and agency. In so doing, some assertions can be made about the efficacy of Tanzania's formal school system as well as private and public vocational and second chance school pathways, and the opportunities and challenges for livelihood creation in the informal economy. I posit that aspects of basic education, along with the structuring effects of economic liberalization, contribute positively to the resilience and strength of youth agency. To operationalize the hypothesis and the broad issues raised in the literature around the interface of expanded but poor quality modern education, youth bulge demographic trends, rapid economic changes brought about by globalization, and the unique challenges of Tanzania's socio-economic context, the following primary research objectives and sub-questions were developed:

Objective #1 To examine the life stories of a cohort of “post-school” Tanzanian youth.

Sub-questions:

- What have been their significant experiences?
- What have been the main influences on their lives?
- What is their current status?

- What are their reflections on education?
- What aspirations do they hold for the future?
- What strategies do they employ to enact these aspirations?

Objective #2 To examine the key structural factors shaping the life experiences, perceptions, and decisions of Tanzanian youth.

Objective #3 To examine the manifestations and interconnection of youth agency and structural change happening in Tanzanian society.

4.1 Qualitative Research and Life History

These are qualitative objectives that require naturalistic research methods but also an understanding of where qualitative research is located in the ongoing debate between positivist and non-positivist approaches to inquiry. Much has been written on the paradigm wars between quantitative and qualitative methods and epistemology in educational research (see Cohen et al, 2011; Dilley, 2004). With the exception of ethnography emanating from the Chicago school and the field of anthropology, qualitative research has had to struggle for position and respect (Eisner & Peshkin, 1990). However, the advance of non-foundationalist epistemologies⁴² has been rapid and “it is now recognized that there is no absolutely secure starting point for knowledge” (Phillips, 1990). The notion that only quantitative approaches with objectivist goals constitute “real” research has been solidly replaced by mutual respect

⁴² See work by Denzin and Lincoln (1994). Non-foundationalist refers to the decline in the dominance of positivist epistemologies and methods as the only valid approach to research.

and recognition of the importance of rigour and a critical spirit in either quantitative or qualitative approaches (p. 35).

This study employs a qualitative biographical method in line with Denzin and Lincoln's (1990) assertion that reality is a social construction rather than an objective truth. To this, Cohen et al. (2011) add that naturalistic enquiry recognizes that realities are varied, constructed and holistic and that data are socially situated, context-related and context dependent. This approach, says Greene (2007), aligns with more purist perspectives of qualitative research as grounded in a constructivist or subjectivist epistemology. In terms of method, although the use of life history in educational research has proliferated in recent years, Dhunpath (2000) says it is still hard to find accounts of the approach that "do not display a defensive tone" (p. 543).

Countering this tendency towards explaining the value of methodologies like life history, Dhunpath (2000) argues instead for a post-paradigmatic "*narradigm*" that recognizes life history as among the most "authentic means of understanding how motives and practices reflect the intimate intersection of institutional and individual experience in the postmodern world" (p. 544). Imbued with an awareness of critical theory that Usher (1996) says can unmask the ideologies that maintain the status quo" (p. 22), and framed by the notions of structure and agency that comprise structuration theory, the epistemological stance of "*narradigm*" is appropriate for the research objectives of this study.

The study's focus on the contextualized agency of marginalized youth uses life histories built through repeated, semi-structured interviews. Drawing on Reissman's (2006) ideas of narrative interviewing where a simple question and answer model gives way to seeing the interview as a discursive accomplishment, interviewer and informant

“collaboratively produce and make meaning of events that the narrator reports” (pp. 189-90).

Although a life is not a narrative, people do try to make sense of their lives and the lives of others through narrative constructions and the researcher must bear in mind that enquiry is bound to his or her values, choices, framing and other influences (White, Drew & Hay, 2009).

The semi-structured interview questions (see Appendix A) were informed by the key research objectives. Both the questions and objectives were conceived in a post-modern and post-structuralist frame owing, in part, to feminist methodology that argues that “the process of research is as important as its outcome (Liamputtong, 2007, p. 10). Post modernism extends this idea to say that there is no such thing as getting it right; there is only getting it differently contoured and nuanced (p. 962).

The analysis of the interview data invoked a process of reflection and emergent theorizing best described by the notion of grounded theory (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 598). Grounded theory is a methodology that facilitates the identification of patterns through systematic data gathering and analysis (p. 598). The use of grounded theory was not premeditated but rather became the most natural way to try to make sense of the narratives during the analysis and writing phases of the work. By reading and re-reading, reflecting and searching for patterns and theories through an iterative and inductive/deductive process, the ideas, observations, and theories presented hereafter emerged *from* the data rather than being imposed upon it.

4.2 Study Design

The life histories of youth and the issues they raise about agency, structure, education, family and livelihoods, are supplemented by the reflections of eight senior officials

interviewed from among donor agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), business associations, academia and the Tanzanian Government, and by personal observations and reflections I developed as a resident of Tanzania from 2010-2013.⁴³ Criteria for selection were established for youth informants and, with the assistance of two local NGOs – *Restless Development* and *Umma wa Wapanda Baisikeli* – a ‘snowball sampling’⁴⁴ method of informant selection was used. Criteria for selection included age, gender and engagement in one of two distinct post-basic education pathways:

- a) A work pathway – formal or informal economy or;
- b) A school pathway – through private and condensed adult high school programs known as Qualifying Test schools (QT), a vocational skills program in a government trade school or NGO-sponsored skills program.

4.2.1 Informants

Adult informants were selected through networking to achieve a representative distribution of policy experts from academia, the GoT, donors, private sector and NGOs. For youth informants, age criteria were established with a view to including young adults who had left school after attempting either a standard VII or Form IV level of education. All informants were over 18. Reflecting the prolonged period in which young people are considered “youth”, some informants were in their late 20s to early 30s, resulting in a mean cohort age of 24.5 years. Gender was equally balanced with an informant split of seven

⁴³ I was posted to Tanzania from July 2010 – August 2013 as Counselor and Deputy Director with Canada’s Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development.

⁴⁴ Snowball sampling is a technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances.

women and seven men. Attention was paid to prioritizing youth who had migrated to Dar es Salaam from rural areas of Tanzania. Both Muslim and Christian youth are reflected in the sample, although this was not an explicit criterion. The names used for youth informants are pseudonyms while the names of all other informants and research assistants are real. Tables 5 and 6 below provide detailed characteristics of the youth and adult informants:

Table 5. Youth Informant Characteristics

<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Brief profile</i>	<i>Tribe/Religion</i>	<i>NGO contact?</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Home region</i>	<i>Kids</i>
Jared	M	Standard 7 (fail) – boda driver – 1 year in VETA auto-mechanics	unknown/Pentacostal		33	Kigoma	1
Joseph	M	Form 4 – Division 4 – Chicken seller	unknown/Catholic		xxx	Dodoma	0
Selemani	M	Standard 7 (fail) – Scratch card seller/entrepreneur	Wamanga /Muslim		25	Coastal/ Kilwa Road	0
Gama	F	Form 4 – (fail) – fabric maker	unknown /Catholic		22	Morogoro	1
Dorothy	F	Standard 7 – entrepreneur selling cooking oil	Pare/Lutheran	yes	27	Kilimanjaro	0
Mbaraka	M	Standard 7 – mechanic pursuing some technical courses	Nyamwezi/Muslim		29	Tabora	2
Mathew	M	Form 4- VETA – short course mechanics	Chagga/Lutheran		20	Urban Moshi	0
Mary	F	Form 4 – Division 4 – Housekeeper	Chagga/Lutheran		22	Kilimanjaro	0
Bakari	M	Form 6 – via QT (top performer): University Bound after failing Standard 7 and being out	Bukoba/Lutheran		25	Bukoba	0

		of school 6 years					
Paul	M	Form 4 pass: now working with an NGO.		yes	27	Songea	0
Victoria (Grace in Swahili)	F	Form 5 (fail) - Vodoshop salesperson	Manyeama/Lutheran	yes	22	Kilimanjaro	0
Lydia	F	Finished QT Form 2; now in Form 3-4 after having failed Standard 7		yes	28	Iringa	2
Clara	F	Form 2 – QT for Form 3-4 now					2
Carol	F	Standard 7. Shop Girl	Haya/Lutheran	yes	21	Singida	1

Table 6. Adult Informant Characteristics.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Brief profile</i>	<i>Approximate Age</i>	<i>Home region</i>	<i>Kids</i>
Victoria Mushi	F	MSc. Works for CIDA	57	Kigoma	1
Dina Bina	F	Secondary school Graduate. Very successful Entrepreneur and community worker	52	Dodoma	0
Mr. Rutta	M	MA. Owns a QT school	45	Coastal/ Kilwa Road	0
Joseph Mbando	M	Bsc. Former senior education official with GoT.	68	Morogoro	1
Kitila	M	PhD. Professor in the Faculty of Education, UDSM	42	Kilimanjaro	0
Beatrice Omari	F	MA. Senior education advisor CIDA	60	Tabora	2
Stellen	M	PhD. Senior education	47	Urban	0

		advisor, Swedish Aid Agency		Moshi	
Mrs. Meamba	F	MSc. Assistant Deputy Minister, Ministry of Community, Children and Gender	50	Kilimanjaro	0

It was expected that among the first (work pathway) group of youth, further sub-grouping based on similar occupation or affiliation (for example, street hawkers, house girls, parking lot attendants, etc.) would be possible. In fact, although the basic division of informants between school and work pathways was respected, almost all youth were engaged in some differentiated aspect of informal sector, income-generating activity. Only two informants shared the same informal sector occupation (house girls). Consequently, the post-

interview analysis resulted in a re-sorting of youth informants into five sub-groupings based on their current, active pathway. The five sub-groupings include:

sub-group A – 5 informants (3 male/2 female) all engaged in the informal economy;

sub-group B – 2 informants (male) taking specific technical training in auto mechanics/wiring;

sub-group C – 2 informants (1 male/1 female) recently finished Form VI and Form IV respectively; both have University ambitions;

sub-group D – 2 informants (1 male/1 female) pursuing secondary education through a “second chance” private school pathway.

sub-group E – 3 informants (1 male/2 female) supported by NGOs and both working in the semi-formal sector;

4.2.2 Language and Interpretation

In depth, semi-structured interviews were used to construct life stories of informants. This methodology facilitates the “shifting of emphasis from macro-dynamics to individual lives” (Tanyas, 2012, p. 698) in pursuit of the informants’ views and experiences. The research methodology was designed knowing that youth, for the most part, would be uncomfortable or even incapable of communicating easily in English. To address this issue, a Swahili-English interpreter, Keshubi Ragisirwa⁴⁵, was hired to assist in the interview process. Summary narrative life stories (presented in chapters 5 and 6) were created through the careful reconstruction of multiple interviews, omitting the questions that generated the life

⁴⁵ Keshubi’s father is a Harvard-educated economist with the African Development Bank. Consequently, Keshubi is well educated with an international baccalaureate and an undergraduate degree from McGill University in Montreal. She is fluent in English, Kiswahili, and French.

stories. This was done to avoid a tedious, verbatim type of transcript in favour of a more naturally articulated narrative style without altering any of the factual information.

Keshubi played a very important role in the data collection process, in some respects approaching the status of “co-researcher”. Characterizing Keshubi in this way signals an epistemological position integral to the research methodology. Where mainstream social science tends to obscure the role of interpreters in cross-language research environments to “render them invisible in the process and product” (Berman & Tyyska, 2011, p. 179), Keshubi acted as an interpretive guide and cultural informant at critical moments in the data collection process. She also played an important role in negotiating different perspectives and cultural understandings and adding first-hand knowledge of community settings, tribal nuances and characteristics, and linguistic colloquialisms. As such, Keshubi also became a key informant who provided information about the social settings under study (Berman & Tyyska). Keshubi’s mid-interview insights frequently changed the trajectory of interview questions, while her post-interview reflections and insights into Swahili language and culture added richness to the youth stories. That said, the process of narrative co-construction is both complicated and enhanced by the involvement of an interpreter. Keshubi was interviewed at the conclusion of our fieldwork to capture her reflections and observations about her role as an interpreter. This interview is found in Appendix B.

4.2.3 Access

A key challenge of the fieldwork involved gaining access to an urban, marginalized, and often highly mobile youth population relevant to the study. Living and working in Tanzania prior to, and during the research period, provided significant advantages in terms of understanding the geography and socio-political dimensions of youth issues in the country as

well as having rapport with key organizations providing support services to these populations. In addition, Keshubi was instrumental in helping to identify and access youth for the study.

Formal research support was secured from two locally based NGOs, namely, *Restless Development (RD)* and *Umma wa Wapanda Baisikeli*. The Canadian international aid program in Tanzania funded RD for a youth awareness-raising project connected to Tanzania's constitutional review process. Because of this funding relationship, I was invited to participate in several RD activities and came to know their work in greater detail. They were an obvious and amenable choice of NGO partners when the time came to solicit one for this study.

Umma wa Wapanda Baisikeli, on the other hand, is a cycling advocacy NGO that also supports a number of social enterprises. One such enterprise, the Dar Reality Tour, supports eco-tourism by exposing mostly expatriate residents and tourists to the harsh realities of life in the slums of Dar es Salaam. This tour has become a virtual pre-requisite for official delegations in the aid sector to better understand real life struggles for the majority of citizens in Dar es Salaam. *Umma wa Wapanda Baisikeli*'s founder, Frederick Mbezi, is increasingly known for his work in supporting other Tanzanian entrepreneurs and he is well connected to many young people working in the informal sector. For this reason, I sought out his endorsement and support for this study.

Together, these two organizations provided numerous opportunities to interact and/or observe young people in the context of workshops, training programs, and other forms of outreach activities. Both NGOs also provided introductions to potential youth informants meeting the criteria for the study (see Appendix C for official support letters).

4.2.4 Ethics Approval and Research Clearance

Ethics approval was obtained from the University of Ottawa Research Ethics Board and an additional requirement for local research clearance was satisfied by obtaining approval from the Tanzanian Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH, 2015). The Commission's mission is "to foster a knowledge based economy through the promotion and coordination of research, technology development, and innovation for sustainable development in Tanzania" (COSTECH). The Commission is comprised of members from all sectors of the Tanzanian economy along with Deans/Directors of faculties and institutes that deal with R&D activities, and representatives from Government also having a research mandate. *Restless Development* co-signed for the research clearance process in Tanzania as the local sponsor of my project (see Appendices C,D,E) for documents pertaining to ethics and research clearance).

4.2.5 Interviews

To build our methodology, Keshubi and I met extensively to discuss and plan our approach prior to recruiting and interviewing youth. The project was reviewed in detail and readings shared on life history research and other methodological considerations. Two pilot interviews were conducted to test and refine the interview process and to incorporate any necessary changes. Informants were identified through March of 2013 and interviews were conducted between April and July of the same year. Once underway, interviews were routinely discussed in detail immediately beforehand and afterwards. This led, among other things, to the introduction of some new lines of questioning (for example, we began to ask about political affiliation and engagement after the 4th or 5th interview) and a decision to

focus more, where possible, on each informant's school experience as we realized the richness of these stories. The approach to interviewing remained flexible and open ended to avoid missing opportunities to pursue ideas or topics unique to a particular informant. All consent forms and other communication between the researcher and informants were made available in both English and Swahili at the outset of each initial interview⁴⁶ (see templates in Appendix E).

With some exceptions, we held two, 75-minute interviews with each informant approximately one week apart. The separation between interviews allowed time to reflect on what was uncovered in the first interview and then to tailor questions to address gaps or to pursue particular themes in more depth during the second interview. Generally speaking, the second interviews with each participant were more intimate and revealing, probably due to the informant being more relaxed and comfortable with us as researchers. All interviews were digitally recorded. I also took detailed field notes. Photographs of all informants were taken at the conclusion of the second interviews as well as photos of any relevant documents or identification when available.

Working from a semi-structured interview schedule, Keshubi generally posed the questions and got discussions underway. She would frequently back translate what had been said in Swahili, allowing me time to choose the next line of questioning or to insert new questions pertaining to a particular aspect of the informant's emerging story. These frequent pauses for translation and discussion between Keshubi and I had the added benefit of allowing the informant time to relax and reflect on what had previously been discussed. Very often when we returned to the Swahili conversation, the informant would want to add

⁴⁶ Interview transcripts, recordings, consent forms and other identifying data continue to be kept in a secure location. They will be retained for five years and then destroyed.

something that he or she had thought of while Keshubi and I had been talking. This indicated to me a high degree of engagement and interest by the youth in the questions and the interview process itself. Interviews were brought to a conclusion both by watching the time (aiming for 75-90 minutes maximum) and by seeking a natural end point in the interview. Often in the first interview, we asked informants to reflect on a particular issue in preparation for the second interview. We always established the date and time for the second interview at the end of the first one. Each informant was paid an honorarium of 10,000 Tanzanian shillings (approximately \$8 Can⁴⁷) for each interview to cover travel expenses and time lost to their other wage-earning activities.

The interviews and transcriptions of the eight senior officials of aid agencies, business groups, academia, government and civil society were all completed by me alone and entirely in English with one exception - Mr. Rutta, the Principal and owner of a private QT school. Although he had claimed to be competent in English, he clearly was not. Fortunately, this interview took place over lunch with Keshubi present so most of the interview reverted to Swahili and the well-rehearsed approach used with youth informants. Interviews with adult informants were done after all youth interviews were completed so that the perspectives gleaned from youth could better drive the questions and semi-structured interviews with policy-makers.

4.2.6 Interview Settings

One challenge in conducting interviews and building relationships with informants is to avoid, or at least reduce, power imbalances that could adversely affect the interviews and

⁴⁷ All monetary values in the dissertation will be expressed in Canadian dollars (\$Can) or Tanzanian Shillings (\$Tsh); \$1Can = \$1,500 TSh.

the resulting data. At the same time, it is important to seek ways to empower rather than extract through the research process (Ennew & Plateau, 2004; Haig, 1997; Mayall, 2000). It was critical to build rapport and trust quickly so as to elicit genuine life stories in an atmosphere that was relaxed and comfortable for both the informants and researcher(s). To this end, most interviews were conducted at the village museum known as “Makumbusho”, situated in Kijitonyama - a working class neighborhood of Dar es Salaam. The village museum is not only a public space used to showcase the traditional tribal housing styles found across Tanzania, it also provides an outdoor public performance space for traditional music, theatre and dance. It is a facility well used by average Tanzanians and was easily accessible for the informants. The actual interviews took place in a small “banda”⁴⁸, in the restaurant section of the museum. Participants were offered lunch or a snack from the menu, and we often conducted the interviews while eating. Participants were given time to read the recruitment and consent letters (in Swahili), ask questions, and sign the documents before the recorder was switched on and we proceeded with questions.

All of the policy informant interviews took place over lunch at a hotel restaurant used by the diplomatic community and Tanzanian civil servants in the business district of downtown Dar es Salaam. The exceptions included Mr. Rutta and Dina Bina (both interviewed in restaurants near their workplace), and Ms. Meamba (interviewed in her office at the Ministry of Community, Children and Gender). In all instances I suggested, but then accommodated, the meeting location preference of the policy informants so as to minimize any inconvenience caused by my request.

⁴⁸ Banda is a Swahili word describing a small, grass-roofed structure common in rural settings.

4.2.7 Interview Anomalies

With two of the informants, we conducted one very long interview rather than two shorter interviews due to availability and scheduling conflicts. Even when we used this approach, we still inserted a break to give the informant a rest and also to allow Keshubi and me time to take stock of the story line emerging in the interview and to make some adjustments about the line of questioning to pursue. Finally, with one other informant – Mbaraka – we asked for a third interview. Mbaraka was very talkative and a third interview was necessary to complete the elements of his story.

All interviews with the youth were conducted exclusively in Swahili except for Mary who was clearly proud of, and much more comfortable with, her level of English. Mary resorted to Swahili only a few times during our interviews. This affected the dynamic for Keshubi and me because Mary was able to understand our “sidebar” discussions. For the most part, this posed no difficulty although Keshubi and I did resort once to French – a language we knew Mary did not understand – simply to decide on whether or not to pursue a sensitive line of questioning around Mary’s account of sexual harassment in school.

One informant – Yussuf – was interviewed once, but that interview was purposely cut short and he was not invited back for the second interview. During the interview it seemed that Yussuf was being deceptive and attempting to tell us what he thought we wanted to hear. He was also exceedingly nervous about why we wanted to interview him and very reluctant to provide more than one word responses. That latter fact, combined with honest answers to our questions, could have been fruitful, but we were unable to convince him to stop obfuscating his story.

4.2.8 Transcription and Translation

The initial approach to the task of transcription was for Keshubi to listen to the recordings in Swahili and transcribe in English. After two attempts at this approach it became clear that, not only would this be an extremely slow and laborious process, but it was also not the best use of Keshubi's time or skill set. Swahili speakers frequently employ multiple, round-a-bout ways to respond to a question. It became apparent that transcribing the interviews first into written Swahili would hold at least two advantages; a) it would reduce the time required to translate to English as it is much easier to read the interview in written Swahili and transpose to English than it is to listen, re-listen and translate directly from recordings to English; and b) the translation from written Swahili to English would permit a distillation of key ideas and the elimination of instances where informants repeated themselves and/or used multiple ways of answering the same question. Although this approach rendered the interviews somewhat shorter and more accessible, the transcripts were still essentially verbatim.

A graduate student at the university of Dar es Salaam – Shani Mushi –transcribed the audio recordings into verbatim written Swahili. Three additional university students⁴⁹ with strong English and Swahili skills translated the verbatim Swahili transcripts into written English transcripts. The English transcripts were then carefully read by Keshubi and me to ensure accuracy and to decide when and where to paraphrase long-winded informant responses. Despite these careful processes, the transcribing and translation process – including the potential introduction of errors and bias – from oral Swahili to written Swahili

⁴⁹ The three transcribers were named Joanne, Rachel and Gama

to written English transcripts, and the subsequent transformation of those transcripts to first-person narratives must be acknowledged.

4.2.9 Coding and Analysis

Central to the analysis was the use of qualitative research software called *Dedoose* to code the transcripts – a process Cohen et al. (2011) describe as akin to disassembling and reassembling the data (p. 599). True to this characterization, approximately 450 pages of English transcripts were uploaded for youth and policy informants combined. Coding categories and sub-categories were established to capture interesting patterns and themes as the transcripts were initially read and re-read. This first phase of analysis produced an overwhelming number of categories confirming what Cohen et al. say *should* be a confusing stage of the process with seemingly massive amounts of unrelated material. This stage is also referred to as a point of saturation where “no new insights, properties, dimensions, relationships, codes or categories are produced even when new data are added” reflecting the methodological notion of triangulation (p. 601).

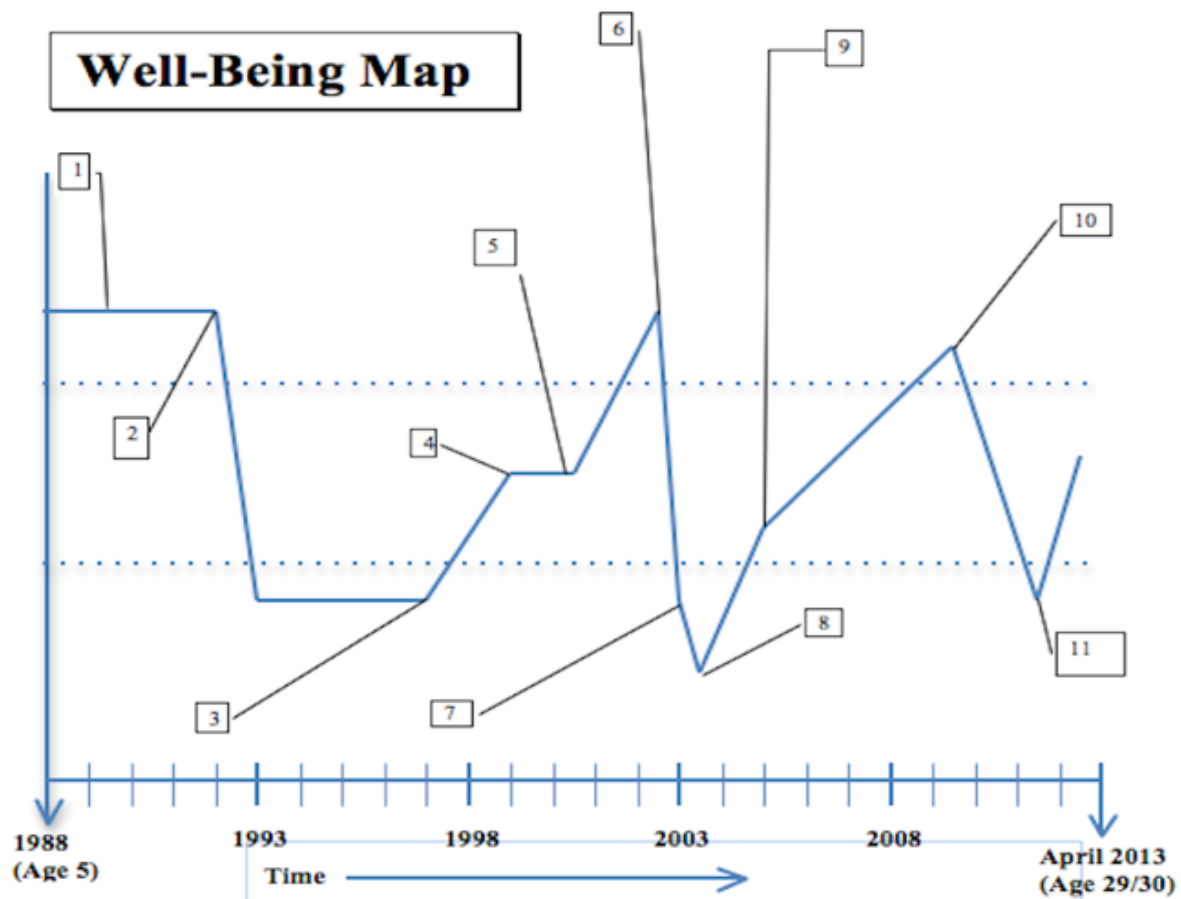
However, in line with the grounded theory approach (Dhunpath & Samuel, 2009; Cohen et al., 2011), the use of constant comparison between and among categories eventually revealed patterns and common themes that permitted categories to be collapsed or combined as the emergent theories became more refined. A concrete example of this involved informant references to complicated family structures and influences. Initially, I attempted to break these data down into detailed categories such as *parents divorced*; *raised by mother*; *raised by grandmother*; *financially assisted by brother, uncle, cousin*, etc. I had initially theorized that the specific nature of the family complexities would potentially relate to, and influence, the larger questions in the study about youth agency and livelihood creation.

However, with additional analysis and constant comparison with each additional informant studied, the efficacy of using simplified and condensed themes became more evident. In the final analysis and coding structure, notions of family structure and influences are captured in two overarching themes; *complex family architecture* and; the presence of a *family benefactor* in the lives of youth. These two meta-themes were sufficient to relate to other phenomena from the data and represent the core variables or categories that resulted from the grounded theory approach to coding and analysis.

4.2.10 Well-being/Structuration Maps

In a study of the role of education in youth livelihood resilience in conflict and post-conflict settings, Bird (2010) combined life history and participatory learning and action (PLA) methods to understand the responses of young Ugandans to their post-conflict environment. One PLA technique in particular involved the construction of historical timelines with community members and individuals to highlight significant events in a chronological context. I have adapted these *well-being maps* for a similar purpose.

We asked individual youth informants to reflect back on a period of their lives spanning from age 5 to the present, noting specific events that were either profoundly positive or negative. We explained and established a neutral baseline (e.g., the feeling that life is going along reasonably well) and asked informants to position their “significant” events or memories relative to this line and going forward in time. The well-being interviews were short, 15-minute post-scripts to the second, in-depth interviews. Keshubi transcribed all of the well-being maps directly from the recorded interviews. Jared’s well being map below demonstrates the tool.



Significant Markers

1. Life starts out well for Jared.
2. In 1992 he begins primary school under very difficult, impoverished conditions.
3. He becomes a school prefect in Standard V (1997).
4. Jared completes primary school in 1999 but fails the Standard VII exams.
5. Soon after, he moves to Mwanza to live with his older sister.
6. Jared's brother-in-law dies and his sister can no longer support his schooling.
7. Not long after this Jared's Mother also dies.
8. Jared moves to Dar for better opportunities.
9. By 2005 he obtains work and becomes financially independent
- 10.
- 11.

These well-being maps are used to aid in organizing the narrative data, to clarify or highlight dominant structural forces impacting individual informants, to search for patterns among informants, and to illustrate the overall direction – including the highs and lows - of life trajectories.

4.2.11 Document Analysis and Field Notes

A range of documents also informed the research, including education sector reviews, donor studies and reports, government policies, civil society youth programming strategies, evaluations and labour market studies, and Tanzanian census and survey data. Continuous note taking, in situ and during periods of reflection and analysis, helped capture contexts and phenomena, both ordinary and exceptional, to enhance other data sources. Field notes were detailed and reflective to capture insights, impressions, or tangents pursued during or shortly after the interviews. This approach allowed systematic reflection and adjustment of the questions being asked (for example) and ideas for the organization and categorization of responses – the “sense-making” process of data analysis (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 598-602). In retrospect, these personal field notes contributed to the evolution of the interview questions and also the grounded theory approach to processing the data during the analysis phase of the study.

4.3 Limitations of the Methodology

As Dilley (2004) observes, we interviewers “cannot divorce our ways of knowing from our ways of trying to know” (p. 131). Furthermore, Kvale (1996) articulates a view of interview methodology as an art form supporting “a skill model of transition from novice to expert, and the learning of research through apprenticeship” (p. 105) suggesting that any research design involving interviewing is a learning process. There are also ethical issues with interviews, specifically, the risk that the researcher appropriates the voices of those being researched for his/her own advancement more than any other reason. In-depth interviewing is also time-consuming and costly in both financial and human resource terms.

Identifying, contacting, and repeatedly interviewing participants, followed by hours spent transcribing and analyzing interview data, represented a considerable investment of time and money (Bogden & Biklen, 1982; Seidman, 1991). To manage potential weaknesses in the data collection, every effort was made to prepare for and refine the methodology and our skills as interviewers. To mitigate against extractive or exploitative research, the anonymity of informants was respected. In addition, the results of the study will be shared as widely as possible through organizations like *Uwezo*, *Restless Development* and *Haki Elimu*. Finally, to mitigate the risk of time and cost, research was limited to one general location (Dar es Salaam), 14 youth (see criteria discussed earlier), and eight additional adult informants for a total of 22 interviewees.

4.3.1 Power Relations

Power relations need to be considered when involving young people in research. In addition to age differentials between researcher and informants, race, gender, socio-economic status, and language all potentially exacerbated power issues (Flewitt, 2005; Langevang, 2007; Valentine, 1999; Wyn & Dwyer, 1999). Young people are often the subject of research because of their marginality and this makes it difficult for both *researcher* and *researched* to relinquish pre-assumed notions. Flewitt's notion of provisional consent rather than informed consent was an important consideration for this fieldwork. This means "the participants' agreement [is] understood to be provisional upon the research being conducted within a negotiated, broadly outlined framework and continuing to develop within the participants' expectation" (p. 556). For example, regardless of the fact that informants had read and signed a consent form at the outset of the first interview, they were given subsequent opportunities

to consider and declare whether they wished to go forward and have previous interview material used.

In addition, the embedded intimidation in research methods like one-on-one interviews required careful consideration. During interviews with the eight professional informants (who knew that I too was a senior professional with a major donor to Tanzania), it was very important to separate my role as a researcher from my employment status, and to be aware of the potential effect of my professional status on the discussion. Similarly with the youth informants, while I wanted them to know my experience and passion for teaching and youth advocacy, it was important to recognize how my status as a white, middle-class and potentially influential expatriate (in their eyes) could raise expectations and influence our discussions.

4.4 Conclusion

This research is situated firmly in qualitative epistemology that regards knowledge as constructed, holistic, socially situated, and context dependent, and methodologies that support naturalistic data collection. The life story methodology employed in the study is well suited to the theoretical lens of structuration. Interviewing and narrative construction helps to reveal the complex interplay of youth agency and the types of structures impeding or facilitating the life objectives of young people. Similarly, the use of grounded theory supported by coding systems developed in *Dedoose* allow a certain degree of objectivity in the data analysis. Strong patterns emerge that are difficult to see through the interview process alone. Issues of access are aided significantly by strategic partnerships with locally based NGOs. Challenges associated with language and translations are addressed with the

help of competent local research assistants. Limitations of the research were discussed and acknowledged.

CHAPTER 5:

LIFE HISTORIES AND INFORMAL SECTOR ENTREPRENEURSHIP

“Recounting of a life story, a mind thinking aloud leads one inevitably to the consideration of problems which are no longer psychological but spiritual.” (Paul Tournier)

5.0 Overview of Chapters 5 and 6

Although each informant story is unique, many of their experiences and factors affecting their lives overlap. The stories are rife with hardship, but often offer instances of ingenuity, resourcefulness, and livelihood creation in the face of major challenges. Taken together, these narratives help to illuminate not only the structural influences and hurdles with which this sub-set of the cohort must contend, but also the ways in which they think about and respond to those hurdles. This process includes, notably, the educational experiences and subsequent choices and negotiations that arise for informants when dreams associated with school fall short of expectations. The first person voice used in these narratives - both here and in Chapter 6 - is a literary device providing a synopsis of the life histories of each youth informant as recounted to us in the interviews. Idiosyncratic expressions and Swahili-English interpretations of meaning have been retained as much as possible. Life history maps accompany each informant narrative but focus on critical episodes, turning points, obstacles or epiphanies where the well being of the informant changed for better or for worse.

The full youth cohort in this study is relatively homogenous in terms of socio-economic status, educational attainment, age, and current living arrangements. The group is evenly distributed in terms of gender and religion (Christian/Muslim). Eight different tribal identities were also represented.

5.1 Introduction to the Narrative Sub-Groupings

As the grounded theory approach to data analysis proceeded, certain differences and patterns emerged which allowed the fourteen informants to be grouped into 5 sub-groupings for discussion in this, and the subsequent chapters. The groupings reflect the sphere of influence and informant activities within a particular domain that defines or re-calibrates their lives. In this organizational frame, there are 5 informal sector entrepreneurs, and 6 informants pursuing post basic education schooling along one of three pathways - vocational training, university, or second chance secondary education. Three (3) informants are engaged in NGO structures and programs (see Table 7).

Table 7. Informant Sub-Group Distribution.

Chapter	Sub-Group	Descriptions
<i>Chapter 5</i>	<i>sub-group A</i>	5 informants (3 male/2 female) - all engaged in the informal economy ; this group includes Dorothy, Gama, Selemani, Jared, and Joseph
	<i>sub-group B</i>	2 informants (male) taking specific vocational training in auto mechanics; this group includes Mathew and Mbaraka
<i>Chapter 6</i>	<i>sub-group C</i>	2 informants (1 male/1 female) who recently finished Form VI and Form IV respectively; both have University ambitions; this group includes Bakari and Mary
	<i>sub-group D</i>	2 informants (female) pursuing secondary education

		through a “ second chance ” private school pathway; this group includes Clara and Lydia
	<i>sub-group E</i>	3 informants (1 male/2 female) engaged in NGO programs ; this group includes Victoria, Carol, and Paul

This section presents personal narratives and analysis of 5/14 youth from the cohort engaged in work and/or informal sector entrepreneurship, and 2/14 pursuing better employment prospects through vocational training. These ISEs are the largest sub-group among the full informant cohort and could actually have included several other informants as most of the youth are engaged, to varying degrees, in informal sector economic activity. However, the five informants included here are “full-time” informal sector entrepreneurs. Some of the strongest expressions of confidence and genuine enjoyment of informal sector entrepreneurship come from this sub-group.

5.1.1 Gama’s Story.

Jambo, I am Gama. I am twenty-two years old and grew up in Kigamboni in Dar es Salaam. My family is from Iringa, where my grandparents lived until they passed away. Now my father’s younger brothers are the only ones left there. My father used to drive boats for a Tanzanian shipping company but he is now retired. I live with my parents in Kigamboni, but sometimes I stay at my boyfriend’s parents’ place. My three siblings live in Kigamboni. My oldest brother is a builder; he is married with his own children and house. My oldest sister is single; she works as a waitress and rents her own place. My next oldest sister has just re-sat Form 4 and returned from school to live at home again. I have many other relatives living in Dar es Salaam.

I went to Kigamboni Secondary School, a private military school. I would say it was “ordinary” and “average”. The facilities were good, with electricity and computers, but it looked nothing like a school from the outside, with its corrugated iron roof and wooden walls. Many of the teachers were in the army. The school fees were lower than other private

schools, around 300,000 Tsh per year. My parents paid the school fees but were not really involved in my education. My oldest brother and sister only finished up to Standard 7 and did not pass their exams. My brother went on to VETA. My next oldest sister, who has just re-sat her Form 4 exams, got the same results as the first time: Division 4 (fail).

When I was in Form 1 and Form 2, I was among the top ten students. My favourite subject at school was always book-keeping. A girl who rented a room in my family's home was studying business at secondary school and she used to teach me at home. Whenever I got to understand a new concept in book-keeping, it was "bliss". Things became harder for me in Form 3 because the work got harder. Also, I struggled with the language, and don't think I was taught well enough in English in the earlier years. Other students struggled with English as well, and after class we would get into groups, speaking in Swahili, to try to reach an understanding of the content together. Another reason that things became harder for me in Form 3 was that my parents couldn't afford to pay for the private tuition anymore, and I had less time in the morning to go to school because of the chores I had to do at home.

In Form 3, we had a teacher who didn't teach "from the heart" and was really hard to understand. A group of students complained to the school about this teacher, but nothing changed, and the teacher got back at us by screaming at us. I don't think that any of my teachers enjoyed their profession or had chosen to do it. Teachers would use corporal punishment to keep students in line. Girls were caned on their hands, boys on their buttocks. The school was run like the army; if one student was punished, usually we all were.

I got pregnant while I was in Form 4. When I found out, I was scared about my family's reaction. At two months pregnant, I told my maternal aunt to tell my parents for me. My parents "made some noise" but also accepted that nothing could be done. The exams were in October 2011 and I gave birth in March 2012, so I was about three months pregnant while I was completing my exams. I found it difficult to study because I was so tired, and I was worried about my situation. Out of sixty students, no one in my class got a Division 1 or 2. Fewer than five got Division 3s and less than thirty got Division 4s. Many students were like me and failed with Division 0s.

My daughter is one year old now. Her name is Alice. I have been with the child's father for five years but we don't live together; I do love him. He is twenty-eight years old and works as a cleaner at a hotel at the beach. I have thought about marrying him but am not

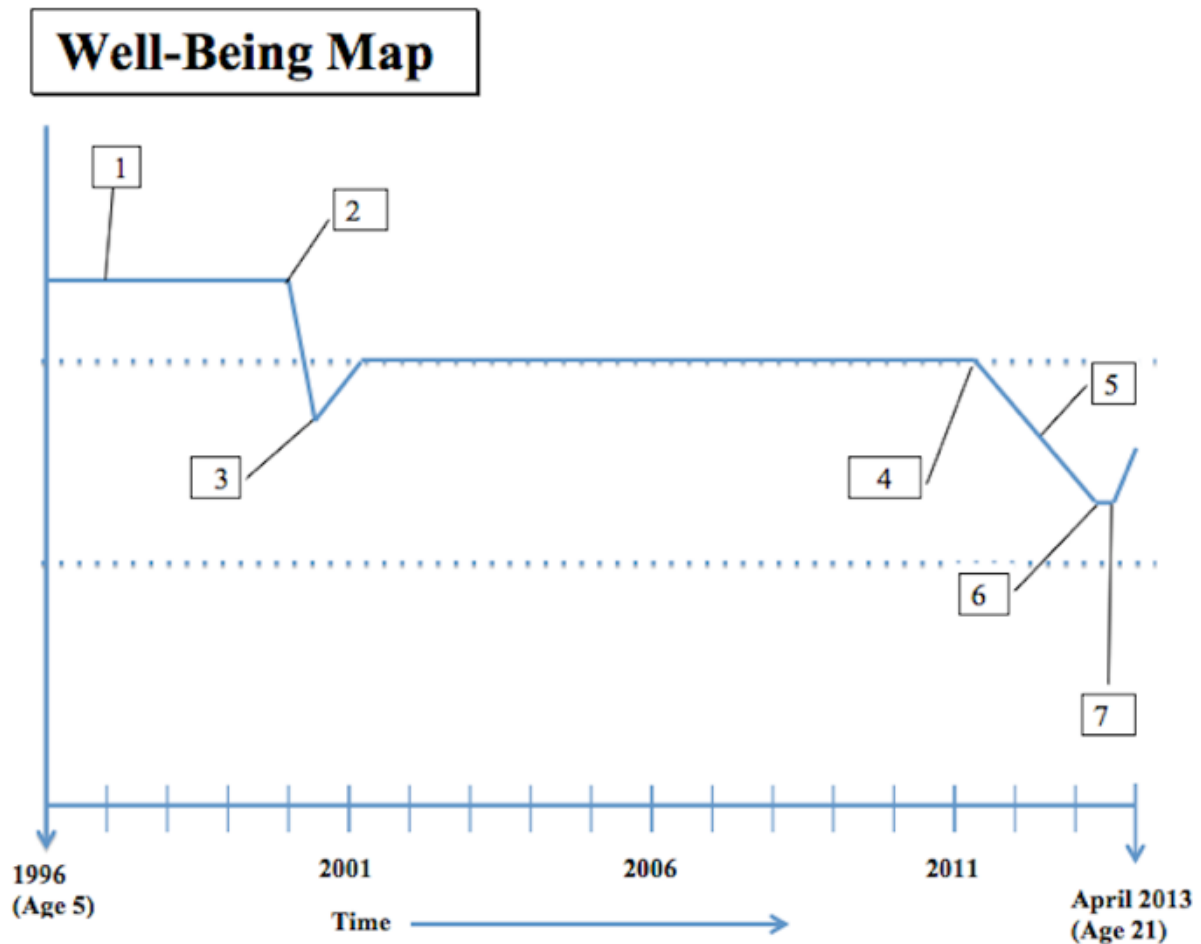
sure I'm ready to. His mother runs a vikoi⁵⁰ business and taught me how to make them. Now I buy the materials and make them myself. I have only been doing this for a few months. From the sale of thirty vikoi I make about 35,000 Tsh. In an average week, I might get 75,000 Tsh.

I want to be a successful businessperson. I have ideas to build up my business. I am using the profits from each batch of vikoi to increase the number I make the next time. This way I make more over time. I don't use a bank; I save my money at home. In a year or two, I want enough money to have a few employees, so they can take care of the business and I can go back to school. I'm thinking of a few different courses: computers, English or even hotel management.

My mother is Muslim, and my father is Roman Catholic. I am Roman Catholic. I don't go to church regularly and I also don't believe that it is God who decides how my life will turn out, "I am the one who plans it". The government won't help me with anything; it is only my own efforts that will make change in my life. Still, I do not like politics. I voted last year but I don't think it makes a difference who is in power. My main reason for voting was to get a voter's ID card, which is important for things like opening a bank account. I think if I had been able to continue with school I might have got a better job. But even education is no guarantee of getting a job in Tanzania. I think that more schooling might have shown me more ideas for jobs to try for.

I think my business and family are the best things I have. In five years, I want to have moved forward, with a room of my own and full control of my life. I want to be more financially secure and know what I will earn each week, month or year. In ten years I would like to have my own house; maybe then I would think about marriage. I want my daughter to have a good education, even go to university, and be able to have her own independent life. I know I will probably have to raise the money for her education, especially for her to go to a good school like St. Mary's. In all my life, I am the one responsible for making things happen.

⁵⁰ Vikoi is a traditional printed cloth with tassels



Significant Markers

1. Gama's life starts out well. In 1997, at the age of 6, Gama begins nursery school.
2. In 2000, her father retires and the financial situation in her home is not good.
3. Within 6 months, Gama's parents finish building a house and take in tenants, so the financial situation improves.
4. Gama's life goes on unremarkably until June 2011, when she gets pregnant.
5. The period after she finds out she is pregnant is difficult: she is worried about how her parents will take it and has to do her Form 4 exams shortly thereafter. She fails the exams; this outcome makes things even worse.
6. Gama gives birth to a baby girl in March 2012. She says she has everything she needs to care for and raise the child.
7. Gama has very recently started a business and she says this has improved things in her life.

Gama comes from a relatively more prosperous socio-economic situation than others in this sub-group (Joseph is another exception), having attended a private secondary school and benefitted from after-school “tuition” during her early secondary school years. She also continues to live with her parents – at least part of the time – so family support is a big factor in Gama’s current situation. Despite a stable and relatively prosperous family environment and the advantages therein, Christine and her 3 siblings have all failed at school – two siblings at standard VII and Christine and her sister at the Form IV level. Christine recounts a typical story with respect to the pass/fail rates in her own Form IV class of 60 where only five received a true passing grade (Division III or better).

She holds many of the strongest critiques of education, including her disenchantment with language of instruction practices and teaching quality. However, she maintains formal educational objectives for the future (accounting or business is her dream) while articulating a high degree of confidence in her business acumen and present economic prospects making and selling Vikois. As with most informants, achieving independence is of paramount importance. Gama’s pregnancy in Form IV likely contributed to her school failure but personal resilience emerged and she soon developed informal sector opportunities by utilizing a flexible relationship with the biological father of her child, and his mother, to learn a trade and start a business. She expresses ambivalence about taking on marriage or other family obligations in the near future. Gama’s life-history map reaches back more than a decade to highlight family financial struggles and then stabilizes until Gama becomes pregnant while still in secondary school. The social stress and stigma of pregnancy coincide with a critical period in her education culminating in school failure. Although the pregnancy appears to have strained her relationship with her parents, her family represents a long and

stable structure in Gama's map. Following the birth of her daughter, tensions within her family appear to subside. Her engagement in informal sector employment has renewed her optimism about the future. Like most youth in the study, building a house of her own is the ultimate objective, signaling independence and adulthood.

5.1.2 Jared's Story

I am Jared, an optimistic, self-reliant thirty-year-old man from the district of Kasulu, in Kigoma. My mother passed away when I was twenty-two but my elderly father, a former migrant worker and banana farmer, still resides in Lushoto. I had several siblings who died in childhood, and another two who lived longer but have since passed away. Of the remaining siblings, there are three brothers (one each in Morogoro, Mwanza and Kigoma) and four sisters (two in Mwanza and two in Kigoma). I see my siblings infrequently as they rarely visit home at the same time as me. I also have an eight-year-old son but the child's mother and I were not married and we now live separately in Dar es Salaam, although I provide for all the child's financial needs.

Studying in a rural environment made education tough for me. School was not seen as important and it was not uncommon for students to fail exams. We did not even have shoes to wear to school. I believe that my parents could have afforded to send me to a better school, such as one of the nearby boarding schools in town, but my parents did not value education and were not willing to sacrifice livestock in order to send me to a better school. Generally, I did not get much enjoyment out of school, although I loved playing soccer in the inter-primary school games. One thing I remember fondly from my school days was being made prefect in standard 5, which exempted me from having to complete certain chores. I am not sure why I was chosen to be prefect, a position I never sought. Only about two students of the fifty-seven in my class passed the Standard 7 exams. Those two students' parents could not afford to send them on to secondary school and so they continued on with village life just like those who had failed the exam, including me.

After my mother died, my older sister took me to Mwanza to live with her on the understanding that she would help me with my education. Unfortunately, her husband died

and she was unable to support my schooling. I stayed with her for four years, before returning home to Kigoma to seek a life of my own. While again living in the family home, I attempted to start a small-scale farm. The revenue was inadequate and infrequent. I was faced with a restricted future, so I took action and contacted my maternal uncle who told me to come to stay with him in Dar es Salaam.

