LEARNING FOR CHANGE: TANZANIA'S FOLK DEVELOPMENT COLLEGES IN TRANSITION

Alan Rogers, Uppingham Seminars in Development, UK

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Note: the title has been adapted from the motto of Njombe FDC, 'Building Capacities for Change' which seems to me to be a good summary of the work of the FDCs – not just to train in skills but to help all those involved to develop capacities for individual, institutional and social, economic and cultural change.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

Note: this report has been written by Alan Rogers but includes notes, comments and material from Dr Mpoki Mwaikokesya of the University of Dar es Salaam who participated in the pre-visit preparations, in the whole of the Tanzania visit, and in some of the post-visit writing. The result however may not fully represent his views. It does not necessarily represent the views of Sida or of Karibu Tanzania Association (KTA, now Organisation) or any others we met during the visits to Tanzania and Sweden.

I have tried to allow the voices of the colleges themselves to be heard more than our voices. To preserve the anonymity of the informants who provided so much information freely, I have not included the names of the respondents with the quotations. The unattributed quotations are from interviews; written sources quoted are cited.

It was not the intention of this project to make recommendations, but it has been suggested by several persons involved that this will be found useful, so there are some but in a very hesitant voice, for it is in Tanzania that the practical implications of this report need to be worked out.

I am very conscious that there will be errors, both of judgment but of facts (e.g. dates of reports, especially versions of ESDPs) and titles of organisations etc. I will gratefully welcome any suggestions for improvement of this report.

To assist the reader, a summary of the contents of each chapter is provided at the head of each chapter; these sections, taken together, form the Executive Summary.

Taking note of what is said in paragraph 1.2.7, I strongly urge that this report should be made available to all FDCs for their comments (and corrections!); if necessary, it may be translated into Swahili to give it wide coverage.

Alan Rogers
May 2017

ABBREVIATIONS

ANFE	Adult and Non-formal Education (sub-sector of education)
AP(E)L	Assessment of Prior (Experiential) Learning (also Recognition, Validation and Accreditation of Learning)
CONFINTEA	International Conference on the Education of Adults (national paper)
DED	District Executive Director
EEVT	Enhancing Employability through Vocational Training
EMIS	Educational Management of Information System
ESDP	Educational Sector Development Programme
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance (Projects)
FDC	Folk Development College(s)
FE	Folk Education (curriculum)
FHS	Folk High Schools
FOLAC	*Folkbildning* - Learning for Active Citizenship
IAE	Institute of Adult Education, Dar es Salaam
ICBAE	Integrated Community-Based Adult Education
KSA	Karibu Sweden Association
KTA	Karibu Tanzania Association (now Organisation)
MCD	Ministry of Community Development (various titles, Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children, currently Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children)
MEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MEST	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology
MKUTUTA	Growing Out of Poverty, Poverty Reduction StrategiesI (2005) and II (2010)
MoE	Ministry of Education (various titles, Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Education and Vocational Training, currently Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, MEST)
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
MOOCs	Mass Open On-Line Courses
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
ODL	Open and Distance Learning
SIDA/Sida	Swedish International Development (Cooperation) Agency
TTU	Tanzanian Teachers' Union
VETA	Vocational Education and Training Authority
VETTC	Vocational Education Teacher Training College, Morogoro
YEE Plan	Youth Economic Empowerment (PLAN International).

LEARNING FOR CHANGE: TANZANIA'S FOLK DEVELOPMENT COLLEGES IN TRANSITION (Report by Professor Alan Rogers, University of Nottingham, UK, May 2017).

SUMMARY OF REPORT

The Folk Development Colleges are in transition once again and it seems an appropriate time to review their current position and potentialities for growth.

Background: Established, at the personal request of President Nyerere, jointly by the Ministry of Education (MoE[1]) and the Swedish aid agency SIDA in 1975, and based on the Scandinavian Folk High School (FHS) tradition, the Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) were supported financially by SIDA for twenty-one years, an unusual feature of international development assistance. Unlike the FHSs, they were government-owned institutions, and were renamed Folk *Development* Colleges to stress their commitment to local and national development plans. Although originally seen as a part of the national adult education programme, they formed a distinct sector in Tanzania's educational portfolio, separate from, and yet containing features of, the other three sectors, adult education, vocational training and community development; thus the term 'Folk Education' entered into educational policy debates.

Programmes: During the period of SIDA's assistance (1975-96), the 52 FDCs became embedded within their local communities and developed a group identity which marked them off from other sectors. They were transferred from MoE to the Ministry of Community Development (MCD), with an increased stress on their community development role. Their programme consisted (and stills consists) of long courses (one or two year mainly residential, mainly vocational training), short courses on and off campus, outreach activities, self-reliance projects and a number of special activities. A key distinguishing feature of the FDCs is that, unlike other post-school education establishments, there are no required entry conditions - anyone can go, even primary school 'drop-outs'. As a result, the FDCs provided their own certification of attainment rather than a nationally recognised certificate (though some use City and Guilds).

1996-2016: On the ending of SIDA's direct assistance, it was feared the sector would collapse but it did not; it even grew slightly from 52 to 55 FDCs. The government from time to time continued some support but on the whole the colleges were encouraged to fend for themselves. Costs were cut, on staff and especially on buildings and outreach activities; income came mainly from students' fees, and each FDC was free to explore other fund-raising possibilities including other donors. Swedish assistance continued to individual FDCs from individual FHSs. Short courses continued but were mainly provided by other agencies using the sites (and at times the staff) of the FDCs.

Karibu Tanzania Association/Organisation: During this period of relative freedom, the sector developed greater coherence. At the heart of this trend was (and is) the Karibu Tanzania Association (KTA), now Karibu Tanzania Organisation (KTO). This provides a link between all the 55 FDCs, and provides a voice to the sector. It has strong links with the FHSs, Swedish supporters of the FDCs. It works very closely with MCD, especially on shared issues such as gender education and practices.

[1] I have retained a shortened abbreviation for the Ministry of Education and also for the Ministry of Community Development because, over the forty or so years 1975-2017, the exact titles of these ministries changed several times.

Innovatory activities in and through FDCs: Through KTA and in association with MCD, the FDCs have developed throughout the whole sector a number of innovatory activities; for example:

- fema (women's learning and action) groups are run in the colleges and in local communities;
- pre-school (kindergarten) groups now feature in half of all the FDCs;
- the Mama programme for helping teenage-mothers to re-enter education from which they have been excluded runs in half of the colleges and has now been accepted as a national educational policy;
- activities to ensure peace at times of elections and other national stress have been organised;
- some pilot programmes in the uses of new technologies;
- the national (and international) movement for women's football has been piloted again in half of the FDCs, receiving national attention.

In these ways and others, the FDCs work together as a sector and provided a unique national arena for the piloting of activities which contribute substantially to the national development goals.

VETA and the FDCs: It was during this period that the links between the FDCs and VETA were developed. Established in 1995, VETA grew in influence with government support as more and more emphasis was placed in Tanzanian policy circles on skills for development. VETA came to see itself as the sole body co-ordinating all Vocational Education and Training (VET) in the country, whether provided by government, commercial interests or voluntary bodies; there are over 800 vocational training centres in the country, the very large majority offered by private interest groups or faith-based groups; only some 35 VTCs are directly government-owned, at present under VETA. Although outside this system, some FDCs became centres where VETA trade tests were taken; consequently increasing numbers of students on long vocational courses in the FDCs came to request that they be allowed to take VETA courses. This had started by 2003 and was officially recognised by MCD in 2013. BY 2015-16, nearly half of the FDCs offer only VETA long courses (this is likely to be higher today); others offer what has come to be called Folk Education courses; a few offer both.

The move to the mainstream: All of this went on, as it were, below the radar: the FDCs, being a very small sector and separate from the mainstream, were largely ignored in national policy debates. But as government pressure for skills development programmes for school-leavers increased, so attention was turned to the FDCs. A first report on them was compiled in 2000, and from that year government funding was increased. The World Bank commissioned a report in 2003 and from then interest in the FDCs grew. By 2011, when the *Education Sector Analysis* was drawn up, it was being urged that the sector, still seen as a separate entity, should be moved back to MoE (this time to the Directorate of Vocational Training); a decision to that effect was made in 2016, and it was implemented (in part) in February 2017.

Selection of some FDCs to become DVTCs: However VETA made early movements. Seeking to ensure there was a main vocational training centre in every District, in 2016 VETA reviewed 25 FDCs and chose 15, upgraded to some extent their buildings and equipment, trained some of their staff and declared these as having been transferred to VETA as District Vocational Training Centres (DVTCs). Discussions with VETA (in both Dar es Salaam and Morogoro) left it very unclear whether the Folk Education and other elements involved in the identity of these FDCs would be retained or not.

FDCs and MoE DVT: Discussions with the MoE Directorate of Vocational Training (DVT) also left it unclear
a) whether the sector would be retained as an entity (i.e as 55 FDCs) or be split, with 15 FDCs with VETA and the remaining 40 FDCs with MoE-DVT;
b) whether the FDCs would be kept separate from or merged into the VET sector;
c) whether the unique freedom given to the each FDC to initiate activities to meet local needs and to raise resources for these activities, including individual access to donors, would continue;
d) whether the innovatory activities can continue to be developed;
and e) whether the role of KTA/O as the link-agent for the whole sector would be retained.

The distinctive features of the FDCs which mark them off from VTCs, Adult Education (AE) centres and Community Development (CD) centres, features which may be lost if the FDCs become identified solely as VET centres, need to be identified. The report suggests these features include

- the hybrid nature of the FDCs as combining these three roles in one
- their concern for social change - they are not just training for jobs but to help their students to become agents for change in the country; for example, while they (like the VTCs and other institutions) seek to overcome gender inequalities in student and staff recruitment, the FDCs are concerned for gender transformation in society as a whole
- their flexibility especially of entry requirements - unlike VTCs, they are non-selective of student entry, and as adult education institutions they admit some (admittedly relatively few) older adults
- the use of the sector as a whole for innovatory activities, especially piloting new development ventures

Possible future developments: Looking to the future, the report suggests one or two ways in which the potential of the FDCs and the sector as a whole could be fulfilled, while continuing and expanding their vocational training role. The main instruments for this would be the FDC short courses and outreach activities.

The most important way suggested is to help Tanzania with the achievement of the **Sustainable Development Goals**. Every one of the 17 Goals contains explicitly or implicitly adult learning targets; so that every development sector (health, agriculture, gender, poverty, finance, environment, etc) will need to find adult learning partners to help them fulfil their goals rather than try to provide their own adult learning activities. The FDCs, scattered throughout Tanzania, often in unexpected locations, and with substantial assets (e.g. their sites) are uniquely placed to offer such partnerships nationwide: they can provide across the country sites and partnerships for the implementation of the SDGs. In this role, access to the whole sector can be most appropriately obtained through KTO whose role is vital for maintaining and developing the sector.

The report suggest a number of other developments such as

- the use of the college library facilities in some contexts for adult literacy in partnership with ICBAE
- the provision of bridge courses to help those with inadequate school-based skills to access entry to more formal education programmes (e.g. in partnership with bodies like VSO and others)

- the exploration of the implications of the widespread adoption of the new information and communication technologies (including social media), especially in the informal industrial and commercial sectors for vocational training

The report suggests to the MoE-DVT some of the benefits of retaining the sector as a distinct entity: including

a) the removal of uncertainty which will free staff to plan for the development of each FDC
b) the continued freedom of the principals and staff of each FDC to initiate (within appropriate guidelines) activities in each site to meet local education, training and development needs, and to raise resources for such activities
c) the continued enabling role of KTO to assist with the development of the sector.

Alan Rogers, May 2017

Alan Rogers, Visiting Professor at the University of Nottingham (UK), conducted in 1995-7 with a team from Education for Development an evaluation of SIDA's assistance to the FDCs (report published); later, he reviewed the position of the FDCs (published 2013). This present report was compiled on the basis of visits to Tanzania and Sweden in 2017. He acknowledges the extensive help of Dr Mpoki Mwaikokesya of the University of Dar es Salaam with the compilation of this report.
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INTRODUCTION

Aim of visit: The initial aim of the visit was to try to make some assessment as to how and why the Tanzanian Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) survived the withdrawal of financial assistance from SIDA (now Sida) in 1996. Since the cessation of SIDA's direct aid to this sector, the colleges have been maintaining themselves and indeed have slightly increased to 55 in number. Which raises questions as to why and how they survived the withdrawal of aid. What strategies did they use? The visit to Tanzania was planned to discuss these questions with the FDCs and others. For this is an important theme today – for some have been advocating the withdrawal of all financial (and in some cases, other forms of) aid, and examples of overcoming the consequent dependency syndrome need to be explored. So there is one chapter on the strategies adopted by the FDCs to survive.