Once here, I completed one year of VETA in car mechanics and worked for a year in a garage. I was unhappy with my pay though so I left the garage to try my own businesses, including a kiosk in Mbezi where I sold fruit. After the municipality closed my kiosk because I did not have a permit, I began work as a boda-boda driver in Dar es Salaam. I am grateful for the money I earn but it is really only enough to get by. Once I have paid the owner of the motorcycle, I make around 40,000-50,000/= per week, minus fuel costs. I rent the motorbike from a male friend who is three or four years older than I am. The typical education level of boda-boda drivers is Standard 7, with very few reaching Form 4.

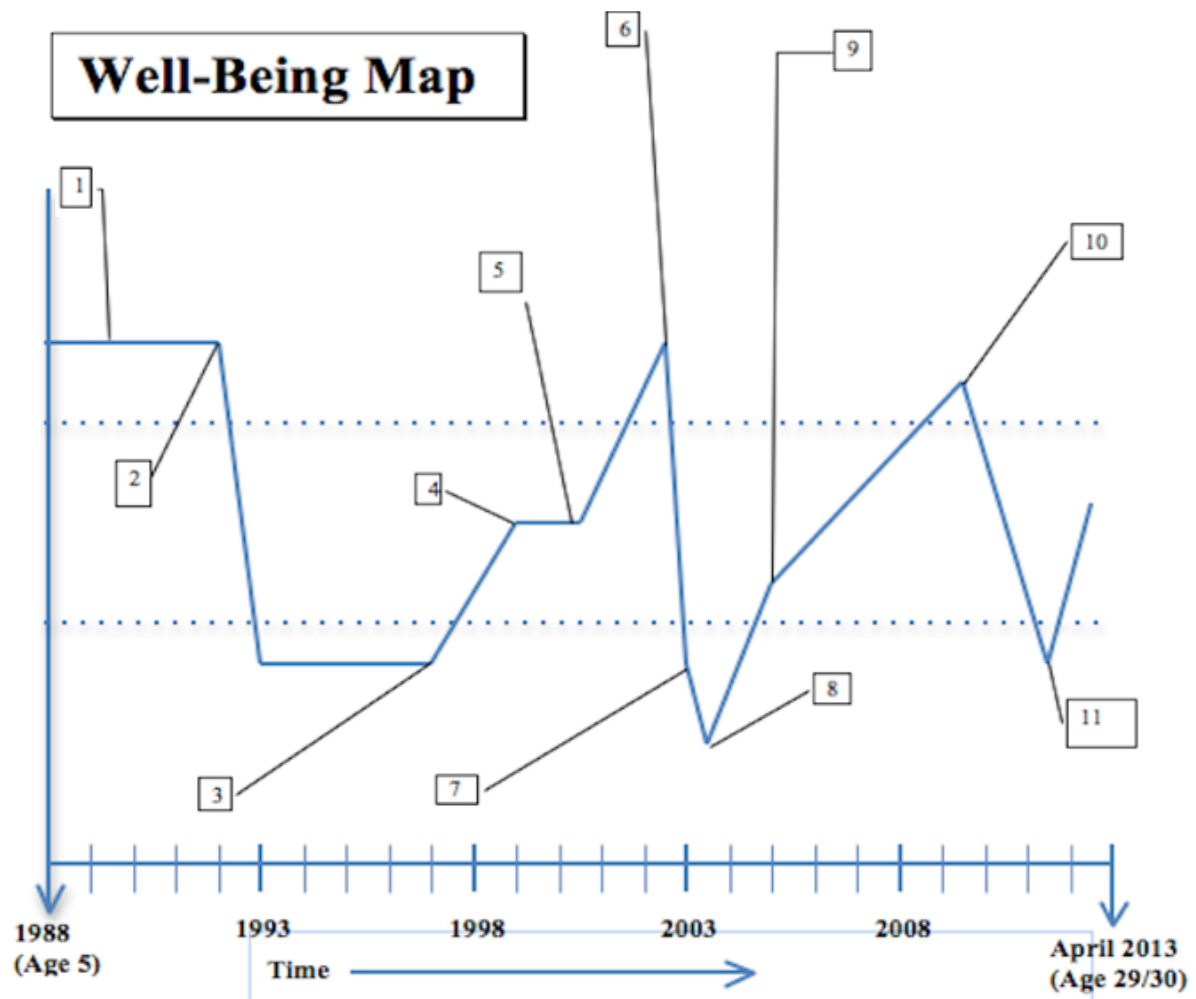
There are no fights over who gets a customer; whichever driver the customer approaches gets the job. There is also a leadership system for the boda-boda groups. Each has a chairman and assistant chairman, and if a driver wants to begin work at a station or move to a new station, they must consult with these leaders. They are registered entities, but are not part of the government. The leaders give a list of requirements that must be fulfilled in order for new drivers to join their group, such as payment of fees that go to a communal kitty. If a member faces a problem such as a work-related accident or injury, or needs financial assistance during bereavement, they will be given a certain amount from this kitty, as clearly stipulated in the membership form.

I try not to take loans, instead planning for large expenses such as rent well in advance. For unexpected expenses, such as taking a trip home due to a family issue, I feel I can't borrow from anyone, as I will not be able to pay them back. For this reason, I live within my means, and try not to think of things I cannot afford. I think that city kids who can rely on such support networks have more time for fun and possibly criminal activities. My priority is to make sure that my responsibilities are fulfilled before I consider having a good time. I only have my uncle, no land assets, and little education to fall back on, so I must try to stand on my own two feet. For this reason, my close friends from my village whom I can trust are very important to me.

I strongly believe that the Tanzanian government should focus on education as a way of bettering the prospects of ordinary people. Other approaches, such as grants for businesses, are a waste of money in my view, as poorly educated people do not know how to spend such money effectively. I thought about getting a Form IV certificate, but so far financial circumstances have not allowed me to. Now that I live on my own, finding money for more study is even harder. I have a dream though of starting my own store selling high-demand cosmetic products.

I still love soccer, but I am not interested in dancing in clubs and do not drink alcohol or use recreational drugs. I would never join a criminal gang in order to make more money; I think only of how I can build my life without taking any shortcuts. I was raised a Christian and now I attend BCIC, a Pentecostal place of worship in Mbezi Beach, near Interchick. In times of stress, I put my faith in God, which has given me the strength to never even consider giving up on life. My faith has helped me to maintain a positive outlook on life and a sense of optimism about the future. Church is good but I think that the church and other organizations are quick to make promises but slow to act on them.

Beyond the goal of being alive, in five years time I hope to own a small one-roomed hut on a small parcel of land. In ten years, I hope to have a house. I do not intend to have any more children, due to the weight of responsibility I already feel for my first child. I do value marriage though and I hope it is in my future. I want my son to complete all of his schooling and get into university, although the primary school my son currently attends is just an ordinary school. Most of all, I know that my life is my own responsibility and no one else's.



Significant Markers

1. Life starts out well for Jared.
2. In 1992 he begins primary school under very difficult, impoverished conditions.
3. He becomes a school prefect in Standard V (1997).
4. Jared completes primary school in 1999 but fails the Standard VII exams.
5. Soon after, he moves to Mwanza to live with his older sister.
6. Jared's brother in-law dies and his sister can no longer support his schooling.
7. Not long after this Jared's Mother also dies.
8. Jared moves to Dar for better opportunities.
9. By 2005 he obtains work and becomes financially independent.
10. In 2009, the Government demolishes the fruit stall that Jared has been running, ruining his livelihood.
11. In 2011, he begins driving a boda-boda and the money is enough to 'get by'.

Currently a boda-boda⁵¹ driver, Jared's approach to life emphasizes self-reliance, responsibility and a sense of possibility. Borne out of the lack of support for schooling he feels he received from his parents, Jared says "if you want to make changes in your life, it is up to you and only you to put them into action". This is reflected in confident statements about "being able to make a life for himself wherever he goes". His entrepreneurial spirit empowers him to identify new ways to earn a living and he is more than willing to work patiently towards his goals.

Jared's stories of primary school are even more dismal than the average informant with only 2/57 students passing their Standard VII exams. Despite being recognized and awarded the role of prefect in Standard V, Jared was among the 55 who failed. Jared's awareness of his own lower standard of rural education has made him strong in his conviction that, in order to provide a better future for his son, he must work hard and overcome any deficiencies poor education has caused. He perceives the status of his employment as very lowly and struggles to identify workers on a lower rung than himself, despite the fact that there are obviously people worse off than him. This says much about Jared's view of his own social status as determined by his low standard of education. Nonetheless, Jared offers complex explanations about the structures governing the boda-boda industry, demonstrating how these structures and hierarchies emerge, even in informal workplaces, to supply social benefit systems put together by the workers themselves for their own protection from precarious or unexpected circumstances.

Three dominant structures run through Jared's map: poverty, family illness/death, and government-induced perturbations affecting his livelihood. Jared correlates his impoverished,

⁵¹ A three wheeled motorized taxi common in Tanzanian cities and towns.

rural upbringing and the poor quality of education he experienced. Notably, Jared's age means his primary school years coincide with severe domestic structural adjustment measures that likely disproportionately affected rural schooling. During adolescence, the death of his brother-in-law followed closely by his mother, undermined his tenuous family support and made his life more precarious. Thanks to a maternal uncle (who remains Jared's key benefactor in life to this day) migration to Dar brought income and independence. Unfortunately, this early positive turn was shattered by a government crackdown on unlicensed fruit sellers. The Government's destruction of his fruit stall business necessitated a high degree of resourcefulness for Jared to regain his financial footing. His relatively new occupation driving a "boda-boda" has put Jared on a positive trajectory.

5.1.3 Dorothy's Story

They call me Dorothy. I am from the second major tribe in the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania known as the 'Pare', but I live in Dar es Salaam. Unlike most, I am an only child. My parents are still alive and living in the village. This is my father's second marriage; he has two children from an earlier one. I do not really know my step-siblings – a boy and a girl. My main family is in the city and includes a paternal aunt and several female cousins - children of my mother's older sisters and my father's older brother. I was brought to Dar at age 2 to live with my Auntie who had a female child just a few months younger than me. My auntie loved me and wanted her daughter and me to grow up together. My 'sister cousin' is now married as are several of my other cousins; a few have families of their own. My sister cousin has a formal sector position at Tanzam Bank. My 'Aunt-Mother' is retired now but did have an elected CCM (ruling party), salaried position with the Municipal Council.

The primary school my sister cousin and I went to was, just ok. I completed Standard 7 in Dar (1999-2000) but failed the exit exam so was home with nothing to do. I was expected to rely on my birth father for financial support; however, he was 'just a farmer and could not afford the fees' to send me to a private school. This was before school fees were

abolished. Since I had failed the leaving exams, my only secondary school option was private school, but I could not afford that so I started 'doing business'. My sister cousin was "sponsored" for secondary school by two older biological sisters. It hurt me to see my cousin move on when I could not. I stayed home with my Aunt working as a 'Mama ntilie' [a woman who cooks food for sale]. I liked it and had plans from the start. Now I am into the wholesaling of sunflower oil.

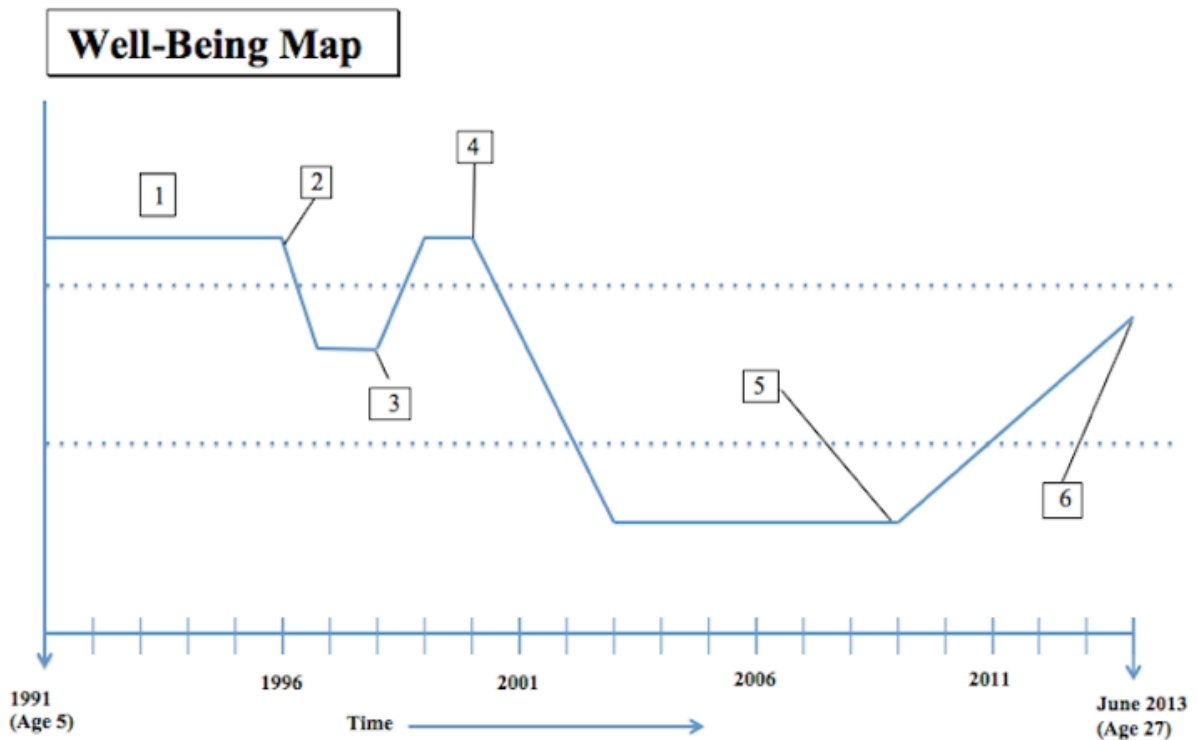
My Aunt's husband died when my sister cousin and I were very young so we were basically all women in the home...my aunt, my cousins and me. There were good values and a strong work ethic in our house. My sister cousin and I were very inspired by an older cousin who worked for the Lutheran church and built a house by age 29. My sister-cousin and me lived there for a while. This older cousin would tell us not to worry about men saying, "get yourselves sorted first financially and men will always be there". This advice has always stayed with me.

I was lucky because I met a lady who worked for a Community Based Organization called Kimara Peer Educators.⁵² She knew about a USAID-sponsored seminar for young women on entrepreneurship and self-help savings schemes. Through this connection, I was invited for some basic training and this has really helped me change my business from a scattered approach to something more systematic.

The training taught me how to manage money for sure. I learned and adopted what I saw as a planning and savings culture. I also learned that things are possible if you have purpose and are out there, and plan your money you can achieve what you want. Now I work with two groups of approximately 30 women giving them advice on being entrepreneurial. I meet each group once per week and also meet regularly with the other women who were part of the initial USAID training to share experiences and reinforce good teaching practices. USAID recently audited our groups and found that the number of groups is growing as we women see the benefit of investing - especially the way we share the year-end profit split. As a 'teacher' now, I really try to send the message that you can stand on your own two feet. I even tell married women not to rely overly on their husbands.

⁵² According to their website (<https://thekimarapeereducators.wordpress.com/2010/01/22/hello-world/>), Kimara Peers exists in order to sustainably reduce incidences of HIV/STIs transmission and mitigating the impact of the epidemic through capacity building, information giving using peer education, life skills training, training of peer trainers, general counseling, voluntary counseling and testing for HIV in slum areas of Dar es Salaam.

For my future plans, I want to develop my informal sector activities into a fully registered business – starting first with a shop/boutique to sell imported products (like clothes) and my sunflower oil and; secondly, in my personal life, because I am unsure of the intentions of my current boyfriend, I plan to have a child as a single mother. This will not cause me problems with me family because the Pare value children first and foremost.



Significant Markers

1. Dorothy's life starts out well. She does not lack for anything. Her paternal aunt and uncle provides for all her needs.
2. In 1996, her uncle dies and the affluence of their household is affected though somewhat mitigated because her aunt is a business woman and continues to generate an income.
3. In 1998, some of her 'sister-cousins' become employed so the general wealth in the family increases.
4. In 2000, she fails her Standard 7 exam and does not go on with school because there is no money to send her to a private secondary school. At this point she feels like her dreams are crushed.
5. In 2009, Dorothy goes into business for herself, stabilizing her income and increasing her independence.

6. In 2013, Dorothy feels she has a good life. She may not be rich but is able to take care of her needs and is proud of her accomplishments.

Dorothy's story strongly echoes the underlying value in Tanzanian society that education is the key to success. Currently a wholesale distributor of Alizet oil⁵¹, Dorothy resigns herself to moving forward without the advantages she had hoped secondary education would give her. Despite starting out in the same primary school as her "sister-cousin", their post-basic education pathways diverged largely, it seems, because of their relative status and position each held within the family when it came time to transition to secondary school. As a fostered sibling, Dorothy grudgingly accepts the social reproduction that results from her status and the constraints wrought by the poverty of her biological parents who cannot absorb the costs of private secondary schooling for her. Juxtaposed with the sister-cousin with whom she was raised, Dorothy has come to accept her social status – a position strongly propagated and reproduced by her education level, occupation, and income status. Dorothy conveys enormous pride, determination and independence despite holding one of the weakest education profiles of all informants in the study. In part, this is likely connected to the strong, female-led household where she grew up seeing her aunt and sister cousins reach important accomplishments and develop resilience – including to the negative intentions of men. Her comments are sometimes contradictory, revealing a competitive sibling rivalry mixed with pride and bravado. Dorothy's self-confidence about her entrepreneurial prospects is growing, including the financial resources to now help her parents financially and demonstrate to her extended family a level of success and independence. She has plans to develop her informal sector activities into a fully registered business – starting first with a shop/boutique to sell

⁵¹ Alizet oil comes from a certain cactus plant found in central Tanzania and is a relatively new, and supposedly healthy, substitute for palm or vegetable cooking oils.

imported products (like clothes), and her sunflower oil. In her personal life, because she is unsure of the intentions of her current boyfriend, she plans to have a child as a single mother. She says she will not be stigmatized in her home/tribe/cultural context for this because the “Pare⁵⁴ value children first and foremost”. Despite the significant implications for Dorothy’s life and socio-economic prospects in actively choosing single motherhood, this decision-making process is likely linked to the tribal, cultural and family structures which place value on rearing children, including the pressures on Dorothy to transition to adulthood through motherhood.

Dorothy’s life history map centres on her fostered status but also the turn-around effect she experiences through her engagement with Kimara Peers and USAID. Dorothy’s family configuration, even when marked by the death of her uncle, proved cooperative and financially resilient. When Dorothy’s clearly devastating failure from primary school combined with insufficient family resources for her to continue education through private school, her well-being sunk to its lowest level. Fortunately, family support again proved resilient, helping mentor Dorothy into informal sector entrepreneurship. Her involvement in the entrepreneurial and savings scheme training of USAID/Kimara peers helped her solidify what seems to be her natural entrepreneurial tendencies or instincts. Now, her own ingenuity is helping her thrive in the informal sector. The current phases of her life history map express a steadily positive trajectory revealing an overall entrepreneurial confidence and resilience.

⁵² The Pare are a neighbouring tribe of the Chagga, occupying the Usumbara mountain range and the areas south and east of Kilimanjaro.

5.1.4 Selemani's Story

I am Selemani. I am twenty-five years old and very enthusiastic about my scratch card business. I come from Kitsumu, a district of the Coastal region. My parents divorced in 2000 due to my father's poor treatment of my mother. My father abandoned my family and went to live with his second wife and children, ceasing to support his first wife and children. He later remarried a third time. My mother moved to Dar es Salaam and also remarried. I have an older sister who lives in Kongowe and runs a few businesses. I live with two of my younger brothers in Kigamboni. One younger brother also works in the scratch card business, while the other is unemployed. A third younger brother lives with my mother and is in Standard 7 at school. I also have six paternal aunts (three living), a maternal aunt and a maternal uncle. My maternal uncle is the same age as I am and lives nearby, so we see a lot of each other. My network of family members in Dar es Salaam has really helped me to establish a life here, although I really try to work hard and be independent.

I attended Mgumba, a school in Mkuranga that I would describe as "normal" and "okay". I enjoyed studying Kiswahili and mathematics but did not do well in my Standard 7 exams. My parents didn't really care much about education. Neither of my parents received any formal schooling and therefore had little understanding about what was required of their children in school. When I was younger, I agreed with their views to some extent, because I could not see the difference between uneducated and educated people in the village. As I grew older though and was exposed to the city, the difference became clear to me and I began to value education. Of the thirty-two students in my class, around ten passed their Standard 7 exams. Some of these went on to study further, while others joined many of those who failed by seeking better prospects in the city. When I failed my Standard 7 exams, I felt sad and worried about what would become of my life. I had no one to discuss my future with, as my father had little to say on the matter and my mother's opinion was not heard in my family.

Sometime after I finished primary school in 2003, I moved to Dar es Salaam, where I first stayed with my sister and then my mother. Like many young people moving to the big city, I had high hopes for an abundance of jobs and easy access to food, but found the reality somewhat lacking. Nevertheless, I gained employment in a restaurant where I worked from

2004 to 2005. I then began work selling airtime scratch cards, until I had a falling out with the boss and quit. Having already learnt the business, however, I was able to use my savings to start up my own scratch card business, which I achieved in 2007. My ability to quickly understand how businesses run and to put these ideas into practice is part of my entrepreneurial spirit I think. At the same time, I had a number of other fledgling businesses, including selling French fries and second-hand clothes. Unfortunately these businesses had to be closed when the owner of the space I was using needed it back for his own projects. I nearly went bankrupt, but I was able to retain ownership of my other business, a grocery store. I see great future potential in the grocery store. That I was able to hold onto my business during such a difficult time gave me a lot of confidence as a businessperson.

My father's second set of children received a similar standard of education to me and my siblings, but the third set of children has advanced to higher levels, including secondary schooling. I believe my father's views on education have changed. I think he saw his older children's struggles, and also a growing emphasis on education put forward by the Tanzanian government.

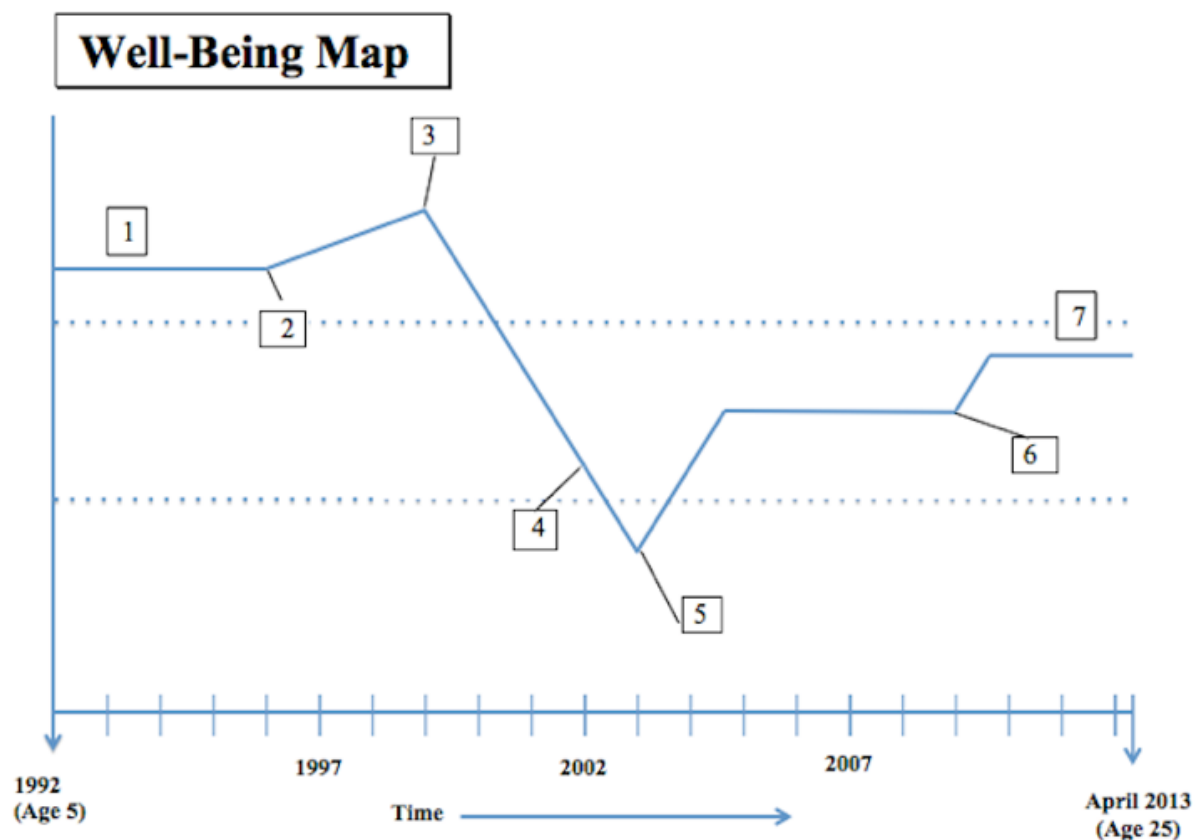
I see most experiences as a learning opportunity I think because I know I missed my chances with education when I was younger. I have learnt much about business from my own experiences. I am also aware that a business course in a formal setting could propel my future prospects even further. I'm not sure how my life would be different if I had been able to attend university, but I am sure my earnings would have been higher.

I would call myself a devout Muslim who attends mosque every Friday. I don't smoke or drink, but I like going to the beach and listening to music. My main focus in life is on my business ventures, and little else at this stage. I would like to marry by the time I am thirty, but I want to have the stability of a larger, permanent business before I make that kind of commitment.

When I was a boy I dreamed of a time when I would be reliant on no one but myself. I am fiercely independent in all my business operations. I refuse to take loans or advice from government organizations, banks or other local institutions. I even feel independent about my attitude to politics. My mother and father are supporters of CCM, but I have no political allegiance. I only support "good leadership" and I have little interest in political issues like

the new constitution. I took another step towards my complete self-sufficiency when I purchased some land in 2010.

When I face problems or a time of stress, I “just sleep”. I know that when I wake up I will know what to do. I think my confidence has always been a part of me. It does not come from my family, and I am not wealthy or educated, but I feel I have been successful in my life so far. But honestly, I am still very conscious of my low level of education and I feel that I have been held back by it.



Significant Markers

1. Selemani's life starts out well. At the time, he is living with both his parents, and all his needs are being taken care of. He says he has no worries during this period.
2. He starts school late (age 9). He is very happy to begin school because, before that, he sees other children in school and really wants to go.
3. When he is in Standard 4, Selemani's father leaves his mother and ceases to provide for her and her children.
4. Selemani fails his Standard 7 exams, and does not know what will become of his life.
5. Eventually, Selemani starts working and his life improves.

6. At the age of 22, Selemani becomes self-employed, and says his life got even better.
7. At the time of our interview, Selemani is positive and happy and working to improve his situation.

Selemani possesses a good sense of humour and a very confident persona. Having tried several businesses, his mainstay now is selling cell phone top-up cards. Much of his life story centres on his father's three sets of children.⁵⁵ The higher degree of attention paid to the education of his father's third family demonstrates Tanzania's changing attitude toward education and the critical importance of both family and government support for education and quality learning outcomes. Selemani's stated desire of wanting more education that he cannot yet afford illuminates the vicious circle faced by many young Tanzanians, wherein the financial stability required for further study can often only be secured through education itself. Nonetheless, Selemani's description of his future conjures images of constant forward momentum, each stage building on the last as he strives toward his ultimate goal of financial independence. Like most informants, financial and social independence is critically important and highly emphasized. For Selemani, however, the notion of independence is an obsession. He avoids any relationships with, or reliance on, individuals or institutions (including banks) that will compromise his notion of full independence. Having learned harsh lessons from earlier business ventures that nearly bankrupted him, Selemani has strategically structured his contingency plans so that if one business fails, he has another on which to rely. He believes that strong self-confidence can help overcome barriers created by a lack of education, the quality of which, like most informants, he describes as having been just "ok". Despite this perspective, Selemani's story also reveals the stigma of a poor education among young people. Although he is an abundantly impressive person with a strong work ethic and

⁵⁵ Selemani is a coastal Muslim – an area where the practice of polygamy remains prevalent.

numerous successes in his young life, he does admit to feeling “held back” by a lack of education and expresses anger that the children of his father’s third family were supported to finish school, while he and his immediate siblings were not.

Similar to other informants, family, school, and the world of work are the dominant structures in Selemani’s life history map. The steady decline in well-being begins when Selemani’s father abandons the family. Revealingly, Selemani fails standard VII near the bottom of this downward spiral, no doubt negatively influenced by the family crisis and resultant increased stress of poverty. The school failure causes further despair that only begins to reverse when Selemani moves to Dar es Salaam and begins working. His life improves again when Selemani assumes the additional autonomy of running his own businesses, highlighting the positive trajectory Selemani has established in the informal economy.

5.1.5 Joseph’s Story.

I am twenty-six years old and my name is Joseph Silinge. I come from a stable home environment where my mother works as a primary school teacher and my father is employed as a technician with a Tanzanian Government Ministry. I am the second sibling of six. The eldest - a girl - completed a university degree in accounting and now has her own family in Dar es Salaam. Two younger sisters, one in Arusha and another in Dodoma, are studying. There is a fourth sister living at home and studying at a government Institute and the youngest, a boy, is in primary school. My parents are from the small Wasandawe tribe (traditionally pastoralists) and are originally from Dodoma, but they moved to Dar where all 6 of us children were born.

For all my siblings, and myself schooling is a high priority. My mother is a teacher and my Father has a Masters degree. I began my education at Kigamboni Primary School. I remember when I was 7 and in Standard 1, there was a student who was fifteen or sixteen studying at the same level as me. This makes me believe that “education does not

discriminate by age". For secondary school, I went to Chombe High School (a boarding school) in Iringa. Although the standard of education was "alright", the school did not have a library or laboratories and the turnover of teachers was a problem. Of the 150 students in my Form IV class, five received Division 1s, fifty received Division 2s and a few got Division 3s. Many students got Division 4s and the majority got Division Zeros—fails like me.

With the support of my parents, I took private tutoring, re-sat and failed the Form IV examinations two more times. As the eldest boy, I felt very ashamed for my repeated failures. My parents responded to my failure with the comment that I must not have paid enough attention or taken my studies seriously enough, though I really did. I felt especially bad because friends that I studied with every day passed while I failed, and I felt that they had had the same level of preparation. Despite my confusion over why I failed, I take full responsibility and do not blame the school system for my results, although I think that instruction in Swahili and exam responses in English may have been an obstacle.

I also think students were easily distracted and did not take school seriously and had poor class attendance. The attendance issue was encouraged by the fact that my school did not have a fence around it so it was easy for students to sneak off to town. I don't think that wealth or lack of it really has any influence over whether students do well in their exams; in fact I think that students who are less well off often do better because they are focused on bettering their prospects through education.

Comparing boarding school to day school, I think that boarding school is more expensive because accommodation and food must be catered for. The level of education offered is about the same standard though. I think that most parents who can choose boarding school for their kids think their child will be away from the distractions of home, however this is not always the case as students at boarding school tend to have "a perception that they are free" and can do whatever they want. I think that students should not depend solely on their teacher to get what they need out of their education; instead students must find their own ways to study and support themselves through study groups. This is because some teachers are not of a high standard, a problem that students were powerless to deal with. We were cowards to say anything about poor teachers.

After coming to terms with my disappointment at not moving on to "A" levels, I got the help of my father to attend a VETA college to train for electrical installation. The

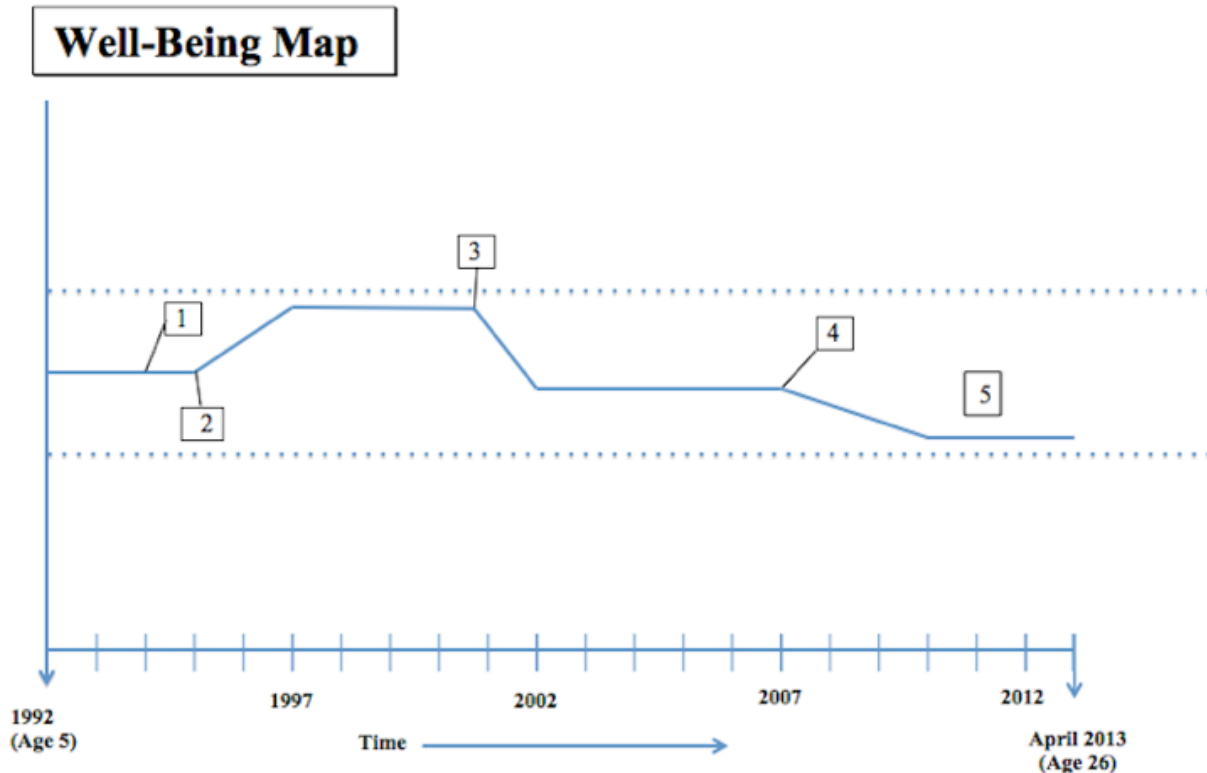
students there were happy to be there because they had been unable to continue with school and were grateful to get some training that might lead to self-employment. A small minority was hopeful of going beyond vocational training and returning to secondary school and possibly even university. I think the teachers at VETA obviously enjoyed teaching and were committed to helping us. Class sizes were quite small, with around 30 students and the teachers were well resourced. For each course, students are graded from 1-3 in their exams and if we pass, our certificate states the Grade we achieved.

I did not complete the course to the certificate level but I did get a “grade two” standing and left the program in 2008. The school did not help students with finding jobs in our field, nor did the government come to the school to inform us about opportunities available. I found the marketplace had stiff competition for electrical installers. Because of this problem, I turned my attention to self-employment.

I am an entrepreneur with two occupations. My first and primary business and source of income is rearing meat chickens. I started this business with start-up capital from my father and I manage to earn approximately 300,000 Tsh per month (\$175 CAD). There are risks to this income if, for example, there is disease that kills my chickens or market fluctuations that impact prices and profits. I don't pay taxes and my business is a “local” one that is not registered by the government. I am optimistic to find employment as a driver as I feel this would pay better and be more stable. I did complete a VETA short course for driving that included both practical and theory, including traffic regulations and basic mechanics.

I like playing soccer and table tennis in my free time as a way to relieve stress. I have lots of friends from school, work, and the neighborhood who I like to sit around and exchange ideas with. I drink occasionally but “not a lot”. I am not interested in politics, but I think CCM MPs are given a stronger voice in Parliament than other parties and that is why the government is stagnant. I don't affiliate with any one party, but I judge candidates on their individual merits. I am Catholic and my faith is very important to me. It guides my life. I am active in a youth group called VIWALO (Catholic Youth Workers), which I believe helps me with youth issues, and helps me to stay on the right path in life, as well as meet different kinds of people “both spiritually and physically”.

I need to get my life in order before I make a commitment to marry. I need to have a steady job so that I can support a family without the uncertainty of being a 'hustler'. In five years, I want to be independent of my parents and have my own residence. In ten years I hope to have a good job and a nice family but fifteen years is too far into the future to think about. I want my children to have a better education than I did.



Significant Markers

1. Joseph's early years are uneventful. He enters Standard 1 at the mandatory age of 7.
2. A year later, Joseph's father obtains better employment and family income increases.
3. At age 14, Joseph sits his Standard 7 exams but does not do well enough to get into a government secondary school. Instead, he joins a private secondary school in Tanga.
4. At age 20 – already several years behind - Joseph fails Form IV and suffers from shame and self-esteem issues. He goes on to sit the exams two more times.
5. He then joins VETA for two years, after which he joins the informal labour market.

With start-up capital and premises provided by his father, Joseph raises and sells meat chickens. However, like most in this sub-group, he is certain he would have a good job and a better life now had he gone further in school. Coming from a stable, well-resourced family

environment where a very high value was placed on education, Joseph's failure at Form IV produced particularly intense shame and disappointment. As the first born boy, Joseph really struggles with the feeling that he let his family down.

He believes Tanzania is striving to fulfill the ideal of EFA, offering as proof the improved accessibility through an increased number of schools built. Joseph is very reluctant to criticize the education system, despite overwhelming evidence of its inability to equip students to pass their exams. Unique in Joseph's story is a relatively positive pass rate among his Form IV cohort where approximately 50/150 students achieved a division 2 or 3 (a legitimate pass), making this a well above average schooling situation.

He credits his parents for instilling this sense of personal responsibility, an attitude that also makes him reluctant to count his family's assets as his own. Joseph's values agglomerate and manifest in a strong belief in personal accountability and a desire for independence. His attitude counters the discouragement generated by systemic weaknesses in schooling or socio-economic hardship more generally. Joseph's stable upbringing has instilled in him the importance of attaining economic stability and he is keenly aware of the financial realities of supporting a family – including the costs he currently bears providing for his 8 year old son. The absence of large peaks or valleys in Joseph's life history map matches his affect during the interviews where he came across as calm, plodding, and earnest. Improved family resources represent one structural aspect responsible for improved well-being, while poor school performance propels two downward trends at points 3 and 4. Notably, Joseph's use of the life history map did not emphasize the pain and despair he expressed verbally when describing the two key periods of school failure. Vocational training and entry to informal work signal a return to stasis in Joseph's view.

5.2 Summative Analysis of the Informal Sector Entrepreneurs

In a tracer study of secondary school leavers in Tanzania, Al-Samarrai and Reilly (2008) note that school leavers “tend to use self-employment, rather than unemployment, as a queuing strategy for waged employment opportunities⁵⁶” (p. 280). Reflecting on the narratives of these five informal sector entrepreneurs (ISEs) it is clear that, if decent waged employment opportunities were available, most would gladly accept. However, the prospect of suitable, formal sector employment is remote leaving the informal economy as the increasingly common destination for early school leavers. Having missed their post-primary schooling objectives, several informants forge ahead with optimism, “doing business” - a Tanzanian euphemism for a range of informal sector, micro-enterprise and petty trading activities.

The ISEs have the lowest education levels in the cohort.⁵⁷ Three of the five have children of their own, although none of the informants in this group are married. This general reluctance or ambivalence toward marriage is invariably linked to not yet having achieved a level of financial stability or independence that could support full family obligations, hence achieving independence is a strong and recurring theme across this sub-group. Invariably, ultimate independence is equated with the acquisition of a house - usually achieved by buying land in the distant, and rapidly expanding suburbs of Dar es Salaam, and using any spare cash to buy materials and slowly construct a simple cinder-block and tin roof bungalow.

⁵⁶ I argue this strategy is also used by school leavers caught in a holding pattern by their poor and even unusable, secondary school grades as they consider how to continue their education.

⁵⁷ 3/5 of the ISEs only reached standard VII and 2/3 failed the standard VII leaving exam. Only Joseph and Gama from this group attended secondary school (to form IV only) before failing.

The analysis of this first sub-group of informants begins to illuminate themes that will be echoed by most other informants going forward. These themes include varied but usually intense disappointment - even shame - associated with early failure from primary and/or secondary school. Closely correlated with the ubiquitous experience of school failure are consistent reports of average to low quality schooling with few resources, very large class sizes, and too few, unmotivated teachers. Most informants have grown up in very rural areas of Tanzania, migrating to Dar at the urging of a relative when options in the village hit an impasse. Almost all informants come from complicated families and rely on strong religious beliefs to explain both the good fortune and hardships they experience in their lives.

5.2.1 Changing Value Structures.

The actions and attitudes displayed by the ISEs highlight an intergenerational tension about the role of the state and, indeed, the state of the economy that reflects a dynamic interplay of forces – including global and domestic social and economic values combined with youth choice and agency as livelihoods are forged. For example, in Kamat's (2008) study of Tanzanian's views on their health care situation, she found important dichotomies between young and older informants. Among elders, she noted a discourse of nostalgia where "memories of the past...are socially reconstructed to make sense of, and negotiate, the present" (p. 360). Older people narrated stories of an idealized past where health care was free and readily available, and where elders were respected and cared for by families and communities. They construct these memories in contrast to the privatized, expensive, and inaccessible medical services of today, the lack of respect shown to elders generally, and the breakdown in social cohesion that leaves many without the assistance of even their families. Conversely, the counter discourses from younger people parallel the values expressed by

youth in this study. Kamat's informants, especially those who were self-employed, presented a world view which equates hard work with the ability to pay for health care services out of their own earnings, thus rendering healthcare as something "earned rather than provided as a right" (p. 368). In this way, Selemani, Dorothy, Joseph and the other confident and successful ISEs in my study were also adamantly independent of any reliance on the state:

I don't have company or someone who is ready to provide financial assistance when I need it. I work really hard and get myself covered so I do not depend on any individual or the government. I don't bother with Banks or any other local institutions either. I believe in my own hard work and efforts. I started taking care of myself and being financially independent since I was 17 years old. I started living on my own since 2004. (Selemani, April 21, 2013)

ISEs seem not only unaware of Ujamaa's socialist legacies, but indifferent as to whether previous political or economic conditions were better or worse than today's. Instead, youth consistently present a focused and positive future orientation, fueled by guarded self-confidence and other internal resources, well analyzed in terms of risk tolerance, and replete (usually) with one or more "back-up" strategies. While not seizing opportunities to condemn socialism nor praise the new economic model at play in Tanzania, ISEs in this study, like youth in Kamat's (2008) work, seem to feel they have something to "gain from the political and economic opportunities afforded by Tanzania's rapid drift away from socialist ideology" (p. 367). Re-shaped neo-liberal values are magnified and strengthened by peers and successive cohorts of early school leavers – siblings, cousins, friends – reproducing a pattern of school failure, rural-urban migration, and relatively successful entry into the informal economy. These reproduced patterns have become the "new normal" to which the

hegemonic, pro-market discourse has become the “soundtrack” reflecting a macro structuration process of the expressed values of young informal sector entrepreneurs.

So this lady was the one who showed me how the business worked. I didn't have the money to go to Dodoma to buy the oil but I knew this lady was going for some and I begged her to get two cans for me. After that, all I did was find customers. Sales were good. And business got better and I started going to Dodoma myself. I continued like this and I was able to spend some of my profit. Today, I take ten cans and I sell them. I can just be an entrepreneur and still be better than the person who is employed. Even now, I am doing better than some employed people. I could make more if I had more capital. (Dorothy, May 25, 2013 – 2nd interview)

These values are, themselves, a construct that I argue represents an additional and important contributor to thickened agency for youth who, by choice or circumstance, find themselves navigating the informal economy.

5.2.2 Entrepreneurship and Structuration

Dorothy, Gama, Jared, Selemani, and Joseph are typical of the thousands of young entrepreneurs exercising agency within the social and economic parameters of the informal economy, enacting the duality of structuration that allows them to create, and be created by, the process of entrepreneurship. Sarason et al. (2006) argue that entrepreneurial opportunities do not actually exist independently of the entrepreneur (p. 303). Entrepreneurs are not autonomous agents interacting with static, homogenous structures searching for niche opportunities or unfilled market gaps. Rather, “for structures to be instantiated is to have them made real to the agents in the moment of the activity” (p. 290). For these informants, the informal economy only becomes real or meaningful to them “at the moment of interaction” (p. 293). The same opportunities are not seen or pursued by multiple individuals

in the same way because “each entrepreneur’s unique perspective causes them to ... build ventures around their idiosyncratic interpretations” (p. 294) of social and economic structures.

Giddens (1984) categorizes these structures in three ways: Signification structures facilitate meaning and interpretation drawing on stocks of knowledge; legitimation structures draw on stocks of knowledge but also on the values of the individual actor to evaluate situations or opportunities; and domination structures are concerned with the agent’s ability to acquire and employ resources in the exploitation of an opportunity. Where Sarason et al. (2006) relate these three structural categories to the entrepreneurial process generally, examples of entrepreneurial agency among the cohort illustrate the phenomenon more specifically. When Joseph, for example, cautiously approaches his father for start-up funding to raise meat chickens, or when Dorothy decides to spend precious resources on travel to Dodoma to purchase her first wholesale supply of Alizet oil, these ISEs are using *signification structures* to recognize and interpret business opportunities.

Selemani, whose narrative recounts the start-up and closure of several businesses leading up to his current, and most lucrative, top-up card enterprise, is employing *legitimation structures* to evaluate, discard and hone his opportunities; and, Gama and Joseph exemplify – although all ISEs utilize – *domination structures* to mobilize their available resources to act upon uniquely conceptualized business opportunities. Domination structures invariably mobilize an agent’s social and family capital, most often through the support of a key family benefactor - like Joseph’s father, Gama’s mother-in-law, or Dorothy’s aunt, among many possible examples from the data.

I finished VETA in 2008. After that, I was idle and I thought that something that would keep me busy would be chicken rearing, so I spoke to my father who gave me some capital and that's how I began. But it is not something I think will take me very far in life. I am doing it temporarily, not as a permanent job. (Joseph, April 28, 2013)

Even an entrepreneur like Jared – someone essentially providing a taxi service – is not simply responding to static opportunities. While there is certainly some objective limit to the demand (and thus supply) of boda boda services, Joseph uses his social resources and/or *Ujanja*⁵⁸ (Vavrus, 2015), to cultivate a customer base loyal to *his* boda boda among dozens of others within the geographic area/association. This bolsters the structuration perspective that views the economic system as not only dynamic but “also subject to change as a result of [my emphasis] entrepreneurial action” (Sarason et al., 2006, p. 300).

Further to this point, many ISEs actively shape the informal economy (which, in turn, shapes the market and resultant opportunities for ISEs) through their agency and enterprises. Dorothy, for example, is marketing unconventional cooking oil that purports to be healthier. This not only suggests innovation and risk tolerance on the part of Dorothy as an entrepreneur, it also indicates a market increasingly sensitized through the forces of globalization and communication, and re-shaped by the growing awareness in Tanzanian society of diabetes and other nutritionally-linked health concerns. Dorothy is employing legitimation structures and discursive consciousness to “read” these changing social and market signals, causing her agency to both interact with, and shape, market demand which, in turn, actually creates the opportunity she exploits. Furthermore, Dorothy markets wholesale supplies of alizet oil to women distributing in other parts of Dar es Salaam, increasing her

⁵⁸ Ujanja is the Swahili term meaning ‘tricky’ or ‘clever’.

own income and that of her “franchisees” but also enabling her to penetrate, expand, and transform the market structure even further. In the absence of a counterfactual where one could understand and compare the effects of formal sector employment on the agency of the ISE informants, Dorothy, Gama, Jared, Selemani and Joseph seem to have used the opportunities in the informal economy to thicken their agency. Challenges and obstacles for youth notwithstanding, the informal sector is an important additional structure to add to the list of variables exerting a thickening effect on youth agency.