However, this aim - as this report indicates - changed during the visit. We found the sector in a process of substantial change – not just a move from one Ministry to another but a call for them to focus all their attention on one aspect of their work, vocational training, with the possibility that less attention would be paid to their other roles of liberal adult education and community development. So – after discussion with Sida who generously provided funds for this visit – the nature of this report has changed into a survey of the current situation of the FDCs together with some comments about possible futures, a much bigger task. I apologise for the size of this report but the circumstances dictated this.

It is important for me to enter some **caveats**:
a) I am very aware that I am a 'mzungu', and even among the Folk High School (FHS) family, an outsider. Thus, both by Tanzania and the FDCs, and by the Folk High School sector, it may be felt that I may not be able to pick up all the nuances needed for such a study; some may feel my study is something of an intrusion. I hope however that I may be seen as a 'critical friend'.
b) It was a short visit (twelve days in country and five days in Sweden), although preliminary and post-visit work has provided much additional evidence; and my earlier visits in 1995-7 when we visited 11 FDCs (mainly in the north of the country), each twice, gave me a baseline survey from which to note changes. But the small sample means that individual instances cannot be taken as typical of all the FDCs with their very wide variations; they are 'telling case studies' (as ethnographers say).
c) I can tell what we saw and have read, but for the rest, I am dependent on others for my information. I can only repeat what we were told, which was sometimes contradictory; I cannot guarantee its accuracy.

The visit was planned with Dr Mpoki Mwaikokesya of the University of Dar es Salaam. The intention was to interview government staff and others in Dar es Salaam and to visit some 5-6 FDCs. Dr Mpoki obtained the support of his university department to join me for this period.

KTA: During the period of preparation, contact was made with the Karibu Tanzania Association (KTA, now Organisation) and their help proved invaluable. They suggested that, after some days in Dar es Salaam interviewing officials and others, we would come to the offices of KTA in Iringa and from there visit some FDCs in the

south of the country. Maggid Mjengwa of KTA agreed not only to arrange these visits and transport but to accompany us. In addition, although this was not planned, Maggid very generously gave up his time to join us in Dar es Salaam during the first part of the visit.
See Appendix for Itinerary

Acknowledgements: I could not have done this without the key assistance of
a) Sida and the Swedish embassy in Tanzania (especially Helena Reutersward) who not only provided funds to cover most of the costs of the visit but also showed keen interest in the subject itself;
b) Dr Mpoki Mwaikokesya of the Department of Educational Foundations, Management and Lifelong Learning, School of Education, University of Dar es Salaam, who prepared for my visit in great detail and accompanied me on all the interviews we held, translated when necessary, and took extensive notes, typing them up very quickly;
c) Karibu Tanzania Association/Organisation[2] who provided not only information and direct assistance with arrangements but also encouragement. Maggid Mjengwa accompanied us on most of our field visits and Mia Bergdahl Mjengwa and her colleagues in the KTA office in Iringa responded to our requests immediately;
d) colleagues in Sweden who assisted with much information and materials, especially Henrik Nordvall, Mats Ehn and Clara Hyldgaard Nankler.

[2] I have retained the abbreviation KTA rather than KTO in this report - the change is relatively recent

CHAPTER I: BACKGROUND

This chapter falls into three sections, a brief description of the period from 1975 to 1996, then of the subsequent years from 1996 to 2016, and a discussion of the nature of the FDCs as they emerged from these years.
***1975-1996:** SIDA assisted the FDCs in Tanzania over 21 years in their adaptation of the FHS model to FDCs with their specific range of activities; in 1990, the sector was moved from MoE to MCD with a desire to reorient them to become community development centres. The withdrawal of donor assistance in 1996 led to fear of collapse..*
***1997-2017:** The FDCs survived but with difficulties. There were uncertainty and fluctuations in funding, reflected in enrolments. MCD developed new Guidelines and a new Folk Education curriculum, and statistics show growth.*
***Discussion:** It is generally agreed that adult post-initial education consists of three main strands, education for personal self-development within a social context, education for social transformation, and education and training for livelihoods and life skills. The FDCs engage with all three strands. Initially they were associated with the adult education sector, but they tended more and more to provide vocational training learning, and later there was a move to associate them more closely to the community development sector. But, although the FDCs cannot be isolated from international and national changes, especially (internationally) the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and (nationally) the spread of community secondary education, the FDCs remained isolated from each of these three sectors rather than be committed to any one kind ovf adult learning programme. This has given them the anomalous status of government-owned institutions which are able to act almost as if they are NGOs, similar in some ways to their source, the FHSs of Sweden. They are also isolated from the academic sector - although there was (and is) much research into the FDCs, the fruits of this have not fed into the colleges themselves. The benefits and disadvantages of this isolation are discussed.*

1.1 1975 to 1996 - SIDA assistance to FDCs:

1.1.1 *Origins:* The background does not need to be elaborated here. Some 52 FDCs, founded from 1975 onwards and based on the Scandinavian Folk High School model, were supported financially and substantially by SIDA over a period of 21 years, an unusual feature of international development assistance (Mosha 1983; Norbeck 1996: 118-154; SIDA 2000).

1.1.2. *Programme*: The colleges were retitled as Folk Development Colleges to stress their concern with contributing locally to national socio-economic community development: "One crucial ingredient of the FDCs from the start was the training of *agents for change* in a democratic socialist Tanzania[3]."

The core programme of all the FDCs are much the same.

> Colleges offer three types of course, namely Long, Short and Outreach courses. Long course enrolls mainly young youth graduates from the primary and secondary education. Short and Outreach courses, apart from taking care of rural folk in their area of residences, also touch base with local communities particularly women and people with special needs such as people with

[3] Quotations from interviews with our respondents are in quotation marks and unattributed; quotations from other sources are given references.

disabilities, elderly and those unable to come to colleges because of their roles and responsibilities (MCD, FDC Provision website).

The colleges also have 'Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) Projects' intended as practical demonstrations for students and community members and to provide income to the college.

1.1.3 *Limited assistance:* It is important to state that SIDA's assistance was limited: the government of Tanzania paid the salaries of the teachers in the FDCs and at first met the residential costs and fees of the long-term students. SIDA, in a very substantial budget, funded the buildings, equipment and resources, and staff training, enabling the colleges to engage in short courses and outreach activities in addition to their long courses. SIDA's assistance was supplemented by other support, in large part from Sweden through the FHSs. A major upgrading of the FDC staff was planned, and the training programme (TANDEM Project) was in large part implemented in the final years 1990-97 by Linkoping University, Sweden, with SIDA's support.