5.3 The Vocational Pathway Informants (Sub-Group B)

Mathew and Mbaraka find themselves together in this sub-category because their chosen vocation (auto-mechanics) and orientation toward the informal economy is similar, even if their approach to achieving this type of employment highlights different structural constraints and opportunities. Mbaraka, for example, has pieced together short courses and work experience to establish himself as an informal sector auto-mechanic. He struggles to supplement his income and dreams of further training in his chosen field. Mathew, on the other hand, is younger and closer to having just re-cast his pathway following a long struggle to achieve formal, secondary school success. Already in possession of more education and a wealthier and more supportive family than Mbaraka, Mathew has his sights set on formal vocational training in auto-mechanics through the Government VETA school – a pathway he believes will give him more educational capital to compete in the labour market.

5.3.1 Mathew’s Story

My name is Mathew and I am a 20-year-old Chagga from the urban Moshi area. I am first born in my family and consequently my parents have gone to great lengths to try to

ensure my academic success. Initially, my parents did not have much money so I started at a poor school but attended progressively better schools as my parents' income improved. By the time I was at the secondary level, I went to a school for kids with special academic talents.

From 2009-2011, when I was in Form II to Form IV, there was a major conflict in my family, as my mother and stepsister's relationship broke down and my mother and father were fighting a lot, culminating in my father leaving the house and mistreating me. Form III was also disrupted by a serious illness, which resulted in me missing a lot of school. When I returned, it was clear that I had fallen behind and I never really recovered academically. Just prior to the Form IV exams, our family problems reached a peak and were a main reason for my decision to move to Dar.

My family is affluent enough to have paid for private school when I failed the re-sit of my exams, but I decided to take a different path. Of course, my first wish was to go through secondary school but when that did not work out, I "re-strategized" with the help of my family. They were pragmatic, saying "let's be honest, the academic stream is not working". I initially said I wanted to be an entrepreneur, but my Dad really pushed me hard to acquire a skill. One thing I will never forget is when my Dad said there is "nothing like having knowledge in your head". With these words in mind, I decided to focus on learning a skill to earn money and sought advice from my extended family, eventually settling on motor vehicle mechanics as my new path. I really love engines and would like to work at a company like Toyota.

In an effort to reach this goal, I am studying at VETA in a course on motor vehicles – everything except wiring. Because I was late in applying for a long course, I decided to take a short course now, to keep busy and to get used to the classroom environment again, and increase my chances of entry in the long course next year. I really appreciate the direction I am taking with acquiring concrete skills. The short course ends in 2 weeks and the exams in August will determine if I am accepted to the long course. In the meantime, I will take a short course in driving to give me yet another marketable skill.

I live in Dar with my relatively affluent maternal grandmother and two uncles. My grandfather, who passed away before I was born, was a communications officer in the government and my grandmother was a secretary in various high-level government offices,

like the District Commission. My youngest uncle has just finished his degree but has struggled to find work, a situation that has influenced my desire for a more practical education. The oldest uncle, who is 45, has his own businesses. A third uncle lives in Mbezi where he has three children and works as a professional driver.

My parents live in Moshi but are paying for my VETA course. My mother is a private businesswoman and my dad works for a private company in Moshi. At present, I feel that the conflicts with my parents are resolved, although an undercurrent of tension still exists, especially in relation to trust between my parents. I get along well with them now and I want to help them resolve their marital problems, a responsibility I feel strongly as their first-born child.

I don't feel that the instruction in the VETA course is of a high enough quality. I believe the information being taught is too basic and not detailed enough to help me gain significant practical skills. While the teachers are knowledgeable, they lack the resources to impart their knowledge, having only car parts instead of complete cars. I believe that VETA is appealing to prospective students because their courses are officially recognized, even though private institutions often offer better training. Sometimes students enroll at VETA who have more experience than the teachers but need to get accreditation through VETA. I would have preferred to train at a private institution like Don Bosco, but did not because it is not as well known as VETA. My English skills are also weak, but luckily for me the short VETA courses are taught in Swahili as well, and students can write their exams in 'Swanglish'. The long courses, however, are taught all in English, which may pose problems for me.

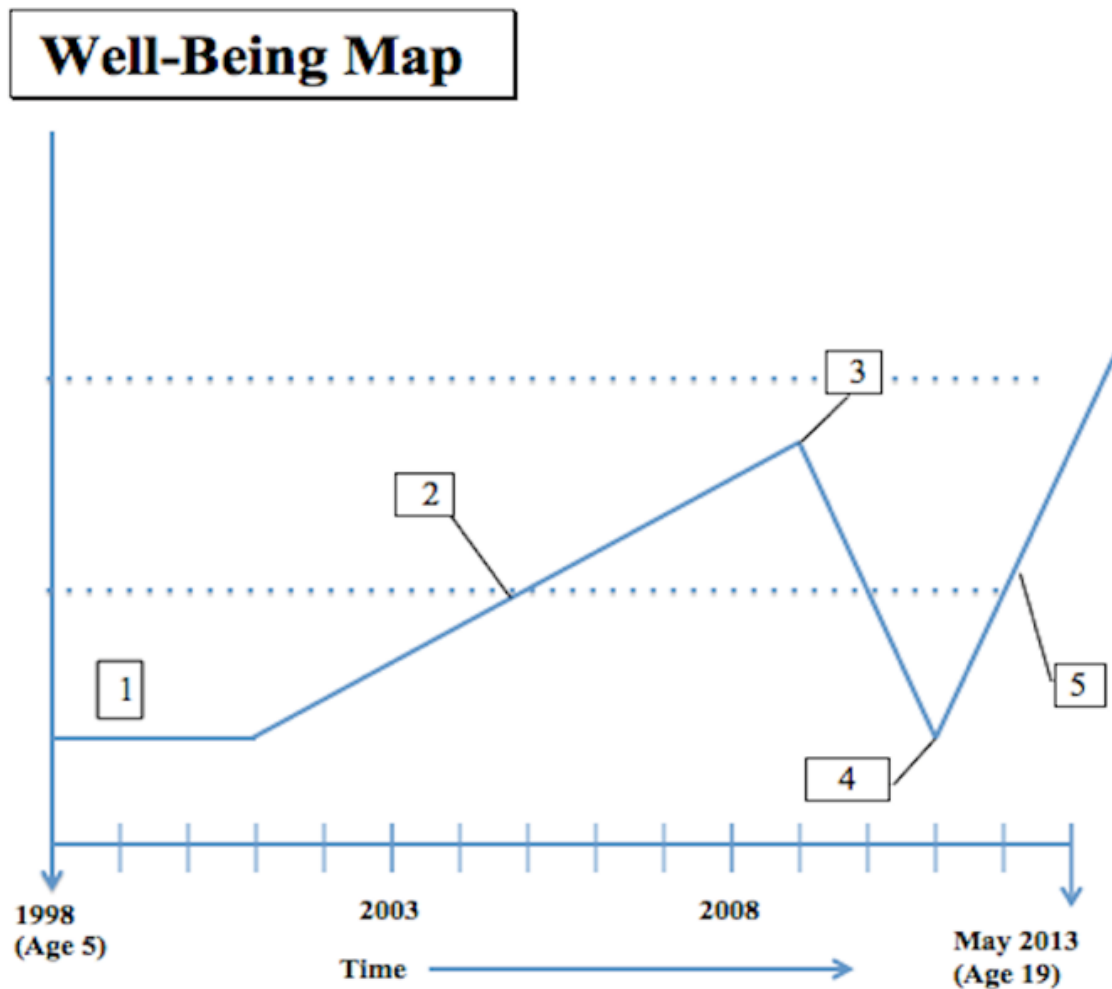
Despite being registered by CCM, I am in fact a card-carrying member of Chadema and I am also part of a youth group called Alpha and Omega, which strives for political progress and change. This group of young people is involved in various initiatives such as selling vikoi batiks and jewelry, building traditional houses, and discussing culture. While members of the Alpha group do not necessarily support a particular political party and the group is not outwardly affiliated with anyone, we all support change and most of us have an allegiance with Chadema. My role in this group has had a positive impact on my life, enabling me to gain confidence in business and politically too. I like that all religions are included in this group and I feel that I can help bring about positive change by spreading the

group's message about not engaging in anti-social behavior such as drinking or heckling girls.

When I was at school I took advantage of similar opportunities that other NGOs provided. I was part of a sport group in Moshi called the Green Eagles. Through this group I made contacts and became involved in volunteering for an AIDS awareness campaign. On another occasion a Canadian woman from overseas funded research into youth lifestyles and risks and I got involved. I have always been confident and willing to participate in things.

My plans for the future are to continue along this specific educational pathway. In five years I would like to have completed a degree, possibly though a series of diplomas. I would like to be employed and be good at what I do. In ten years I would like to have completed my schooling and own a business like a garage. In fifteen years I would like to have consolidated and expanded this business. In terms of family, I believe that a wife and children will come along according to God's plans for me.

I am committed to an education that is practical and will help me succeed in life. I am determined to make up for my past struggles in school. Academics did not work out for me but other types of education are just as beneficial. I do have family support, but the conflict within my family makes me strive for some independence and not rely on their relative wealth. As the first born though, I will always need to help my parents. My main asset in life is my family. I am committed to my active involvement in grassroots politics and I hope that the youth of Tanzania can unite for change.



Significant Markers

1. Mathew describes the first half of his life as difficult with his parents struggling financially.
2. As he grows older, the family starts to prosper and life improves.
3. In 2009, he faces a serious family crisis that affects him and contributes to his Form IV exam failure.
4. In 2011, he fails his Form IV exams and comes to Dar es Salaam in an effort to escape his family problems.
5. Coming to Dar, where he lives with his maternal relatives, gives him the distance that he needs from his immediate family. His family's issues have since been resolved, and Mathew is now in VETA and feeling very positive about his life.

Mathew's narrative reveals a complicated but, ultimately, supportive family structure that impacts his life in both positive and negative ways. Mathew helps illustrate how a

Tanzanian family evolving from working class to middle class chooses to invest in progressively better educational opportunities. At the same time, marital pressures mount within the family leading to a crisis that ultimately costs Mathew and his sister their formal basic educational success. Like most informants, formal school failure marks a significant turning point for Mathew involving feelings of shame and failure that ultimately “re-wire” his life plan. Relying on family advice and support to help him re-cast his ambitions in a way that leaves him holding genuine confidence in the future, Mathew turns his attention toward TVET. His attitudes toward this new educational pathway reveal concerns for social status and social capital but he reconciles these pressures in a new strategy that utilizes technical & vocational training to anchor longer-term objectives for “doing business” in the informal economy. In parallel with his new school trajectory, Mathew continues his political advocacy and community involvement that provides him with an outlet for both his entrepreneurial tendencies and civic engagement interests.

In terms of his life history map, Mathew links the steady upward trend in well being from 1998-2008 to improved family income. The sharp fall in 2009 is triggered by a marital crisis, seriously disrupting family stability and the ability of Mathew and his sister to focus on school. This crisis culminates in Mathew (and his sister) failing Form IV, but this failure also marks a turning point that includes migration to Dar es Salaam and the formation of a new vocational plan. Mathew’s life history map exemplifies the critical importance of family structure – both the positive and negative aspects.

5.3.2 Mbaraka’s Story

I am a hard-working twenty-nine year old auto mechanic from Goma. My mother has 11 children, with three different fathers. She had several children with the first man. Then

there were two children with the second man, a daughter, Gina, and a son, Selemam. I am the youngest child and was born to the third man. I never really knew my father and he has since passed away. I am very close to my half-brother Selemam, who is a few years older. As a child, Selemam was difficult, doing poorly in school and behaving badly. When my brother was in Grade 4, he was sent to live with our aunt in the village. He did much better at school there but I missed him, so Selemam helped me sneak away to the village. I loved being with my big brother and enjoying the freedom of taking care of livestock in the wilderness. Soon my uncles arrived to take me back to town, so we tearfully parted once again.

I studied up to Standard 7 in 1999 but the standard of education at my school was only so-so. When I was young, I didn't understand the importance of education and just went through the motions. The school was a government school that was part of a prison, and we would see the criminals leave in the morning. I think the students were badly behaved, escaping through windows if they didn't like the teacher. Still, there were positive parts of my school life. The students used to work at our teacher's farms as well as the school's farms. We were given small sections of land at school to be responsible for farming and would receive rewards for our efforts. I remember how we would steal from the school farms at harvest time and feel so smart for getting away with it. I learned important values at school like discipline, wisdom and respect for others, all things I strive for today. A class teacher, liked me a lot and I enjoyed her lessons in English. I did okay in my subjects but struggled with mathematics. Relative to other, better, schools in Goma, my school did not have as high a pass rate for the national exam. In my Standard 7 class of 102, only around 20 passed the exams. I was not one of them.

With school over, I worked hard to help my mother with chores and planting crops, including rice, guava, oil palm trees and coconut trees. I wanted to join the army. My maternal uncle was a trainer at the district level and I asked him if he could help me through my training college. My uncle told me that if I got my militia-training certificate, he would help me out, like he had with many other neighbors who are now in the army. I went to militia training at Kipalapala in Goma and received my certificate, but my results were poor and my uncle couldn't help me.

I had become involved with a young girl who was still in primary school and she became pregnant. I was almost sent to jail for this and had to go away for a while. I had

another maternal uncle who was building a house in Mwanza. My uncle took me and his own son there to work as overseers. He covered all our expenses but we wanted to buy other things, so we decided to earn extra money by working as casual laborers at fish processing plants. After a while, we were offered a job actually catching fish. We were promised what seemed like excellent compensation and conditions but the reality was a difficult job in strict conditions, with a boss who was rumored to kill uncooperative workers. My cousin and I were eventually able to escape with the help of another fisherman.

After this terrible experience, I returned to Goma and found that the girl I had slept with had given birth to a daughter, who I named Ruth after my mother. I floundered for a while, unsure of what to do for work, until, with my mother's prompting, I decided I wanted to work with cars. My mother paid for me to study at a technical college called Kachelema Investments in Goma. I did a course on engines, then one on tire service, strategically picking up one module after another until I felt I had done enough short courses to be confident I could repair cars on my own. I did very well in these courses, receiving grade 1 or 2 marks, and often out-performing other students who had gone to the more theoretically based VETA courses.

After a year and a half, I decided to leave college because I was at an age where I thought I should be earning a living. Things were becoming difficult at home because my mother was aging and my older siblings, even the one who was quite well-off, were not offering enough support to look after us younger ones. Therefore a lot of responsibility fell to me. I worked as a mechanic in Goma but the business did not make very good returns. Even my customers would tell me that I could earn more doing my work somewhere else. My half-brother, Selemam was working in Dar es Salaam servicing tires and encouraged me to come. I didn't want to live with my mother forever and wanted to become self-sufficient, so in 2004, I moved to Dar es Salaam. Despite the fact that I had mechanic qualifications, I struggled to get work as a mechanic. For a while I worked as a security guard for a company called Twiga Security.

I eventually found work at a few different garages. When a deal fell through with one of the garage owners, I asked him if I could rent his compressor (a machine used to fill tires with air). The garage owner agreed to rent me the compressor for 100,000 per month and said he would outsource all his service jobs to me. He agreed to let me rent a space at the

garage to perform the servicing, in exchange for an agreed sum per month. I have been doing this for about a year, and now employ a young boy who helps me out when there is a lot of work. In a week, I earn roughly 70,000Tsh (\$40 CAD), although there are no guarantees and it is often less. I try to supplement my income on slow days by selling car polish, and fresheners. I am busiest working on cars on the weekend, but early in the week it is often quiet. I love working as a mechanic – it is in my blood. I am very confident in my skills as a mechanic.

I previously lived with the mother of my first daughter in Dar, but our relationship didn't work out and she moved in with someone else back home. My first daughter, Zainab, is now 11 and in Standard 4 at Uhuru School. I still support my first daughter, paying for her education and other needs. She occasionally comes to stay with me and I would like to live closer to her. I struggled with the idea of someone else looking after my 'wife' while I was still alive and so quickly found another 'wife' because I couldn't stay alone. My new wife is 17 or 18 years old and I have been with her for about eighteen months. We have a daughter together who is one year and four months old and is also named Ruth in honor of my mother. I am now living with my second wife, although she often returns to her family home when things get tough. I am only with her for the sake of our child.

For fun, I like to hang out with my friends at a place called Bonaventure, where we sit and drink. Sometimes we all put in money for gas and go driving to places like Coco Beach or the Police Officer's Mess. I have made most of my friends through work, including the man I rent my garage space from, and clients. I like an occasional drink, but am more interested in hanging out with people than getting drunk. I don't take drugs. I avoid stress by having good relationships with those around me, which I develop by being trustworthy and respectful. For example, at times I struggle to pay rent to my landlady, who relies on my money to support her family. I am able to sweet-talk her to get extensions, because I have good standing with her and she knows I will eventually pay her.

I am a Muslim though I have not attended mosque for a while. I do not believe the government does much for me as a poor person. I feel like the government does not even know that I exist. It only serves people within the government itself. A good government in my opinion would improve the environment around my home, such as fixing roads and the bad drainage system that causes flooding. In regards to education and employment, I think the

government should introduce subsidized fees for adult education. I hear a lot of promises from the government but I don't see these promises being fulfilled.

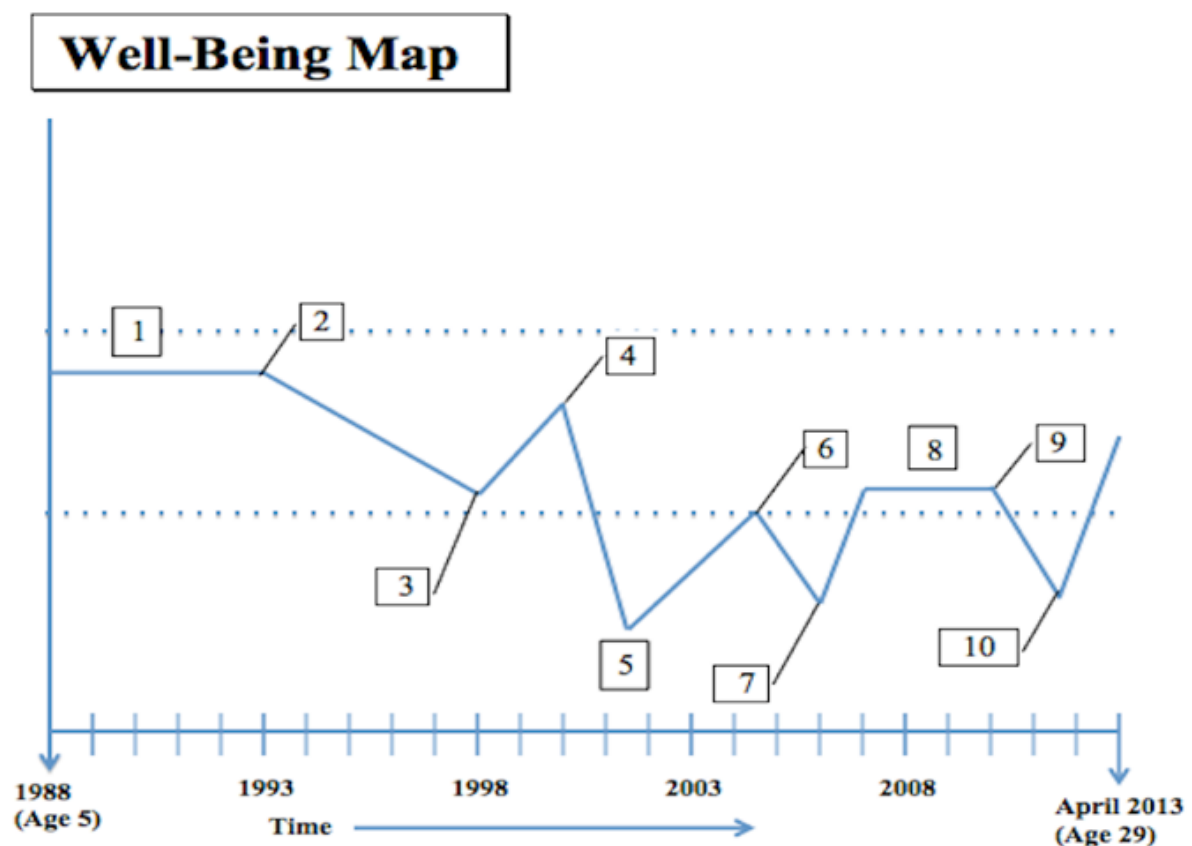
I live in Charma, opposite Mtogor, an area with inexpensive housing that is prone to flooding. Because I am self-employed, I do not have a social security fund, so when difficult times come, I rely on my own savings. I keep my savings in M-Pesa for emergencies and also to support my aging mother and stepfather. I do not own property in Dar, but I own undeveloped land back in Goma, which I received from my mother.

Some young people in Dar es Salaam are tempted away from an honest living by other methods of gaining quick money, for example "hip-swiveling dancers" who are young men that dance for money, and young women who prostitute themselves. These are the only skills that those without an education or agriculture at home to fall back on have, apart from becoming a criminal. Myself. I have never considered criminal activity as a way to make a living, because I have a cowardly nature and I am also religious. The idea of stealing upsets me greatly. In difficult times, I know that I could always return home and live off the land.

I believe that if I had worked hard towards my education when I was younger, I would have a better life now. If I had support, I would consider going back to school to study for Form IV, especially if I could attend night school, which would allow me to continue to earn a living. I think this could really help me with further mechanics training, because these courses are taught in English. I want to study car wiring, because a lot of cars now need repairs to do with their computer systems, and I foresee that soon there will not be a lot to fix in cars to do with mechanics. A year-long course will cost 600,000 Tsh though.

I have many hypothetical plans but I do not know how to make these happen. In five years I would like to have my own office dealing with cars. In ten years I would like to have more employees who I can comfortably pay. I put my faith in God that these dreams will happen. I feel that fifteen years into the future is too far to plan things. Mainly I just want a better life and to be able to have means to help my relatives. One way is by opening a workshop where technical mechanical work could be done. Due to my complicated relationships with both my daughter's mothers, marriage is not really in my plans at present. I would like to get married if I found the right woman. I would like to see my second daughter be educated and perhaps become a medical assistant or a doctor.

I recognize that I am in a better position financially than many other people, such as my landlord, who eats a meal a day and struggles to support her family. Unlike others, I am able to pay my expenses and make plans with my savings. However, I can also see that there are others who are slightly better off than me, like a manager at work who has a motorcycle (boda-boda) that he rents out, a car, a hair salon where my wife works, and a brick-making business. I am entrepreneurial and look for ways to supplement my income and to establish my own businesses independently of the garage, such as my mobile car wash. I like to plan things carefully and have back-up plans. For this reason I intend to get a driver's license, so that if my work as a mechanic fails, I will have something to do instead. In these ways, I am committed to supporting myself and all members of my family, including both daughters and my family back home.



Significant Markers

1. Rural life starts out well for Mbaraka and all his needs are met.
2. When he is 10 years old, Mbaraka becomes aware of his family problems. His grandfather is old, the family is very poor, and life at home is tough.
3. At 15, after finishing (but failing) standard VII, he starts to earn money through construction jobs and family circumstances improve.
4. His uncle takes Mbaraka and his cousin to Mwanza for work in the fishery but their experience is a horrible one.
5. Mbaraka returns to Tabora and eventually begins private technical college. Life improves because he has employed siblings at home to support the family and he is guaranteed food while at college.
6. Mbaraka moves to Dar but cannot find employment and life becomes very difficult.
7. Mbaraka starts working at a garage near home. He is happy to earn money and has enough to take care of his needs.
8. Mbaraka holds jobs at several garages and is happy to be working. He has enough money to support himself and rent a room of his own.
9. Mbaraka's current manager tells him he can no longer afford to pay him according to their agreement. He takes Mbaraka to work for him at his Kigamboni brick-making business, forcing Mbaraka to live in very hard conditions. After a short stint in Kigamboni, his boss fails to pay him.
10. Mbaraka starts to do business at his current premises through a direct arrangement with the owner of the garage.

While the lives of Mathew and Mbaraka converge around vocation, their respective ages, degree of adult responsibilities, and socio-economic status denote strong differences. Mbaraka's religious and geographical roots, combined with a very poor and complex family architecture, illustrate the prevalence of polygamous relationships in certain regions of Tanzania.⁵⁹ In Mbaraka's case, these cultural factors contribute to an impoverished upbringing and a low value placed on formal education. Mbaraka is, in fact, reproducing aspects of the social structure from which he comes, having already fathered two daughters with two different women, one of whom appears to have been underage.⁶⁰ His reasons for being in relationships seem troubled and unsound – bringing into conflict his sense of responsibility and notions of adulthood with the financial pressures to “provide”. These

⁵⁹ We see similar family patterns and dynamics in Selemani's narrative.

⁶⁰ Mbaraka told us he had to leave his village for over a year to avoid legal and family reprisals over the pregnancy.

familial responsibilities cause Mbaraka to place a heavy emphasis on income generation. With financial obligations to his mother and daughters, and no family resources to rely on like Mathew, Mbaraka's story is that of a young man trying to bolster what skills he has through short, ad-hoc training, rather than one planning an ambitious future through extended formal education.

Family structures dominate Mbaraka's life history map as well. Family poverty through his childhood and early adolescence followed by some reprieve when he starts to work and contribute to the family's income, and the positive support of extended family to help him obtain some vocational training, are prominent recalled examples. Unique to Mbaraka is the absence of much, if any, focus on his formal primary school years (Mbaraka did not go beyond Standard VII) suggesting, perhaps, that his attendance was likely sporadic and disrupted by farm chores and other domestic duties – something he does talk a lot about. He does make mention of the positive socialization he gained from school however, citing “discipline, wisdom, and respect for others”. Contrary to most other informants, Mbaraka's migration to Dar es Salaam initially exacerbated hardship in his life rather than improved his circumstances. This may be attributable to a lack of family networks in Dar es Salaam compared to other informants who were typically coached and supported by relatives to come and establish themselves in Dar es Salaam.

5.4 Summative Analysis of the Vocational Pathway (sub-group B)

Informants like Mathew and Mbaraka may never have been, by their own admission, destined for an academic pathway. Instead, after exiting formal schooling at Form IV and Standard VII respectively, both have adapted and migrated toward vocational interests that have ignited their enthusiasm and passion for an alternate form of learning. This small sub-

group – and Mbaraka in particular – begin to move the conversation away from the shame and disappointment of school failure because secondary school was, perhaps, not a realistic expectation in the first place. Family complexity and difficulties are also more pronounced drawing an expected correlate between socio-economic status and family stability. Nonetheless, both young men are moving forward developing their options by accessing technical/vocational short training programs; short courses at a private training school in the case of Mbaraka, and both short and long programs at VETA in Mathew' plan.

5.4.1 Vocational Pathways and Structuration

For many Tanzanian youth who, like Mathew, re-sit the Form IV national examination multiple times before giving up, their agency grinds against structures, generating frustrations and capitulations that steer or even force young people toward practical training that for most, feel like a consolation prize. This process is painful, yet may be necessary to re-calibrate the ambitions of young people toward an educational pathway more likely to produce meaningful employment. Going beyond Mathew and Mbaraka, aspects in the stories of Joseph, Victoria and others, reveal pragmatic attitudes toward TVET that reflect the limitations imposed by the structures of poverty (and the immediate need for employment), and the structures of formal basic schooling - which have narrowed the post-basic education options available to young people:

If I get more chances, I will study and equip myself with the skills. There are different training courses offered like English Language, a Computer course and one on Customer Relations and Sales (CRS) as well as Mechanics and Hotel Management. I would just apply to a college that offers such a course (Victoria, June 9, 2013).

I re-sat the form IV examinations but failed. It was a case of forgetting the whole issue of education and looking at the other side of the coin, so I decided to go to VETA for skills. I sat with people who have a higher IQ than me in everything, and they advised me to consider a different life. My plan when I finish, God willing, is to be lucky enough to get a job. But you know we are being trained both to be employed or self-employee (Mathew, 18, 2013 - 2nd interview).

At the same time, the global discourse has shifted dramatically in recent years in response to the youth bulge and a growing appreciation of the need for improved vocational and skills training across Africa (King et al, 2007) including Tanzania (Dejaeghre, 2013) and meaningful employment for expanding populations of young people (Sommers and Wilson, 2011). Revised TVET policy from the GoT has elevated the domestic discussion on skills and labour market articulation to a level not seen since the early days of Ujamaa and the doctrine of education for self-reliance where agricultural skills were emphasized. Changing NGO, bilateral, and multilateral donor approaches, along with increased demand from private sector employers for better articulation between training and labour markets, is pushing the skills agenda further and faster. Bilateral donors, including Canada for example, are helping Tanzanian public training colleges to improve facilities, curriculum, and alignment to labour markets.⁶¹

In fact, what might appear as uncoordinated shifts in direction from multiple actors actually reflects rapidly changing macro-level policy structures interacting with each other, with the economy, and with institutions most directly implicated in the lives of young people. These efforts and/or responses begin to look cohesive when one considers the respective

⁶¹ For example, the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC) currently has CIDA funding to implement competency based curricula reform for agriculture, mining and tourism VETA schools. One 'sector council' made up of industry representatives and mandated to advise on curriculum and labour market alignment has been established for the mining sector based on the Canadian model.

interests of government, donors and the private sector to capitalize on emerging domestic opportunities in mining and natural gas, among others. The congruence of major natural resource discoveries, powerful donor-driven paradigms of economic growth for employment and poverty reduction, the cooperation among private, civil, and government institutions to address training deficits, and the current misalignment with emerging labour requirements, are more than coincidental. These fundamental economic drivers and conditions represent macro forces shaping, and being shaped by, each other in a dynamic process of structuration. In this confluence of action and reaction by macro-level policy and economic actors, I posit a subtle value shift is underway among youth that is influencing their decision-making process and challenging the dominant educational status hierarchy in favour of TVET. This renders technical and vocational training as another thickener of agency. Of course, if access to TVET programs is difficult or impossible for youth due to lack of qualifications or resources, for example, then the thickening effect on their agency is lost. The challenge is for private and public sector training institutions to keep pace with need and demand while also improving quality.

What is also reinforced again in the stories of Mbaraka and Mathew is the importance of family resources – monetary and emotional - to help youth recover and re-set goals unfulfilled through formal education. These family resources also *thicken* agency. For example, despite coming from a poor background, Mbaraka's mother paid for private technical training which helped him realize his passion for automotive mechanics and begin to develop a viable livelihood. Mathew's family's financial resources and careful advice gave him time and confidence to explore options through technical training that led him to settle, with self-assurance, on auto-mechanics. It is in the enthusiasm that both men express for their

technical vocation that one finds the hope and optimism that germinates in the period of profound despair following early failure from school. The technical pathway emphasizes the pragmatism that governs decision-making for youth in situations similar to Mbaraka and Mathew. Like all the informants, having a benefactor to guide decision-making and/or pay the fees for a program of studies is essential. The opportunity to find employment or to create ones' own entrepreneurial venture gave us the sense when interviewing technical track informants, that their prospects for viable livelihood creation were good.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on two sub-groups of the overall informant cohort – namely the pure informal sector entrepreneurs, and those most clearly focused on technical or vocational education to strengthen their position in the informal economy. These informants foretell many of the experiences, influences, reflections, aspirations and strategies that prove to be more or less common across the entire cohort. However, because these first 7 informants are generally poorer and less educated than the remaining informants to be discussed, their life histories tend to magnify certain aspects more than others.

For instance, and with some exceptions, their significant experiences are rooted in a rural upbringing marked by a relatively low value placed on education by their families. They speak of primary schooling that was “ok” but report extraordinarily high failure rates in their “graduating” year. School failure and rural status leaves them struggling to contribute to household income, or to their own progression from adolescence to adulthood. Ultimately, they are drawn by the influence of a family benefactor to try their luck in Dar es Salaam where, invariably, they have ended up creating marginal livelihoods in the informal economy supplemented, for some, by short bursts of mixed-quality technical or vocational training.

Their aspirations are quite convergent, echoing sentiments of financial independence through entrepreneurial success that for some would ideally finance unrealized dreams of secondary, or additional technical, education. For others, dreams of success “doing business” translate to acquiring a house, marriage, and family. The informant stories also reveal uncertain romantic relationships that hint at the social reproduction of the complex family circumstances from which many informants have come. They place tacit emphasis on the importance of peer friendships, more frequently describing negative peer influences that need to be resisted rather than positive ones they embrace.

Informants tend to employ similar risk management strategies by engaging in (or at least planning for) multiple income generating activities so that if one fails, they have something else to fall back on. With few exceptions, like Selemani and Dorothy perhaps, the informants could be said to be *just* surviving. Considering ongoing rapid market perturbations and high levels of inflation making daily expenses like public transport and food increasingly expensive, it is difficult to imagine how these informants will ever save the resources they need for further education, the construction of a house, or other medium and long term objectives to which they aspire.

Earlier in the dissertation, I proposed that I would elaborate on Klocker’s (2007) use of the notion of thickeners and thinners on youth agency. Whereas she highlights the important influence of tribe, gender, age and poverty on youth agency, my research raises other variables (structures) that have both positive and detrimental effects on youth trajectories. In this first half of the informant cohort, for example, one can begin to see the profound importance of family and school structures and the ways in which these can present both a thinning and thickening effect. Complex family configurations and dynamics, for

example, often exacerbate the experience of poverty including the resources and relative importance placed on schooling. This impedes and “thins” a young person’s ability to recognize the value of schooling (recall Mbaraka and Selemani), as well as the amount of time allocated to attendance and homework as these school activities compete with farming or other essential income generating family enterprises. On the other hand, it is almost always a family member who advises, encourages, or even sponsors these same young people as they search for new, post basic education livelihood pathways. In so doing, family and family benefactors represent *thickeners* for youth, enabling them to attempt alternative courses of action and stabilize their lives.

Similarly, the structures of basic education and the weaknesses in resourcing and teaching quality so clearly described by the informants must be seen as two sides of the same thinning and thickening dichotomy. On one side, the value of education is culturally embedded – promoted through the campaigns of governments but also via the dissemination of global social and economic values that advance a notion of the commoditization of labour through education. That the quality of basic education ultimately offered to most young Tanzanians is of poor quality raises the possibility that young people and their families are drawn into a system that establishes expectations for success that often fall short. In this sense, the combined “set up” and “let down” could be considered a thinner of agency because young people are traumatized by the experience of failure and left with less education than they *expected* to be equipped with for their adult lives. Conversely, it could be argued that youth agency is inevitably thickened by even the poor quality education these young people experience. The discipline and respect for others that Mbaraka says he gained from school, for example, are among many aspects of good citizenship that one can imagine comes from

the socialization process of working with others in a school environment. Although it was very clear that none of the informants were comfortable or even capable in English, they all demonstrated Swahili literacy and numeracy ranging from fair to excellent indicating that schooling – however mediocre – has transferred some skills. In this regard, even poor quality education is a thickener.

CHAPTER 6

OVERCOMING FAILURE: SECOND CHANCE SCHOOLING AND NGOS

“A failure is not always a mistake, it may simply be the best one can do under the circumstances. The real mistake is to stop trying”. B. F. Skinner

6.0 Introduction to Sub-Groups C, D and E

This chapter presents personal narratives and life history mapping of the second half of the informant cohort including 2/14 youth either pursuing or determined to pursue University, 2/14 attending a second-chance secondary school program, and 3/14 engaged in NGO programming. These informants interact with and provide insights on the same kinds of structures as those informants presented in Chapter 5, however, for various reasons including slightly better education levels and family supports as well as simple good fortune, these informants have managed to convert their limited resources into better prospects and livelihood stability. Generally, most informants discussed in this chapter do not exhibit the same desperation for income generation allowing some of them to defer their focus on employment and survival in favour of education. Like the informants presented in Chapter 5, each narrative presented here is unique but many of the experiences and factors affecting these three sub-groups overlap and/or amplify certain common themes.

6.1 University Ambitions (Sub-Group C)

In this sub-group, one informant (Bakari) has overcome remarkable obstacles to achieve his academic ambitions. A second informant, Mary, although similarly “stuck” in the

typical post Form IV failure scenario common to many of the informants, expresses a formidable determination to reach university. Combined with her excellent English language skills, the likelihood of her attaining Bakari's level of success is high. Both informants convey values and strategies that highlight the prominence of educational objectives in their life plan and self-image.

6.1.1 Bakari's Story

My name is Bakari. I am twenty-five years old and come from the Ulowolo region of Suma. My mum passed away when I was only four, so I lived with my maternal grandmother. My sister also lived with us but she did not attend school because she was disabled (crippled and mute). She passed away in 2004/2005 when she was around nineteen years old. After my grandmother's death in 2002, when I was beginning Standard 7, I went to live with my maternal aunt. My aunt had other children to take care of and I knew I was not a priority to them. Around that time, I started visiting my father's house for the first time. My father is married and has several other children, some older than I am, some younger. Because my sister and I were born out of wedlock, my father's family was not willing to take care of us.

I attended a government primary school in Suma. The teaching was very average, but there were buildings, materials, and a school library. I finished Standard VII in 2002, but failed the exams. I thought I would pass as I'd had good results before. This really hurt. In hindsight, I wish I had taken the exam more seriously and prepared better, but I was also still grieving my grandmother's death. For a while I did not study and also my maternal aunts and uncles stopped sending me the study materials I needed. My grandmother had been the one to encourage them to do this, so once she was gone, it stopped.

Others suggested that my place at Secondary School may have been sold but I did not believe this so did not follow up on the possibility with the school. Only eight out of sixty-five students in my class passed the Standard VII exam. My family was supportive and told me that it was not that I had failed, but just that I was not chosen. Still, I believed it was really my own failure that caused me not to be selected. Having seen how much better educated people's lives were, I really wanted to continue with school, but I could not due to economic

constraints. I could see that even those people who attended school but did not get jobs had better lives than those completely lacking in education, because they were better equipped to direct their lives and make good decisions. My maternal uncles offered to fund my education. My father refused though, saying that he would provide the money, but that did not happen.

For the next six years I stayed in Suma village, working in the family coffee plantation as a vendor. I was careful not to involve myself with other village youth who were stealing. Even though I had failed at school, I was certain that I could achieve certain goals and I did not want to get off the right path and ruin my chances. I spent a lot of time at home, without anyone to socialize with. I felt isolated and judged by other young people in the village.

I realized my father was not taking any initiative to help me with education. About that time, one of my aunts visited and questioned me about what I was doing. That made me begin to look at options myself. In 2008, when I was twenty-one I began studying QT in Suma, with the hope of qualifying for secondary school. Fees for QT are paid monthly, and include everything. My dad did pay for the QT course and I moved to Suma city and rented a room in a house my aunt owned, studying from June to December. In the morning I took three subjects and then two in the evening. I took seven subjects, combining the content of Form I and Form II. I spent all my time studying, making sure that I covered everything. I grew close with my teachers who taught me extra things and helped me focus on subject selections that would help me the most. I decided not to focus on Biology or Mathematics because the courses were of a low standard and were also an area of weakness for me. I started late, so I did not register for the exams, but I don't think this was a waste of time because it got me back into studying and education. It also gave me more confidence as I could see I was ahead of many other students.

I moved to Dar es Salaam in 2009. My sister sponsored me to study in the city so that I could experience a different lifestyle and see how people in the city lived. I started QT from the beginning again, and convinced my teachers of what I had already studied in order to progress. I found the teachers at the Dar es Salaam QT were of a higher standard than those in Suma, as many came from the university and were in good supply. After completing the first year at QT, I took the exams. Each of the five subjects had a three-hour exam. Most of my first year classmates did not pass. I had studied very hard and prepared thoroughly

because I was troubled by my previous failure back in Standard 7. I passed, and went on to a second year, the equivalent of Form IV. The second year was much more difficult, with seven subjects, each with a two and a half hour exam. These were taken at a secondary school called Mbezi Beach High School. Ordinary school candidates (who were much younger) and those studying privately were kept separate. I think secondary school is a better place to study than QT because students get to study a wider range of subjects over a longer period of time. At QT, I felt like I was racing against time, but the qualifications I received from QT are seen as equivalent to those I would have received from a secondary school.

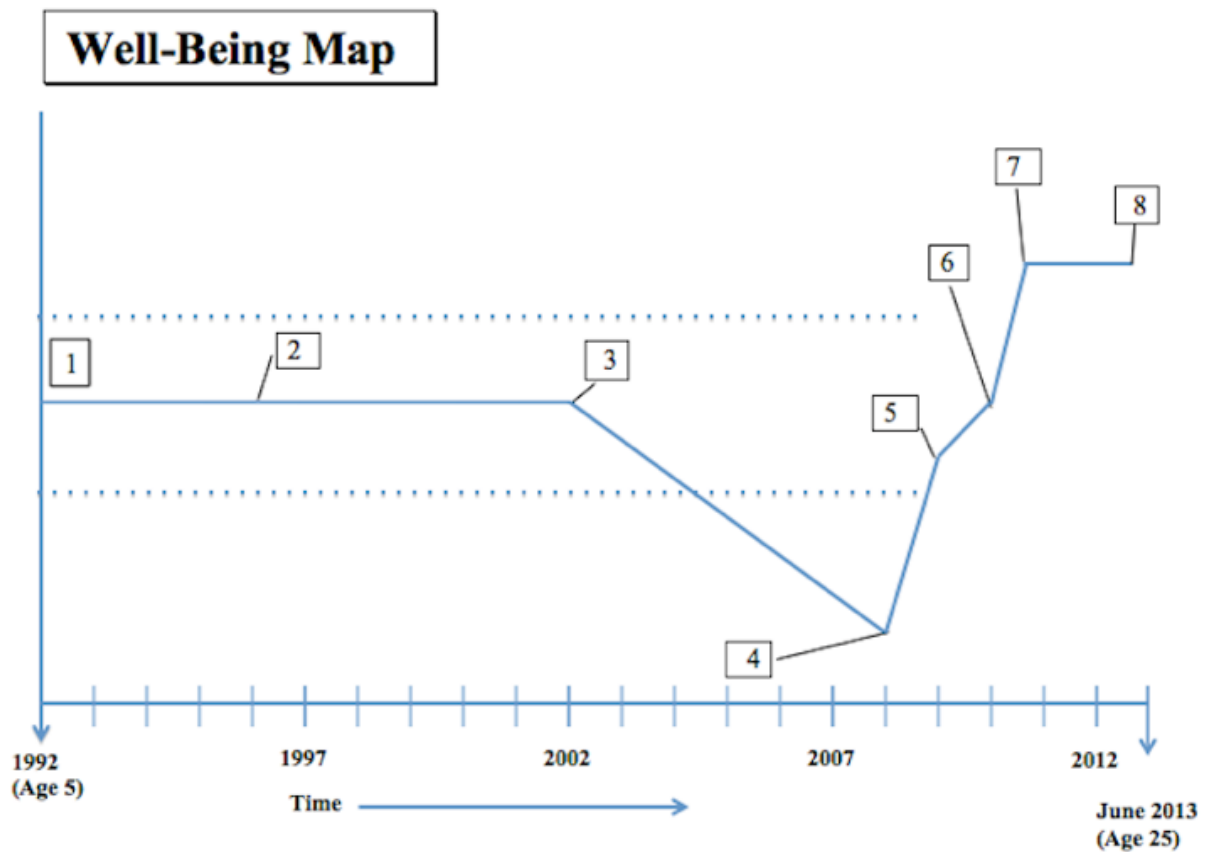
After completing Form IV, I began planning to study Form V and VI. I wanted to do this in one year, through QT, but I was advised to do it over two years. My sister and brother-in-law sponsored me to attend a school in Mbagala called Saint Anthony. I chose to study HKL-History, Kiswahilli and Language. I completed my Form VI exams in February, achieving three principal passes and a score of Division 3 with 13 points overall. I plan to apply to university.⁶² Originally I had planned to study law or public administration but I have heard from others that it would be difficult to find work in these fields. Instead I now plan to apply to study education at a number of schools. There are loans that can be taken out to study it and I am worried about how I will pay for further school. I plan to work as a teacher for a while and then I might return to study law or public administration. I do not actually want to be a teacher because teachers are not as well respected as they used to be and suffer from poor pay and conditions.

When I am not at school, I like to rest, watch movies and read books. I go to the Lutheran KKT Church at Tangibovu. During Form V, I was the leader of a religious group that collaborated with UKWATA (The Tanzanian Christian Students Union). While the Church itself has not helped me with my education, I think that God orchestrates the positive changes in my life, and so I must go to thank God at least once a week. I do not drink alcohol or use drugs. I believe that my ability to cope in times of stress comes from my religion and a desire to better myself through education.

⁶⁰ I received a text message from Bakari in October, 2013 (about 3 months after our interviews with him) informing me that he had been accepted to study Education at Saint Augustine University in Dar es Salaam – a private Catholic University and one of the more prestigious post-secondary institutions in Tanzanian.

I do not have much time to follow politics and don't support any particular party. I do not think the government has really helped in my life to this point, but I think that perhaps in the future it will, maybe through an education loan. I want to stay in Tanzania so that I can contribute to the development of this country.

You never know what is around the corner. Still, I have goals and am putting my education first. In five years' time, I would like to be more independent, to have my own family and be able to make contributions to my extended family who have helped me so much. In ten years' time I would like to be helping change my community and in fifteen years, I would like to have gone even further.



Significant Markers

1. By the time he is 5 years old, Bakari's mother has already passed away. Still, he characterizes his life as "normal" during this period.
2. In 1996, he begins primary school.

3. In 2002, his grandmother and primary caregiver dies and life worsens considerably. Later that year, he fails Standard 7 contrary to his expectations and does not attend school for another 6 years.
4. In 2008, he begins QT in Bukoba. His dream for better education begins to materialize.
5. In 2009, he moves to Dar es Salaam to live with his sister and attend a better QT facility.
6. In 2010, he passes his Form IV examination.
7. In 2011, he begins his “A” levels at QT.
8. In 2013, he sits his “A” levels and has applied for University.

Most young people with Bakari’s family circumstances and 6-year absence from formal schooling, would not have found a way back to an educational pathway, especially not to University. Family support structures and key benefactors (his father, aunt and sister) eventually facilitated opportunities he had long been denied, although Bakari’s intense passion for education suggests he would have found a way regardless. Despite many setbacks, education remains a constant current of intrinsic agency in Bakari’s life, punctuated by his firm conviction that he “*did not want to live his life without studying*”. Bakari’s successful use of private, second chance schooling, his strategic choices to focus on certain subjects and maximize his chance of passing national examinations, and his pragmatism regarding his university course selection with a view to securing employment, all illustrate Bakari’s thickened agency (Klocker, 2007) and his capacity to exploit institutional structures for his own advancement.

Too young to understand how much tragedy had already befallen him, Bakari’s life history map cites the loss of his grandmother at age 10 as his first major challenge. Life worsens and he fails standard VII including hints of potential corruption implicated in what his family considers to be a conspiracy to “sell” his legitimate place in secondary school. Relegated to general labour on his family’s coffee plantation, Bakari waited patiently as repeated promises from his father to help fund some type of post-primary education remained

unfulfilled. Eventually bending to pressure from other relatives, his father finally agrees to pay for Bakari's first year in a Bukoba-based QT school. Like most informants, a move to the city and sponsorship from his sister allows Bakari to attend a better QT school where he quickly excelled. From this point, it is success after success as Bakari uses the second chance schooling structure to achieve his dream of University. The structures of family support and the emerging private sector QT schools are key to Bakari's life history map.

6.1.2 Mary's Story

I am twenty-two years old and my name is Mary Urassa. I am pretty fluent in English. I am a Chagga from the Kilimajaro region of Tanzania. I come from a poor, rural family engaged in small-holder agriculture.

My family story is a bit complicated. My mother raised me until Standard 3, when I went to live with my paternal grandparents. When I was in Standard 4 my father, who previously lived in Lushoto and worked as a driver, returned to his parents' home and I met him for the first time. When I was in Standard 6 I moved to live with my maternal grandparents and around that time, my biological father passed away at the age of 35.

Although my mother has not been able to support me with my education financially, she has been supportive and strongly encourages me to keep studying. My mother herself is quite well educated, having reached Form IV, but has had to support my family since her second husband's death when I was in Form II. Education is valued in my family, with many of my mother's seven siblings, especially the older ones, progressing quite far in school. My oldest uncle in particular was successful and got a teaching degree, which has helped him to live relatively comfortably and help less well-off family members like my mother.

My mother now works in small-scale agriculture, growing maize, beans and sunflowers, and earns just enough to get by and supports my younger brother through school.

I attended a government primary school and ward secondary school in Kilimanjaro, up to Form II. When I was 17, I moved to Dar. My aunt Dorothy needed help caring for her young daughter and I needed support to pursue my Form III-IV studies in the city, where I

felt the quality of schooling was superior and my chances of success better. Dorothy paid for my tuition in return for my help at home.

I enjoyed reading at school, exploring the themes of books and learning about society through them. I also like learning about history because this helped me to compare the past to the present and understand my place in the world. I was spurred on to study hard by teachers who had failed themselves to get to university. I never had a teacher who had chosen the profession as their first option. Often teachers would not be with the class for very long, because they would go to re-apply to the course they originally wanted to do. My favorite teacher was an English teacher who was friendly, not too strict, open to discussion and very good at explaining the content. Unfortunately the majority of my teachers were not so friendly and used corporal punishment to control the students, a common occurrence particularly in government schools. I think that there was gender equality during my schooling, particularly by the time I reached secondary school. However, I did have friends who experienced sexual harassment from their teachers, with one even becoming pregnant by their teacher.

At school, I tried to surround myself with people who were motivated to study, and not to be distracted by other students who were less interested in their education. At my school in Kilimanjaro, many of the students were disruptive, so I found my move to Dar to be a welcome change, as the classroom environment was much calmer as more of the students were focused. I studied with friends after school and on weekends, sharing our strengths with each other and working together on areas of weakness.

Out of around 400 students in my Form IV class, only one student achieved a Division 1, two achieved a Division 2, seven or eight a Division 3, and the rest a Division 4, including me. Over 100 received a Division Zero. I found my examination results confusing, and my family agreed that it was strange I did not do better. I had expected to get Div. I or II as my continuous assessment grades were good – C's, B's and A's. I was shocked at my results on the national exams and I am angry at the ministry that sets the exams. I have heard that you can appeal your results, for a fee of 20,000 for each subject, but only within a two-month window after the exams, which means it is too late for me. I feel as though returning to school to re-sit my examinations would be a waste of time and money because I already did it

once and was not successful, whereas starting afresh in a certificate program would give me new knowledge and a higher qualification.

For fun, I like to read English novels. I felt that the standard of English teaching in primary school was not very good, but in secondary the teachers were better able to instruct us in English. Sometimes, however, teachers would explain content in Swahili for students whose English skills were not good enough to understand.

I have a younger sister who is 18 and just finished Form IV last year. An uncle, who is a teacher but has no children of his own, supported my sister through an international secondary school, which is a better school than the one I attended. However, my sister failed her Form IV exam too with a Division 4 grade and is now working for a Banana drink company. She wanted to be a doctor or nurse and she is unsure of what path to take since failing. I am trying to get information to see if my sister can get sponsorship to attend a government nursing school. I am also making an appeal on behalf of my sister to try and get her exams re-assessed but the results have not come through yet.

I am thinking about going to college in September next year, although I have not decided for sure which course I would like to take. I am considering options like a tax course at the Institute of Financial Management or the College of Business Education, or social work at the Institute of Social work. My dream is to become a journalist, and this is also an option I am considering. I plan to work and study at night, since the college fees will be expensive. My ability to take certain courses will be restricted by this, so to some extent my decision will be based on which course offers night classes.

I live with my aunt Dorothy and my niece in one of the Swedish diplomat housing units on a 5-house compound known as Heart Lane. Dorothy works for the Swedish family living in that house and I have recently begun a job as a housekeeper/nanny for another family on the same compound. I earn 250,000 per month and I like my bosses. I am happy to stick with this kind of work until I can afford college, as I know that without furthering my education, I will not be able to find anything better. I think that if I need to, I can rely on my employer or friends to get a loan for my education. I would be unwilling to ask for help from the Church, because that is for people who really can't support themselves, or who are in more dire circumstances like a serious illness. Another way that I try to further my prospects is by playing 'merry-go-round' games, where groups of people put in money, and then larger

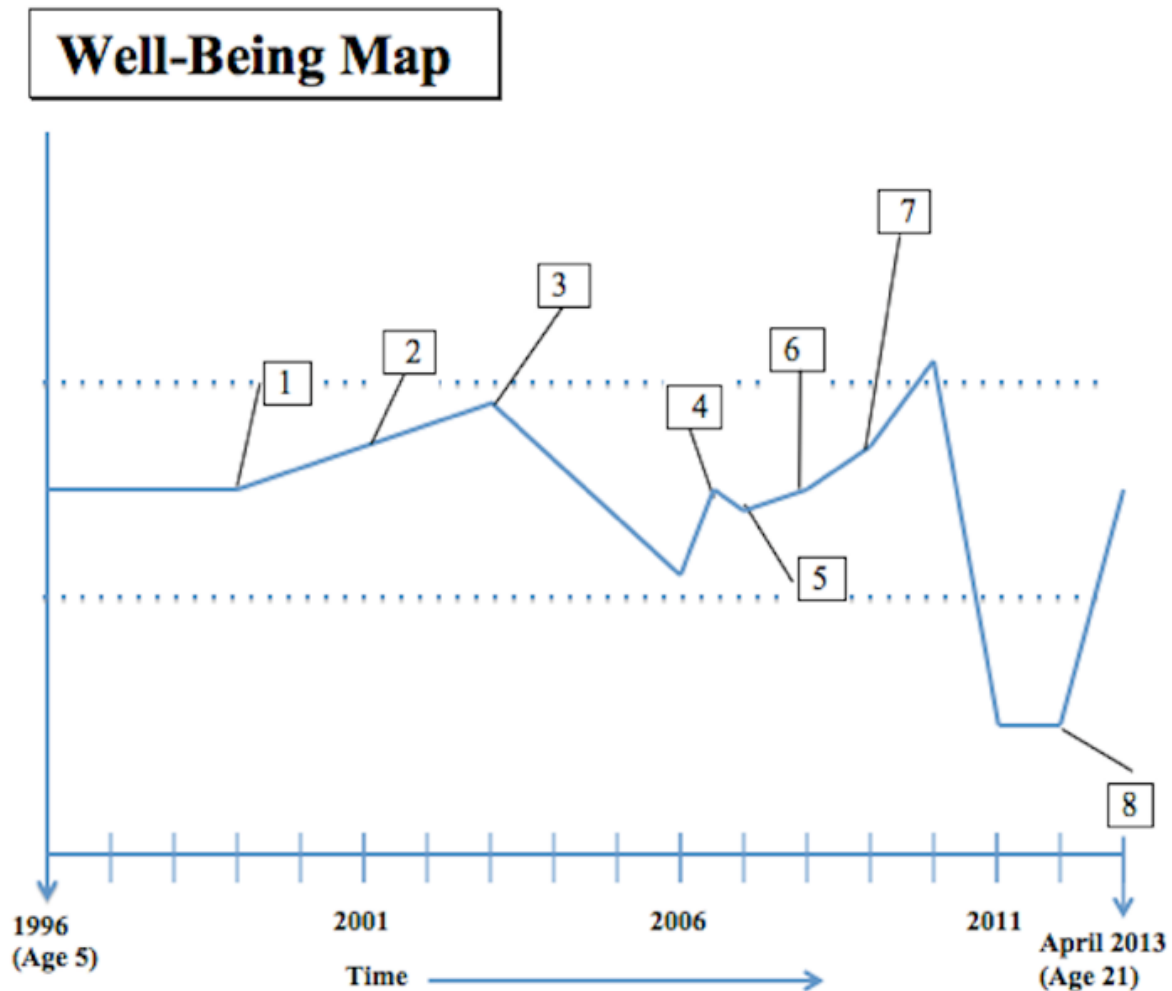
payments from the total sum are given to each group member at regular intervals, in what is essentially a kind of saving plan. I also save my money independently, for my future college fees.

I enjoy socializing with my wide circle of friends, both in the city and back home. I attend Msasani Lutheran Church regularly. My attitude toward the government is typical of many young people in Tanzania. I cannot take the government using slogans like 'Education First' seriously, because it is easy to say, but hard to do. I think they need to put their words into action. I know the government will not help me reach my educational goals.

I am comforted by the plans I have for my education and the opportunities I have to do this. Having this direction makes me feel lucky and less confused about my future. In the next five years, I would like to have completed a Masters degree and be working in an office. I would like to use the first few years of my salary to help my mother, sister and brother, and then after that I will begin to focus on starting my own family. Most likely this approach to helping my family has come about because of my own family's way of doing things.

In ten years I would like to have started my own business. In fifteen years I would like to be doing other small things to consolidate my life, such as animal rearing. I do not mind if I work for the government or for a private company, because although the salaries in the private sector are higher, government jobs can be beneficial because they pay a pension to their workers. I would like to stay in the city, but I am open to moving anywhere to get a good job.

I am a driven individual who cares about my family and has benefited from a strong support system of extended family. I am committed to furthering my education so that I can advance myself financially and help my mother and younger siblings.



Significant Markers

1. Mary does not remember her life at 5. Her earliest memory is being 8 years old and in kindergarten.
2. From her earliest recollection, she is happy to learn how to read and write and proceeds on to Standard 1. She performs well and her grandfather buys her books for school, which she is very happy about.
3. In Standard 4, she goes to live with her paternal grandparents and transfers between schools. This is a difficult time for her, not only in adjusting to her new school but also to her new living environment, where she is expected to perform many household chores.
4. Standard 7 is a bittersweet year for Mary. On one hand, she passes her exams, which makes her happy but her father dies that same year. Still, since she does not know her father very well nor depend on him financially, this does not have a very big influence on Mary's life.

5. In Form I, Mary moves to live with her mother, happy being away from her chore-filled life at her paternal grandparents' home. Her mother is poor though, so Mary's life is a bit difficult, particularly the struggle for school fees.
6. In Form II, Mary begins to travel to Dar es Salaam for "tuition" supported by her maternal aunt. She likes this because she starts meeting students from other schools and gets new materials to help her with her studies. She generally enjoys the better city environment too.
7. In Form III, Mary makes a permanent move to Dar es Salaam to continue her education.
8. Much to her surprise, Mary fails her Form IV examinations, which devastates her. In her words, she is confused and does not know what to do next.
9. Eventually Mary finds a job as a housekeeper, which gives her a much better outlook and reignites her plans for further education.

Mary's narrative is full of educational goal-setting and determination, well supported by family members and influences that emphasize the importance of education. Like Mathew, Mary is a Chagga – a tribe generally regarded as very education orientated. The influence of Chagga values is notable in both life stories. Mary's story also highlights the theme of fostering where various family relationships are utilized to spread the cost burden of schooling. In Mary's case, she explains that the sharing of costs for her and her sister's education between Mary's mother, uncles, and auntie, is "an African way of doing things". Indeed, the notion of fostering occurs prominently in the lives of several informants forming an important social structure. These ideas carry over to Mary's own sense of responsibility going forward where she sees herself getting a Master's degree and a well-paying job which she will use to support her mother as well as the educational needs of her siblings before considering establishing a family of her own. Mary exhibits a degree of confidence far superior to many less educated informants. She is relentless in pursuing various government ministries and other institutions for information and potential scholarship funding, not just for herself but also to help her sister attain her goal of becoming a nurse.

Family structures and school dominate Mary's life history map. Fostered out to her paternal grandparents at age 11, Mary characterizes this time as difficult. Passing standard VII and moving back home were positive experiences but, again, the move to be with her Aunt in Dar represents the longest upswing in well-being. Form IV school failure was devastating and highlights the most dramatic evidence of serious systemic issues in the examination process. Mary describes how only 11 students out of 400 in her form IV cohort received a legitimate pass division (I-III), while the other 389 received division IV or zero leaving her angry with the Government and the National examination council. Mary has recently found stable, well-paying work as a maid with a Swedish diplomatic family, giving her an opportunity now to save money for tuition and put her educational goals back on track through post secondary college strategies.

6.2 Summative Analysis of the University Pathway

6.2.1 Distortions and incentives

The notion of a downward spiral in the quality of candidates entering the teaching profession was introduced in Chapter 3. Integral to this inefficient and poor quality production process are decisions made by successful school graduates – like Bakari. Bakari's preference, now that his remarkable journey has brought him to University – is to study law or public administration. However, still scarred perhaps by how narrowly he escaped a life of rural poverty or, like many other Tanzanians, simply strategic in managing the risk of future economic shocks, Bakari is choosing to study education despite holding a lowly opinion of the profession.

Several pragmatic considerations now influence Bakari's new plans, including attractive GoT incentives to draw Forms IV & VI graduates to teachers college and the promise of a teaching job upon graduation providing a measure of employment and income security. Like most eligible school leavers, Bakari will use the teacher training system to further his real aspirations causing, on a macro-level, the waste of scarce resources on inefficient teacher training and a persistent decline in the quality of primary and secondary teachers that is impacting the entire country:

I really wanted to study law, or public administration. That was my plan. But, I was told that with law and public administration it would be difficult to secure employment. So taking into consideration the current economic situation my own personal financial situation/circumstances, education is the better option. Education is given a priority and you can get a loan to facilitate studying it. I have to begin with teaching, but I still plan to further myself and go into law or public administration eventually. (Bakari, June 16, 2013)

In this distorted incentive environment I argue individual agency is strengthened as teacher candidates use the training to strengthen their educational capital and access to further, non-teacher training. However, this misuse of teacher training ultimately weakens the quality of teachers at the basic education level contributing to the problematic structures that disable cohorts of younger students trying to succeed in the system. In this way, incentive distortions represent another structural element that both thickens the agency of individuals, while weakening the agency of groups of youth still in primary or secondary schools.

6.2.2 Educational Attainment and the Strategic use of Structures

Another noticeable characteristic shared by Mary and Bakari is their strengthened agency and ability to interact with institutional rules, procedures, and other structures to advance their ambitions. Bakari, for example, talked about scholarship sources and application strategies. He also provided extraordinary detail on the workings of the school system, including QT, and the different strategies he has thus far employed (like deciding to focus on fewer subjects in order to get higher grades). Similarly, Mary was using all of her spare time to visit private and public institutions to check on entrance requirements, costs, scholarships, and transferability of credits – not just for herself - but also for her older sister:

I am worried about my sister because she failed Form IV a year ago and her dream of being a nurse or a doctor is now far away. So, two weeks ago, I went to the nursing school to get information about applying. They said if she scored D in biology, there might be sponsorship from the ministry of health. I will go there next week. (Mary, April 20, 2013)

The pro-activeness of Mary and Bakari highlight strong agency that interacts more easily with formal structures and appears correlated with higher educational attainment and better English language skill. Given the relative success both Mary and Bakari have had accessing institutional structures, it also suggests that existing structures may actually function reasonably well if youth are confident and savvy enough to use them. In this sense, institutional structures are an additional element that can thicken the agency of youth who know how to use/access them, but weaken the agency of those who remain shut out.

6.3 Second Chance Secondary Schooling (Sub-Group D)

Second chance secondary schooling is a private sector phenomenon that appears to be expanding more or less in lockstep with both the decline in private primary and secondary school enrolment, and a dramatic increase in public primary and secondary school enrolment. More precisely, QT growth parallels the dramatic increase in young people failing to advance beyond standard VII or O-level (Form IV). Although the stories of Clara and Lydia are not the only ones to include “second chance secondary schooling” (see Bakari’s story as well), their narratives nonetheless provide a window on this important emerging private institutional structure and the agency required to take advantage of it. For Bakari, QT was an unqualified success. Lydia and Clara are pursuing QT while trying to meet significant family obligations, including caring for their own children.

6.3.1 Clara’s Story

I am twenty-nine year old Clara Tweve. I have made significant sacrifices to pursue my dream of a high school education. With the help of my first born brother – now a director in the Tanzanian government - I left my two boys in the care of my mother-in-law back in the Iringa region of Tanzania and moved to Dar es Salaam to attend a QT⁶³ school. I am the second of five children. My youngest sister (21) works as a teacher in Mbeya, and the fourth born is attending Mkwawa University in Dodoma. Both of these sisters have also been aided by my older brother but more so by a maternal aunt who feels an obligation because she herself was supported to attend school by my now deceased mother. The third born – another sister – is not educated beyond standard VII and has married and stays in our home village.

I experienced school failure very early. I failed Standard 7 and was discouraged because I had done well at school in the past, and many of my classmates who had previously

⁶³ Qualifying Test or “QT” Schools are private institutions catering to youth and young adults looking to complete their secondary school education through a condensed, intensive program.

done poorly had passed their exams. I was further discouraged by the fact that even people who had finished their education were struggling to get jobs.

Both of my parents were teachers though I do not remember that period of our family life. I do recall that my father worked for the Irish aid agency - a really good job to have in rural Tanzania - and my mother stopped teaching to care for me and my four siblings. My father died in 1991 (when I was around seven years old) and my mother struggled - doing small-scale farming and petty food preparation - to provide for our family. Because of my family's poverty and my standard VII failure, I had very few options in my rural village in the district of Iringa. So, I married and started a family of my own when I was around 15 (1999). My mother died in 2000. Then, just four years later (in 2003) my husband passed away. I was left in a desperate situation, being shuttled between my husband's birth and stepmother in-laws with two boys – a toddler and a baby (who are now 10 & 13 years old) – in my care.

My brother - the first born sibling followed second by me – fared much better in school, completing high-school with an “A” level focus in sciences, which led to engineering training and a career in the army. With my brother's financial support, I now can try to achieve my Form IV and even my A levels (Form V & VI) or teachers' college provided I can endure the absence from my children. I also help in my brother's household. My brother's wife works downtown, and has to leave early in the morning and returns late at night. Therefore, I help out a lot, looking after the baby, cooking, and cleaning, although the family also has a maid. An important part of my agreement with my brother is that for him to continue to support my education, I must maintain a harmonious relationship with his wife. If we start to quarrel, he says his wife will “no longer have the heart to help” me. My mother-in-law cares for my children so I can be in Dar attending school, although I have to be frugal and send any extra money I earn home for my children.

I entered year one QT at Decent College as a standard VII leaver (even though I had actually failed). I passed the Form II exams in a year enabling me to enter the more difficult second QT year where Form III and IV are condensed. I moved to Mpakani to do this second year because a male teacher at Decent College used to disturb me a lot and I no longer felt free. However this second school did not have enough teachers, so after I got 3 Ds in that year, I moved to Capo Centre, where the teaching standard is much better. The teachers at this center are aware and responsive to the fact that I am an older student and make an effort

to take this into account in their teaching style. The teachers are held accountable by the school's administration to ensure that they are making the most of the teaching time available.

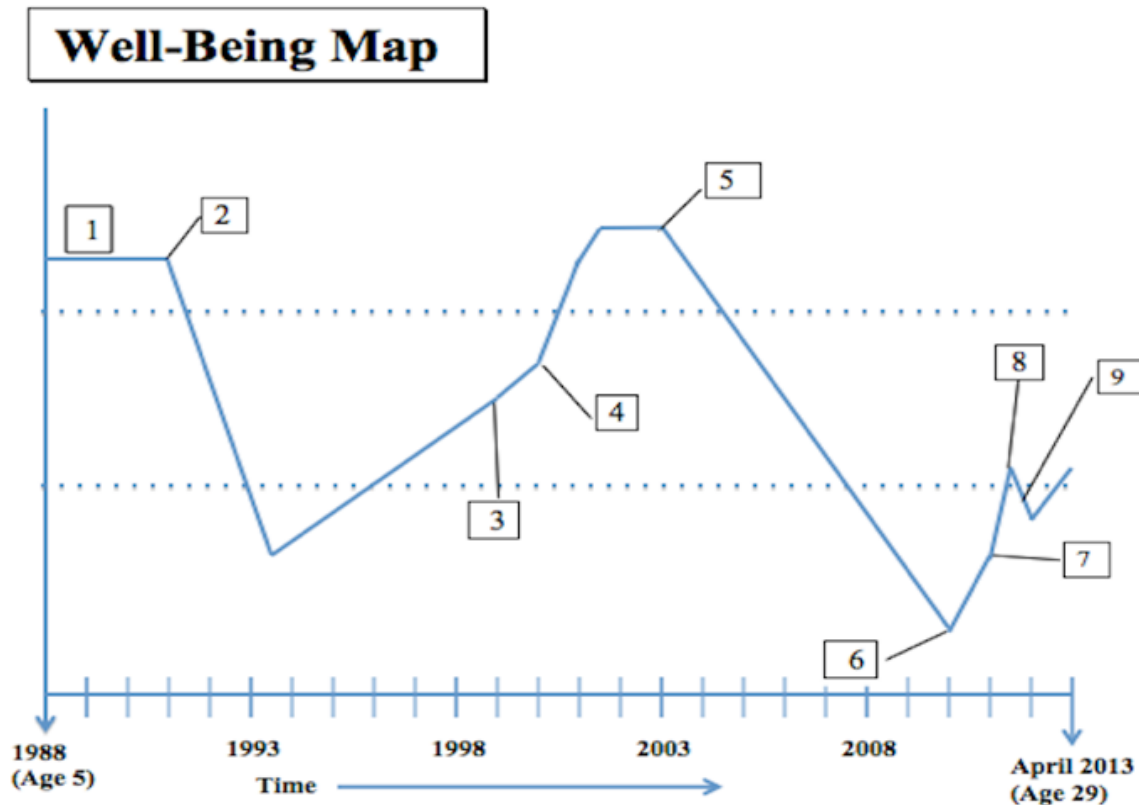
Some of the teachers at my QT school are critical of the Tanzanian education system, arguing that the content is taught superficially for the students to "regurgitate" rather than understand deeply. The classes are taught in English, although the teacher will repeat things in Swahili if they feel they are not being understood. The fact that the students take excursions to places like Bagamoyo for History or the beach for Geography makes it a very good school, but this is also reflected in the fees. While the first and second QT schools I attended cost 200,000 per year, the school I attend now costs 400,000 per year.

I am determined to achieve academically but it is very hard to get a pass score. I continue to progress in the program but my true ambition is to carry on to Form V rather than Teachers' college. My brother is willing to do anything to avoid my having to return to Iringa, where my prospects are very restricted. When I am at home, I like to practice my sewing, a hobby that I gained skill in when I undertook a course during time off from school. A job in tailoring is another option I may take if it proves too difficult to continue with my academic studies.

I am a supporter of CHADEMA because I think it challenges the political system as a whole. I believe that President Kikwete is two-faced because he came to power promising a better life for every Tanzanian but gave us just the opposite. The education system and the health system are two areas I think could be greatly improved. I also do not agree with the fact that some MPs do not live in the areas that they represent, particularly poor rural areas. Most importantly, I blame the government for the low level of education I received due to the poor studying conditions I was exposed to, as well as the government's continual increasing of the requirements needed for certain jobs.

I really appreciate my brother and his family for supporting me through my education. I want to repay my brother's generosity by doing well in school and getting a good job. I established a discussion group at school and found us a quiet study place at a local primary school. In five years I would like to have gone to teacher training college and studied to be a secondary school teacher. If this does not happen, I would like to have furthered my knowledge of tailoring and started a small business. In ten years I hope that my

sons might be married with children and in fifteen years I hope to be in a very good place. I am proud of the effort my children put into their studies and I think that they will go far in their schooling, particularly as they have strong role models like my brother. Of course I hope my pursuit of schooling also sets a very good example that they are hopefully aware and proud of.



Significant Markers

1. Her life starts out well. Both her parents are alive and family life is stable.
2. Her father dies in 1991.
3. She goes through primary school and in 1999 she completes Standard 7. After completing Standard 7, life is good and she lives happily with her mother.
4. In 2000, she gets married. Life after getting married is good and she is happy to move from Iringa to Mbeya with her husband.
5. In 2003, her husband dies; life becomes extremely difficult.
6. In 2010, her brother encourages her relocation to Dar es Salaam where he sponsors her entry into a QT program. She is happy about this move but is concerned about the well-being of her children she leaves behind in Iringa.

7. In 2011, she is pleased to pass the Qualifying Test and moves on to her Form III/ IV year.
8. In February 2012, she fails Form IV for the first time, and is discouraged but goes back to school to repeat the year.
9. At the end of 2012, she re-sits the Form IV exam and again does not pass. At first she is despondent, but decides to go back for a third try and is hopeful that this third time she will be successful.

For Clara, the support of her brother is absolutely critical to her current trajectory as is the help of her mother-in-law who cares for her two boys. Her brother occupies a position of authority and deep respect in the family and has played a key role in advising and supporting Clara and her sisters. Notably, a maternal aunt has also assisted with tuition and other supports for Clara's siblings because this aunt was assisted to attend school by Clara's now deceased mother illustrating once again the way many families share the financial burden of educating children. It is also evident from Clara's story of rural life and early marriage that she only narrowly escaped reproducing a situation of abject poverty for herself and her boys. The painful separation from her children reveals both a sense of the hardship her pursuit of schooling entails, but also her situational awareness and pragmatism. This pragmatism extends to Clara's risk management strategy where she maintains the possibility of reverting to tailoring and small business if schooling proves unsuccessful or, more likely, her brother no longer chooses to support her in Dar es Salaam:

That's why my brother has said that if this time I fail to get the credits for Form 5 or for teacher-training college, then since I have already started with tailoring classes, then I can just go on and take a better course in tailoring with which he is willing to help me. (Clara, June 23, 2013)

Family structures, particularly the deaths of her father and husband a decade apart, mark dramatic low points in Clara's well-being map. Her benefactor brother provided a lifeline at her lowest moment, enticing her to Dar es Salaam and supporting her secondary schooling. This has created a positive trajectory after many years of increasing despair, perturbed now only by the challenges of school itself.

6.3.2 Lydia's Story

My name is Lydia. I am 28 years old and I come from Mbeya. I have had many difficult times in my life, but now with the help of my employer, I am striving for a better future for my family. I was born in Dar es Salaam, in Kigamboni and attended Ufukoni - a government primary school. The school was of a low standard and only 3 out of 100 students passed the national exam at the end of Standard 7. I was not one of them.

When my father retired, he built a house in Dodoma and moved our family there. Because I did not pass primary school, my only option for secondary education was to attend a private school called Sate Main. The school was of a better standard than my primary school, with more dedicated teachers and better facilities. But Secondary school ended for me when I became sick the day before the Form II national examination. The illness lasted a month and after that I did not want to return to school. My father was very disappointed with me. Actually though, I can admit now that my reluctance to return to school had a lot to do with my mother's illness and death. I was the eldest child and I had to care for my mom when she got sick mother. I was just so sad after her death.

My younger sister attended but did not pass Form IV. She now works in a mobile phone shop in Kariakoo. My brother recently finished Form IV but also had bad results and is now enrolled in VETA. My other younger sister attends Form III. They all passed Standard 7 so they were eligible for government schools. I have two younger siblings who are still in primary school. Now that my father is retired, he is struggling to support his children, and so we older ones must rely on ourselves.

After I stopped going to school, I stayed home with my father for a while. I began a small business selling maandazi (a type of donut). In 2002, I met my husband and left

Dodoma with him. We have two children now, a boy (10) in Standard 4 and girl (7) in Standard 1. My younger sisters and an older female cousin also live in Dar es Salaam.

I was a stay-at-home mother for several years. In 2009 though, I began working with a Tanzanian NGO called VINOSEF, which deals with education and the environment. I worked as a cook in a kitchen at their nursery school in Kawe. The school is run by the NGO for underprivileged children. The woman in charge of the NGO is a Christian, although the NGO itself is non-denominational. Since November 2011, my boss has allowed me leave to study fulltime at the QT center at Decent College. My boss is also funding the course and paying me a stipend for transportation. This came about because my boss saw potential in me that she thought I could develop if I were to become educated. When the idea of a sponsorship was proposed to me, I immediately accepted. I felt so lucky; I said I was willing to even start tomorrow. My boss intends to fund my education as far as I can go, including university. Once I am finished studying, I may return to work at the NGO, although there is no pressure that I do so as part of my arrangement with my boss. It would be impossible for me to ever repay this generosity but I hope that in the future I will be able to spend a lot of time volunteering for the NGO as a way of paying forward my good fortune.

My boss left it up to me to choose which school I wanted to attend so, on the advice of my brother-in-law, I visited and settled on Decent College. My boss gave me the fees, she registered and I quickly began classes. I found it difficult at first to return to study, but I knew I just had to persist so that I could have a better life. I have met all kinds of people at the college. It was a struggle for me when I saw how much further advanced some of the other students were, but I told myself that if they could do it, so could I. I joined group discussions and study groups at school, learning study habits that gave me confidence in the classroom.

In the lead up to the release of the Form II exam results, I was very nervous, and the situation was made worse by the fact that our phone service at the time was poor and I could not access the results. My younger siblings used a better phone network to find my results and passed on the happy news that I had passed. I was very happy and proud to see that my efforts were starting to pay off. My boss's reaction was so positive too. She told me Lydia, "I want you to get to university".

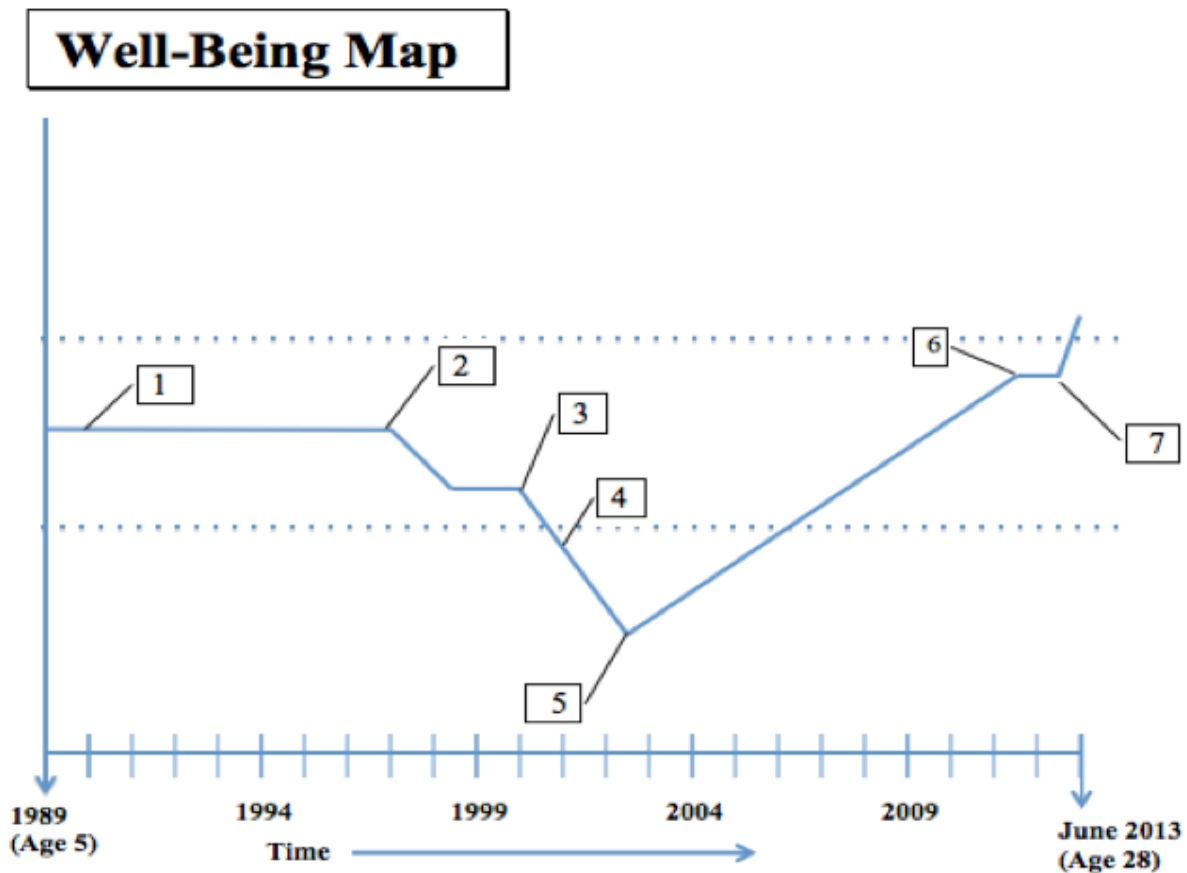
Now that I have completed my Form II QT, I am studying for Form III/IV. It is quite challenging because the content of two years is condensed over a year. In order to keep up with the syllabus, I have to stay at school the full day until 5 p.m. When I get home I have a lot to do in terms of housework and caring for my children so any study I need to do must get done while I am at school. My sister-in-law looks after my children in the afternoons until I get home. Being a mother and a student, I do not have much spare time, but I do like to put on a religious choir CD and listen to it from start to finish while I do chores like cooking and laundry. I don't have time for hobbies but I attend a Catholic church.

My husband is a welder who makes gates, windows and grilles. He has been supportive of my return to school. My husband sees that by getting more education, I will eventually be able to earn better wages and benefit the family in the long run. Even if I had continued work at the NGO, I would not have been able to afford to send our children to a better school. I believe that furthering my education is the best way to increase my job prospects and possibly be able to afford better schools in the future. I am not sure what my children think of me being in school, but during exam times I like to joke with them that I will do better than them.

My children attend government schools in Kawe, Nuni and 'Kawe B'. They attend different schools because I found the standard at 'Kawe B' was poor and my older son struggled, so I sent my younger daughter to Nuni instead. I try to be involved in my children's education - like stopping in to talk to the teachers in the morning about their progress. I work together with the teachers to solve any problems my children might be having, such as issues with writing or poor behavior in class. I also go to the more formal parent-teacher interviews. The schools are not very good, though they are somewhat good, for the level of income my family has. I find that if a child is slow to complete their work, the teacher often does not notice, or there is not enough time for them to make it up. The class sizes are very large, with 75 students in my son's Standard 4 class, and 123 in his year altogether. The students sit on the dirty floor, as there are no desks. My daughter's school, Nuni, seems to be better so far, and my daughter is doing all right. The class sizes and general conditions are similar, but the teaching instruction methods at Nuni seem better and the teachers are more dedicated.

Both my children's schools are government schools and are therefore 'free'. Parents must pay a small registration fee when a child is registered. At Kawe 'B' it is 21,000Tsh and at Tumaini it is 15,000Tsh. This covers things like the hiring of a school guard, water and uniforms. The fee at Tumaini is lower because they have a sponsor who pays for building expenses. My children attend tuition after school. My daughter takes tuition run by a man in the neighborhood at a cost of 500 per day for two subjects. My son attends tuition at his school for the national exams at the end of Standard 4. These classes for my son are run by the teachers and cost 300 per day. Some days, I do not have enough money to send them to tuition, so I tell them to come straight home after school or ask the teacher if they can pay tomorrow.

There are other parents at my children's schools who are involved in their children's education, but not many. Teachers often complain that parents don't follow their children's progress or make sure that they are actually attending school. I take care to be involved, and if I cannot attend a meeting, my husband, despite being very busy with work, will go instead. The main way that we and other parents go about improving our children's schools is by trying to raise funds. If the school is lacking facilities or materials, it is up to the school community to fundraise for them, as the school receives very little from the government. When parents contribute money, however, we can never be sure where the funds are spent, as there is no transparency from the school in that regard. I have listened to many unfulfilled promises by campaigning politicians from both parties. I think that the government has the money to spend on schools but they don't do it for reasons I can't understand. My goal is to complete Form IV and V and then go on to university. Even if I get a good job in the meantime, I would like to continue with my studies and maybe get a job involved with education. I want to become a teacher so that I can help others get an education like I have been able to.



Significant Markers

1. Life is uneventful through primary school.
2. In 1997, Lydia finishes Standard 7. She proceeds to Secondary School but her father retires at this point and finances become constrained; life is not as comfortable as it had been before.
3. In 2000, Lydia stops going to school after a long illness.
4. In 2001, her mother passes away.
5. In 2002, she meets her husband, gets married, has kids, and eventually gets a job with an NGO.
6. She begins QT under sponsorship of her employer.
7. She passes the qualifying test and has confidence that she will be successful in completing her secondary education and life in general.

Lydia had the support and resources of her father to at least attempt secondary schooling through private channels. Lydia also has had the very good fortune of finding NGO employment where the founder has become her benefactor, supporting her to pursue

second chance formal schooling. The role that Lydia's boss plays in changing her life cannot be ignored. The serendipity of one person seeing the potential in another, and being willing and able to provide resources, is profoundly life altering. It is evident that the early experience of leaving school due to the illness and death of her mother made Lydia deeply value education for herself and her children. Lydia and her husband's involvement in their children's education bodes well for the educational success of the next generation as well:

Both kids are in Government primary school in Kawe. I am very involved. I usually pass by in the morning to talk with the teachers, enquire about any trouble my kids are having, etc. The school also does have a parent council so I help with that. My husband goes when I cannot make it. These schools are not good schools but it is what we can afford. (Lydia, June 25, 2013)

In terms of her life history map, declining family resources, illness, and her mother's death in 2001 characterize a steady decline in well being for Lydia during her early adolescence. Her marriage and children, migration to Dar es Salaam, and the good fortune of securing employment with an NGO, form the most recent and positive decade. Lydia is uniquely fortunate to have found an NGO benefactor willing to invest in her schooling. With a supportive husband who sees the long-term benefits of his wife's education, even juggling family responsibilities with school is manageable leaving Lydia to predict an upward trajectory for her future well-being. Lydia and her husband are collectively focused on one outcome from Lydia's new trajectory; the likelihood that further education will increase family income allowing them to invest in their children's education. For now, they are as active and engaged as possible as they make the best of poor quality, but free, public education for their kids.

6.4 Summative Analysis of Second Chance Schooling

Following the policy change in 1995 that allowed private actors into primary and secondary education delivery, the number of private schools in Tanzania increased dramatically. Since the abolition of school fees in 2002, the opposite trend has emerged. However, private schooling providers have reconfigured their product to serve new clients flowing from among the extraordinarily high numbers of young people failing the free basic state education system. This shift in private sector schooling is a stark example of structuration in which government policy and institutional structures are interacting with individual agency and private sector profit motives to form alternate, second chance schooling pathways. Central among the interplay of forces are the new structures of state schooling that generate high numbers of form IV failures that, in turn, increasingly drive the expansion of new forms of private, second chance schooling.

Several observations about the nature of this emerging “second chance” structure and its interaction with youth agency are possible. First, the QT approach of unabashedly teaching to the national examinations – using the linguistic code switching between English and Swahili officially blocked in public secondary schools, among other strategies, highlights just how central the examination - and the culture surrounding it - remains in Tanzania. This “examination culture” gives rise to a second observation; namely that cooperation between QT clients and teachers exemplifies the interplay of multiple strands of agency and structure whereby the actors (students and teachers) collude against the state’s examination apparatus to reproduce the most efficient combination of teaching and learning possible under the circumstances with one single outcome in mind: to help paying clients pass national examinations. Finally, at a macro-level, the emergence of the private-sector driven QT

“solution” itself responds to the *reproduction of failure* by state institutions, the discursive, logical response of private sector actors, and the insatiable demand of young people for formal secondary schooling, giving rise to an alternative pathway which attempts to reproduce modern, middle class aspirations – in a for-profit environment.

6.5 The NGO Connection (Sub-Group E)

Several of the informants have had their trajectories influenced by their deliberate or - more commonly - serendipitous engagement with specific programs of domestic or international NGOs. However, Victoria, Paul and Carol are profiled in this category because the cause and effect relationship between their current pathways and the NGO contact they were fortunate to have had, is strikingly direct. Their stories help to illuminate the “change agent” effect of successful NGO programming and also serve to contest development discourse rooted in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) that favours systemic “on budget” aid modalities like education sector support over NGO interventions characterized as unscaled and less efficient at making significant impacts for a whole country or system.

6.5.1 Victoria’s Story

I am an independent, persistent and personable twenty-two year-old from the Kilimanjaro region of Tanzania. My mother and father were never married and my father has five other children with another woman. My mother has two other daughters apart from me, both from different fathers, whom she left because they lied and cheated. My mother lives in Moshi, in a house that she inherited from her mother. She is a nurse at Arusha Hospital. My father comes from the Manyema tribe in Kigoma. I used to visit him as a child, but his second wife did not like having me around. Now they only keep in touch occasionally,

although I do send my dad money to help with my siblings who I love. He has five children, all with different mothers. One of these children, a boy, was born an hour after me so I am close to him. I have other relatives who live in Dar es Salaam, such as the son of my mother's older sister, but I am not close with that part of the family because of a rift between the cousins. My mother and her sister have no problem with each other, but I think that my aunt's children are arrogant because of their wealth.

I initially had good teachers in my first three years at secondary school. I boarded at a school in Dali called Nkamba Day, where I was voted to be a prefect in Form II. My main task was to supervise the other student's cleaning chores, including some who were older, and I think my accountability for this task made me a good supervisor with a strong character. The cold weather in Dali, however, had a negative impact on my health and I decided to move to a day school halfway through Form 3. There I found the teachers were less serious, especially those teaching the sciences. This setback was compounded by the fact that I was living at home again and had many additional responsibilities to help my mother.

I completed school up to Form IV, but could not continue to Form V because I failed the exam with a Division 4. After school, I would have liked to study a course at college on transportation so that I could work at a port in the clearing and forwarding department. However, I did not have the money to pay for such a course. My mother has nieces and nephews living with her who she also supports. My mother promised to pay for me to go to college, but I could see that it would be a burden on her, and three years had passed while I waited. I grew tired of waiting for the money and, spurred on by the promise of tuition money from a cousin in Dar, I left without telling my mother. For a few days I lied about my whereabouts, before coming clean and telling my mother that I had saved my wages from a job selling soft drinks and was moving to Dar es Salaam. My mother, no doubt put out by this sudden turn of events, and in an attempt to stay calm, simply wished me "a safe journey".

In Dar es Salaam, I alternated between living with my sister and my cousin, until it became clear that this cousin had no intention of fulfilling his promise to pay for my schooling. I then moved in with another cousin who had a baby daughter that I looked after for three months while my cousin began her last year of university. Then my friend in the military in Arusha notified me that an enrolment opportunity had come up. I did all the interviews and tests, passing all of them except the running, which I failed by one point.

A little while later, I heard through my sister about a Future World college course starting at Plan International, near my cousin's house. Future World is a group from India and Sudan who fund course fees. Unemployed youth were being encouraged to apply. I was reluctant to apply, but with my cousin's encouragement I filled out the application. For three months I didn't hear anything, and began to doubt if I would ever go back to school, but in September Plan International called me in for life skills meetings and tests. It was a challenge to travel the long distance to and from college to attend these meetings, but I persisted, passed all the enrolment requirements and was accepted into the program.

I was initially hesitant about beginning schooling again, as I had pretty much given up any hope of further education at this stage. Once I chose my course in Sales and Customer Relations, I began to enjoy my experience, especially the business management aspects of the course. The certificate course involved three months of coursework followed by a three-month internship. The course was funded in full by Plan but we students had to fund our own transport and food costs. The teachers at Future World seemed more educated, dedicated and passionate than those at Tanzanian public schools.

After completing my studies, I had an unsuccessful interview for a job at Kamata Branch, where I had completed my internship. After the failed interview, I stayed on in Dar es Salaam. Then Plan International called unexpectedly with news of some employment opportunities. I attended training with a company called Maxcom and was selected to join their Sales team. After eight months, though I was performing well, my boss, who was "very sympathetic", decided that the sales post was not suitable for a woman, due its physical nature. At first I felt like this was gender discrimination, but accepted the situation because I would be paid equally well in my new role, and I wouldn't be walking around in the sun all day. I was moved to my current position in the Vodashop in Ubungo Plaza, where I have been working for a month. In this role, I solve customer's concerns, queries and issues. Me and the other girls working in sales have experienced sexual harassment, just "minor offences" like being hit on. Such incidents occur frequently, and I just let them go, because to make a huge deal every time would cause me unnecessary stress and the customer will eventually leave anyway. It is better to keep the peace and avoid conflict for the greater good, in this case, most likely, keeping my job. I earn only 150,000 a month but it allows me to comfortably rent a room of my own.

The work environment is very good. I work with ten colleagues in a team. My boss, however, is strict and unpredictable, getting “on people’s cases” and wanting things done his way. I am adept at adjusting to my bosses’ whims and am willing to make things go smoothly with him in order to keep my job. I think that my current training does not qualify me for a job that pays any higher than the one I have now. At the moment I find it hard to save, as I have had to spend much of my salary on setting up my home. I am paid in cash, but have not yet made deposits to my bank, instead storing my savings in my home. I am not taxed and no deductions are made for social security. At my current job, I do not have annual leave or sick leave.

My decision to live on my own was brought about after my living situation with my sister became too difficult. My sister felt that once I had the job at Maxcom, it was time for me to go and fend for myself. I felt that my sister resented my independence and we struggled with who was in charge and about household chores. I decided that it would be better to move out rather than to cause ongoing conflict with my sister and we are now on good terms. My sister expected that I would be unable to handle living on my own but I have not gone back. I am looking after myself.

At home, I like to listen to music (mainly American) and contemplate life. I live by myself in a rented room in Kimara Mwisho and like to talk to my neighbours. Most of my friends are from work. I have not really focused on making friends here; there is enough conflict in my own family. The emotional hurt that the feud in my family has caused me makes me wary of connecting too closely with others. I am a regular worshipper at the Lutheran Church at Korogwe. My decision to attend Church has been a relatively recent one. After I moved out of my sister’s house, I came to the realization that “everything depended on the grace of God” and that it would be useless to waste my time on other pleasure-related activities.

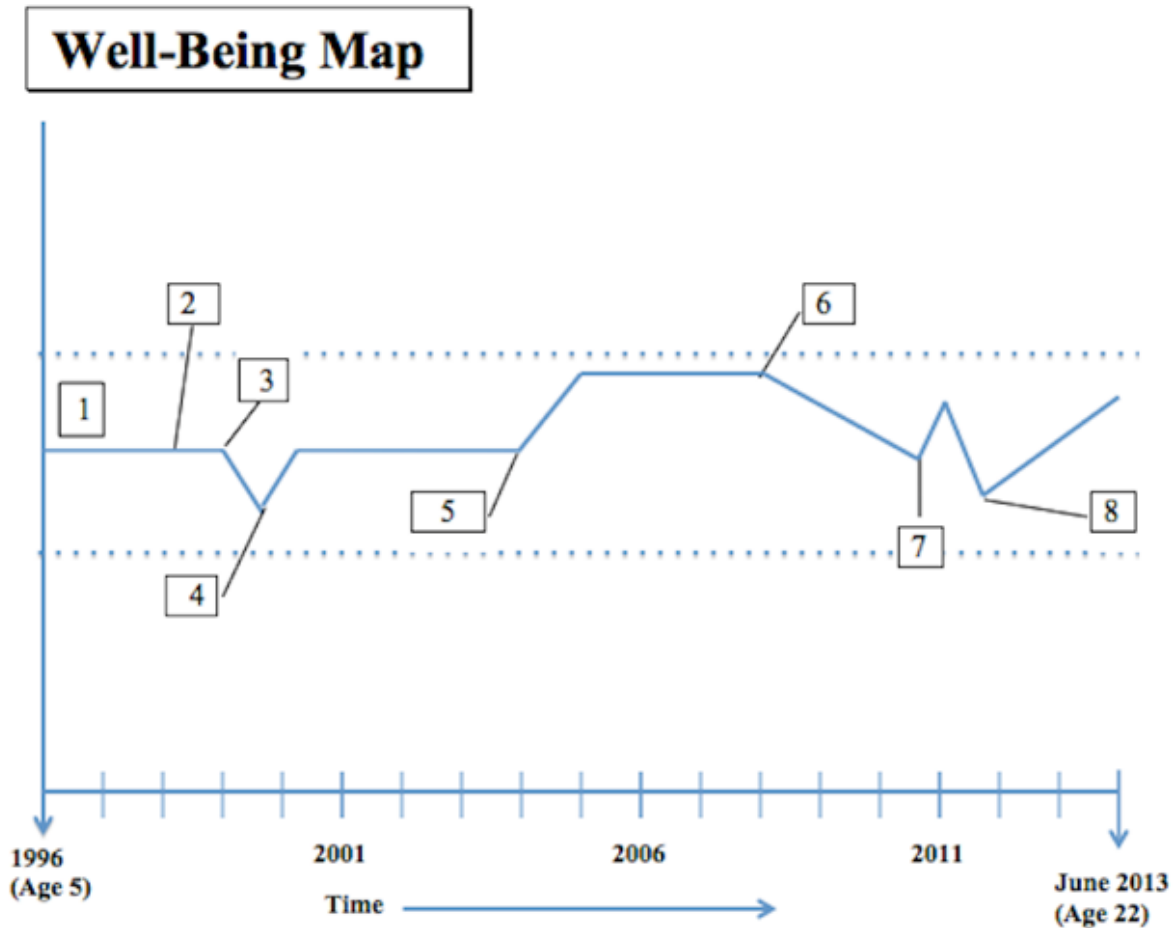
I am a cautious person. I attribute this cautiousness and attention to detail to past experiences, particularly with my financially well-off relatives. I clearly see my mother as a strong role model in my life. She raised her children to have faith in God, stay out of confrontations, ignore life’s negatives, and live calmly. I believe my mother really built me up to be a person that thinks through problems carefully and learns from my mistakes. I see my peaceful nature, my ability to get along with others and my resourcefulness as my biggest

asset. In times of struggle, this is what I rely on, rather than education, wealth and even my family, who I try not to burden.