1.1.4 *'Ownership':* There is no doubt that the FDCs were regarded as 'dependent' on SIDA's support; they were on occasions spoken of as 'Sweden's colleges'. And, although the FDCs were conceived within the framework of the national adult literacy programme, SIDA's assistance (and other factors) encouraged the sector to remain separate from this programme. In 1990, the sector was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children (MCDWC) and their orientation was planned to relate them more closely to community development. With these changes coinciding with the withdrawal of direct aid, there was considerable gloom at the time; as early as 1994, doubts about the sustainability of the FDCs were being aired (Olsson 1994[4]). SIDA extended its support for one further year in the face of fears that the sector might collapse.

1.1.5 *Survival* :But they did not collapse; with minor changes, the sector remained alive and in fact grew slightly to 55 FDCs by 2016. The following information has been supplied by MCD:

> "It is true that, in 1996-7, FDCs were 52. Two FDCs, namely Msaginya in Rukwa region and Mahiwa in Lind region, were changed to become CCM party colleges. However later on after introduction of multi-party system, Msaginya returned to FDC to make it 53 and Mahiwa changed to become a secondary school.
>
> The following five Rural Training Centers (RTCs), Monduli in Arusha, Mabughai in Tanga region, Mlale in Ruvuma region, Ruaha in Iringa and Uyole in Mbeya Municipal Council were changed to be FDCs in 2001. All these colleges are now Community Development Colleges after being changed again in 2006/7. These changes resulted in the number of FDCs falling to 53 from 58.

[4] ".. future prospects for the FDCs are very negative. … it would not be possible to provide sufficient funds for all the FDCs", Olsson 1994, Abstract. I owe this reference and some others to Clara Hyldegaard Nankler for which I am grateful.

> In 2008, Monduli Council provided buildings at Mto wa Mbu where the FDC trainings had to be shifted following complaints from the pastoralist community that the FDCs' trainings were more needful to them and they do not have entry qualification to join the training. Mputa FDC was established in 2011 in the buildings which formerly were used as a refugee camp." (MCD personal communication)

1.2 1997-2017

1.2.1 *Turbulence* The period from 1997 to 2017 has been one of some turbulence for the FDCs. As the Ministry reported,

> "At the end of TANDEM Project, from 1994 to 2001, there was no funding from government. If there was any, it was very little. But from 2001 to 2006 (I may not be very accurate), the new administration in the Ministry solicited more funding for FDCs. After this funding increase, the enrolment of students rose up. They provided funds not only for accommodation and meals, but also for renovation." (MCD)

Recorded enrolments[5] in long and short courses jumped immediately from 5875 (2000) to 11,141 (2001) which would seem to indicate that there was a demand, and that only the lack of funding was holding it back. Numbers jumped again by 4000 (2003-4) and by 8800 (2003-4), climbing each year until 2009 when 31,493 were registered, including 4,913 long course participants and 26,126 on short and outreach courses (MCD, FDC Provision). A new outline of the programme was produced in 2008:

> "After these two Programmes [Primary Education Development - PEDP, and Secondary Education Development – SEDP], we had Folk Education Development Programme (FEDP 1 from 2008 -12 and FEDP 2, which is the one still existing). However this programme is not adequately financed." (MCD, FEDP)

New guidelines for the colleges were also produced by MCD.

1.2.2 *MCD and the FDCs***:** At the time of our visit, the FDCs were (and are still at the moment) administered by a small and sympathetic staff in MCD with a more or less adequate EMIS, and governed by Guidelines which the administrators felt were flexible enough to allow the principals considerable room for innovation (but which some principals said they felt rather tied their hands, although this may have been using the Guidelines as an excuse for lack of progress - even though we were informed that the Guidelines were drawn up by a committee which included members of the FDCs). Although a decision to move them to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST) had been taken in May 2016, this had not been implemented at the start of our visit. As with SIDA's ending of direct financial assistance to the FDCs, there was some reluctance among the colleges to believe the move would take place at all.

[5] Figures provided by Mr D Ndamgoba in 2006 and updated by staff at MCD; but see note 11, p. 24

1.2.3 *Isolation:* In all this, the FDCs have been marginalised, whether intentionally by the FDCs themselves or unintentionally by others. Indeed, SIDA's long-term and substantial aid helped to make the FDCs distinct from all other sectors under the Ministry of Education, and the same remained true under MCD.

There are three sectors to which the FDCs could be related, if not affiliated:

a) *the adult education and post-literacy centres* managed in general by the Institute of Adult Education.
b) *the network of vocational training schools or centres* (VTCs); under the general supervision of the national Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA) and under the Directorate of Vocational Education, Ministry of Education[6]
c) *the community development sector* of Community Development Training Institutes (CDTIs and RDTIs, Ministry of CDGC);

At first, the FDCs were in theory more closely aligned with the adult education, and that still seems to some of our respondents to be the natural "umbrella to the FDCs"; the adult education sector would like to have had them: as the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) told us,

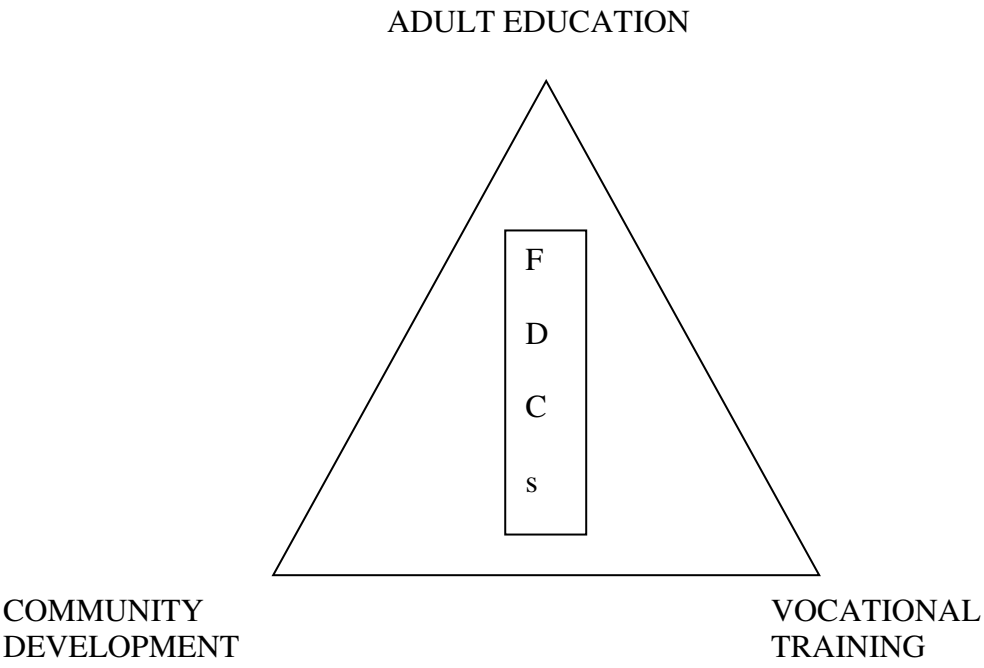
> "IAE has 21 adult education centres; we would like to see that we have centres in all 29 regions, also we don't have AE centres in districts. We aim at reaching as many as possible people; we want to work with FDCs to achieve this".