I believe that getting a job in Tanzania is more about luck and God's will than anything else. My own employment is God's blessings rather than my own skills or initiative. My cousin has graduated college with excellent scores in Social Work but has not been able to get employment, while I myself, with only a short course, am employed. When it is pointed out to me, I can see that my own persistence is perhaps sometimes a greater quality than education, as it has meant that I don't rely on my education to open doors for me. I am thinking of saving to take a secretarial course to improve my chances at a higher paying job. I think my customer service skills and personable nature would make me an ideal candidate for such work.

I have a low opinion of the government. Life is becoming more and more unbearable with so much injustice in society. I wish that politicians would say what they mean, tell the truth and keep their promises. I cannot identify anything the government has done for me, but I appreciate the political stability in my country.

In five years' time, I would like to be at my current job and help my family to improve their standard of living. Ten years from now I would like to have continued my education. I would like to have a family by then, although marriage has barely crossed my mind. I am reluctant to plan ahead, because I feel like anything can happen from one day to the next and it is God's will that will decide the future.



Significant Markers

1. Victoria cannot recall when she was 5 years, but also does not remember having any problems early in her life describing things as “simply normal”.
2. Victoria starts primary school in 1998.
3. In 1999, Victoria’s sister is jailed after fighting with a neighbor and, at the age of 20, is condemned to 30 years in prison. This of course distresses Victoria’s mother and for most of that year, Victoria’s mother is focused on getting her daughter out of jail. This episode seriously affects Victoria’s school performance.
4. After serving a little more than six months, Victoria’s sister is released from jail.
5. Victoria passes her Standard 7 exams. She, and the rest of her family are extremely pleased about this. She enters secondary school.
6. Victoria completes Form IV but fails the exam. The next few years are not positive because she does not proceed to “A” levels and has no clear direction.
7. In 2011, she moves to Dar es Salaam without the knowledge or permission of her mother. At first she is happy and hopes that she will go on with her education, but when that does not happen, she becomes troubled again.
8. Victoria becomes aware of the *Future World* opportunity and feels that her life is truly turning for the better.

The third most educated of the informants after Bakari and Paul, Victoria attempted different pathways (the army, private business) before circumstances conspired that lead to training with *Future World* and *Plan International*. Despite a seemingly passive approach, Victoria's life trajectory suggests that she is an independent person willing to take calculated risks and bounce back from setbacks. Victoria's story also hints at complicated family dynamics among cousins and estrangement from stepbrothers and sisters, but also a close relationship with her mother. She appears strongly focused on the idea of earning more money to help her family.

With a short course in customer relations provided by PLAN, Victoria is the only informant of 14 to have secured something approaching a formal sector job. That said, her story reveals what appears to be manipulative practices by her employer to maintain Victoria's contractual status and avoid entering into an indeterminate, employer-employee relationship that would trigger social security and other benefits required by law. These circumstances render Victoria's employment status as essentially the same as any informal sector worker. Victoria's story also draws attention to gender issues in the workplace, giving a first person account of the resilience Victoria must employ to deal with persistent harassment.

Victoria's story, like most informants, also highlights the importance of religion though in her case she is only recently "born again". Like others, religion is utilized as a faith structure which serves to explain both the harsh realities, and occasional good fortune, that befall youth where the refrain "it is (or is not) God's will" echoes.

In terms of Victoria's life history map, family crises (her sister's incarceration, for example) punctuate Victoria's childhood, but it is her post Form IV struggles that are the

most difficult. Her reliance on her mother as key benefactor ultimately left her unsupported. Like others, her agency eventually led her to migrate to Dar where she stumbled into an NGO sponsored intervention that has been positive and transformative for her.

6.5.2 Carol's Story

I am twenty-years-old and my name is Carol. I consider myself politically active. I am from the Tanzanian region of Singida. I have a three-year-old daughter called Promise. I live in Dar es Salaam with my maternal aunt, who is twenty-eight. I also have a paternal aunt who lives in Bunju, while the rest of my paternal family, including my father, reside in Wakete. My father is Mhaya so I use a Haya name, Koku, but I don't speak the language. I consider myself as being from Singida, where my mother, a member of the Mnyiramba tribe, was born. My mother passed away in 2002 due to respiratory problems so I was mainly raised by my Grandmother in Singida. My grandparents are farmers who cultivate maize, groundnuts and sunflowers. They are also raising the children of my aunt who also passed away. I have two other maternal aunts, one in Singida and another in Moshi. My sister, who had a different father than me, is a few years older and currently lives in Kinondoni where she works in a shop. We see each other regularly.

My father was absent for much of my childhood, only returning to my life recently, and I only know two aunts from his side of the family. My mother and father were never married. Just before I was born, my father returned from a visit to Wakete with another woman who was also pregnant. This paternal half-sibling differs in age with me by only a month. My father married this woman and had four more children. He used to be a police officer but retired in 2000 and returned to Wakete.

I attended a co-ed government school in Singida called Kiomboi Bomani. The education standard in rural schools is very poor. Teachers are often overburdened and schools are long distances away. Language was a big issue that created barriers for us in education. In primary schools, the language of instruction is Kiswahili, but in secondary school it switches to English. Male teachers at my school made advances on other girls, promising them money or better grades for sex. No such advances were made on me and, if

they had been, I would have refused, as my Grandmother raised me to have good manners and also to be aware of the risk of AIDS/HIV or pregnancy.

Because my grandparents were poor, I was often punished at school for not having enough exercise books. Such circumstances made studying difficult so, although I put in my best effort, I was hindered in reaching my potential. I reached Standard 7 and passed in Division Two (a low pass mark). While students who received higher passing marks were sponsored to attend well-known government secondary schools, those who achieved a low pass like I did struggled to get a sponsor to attend secondary school. Even though a lot of schools had just been built, financial access to them was still difficult.

I believe that if I had been able to attend secondary school, my life now would be better. I would not have been like other students who were lucky enough to attend secondary school but involved themselves in things while boarding that are contrary to education. My family's financial situation meant that I wouldn't have even considered playing around, because I would have wanted to do well in order to help my family. If I had been able to go to secondary school, I would have had more chance of getting a job in Singida, like my aunt, who completed Form IV and works in the education sector there.

In 2006, after completing Standard 7, I studied tailoring at VETA for a year. My Grandfather applied for me to receive a sponsorship through a U.S. organization (World Vision) that helps orphans. While I would have liked to have had sponsorship to attend secondary school, the only places available were for VETA. Nine other girls from my district, mostly girls whose parents were still living but were very poor, joined me at the boarding school. The organization that sponsored me promised to supply a sewing machine, however the people running the program locally said I would have to buy my own to continue training as an apprentice. I believe that someone probably sold the sewing machines after the head office had sent them. My younger cousins were also sponsored by this organization and they too found that the supplies they received fell short of what was promised. I am grateful to the organization for the opportunity for training, but believe the Tanzanians in the organization at the local level were possibly corrupt, reserving secondary school placements for their own children. Without a sewing machine, I was unable to continue my training.

Instead, I moved to Dar es Salaam in 2008 after my aunt invited me to live with her and work in her shop. Life in the city is more of a struggle than I expected. Friends have

tried to influence me into 'selling myself' on the street, telling me that it is the only way to get a "flashier" lifestyle in the city. I am strong in my conviction though that this is not a good path for me. I know that this quick money would be "cursed" and that slower ways of earning money are better because there are fewer risks and hard work is more satisfying. I am not interested in partying, and do not consider myself one of the 'fun girls' who like to go out drinking. I think this kind of fun is 'too much' and against God's wishes. Instead I enjoy going to the beach, especially Coco Beach I attend the KKT Lutheran Church in Sinza Kumekucha. I have three close friends in Dar that I went to school with, but most of my good friends are back home in Singida.

I am also part of an organization called Restless Development. Myself and a group of friends became involved in November 2011 when we were approached by the organization on the street. We formed a group and gradually raised money to buy materials so that a man named Paul could teach us how to make vikoi, a knotted tassel. These tassels sell for five thousand a piece in Dar, and for about fifteen thousand upcountry. Each group member pays a one-time membership fee of 10,000 when we join the group and any money made from selling the tassels is added to this in a collective kitty which we can take loans from.

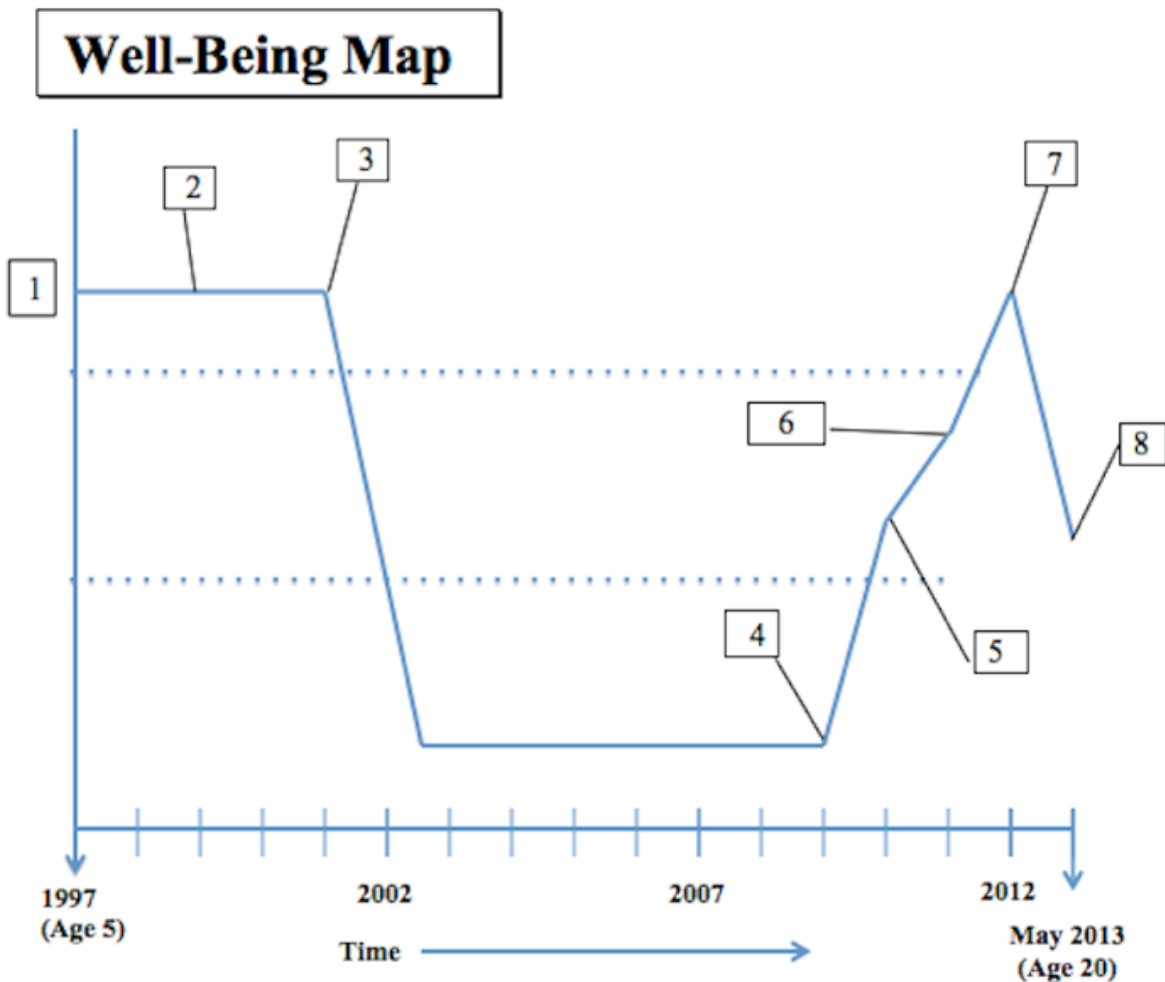
I am very politically engaged. The Tanzanian government undermines the youth when it comes to employment. I am a member of CHADEMA, who I see as being a party for the youth, both educated and uneducated. CCM is "just old people" backed by those with money and influence and I blame them for the poor education system. I am skeptical about the new constitution, because the majority of the debate about it was done through the CCM. My grandparents both belong to the CCM and it was only when I came to Dar es Salaam that I joined CHADEMA. Having a CHADEMA membership card, which costs one thousand shillings, shows that I am a genuine party member. I am active within the party and recently attended a CHADEMA women's conference in Kimara, where women were encouraged to contest for elected positions. During the next elections, I plan to campaign for CHADEMA by putting up posters and spreading their message.

I think that many of my friends support CCM because they are demoralized by their situation and unable to see the possibility of change. Despite this, I am reluctant to try to share my views with them or try to influence them because I fear they won't respect my opinion. In the past, friends I have talked about CHADEMA with have seemed to agree with

my views, but they have been reluctant to join the party. I feel I must not force others to join the party; I will give them information, but in order for them to be truly committed, they must make their own choices. I wish that there could be an exchange of views without others repeatedly trying to change my mind. I think people should be respected for their own free choices, just as I want them to respect mine.

I am open to new opportunities and willing to work hard and embrace them, probably because of the opportunities I was unfairly denied in her childhood. Five years from now I would like to have a better job and to have developed my tailoring studies further. In ten years from now I hope my life will be even better, maybe married to my boyfriend, with more children. Fifteen years from now seems a long way in the future for me to be thinking about. I hope for my child's future though. I want her to have a good environment to study in and for her to reach university. Earning money to fund this education is a priority for me. Currently I earn seventy thousand per month working in my aunt's shop and I keep my money in Tigo-Pesa (a mobile bank). I send any extra money back to my grandparents.

I believe that my difficult upbringing has given me the strength to have agency in my life and push for change. Wealthier girls who are reliant on their families support have not had to struggle as much, and as a result they are less aware of issues in their community. I am glad that I did not get stuck, married young, back in my village, a situation that is "some sort of torture". I do not live with my child's father but he supports the child and we have been in a relationship for four years. My boyfriend is a twenty-seven year old from Iringa. He comes from a well off family and finished Form VI. He has just begun studying at the Institute of Planning. Currently I have made the emotionally difficult choice for my daughter to be cared for back home in Singida, to allow me to work, but she will return soon. I am not sure about my future relationship with my boyfriend. He is becoming more educated, so our relationship might change. For this reason I will not rely on this relationship. I need to be independent because I know the challenges and sudden changes that life can bring.



Significant Markers

1. Carol's life starts out very well. Her Mother is still alive, and Carol is being supported financially by her father who still lives in the same town as her.
2. Carol enters Standard 1 in 1999.
3. Carol's mother dies when Carol is 9 years old; she goes to live with her maternal grandparents who are very poor.
4. In 2009, Carol moves to Dar to live with her aunt.
5. In 2010, Carol becomes pregnant.
6. In 2011, she gives birth.
7. In 2012, her aunt starts to pay her a salary, but it is not enough to meet her needs.
8. At the time of the interviews in 2013, her aunt's business is not doing well and she wants to close it down leaving Carol worried about how she will earn an income.

Trained as a tailor but currently working as a sales-girl in an informal market stall, Carol's narrative represents one of the clearest examples of the limiting effects of poverty. If it were not for her grandfather's efforts to help Carol and her sister obtain some vocational

skills, Carol's life might have been much worse. Instead, the structural or incidental adversity experienced by Carol (and others) seems, by her own admission, to build strength and resilience. These hardships include revelations of corruption during her first vocational training experience where local power structures manipulate the NGO program to favour certain, better-connected families/individuals. These types of stories of low-level, yet significantly impactful, corruption emerge in many informant stories.

Carol thinks deeply about the future of her country and is very confident in her views. She is savvy and not easily manipulated, whether by abusive school-teachers (whom she describes in detail), the government, her friends, or any kind of ideal of the "big city". Her story starkly reveals the common pressures on young women to prostitute themselves to get ahead. Her experiences and the problems she faced in studying tailoring have made her cautious about further study and any plans she makes, she says, "will be well-informed ones". Perhaps most interestingly, Carol is very politically engaged due, it seems, to the impact of Restless Development's programming. Like Paul's story, Carol's engagement with RD inspires her to advocate for youth issues. Despite her relative youth, Carol is someone who can see beyond herself to the bigger picture of her daughter's future, and her country's.

The death of Carol's mother is the central event in her life history map. This loss meant slipping into deeper poverty under the care of her grandparents. Utilizing the strategy of fostering, Carol migrates to Dar, marking the beginning of an upward trend in her life. Buoyed by the new-found security and prosperity of Dar es Salaam, pregnancy and the subsequent birth of a daughter was, for Carol, part of this upward trend. Insufficient income from employment with her aunt and uncertainty about the stability of this work has Carol deeply worried going forward reflecting the anxious state Carol was in during our interviews.

6.5.3 Paul's Story

I am a passionate, politically informed, twenty-seven year old youth activist. I completed my primary school education in Dodoma. Then, in 2000, my father got a job transfer and the family moved to Dar es Salaam, where I started Form I at a military school called Academy Secondary School. The teachers at Academy were part of the military so they had other responsibilities beyond teaching and also taught at a number of other schools. I learnt a lot from the mixture of students at the school but after I failed Form IV (getting passes in only civics and geography), I left due to the lack of teachers. I moved to a school called Jitegemee where I re-sat my Form IV exams in three subjects: Swahili, history and English. I got a D in English but did better in Swahili and history, earning a B. Overall, I got a Division 3. This allowed me to be eligible to enter a private school for Forms V/VI, but not a government school. In order to attend a free government school you need to get at least a Division 2. So, my father paid for me to begin Form V at a private school in Tanga in 2007.

In Form V, I witnessed and participated in a strike to protest the poor standard of teaching. Teachers would take attendance, speak briefly on their subject and then just leave. I believed that the school was trying to make a profit by not hiring a lot of teachers and having those that they hired teach a number of subjects. The elected student leaders were not taken seriously so one student had the idea to start a peaceful protest, in our uniforms and without any placards. One student, a boy from Musoma (an area known for activists) was particularly upset by the situation because he had struggled hard to come to the school. He later became prefect in Form VI, passed with a Division 2, and went on to St. Augustine University and life of activism.

The students wanted to be sure the protest would not be mistaken as agitation by any political party, so only students were involved. We protesters decided to take the issue to the Regional Commissioner of Tanga, because we were concerned about getting expelled. The Regional Commissioner agreed to speak to five representatives from the strike. He listened to our complaints and called in the school's principal to explain himself. The principal was given three days to find more teachers for the school, or it would be shut down. Teachers were brought in from Dar es Salaam and the situation improved. The Commissioner assured

students that none of us would be expelled, and although there was some residual hostility towards the students from the teachers, the demonstration overall was “hugely successful”.

For the first six months of Form VI, I concentrated on school, but there were four people sharing each dorm room and I began going out a lot with my new friends. Close bonds were also formed through our activism the previous year. I think a combination of being at a “foolish age” and receiving pocket money meant that I was distracted from my education. I did poorly in the Form VI exams but I take full responsibility for my failure. I cannot blame the school or my parents. My father refused to pay for me to re-sit my Form VI exams, as he had already given me a second chance for Form IV, and had my brother’s and sister’s education to support.

So, out on my own for the first time, I came to Dar es Salaam, where I hung out with other youth on the street, smoking cigarettes and weed, gambling and jeering at passing women. We had nothing to do, apart from playing soccer, and no future plans. We were known as Magumashi (meaning ‘jobless’). In 2011/2012 a lady called Ana Manoti from Restless Development approached us. She was a Tanzanian who worked as a coordinator dealing with youth issues for the organization. She invited me and a few of my friends to Restless Development’s seminars on issues such as civic engagement and entrepreneurship so that we could learn and pass the information on to our peers. I was the leader of the soccer team and was great at organizing matches and getting sponsorship for away games so I was chosen for the training.

I was motivated to attend the seminar by my past experiences with the protest at school, which was when I first dreamed of becoming an activist. At the seminar, there were about twenty people representing ten groups from all over Dar es Salaam. The seminar lasted three days and it really “broadened and expanded” my mind. I was impressed with how far some of the people had travelled to attend the meeting and saw that as a sign of other youth’s commitment to change. At the seminar the organization leaders talked about what Restless Development does and what kind of training they offered, such as entrepreneurial training, civic education, general youth behavior, and reproductive education. Restless Development promised to give us education and training over the next three to five years, until such a time that we could be independent. They made it clear that

they would not be giving out money, because ventures started from a person's own effort and resources will be better taken care of and more likely to prosper.

I could see that the issues discussed at the seminar were affecting me and my friends. After the seminar, I made the decision to stop smoking cigarettes. Some of my friends were skeptical, saying that the organization was using us to make money. But I tried to convince them that the organization would help us in ways we could not achieve by ourselves. I acquired the use of a classroom in my neighborhood and 20 of the 37 people in my group of friends started to get together there. I also organized for other people I had met at the seminar to come to my neighborhood to teach, and I would go on exchanges to other places. Because 'familiarity breeds contempt', my friends were not always willing to listen to me.

Restless paid me a sitting allowance for passing on information to my peers, but they never checked up on me to see if I was actually doing the work. I easily could have taken advantage of this and just taken the money, but I loved the work and put my full efforts into it. Two or three months later, I was invited to another three-day seminar about coming up with business ideas. After struggling with an idea for a domestic water business, I turned my attention to building political affiliations in my neighborhood. I had started thinking about how the civic education we had received could be useful in relating to the local government. Me and my friends came to realize that we did not agree with the government's approach, and saw that we would need to become politically active in the opposition in order to participate in the decision making process.

I already had ties to a politically active friend, the boy who had initiated the protest in Form V. This guy was now the Secretary of the CHADEMA Youth Council in Mara, a position I now hold for my own ward. CHADEMA was obviously the party that best represented our concerns so we went to the CHADEMA ward office where we were told that, as per CHADEMA's constitution, we needed thirty people to start a political party root or cell in our neighborhood. Three roots form a branch of ninety people for which an office can be built. The level above a branch is an office, followed by a district, and then a region. Me and my friends returned to our community to mobilize support and ended up with sixty-seven people. They began to raise money for the construction of a root marker. All the members joined the party and received party cards as official party members. The ward leaders were impressed with our persistence and enthusiasm. Applying the skills about business we learnt

from Restless, we also decided to re-style ourselves, voting to change our name from ‘The Zealots of Magumashi’, which they felt would be unappealing to the community, to Alpha and Omega (the beginning and the end).

Beyond our ideological reasons for joining the party, me and my friends had another motive of perhaps gaining support from CHADEMA to buy a water tank for our domestic water business. In September last year, the MP for Mnyika came to launch the root. At the ceremony, we presented our idea about the water tank to the guest of honor, and also asked for education and training and sponsorship for our soccer team. The MP was unable to help with the water tank problem, but promised to help with their other requests.

After our appeal for help with the water tank failed, the group was inactive for a while and unsure of what to do. We decided that we needed to try to learn a skill. I took it upon myself to travel to Makongo to meet with a woman who, over a few weeks, taught me how to make vikoi, a new type of batik. I shared my knowledge with the Alpha and Omega members and we now have twelve designs that we make. My parents agreed to let us use their house as a workshop, so that the group could concentrate on our work without getting distracted by people passing by on the street. The first production was on December 31, 2012, fulfilling my goal for the group to have taken some kind of action by year’s end.

The first batch of 12 pieces was all sold in the neighborhood. The second batch was 21 pieces, and I invited people from Restless to come and see what we had achieved and to thank them for giving us the opportunity. I continued to attend different training seminars with Restless, taking different youths from my group every time so that they could all benefit from the direct teaching. A seminar on business planning has led our group to examine our market and think carefully about our customers. We are writing a business plan with hopes of expanding the business so that we can start taking wages in the next three months. At present, we cannot afford to pay ourselves although we do help members out when crises arise such as bereavement. The group knows it has to evolve its products to keep up with the styles and branch out into new markets.

I am the Chairperson of Alpha and Omega. We are bringing young people together so that we can advance. By coming together to do business, young people are kept off the streets and given something productive to do, as well as increasing our economic standing. Secondly, Alpha and Omega aims to transform youth beyond its membership, as well as

bring opportunities to its members through methods like education and micro financing. By exposing youths to new possibilities, Alpha and Omega can help them see beyond their own struggles to the issues in their community, and in turn, help themselves.

My experiences working with youth has made me very knowledgeable on the struggles that young people face after school. I believe that these problems arise due to Tanzania's poor education policies and system. The teacher's poor conditions and pay, a constantly changing and badly organized syllabus, as well as the crucial issue of the abrupt change from Swahili instruction to English instruction for secondary school, are all examples of this. Transportation and distances to schools are another factor, as many students have to travel a long way, leaving them tired and unable to concentrate in class. I believe a lack of patriotism has caused class divisions in society, leading to different types of education such as free education, ward schools and expensive private schools. The children of elected leaders are the only ones with access to these private schools, in my opinion.

Youth can become disillusioned due to inequality and feeling powerless when they see their teachers going on strike to receive the pay owed to them and not getting it. The oppressive style of government leads youth to give up hope for change. They can see that resources are not allocated in an egalitarian manner and that representation in government is not inclusive of the youth. Government officials are often corrupt, leading me to conclude that they are not patriotic, in the same way that the youth have lost pride in their nation. The poor education of the youth leads to a viscous circle in which they do not have the awareness and wisdom to protest for change in their situation. The unfairness of the system lowers their self-esteem and gives them a poor sense of their own self worth. Because they have never been taught to see their own value or reach their potential, they don't have the confidence to stand up for themselves and demand better.

Regardless of who is in power, I believe the youth needs to be educated about their civic rights and responsibilities, so they know how to agitate for change and hold their representatives accountable. As young activists like me emerge and become self-aware of the problems in the community and government, we are becoming leaders and encouraging other youth to join us to "rise up" and become part of the decision-making process. I have ambitious plans for the future of Alpha and Omega. One day we might see a multi-story building bearing its name. Politics and activism has given me and my friends a purpose, a

movement to set goals around and to gain skills and education from in a way that gives us hope for the future.

Paul is remarkable for the degree to which his involvement with an NGO (*Restless Development*) has transformed him from a “Magumashi”⁶⁴ to a politicized and determined youth activist. Paul’s contribution to the creation of new political and civic youth structures is considerable. His political voice is strong and well-articulated with ample evidence to show he has translated his agency to concrete action. Paul also has the second highest level of education (after Bakari) suggesting a correlation (corroborated by the trajectories of other informants) between schooling and empowerment.

Paul’s story also reveals the advantages of better-than-average family resources, which allowed him to challenge the A-level Form V and VI curricula. While he ultimately failed Form VI exams and could no longer rely on his father to fund subsequent attempts at an A-level diploma, his advanced secondary school years provided him with critically formative experiences in student activism, which permeates his current advocacy work.

Due to a missed interview, Paul is the only informant for whom we were unable to record a life history map. That said, Paul’s story reflects typical school struggle and failure that were strongly mediated by his parents’ relative wealth. This allowed Paul to attend a private secondary school to Form VI. Although he ultimately failed Form VI and did not continue, his engagement with Restless Development has amplified a passion for advocacy that was also evident in his re-counting of the school protests in which he participated.

⁶⁴ A colloquial Swahili term for idle young men who spend their days smoking marijuana, jeering at women, and generally making a nuisance of themselves.

6.6 Summative Discussion of the NGO-influenced Informants

Most dynamic strands of agency-structure relations have genesis points – such as the creation or revision of an important government policy, the establishment of a business by an entrepreneur, or the surprise victory of an opposition politician. Similarly, the intentional interventions of NGOs and their programs are among the clearest generators of dynamic structuration involving, and intersecting, youth trajectories.

Most young people in Tanzania have educational histories/profiles much like the informants in this study and rely heavily on the informal economy for their livelihoods. The informants profiled above, along with others like Dorothy, who have had short training opportunities through NGO programs subsequent to their early exit from formal education, seem to have strongly benefited, making NGO programming a significant trend within post-basic education pathways. In such an active and aid-dependent environment as Tanzania with many bilateral, multilateral, and civil society actors implementing large aid programs, it is not surprising to learn of NGO activities reaching and impacting the lives of marginalized youth. However, the nature of this contact helps shed light on the transformative and multiplier role NGO interventions can play. Unfortunately, juxtaposed against the majority of informants *not* benefitting from an NGO intervention directly, the experiences of Dorothy, Paul, Lydia, Carol and Victoria also illustrate the happenstance nature of their good fortune, and the limited geographic penetration NGOs currently achieve.

6.6.1 Political Agency and Structuration

Paul was recruited and trained as a volunteer outreach worker whose role was/is to motivate and engage other youth to be active change agents in their own community. His

initial engagement with Restless Development really turned Paul's attention away from what he described as wasting time and watching life pass by:

Persuading and encouraging my peers was the kind of activist work that I wanted, so I made an effort to do that and after two or three months, we were invited by RD to attend another seminar. This time it was about coming up with business ideas. So, we went for a three-day seminar on how to come up with business ideas. After that, we had more training on civic education and also about health and HIV transmission. (Paul, May 18, 2013 - 2nd interview)

RD's approach of offering successive, ladder training opportunities appears to correlate with Paul's maturation process and willingness to shape his own values, attitudes and priorities. In particular, the civic/advocacy training Paul received seems to have vaulted him to a level of community engagement far beyond other informants. This suggests a hierarchy of agency creation in which certain NGO interventions have been particularly effective. I argue that these types of advocacy training interventions represent another, definitive thickener of agency. In the politically charged environment that is building toward Tanzania's 2015 general election, Paul's passion is timely. He clearly has a desire to lead and appears to be positioning himself for elected politics:

The current youth policy holds us back in many ways. But now, some activists like me, are starting to emerge. We have attended different types of seminars; we have received education in self-awareness. This self-awareness education immediately causes us to become involved in our communities. The NGOs strengthen our communities, because it's in neighbourhoods and communities where the problems actually exist. Youth finish school and then have nothing to do but be idle in the neighbourhood. It's time for the youth to rise up. If we want to turn the government

around, then youth must get into leadership positions. Then we'll be closer to decision making. (Paul, May 11, 2013)

6.6.2 Promoting Entrepreneurism

NGO outreach programs targeting marginalized youth promote entrepreneurship as a logical approach to job creation and poverty reduction. Restless Development, for example, taught Paul business and microfinance skills that have led to the creation of a small but profitable business involving Paul and a number of his peers, including Carol. Carol's previous training in tailoring through World Vision gives her a skill she uses as a back-up strategy while she develops her *vikoi* business with Paul. In addition, Dorothy's story and her encounter with the intervention strategies of Kimara Peers profoundly influence her optimism, her agency, and role as catalyst and change agent for other women. From her point of view, the opportunity to access the USAID/Kimara program has been life changing:

Thirty of us girls went there to Kimara and we learnt a lot of things. I realized then that I didn't need a lot of money to get my life going. I got to know that even small capital could give me more profit. If I hadn't learned this, I would still be crying of hunger. I am now teaching other women entrepreneurship and I also teach them how to save money. Some of them are even graduates of universities and were just at home doing nothing, or doing prostitution just to get money. The USAID⁶⁵ seminar change my life. (Dorothy, June 1, 2013)

⁶⁵ USAID, like many bilateral donors in Tanzania, fund local NGOs that, in turn, implement programmes. USAID was the funder of Kimara Peers but Dorothy often conflated the two partners when referring to the program.

Recalling DeJaeghre's (2014) distinction between the underlying philosophies and assumptions of "opportunity" vs. "necessity" entrepreneurship approaches⁶⁶, I would argue that what Paul and Carol have experienced through RD, and what Dorothy gained from Kimara Peers, worked well precisely because they were offered *necessity entrepreneurship* training. NGOs increasingly occupy space left open by Government and new neo-liberal economic and regulatory conditions not yet filled by institutional and/or private sector actors like training colleges. These particular examples suggest that – while an NGO intervention itself may start as an imported structure – the success of these approaches relies on an iterative, structuration dynamic that takes hold and allows youth agents to shape the programs that, in turn, shape them. In so doing, the entrepreneurship programming of some NGOs represents a significant, additional contributor to thickened agency.

6.6.3 Micro-Finance Schemes

Often part of entrepreneurship training, NGOs have promoted effective financial inclusion through micro-finance schemes that reach marginalized youth. Carol's support from Restless Development not only included the technical training on how to make *vikoi*⁶⁷ but also taught her how to establish a savings and loan cooperative with other youth – a crucial component for informal sector entrepreneurs with little or no access to formal financial institutions or micro-finance. Highlighting the multiplier effect of NGO interventions, Carol learned from Paul after RD trained him:

⁶⁶ Dejeaghre (2014) says entrepreneurship discourse distinguishes between those individuals who choose self-employment (opportunity entrepreneurship) and those for whom self-employment is the only option (necessity entrepreneurship).

⁶⁷ Vokoi's are colourful, hand-dyed fabrics used to make women's clothing and head dress.

Paul from Restless came to talk to us about challenges facing youth. We listened and agreed with what he said. We looked for two more of our friends, so then we were six in our little group. Paul taught us how to make Vikoi so we can build up capital. Restless taught us how to structure our savings group too. We now have 100,000 so if someone wants to borrow, they do and return the money with interest. The money is growing and we are starting to plan other things. (Carol, May 18, 2013 - 2nd interview)

Dorothy was also trained in how to establish these savings groups and she continues to spread the impact by training other groups of young women. Importantly, often the ability to access even small amounts of investment capital through these schemes can unleash entrepreneurial ideas from young people without the benefit of additional or specific training in entrepreneurship. For example, although she was not a formal informant for this study, we employed a young woman named Elicana in our home for the 3 years we lived in Tanzania. Elicana borrowed money from us four times – approximately 100,000 Tsh (\$75cad) each time – to purchase bulk used clothing shipped in, ironically, from North America. She would sort and sell these used clothes around Christmas, Easter and just before the end of Ramadan celebrations. In each of the four loans, she doubled her money and paid us back in full. Clearly, access to capital - whether informal like Elicana or through membership in a savings scheme/group - is another important thickener of agency for its ability to increase income and reduce poverty.

6.6.4 NGOs as Benefactor

In the case of Lydia, it is the serendipitous sponsorship from an NGO to attend QT that is making a difference in her life. Lydia was working for this NGO when the head of the

organization recognized her potential and offered to help her. For Victoria and Carol, NGO programs provided training that directly influenced the work both young women do – Victoria as a sales person, Carol first as a tailor, and now as a vikoi entrepreneur. For Dorothy, the NGO programs provided her with entrepreneurship and life skills training and for Paul, his contact with Restless Development has made him much more politically active and resulted in part time employment with the organization.

NGO programs provide an additional network – similar in impact to family benefactors – that clearly transform the lives of some young people. Unfortunately, civil society programming is a patchwork⁶⁸ leaving major areas of the country under-served. Foreign NGO interventions are, themselves, structured by the retreat of the state and concomitant advance of neo-liberal ethos that shifts responsibility from the state to the individual. In this way, the undeniably positive NGO interventions may only be an intermediary structure on the way to Tanzania's goal of reaching middle-income status. However, with no political culture of state funding to civil society organizations, any economic advances that cause aid for Tanzania to decline will have a detrimental impact on NGO outreach in the short term.

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter builds on informant narratives introduced in Chapter 5 but with a focus on three sub-groups of youth engaged in education or effective NGO training. Like the first group of narratives, many of the experiences, influences, reflections, and aspirations are

⁶⁸ CIDA participated in an exercise with other bilateral donors to visually map our national NGO activities in Tanzania. The results were dramatic, showing high concentrations of programming in Arusha, Mwanza, Dar es Salaam, and Zanzibar with harder to access central and western regions of Tanzania with almost no foreign NGO services.

similar including rural childhoods, mediocre primary and secondary schooling, and complex family arrangements and histories. These youth are similarly critical of government, generally highly religious, and wary of marriage and commitment before acquiring the requisite assets for adulthood – like stable income and permanent housing.

Informants experience complex and often tragic family circumstances – polygamy, divorce, poverty, AIDS related death, and the practice of fostering, among others. This presents significant challenges to young people wanting to engage in an essentially western trajectory of primary, secondary and tertiary education leading to formal sector employment, and an adult status capable of assuming the responsibilities of marriage and family. On the other hand, informants invariably experience the patronage of a family benefactor that emerges from among the complexity of these disrupted and challenged circumstances to provide a sort of “life-raft” toward informal sector employment or second chance education pathways that, ultimately, have put most of the informants of this study on reasonably hopeful trajectories.

The major difference between the narratives in this chapter and the ones in chapter 5, however, concern the strategies youth employ to navigate their lives. Generally speaking, these education/NGO engaged informants have negotiated terms and conditions that include time and resources to attend school or training programs. In most cases, it is the good fortune of having a stronger benefactor that creates this additional economic space. Mary has her aunt and a good job with ex-patriots to support her schooling aspirations. Bakari’s sister and brother-in-law had the financial resources to sponsor his QT studies and now, with scholarships for University, Bakari is almost self-sufficient. Lydia and Clara have the essential sponsorship arrangements they need to focus on QT – one through a brother, the

other through a generous NGO employer. And Victoria, Carol, and Paul are sufficiently orientated to the benefits of NGO programming that they will likely continue to benefit from these kinds of programs/services as they build their skills and futures. Because their current status is generally such that immediate income generation has been fully or partially deferred in favour of investing in education or training, the aspirations these informants express about the future are different than the informants “doing business”. Their narratives still include goals of owning a successful business, but this idea tends to form a back up plan subservient to dreams of formal sector work/security like teaching (Lydia and Clara), journalism (Mary), public administration and community work (Bakari), and even elected politics (Paul).

This group of informants magnifies certain variables more than others. These include the importance of a sponsor/benefactor, the enormous potential of the QT approach, and the combined benefits of advocacy, entrepreneurship and micro-finance training offered by some NGOS. While there is some socio-economic differentiation among the entire informant cohort, all informants are precariously close to the most limiting conditions of urban poverty. The strength of one’s benefactor in many cases is the difference maker and, for this reason, the presence of individual or institutional benefactors is a strong thickener of agency. Second chance or QT schooling is another powerful thickener of agency for those who have the resources and time to take advantage of it. So long as examination failure rates persist and all the related factors of language of instruction, teaching quality, and resources constraints remain unresolved, QT schools will provide an empowering and strategic approach to achieving secondary school success and penetrating the post-secondary education domain. Finally, the kinds of NGO outreach programming identified among this cohort must be seen as an effective and fortuitous thickener of agency for those youth whose pathways bring them

into contact. Whether it is short skills training (like Victoria), or the combination of advocacy, life skills, entrepreneurship, and micro-finance training Carol and Paul have acquired through RD, the impact on youth trajectories is clearly profound.

CHAPTER 7

YOUTH LIFE TRAJECTORIES: THE JUXTAPOSITION OF STRUCTURE AND YOUTH AGENCY IN TANZANIA

“You can never cross the ocean until you have the courage to lose sight of the shore.” – Christopher Columbus

7.0 Introduction

This chapter expands on the interviews and analysis presented in Chapters 5 and 6 to identify and connect the key structural forces that are seen to predominantly impact the lived experience of youth informants with the actions, strategies, and decision making youth employ and describe in their life stories. While the two previous chapters have focused on analyzing the specifics of each life history, this chapter takes a more formal and expansive approach to analyzing and linking structure and agency at the micro, meso and macro levels where the interplay dynamics can be observed.

Moving from the macro through to the micro level, structure/agency dynamics are broadly categorized under globalization, democratization and regionalization (macro), domestic economic and social structures (meso), and family and schooling (micro), with these last two being the most detailed. The categories of structures are conceptualized as forces of influence where the most macro effects of globalization, for example, encapsulate, press down upon, and shape the subordinate structures that lie closer and closer to the direct experience of youth (see Figure 8).

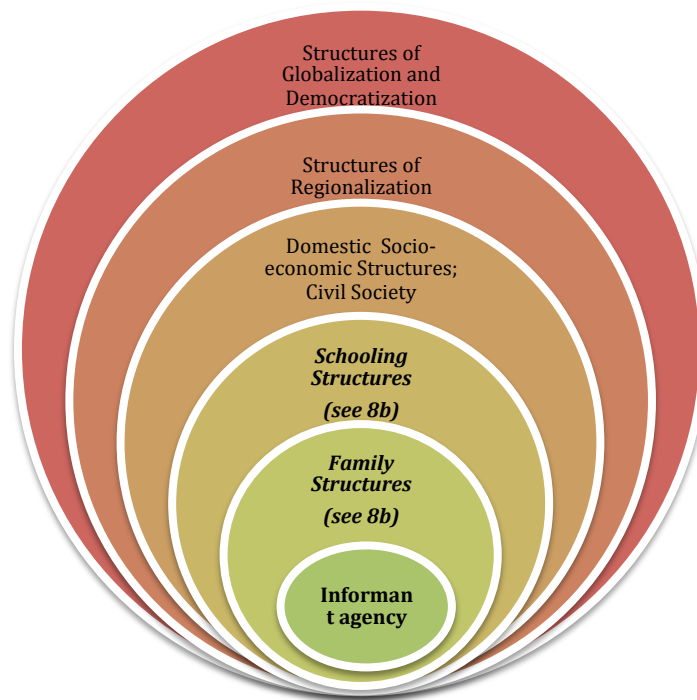


Figure 8: Overarching Categories of Structural Forces.

Generalized forces are symbolized by being positioned at the outer perimeter of the diagram and pressure increases closer to the centre – particularly for youth – where the structures associated with domestic socio-economic conditions, family, and culture lay, but also the institutional and policy structures of schooling and civil society. The strength of the interaction with individual youth agency increases as force factors move inward from the structures that are more ubiquitous and generalized to the entire Tanzanian population. The structural forces amplify and press down upon actors as they reach communities, families, and individuals where they are sometimes *contested from below* (Kellner, 2002) by the still weak but expanding voices from civil society, opposition politics, and the agency of young people. The balance of this chapter will unpack each of these structural categories and discuss the interaction with youth agency using specific examples from the data.

7.1 Globalization and Democratization

Youth were not questioned directly about their perceptions or views on globalization. Nonetheless, the omnipotence of globalization can be inferred through the stories, aspirations, and struggles revealed in the interviews, and in the reflections and prescriptions of many policy informants. The migration of young people to Dar es Salaam and other urban areas in Tanzania is a journey inspired by notions of modernity fueled by globalization that reach youth in every corner of the country through rapidly expanding social and traditional media; *“I just decided myself I was coming to Dar. I saw the environment here with better electricity, better teachers at school” (Mary, April 20, 2013).*

The repeated legitimation by youth for the acquisition of better English skills is invariably linked to the desire, and perceived need, to access the global language of commerce and education; *“The way I see it...I think if I knew English better that would be very helpful. If I could study, and learn English, that would be something that would help me a lot” (Jared, April 26, 2013).*

The growing awareness of the corruption and poor governance provided by Tanzania’s political system, and the increasing willingness of youth to speak out and be engaged in political opposition are signs that the emancipatory power of globalization is emerging because of the intense economic and governance changes globalization is forcing “from above”; *“There is no direct route/option to compel the government to do something. We really do try to pressure them. We have seen teachers go on strike because of not being paid their salaries and still they don’t get paid. So what will we youth do?” (Paul, May 11, 2013).*

The increasing reach and influence of NGOs is another example of forces of contestation, albeit weak, that are beginning to slowly expand to challenge the hegemonic power of the elite in support of a more plural fragmentation of power.

My cousin called me and said that 'future world' college was enrolling students and if I was interested, I could go live with her and enroll. PLAN paid for everything. The only cost each one of us bore was our transportation cost. And the teachers there were really good. The trainers at Future World had a different level of education compared to teachers in secondary school. Now at least I have a chance to compete in the work world. (Victoria, June 9, 2013)

Even the repeated calls for reform of government policy and improvements in quality of education emerge in response to an awareness of the insufficiency of current policy and institutions that arises through comparison with other countries in the global race for ranking, aid, investment, and other rewards of hegemonic liberalization. Adds Buchman (2001), Africa's "drive to construct and expand education [inter alia] comes, in part, from the external pressures of global political culture related to modern ideals of individual and national development" (p. 81).

7.2 Regional Structures

As globalization and the re-structuring of capitalism (Kellner, 2002) have advanced, domestic economic transformations in East Africa have rejuvenated⁶⁹ the political and institutional structures of the East African Community (EAC). Recently expanded to add Burundi and Rwanda to the founding partnership between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, the EAC is viewed by Tanzanians with a mix of promise and trepidation. More than the political

⁶⁹ The EAC collapsed in 1977, ten years after it was founded. The community was resurrected in 2000.

and economic benefits of trade liberalization and monetary harmonization, Ntarangwi (2009), for example, talks about the unity and social integration objectives that young East African hip-hop artists promote and seek through the EAC. Viewed as a structure within which Tanzania must compete, youth often express worry about their lack of skills, particularly when considering the economic and linguistic strength of Tanzania's regional rival, Kenya:

We used to pride ourselves on the high quality of Tanzanian education compared to other countries in East Africa but Kenya's education system is now better than ours because of how it is structured. (Mathew, May 18, 2013 - 2nd interview)

Still vigorously debated as the best way forward, the EAC brings with it calls for the harmonization of wage, employment, and qualification standards (among professional groups like teachers and nurses, for example) to facilitate the free movement of labour within the region. These ideas inject a sense of optimism and openness but also fear and concern about Tanzania's relative position in the community. Kenya, for example, long characterized as rapaciously capitalist and opportunist (a legacy of socialist-era propaganda) continues to pose a significant competitive threat, both real and perceived. Within the larger structural parameters of globalization, the impressive educational and business environment improvements in Rwanda, for example, and the shiny new "flyways"⁷⁰ of Nairobi that ease congestion and speed economic growth, are oft-mentioned examples of neighbouring prosperity that serve to highlight Tanzania's inferiority and unpreparedness to compete. These national insecurities surface frequently from youth especially when discussing sensitive comparative advantages like English language proficiency. They are particularly

⁷⁰ Highway overpasses being constructed around Nairobi.

well entrenched in the reflections of older Tanzanians. Consider these comments from three of the policy informants, all in their early 50s:

The education policy of Kenya is modeled on Tanzania's but still they are performing so much better, while we fall behind. (Kitila Mbundo, Professor of Education)

In your country you have developed these polytechnics and now in Kenya, they are doing a lot of that. But here in Tanzania we are still struggling to improve skill development. (Beatrice Omari, Senior Education expert)

I was just in Nairobi and heard how the kids from standard I – IV will be given laptops but look at our system; we are losing the nation because we don't train our kids. (Dina Bina, Entrepreneur)

7.3 Domestic Economic, Social and Family Structures

Regionalization dovetails with numerous domestic reforms and economic investments. Driven by an increasingly strong paradigm of economic growth for poverty reduction, infrastructure investments in natural gas, railways, ports, airports, and roads currently attract most of the development expenditures and foreign direct investment. This facilitates the confluence of aid, trade, and government planning priorities and adds momentum to the rapid change under way in Tanzania's economy.

Youth bear witness to these rapid changes through their frustrated attempts to forge meaningful livelihoods. Their hopes and expectations of basic education leading to steady employment in the formal economy are largely thwarted, leading most to employ various strategies as informal sector entrepreneurs (ISEs):

I got employed for a while but the work ran out. By then I was already experienced in business, I knew what profit was, where to get the phone cards, what are the risks

involved with business etc. I also compared it with the amount that I earned when I worked at the restaurant and I felt that the scratch card business paid more. So in 2007 I opened my business, selling airtime scratch cards. I have been doing this business ever since (Selemani, April 21, 2013)

Without rehearsing again the national and global conditions that led to post-Ujamaa structural adjustment conditions and the rapid liberalization of the Tanzanian economy, young school leavers, like those in this study, are entering a drastically different economic environment. Tanzania has been lauded internationally for macro-economic prowess in controlling inflation, maintaining high GDP growth, and pursuing governance reform (World bank Economic Update, 2014). These factors *can* be helpful to ISEs but the more immediate features like poor access to credit, lack of government support to small business, punishingly slow and corrupt bureaucracy (Edwards, 2011; Sundet, 2010), and the persistence of regional disparity in the quality and availability of services of any kind, characterize the unregulated informal economy for these informants today.

Aspects of this struggle frustrate some, while others are optimistic about their skills and prospects:

I sell airtime scratch cards from all mobile networks. I have been doing this for about six years now. I used to sell scratch cards for someone else's business but I saved my earnings to raise capital to start one of my own. I had to work really hard; I have worked for people a lot but I became my own boss in 2007. I became an entrepreneur early. And this hasn't been the only business I've had. I once sold French fries. I even opened a small eatery but I had to choose something that was more profitable. After the French fries business closed, my brother didn't have a job so I gave him some money to start out his own scratch card business. I tried having other business

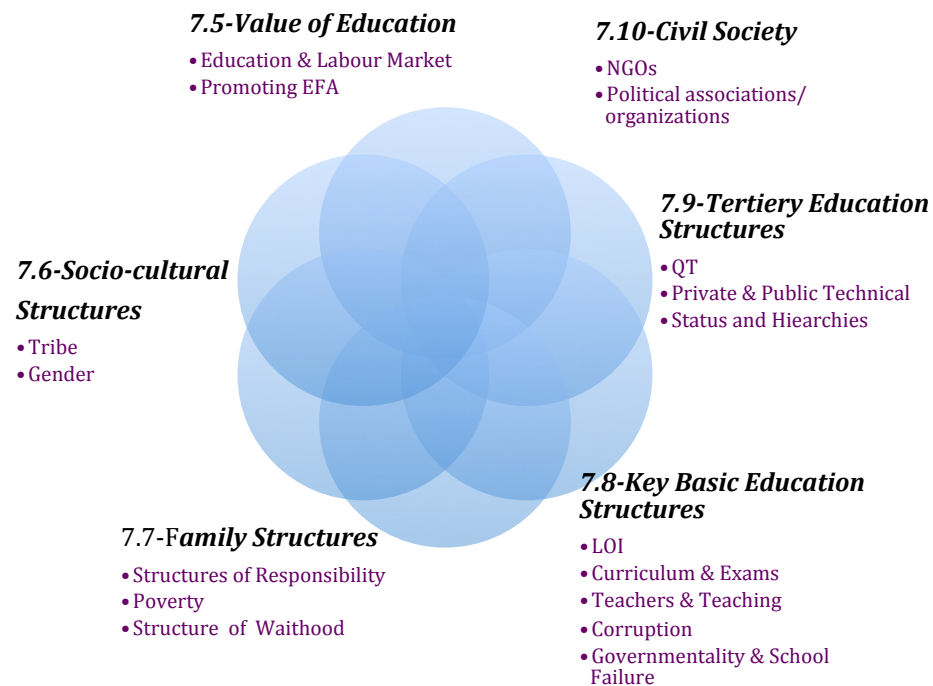
ventures but they didn't have good returns so I chose to concentrate on phone scratch cards one. I really enjoy this line of work! (Selemani, April 27, 2013 - 2nd interview)

Where attitudes of entrepreneurial confidence emerge, it suggests that young people are witnessing or experiencing reasonable success in the informal marketplace. Given the reported absence of assistance from government institutions or programs, the relative confidence of youth also highlights the irrelevance of government in their lives. The attitudes conveyed by informal sector informants in particular, confirm what Kamat (2008) documented among young Tanzanians when he examined “discourses of nostalgia”. While older Tanzanians romanticized the socialist period and the provision of goods and services by the state, she found young people espousing the values of new capitalism that have shaped youth today into what Ayittey (2005) describes as ‘African Cheetahs’. Thus, where the ideological underpinnings of the economic models of the 1960s-80s are clearly different than those of today, the structures challenging undereducated labour market entrants remain largely undisturbed. However, the attitude of entrepreneurial optimism, increasingly supported by civil society organizations, marks the notable difference among today’s youth.

7.4 The Interaction of School, Family and Cultural Structures

With these aforementioned global, regional and domestic socio-economic and familial forces bearing down on communities, families and individuals, it is the more detailed interplay of culture, family, and school structures that most dominate the stories of young Tanzanians. Numerous sub-structures emerge from these broader categories (see Figure 9) and, because they fundamentally and most directly determine the trajectories of youth, warrant more detailed discussion through the remainder of this chapter.

Figure 9 must be considered as a more detailed subset of Figure 8 (p. 224 of this paper) where the forces of schooling and family structures were portrayed as the last and closet structural contacts with the individual/agency. Figure 9 breaks the schooling and family structural forces down into more specific categories for discussion in this chapter.



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Figure 9. Key socio-cultural, family and schooling sub-structures impacting youth.

The phenomenon of school failure and the limited availability of alternate work or educational pathways are critical structures for the degree to which they constrain the options available to young Tanzanians and funnel and/or propel youth in certain directions. At the same time, families provide important, and differentiated value and resources structures that both constrain and enable youth aspirations. The unique experiences of poverty, and notions of gender and adulthood largely flow from family architectures that shape both the school experience and the trajectories that follow. Policy and institutional structures within the

education system profoundly impact young people. The screening and reproductive functions of formal basic education and the quality-related structural issues of language of instruction (LOI), examinations and curricula, and issues surrounding teachers and teaching significantly structure the educational outcomes for youth and, by extension, the options and choices youth enjoy, “post-school”. These structures are discussed next and in more detail starting with the almost universally high value young Tanzanians place on formal education.

7.5 The Value of Education (The Holy Grail!)

Tanzania is not unique in Africa where massive expansion of access to basic education⁷¹ has outstripped the ability of governments and donors to ensure sustainable quality (Stambach, 2000; Varvus, 2015; Wedgwood, 2006). While Tanzanians generally have sufficient space in primary schools and rapidly expanding, though still constrained, absorptive capacity to accommodate standard VII leavers at the secondary level, early failure at both levels is extraordinarily high as evidenced by the schooling outcomes of this study’s cohort.⁷² Yet, despite a discouraging track record of school failure and widespread concern about poor quality, young people still express a profound faith in education, specifically the formal secondary-school variety.

Bakari’s story exemplifies the attraction education holds for young people and the combination of determination and good fortune required to achieve it. Bakari’s narrative is particularly remarkable, tracing a journey from primary school failure to his current status as a University student on scholarship. After failing Standard 7, he resorted to a life of casual labour lasting 6 years. However, this long absence from school did not dampen Bakari’s

⁷¹ Defined here as including primary and secondary schooling.

⁷² Of the 14 youth informants, 6 failed standard VII, 6 failed Form IV or lower. Only Paul (form VI fail) and Bakari (now in university) achieved a full secondary education.

plans for school. Supportive family members reinforced the value of education, keeping his hopes alive even in the absence of an immediately viable plan. Bakari's determination seemed to grow as he matured and saw how lives were affected by the presence or absence of schooling:

I saw the lives of those who had gone to school compared to the lives of those who had not. I could see the difference and that difference was what motivated me. My aim was to go to school and reach certain goals that I had set for myself since childhood. (Bakari, April 23, 2013)

There are several value structures at play in the stories of Bakari and others that contribute to the notion of education as the “holy grail”. Community and cultural attitudes combine with family actors to form key influences. For many, the experience of poverty is another transformative factor in which education is promoted, both with and without accompanying evidence that it helps one out of poverty. In this, various perceptions of the linkages between education and the labour market help to shape youth attitudes about school. Finally, the ongoing development context in Tanzania and the evidence from youth informants suggest that public discourse – including the expansion of educational supply under EFA – continues to reinforce the notion of formal education first and foremost.

7.5.1 Education and the Labour Market

Linkages exist between the value youth place on education and the perception of its efficacy in terms of employment and prosperity; however, their views on the subject are conflicted. Many, especially when recalling their school failures, noted that it did not seem to matter because, at the time anyway, even people with education were without employment.

Clara, for example, felt that, *“there was no point going on with school because I saw that people who had completed Form IV were just roaming the streets; I was discouraged.”*

Others observe very different outcomes linked to education. Recall from her narrative that Dorothy’s sister-cousin moved ahead with her education when Dorothy failed standard VII and could not. Dorothy says, *“my sister cousin is blessed and she has a job and is getting paid because she studied; I just accept that this is life and her level is not mine”*. The strength of linkages between education and prospects for employment undoubtedly change over time and space. Whether the cause and effect relationship between schooling and work present as positive or negative, the perception cannot help but influence values held by individuals and communities wrestling with investment decisions about education.

Nepotism is an additional factor reported by informants, that influences perceptions of education and labour market linkages through its distorting effects. Commenting on the way youth with high levels of education give up after failing to find work, Dorothy, says *“there are those who work in offices with just Form IV but they get the work and training because their relatives work there. The person who went to school is left unemployed, but this is Tanzania”*. This discussion raises the important and complicated interplay of the forces of political economy, education, and the decision-making process for youth.

7.5.2 EFA and the Promotion of Education

An important initial premise of this research was the efficacy of expanded primary and secondary schooling under the EFA initiative. As a policy and institutional structure, EFA in Tanzania is funded by donors, implemented by the GoT, and systematically monitored and critiqued by various civil society organizations. Asked directly during the interviews, most informants had not heard of EFA and offered only weak interpretations of

what they thought it meant - surprising since a complex and costly public dialogue structure governs the relationship between donors, GoT officials, and civil society working in the education sector. The structure occupies the full-time, well paid careers of expatriate aid officials and civil servants who manage the billions of dollars in assistance that have supported school construction and the expansion of access for the last decade or more. Yet, even key policy informants working in the sector question the mixed messages and cross-purposes:

With EFA, I think there is a need for Tanzania to clarify the purpose of education as they see it. There is no clear direction because there is so much conflicting advice from development partners and from within the global EFA discourse. So they are getting all these signals and just trying to cope. (Stellen, Senior Education Analyst with the Swedish Aid Agency)

Civil society organizations ostensibly participate both in the dialogue and in a “watch-dog” function but have long complained of being shut out of critical planning and implementation discussions. The public messaging about EFA appears to be weak, and concerns are freely expressed within the dialogue architecture responsible for implementing EFA initiatives. However, the reality of new school construction across the country combined with public discourse on education issues in both the Swahili and English media function as supply side-stimulus reinforcing the notion that education is important. On the one hand, the improved proximity of schools makes the choice to send children to school easier because schools are physically closer, and mostly free.⁷³ On the other hand, schooling as a public good and normative process occupying a defined period of childhood is also

⁷³ Varvus and Moshi (2009) has documented how various administrative fees (books, uniforms, teacher housing supplements among others) have crept back into primary and secondary schooling environments eroding the notion of ‘free’ education.

harder to resist as a signal of modernity, including its inherent promise of poverty alleviation. In this way, EFA as a policy and institutional structure directly and indirectly reinforces the message that education is of paramount importance. Certainly, even when informants appeared to be guessing at the meaning of EFA, they were still adamant and accurate about the underlying responsibility of the state to provide it:

Because education ... anybody should be able to get an education. People who are not well off, those who are well off, someone who is average, disabled or not - because there are a lot of places where you find disabled people who do not participate in the education system. Education should help everybody, since everybody has a right to education and it is the responsibility of our government. (Joseph, April 21, 2013)

7.6 Socio-Cultural Structures

7.6.1 Tribe

Often it is an individual family or community member who emphasizes education. My interpreter, for example, comes from the same tribe and region as Bakari. She was able to add personal reflections to Bakari's story, referencing the influence of her grandfather and the strong work ethic and value placed on education by the Haya people generally (evidenced by Keshubi's own success and that of her father – a Harvard educated economist who grew up in extreme poverty). Other informants, like Mathew and Mary (both Chagga) also spoke of the importance of education within their families and communities. Stambach (2000), in fact, shows how traditional land inheritance among the Chagga is increasingly supplanted by a commitment to the modern social capital of education, with the family banana grove sold in

favour of investment in education. This tribal or cultural influence is also found, in Klocker's (2007) analysis, to be a significant *thickener or thinner of agency* depending on the particular emphasis within the group. Giving the Wahehe tribe from the Iringa region as an example, she says this tribe is the preferred source of child domestic workers because "they are reputed to be subservient, submissive, tolerant and hard working" (p. 89) and ambivalent regarding education, particularly for young girls. For the most part, Tanzania has successfully subdued tribal tensions through policies of integration and common language. However, conversations about certain high stakes issues – such as the candidates standing for election as President of the Republic – will evoke tribal considerations. None of Tanzania's Presidents have ever come from dominant tribes and one will hear Tanzanian's (especially non-Chagga) agree that the country is not ready for a 'Chagga' President because of the considerable social power already held by that tribal group.

7.6.2 Gender

Very prominent in the interviews with female informants (see Dorothy, Gama, and Carol in particular) are strong expressions of emerging gender awareness. In Dorothy's case, having grown up in a female-led household with strong female role models, the family structures that influence her feminist views are important. For example, Dorothy speaks of being inspired by an older cousin who worked for the Lutheran church and built a house by age 29 (a very important achievement for a young Tanzanian) where Dorothy and her sister-cousin lived for a period of time. This older cousin would implore the younger girls not to worry about men saying, "get yourselves sorted first financially and men will always be there". This advice to pursue independence seems to form a central tenet of Dorothy's agency and resilience.

Another factor that came through in our discussions with Victoria and Gama – two informants who maintain casual relationships with the fathers of their daughters - was the strong consideration given to the increasing education levels of those male partners. The girls appear to assume that as their boyfriends progress in school, the likelihood of them proposing marriage or even a more permanent relationship arrangement diminishes. For this reason, these girls move forward with a determination to establish themselves independently from any reliance on their romantic partner.

My daughter's father, he finished Form 6 in Iringa. We have been together 4 years . But I cannot know him since he is educated; he may change, but I would like to be with him. If we are together, life might be good depending on how we are as a couple and how we plan our lives together but I don't count on this. (Carol, May 11, 2013)

This reflex seems to be influenced by the social capital attached to education – and in these cases to the status being achieved by boyfriends who will soon be “out of reach”. Returning to Dorothy’s story, she even shared her plan to have a child in the next few years and raise the child on her own. While the deliberate nature of Dorothy’s plan goes beyond what we heard from other female informants, it does add to a consistent theme of determined independence among young women. This may suggest that the unreliability of romantic relationship structures – disturbed by diverging educational trajectories or economic hardships that prevent males from acquiring and providing the resources required for marriage and family – encourage young women to reduce their reliance on men and shift expectations to their own potential. It may also suggest that improvements in democratic and

civil society structures that advance the equality of women are contributing to a growing self-confidence that asserts itself in the narratives from this cohort.

7.7 Family Structures

The complexities and hardship faced by informants and their families represent some of the most powerful examples of forces shaping the lives of youth. While neither the scope nor the competencies of this study permit extensive analysis of cultural forces within Tanzanian families, acknowledging family circumstances that both help and hinder youth does advance an understanding of why these informants make certain decisions and how they navigate particular obstacles or opportunities. Of 14 informants, only three – Mathew, Joseph and Paul – present intact, nuclear family situations with full biological siblings and two parents married and co-habiting. For the others, the narratives reveal a variety of more complicated family structures that clearly impact informants' lives in important ways.

For example, several narratives suggest how the scourge of AIDS determines how youth are parented, and by whom. Carol, Clara, and Bakari, for instance, recount stories of their parents' deaths at young ages with vague references to causes that very likely serve as culturally or emotionally palatable surrogates for AIDS-related death. The hardship and trauma of the illness and death of a parent appears to have directly and negatively impacted the school trajectories of Lydia and Carol, among others. For young women in particular, long-term illnesses like this, shift domestic burdens onto their shoulders causing their schooling to suffer. In some cases, the combination of increased responsibility at home and the grief of losing a parent leads to a significant schooling gap, which ultimately becomes too difficult to close, leading the individual to drop out. The subsequent care of several informants by aging grand parents shape informant stories further. Often, poverty worsens

with the loss of younger, more productive adults. Eventually, youth who fall under the care of grandparents must also endure their deaths and concomitant grief and uncertainty, often at a critical age and stage of schooling (see Bakari's narrative for instance). The lengthy description from Carol about her complex family exemplifies typical family structures heard across the cohort:

When my father went to Bukoba on leave, he came back with another woman who was pregnant. My older sister was already born and my mother was expecting me. He married that woman and they are still together today. They have four children. I therefore have a paternal half-sibling whose age and mine differ only by a month. My mother passed away in 2002 when I was in Standard 4. She forbade us to go anywhere else and wanted my grandmother to raise us. So our Grandma had to raise my older sister and me. But, we too have different fathers. Then, my mother's older sister passed away after having gotten AIDS/HIV from her husband. He passed away first, and then she followed. This sister left three children but two were taken to their father's relatives, and my grandma took one. That child is now in Form I. Then two more children were left by my mother's younger sister who also passed away from AIDS; those two are currently living at my grandparents' home. (Carol, May 18, 2013 - 2nd interview)

Carol's story describes the burden the AIDS epidemic has placed on grandparents and other family members to raise orphaned children. It is also not difficult to imagine the strain on limited financial resources within disrupted family structures like this one, exacerbating issues of poverty including the ability or even willingness to send children to school.

Divorce and polygamy define other complex family structures revealed in the narratives of Selemani, Mbaraka and Mathew in particular. The lives of Selemani and Mbaraka, both young Muslim men, follow a similar pattern wherein their biological fathers

leave their mothers to form second and third families with other wives. Among other impacts, the distribution of resources over a broader and more fragmented family structure deepens the experience and limitations of poverty for both young men and significantly erodes their opportunities for schooling. In terms of divorce, Mathew's story shows the significant macro-effects that economic liberalization can have on family structures. Kamat (2008), in observing the relative rarity of stable marriages among young couples in Tanzania, points to the structurally induced economic changes that "have penetrated and destabilized the private and social lives" (p. 373) of young and old. The conflict and separation of Mathew's parents figure prominently in his narrative and is even cited by Mathew as the reason he and his sister failed Form IV. Furthermore, it is possible to infer a connection between the marital conflict in his family and the business pressures his parents were experiencing at the time:

The troubles between my parents started in 2010. I think they do not trust each other because of business and money. My mom is a big-time businesswoman and my dad also has a job, not a small one, but one that really allows him to get to a certain level. But they no longer share anything because of a lack of trust. The reason I say this is because they were planning to open a company of their own. (Mathew, May 11, 2013)

The stories of Victoria and Mary, on the other hand, highlight family arrangements where children are raised by single mothers who are not married or in lasting relationships with the biological fathers. Frequently, these mothers have additional children with different men creating complicated relationships between half siblings, as well as varied dynamics between paternal and maternal-side extended families and their engagement in child rearing

strategies. Mary, for example, was raised by a single mother and only met her biological father at age ten. Nonetheless, she went on to spend 3 years under the care of her biological *paternal* grandparents before returning to the care of her maternal grandparents, necessitating a geographic move and a change of schools – both undoubtedly disruptive forces in her life.

Rather than being reflective of power struggles between relatives of informants born out of wedlock or otherwise estranged from their fathers, these seemingly complex living arrangements often reflect fostering strategies (Hashim & Thorsen, 2011). Fostering occurs where “children reside in households other than their birth parents and/or circulate between different social parents” as a strategy to offset the constraints of poverty, crisis like illness or death in the family, divorce, or even “fear of witchcraft” (p. 14), a vague but nonetheless important element in Mathew’s life story. In addition to Mary’s case, long-term fostering strategies emerge in the narratives of Dorothy, essentially raised from age two by a loving paternal aunt, and Mathew, who spent formative years with his grandparents in Dar es Salaam. Fostering strategies facilitate the sharing of resources and responsibility – often related to the task of helping a child attain education – across a family’s internal network, in most cases positively structuring better outcomes for those concerned.

When I failed Standard 7 here in Dar, I was just at home with home duties and I started hating these duties. I had nothing to help me move forward. My parents were not able to help me proceed with school, so I started cooking food for sale. Then my aunty helped me by starting a restaurant so I could work there selling food. So I started doing this small businesses and looking forward. (Dorothy, May 25, 2013)

Once young people have transitioned from childhood to waithood (Honwana, 2012), the fostering relationship either becomes redundant, more symbiotic, or is replaced by other

conditional relationships with different family benefactors. In the latter and more common scenario, these actors enable or encourage migration to the city, provide financial, material and/or moral support to facilitate schooling or business start-ups, or offer safe haven during periods of uncertainty. Frequently, these benefactors provide a source of advice to help youth think through options and re-structure their plans after a *life crash* (Bird, 2009).

The ubiquitous presence of benefactors across the cohort, and the essential role they play, provide hopeful counterpoints to the many difficult stories of family disruption heard in this study. Seen in the context of widespread family instability, the presence of these “angel advisors/ investors” - to borrow terminology from entrepreneurship discourse - is invaluable to the strategies undertaken by young Tanzanians. Without these benefactors, the *thickness* of youth agency would certainly be less, and the interplay between their weakened agency and existing structures would surely produce different outcomes:

We moved to Dar and I got this job with an NGO called VINOSEF in 2009. In 2011, my director simply told me that she was touched by my case and thought it would be a good idea if I went to school since I had never finished secondary school—I stopped halfway—so she thought it would be good if she sponsored my education further. I’m grateful to my boss that for now she has allowed me to study fulltime so right now I don’t go to work. I only go to school. (Lydia, June 25, 2013)

Without benefactors, the very opportunity for engagement between the marginalized majority and certain structures (e.g., second chance secondary schooling) would not be possible, thereby contributing in a very material way to the structuration of Tanzanian society that further disadvantages the disadvantaged. To isolate just one example from the cohort is difficult because there are many unique benefactor arrangements. However, Clara – whose

family background mirrors Carol's, but also includes the experience of having already been married and widowed with two young sons back in her home village, recounts a powerful story of her brother as benefactor that reflects, the critical importance of this social structure:

When my husband passed away, I stayed in Iringa for a while, but life was difficult. I was on my own, and my mother in-law was not so well off. Also, my parents are not alive. My brother told me to come here [to Dar] and go to school so that if a job opportunity that required a [secondary school] certificate came up, it would be easier for me to get. He brought me here in 2010. I live with him and his wife and child. I follow my brother in birth order. I came to Dar and joined the QT Form I/Form II year and by God's grace, I passed and was able to join Form III/Form IV. My brother told me that as long as I passed, he would continue to help me. He told me not to worry about how I would continue my education. (Clara, June 23, 2013)

Also revealed in Clara's story, and present in the youth–benefactor relationships of many others (see Dorothy, Mary, and Mathew), are what Molm (2010) calls *structures of reciprocity*. Most commonly found among female informants, the young women often fill a needed role in a relative's home (usually a childcare function) in exchange for accommodation and support with school fees or business capital. It is possible that young women more often have to exchange their labour for financial or other assistance from relatives in this way to compensate for the still powerful predisposition within Tanzanian society to invest in males first and foremost. Tellingly perhaps, none of the benefactor relationships enjoyed by male informants included this reciprocity requirement.

7.7.1 Structures of Responsibility

Many of the informants have, themselves, become parents. Their stories reveal some of the socio-cultural structures that level considerable burdens of personal responsibility. These responsibilities, in turn, shape the priorities youth set for themselves and the options they necessitate. Several observations are consistent across the cohort of informants with children; invariably, female informants with children have custody of the child but, in several cases, are reproducing the structures of fostering discussed earlier by leaving their children in the care of relatives, usually back in their home villages. Lydia employs this strategy so she can focus on obtaining her secondary schooling, while Victoria endures the separation from her daughter so that she can work in Dar es Salaam. Both women utilize the support structures available to them in order to better provide for the children in the medium to long term.

Conversely, young fathers in the cohort consistently report having assumed financial responsibility for their children even though, in all cases, they are estranged from the child's mother. These responsibilities in particular, are expressed assertively in the stories of Jared and Mbaraka, for example, suggesting that meeting the financial obligations of parenthood are important points of pride and even signals of adulthood status so sought after, albeit in different ways, by youth in the cohort:

My boy is 8 years old. I give my child's mother money to help raise our son. I pay his school fees and when he gets sick, I cover his medical expenses I take financial care of our child. (Jared, April 15, 2013)

Responsibility structures are not only present among informants with children. In most of the interviews, informants with and without children expressed the burden and

expectations they feel to capture and share resources with extended family members. For most, it was particularly important to remit whatever earnings they could afford back to their mother in the village. This notion is exemplified in these comments from Mbaraka:

Let's say my mother has not been fortunate enough to live close to her children. They are all far away; some are in Mtwara so I've taken care of my mother a lot over the years. This made her very happy because she doesn't have the financial means to take care of herself Mbaraka, April 1, 2013).

In addition, youth are cognizant of the need to support siblings or even cousins in the pursuit of schooling, suggesting that the all-important role of family benefactor, and even fostering practices, are themselves being discursively reproduced.

7.7.2 Poverty

Poverty – particularly in rural areas where the cost/benefit analysis applied to schooling versus farm or domestic labour is most acute – remains the greatest constraint to retention and completion of basic education (Government of Tanzania, 2011, p. 47). This is especially true for secondary schooling as the value of a young person's labour to the family economy increases with age. Evidence from the GoT's Education Sector Analysis (2011) shows the poorest children's performance to be starkly below that of their wealthier peers. Primary retention improves significantly with income levels and income levels tend to be higher for urban vs. rural dwellers. In Tanzania, children from the top 20% according to household income are three times more likely to reach Standard VII than those from the poorest households. A similar pattern is observed for access to secondary schooling.

Transition rates also suggest extremely limited post-primary options and a significant imbalance between university and technical graduates.

While informants in this study express a fundamental belief in the value and importance of obtaining an education, many are doing so almost hypothetically because of having missed a chance at decent or further schooling. Where this is the case (for example, in the stories of Selemani, Mbaraka, Carol, and Dorothy) it is invariably due to poverty and/or low levels of educational attainment of parents or other close family members resulting in a level of ambivalence toward education. Poverty and the poor school outcomes that result, particularly in rural areas, are the norm. Jared, for example, recounts his standard VII story where only 2/57 passed the national primary leaving examination. Moreover, the two that did pass “never went to secondary school because their parents could not afford it so they just went on to live regular village lives like the rest of us”.

Poverty, or the relative absence of it, structures family values and the discourse of education in the home environments of the informant group. Youth from poorer backgrounds like Mbaraka, Selemani and Jared talk about lack of awareness and family support for education.

I didn't go on with schooling after standard VII. You know I was really interested in education and perhaps even to reach a higher education level but my family's economic circumstance makes that goal unrealistic. (Selemani, April 27 2013 - 2nd interview)

Jared is even angry when he says, “we had a lot of cows; my parents could have at least sold one so I could go to secondary school”. There is, however, recognition of evolving attitudes toward education leading Jared to mollify his own position saying, “I can't blame my parents too much because people were just not aware of the value of education at that

time”. The stories of informants from wealthier families – like Mathew, Gama, and Paul – reveal how differently these structures can influence youth when family financial resources are adequate. Gama and Paul both attended private secondary schools – a considerable expense compared to nearly free but lower quality state schooling. Similarly, knowing his parents can and will pay, Mathew took his time to choose from a variety of private and public tertiary options as he re-calibrated his plans toward vocational training after having failed Form IV. Another strong indicator – and an important socio-educational structure in itself – is the widespread use of “tuition”. Not surprisingly, access to this after hours tutoring is highly dependent on family resources. It appears to be an essential expense if one has any hope at all of passing national examinations, thereby rendering “tuition” as a function of wealth and an additional screening mechanism favouring those whose families can pay.

For most informants however, poverty withdraws the privilege of wallowing for long in one’s misfortune. For some though, like Mathew, the higher socio-economic status of his family combined with the engagement of his parents and other relatives in helping him reflect on his failure and his new pathway possibilities, created a more patient, collaborative and constructive environment, but also a more atypical one. Nonetheless, the more positive process leaves Mathew’s self-esteem strong and his outlook quite hopeful:

You know parents also have a vision of their own. They said to me.... ‘for now, let’s put behind us this issue of your secondary education because you failed, repeated again, and still failed. Let us try to consider something else, so what else would you like to do? I took the conclusion I had made based on looking at how other people were coping. My parents gave me counsel, for about a week—also my relatives, my uncles. My Dad thought that since he, as a parent, was not able to convince me, he would call relatives that I liked and listened to and they would call me and ask me ‘so

now what have you planned?’. I’d tell them, ‘I want to be an entrepreneur’. (Mathew, May 11, 2013)

7.7.3 Structure of Waithood

Youth informants strongly and consistently echo one over-arching goal - the desire to gain a measure of security and income that will allow them to move into, or on with, young adulthood, a state of being which they believe to include qualities of self-respect, pride and happiness, the ability to construct a house, marry, support children, and help other family members, inter alia. Some informants, like Jared, Gama, Clara, Lydia and Mbaraka already have children so their stories tended to focus less on their transition to adulthood and more on providing for their children. Those informants without children were more in “the process of becoming” (Durham, 2008) and offered similar self-assessments as the one put forward below by Joseph:

Taking my age into consideration, I have not yet gotten my life in order. You cannot start thinking of getting married and living with a woman when you do not have a steady job, when you are still a hustler and the little that you get is just enough to get you by. You cannot have a family with money that is uncertain.... In 5 years, I want to no longer depend on my parents. I need to have my own life/be independent. I cannot rely on my father anymore. In the next five years, I want to have my own residence (Joseph, April 28, 2013 - 2nd interview).

Relationships and economic status are principle factors relegating youth to what Honwana (2012) and others (Tilleczek, 2011; Tukundane et al, 2014) refer to as a new and prolonged stage between childhood and adulthood called *waithood*. Striving for respect and recognition – reasonable surrogates for adulthood – are easily observed when Dorothy expresses her determination to have her accomplishments acknowledged by her family:

I don't like to degrade myself because I have aims for the future. I want the family to take me as an independent person. For example, when we have a family wedding there are those who segregate me within the family. They will have a meeting and not inform me because they think I will not contribute anything. When such things happen, you end up feeling very bad so I'm working hard that they can also see that am capable. (Dorothy, June 1st, 2013)

The success of youth livelihood strategies, particularly the extent to which they will allow young people to reduce dependence on parents or other family, are integrally related both to self-image and societal recognition as an adult. Joseph, already 26 years old, estimates he'll be in his early 30s before attaining the resources needed to move out of waithood and into adulthood. Although he is younger than Joseph, Mathew is also testing his proto-adult status through the leadership role he plays in a local youth group. And Dorothy is in the midst of an important struggle for acceptance and respect from her extended family. Other informants, like Clara, are engaged in a fluid transition back and forth across the ambiguous terrain between youth, waithood and adulthood. Already a widow and mother of pre-teen boys, Clara willingly relinquishes her adult position in pursuit of her education by moving back into waithood in a subordinate and dependent relationship with her brother.

7.8 Key Basic Education Structures

Tanzania's school system is a powerful, often intransigent and ideological combination of policy and institutional mechanisms wielding enormous influence on the lives of young people and, by extension, the collective course of the country. The EFA agenda has pushed much more than just better access to schooling in Tanzania; schooling itself, it has been argued, carries with it notions of an idealized childhood (Ansell, 2005). In

Tanzania, the expansion of primary and secondary schooling predicated on human capital theory advances a neo-liberal economic model that assumes waged employment in a formal economy. Parents and students conflate English language competency with school success while actual learning outcomes remain weak (Uwezo, 2011) and the numbers of students failing the system annually multiplies. This expanded access to poor quality schooling widens the scope of social reproduction with little dissent from citizens despite growing awareness of the inherent shortcomings. The reasons for school failure most often cited by the youth include language of instruction, curriculum and examinations, and teacher/teaching related issues. These policy and institutional structures are explored next starting with language of instruction (LOI), for it is the policy and practice of English in secondary schools that stands at the core of systemic schooling dysfunction.

7.8.1 Language of Instruction

The language of instruction (LOI) in the primary and secondary cycle is the most central, yet under acknowledged, issue at the root of poor quality basic education and school failure in Tanzania. Brock-Utne (2007) characterizes the situation bluntly:

If the aim is the stupidification of the Tanzanian labour force, the use of English, a foreign language to the students and a language poorly mastered by the teachers, seems to be an excellent strategy. If the aim is to create a labour force with critical abilities and creative qualifications, the [current] language of instruction policy is unlikely to have such an outcome. (p. 487)

It is necessary to examine this policy structure in some detail because the consequences of English LOI are closely linked with perceptions of education, class interests

and reproduction, declining quality and failure of other investments in the education system, the plight of teachers, the responses of donors, and the needs of the labour market, among others. The historical, political and economic influences driving LOI policy are alternately supported and challenged by researchers, policy-makers, and other interested stakeholders, thereby establishing LOI as the single most salient structural dilemma in the educational system today (Brock-Utne, 2007; Qorro, 2013; Tibategeza & DuPlessis, 2012; Wedin, 2005). Lending credence to the importance of this issue is its consistent yet controversial emphasis in youth interviews as it relates to school success, or lack thereof. Here, Carol and Mathew respectively, establish the general arguments against and for English as a medium of instruction:

Many people say that if you study from Standard 1 to Standard 7 in Kiswahili, then Form I to Form IV should also be in Kiswahili. I agree, because the language of foreigners is difficult. Sometimes you may find some subjects difficult because they are in English, but the same material presented in Kiswahili is simple and easily understood. The only difference is the language used. (Carol, April 10, 2013)

When cars are brought to you, it will come with instructions in English. For instance, a spanner that has no Swahili name. There is no Swahili name for wire for example — everything is in English, so it's actually helpful when we learn in English. We can complain but English is required in the world market, especially if you wish to advance yourself. (Mathew, April 15, 2013)

The perspectives of Carol and Mathew highlight the essential dilemma posed by the language policy for youth and Tanzanians in general. On one hand is the increasingly global nature of Tanzania's economic relationships and the growing need for Tanzanians to communicate and trade beyond national or regional Swahili-speaking borders; to use what

Nyerere himself termed the “*Kiswahili of the World*” (English) to advance Tanzania’s economic potential.⁷⁴ Carol’s perspective, on the other hand, gives voice to the notion - strongly backed by research in Tanzania (see Brock-Utne, 2002, 2005, 2007; Quorro, 2013; Tibategeza and duPlessis, 2012) - which argues that one cannot learn nor teach effectively in a language one does not understand well.

Most young people side with Mathew’s (and Nyerere’s) views and accept the pragmatism of aspiring toward English proficiency. For them, the pursuit of English proficiency through their basic education is “an attempt by students to identify with the community of smart people” (Ngonyani, 2001, p. 255). However, “aspire” is the operative term because the reality of English medium instruction is far from promising.

There is a pervasive misunderstanding that the Tanzanian education system offers a bilingual education. In reality, there are many impediments to both effective learning of subject content and useful English language instruction. First, informants consistently report that during their Form I-IV schooling experiences, teachers actually relied on a hybrid of English and Swahili known as code switching – something youth call “Swanglish” - to explain concepts:

In school we realized that we were having problems with understanding English.

The teacher came. Most of the time we would use Swahili so that we could understand each other properly and after, wherever someone didn’t understand something (s)he would ask and whoever understood would explain it to him in Swahili (Gama, April 27, 2013)

Code switching, where teachers and learners move between maternal and other languages (most commonly Swahili and English) is prohibited in high school classrooms.

⁷⁴ Originally a staunch advocate of an entirely Swahili-based school system, Nyerere changed his position on LOI toward the end of his Presidency.

This forces students and teachers to adopt coping strategies - a form of agency for both, used to avoid embarrassment. Learning behaviours are mimicked while actual learning remains dubious. Examples of this include the use of rote learning and choral responses to teacher-posed questions that enable students to mask their lack of comprehension and teachers to delude themselves that their teaching is effective. These distortions detract from a full English immersion and likely hinder the development of critical thinking, writing, and oral communication in English necessary to challenge national examinations in English at Form IV and VI.

Secondly, the quality of English language skills exhibited by teachers is shockingly low. This is a significant detriment to quality schooling where teacher recruits – most holding a low pass, Form IV secondary certificate themselves - train to become teachers only to eventually offer a compromised quality of English language communication and instruction in their own classrooms. This cycle reproduces structural and quality deficiencies of teacher candidates, accelerating a downward spiral in English proficiency for all concerned. It is difficult not to consider that much of this current situation is by design. Impeding a truly bilingual education system, Plessis (2012) says, “is the maintenance of the status quo on the part of the political elite, which ensures that this social class reproduces itself” (p. 187).

Many argue that it is “unethical and immoral to (pretend to) ‘teach’ students in an incomprehensible language, and then examine and judge them as having ‘failed’ when they struggle in exams” (Qorro, 2013, p. 41; see also Brock-Utne, 2005, 2007; Widen, 2012). Clearly, the 2013 national Form IV examinations, wherein 95% of students (approximately 1 million young Tanzanians) received a division 4 or lower, suggests a massive structural

problem in Tanzania's education system rooted in the language issue and its impediments to learning and testing.

You know, for a large percentage of Tanzanians, you'll find that a lot of instruction is actually done more in Swahili than in English. For instance, a geography teacher might actually teach more in Swahili and only use very little English. But when you get to the exams...you just have to answer properly – in English and that is very hard. (Joseph, April 21, 2013)

Government schools use Swahili as the language of instruction from pre-school (where available) to standard VII with English offered as one of ten subjects. If students pass their standard VII examinations with a sufficiently high grade and exercise their eligibility to move to a government secondary school (Form I), they find themselves in an inverted language medium with courses taught in English with Swahili as a mandatory subject to Form IV. English remains the official LOI for all secondary and tertiary education. Importantly however, since 1995 English medium private schooling is permitted and increasingly available at pre-and primary levels – an option invariably chosen for the children of those who can afford to pay, including every civil servant to whom I posed the question over a three-year period working in Tanzania.

Private schools used to be there as a second chance if you failed public school. When the quality of education started to deteriorate, many elites the middle class people started to send their kids to Uganda and Kenya. The Kenyan schools even had buses. People are sending their kids to private schools here now to follow English. (Kitila, senior lecturer of Education, University of Dar es Salaam)

Adult informants – several of them former teachers now in senior policy positions in education – recall their school experiences in English very differently. Meambe, for example, now an Assistant Deputy Minister, remembers a system where several months of concentrated vocabulary and English grammar acquisition in each subject area preceded the tackling of the subject matter itself. Others, like Mushi, recall her teachers being not only very competent English speakers, but also being very strict when it came to the use of English only in the classroom; *“Our teachers were very proud of their English and certainly made sure we stuck to the rules and learned the language”* (Victoria, senior aid officer).

It seems a generational perspective is at play here where these informants – now in their 50s – are recalling Tanzania’s “golden age” of quality basic education, established in the early Ujamaa period. Today, however, the decline in the quality of education that started in the latter stages of Ujamaa and continued with structural adjustment and the current EFA context, has ushered in a steady downward spiral in the pedagogical practices of a once successful bilingual education model. Erosion of English language standards has occurred rapidly and in lockstep with each declining standard of Form IV cohort that feeds teacher education programs. Most discouragingly, it is difficult to imagine an effort to recover the competency levels of current and newly minted teachers without a massive investment in upgrading, or a complete change in approach embracing ideas such as a designated transition year between Standard VII and Form I where students do nothing else except upgrade their English skills in preparation for high school entry.

With respect to youth informants of this study, while they do consistently describe the importance of speaking English, it is from the perspective of not being able to speak English well or even at all. The appreciation of English proficiency as valuable educational capital is

usually framed as an abstract goal far removed from an informant's actual competencies in the language:

As I was telling you, a lot of things related to wiring are written in English because it's an international language. So if it were possible to take a short course in English first and then a wiring course, that's what I would really like to do. If the opportunity arose, I wouldn't fail to do it because English is something that I really need and that would advance me in what I am doing already. (Mbaraka, April 7, 2013 - 2nd interview)

In addition, the issue of LOI elicited many contradictions from informants, indeed reflective of the debate over language in donor, government, and policy circles in Tanzania generally. On the one hand, youth recognize the abrupt linguistic transition from primary to secondary school as being at the root of school failure, including their own. On the other hand, the efficacy of English proficiency to access higher education, and to be effective and recognized in the domestic and global economies, leaves young people feeling uneducated if their understanding of English is weak. Clearly, the LOI policy establishes a key structural obstacle that marks the turning point in the basic education path for most. It is ultimately the beginning of a screening process that ends for most when national examinations presented in English become almost impossible to pass.

7.8.3 Curriculum and National Examinations

National examinations are an integral structural feature of Tanzania's basic education system used to enforce standards and judge the performance of students and institutions. They loom as critical, life altering events for those currently in the system. For many others – including informants of this study - they serve as a painful reminder of the very moment

when specific and powerful aspirations suddenly ended and new dreams had to be forged.

These public examinations are the only tool used in Tanzania to select for successive levels of education. Here, the frustration and consequences for Joseph are clear:

After receiving my Form IV results I had to re-sit the exam. I did re-sit it but unfortunately, I was not able to pass, so I re-sat it again and the results were still the same. After seeing that taking the exams as a private candidate was very difficult, I just gave up. (Joseph, April 28, 2013 - 2nd interview)

Stories like Joseph's are reproduced on a scale paralleling ongoing expansion of access to the school system. National examination pass rates at both primary (the PSLE) and secondary (CSEE) have declined dramatically and even those who technically pass do so with a tier two (primary) or low division (III, IV or zero) Form IV grade. 81% of students writing the exam in 2012 achieved the minimum *division IV* grade – insufficient for further public secondary schooling. In 2009, barely 50 percent of PSLE candidates passed the exam, a sharp reduction since 2006 when 70 percent of the candidates graduated (Lee, 2011). Youth with family resources often take “tuition” and challenge the exam several times before giving up.

Examinations are *the* turning points in the lives of most young people. Given access to school, dreams and aspirations that depend on school success inevitably begin to form. For many, their performance position in school – reflected back to them through continuous assessment and other positive reinforcement mechanisms (such as when Jared was selected as a prefect by peers, for example) – gives them strong reasons to believe they are “on track” to formal school success. However, the examination experience leaves many confused and,

for a time, feeling lost. Mathew's comment highlights the way examinations re-shape trajectories:

After failing the Form IV examinations three times, it was a case of forgetting the whole issue of education and looking at the other side of the coin, so I decided to go to VETA. (Mathew, May 18, 2013)

The relationship between continuous assessment and national examination scores is problematic. Youth informants frequently report that the formula and actual application of continuous assessment scores is unclear. The issue of continuous assessment also came up in the context of those informants attending QT schools because, as so called "private candidates" - which includes anyone attempting the national examinations from outside of official enrolment in a government secondary school - students are only entitled to the examination mark and not a final grade averaged with a continuous assessment score from classroom-based tests and assignments.

At least one policy informant, however, vigorously defends the examination and continuous assessment protocols and the council that administers them. Joseph Mbando was a senior department of education official prior to his retirement in 2010. In fact, as a government bureaucrat, he led the first major donor funded expansion of primary education (PEDP I) under the EFA initiative. He now owns and runs a private secondary school and had this to say:

On continuous assessments, sometimes you find that the marks given to children - they have no resemblance to what the child can do on the exam. When there is no similarity or correlation whatsoever, you loose confidence in the teachers. It is the duty of the examination council to moderate that so that you don't give the wrong

picture. So we know that teachers are not taking continuous assessment seriously because of their own frustrations. (Joseph, Mbando, retired senior education officer)

Closely linked with examinations and high failure rates is the school curriculum itself. Given that curricula design and implementation is a more technocratic notion in the domain of teachers, informants of this study did not comment much on this topic. Nonetheless, informants did offer clues to the structural weaknesses overlapping curricula and teaching. Joseph and Paul, for instance, commented extensively on the interrelated problems of poor school facilities and resources, teacher turnover and pedagogy, and the shift to a competency based curricula without adequate training of teachers.

Those teachers would teach in three or four schools, so when they came to us, they would be tired; they would not be able to deliver/teach us what we were meant to be taught. That is why I said a large percentage of the students there had to make a personal effort/initiative and that is why my Form 4 results were not good. (Paul, May 18, 2013)

7.8.3 Teachers and Teaching

The role of teachers – including their motivation, recruitment, training, retention, and methods – is critical to issues of quality in schools. Naturally, informants had a lot to share on teachers and teaching because of their direct experience interacting in school settings. In fact, many informants reported comments made *by* teachers revealing the degree to which they view their time in the profession as transitory - a stepping-stone to another profession or additional schooling. The comments of Mary and Gama are very typical of what youth observe about teacher motivation and commitment:

Most of our teachers were trying to tell us we have to learn and study more so we wouldn't end up like them. They said, "we were supposed to be at university now, but this is where we are... we didn't plan to be here teaching...". A lot of teachers who come to teach us at secondary failed to get the marks to go to university...they have only passes that allow them to go teaching. They were angry that they got blocked. Like the science teachers, their goal was to be a doctor maybe. (Mary, April 20, 2013)

Teachers did not enjoy teaching at all. Let me tell you, we had one teacher who was very educated (business studies) but her aim wasn't to become a teacher. I am not sure whether she failed or something, but somehow she ended up teaching at our school. She kept telling us she was meant to go on and do some other job, not be a teacher. (Gama, April 21, 2013)

With such widespread, lukewarm enthusiasm for joining the teaching profession, it is not surprising that those who find themselves in front of a classroom, but clearly wanting to be elsewhere, are frustrated and unhappy (Tao, 2014). Combined with poor mastery of the content, poor professional training, and the very real challenges of trying to teach in English, frustrations mount and are manifested in many ways including the widespread use of corporal punishment. Gama's comments are typical:

Most of the time, girls were caned on the hands but some refused. Boys were hit on their buttocks. They would cane us if we made mistakes like making noise in class. It depended on how well behaved...how you were. Sometimes you might not get caned in class but maybe you arrived late from school so you get caned [at home]. Punishment. You'd get a punishment, and on top of that, you'd be caned. (Gama, April 21, 2013)

These attitudes signal a negative learning environment but also a clear and systemic structural problem in Tanzania's teacher training approach rooted in the overall failure of the system to educate young people adequately at the secondary level. As outlined earlier in this chapter, the vast majority of young people who do pass from Standard VII to the high school division (Form I-VI) do not manage to go beyond ordinary level (Form IV) (Government of Tanzania Education Sector Analysis, 2013). Most (81% in 2012, for example) "complete" Form IV with a division 4 or lower – a failing grade. Those with a division 1 or 2 in Form IV transition to "A" levels (Form V-VI). Some low pass graduates from Form VI will train as diploma level teachers (rendering them qualified for secondary school teaching) as the requirement for entry is only one principal and one subsidiary pass at Form VI – entrance standards considerably lower than other professional schools. To highlight how the structure of the system almost forces young people to strategize in this way, here is Bakari choosing his path – not on his genuine interests but rather based on his own school performance and the incentives offered by the Government of Tanzania to attract students to teacher training:

With my history/Kiswahili/Language passes, I had two options for university and I really wanted to study law, or public administration. But a lot of people told me that it would be difficult to secure employment after studying these subjects. They say that a lot of people have taken these courses and are currently without employment. So taking into consideration the current life economic situation and my own personal financial situation/circumstances, studying education is a/the better option. Education is also given a priority when it comes to courses that are taken and you can get a loan from the Government to facilitate studying it. (Bakari, June 16, 2013 - 2nd interview)

Given the extremely high unemployment rates and poverty levels in Tanzania, this low paying but secure job is seen as a real asset. It functions for many as an alternate Form V-VI as well as a fall back position while teachers operationalize aspirations to continue their education and become the civil servants, lawyers, doctors they had hoped to be when their Form IV examination results delayed *their* dreams. Teachers' college allows them to "keep the dream alive" as it were. The vast majority of teacher graduates might fulfill their 1 year commitment to the government but quickly move on to other college or university programs or re-enter the job market as telemarketers, cell phone salespersons, or any number of other better paying positions. All of this renders teachers' college not as a professional end in itself, but rather as a alternate Form V-VI pathway to other programs and careers – a structural distortion that represents an inefficient use of scarce education dollars which seriously impedes the GoT's efforts to meet demand for new primary and secondary school teachers.