They were then moved to join the community development sector under MCD, with a view to closer links. However, "MCD had village programmes but kept them separate from the FDCs".

And until very recently the FDCs had few links with the vocational education and training (VET) sector, whatever was happening within the colleges themselves.

So that the FDC sector as a whole (whatever may happen in a few localities) has remained separate from all of these (for evidence of this, see 4.1.2a, p. 48 below), as can be seen in the fact that the FDCs were (until recently) rarely mentioned directly in education or vocational training policy documents. Two recent external surveys of adult education in Tanzania (Yule 2001; Preece 2009) hardly mention them at all, and in CONFINTEA VI (2008), the national summary of adult education in Tanzania, they are at best marginal.

[6] Apart from the very few government-owned VTCs, most of the remainder are split almost evenly between "religious trade schools … and private individual training centres, [with a relatively small number of] NGOs' training centres" (Mutanyatta p vi). A useful source on this, in addition to VETA papers, is Kahindi 2001



1.2.4 *Implications of isolation:* This marginalisation was important.

a) It created the separate but common identity of the whole group, first as "Swedish colleges", then as Tanzanian FDCs (see below 5.2 p 57)

b) It freed them from the expectations and limitations attached to any one of these, adult education institutions, vocational training schools or community development centres.

c) Their small numbers meant that they were below the radar, and therefore left alone; they attracted little attention and were not seen as a threat or a competitor for resources.

d) These factors allowed KTA to emerge - which would have been almost impossible in the larger adult education or vocational training sectors.

But on the other hand, it also meant lack of resources, lack of a voice in the political arena (until KTA came), and a lack of friends in high places when needed.

1.2.5 *Three dimensions to identity:* Nevertheless, the FDCs partake of the identity of all three sectors: they are at one and the same time:

a) vocational training centres

b) adult education institutions, contributing to the continuing education and lifelong learning of adults in their immediate context;

and c) Folk *Development* Colleges, contributing to the social and economic development of the national and their local communities.

We can thus frame our discussion in terms of the three major strands of adult learning programmes, liberal adult education for the self-fulfilment of individuals in their social context; (radical) adult education for social transformation and development; and vocational adult education for livelihood and life skills (see Rogers 2010 pp 3-4). All three strands are present at all times (as in a woven rope) but one or other strand

will tend to predominate at certain times. By keeping apart, the FDCs have been able to prevent any one strand becoming their exclusive concern.

1.2.6 *FDCs and FHSs:* One result of this isolation is that the FDCs were able to emulate their sponsoring institutions, the Folk High Schools (FHSs) in Sweden but with significant differences. While some FHSs 'belong' to regional governments, while others are sponsored by non-government bodies, they all act as if they are 'state-supported service-providing non-governmental organisations' (NGOs) in that they are free to develop their own programmes and find additional resources for these[7]. The Government of Sweden supports all the FHSs in a version of what is elsewhere called 'public-private partnerships'. The FDCs however are entirely 'owned' by the Tanzanian government, but yet, under the MCD, very unusually, they have been given freedom to develop their own programmes and raise their own resources, almost as if they were NGOs. Isolation from other sectors, and paradoxically the shortage of funds, have freed each FDC to adapt to its local situation, depending on the principal's innovativeness. Some have been more successful at this than others. The overall benefit of counter-balancing the lack of resources with the freedom to develop their own range of activities is difficult to assess.

1.2.7 *The changing educational scene:* It is however important to note that the FDCs were not unaffected by other changes within their context.. One of the most important influences on the development of the FDCs during this period was the widespread development of community secondary education (SEDP 2004) which, as we shall see below (3.3.3e, p34), affected the recruitment of students into the FDCs. The FDCs were not alien institutions supported by alien interests; they were Tanzanian institutions subject to the general trends in the country.

1.2.8 *Research into and writings about FDCs:* This description of isolation and lack of resources can give a false impression of neglect. During this period, the FDCs were the subject of much research and writing. Mosha's work (Mosha 1985) and Unsicker's study (1987) continued the more formal publications; but (unpublished) research dissertations on the FDCs were written in 1989 (Rwetanbura), 1994 (Olsson), 1995 (Meena), 2004 (Lukambuzi), 2005 (Mulenga), 2007 (Holmquist and Nankler), 2007 (Busia), 2010 (Shomary), 2010 (Haule on students with disabilities in FDCs), 2013 (Kamwela), 2013 (Kalole) and 2015 (Ng'unda) (there may well be more). This wealth of analysis has never been brought together or analysed. Some further studies were published, Rydstrom (1996), Rogers (2000 and 2013) and Albinson and Norbeck (2002). However, most policy papers issued which, like Vision 2025 (1999), impinge on their situation and activities, hardly mention the FDCs by name: the Poverty Reduction Strategies of 2000, 2005 and 2010 (MKUTUTA); ESDPs in 2000, 2003 (Adult and Non-Formal Education), 2005, 2007 (ESDP Performance) and 2010 (the ESDP currently under review, however, has much to say about the FDCs). Woods (2007) and Macpherson (2008) included the FDCs in their reviews of the national educational scene for UNESCO, and the colleges featured (rather half heartedly) in the CONFINTEA VI position paper of 2008. As we have

[7] It is important to note that those FHSs which 'belong' to regional authorities are not treated as NGOs for the purpose of obtaining grants from some donors, but all are free to develop their own activities and raise additional funds. This is a complicated field, as I was reminded during and after my visit to Sweden but for the purposes of this report, the above statement seems to be valid.

seen, MCD continued to issue papers on the FDCs - guidelines at various times, a new curriculum for Folk Education, an impact survey (MCD Impact) and other papers (e.g. Msimba 2004).

The national exploration of the FDCs began in 2000, when VETA commissioned a review of the sector (Redecker et al 2000), followed in 2003 by an important review by Mutanyatta for the World Bank. In 2010, Bwatwa and Kamwela published a review of the FDCs over the previous six years (2003-2007/8). In addition, much was published on vocational education and training, including and most importantly the *Educational Sector Analysis* (ESA) of 2011 (discussed in detail below). In 2014, the national *Human Development Report* again had policy implications for the FDCs.