7.8.4 Corruption

That corruption exists within Tanzania's education system is a given. Ghost workers on the payroll and teachers neglecting their duties in order to charge students for private instruction are just two commonly cited examples. Several informants alluded to the possibility that their progress in school was deliberately sabotaged so that their secondary space could be allocated to those with political connections or financial resources.

Some said "Maybe your place was sold", but I never believed that and did not follow it up because what had already happened had happened. I was not able to follow it up and I had no platform through which to pursue the matter. (Bakari, June 15, 2013)

Nearly impossible to verify, especially as these events are a decade or more in the past, the accounts are intriguing even if only in trying to understand situations where students claim to have excelled in school-based assessments only to be surpassed on national exams by under-performing peers.

7.8.5 Governmentality and School Failure

When pressed, youth informants would allow that some supply-side factors in the education system - like teacher absenteeism, overcrowding and lack of classroom resources - might have contributed to their poor outcomes. However, this is rarely the first response offered by informants when asked to assess their own school failure. Far more common is the tendency for youth to blame themselves for not having worked hard enough. Joseph says, “we students did not make enough of an effort” and Mbaraka claims, “my failing was probably due more to my own foolishness”. These perspectives hint at Foucault’s governmentality and specifically, the notion of bio-politics⁷⁵ that divides populations into sub-groups that either contribute to the collective prosperity of a society, or constrain it (Fimyar, 2008). It may be that, by virtue of having the state furnish an education of any quality, students are encouraged to be grateful while systematically being singled out and validated as “the future of Tanzania” - a positively reinforcing distinction from uneducated villagers that perhaps offers sufficient special status to deter criticism of the actual quality and outcome experience of state schooling.

⁷⁵ Bio-politics is a component of Foucault’s *Governmentality* denoting state power over both the physical and political bodies of a population.

Employing *discursive knowledgeability* (see Giddens, 1984) young people would rather reproduce the social practice of schooling than any other tradition for its promise of a better life or for rendering them *up to date*. Schooling is the passport to that “other” world youth seek. The readiness of individuals to self-identify based on educational attainment is well illustrated in Stambach’s (2000) observations of Chagga women. Using dichotomous expressions like “women of the house” or “big sisters of the city” or notions of production and consumption where “uneducated women brew banana beer (known as Mbege)” while “school-educated women drink coca cola”, one quickly sees the ordering of social status based on the presence or absence of schooling (pp. 60-62). In this way, “schooling is viewed as an inseparable factor in differentiating self from other, younger from older generations... [village] life and urban living” (p. 62).

7.9 Tertiary School Structures

With the exception of Bakari, whose circuitous journey has finally seen him arrive at university, the stories for the rest of the cohort draw attention to a fairly limited number of post-basic education schooling options. These alternative pathways are important both for how they facilitate a certain degree of access, even for economically marginalized youth, but also the way they limit pathways from which youth choose. Principle alternate pathways include public and private technical or vocational training and private “QT” schools which provide a second chance at a secondary school diploma. Other options, like folk development colleges and formal and informal apprenticeship programs, exist but impact only very small numbers of youth.

7.9.1 Qualifying Test (QT) Schools

Qualifying test or “QT” schools are a rapidly expanding private-sector phenomenon that condense the four-year, Form I-IV program to two years and prepare private candidates to re-sit the national Form II and IV exams. Some QT schools also offer a condensed “A” level program leading to the national Form VI examinations. As private for profit institutions, QT schools are able to attract and retain higher quality instructors by offering better compensation packages. The fact that QT schools are found only in urban areas like Dar is another advantage; teachers would much prefer to make more money in Dar es Salaam than be assigned to a rural school with inadequate housing, intermittent pay, and other hardships.

QT schools have expanded rapidly to fill a void created by the strict promotional rules in state schooling. While still only used by a small percentage of out of school or “in-transition” youth, QT schools almost certainly occupy an important role and give hope and direction to youth who might otherwise further inflate the already large numbers of youth floating in the nebulous post-basic education economy. Given the relatively strong reviews from informants about the quality of teaching and the relative success in helping students pass national examinations, QT schools might even have the potential to inform public education in an overall improvement effort.

Sincerely, the teaching and even the teachers are good at QT. Mostly we have teachers who have been teaching for a long time, and we also have third-year university students who come to teach us. We really like them because they make an effort, and they are aware that we are older, even though there are some young students there too. But still, they know how to handle us because many of them have taken psychology classes. (Clara, June 23, 2013)

The narratives of Lydia, Bakari and Clara draw attention to QT school expansion and highlight a number of important structural issues; first, their stories suggests that the free market has been quite effective in allowing QT schools to emerge and expand in lock step with primary and secondary expansion under EFA. Interestingly, since the abolition of school fees in the early 2000s, private primary and secondary schooling has significantly contracted, leaving private education sector investors free to re-focus on providing a second chance alternative to a new clientele emerging from the aftermath of expanded, poor quality state schooling.

Secondly, given the positive comments about the quality of teaching, resources, and facilities at QT institutions, and the relatively low cost of tuition⁷⁶, it appears that this growing sector of private education is reasonably efficient. Finally, the central role of QT schools in such an exam-focused environment where the consequences of failure are extremely high has resulted in a strictly demand-based model where QT schools teach what is needed to pass examinations. The impression given by informants who have gone through QT programs suggests that schools do not even pretend to impart learning; rather, they teach eager students how to pass examinations with learning as an occasional by-product.

...you know, for the national exams, there are points that we simply cram, and that's what we regurgitate whenever we are asked a question; so we don't learn things in-depth. We learn subjects superficially and so elaborating becomes difficult. (Clara, June 23, 2013)

⁷⁶ Informants reported annual tuition fees for QT schools of between 300,000 and 600,000 Tsh (Cad \$200-400) depending on factors like field trips and extra tutoring.

7.9.2 Private and Public Technical and Vocational Options

Tanzania's second National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP II)⁷⁷ recognizes the need for the education system to produce the right mix of skilled workers and capable professionals to meet market demands and achieve growth and poverty reduction objectives of the government. Paramount to these objectives is the need to expand Technical and Vocational Education and Training in Tanzania.

The policy response is reflected in the development, with input from donors, of the Technical and Vocational Education and Training Development Program (TVETDP)⁷⁸ although the finalization and implementation of this program has already been delayed almost three years. If and when implemented, the program will need to emphasize the right balance between the higher Education and the technical and Vocational sub-sectors, especially in light of the fact that technical and vocational education has received only minimal allocations from the sector budget in recent years.

Technical and vocational training is offered by private and public colleges including a network of state-run *folk development colleges* (FDCs) established to equip adult Tanzanians with knowledge and skills that would enable them to be self employed and self-reliant. Examples of training at FDCs include agriculture, carpentry, masonry, mechanics, and tailoring, among others. FDCs offer long, short and outreach courses enrolling mainly youth leavers from primary and secondary streams. Chronically underfunded and pedagogically linked to Tanzania's socialist doctrine of education for self-reliance, FDCs are, nonetheless,

⁷⁷ Formal poverty reduction strategies (PRSs) are a strict requirement of donors for the release of aid funding under the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. PRSs evolved from the structural adjustment programs imposed by the World Bank in the 1980s-90s.

⁷⁸ The new program is based on a review of the Education and Training Policy (1995) and was expected to be approved in 2012-13 but has thus far been delayed.

gaining renewed attention from donors and policy makers looking to strengthen training structures that can absorb undereducated youth in need of skills for employment.

That said, FDCs occupy the very lowest rung of the status hierarchy in education, only slightly above having a primary school education only. Instead, the last five years have seen a dramatic increase in the number of private, diploma and degree-granting institutions accredited in Tanzania, as well as the number of students enrolling in universities. This has put increasing demands on the Higher Education Student Loans Board (HESLB), which, like the post-secondary school system, tends to favour students whose parents were able to afford English-medium private schooling. The loans board also absorbs a disproportionate share of the GoTs education sector budget and has a very low rate of repayment (Education Sector Analysis, 2013).

None of the informants of this study had ever used FDC programmes. However, Mathew and Joseph had used, or were planning to access, the formal Government TVET institutional stream known as VETA. Carol, Mbaraka, and Victoria had completed short programs at private vocational schools, usually in conjunction with NGO support.

7.9.3 Education Status and Hierarchy

The hierarchy of educational status with respect to various educational pathways is a social construction that shapes the perceptions youth hold, and decisions they take about various forms of schooling. The numerous stories that recount multiple repetitions of Form IV examinations combined with the emergence of QT schooling as discussed above, are clear indications that formal secondary schooling holds the highest status for most young people. Bakari exemplifies the status of formal education vis-à-vis other alternatives. Bakari's aim was secondary education – perceived in his words as “increasing his skills” – but understood

to be the pathway to higher education and white collar, formal sector work. Vocational education was not what Bakari valued nor wanted but the juxtaposition of the two notions of education does help illustrate the reflex informants have about educational status and the value placed on the formal school pathway. That said, there is even a hierarchy between “regular” secondary school and QT schooling. Bakari explains it best in his observations about the evolving social construction of QT schooling in the educational hierarchy:

Someone that has been through regular secondary school for four years is often viewed as better. Over here at QT they perceive us as not having been able to make it in life; someone who has come here as a last resort. However you sometimes find we are respected because someone who has successfully gone through and completed QT has the capability of tutoring others. And there are others that have studied at regular secondary school for four years and failed, so sometimes QT earns you respect. (Bakari, June 15, 2013)

Mathew and Joseph, among others, help us to understand the relative status of technical or vocational education and the hierarchies within this tertiary sector. Technical education offered by state vocational training institutions (VETAs), private colleges, or even the FDC network are seen by most as the consolation prize for “real” school failure. After failing Form IV examinations three times, Joseph attended vocational training for electrical installation. Conscious of the hierarchy that exists between formal school and vocational pathways, he shares the plans of his colleagues at VETA:

When I attended VETA, there were others who used to say they had dreams of continuing with higher education rather than vocational training. Once they got settled and independent later in life, they were going to back to school for Secondary

school education. Some had reached Form IV and failed like me but they wanted to get where their peers had gotten to also. (Joseph, April 28, 2013 - 2nd interview)

However, in a sign that the attitude toward technical or skills-based training may be improving, several informants in this study – like Mathew and even Mary - were moving in that direction. Tukundane (2014) in his study of early school leavers in Uganda observed similar trends with young people there who criticize the failure of schools to equip them with “the necessary skills for life and work” (p. 486). Despite Mary’s passion for academics and her potential to follow in Bakari’s footsteps, financial and other constraints are guiding her toward technical certification in accounting or marketing - anything that might lead to gainful employment to fund further schooling. Discussions with Mathew also helped us to understand the hierarchy within the world of technical and vocational institutions. This clearly matters to Mathew because even though his preference was for what he described as a “better quality, non-governmental school” at which to pursue automotive studies (Don Bosco)⁷⁹, he calculated the market recognition value of attending a state run VETA college. Here he describes this decision process:

Everyone knows VETA. Don Bosco, on the other hand, is only known to Dar es Salaam residents and is just a private institution. So even though VETA education is poor, it’s hard to turn it down. You have to pass there to achieve certain things. But if your goal is to be good at what you do, then you will need to go to Don Bosco afterwards and spend more money furthering your education. But first you need those certificates from VETA. That is what a lot of people do. (Mathew, May 11, 2013)

⁷⁹ The Salesians of Don Bosco are a Catholic congregation dedicated to the service of young people, especially those who are poorer and disadvantaged. They run several schools, technical institutes, and Youth Centres in Tanzania.

While the value structures still strongly favour formal education, there may be signs of a subtle value shift toward more acceptance of technical and vocational pathways.

Globally and nationally, there is increasing attention being paid to the lack of jobs among rapidly growing youth populations, and the need for more skills based training that can lead more directly to employment or small business creation (King, McGrath & Rose, 2007).

Here it is important to revisit Klocker's (2007) view of structuration and the notion of variables that thin and/or thicken agency. Her work included the influence of tribal characteristics and we see this re-surface in Bakari's story. Similar to the widely held construction of the Chagga as industrious and good at business, the Haya (Bakari's tribe) are known for their educational accomplishments. Advancing Klocker's work further, I would argue two points: first, that the strongly held regard for education generally is based on the perception that education thickens one's agency with respect to social status, employability, and even marriageability among other things. Secondly, young people are actively engaged in structuring the comparative value of formal education over technical and vocational education centered on the respective thickening effect of each. Given the harsh bottom line of a neoliberal economic environment and the need to earn income for all the reasons that symbolize adulthood, technical and vocational education appears to be gaining ground on the primary/secondary school track – at least for the marginalized majority.

7.10 Civil Society

Civil society organizations, including faith based actors which include mainstream and Pentecostal/evangelical churches and Islamic organizations – are themselves simultaneously being shaped by the domestic policy environment and the global aid agenda while, in turn, engaging in development initiatives that profoundly shape the lives of youth

with whom they interact. Tanzanian civil society actors are essentially “development contractors” (Green et al., 2012) – a term that reflects their near total dependence on external priorities and funding. Under the liberalization paradigm of the World Bank and others, CSO actors have been drawn by their financial dependencies and subsequently directed by their benefactors, to contribute to a worldview “wherein civil society, represented by formal organizations and pressure groups, represents the interests of the poor, contributes to service delivery and development activities, and holds government to account” (p. 724). It is at the interface with youth where the structuration effect of civil society is most acute.

7.10.1 NGO Encounters

Earlier in this chapter, the important structural role played by family benefactors was discussed at length. However, there are several examples from the cohort to suggest that institutional benefactors, specifically, NGOs and their interlocutors, are also extremely important and effective structures that shape youth trajectories. NGO programs have factored in the lives of Carol, Paul, Dorothy in important ways. For Carol – orphaned and under the care of her grandparents – an NGO sponsored tailoring course (World Vision) gave her vocational skills that she continues to rely on as a back-up strategy while she develops new skills in small business and political advocacy gained from her training with a second NGO (*Restless Development*) more than a decade after her first experience:

I was sponsored by an organization that helps orphans. My grandfather applied for me to be sponsored by them, and I was taken to study in Singida town. I lived there like in boarding school. The organization that sponsored us provided sewing machines as part of the program, but the people who were in charge of the program locally told us we'd each have to buy our own sewing machines to further our training as an apprentice to an experienced tailor. (Carol, May 18, 2013)

Similarly, Dorothy benefitted from an initial USAID-funded life skills program (*Kimara Peers*) but has subsequently obtained training in small business and cooperative savings schemes which have helped her grow her Alizet oil business while also training other, mostly young women, on how to establish savings groups:

The Kimara program taught us how to stop a dependent kind of life. You see, in the group were women just at home sleeping, eating and depending on their husband to come back and give them money. We don't want that; we want to stand on our own and do our business so that we can move forward. So, I started the class on how to save money, how to borrow money and how to benefit from this Vikoba program, and how good is it to have a business. (Dorothy, June 1, 2013)

Paul's trajectory – particularly his political activism – has been deeply shaped by Restless Development. His role as a change agent for others combined with concrete steps he has taken to form an opposition party cell in his home community, point to a likely role for Paul in elected politics:

Some activists like me, are starting to emerge; Youth finish school and have nothing to do but be idle about in the neighborhood, so it's time for youth to rise up. If we want to turn around the government, then youth need to get into leadership positions. If/when we get into leadership, then we'll be getting closer to decision making. It's best we get involved in politics. (Paul, May 11, 2013)

Since these NGO interventions are often externally driven, politically and culturally autonomous, and intermittent or temporary in nature, they add credibility to Willmott's arguments for analytical dualism – a separation of structure from agency which considers the possibility of structures influencing individuals without necessarily being permanent nor

having been created by the agency of affected actors. Over time, however, the participation in, and reproduction of entrepreneurship, life skills, or other sorts of outreach and training for young people will change the character of both. Put another way, though the initial intervention may be an autonomous, and even imported structure (analytical dualism), the interplay between training and trainees becomes a structuration process reproducing, and also altering, both the training and the trainees over time.

7.11 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the youth informants and, through their life stories, highlighted the key structures that shape their lives. These structures naturally vary in type, intensity, and impact across the cohort, nonetheless, I have attempted to group and expand on the most common and meaningful structures in terms of resultant agency, and the potential feedback loops created between agency and structures.

The common view among macro-economists is that Tanzania escaped the worst of the financial crisis that struck most developed economies starting in 2008, largely because of the lack of articulation between its domestic economy and the rest of the world (World Bank Economic Update, 2014). To some degree, this lack of domestic-global economic articulation is mirrored by the extent to which rural Tanzanians are relatively independent of the forces of globalization. With the exception of some improvements in mobile telephony and increased, although uneven, access to school and health facilities, rural life in Tanzania remains isolated and traditional. In urban centres however, the penetration and pressures of globalization are more readily observable. Youth values – expressed in fashion, music, language and politics, among other things, are expressed on the streets and in the formal and informal economies of cities like Dar es Salaam. Young people, looking outward for inspiration to Europe and North

America, shape their notions of modernity within the constraints and enabling structures of Tanzanian and neighbouring cities like Nairobi, Kigali and Kampala where regional, cultural and economic structures are more connected and mutually reinforcing than ever. The values of entrepreneurship, educational and social capital, and the material rewards of free market economics are reproduced most vigorously in these urban spaces, both deliberately and inadvertently establishing a socio-economic hierarchy that trickles toward rural areas by way of remittances and stories of newfound prosperity. Youth not yet urbanized, dream of being so, while the particular brand of urban poverty and other risks that differentially affect young male and female migrants remain obfuscated by the overall gains in living standard experienced by those who come.

Youth of the age cohort represented in this study are the poorly served beneficiaries of an EFA policy and system expansion designed to provide access to primary and secondary schools. Most attended small, isolated rural primary and ward⁸⁰ secondary schools and exited the system having failed either standard VII or Form IV - albeit with some improved basic literacy and numeracy skills and a notion of citizenship. These same school leavers are stigmatized by school failure and intractably fixed to pathways that start with rural-urban migration, leading to petty trading and low skill enterprise in the informal economy and, occasionally, further education or formal sector employment.

The informants represent a collective “canary in the coalmine” by virtue of the nearly insurmountable structural obstacles embedded in the primary and secondary school system. Their failure to achieve has, for the most part, nothing to do with desire or effort. The

⁸⁰ Ward Secondary schools are central to the expansion efforts of the Government. The idea is for local government authorities to cover the costs of constructing the physical school according to National Government specifications while the National government covers the recurrent costs of staffing and resources. In reality, Ward schools are the poorest quality secondary schools.

institutional, social and policy structures of the education system that channel the youth majority onto this pathway are problematic. Among the policy and institutional structures discussed, none has greater impact than the highly interrelated phenomena of poor quality teaching and learning, language of instruction policies, and national curricula and examinations. Nonetheless, responding to a deeply structured belief in the power of education to strengthen agency and combat poverty for themselves and their families, combined with supply-side factors like the abolition of school fees, and the expansion of facilities, enrolments of younger cohorts behind this one continue to increase.

Not only do the informants provide insights about the structures that shaped their formal school experience and outcomes, their post-basic education deliberations and decisions suggest that the stigma associated with technical and vocational training may be lifting. A combination of factors, including the forced re-alignment of schooling objectives toward technical streams for which their failure at basic education has left them qualified, and the pressing need for steady employment, has young people looking at technical and vocational options. In this process, I suggest that one can see the phenomenon of structuration occurring (or in process) as youth attempt the reproduction of an egalitarian formal education only to be confounded by its poor quality and left – frustrated but standing – at the entrance to technical and vocational pathways as the only viable option remaining.

Finally, families form the most critical structures, both in the way issues like poverty and complex dynamics within families constrain youth trajectories but also how the support, advice and sponsorship practices within families profoundly matter on an individual level. Most informants are from poor, rural backgrounds and recount complicated and disrupted family histories. All emerge with a significant family benefactor who facilitates their

migration to the city and, through direct or in-kind support, assists them to pursue school or work. We have also seen how value structures within families vary – often associated with tribal norms – but also through the influence of geography, religion, and class. In the next and final chapter, I reflect on specific contributions of this work to structuration, as well as offering some policy recommendations and further research.

CHAPTER 8:

STRUCTURATION AND YOUTH PROSPECTS IN TANZANIA: INSIGHTS AND CHALLENGES

Optimism doesn't wait on facts. It deals with prospects. Pessimism is a waste of time.
(Norman Cousins)

8.0 Introduction

The life stories and well-being maps presented earlier help us to understand where the experiential ‘punctuation marks’ are for youth in Tanzania. These high and low points in the lives of informants reveal abrupt collisions between the path a young person *was* on, and forceful structures that stop or significantly alter their trajectories. These collisions of youth pathways and structural obstacles are analogous to pellets from a shotgun blast where youth agency dents, penetrates, and occasionally obliterates the structures in question. Invariably however, the force and direction of youth agency is also diminished or altered by structures. The most poignant illustration of this – and one that appears again and again on the well-being maps and in the narratives of virtually every informant – are the standard VII or the Form IV national examination failures. Easily recognized by many as a “life crash” (Bird, 2009), this particular structural obstacle also tends to mark the re-calibration point for young people.

Using family structures and resources - most often a specific benefactor – or the good fortune of an NGO encounter, youth develop and devise new plans and strategies about which they appear excited and optimistic. Most wrestle both with the legacy and future

responsibilities of complex family structures including, for some, the reality of already having children. In addition, the responsibility to remit resources to support parents, grandparents, and/or siblings is a strong and common theme. Youth tend to retain active and immediate livelihood survival strategies while consistently looking forward to longer-term goals. All fit to varying degrees within Honwana's (2012) notion of 'waithood' although some move between their marginal adulthood status back to a more typical youth or waithood position in order to improve their education. Finally, from the narratives of the young women in particular, one can see signs - if not of improved systemic equality - at least of a selective, but growing, assertiveness and empowerment of young women.

The voices of youth in this study tell a story of spatially located and contextually differentiated agency that at times appear to be both the result of careful reflection, and well-rehearsed habit or routine. The interviews and discussion have, thus far, helped develop a better understanding of the experiences, influences, aspirations and strategies in play as youth enact their agency in the face of varied socio-economic, cultural, and institutional structures. This chapter discusses structuration in light of the life histories presented in the dissertation, including the relevance of the theoretical extensions of structuration posited earlier (hope, resilience, future aspiration, and capabilities theories). I will discuss how this study contributes to structuration and its extensions, and how these theoretical perspectives inform an understanding of youth issues in Tanzania specifically and SSA generally. In addition, the chapter will examine policy implications and recommendations emerging from the study, as well as some implications for further research with Tanzanian youth.

8.1 Discussion of Structuration and Extensions

This study contributes to the theoretical literature, particularly as it applies to the study of marginalized youth phenomena in Tanzania and SSA. Using Klocker's (2007) notions of thinners and thickeners as a departure point, I add to and advance her application of structuration theory. In previous chapters, where the interplay between youth agency and structures was discussed in the context of specific informant group trajectories, many distinct interconnections between structure and agency were highlighted. Where Klocker demonstrates the *thinning* and *thickening* effect of specific variables on agency - tribe, gender, poverty, and age - over space and time, this research extends and posits six additional variables including:

- a) The experience of school failure & agency formation
- b) Youth participation in the informal economy
- c) The positive and negative aspects of the formal education experience
- d) The pursuit of TVET & second chance schooling experiences
- e) Fortuitous NGO interventions
- f) The influence of families and benefactors

In addition, the theories of hope, future aspiration, resilience, and capabilities introduced in Chapter 2 resurface here by offering proximity and similarity to the core notions of structure and agency found in Giddens's (1984) theory of structuration. I maintain that the measures of hope, future aspiration, and resilience found in the context of youth studies are not dissimilar from Giddens' notion of agency and, in fact, emerge throughout the

ensuing discussion as indicators of the presence and relative strength (or thickness) of informant agency. The capabilities approach is more nuanced but nonetheless, the notions of endowments (resources and assets), capabilities (options and opportunities), and functions (individual choice) do support and overlap with the essential concepts of structure and agency.

8.1.1 Klocker's Variables

Age

Klocker's (2007) *thinners* and *thickeners* of agency are found to be important variables among the youth of this study and, as such, warrant review and inclusion in this summary. Age is a highly structured socio-cultural element in Tanzanian society, easily observed in the deference shown an older person by a younger one. The Swahili "shikamoo" greeting - offered by the younger person at the outset of interaction with an 'elder' - is followed by that person touching the head of the elder as a sign of respect. Observing these greeting rituals, one easily notices the climate of deference that descends around age-differentiated social relations. Age hierarchies impact the level of voice and autonomy young people feel in their own lives, as well as the prevalence and weight of intergenerational responsibility. Klocker writes, "silencing of children and denying them agency is apparent at all levels of Tanzanian society" (p. 86). In contrast, obligations to family are often core reasons for migration, schooling, or employment choices. Generally speaking, as age increases so to does its' potential to be a thickener, however, this trend is increasingly disrupted by the delays and obstructions that slow or block transition from youth to adulthood as evidenced by many of the informant life stories. Age can, therefore, become a

thinner as societal and self-imposed pressures to acquire elusive economic and social assets associated with adulthood diverge from chronological age.

Gender

Gender effects are enormous, complex, constantly changing, and well documented in Tanzania (Okkolin et al., 2010; Selvam, 2008; Stambach, 2000; Tao, 2014). Children's socialization in Tanzania "often leads to the boy internalizing his superiority and the girl internalizing her inferiority (Mabala & Kamzina 1995, quoted in Klocker, 2007, p. 88). Although gender parity has been achieved at the primary school level, secondary and higher educational opportunities for girls are still limited. Other issues like school based sexual violence and discrimination against pregnant girls are just a few among many examples of the thinning potential of gender on agency. Having said that, it is important to note that Klocker's study deals with younger female domestic workers. Female informants in this study reinforce Klocker's findings in so much as identifying issues of sexual harassment by teachers and others in schools, and the pressure to resort to prostitution to supplement meager earnings in the informal economy of urban Dar es Salaam. However, female informants also express self-assurance and determination with respect to controlling the timing and influence of men in their lives. In several cases, female informants are caring for children with little or no involvement of partners/fathers. In Dorothy's case, she even describes her plans to have children without any involvement of a partner beyond becoming pregnant. These examples do not suggest that being female is an overt thickener of youth agency, but they do signal attitudinal changes in Tanzanian society and a growing sense of empowerment among young women.

Tribe

Although much attenuated in Tanzania through the socialist policies of the Ujamma period⁸¹, tribal differences matter when it comes to calibrating one's agency. Klocker (2007) cites the example of girls from the Wahehe tribe in Iringa region, widely known to make good house staff, "because they are reputed to be subservient, submissive, tolerant, hard working and pliant" (p. 89). Another example is the notion that the Chagga tribe of the Kilimanjaro region produces business-oriented, politically clever, and well-educated people. These social constructions can have a thinning or thickening effect on youth agency as youth reflect and respond to the cultural influences and characteristics of their 'tribe'. Reflecting back on the life stories of Mathew and Mary (both Chagga), and Bakari (a Bukoba), one 'hears' the social values and expectations rooted in the subtleties of tribal cultures that have pushed these three along a rocky but determined educational pathway. Similarly, Selemani and Mbaraka (from the Wamanga and Nyamwezi tribes respectively) went to some length in their stories to describe very low socio-cultural emphasis on education rooted in their own tribal (village) contexts. While exceptions exist in any culture/tribe, the utility of tribal affiliation as a determinant of strong or weak agency is important.

Poverty

Giddens's (1984) notion of discursive consciousness is often observable in the informants' general reaction to the widespread challenges they face as a result of their dire socio-economic situations. Poverty is a multidimensional and complex thinning factor that

⁸¹ Widely cited (Vavrus, 2015; Wedgewood, 2007) and recognized as the primary reason that tribal tensions are virtually unknown in Tanzanian society is the Ujamma policy of promoting Swahili as the lingua Franca and of mixing young people from different tribes/regions during their residential high school education.

emerges repeatedly in both this study and Klocker's. Informants frequently cite, for example, humiliating poverty including childhood stories of inadequate clothing for school and an inability to afford books. The pressures of the material inadequacies, including the ability to pay costs associated with schooling or the willingness of a family household to absorb lost opportunity costs of farm labour, significantly impact youth trajectories resulting in circumstances like early marriage and pregnancy, and complex fostering arrangements to manage the expenses associated with children. However, even the hardships of poverty can act as both a thinner and thickener of agency; where the thinning effects are more obvious, poverty might also help explain the motivation and determination so many express to attain a standard of living above that through which they suffered as children/young adults, rendering poverty as a painful but no less powerful thickener.

8.1.2 Adding to Klocker's Variables

The informant life stories reveal multiple variables and conditions that help determine the post basic education pathways of marginalized Tanzanian youth where processes of structuration reproduce, modify and change the structures that, in turn, attenuate or accentuate agency and demarcate the range of choices available to young people.

a) The experience of school failure and agency formation

The obstacle of national examinations and the process of failure, including the stigma it attracts, are crucial to the structuration processes that both alter informants' plans, and shape macro-structures like aid and government policy. A period of despair which, like that experienced by Ugandan school leavers in Tukundane et al. (2014), often includes a return to family, community, or benefactor to seek advice and support, is quickly followed by

acceptance, forward planning, and renewed optimism. Berger (2008) talks about the projective component of agency that allows individuals to achieve “cognitive distance from the routine [to envision] alternative courses of action” (p. 312). Often this projective agency is triggered by conflicting or problematic situations - often described by informants as some type of *life crash*.

Viewed through the lens of structuration, this process is akin to “jolting” someone from routine, practical consciousness into a discursive frame of reference. Berger (2008), quoting Denzin, says these moments are “epiphanies” that act as turning points with the power to “alter fundamental meaning structures in a person’s life” (p. 70). I posit that all of the youth informants experienced a common problematic epiphany – albeit some more deeply than others - in the form of their shared moment of school failure. Furthermore, the common transition process from the despondency associated with such a major life crash to resilient, re-formulated livelihood strategies are, for most, expedited by the practical realities of having to combat shared experiences of poverty.

So I stayed there. I tried to think of what to do after not performing well in the Standard 7 exams. I could continue with school or go for vocational training. I decided that I wanted to continue with school. There were a lot of schools but due to economic constraints at the time, I was not able to go on (Bakari, June 16, 2013 - 2nd interview).

The stigma of a truncated basic education is painful. Many interviews elicit strong emotions as informants recount stories of loss and failure mixed with profound disappointment and the shock of seeing plans derailed, literally overnight. Most informants pinpoint the precise moment of failure and the struggle for self-worth and self-esteem that

ensues.⁸² In this post-basic education failure period for youth, one sees patterns similar to the oft-quoted stages of grief (Kubler-Ross, 1969), in which the death of someone (or something) is met first with denial followed by phases of anger, bargaining, depression and acceptance. Considering the emotions expressed by informants as they describe their school failure, and also noting the prominent position of these events on individual well-being maps, it is appropriate to describe the moment of school failure as a major life “crash”. Yet it also marks the beginning of new plan and pathway formation.

Informant stories repeatedly detail a combination of adversity (school failure) and adaptation (new entrepreneurial or educational strategies), suggesting a residual impact of schooling is in play that bolsters confidence and a belief in one’s internal resourcefulness to rebound. This observation is consistent with Nalkur’s (2009) findings from a study of *hope* among Tanzanian street youth, former street youth and in-school youth. Among the in-school youth, Nalkur finds inner strength to be an important pathway to hopefulness with youth mentioning the need for more effort and persistence to realize their goals (p. 684). In the aftermath of school failure, this inner strength is not lost but rather carried forward and repurposed toward new livelihood strategies. The act of failing school limits and narrows the options youth have before them, but the resources they possess with which to engage new opportunities may, in fact, be stronger for having had *some* school experience and, indeed, the wisdom and self-awareness embodied in the experience of failure itself. An important sign of the restructuring power of the failed school experience is the degree to which informants apply “lessons learned” to subsequent strategies. Recall the way Mathew uses a

⁸² The well-being maps (described fully in the methodology chapter 4 and presented along with each narrative in Chapters 5 and 6) capture the profound highs and lows that informants recalled as *life-changing* or *life-shaping* events. Seven of the fourteen informants indicated school failure as the lowest point in their lives.

short course in auto-mechanics both as time filler but also as a type of “tuition” to better prepare him for the longer course. In another example, we see how Mary has weighed the financial and emotional costs of repeating the Form IV exams, concluding instead that her current marks are good enough for various short certificate courses that, in turn, will facilitate the accumulation of credentials strategically more valuable to her revised plan.

These coping processes give rise to a specific propensity for acceptance and the development of a forward-looking orientation. Often, but not always linked to a fatalistic religious perspective that equally characterizes failure and success as “God’s will”, the process of acceptance seems to arrive quickly, transforming into hope, future orientation, and forward looking strategies among youth. Linking back to structuration, while the language and indicators of strengthened hope, resilience and future aspiration belong to complimentary theories, they remain highly synonymous with the notion of agency. In other words, where agency is present and strong, one would expect higher levels of resilience that lead to hope and positive, aspirational goal setting.

The Positive Remnants of Schooling.

The transitions as illustrated in the narratives, usually do not take long. Most describe a matter of weeks following school failure as a period of shock and dismay until feelings of hope and future orientation begin to return. This resilience or ability to transform failure into hope owes something to even a partial school completion. Bird (2010) explains that because resilience cannot be directly measured, it must be inferred from the “coexistence of high adversity with relatively positive adaptation (p. 3) – a phenomenon clearly reinforced by the school failure experiences among this cohort. Bird also finds that education positively enhances the attributes associated with resilience like cognitive abilities, self-esteem,

adaptability and sociability⁸³, a notion supported by the comments of many informants, and typified by Mbaraka:

Well...there are things I learned at school, such as discipline, wisdom, to have respect for others...for instance. Ever since I was at school, I learned the discipline of respecting others. Frankly, I don't disrespect anyone. In fact, when I finished primary school, I liked the military and I wanted to join the army. (Mbaraka, April 7, 2013)

I argue that, while a truncated formal education ultimately thins one's overall agency and future prospects, the process of life crash, recovery and re-focusing imposes an undeniable thickening effect on the limited agency that remains. This variable of school failure and agency formation is therefore both a thinner and thickener of youth agency.

Effects of School Failure on Macro-Structures.

Mass school failure interplays with many larger social and institutional structures in Tanzania including aid policy and donor behaviour. Widely covered and critiqued in the domestic media, mass Form IV failures have invigorated civil society responses, sparking analysis and advocacy by CSOs and calls for new accountabilities and aid delivery strategies.

For more than a decade, aid policy and delivery has focused on large scale, Paris-Declaration-style sector support mechanisms emphasizing expansion of primary school access. Sector-based aid is also supposed to address ongoing deficiencies in teacher training, lack of school resources, and curricular reform. However, while access has improved, successive years of poor examination results, high failure and transition rates, and the absence of measurable results is causing donors to pull back from sector budget support in favour of 'old-style' aid projects and results-based mechanisms (like 'cash on delivery')

where executing agents can be more carefully selected and held accountable for delivering development impact. This shift in aid policy and programming has profound implications for the Government's capacity to meet sector-wide educational commitments. As such, these policy shifts *must* be viewed through the lens of structuration where the iterative relationship between aid and results is producing a fundamental retrenchment of resources and approaches by donors.

b) Youth Participation in the Informal Economy

A second important variable of structuration that is generally seen to thicken youth agency is the informal economy itself as reflected in omnipresent themes of entrepreneurship at play in Tanzanian youth discourse. Even those informants currently pursuing alternative forms of education talk about “*doing business*” at some point in their futures. More than anything else, the strength of this free market discourse illustrates how thoroughly neo-liberal attitudes and values have penetrated a society not even three decades removed from a brand of socialism that had widespread support in Tanzania and abroad (see Ayittey, 2005). These values are encouraged by the potential for success and independence in an unfettered and unregulated marketplace that youth have experienced directly, or at least seen others like themselves experience. One gets the sense that there are enough stories of success in the informal economy circulating among new youth entrants to the marketplace to leave most feeling that they too can “make it”.

In fact, middle class, formal sector workers, like civil servants, actually capitalize the informal economy as they too invest in informal sector enterprises to boost household income. The relatively optimistic discourse within the informal economy is profoundly important for the way it shapes not only the attitudes and choices of young participants, but

also for how it impacts the political, policy and regulatory responsibilities of the Tanzanian government. These pro-market values also drive expectations for voice and freedoms increasingly seeking expression through party politics, civil society advocacy, and the media (see Hoffman, 2013).

Although it is likely politically advantageous for the ruling party to leave large segments of the urban population and economy unorganized and unregulated, the relative absence of widespread dissatisfaction about the structure of the informal economy provides a tacit endorsement of the government's laissez-faire approach. Even where the boundaries of the formal and informal sectors begin to intersect, we have seen evidence (recall Victoria's story in particular) of a predilection for formal sector companies to utilize the informal sector to avoid employment conditions that include pension, health, or other benefits. Other aspects of the informal economy - like the propensity for sole proprietors to sacrifice efficiency but mitigate risk by hiring relatives instead of the best qualified person to do a particular job - are additional indicators of the active interplay of agency and structure that govern daily economic life for the majority of Tanzanians.

c) The Positive and Negative Aspects of the Formal Education Experience

The notions of *thin* or *thick* agency when juxtaposed with the trajectories of these informants suggest an important and complex relationship to the quality and level of education attained. Drawn by the sincere belief that education will lead to prestige and white-collar jobs, children and parents are clients in a system that is highly theoretical, examination oriented, and effective as a screening mechanism for transition to higher levels of education. The essential problems of poor quality teaching and learning in Tanzania schools fundamentally stems from stringent English language of instruction policies, the

ramifications of which bleed into mass examination failure and early school departure so common to the majority of youth.

The informant experience in most schools shows that teachers, parents, and other education stakeholders consider learners incompetent, when they in fact “merely lack knowledge of the language of instruction” (Tibategeza & du Plessis, 2012, p. 186). Quorro (2013), citing strong concurrence between 18 studies conducted between 1977 and 2007, says “the English language proficiency of most secondary school students and the majority of teachers is extremely low” (p. 35). Sixteen of these studies conclude by recommending English be taught as an additional language while changing the LOI to Kiswahili (p. 36). In fact, 99.1% (almost 1 million in real terms) of primary school students are taught in Kiswahili and the remaining .09% (64,558) in English medium private primary schools (Government of Tanzania Education Sector Analysis, 2013). Yet, despite being regarded as basic for negotiation, respect and recognition in Tanzania, Swahili is losing ground as it contends with English hegemony in education as well as in trade, politics, and commerce.

That said, even a cursory review of informants in this study would indicate that the higher the educational attainment level, the better are their economic prospects and sense of control over their life. Paul and Bakari – the only two informants to have attended forms V&VI – are thriving relative to others; Paul as an increasingly influential and politicized activist and Bakari fulfilling his long standing dream of attending University. Those youth who recently, or will soon, repeat the Form IV exams (e.g., Mary), or those who pursue their O and A-levels through private Q-schools (e.g., Lydia and Clara) share a conviction about the centrality of education to their success and an inner strength that propels them to pursue academic goals. To the extent that a strong internal locus of control is attributable to

exposure to even a poor quality basic education, the positive impact on individual agency must be considered. (See Table 8).

Table 8. Educational Attainment Level of Youth Informants

Name	Educational Attainment Level (lowest to highest)	Subjective Ranking in terms of current control/success in life
Jared	Standard VII	13
Selemani	Standard VII	4
Carol	Standard VII	12
Dorothy	Standard VII	8
Mbaraka	Standard VII	14
Victoria	Standard VII	9
Joseph	Form IV fail	10
Gama	Form IV fail	11
Mathew	Form IV fail	3
Lydia	Form II (now at QT)	6
Clara	Form II (now at QT)	7
Mary	Form IV (low pass)	5
Paul	Form VI (low pass)	2
Bakari	University (via QT)	1
14		

From the standpoint of structuration, the imposition of government policy frameworks that disadvantage the majority of Tanzanian students while simultaneously advantaging a small elite minority, highlights the degree to which macro policy structures cause the reproduction of class divisions. The post-primary policy requiring English as the LOI in secondary schools, for example, articulates closely with policies that allow private sector English medium schools. However, only Tanzanians with sufficient income can afford

to send their children to private, English language schools – something they usually choose to do starting in the primary years. In so doing, these parents are virtually assured their children will advance easily through secondary school. Furthermore, the likelihood is very high that strong English language skills will propel this elite minority into tertiary levels of education where a highly disproportionate share of the national education budget is spent in the form of student scholarships and loans, as well as the salaries and infrastructure for public institutions that only 4% of Tanzanians ever attend (Government of Tanzania Education Sector Analysis, 2013).

Even more poignantly, structural issues exacerbated by language of instruction policies and pressures to train additional primary and secondary school teachers, induce mass secondary school failures that influence the individual agency of teacher training candidates and feed a downward spiral of declining school quality. Teacher candidates, drawn predominately from low division III, Form IV secondary school ‘graduates’ (because leavers with higher grades choose options better than teaching), utilize their own agency in response to distorted incentives to become teachers offered by the GoT. An option almost too good to be true, these low quality secondary school leavers seize upon teacher training as an alternate secondary “A” level educational pathway. This process of structuration produces a cadre of teaching professionals often just putting in time in a critical systemic role while waiting for better opportunities to arrive. Unfortunately, these patterns of teacher production do not advance the basic education system in the direction of improved quality for all.

The potentially positive impacts of expanded access to basic education have been significantly compromised by the pursuit of linguistic capital and/or the lingering effects of linguistic imperialism (Rubagumya, Afitska, Clegg & Kiliku, 2010). Unwise and

inappropriate intransigence around LOI policies in secondary and tertiary education especially, hamper student and teacher ability to engage in real learning in favour of face saving behavior (like choral response⁸⁴) that only mimics teaching and learning (Utne, 2007; Ngonyani, 2001). Language policies reveal a propensity to ignore research findings in favour of continued promotion of English medium instruction that marginalizes the majority (who cannot afford to attend) while facilitating the reproductive process of Tanzania's political and social elite.

d) The Pursuit of TVET and Private Second Chance Schooling Experiences

The interaction between state schooling structures (that generally fails to meet young people's expectations) and the values young people attach to education (which propels them despite poor quality), result in youth demand for alternate school pathways. To the extent that alternatives exist and are accessible to young Tanzanians, these educational pathways represent undeniably positive forces for strengthened agency. Most obviously responsive to current forces of structuration are the phenomena of QT or Qualifying Test schools. Furnished by private sector actors – some formerly engaged in the now declining provision of private elementary and secondary schooling – QT schooling offers a condensed secondary school program focused on passing national examinations. Not only can one identify the interplay of macro-forces (mass school failure + youth demand for alternate secondary schooling + declining role of private sector in private primary & secondary schooling, among others) that has created this growing QT industry, it is also possible to observe meso-level

⁸⁴ Choral response refers to classroom observations where teachers resort to a technique of posing questions (in English) to the whole class with the expectation that the whole class will response (in English) in unison. The technique allows the majority of students who don't understand the question or the response to simply play along in the choral response, masking the impediment language poses to learning.

structuration processes within the schools themselves. At this level, one sees collusion between teachers and students both determined to ‘crack the code’ of the national exams but for differing reasons of self-interest. For teachers, the more students of their QT classes who pass national examinations as private candidates, the better the reputation of the institution resulting in increased enrolment, job security, and higher leverage for better wages. For students of QT, passing national exams means re-kindling the dream of higher education cut short by inadequate state schools and all the root causes of poor quality already discussed. Decent, A-level grades mean public scholarships and loans for University and a chance to join the middle class.

Technical and vocational education options are provided by both the public sector (VETA colleges), and numerous private sector institutions. Most relevant to the discussion of structuration is the re-ordering of status hierarchies among tertiary pathways that has been widely observed in this dissertation. Youth demand for options that lead to employment but do not require stringent basic education qualifications, are driving the expansion of private technical/vocational institutions. In addition, competition in the marketplace, government, and donor policy shifts to better align labour skills with emerging sectors like natural gas and extractive resources to improve economic growth, have all contributed to improved status for technical and vocational education. So, while formal secondary schooling leading to university remains the gold standard, the realities of poverty and the need for useful skills and stable employment that can support transitions to adulthood are gaining currency among youth. In this way, the observation of both QT schools and TVET pathways reveal evidence of micro, meso, and macro structuration phenomena.

The Role of Institutions

The absence of evidence of significant interaction between youth informants and learning and regulatory institutions is revealing. The few examples in this study (Bakari, Mary, and Paul mostly) in which youth aggressively and effectively seek institutional responses to individual problems suggests that institutions may work for some; particularly youth with the wherewithal to push through obstacles posed by power imbalances between marginalized youth citizens seeking services, and bureaucratic and corrupt state institutions accustomed to manipulating and obfuscating rules and processes. For this reason, institutions like NECTA, the Tanzania Scholarship Board, or public training institutions, for example, can simultaneously empower and thicken the agency of some better educated youth, while at the same time posing intimidating barriers to others. The latter group is quick to relent and turn to informal systems for survival.

e) Fortuitous NGO Interventions

A consistently positive and significant variable for strengthened agency and the shaping of the lives of marginalized youth concerns the intersection of youth trajectories with NGO programs. NGO structures in Tanzania emerge in two ways primarily; first, they develop organically from domestic NGOs usually supported by larger bilateral or international organizations or; secondly, they are imported by external agents (bilateral or international NGOs) where, through serendipity, some youth are profoundly and positively affected. Impacts include the transfer of entrepreneurship and life skills and the engagement of youth in financial inclusion schemes that not only appear to significantly help individual youth who receive training and support, but also benefit many more through the ‘change-

agent' effect of empowered youth like Paul and Dorothy spreading their newfound skills to others. Considerable potential impacts are also identifiable including the growing political confidence evident in the life stories of Paul and Carol.

In terms of structuration, two important observations emerge from the study, one linked closely to Giddens, the other to a variation of structuration known as analytical dualism. First, youth engagement with NGO training offers a clear and unmistakable thickening effect on agency. Programs are more than a lifeline; often, training opportunities are sequenced and iterative, allowing youth to reflect, integrate and identify for themselves subsequent training needs in a discursive interplay of agency and opportunity closely aligned with Giddens' description of rules and resources. Secondly, many NGOs operating in Tanzania are foreign or international organizations. In this regard, the program structures offered by NGOs like RD are best viewed through the lens of analytical dualism (Archer, 1995; Wilmott, 1999), for these NGOs respond to the socio-economic conditions of their target clients and to the political economy (e.g., rules governing foreign NGO registration, for example) of the country context but are otherwise *imported* structures that did not initially evolve from the interplay with local actors and their agency. Having said this, an iterative relationship does emerge whereby the programmatic approaches of NGOs adapt to the agency of clients while the agency of clients, it would seem, generally thickens in response to their engagement in those very programs.

A third observation, not directly linked to structuration but important nonetheless is the way that foreign NGOs employ sophisticated analysis that generally results in the promotion of *necessity* rather than *opportunity* entrepreneurship. This is important because it demonstrates a good understanding by external NGOs of the structural contexts in which

youth are operating and the fact that marginalized youth do not generally choose to be entrepreneurs but rather, resort to self-employment as their only viable option.

f) The Influence of Families and Benefactors

This research has provided a vivid look into the structuration processes happening within Tanzanian families. While the specific architecture of informant families varies greatly, the identifiable patterns and processes are relatively homogenous. Expectations for acquiring at least an elementary education ranged from very strong to indifferent; poverty was a frequent, if not always constant, element of informant childhoods; fathers were often absent and the mothers of many informants had children from multiple partners rendering most family configurations quite complicated; polygamous practices exacerbated family complexity and poverty in several informant households; fostering strategies, at least to help share the burden of education-related costs, were frequently noted; and, despite the complexity and even dysfunction in many families, it is almost always a blood relative who eventually assumes the key role of benefactor to the informant. Finally, religion was often cited in a way that sought to explain an informant's good or bad fortune. In this way, religion formed both a structure and an integral aspect of youth agency that contributed to resilience. That said, the complexity of understanding the role of varied religions in the lives of these informants was beyond the scope of this research.

The decision matrices for informants, particularly once the school pathway closes off through examination failure, is integrally affected by family circumstances. Micro-level exchanges of discourse among informants and their families are infinitesimal but include opinion, advice, values, pressures, rivalries, and expectations determining options and triggering decisions for youth. This makes it difficult to capture more than just a few

illustrative examples and it is really only by re-calling and elaborating on one of these examples that the contribution to structuration and its extensions can be seen.

Recall Joseph, the first-born boy among a family of school achievers who feels the sting of his school failure profoundly. He tries to regain his footing on the high school path by re-sitting the exam three times aided by family expenditure on expensive “tuition”. When he finally concedes defeat for a sufficient form IV pass, he is encouraged and supported by his father to obtain a VETA (vocational) certificate. When this does not lead to employment, Joseph’s father provides start up capital for Joseph’s meat-chicken business.

In this short re-cap of Joseph’s school to enterprise trajectory, it is not difficult to imagine the conversations between him and his parents, nor to envisage Joseph employing Giddens’ discursive consciousness to make sense of and, ultimately make choices based upon, his structural circumstances. For Joseph, the structural factors in his decision matrix include high value and expectations placed on education combined with his first-born status, loving and supportive parents, but also mounting frustration over his repeated exam failures. Joseph has agency but it is constrained by education level, fatherhood, and his own expectations of himself, among other things. If any of the structural or agency elements excerpted from Joseph’s story were significantly different – like the absence of start up capital for his chicken business, for instance – then the iterative interplay of forces, including Joseph’s agency, would also shift. At the micro level of structuration, the granularity of forces interacting with agency agglomerates until its mass is sufficiently obstructive or empowering to trigger a decision and a shift in the life trajectory of the informant. This is structuration in its most immediate and perceptible form – too rapid and differentiated to be labeled as either a thickener or a thinner of agency for it is often both.

8.2 Policy Implications and Recommendations

8.2.1 Changing the Language of Instruction

Many issues raised in this research are large and systemic but the significance of these problems are made more resonant through the actual voices and stories revealed in this qualitative approach. Among the most important policy implications are the insufficiencies in the basic education system that raise important questions for the government of Tanzania, donors, and society in general. Most important among these policy considerations is the language of instruction in secondary and tertiary-level institutions. It is clear that the policy on language of instruction (LOI) serves very few in Tanzania. The abysmal transition rates from primary through secondary and tertiary levels of education highlight a system in crisis, the epicenter of which is the insistence on the use of English.

The broken dreams of so many youth are leaving deep scars on the collective spirit of a country with much potential. Real learning is sacrificed in favour of a perception of learning that conflates English language acquisition with the notion of an educated person leaving a potential demographic dividend for Tanzania unharnessed. If young Tanzanians were *actually* learning English in schools, then the long-standing position of English instruction advocates might have merit but, the fact is even most secondary school teachers do not demonstrate mastery of the language sufficient to communicate even basic concepts to their students. The downward spiral in the quality and capacity of English language instruction accelerates with every new cohort of poorly educated secondary students entering teacher-training colleges.

For decades, one of the strongest arguments for the maintenance of English as the language of instruction has been its importance as the global language of trade and

commerce. While it is true that Kenyan's, in particular, have enjoyed considerable international business success aided in part by that country's strong English language traditions, Swahili has historically been – and still largely remains - a very strong regional trading language that includes in its linguistic orbit the countries of Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi as well as Kenya and Tanzania. In fact, Tanzania is held in the highest esteem by regional neighbours for the quality and strength of its Swahili language identity. The LOI is not the only issue disabling the Tanzanian basic education system but it is an issue for which a 180-degree change in policy could have the most immediate, cost-effective, and widespread impacts.

Recommendation #1: Begin immediate planning to change the language of instruction in secondary schools to Swahili with English offered as a mandatory course from Standard I – Form VI. Universities and other tertiary institutions should simultaneously move toward alternating course offerings in English and Swahili. Form IV and VI national examinations should be offered in the students' preferred official language⁸⁵ beginning immediately.

A shift to Swahili as the language of instruction will not, in the short-term, significantly alter the class dynamics in Tanzania that permit a very narrow elite to dominate economic and political life. In the long run, however, real quality learning in Swahili will

⁸⁵ English and Swahili are both regarded as official languages in Tanzania.

empower the majority of Tanzania's citizens in important ways that can, in turn, be employed to overcome the constraints of the existing English-Swahili binary.

8.2.2 Strengthening English Language Instruction in a New Policy Environment

The ability of the state to deliver decent basic education is an expected core competency of liberal democracies. However, Tanzania's schools employ many teachers with extremely weak English language skills only to require them to instruct in English. National pride, government obstinance, and a tendency for aid-dependent countries to pretend that core services like education are improving rather than rapidly declining as the evidence clearly shows, all present obstacles to seeking external assistance to address systemic issues. There is clearly a need to strengthen the quality of English language instruction that would remain mandatory as a course from Standard I – Form VI under recommendation #1 above. The recommendation for Swahili as the LOI in secondary schools should not be construed as an abandonment of the utility of English language in the Tanzanian context. As Nyerere (1967) said, English is the “Swahili of the World” and Tanzania's economic potential depends to some degree on English communication within a globalized economy. If English is to remain a central part of the Standard I to Form VI curricula as I have argued it should, then the contribution of high caliber, volunteer English language teachers could begin to reverse a decades long decline in the quality of English language instruction.

Recommendation #2 – The Government of Tanzania should begin negotiations immediately for a massive, aid-supported contractual arrangement with donor countries to support English language instruction

in secondary schools and teacher training colleges. This initiative should be integrated into the Government of Tanzania's current 'Big Results Now' planning initiative for the education sector. This large scale capacity building program could engage Peace Corps, large UK, Canadian, and European NGOs, and even volunteer arrangements with neighbouring Uganda, Kenya, Zambia and Malawi to be part of a coordinated effort to bolster teacher numbers and strengthen English instruction throughout the public education system.

8.2.3 National Youth Outreach through Civil Society

The efficacy of NGO interventions is another policy area that warrants amplification through the attention of governments and donors. The positive impacts of certain programming approaches with youth cannot be ignored if policy makers are serious about addressing youth issues. Tanzania has a relatively healthy and unique relationship with civil society organizations. Unlike many countries that have the governmental capacity or determination to shoulder the responsibility for the provision of most social services, Tanzania actually relies on NGOs to deliver as much as 40% of health care services, and a smaller but still important share of educational services. The Government does not core fund civil society organizations but does channel program funding through them as needed. Given this pre-existing relationship between government and civil society, there is an opportunity to significantly scale up the kind of entrepreneurship, life skills, and financial inclusion initiatives being delivered by NGOs like Restless Development. By recognizing the issue of youth unemployment/underemployment, and by engaging and funding a network of domestic NGOs, the reach of effective NGO youth programming could be significantly extended.

Recommendation #3 – Based on labour market and demographic analysis, the Government of Tanzania should use its convening power to engage donors along with domestic & international NGOs interested and experienced with outreach programming to marginalized youth. Common objectives and training targets (including entrepreneurship, life skills and micro-finance training) should be set for reaching unemployed/underemployed youth via this NGO network. In an effort to slow rural-urban migration while also bolstering rural farm incomes, a particular focus on entrepreneurial agri-business should be an integral part of the outreach programming. Innovative financing partners (like commercial banks interested in growing their client base through financial inclusion initiatives) and mechanisms (like cash on delivery where implementing NGOs are paid after having reached pre-determined training targets rather than before) should be considered to maximize the scope and efficiency of a national youth outreach strategy.

8.2.4 Correcting Distortions in Teacher Training

One serious consequence of the poor quality education many Tanzanians receive is the distortion wrought on the teacher-training pathway. In a genuine but desperate attempt to train sufficient numbers of teachers for the country's expanding primary and secondary school system, the Government has made teacher training attractive. Yet, for many high school 'graduates' with very marginal O-level secondary qualifications, Teachers' college is seen simply as an alternate way to obtain an A-level high school equivalency. A poor "O" level result combined with a teaching diploma and one year mandatory service in a public

school is usually sufficient for that ‘new’ teacher to obtain entry to a college or university program they would have otherwise been excluded from had they attempted to enter with their original low-level Form IV leaving certificate. Furthermore, gaining their A-level equivalency in this manner also gives students a teaching qualification that provides security in the event their pursuit of a college or university education is unsuccessful. Due to low pay and status, very few students of Tanzania’s public or private teachers’ colleges hold teaching as their first career choice, however, they are quick to use the teacher-training pathway as a state funded route to alternate career paths. This behavior seriously reduces the efficiency of teacher production and ultimately weakens relations with donors and citizens looking for quality improvements in the education system over time.

Recommendation #4 – First, the GoT should increase the mandatory commitment of new teacher candidates graduating from public and private teachers’ colleges, from one to three years of teaching in a public or private school. In fact, many new teachers do not fulfill the commitment by refusing to report to isolated school assignments, therefore, the duty to report should be enforced through a bond payable by the student at the beginning of teacher training or through some tracking and potentially punitive consequences for non-compliance through the national pension system. In addition, the requirements for entry into teacher training should be increased gradually and in lockstep with incremental teacher salary increases to slowly but consistently raise the status of the teaching profession.

8.2.5 Recommend Close Analysis of the QT Approach and Incentives

The rapid and organic expansion of private QT schools is both a reflection of the mass failure of state-funded primary and secondary school and a measure of market demand for a particular, and more efficient (in the current context) form of secondary schooling. So long as the examination system for secondary school graduation remains unchanged, the approach of QT schools in ‘cracking the code’ and increasing the numbers of young people passing their Form IV and VI levels warrants careful scrutiny and, perhaps, imitation. In addition, the incentive structures that render the teaching forces within QT schools more stable, motivated and effective also warrant careful consideration for the applicability in the state school system.

Recommendation #5 – The GoT should carefully and systematically examine the qualitative performance of QT schools in the provision of secondary school education for two purposes; First, so that lessons learned about the pedagogical approach and teacher incentive structures can be utilized to improve the larger state primary and secondary school system and; secondly, to build support and consensus within the GoT to consider some level of state subsidy (either in the form of scholarships for students or for direct support to QT schools) to allow QT schools to expand and absorb greater numbers of students wanting to re-enter formal schooling.

8.3 Implications for Further Research

There are two parts to this section; the first reflects on aspects of how this study was designed and implemented with a view to suggested improvements and; the second offers some ideas for new areas of research with Tanzanian youth that emerge from the work done here.

8.3.1 Adjustments to the Approach used in this Study

Hindsight inevitably generates critiques of the methodology that could be addressed if the project were revised or repeated. In this research, that self-reflection would apply mostly to the composition of the informant cohort. The use of interviews to generate life histories and well-being maps worked well, and I believe the participants were relaxed, engaged, and motivated to tell us their genuine stories. However, the informant cohort had a strongly homogeneous socio-economic profile, which produced relatively similar educational and post basic education experiences. In retrospect, there would have been advantages to including youth from both more and less privileged backgrounds in order to confirm directly the underlying socio-economic factors that influence the educational and livelihood experiences of minority as well as majority Tanzanian youth. In addition, the inclusion of informants with very minimal, or even no, primary schooling whatsoever may have produced important counterfactual data to help validate assumptions made about the agency-strengthening effect of schooling. Finally, had time and resources allowed, it would have been interesting to better understand the challenges and supportive aspects of family structures by visiting youth in their homes and/or including family members as informants since family relations did emerge as a key component of youth agency.

That said, this study confirms that Tanzania's basic education system is weak and getting worse. But the study also shows that, despite poor quality schooling for the majority, these youth – sometimes aided by family or civil society actors – find avenues and resources where their agency thickens and where they can challenge the structures that fail, constrain, or oppress them. This suggests that schooling – perhaps aided by more nebulous but nonetheless powerful and ubiquitous forces of globalization – is improving the agency of young people. Individually, youth do not recognize the strength of the actions they are taking and the strategies they are implementing but rather feel limited to doing the best they can. Despite often failing at the enterprise of schooling, young people invariably recognize its potential to transform their lives and retain aspirations to add to whatever limited education they currently have. This research and other studies like it, however, provide enough distance from the informants' lived experience to see a collective agency stronger than any one informant might feel or claim. For that reason, one implication of this study is to strongly suggest the need for more qualitative work with marginalized youth populations in Tanzania, Africa and developing regions of the world more generally. Specific to Tanzania, further study is possible in a number of areas:

- a. Since the role of family benefactor emerged as such a prominent and important support system for marginalized youth, a fulsome qualitative study of benefactor characteristics and motivations is warranted;
- b. Since secondary schooling seems to have little to no articulation with labour markets, a thorough comparative analysis (regionally perhaps) of the relationship between primary and secondary schooling and emerging labour market needs could prove valuable;

- c. Apprenticeship in the way it is practiced in North America and Europe is non-existent in Tanzania yet it would be interesting to study the structural requirements, attitudes, and opportunities involved in introducing apprenticeship-training schemes. The stigma of vocational training is rapidly diminishing in the face of job shortages. Exploring ways in which the status of vocational pursuits might be raised in Tanzania would support efforts to bridge schooling with the practical needs of the current labour market;
- d. Folk Development Colleges (FDCs), despite offering training that includes vocational skills and entrepreneurship, carry a very low status and are generally avoided by youth. A thorough study of the history, approach, and attempts at modernization of the FDCs might reveal important insights about the stigma associated with vocational pathways;
- e. Since the private sector QT model has grown in response to free market drivers, it would be very interesting to analyze and deduce what is working and how it might inform mainstream school improvements.
- f. Given the successful transformations discussed with respect to NGO interventions, it could be interesting to examine more carefully the pedagogy and dissemination of skills pertaining to entrepreneurship, life, and micro-finance skills through NGO programming.

8.4 Final Conclusions

Structural influences originate in the global and regional drivers impacting developing economies throughout the world. These include the proliferation of social media and the cultural hegemony of music, fashion, and neo-liberal attitudes that ready emerging economies for the influx of capital, technology and economic ideology searching for natural resources and cheap labour. The relevance and effectiveness of Tanzanian policy, regulation, infrastructure and social services, like education, lags behind the rapid economic change

underway leaving the majority of young Tanzanians to struggle for decent education and work. In the context of these macro forces, the most influential aspects of life for young Tanzanians include poverty and its interface with schooling, family and civil society – all variables youth utilize to succeed.

The study suggests that EFA has generally been a positive endeavour leading to improved access to education for most Tanzanians and better overall agency and economic prospects for school leavers/graduates. Consistently high enrolment rates, especially in the decade starting in 2001, when school fees were abolished, indicate that students and parents continue to embrace the egalitarian promise of “education for all” without yet recognizing what Foster termed the “unplanned consequences of educational growth” (Foster, 1965, p. 303). EFA has entrenched dominant social and institutional structures that, despite successfully extending school access, have also distorted and displaced other potentially more relevant models of education and greatly limited the discourse about what schools could and should provide. In this way, I also recall Giddens (1984) saying, “it is hard to exaggerate the importance on the unintended consequences of intentional conduct”(p.12). In Tanzania, EFA presents as an ideological and largely uncontested, neo-liberal approach to human resources development modeled on western democratic economies, English language dominance and governance, and economic and political reforms designed to move the country quickly toward a free market model. Consequently, school leavers exit the system with some improved skills (basic literacy and numeracy, for example) but most are intractably locked on a path of petty trading and low skill enterprise in the informal economy. The institutional/social/policy structures of EFA forcing youth onto this pathway are moderated by strong youth agency (reinforced by both the positive and negatives aspects of

their school experience) within an unfettered informal economy and some “second chance” strategies for improved education with the support of family or other benefactors.

This dissertation counters the dominant discourse around the youth demographic bulge as being a negative, threatening phenomenon. Instead, this study illuminates youth stories that are generally constructive with young people expressing optimism, hope and positive future orientations. That said, growing awareness among Tanzanian youth about declining school quality and the social inequality it breeds, combined with improved collective engagement in civil society advocacy, hints at further disenfranchisement of young people and the possibility of political dissent consistent with some of the dire predictions of youth bulge ‘threat theorists’ (see Goldstone, 2010).

Finally, the use of structuration theory as a theoretical framework and/or set of analytical tools proved highly relevant. Klocker’s (2007) notion of variables that thin and thicken agency, support the observation that the transition from “life crash” through to the formation of alternate plans is an example of rapidly thickening agency over a short period of time. The resultant articulations of hope, replete with plans and strategies, are among the most powerful moments of thickened agency in the study. Other theoretical perspectives - like hope and resilience theories, or the capabilities approach – propose new ways of articulating what remains a fundamental relationship between the cultural, social and economic structures that impact young people’s lives and the agency they possess or develop to work within those structures. Structuration theory remains uniquely innovative in recognizing that the relationship is not simply a binary one but rather an iterative interplay where agency and structures constantly affect and shape each other. This perspective, more

than any other, helps further our understanding of post-schooling life trajectories of youth in Tanzania.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Semi-structured Interview Questions

Draft Questions for Youth Informants

Initial Interview

- What is your Name
- What part of Tanzania are you from?
- What do you do here in Dar?
- What is your age?
- Do you have family here in Dar?
- What do you like to do for fun?
- Would you like to know more about this research project?

Second Interview

The second interview will continue to build trust and rapport while collecting factual data about the informant and his/her family, educational and work experience, and current socio-economic conditions. Sample questions include:

Home & family

- What is your Name?
- Last time we met, you told me you were from _____. Can you tell me more about that place?
- Why did you leave that place?
- Who is in your family?
- Where are they and what do they do?
- Were your parents supportive of your schooling?
- What level of education do your parents and siblings have?

Work

- Last time we met, you told me you worked as a _____. Can you tell me what that job is like?
- How much does it pay?

- Do you have a boss? What is he/she like?
- Would you like to be doing something else? What?

Schooling history

- What level of schooling did you attain?
- Did you think you would have a better job/life than you currently do with that level of schooling?
- What steps do you think you need to get where you want to be?
- Would more schooling help? What kind?
- How would you go about obtaining more education?

Dar friends & Life

- You told me you were _____ years old. How long have you been in Dar es Salaam?
- Did you come here alone? Why?
- Where do you live and with whom?
- How much does it cost?
- Do you have many friends?
- What do they do to survive?
- Are you part of a church? Which one?
- Do your friends or congregation members help you? How

More on past school

- Getting back to school, did you attend regularly?
- Were the teachers often absent?
- Did they charge you for extra help/tutoring?
- Tell me about your best teacher. Why was this teacher the best?
- What were your best subjects?
- What were your grades like?
- Did you receive any awards or recognition

Health

- Health status
- Health related costs

Current Schooling (Where applicable)

- Tell me about the education program you are in now?
- How did you find out about it?

- What were you doing before you started this?
- How are you paying for the program?
- Does this program fit your dream of what you want to be?

More on current Work (Where applicable)

- How much do you earn Daily/Monthly?
- Do you have other sources of income?
- Help me understand your Daily/Monthly expenses?
- Do you have Debts to pay?
- How long have you been working in this formal/informal sector job?
- Can you recall all of the jobs you held in the last 5 years
- Does it feel like you are building a life, moving forward?
- Tell me about your daily routine including work and socializing

Aspirations

- 1) Tell me about your dreams and aspirations?
- 2) Tell me what you remember most about school (basic education experiences)
- 3) Did your teachers try? Did you?
- 4) Did your family encourage you in school? How?
- 5) When you left school with (standard VII or Form IV) how did you feel?
- 6) How did your family feel about you leaving?
- 7) Where did most of your peers end up?
- 8) What was different about those peers who continued schooling?

Migration

- 9) When and why did you move to Dar es Salaam?
- 10) How long have you been here?
- 11) Does your family expect you to return “home”?
- 12) Have you changed jobs or homes since arriving here?
- 13) What do you like the most about Dar? The least?
- 14) What dangers do you face?
- 15) What services or support do you get from the government?
- 16) What services or supports do you get from the community, church, NGOs, family, etc.?

Future

- 17) Can you see yourself building a life, having adequate income and having a family following the path you are currently on?
- 18) How do you feel about the government’s support for basic education? Has it helped make life better? Tanzania better?

- 19) What do you see yourself doing in 1 year, 3 years, and 5 years?
- 20) What is your biggest dream in life?
- 21) How would others describe you?
- 22) How do you describe yourself?
- 23) Do you write, draw or do any other form of artistic expression? If so, may I have access?

Well-Being Mapping

- 24) Can we work together now to draw a timeline of key events in your life?

Draft Questions for Government (3), Donor (2), Private Sector (2) & NGO (3) Officials

Using semi-structured interviews, these informants will provide important insight into policy and programming that recognizes and/or responds to the challenges and opportunities identified by youth. Sample guiding questions include:

- What do you think young Tanzanians want most from life?
- How would you describe the prospects for youth in Tanzania who have completed Standard VII?
- How would you describe the prospects for youth in Tanzania who have completed Form IV?
- Is Tanzania's so-called youth bulge a positive or negative thing?
- Given the widely held view that expanded access has been achieved but quality remains poor or has even declined, what is your assessment of *Education for All*?
- What will it take to advance quality?
- Who is responsible for improving the link between basic education leavers and the labour market? Individuals? Government? The private sector? Civil society?
- What do you think are the main reasons for low transition rates to higher levels of education?
- What perception do youth hold regarding *Education for All*, the role of basic education in the development of Tanzania, and the efficacy of their own educational experience?
- Why and how do youth with similar basic education profiles find themselves both inside and outside of the vocational skills pathway?
- What are these youth doing to survive financially, socially, and psychologically?
- What immediate and medium-term plans do youth have to improve their lives?
- What supports or interventions – peer, government, religious, community, NGO etc. – do youth find most helpful and can they be expanded and/or amplified?
- What kind and degree of change in the policy or programming frameworks of government, donors, the private sector and civil society can be linked to the interaction with youth agency?

APPENDIX B: Interview with Keshubi

Interview Questions for the Translator/Research Assistant

Keshubi, these are questions to help me flesh out the roles we played and the mechanism we used to gather youth life histories. Please answer as fully and honestly as possible:

- 1) It seemed that you were able to get the informants to relax quickly and speak honestly to our questions. Do you agree? What strategies did you use to help informants relax and open up?

Yes, I agree. I think I was able to get the informants to relax quickly and speak honestly to our questions. My main strategy was to come down to their level (in terms of age and social class culture) and speak to their interests. I also tried to listen to what they were or weren't saying between the lines and used that as a hint on how to move on in my interaction with them.

Also, Swahili (coastal Tanzanian) culture involves a lot of idle chit-chat. Before and surrounding serious questions, I would joke with them, compliment the young women's style, and just engage in idle chit chat. This would make them more comfortable and more open to telling me/us more about themselves.

Also, whenever I thought an informant might not be telling me the truth, I would call them out on it in a light manner, and simply ask the question again until I felt they were telling me the truth.

- 2) During our interviews, you often had to pause and summarize for me what had been said. In turn, I often suggested the direction you should take when you continued the interview. Reflecting on this process, do you think it disrupted the flow of information from the youth? Did it help (for example, by giving the youth a chance to pause while you and I chatted)?

Generally, I think this was a good method. It helped to steer the interview in a direction that was most relevant to your research, which only you were best placed to determine. It was only disruptive when an interviewee wanted to share more (and in true Swahili style was being long-winded and roundabout about it), whereas you (in a more Western style) was ready to proceed to the next question and wanted more succinct answers. When this happened, I think the interviewee would clam up a bit and then not necessarily tell us all that they had to say on a subject.

I believed it helped not because it gave the interviewee time to pause and think, but rather because I think it made you seem less imposing and part of the conversation. Without being P.C. about it, I think being interviewed by an older white male, must have caused some trepidation to the youth. If you were to just sit there and not somehow be able to participate in the interview by me translating on the spot, I think our informants might have started to second guess themselves and wonder if they were giving the “right answers”. By the constant starting and stopping, they could sense your genuine interest in their story, which I think made them more eager to open up and share. I think it therefore made the interaction truly two-way. You got to listen and watch them, and they in turn got to listen and watch you.

- 3) Do you think I represented an intimidating presence for the informants? If so, was it just an initial feeling for the informants? Would the interviews have been more effective without me there?

I don't think that overall you represented an intimidating presence for the informants. At the beginning of an interview perhaps, but once we all started interacting, I think you did a very good job of communicating warmth to them through facial expressions, laughter, and speaking a little Swahili.

I don't think the interviews would have been more effective without you there because I think it was important for you to steer each interview in the direction you needed for your research. As I am sure you also noticed from the interviews, each person had a different story to tell, and from their stories, new leads would come up that we would

then follow. I don't think I could have done as good a job as you in pursuing leads that were relevant to your research.

4) Overall, do you feel like we got honest and genuine answers to our questions?

Overall, yes. When I didn't feel someone was being honest or genuine, I would tell you about it and would do my best to call them out on it in a laughing manner. Sometimes, after this they would change their story to something that rang a little more true.

5) Overall, do you think that informants walked away from our interviews happy or rejuvenated that someone was interested in their stories or would you say they were more ambivalent about the interview experience?

Overall, yes, I think the informants walked away from our interviews happy, rejuvenated, and honored to have been listened to, to have participated in something bigger than themselves, and to have been able to make a contribution. To this day, many of them communicate with me just to say hello, to invite me to participate in their activities, to tell me of their achievements, to ask for your contacts, and even try to friend me on Facebook. I think they felt we had forged a real bond/friendship. I think also that an older, white man taking the time to listen to them and have them contribute to his PhD, all while treating them respectfully left them feeling with a greater sense of self-worth.

6) With the exception of Yussaf (whose interview we terminated early and then did not conduct a second one), can you identify any other informants you think were feeding us fiction rather than facts? Be specific and indicate why you think the particular participants was fabricating.

In parts of his interview, I think Mbaraka might have been stretching the truth a little. There was something about his timeline of events that didn't seem to add up. To point to a glaring untruth that he told us: in his first interview, he told us he had just moved in with his daughter's mother only a month before, but then told us in his second interview that she had left him and had not been living with him for over eight months.

Mathew also seemed to me like he was stretching the truth. I can't point to anything specifically, but what comes to mind is how he first told us he was studying engineering and the truth was he was taking a short auto mechanics course at VETA.

Those are the only two cases that come to mind—note that they were both also very, very fast talkers.

- 7) I think once we settled on the method of Shani transcribing from audio to Swahili and then Rachel, Joanne and Gama translating Swahili transcripts to English, followed by your final review, the work began to move forward. Describe the pros and cons of the system we used in your view. What was lost or gained?

First and foremost, I had totally underestimated what would go into doing this correctly. If it took all of us that long to complete the job, I hate to imagine what it would have been like for me to try to do it all on my own.

The pros were that the work eventually got done and that people who spoke Swahili better than me were involved in the translation, so in some ways there was less error that could have been introduced purely at a translation level.

The cons were:

1. It was expensive—in hindsight, I wish once Joanne, Gama, and Rachel got on board, that we could have skipped the Shani part and just given them the audio directly and asked each translator to both transcribe and translate each transcript. Unfortunately, at the time, I had already handed over all the audio files to Shani.
2. Error was introduced at many levels. Maybe it was the sheer bulk of the work, but Shani started being selective with what she would transcribe or not. If she thought something was not strictly part of the interview, she would eliminate it. If she thought a response was too long she would summarize it. This would then go on to the translator who would then introduce even more error for various reasons:

- a. With Shani's written Swahili transcripts, which were not usually punctuated nor had any voice inflections from which translators could take a cue from, the translators would have to guess what was meant in the transcript when translating. This led to many grave errors.
- b. Language was also an issue. Whereas Joanne and Gama seemed to have a very good grasp of both Swahili and English (and I think also more of a culture of exactness from their educational backgrounds), Rachel's English was not as good. Yet, because she worked the fastest, she translated the largest number of transcripts among the three.
- c. A lack of commitment. It was a lot of work for all the translators/transcribers involved and in reading the translated transcripts, I sensed a lack of commitment in trying to transcribe/translate the transcripts as accurately as possible, and that might have come from the fact that Shani, Gama, Joanne, and Rachel were not involved in other aspects of the research.

I am confident that I was able to eliminate as much of these errors as possible in the case of the interviews with Elicana, Mary, Joseph, Gama, Carol, Mathew, Paul, Saidi, Salome, and Lydia because I compared the translated transcript to the original recording and was merciless about making sure that what was on paper was an accurate reflection of what happened at the interview, but because of your instruction to keep my review to maximum 90 minutes per transcript for the last four interviews, I cannot say the same for the last four sets of transcripts.

- 8) I have shared with you a rough draft of "Joseph's Story". Clearly, this is not what Joseph said but rather me piecing bits of what he said to us (transcribed and translated) into an English more or less chronological telling of things I think make up the character and life-course of Joseph. This would be what the academic literature calls a *co-constructed* (informant-researcher) life history. When you read the narrative I have written of Joseph and reflect on our meetings with him, does it ring true? If you detect me as the principal researcher in Joseph's narrative, what are the signs or clues that I have co-constructed it?

Yes, Joseph's story rings technically true to me, but as I read it (and re-read it again in order to answer this question), I felt that it didn't convey what we saw of Joseph, other than the technical details of his life. For example, things such as that he was shy, soft spoken, and seemed a little broken aren't mentioned in the life history and so seems to me a little cold and unrepresentative of Joseph. Although these are all subjective things, I think they also go a long way to communicating his sense of failure. Basically, in reading his life history, I felt Joseph was reduced to a distant research object, with little humanity, and seemed to simply be a composite of facts about his life.

I don't sense so much that you are the co-constructer. As I mentioned above, as I read his story, I did get the sense of looking at his story from the outside and judging him/his story by foreign values, though I don't think that's specific to you, but would likely be the case of any westerner who tried to do the same thing.

- 9) If you were to co-construct Joseph's story (or anyone of our other informants), how might your narrative differ from mine and why?

Trying to answer this question makes me think of a TEDTalk by an award-winning Nigerian author, Chimamanda Adichie, entitled "[The Danger of a Single Story](#)". I encourage you to watch it.

What I think I would do differently is to infuse what I had observed of Joseph in our interview in an effort to make anyone who read his life history get a real sense of who he was. In essence, I'd try more to make him more multi-dimensional. Although I understand that research should be objective, my (or your) qualitative observations of an informant during an interview seem to me to be fair game for qualitative analysis of the informant's interview.

- 10) Reflecting back on the work (think about our pilot interview with Elicana, our adjustments for interview location, or conversations we had before between and after interviews, etc.), what parts of our research process do you think worked well and which ones did not work well?

I think, overall, our research process was good. My only issue may have been about how we found youth to interview. I don't know that we had a random sample of youth, so that we could draw true conclusions about youth in Tanzania and their level of agency. The youth gotten through PLAN were bound to be biased in the direction of having agency, while the specific targeting of youth from QT would also have a bias towards a certain story. Yet the random youth we approached tended not to show up to interviews, so I am not sure how else we could have done better on this aspect of the research.

11) What did you learn from this qualitative research experience?

The biggest lesson I learned was how involving it is to take interview data and transform it precisely into data that could be used for research analysis. Knowing what I know of that process now, I would in hindsight be more careful about the interview format so that the data processing wouldn't be so backbreaking.

12) Anything else you would like to add?

Being a co-researcher in this research was very interesting! Thank you, Chris, for opening this opportunity to me. Although the second half of it, data processing, was very difficult for me in many ways, I feel I learned a lot and my life has been made richer for participating in it. Good luck on the rest of your doctorate!

APPENDIX C: NGO Support Letters

Restless Development

Re: PhD research study: Youth Agency and the Efficacy of Basic Education in Tanzania: An inquiry into post-primary school structuration

Dear Chris,

This letter confirms that Restless Development agrees to help facilitate contacts with 5-6 young people (aged 18years+) associated with the organization for you and your Research assistant (Candidate TBD).

The young people will be asked to participate in your research and/or provide names and contact information for other young people meeting the criteria for the study. All participation is voluntary and will be negotiated through informed consent. Adult professionals working with Restless Development may also be asked to participate as informants, again through a negotiated consent. As discussed, you agree to cover travel costs (15,000Tsh per day) to any meetings (and lunch costs if meetings are all day/over lunch.) Finally, and as agreed in our conversations about this work, Restless Development will be acknowledged for the contribution to your research.

Thank you. We look forward to working with you on your project.

Sincerely,

UWABA

Name of Researcher; Christian M. DaSilva , Faculty of Graduate Studies(Education),University Of Ottawa.613-722 -8813 address removed

Supervisor: Dr. Richard Maclure, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa – 613-562-5800 [ext.4034]

Re; PhD research study; Youth Agency and the Efficacy of Basic Education in Tanzania ; An inquiry into post- primary school structuration

Dear Chris,

This letter confirms that Umma Wa Wapanda Baisikeli (UWABA) www.uwaba.or.tz agrees to help facilitate contacts with 6-8 young people [aged 18years] associated with the organization for you and your Research assistant [candidate TBD]

The young people will be asked to participate in your research . All participation is voluntary and will be negotiated through informed consent. As discussed, you agree to cover travel cost [15,000Ts per day] to any meetings [and lunch costs if meetings are all day /over lunch.] Finally, and as agreed in our conversations about this work, UWABA will be acknowledged for the contribution to your research.

Thank you. We look forward to working with you on your project

Sincerely,

APPENDIX D: Ethics Approval Forms

COSTECH

TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
(COSTECH)

Telephones: (255 - 022) 2775155 - 6, 2700745/6
Director General: (255 - 022) 2700750&2775315
Fax: (255 - 022) 2775313
Email: rclearance@costech.or.tz

Ali Hassan Mwinyi Road
P.O. Box 4302
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

In reply please quote: CST/RCA 2013/24/2013

19th April 2013

Director of Immigration Services
Ministry of Home Affairs
P.O. Box 512

DAR ES SALAAM

Dear Sir/Madam,

RESEARCH PERMIT

We wish to introduce **Christian Dasilva** from **Canada** who has been granted Research permit No. 2013-121-NA-2013-24 dated 19th April 2013

The permit allows him/her to do research in the country "**Youth Agency and the Efficacy of Basic Education in Tanzania: An inquiry into Post-Primary School Structuration**"

We would like to support the application of the researcher(s) for the appropriate immigration status to enable the scholar(s) begin research as soon as possible.

By copy of this letter, we are requesting regional authorities and other relevant institutions to accord the researcher(s) all the necessary assistance. Similarly the designated local contact is requested to assist the researcher(s).

Yours faithfully

**TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
(COSTECH)**

Telephones: (255 - 022) 2775155 - 6, 2700745/6
Director General: (255 - 022) 2700750&2775315
Fax: (255 - 022) 2775313
Email: rclearance@costech.or.tz

Ali Hassan Mwinyi Road
P.O. Box 4302
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

RESEARCH PERMIT**No. 2013-121-NA-2013-24****19th April 2013**

1. Name : **Christian Dasilva**
2. Nationality : **Canada**
3. Title : **"Youth Agency and the Efficacy of Basic Education in Tanzania: An inquiry into Post-Primary School Structuration "**
4. Research shall be confined to the following region(s): **Dar es Salaam and Iringa**
5. Permit validity **19th April 2013 to 18th April 2014**
6. Contact /Collaborator: **Ms. Victoria Mushi, Program Officer, Canadian Embassy, Dar es Salaam**
7. Researcher is required to submit progress report on quarterly basis and submit all Publications made after research.





TANZANIA COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (COSTECH)

P.O. Box 4302, Ali Hassan Mwinyi Road, Dar es Salaam
Telephone: 022 2700745/6 Fax: 022 2775313

No: **16241**

RECEIPT

Date: 19/4/2013.

Received from M/s CHRISTIAN DASILVA.

The sum of Shillings/US Dollars Three hundred Dollars only.

Being RESEARCH FEE.

Cash/Cheque No. PAY-IN-SLIP 18/4/2013.

Shs./US\$

300.

With Thanks
Tanzania Commission for
Science and Technology
AND TECHNOLOGY (COSTECH)
P. O. Box 4302
DAR ES SALAAM

PART IV - PARTICULARS AS TO INSTITUTION

- 25 INSTITUTION : COSTECH
- 26 LOCATION : KITOWANA
- 27 POSTAL ADDRESS : 4302
- 28 PLACE OF WORK : IRUNGA & DAR ES SALAAM
- 29 PLACE OF RESIDENCE (in Tanzania) : DAR ES SALAAM
- 30 INDUSTRY/SECTOR : .. e.g. Mining
- 31 SUB-SECTOR : ..
- 32 INVESTMENT SCALE: LARGE ☐ MIDDLE: ☐ SMALL ☐ OTHERS (Specify) ..
- 33 TELEPHONE NUMBER

0	2	2	2	3	0	0	3	4	5		
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--	--
- 34 MOBILE PHONE NUMBER

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
- 35 E-MAIL ADDRESS : clearance@costech.or.tz

PART V - DECLARATION BY EMPLOYER

University of Ottawa



Université d'Ottawa University of Ottawa

Bureau d'éthique et d'intégrité de la recherche Office of Research Ethics and Integrity

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board

CONDITIONAL ETHICS APPROVAL

March 14th, 2013

The University of Ottawa Social Sciences and Humanities Research Ethics Board (REB) has examined the application for ethical approval for the research project entitled **"Youth agency and the efficacy of basic education in Tanzania: An inquiry into post-primary school structuration"** (ethics file #12-12-22) submitted by Christian DaSilva, under the supervision of Richard Maclure from the Faculty of Education at the University of Ottawa.

This is to confirm that the REB, which operates in accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (2nd edition) and other applicable laws and regulations in Ontario, has granted a conditional ethics approval for the above named research project.

Full approval may be granted upon submission of the letters of approval from COSTECH. Recruitment and data collection may not begin until full approval has been granted. Please note that any change to the protocol and/or other documents must receive written approval from the REB.

If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to contact the Ethics Office at 613-562-5387 or by e-mail at: ethics@uOttawa.ca.

APPENDIX E: Permission Forms



Université d'Ottawa
Faculté d'éducation

University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education

Recruitment Letter – Youth Informants

Title of the study: Youth Agency and the Efficacy of Basic Education in Tanzania: An inquiry into post-primary school structuration

Principal Investigator: Christian M. DaSilva, Faculty of graduate Studies (Education)
University of Ottawa.
Address removed

Supervisor: Dr. Richard Maclure, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa – 613-562-5800

Invitation to Participate: You are invited to participate in the abovementioned research study conducted by Christian M. DaSilva, PhD Candidate at the University of Ottawa under the Supervision of Dr. Richard Maclure, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa.

Participation: The Researcher is looking for young people over 18 years of age who meet the following criteria:

4 youth with Form IV education working in the informal or formal sector

4 youth with Standard VII education working in the informal or formal sector

4 youth with Form IV education attending a skills training program of >6 months duration

4 youth with Standard VII education attending a skills training program of >6 months duration

10 additional older professional informants drawn from Government, Donors, NGOs and the Private Sector are also being sought.

You will be asked to meet the researcher for up to five, 90-minute interviews over a 4-month period between February and June 2013. One of these interviews may be conducted as a group interview with other participants. Interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. You will have an opportunity to review all transcripts of your interviews.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this research project is to understand how young people in Tanzania - faced with inadequate and insufficient education and significant social, institutional and economic challenges - locate, develop and utilize opportunities in both the formal/informal economy and through formal post-basic education programs.

Benefits: Your participation in this study will give you an opportunity to express how you feel about the choices you have in Tanzania given your educational experience and the supports provided to you (or not) by the Tanzanian government and civil society actors.

Confidentiality and Anonymity: Your information and contributions will remain strictly confidential. The data will be used only for the purpose of this PhD dissertation including the publication of findings in academic journals and your anonymity/confidentiality will be protected by rendering your name and

Tel/Tél : 613-562-5804
Fax/Télé : 613-562-5144

145, Jean-Jacques
Lussier
Ottawa ON K1N 6N5
Canada

www.education.uOttawa.ca

other identifying details of your participation anonymous through the use of a pseudonym.

Compensation: You will be paid 7,000 Tsh for each 90-minute interview and 3,000 Tsh per hour for any “overtime” incurred. This amount is sufficient to cover your local transportation to and from the interview plus a small incentive to participate.

Voluntary Participation: You are under no obligation to participate and if you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer questions that you do not want to answer. If you choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be returned to you and not used in the study.

Information about the Study Results: Results of the study will be made available to you by advising you through email or text where a copy of the final dissertation or papers can be found. Where possible, the actual papers will be sent to you electronically.

If you have any questions or require more information about the study itself, you may contact the researcher or his/her supervisor at the numbers mentioned herein.

If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

Please keep this form for your records.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Christian M. DaSilva

March 18, 2013

**Recruitment Letter – Adult Professionals**

Université d'Ottawa
Faculté d'éducation

Title of the study: Youth Agency and the Efficacy of Basic Education in Tanzania: An inquiry into post-primary school structuration

University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education

Principal Investigator: Christian M. Da Silva,
Faculty of graduate Studies
(Education) University of
Ottawa. Address removed

Supervisor: Dr. Richard Maclure, Faculty
of Education, University of
Ottawa – 613-562-5800

Invitation to Participate: You are invited to participate in the above mentioned research study conducted by Christian M. DaSilva, PhD Candidate at the University of Ottawa under the Supervision of Dr. Richard Maclure, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa.

Participation: The Researcher is looking for approximately 10 Adult Professionals who meet the following criteria:

2-3 from the Government of Tanzania

- 2-3 from donors active in Tanzania
- 2-3 from the private sector
- 2-3 from NGOs active with Youth

All informants should have a thorough knowledge and understanding of the structure and organization of formal primary and secondary education in Tanzania and be able to share valuable perspectives about the institutional, governance and policy environment which impacts education and youth.

You will be asked to meet the researcher for up to two, 90-minute interviews over a 2-month period between April and June 2013. One of these interviews may be conducted as a group interview with other participants. Interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed. You will have an opportunity to review all transcripts of your interviews.

Tel/Tél : 613-562-5804
Fax/Télé : 613-562-5144

145, Jean-Jacques
Lussier
Ottawa ON K1N 6N5
Canada

www.education.uOttawa.ca

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this research project is to understand how young people in Tanzania - faced with inadequate and insufficient education and significant social, institutional and economic challenges - locate, develop and utilize opportunities in both the formal/informal economy and through formal post-basic education programs.

Benefits: Your participation in this study will give you an opportunity to express your views about the socio-economic, political, institutional and policy frameworks which positively and negatively impact the options available to young Tanzanians .

Confidentiality and Anonymity: Your information and contributions will remain strictly confidential. The data will be used only for the purpose of this PhD dissertation including the publication of findings in academic journals and your anonymity/confidentiality will be protected by rendering your name and other identifying details of your participation anonymous through the use of a pseudonym.

Compensation: As every effort will be made to conduct interviews during

paid work hours, no compensation is being offered. The researcher will share an electronic version of the successful dissertation.

Voluntary Participation: You are under no obligation to participate and if you choose to participate, you may refuse to answer questions that you do not want to answer. If you choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be returned to you and not used in the study.

Information about the Study Results: Results of the study will be made available to you by advising you through email or text where a copy of the final dissertation or papers can be found in hard copy and by providing you with an electronic version.

If you have any questions or require more information about the study itself, you may contact the researcher or his/her supervisor at the numbers mentioned herein.

If you have any questions with regards to the ethical conduct of this study, you may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5, tel.: (613) 562-5387 or ethics@uottawa.ca.

Please keep this form for your records.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Christian M. DaSilva

March 18, 2013



Université d'Ottawa
Faculté d'éducation

University of Ottawa
Faculty of Education

Consent Form

Youth Informants

Title of the study: Youth Agency and the Efficacy of Basic Education in Tanzania: An inquiry into post-primary school structuration

Name of Researcher: Christian M. DaSilva, Faculty of graduate Studies (Education), University of Ottawa. 613-722-8813. Address removed

Supervisor: Dr. Richard Maclure, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa – 613-562-5800

Invitation to Participate: I am invited to participate in the above mentioned research study conducted by Christian Da Silva, a PhD candidate at the University of Ottawa, Canada.

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this research project is to understand how young people in Tanzania - faced with inadequate and insufficient education and significant social, institutional and economic challenges - locate, develop and utilize opportunities in both the formal/informal economy and through formal post-basic education programs?

Participation: My participation will consist essentially of four or five 90 minute interviews including at least one group interview. During these interviews, I will be asked questions about my life, goals, dreams, obstacles, family history, school and work experiences, peer relationships, access to government of CSO supports, etc. These interviews will be audio-recorded and transcribed after the interview. I will have the option to review the transcripts of my last interview before starting the subsequent interview.

Tel/Tél : 613-562-5804
Fax/Téléc :613-562-5144

145, Jean-Jacques Lussier
Ottawa ON K1N 6N5
Canada

www.education.uOttawa.ca

Risks: My participation in this study will involve the discussion of personal information and opinions which may cause me to feel emotional and a bit vulnerable. I have received assurance from the researcher that every effort will be made to minimize these risks and discomforts. Interviews are very flexible so they can be stopped at my request and continued when I feel ready.

Benefits: My participation in this study will give me an opportunity to express how I feel about the choices I have in Tanzania given my educational experience and the supports provided to me (or not) by the Tanzanian government and civil society actors.

Confidentiality and anonymity: I have received assurance from the researcher that the information I will share will remain strictly confidential. I understand that the contents will be used only for the purpose of his PhD dissertation including the publication of findings in academic journals and that my confidentiality will be protected by rendering my name and other identifying details of my interviews anonymous.).

Anonymity will be protected through the use of a pseudonym connected to my information. All raw data linked to me will be kept by the researcher under lock and key for a period of no more than 5 years after which all data will be destroyed..

Conservation of data: The data collected (both hard copy and electronic data, tape recordings of interviews, transcripts, questionnaires, notes, etc.) will be kept in a secure manner under lock and key at the supervisor's office at the University of Ottawa for a period of 5 years after which it will be destroyed. A copy of the data will be kept under lock and key at the researcher's home until the researcher's dissertation defence in 2014, after which it will be destroyed.

Compensation: I will be paid 7,000 Tsh (approx.. \$4 Canadian) for each 90 minute interview and 3,000 Tsh per hour for any “overtime” incurred. This amount is sufficient to cover my local transportation to and from the interview if required and does leave me 4-5000Tsh as a very small incentive to participate. If I choose to withdraw from the research at any time, I will still be paid for the time I spend with the researchers up to the point of my withdrawal.

Voluntary Participation: I am under no obligation to participate and if I choose to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time and/or refuse to answer any questions, without suffering any negative consequences. If I choose to withdraw, all data gathered until the time of withdrawal will be returned to me and not used in the study.

Acceptance: I, _____ agree to participate in the above research study conducted by Christian M. DaSilva of the (Department of Education, Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Ottawa), under the supervision of (Dr. Richard Maclure).

If I have any questions about the study, I may contact the researcher or his supervisor.

If I have any questions regarding the ethical conduct of this study, I may contact the Protocol Officer for Ethics in Research, University of Ottawa, Tabaret Hall, 550 Cumberland Street, Room 154, Ottawa, ON K1N 6N5

Tel.: (613) 562-5387

Email: ethics@uottawa.ca

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which is mine to keep.

Participant's signature: (Signature)

Date: (Date)

Researcher's signature: (Signature)

Date: (Date)

In cases where the participant is not able to read the consent form (illiterate, blind, etc.) or if he cannot consent for him/herself a signature from a witness or an authorized third party would also be needed (remove this section if not applicable to your project). For more details, see Chapter 3 of the TCPS.

Witness:

(Signature)

Date: (Date)

Authorized third party

(Signature)

Date: (Date)