None of this material seems to have penetrated to the FDCs themselves[8]. The isolation is to some extent self-imposed, and perhaps reflects an anti-academic mentality.

[8] I must make it clear that I have not consulted all of these works - they are listed to show something of the scale of research into the FDCs which has been done. No doubt there are more.

CHAPTER II: SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

Owing to the long-term assistance of SIDA, the FDCs had developed a separate identity and become embedded into the local communities though with some challenges.
Among the strategies adopted,
They cut costs: *staff were cut, buildings and equipment neglected, outreach and short courses were reduced but not abandoned, projects suffered, a more limited range of skills areas was taught*
They raised funds: *while the government (at central and local community level) still provided some support, the main funding came from student fees. Some came from ESR projects. Local initiatives were encouraged, especially to explore donor support. Swedish support to individual FDCs continued through KSA and KTA, and there were other donors.*
VETA courses: *It is in this context that the links with VETA emerged: to recruit students, the FDCs had to listen to student demands to take VETA courses and certification*

2.1 Survival

It seems clear that the FDCs survived because they had been given enough time by SIDA's long-term assistance to develop their own common identity as a separate sector and to become embedded into the country, meeting an expressed need.

2.1.1 *Community support:* That there was some community support is clear, even though some FDCs complained about a lack of adequate community support: "We even tried to invite the DED [District Executive Director, chair of the FDC board] to our graduation ceremonies, but he only sent representatives. Last year I talked to him and he said, 'I'll come', but he has not yet come, even to graduation". And "The previous board chairperson was very supportive compared to the current one." [This principal suggested that the fact that she is "not from here" was the reason why she was not getting more support from the local community.] It appears that the personality of the District chairperson and their attitudes towards adult and community education is important. Some FDC interviewees reported that the nature of support changed with the incumbent of the position.

But the evidence of local community support for the FDCs is fairly widespread: for example,

> "The Monduli FDC was changed into a Community Development College in 2005, but later on the people from Monduli demanded a FDC. They decided to give buildings, so that FDC is established."

Several FDCs reported that members of the local community used their facilities. The fact that a former refugee camp (Mputa) was turned into a FDC may of course have been an administrative decision, finding an appropriate budget line to put it under, but at the same time it shows that the FDCs, despite shortages of resources, are seen to have some value to their localities. A visit to Maputa two years ago revealed much community engagement (see 2.2.3 p 22).

2.2 Strategies:
The FDCs survived but (as was said) they survived in a "hard way". The strategies were the classic ones of a) cutting costs and b) raising funds.

a) Strategies: cutting costs

2.2.1 *Staff***:** Within the sector as a whole, there has been a major fall in staff numbers:

> "The big challenge in the FDCs now is manpower. Teaching staff were almost 900 but now only about 400. Most of our FDCs are in remote areas, they do not attract many staff." (MCD)

It is not clear why such a large drop in staff took place, but probably it reflected the fall in enrolments between 1997 and 2001. Some FDCs employed local part-time staff to meet their immediate needs.

2.2.2 *Buildings and equipment:* A second major impact was in many cases the neglect of maintenance of buildings and equipment. Many buildings remained unrepaired and some became unusable. Some colleges are in better shape than others; several used their staff and students to do their own building repairs, and "they are being paid for this". "We can manage doing some small scale maintenance, we use our own technicians, both teachers and students." Equipment too in workshops was not maintained or replaced, although some FDCs used self-initiatives in seeking help (with computers, for example).

> "We have only one computer. We also have one dead car engine. Sometimes students who want to practise have to go to the district council garage" [this from one of the better endowed colleges].

2.2.3 *Outreach* programmes in particular suffered. ***Short courses*** offered by the FDCs themselves were curtailed, but were in many cases supplemented by short courses offered by other agencies using college premises and in some cases college staff. For example,

> In 2009/2010 the colleges provided training to 31,039 participants including 4,913 long course participants, 26,126 short and outreach course participants. (MCD, FDC provision)

In that year, half of all participants in short courses and outreach programmes were with other agencies. Even here, many principals felt that their obligations to the local communities prevented them from raising funds from this source. One college principal reported that in her case,

> "The short courses are free, including preservation of foods for females and how to make effective charcoal cookers for males. These courses have been supported by EWURA [Energy and Water Utilities Regulatory Authority]; they support aspects such as fares for staff and for participants to attend such courses. They use our staff. We don't charge because the idea is to support the community. We only charge for long term courses".

And other forms of community links existed: to quote an informal report on a visit from a Swedish FHS partner,

> "We met women's groups who used the college, as well as the ordinary long course students. The network of the college was very good with the two nearest primary schools which we visited. They took part in the football match in the evening, where many people from the villages turned up." (pers. comm.)

2.2.4 *The Education for Self-Reliance Projects* continued to earn something for most FDCs - but again the social conscience of the FDCs at times prevented them from maximising the income from these sources. And the demoralisation caused by the struggle to find resources resulted in some cases in a lack of capacity for personal initiatives and creativity, limiting the full potential of self reliance projects from being realised. Some FDCs had (and still have) substantial assets, especially land, which were (and are) not fully exploited.

2.2.5 *Long-term courses*: Cutting costs also led to a lack of diversification of the range of skills being offered by most FDCs. Owing to the lack of capital for equipment and a lack of relevant staff, only a few skills could be taught (see below 3.3.4, p34).

2.3 Strategies: Raising funds:

2.3.1. *Government:* There was continued (but limited and somewhat irregular) support from government, but in general the survival of each FDC seems to have depended on the personal initiative of the principals and the staff of the FDCs. We were told the following:

> "To find resources elsewhere is the appropriate way for FDCs."

> "Most of the FDCs suffered a lot; they were depending on [SIDA] for many things. They survived by depending on the District Executive Director, on other donors within [Tanzania] and outside, and using their projects such as land and milling machine."

> **"**In fact it is possible, it depends on the creativity of the Principal. However according to the [Ministry] guidelines, we have three major sources of funding: (1) Government; (2) the education for self-reliance projects; and (3) community support. [There are also] the student fees; some local councils contribute to FDCs to make them survive and to make sure the training runs smoothly."

Nationally the Ministry of Community Development has done all it can to provide funding and other forms of support for the FDCs, but the Ministry itself faces problems:

> "The main source of FDCs' funds is Government. But the problem is that sometimes the government can plan, but the money does not come through.

> For instance, the government plan for FDCs for this year was 5bn shillings, so far we have received 243 million only. If we calculate 243 million out of 5bn, you find that it is a very small fraction. That is where the principals will start to look for other sources." (MCD)

The colleges were directed to the local District Executive Director, the chair of the FDC board. However, as we have seen, while "some of them are supportive, others are not. It depends on the nature of the DED."

2.3.2 *Student fees:* The main survival strategy was the introduction of student fees. This took place before the withdrawal of SIDA's assistance but it came to the rescue of the colleges when the government for a time found itself unable to fund the colleges adequately.

- "So now we mainly depend on students' fees and projects."
- "The main thing which are used to support us is students' fees."
- "Principals can raise money through their boards. They can raise the fee. However if you raise the fee, it is likely that the enrolment will go down."
- "I survived because of the school fees but school fees exclude the poor."

Some FDCs survived by introducing additional charges; we found one FDC requiring the students to pay extra contributions to cover the cost of materials for practical work (see 3.3.3c, p33 below).

2.3.3 *Local initiatives:* As one principal put it,

> "If you tell the Ministry that there is no money, they normally tell you that - be innovative. Sometimes even the government does not give specific guidelines on what we should do."

We were informed that the TANDEM training taught them how to survive without adequate funding, although (so we were informed) for a short initial period, principals were denied the freedom to take such initiatives: "It takes a long time to exercise freedom after a period of restrictions". But most of the participants in TANDEM have long since left the FDCs.

And the lack of resources can be demoralising: "The principal can be creative but resources are not there."

2.3.4 Donor support:
a) *Donors and individual FDCs:* Many FDCs sought their own donor and in this, some principals have been more successful than others. But (as was pointed out) "the problem of donor support is that most donors insist on [some form of contribution, in some cases as high as] 50% being raised locally". Nevertheless, even some of the smaller FDCs have been able to benefit from donor support. We note one or two examples among several. Korean aid gave one FDC a kitchen and a library with books and staff. The Japanese agency JICA is working with one of the FDCs we visited. A small charity from the UK has supported three FDCs with solar lamps, a borehole for water supply, sewing machines, with training in beehive making, and even built, equipped, and funded the staff for two kindergartens (FUM website).

There must be many others, working on a small scale without much publicity. Information about donors to individual colleges is not easily available (this may be a role for KTA). However, the increase in networking among the FDCs which we saw is clearly one means by which information on this and other strategies can be spread.

b) *Continued Swedish support:* By far the most active donor support has continued to come from Sweden. Sida continues in various informal ways to provide encouragement through the Swedish embassy in Dar es Salaam. The Folk High School movement in Sweden has not forgotten its offspring. FOLAC (Folkbildning-Learning for Active Citizenship), the international arm of *Folkbildning*, the Swedish umbrella organisation for the Folk High Schools, has been encouraging its members to adopt different FDCs; many individual FHSs such as Farnebo have been active.

And behind this is the Karibu Sweden Association (KSA): as its website says,

> Karibu Sweden Association (KSA) is an umbrella organization for Swedish Folk High Schools with sister colleges in Tanzania. The association started in 1981 and has currently around 40 Folk High Schools as members. KSA has a long history of experience cooperating together with KTA, with a number of sister schools, with Swedish Folk High Schools and with Tanzanian Folk Development Colleges. KSA spreads information about Tanzania in general and specially about folk and adult education, politics and culture to Folk High Schools in Sweden. KSA has been involved in different development projects to support the Folk Development Colleges in different areas together with KTA.

In discussion, it stresses its role in capacity building, helping to find sources of funding and other resources and supporting multi-FDC innovatory activities. Today 25 FHSs have individual links, usually on a one-to-one basis.

c) *KTA:* The mention of KTA, the Karibu Tanzania Association (now Karibu Tanzania Organisation) brings us to the most significant organisation (apart from MCD) supporting the FDCs during this difficult period. Its website outlines its aims:

> Karibu Tanzania Association (KTA) is an umbrella organization of which all of the 55 Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) throughout the country of Tanzania are members. KTA's role is to strengthen the FDCs in order for them to be able to fulfill their role in promoting adult education, folk education and community development.

Founded in 1990, KTA was for many years an informal association of FDCs, providing encouragement, organisation and management support and networking, and giving expression to the social transformation ideals of the FDCs. It developed its offices and staff in Iringa from 2010, and has done much in practical ways to support the survival of the FDCs. And it represents the voice of the FDCs, both nationally to government and to local society. It communicates with both KSA and individual FHSs in Sweden.

Both MCD and the Swedish and other aid agencies have supported KTA. Its most important effect has been to help create the sense that the FDCs, rather than being individual educational institutions scattered across the country, still form a coherent sector.

d) *The Swedish link in action:* It is largely through the KSA-KTA partnership that the links with Sweden have been maintained and indeed strengthened. "There has been a substantial increase in Swedish support after 1997". One FDC principal told us, "I have a friend in Sweden, they have given me a chance for two teachers to go to Sweden and learn about brain injury. There is also a plan to train others in sign language and motivational courses, we are still negotiating." Another reported, "Four students and three teachers came from Sweden for one week. Last year, two students and two teachers went to Sweden and stayed for two weeks. We are expecting others from Sweden to visit." Again, "We have links with Valla[9], a folk high school; their students come here to do research etc. Of course, when they leave, they leave us some of the items." "We had some support from Farnebo FHS but not for the last five years - none of our staff or students have been to Sweden", said one college which had a special and long-standing exchange with Sweden. And another: "I got [some computers] from my friend in Sweden." Link activities varied - for instance at one FDC, the 'sister' FHS provided a water tower.

The basis for this on-going support is however somewhat uncertain. In some FHSs, it depends on the commitment of one member of staff who - when he/she leaves or retires - may not be replaced. In others, the whole FHS is mobilised towards the link programme. While most staff exchanges are given support by the FHS, most student exchanges are funded by the students. FHSs which are 'owned' by NGOs and faith-based organisations may find it easier to raise funds from aid agencies than regional-government-owned FHSs. KSA and FOLAC, as co-ordinating and motivating bodies, help to maintain this support.

2.4 Innovatory programmes: KTA has been responsible for most of the new initiatives launched in many of the FDCs which have not only kept the colleges alive but made them centres for innovative programmes,

- for example, the pre-school kindergartens which many FDCs now run
- for example, the Mama programme for teenage pregnant girls excluded from schools
- for example, the women's football programme currently in 25 of the FDCs

(These are discussed more fully below, 3.7, p39)

2.5 VETA and the FDCs: It is in this context of principals and their staff trying to find alternative sources of funding to keep their courses going and to help maintain their buildings and equipment, while continuing to recruit new students, that new links with the national vocational training sector through VETA have been developed: "The FDCs had to find ways for surviving, including by attaching themselves to VETA." The process had started by 2003, when Mutanyatta reported that "some trainees … have on their own initiatives attempted VETA trade tests" with sufficient success to ensure the trend would continue (Mutanyatta 2003 p x). Thus existing

[9] Valla FHS told us on a visit there that the link had not been operative for at least two years because of the retirement of the concerned Swedish member of staff and the changes in principal at this FDC.

long-term vocational training courses have, in almost a half of all FDCs, been adapted into more formal courses leading to VETA examinations and certificate, resulting in some of the FDCs having dual programmes.

The Tanzanian Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA) is seen to be a well-resourced agency with strong government support[10]. "VETA gets a skills development levy which goes to their institutions, but the FDCs do not have such a levy", said a member of the MCD staff ruefully. "VETA can provide some teaching and learning materials".

Not all FDCs welcomed the increase in VETA courses. "Last year we wrote a proposal that we don't want to turn into VETA, we want to remain FDC. Then my board members said, 'If you move to FDCs, the college will collapse'." Others however welcomed this development as a saviour of the colleges.

[10] [10] A useful source is the *Historical Background* on the VETA website http://www.veta.go.tz/index.php/en/history

CHAPTER III: THE CURRENT STATE OF THE FDCs

Currently there are 55 FDCs ranging in size from 43 students to over 3000 students, scattered across the country, some in fairly remote settings.

Core Programmes:

Long courses: *there are now two kinds of long courses, Folk Education and VETA courses. The curriculum of Folk Education is discussed briefly but (reflecting the voices we heard from the FDCs) the main concern is with VETA courses. There is some opposition to VETA courses, mainly because of the exclusion of many students because of their rigidity in formal entry requirements when compared to FDCs, because of the extensive curriculum, and because of the language of instruction and assessment. But equally there is support in some colleges for VETA courses.*

Student recruitment is changing - in terms of entry requirements, the age range of students, national rather than local recruitment, and the impact of fees on poor students. The range of skills taught is limited largely because of lack of staff and teaching-learning resources. The staff have limited training in adult teaching but the ODL course from IAE is making a difference; some staff have VET training from VETTC at Morogoro.

Short courses: *are still relatively healthy, some by FDCs but most provided by other agencies using the sites and some staff of the FDCs. Partnerships are growing.*

Community engagement: *although the mission of the FDCs to help with local community development is substantially reduced in scale, a good deal is still done, both in terms of outreach and inreach. There appears to be a limited view of what is community development: libraries and technical resources used by local residents are valid forms of community engagement. The impact of the FDCs on the local community has been researched but more is needed - though it is clear that graduates from FDCs do not now come from and therefore do not return to the immediately local communities as was originally intended.*

Projects: *appear to be significantly under-developed but some are still active*

Innovatory programmes:

Several important innovations take place on many FDCs' campuses - fema groups, the mama course, pre-school groups, women's football, the uses of new technology, peace programmes at times of elections and other times - all these mainly through KTA.

Buildings and resources: *in many cases these are in a bad way - which again encourages the new links with VETA which can offer considerable help.*

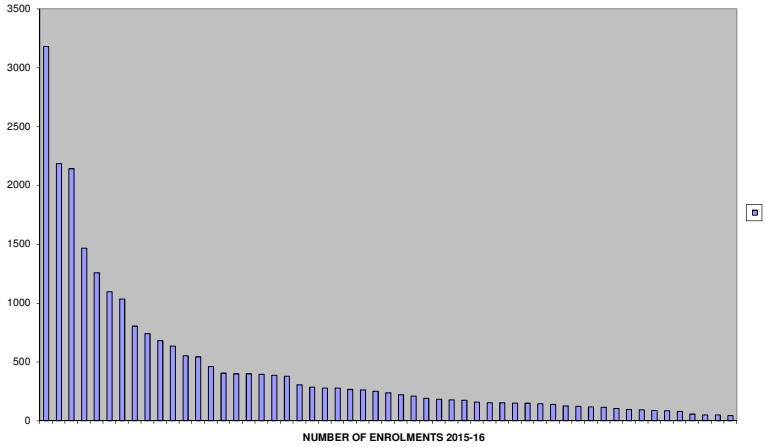
However it came about, the FDCs survived and even grew slightly in numbers and substantially in enrolments, although the growth in enrolments seems to have tailed off. Our visit, limited as it was, shows that at least for the FDCs we visited and some others, the FDCs are still relatively healthy and have great potential for development.

3.1 Range of FDCs

There are currently 55 FDCs scattered throughout the country. Several are in remote areas, having been Farmers Training Centres and other institutions prior to becoming FDCs. This geographical distribution is important for the most recent developments.

Map from Rydstrom 1996 p 269 updated by KTA

They range in size from over 3000 enrolments to less than 50.



3.2 CORE PROGRAMMES:

The following description is mainly based on statistics for the year 2015-2016 from MCD[11]

As we have seen, each FDC runs some of the following programmes:
Long courses (two or three year), some VETA courses, some Folk Education courses (mainly two-year).
Short courses - up to three months, both residential and non-residential; some on-campus and some in the community
Outreach activities of various kinds
(In 2015-16, only one FDC was reported as running all of these programmes.)
ESR Projects of many different kinds
In addition, many colleges have **innovatory activities**

3.3 Long courses:

Both kinds of long courses, VETA and Folk Education, are very largely residential although most of the FDCs we visited said they also had day students. In 2015-16, 25 FDCs provided VETA courses leading to a VETA certificate level 1 or 2, and 24 provided Folk Education (FE) courses leading to a certificate from the FDC or from City and Guilds; six ran both kinds of courses.

Long courses: VETA	25
Long courses: Folk Education	24
Long courses: both	6
Short courses	35
Outreach	14
Pre-school groups	36

[11] Several FDCs gave us different figures for that year; these statistics should therefore be used to give a general impression rather than taken as accurate in detail.

3.3.1 *Folk Education.* The FEDP speaks of three main elements to the two-year Folk Education courses leading to a certificate issued by each FDC.

> "a) The main skills provided include Agriculture, Carpentry, Masonry, Mechanics, Bicycle repair, Tailoring, Cookery etc.
> b) The general subjects provided aimed at widening their horizon include Environmental education, Gender, Civics, Leadership, Housekeeping, Principles of good governance; and
> c) other subjects aimed at enhancing income generating activities such as Business, Entrepreneurship, Market and Credit referrals." (adapted from MCD, FDC Provision).

3.3.2 *VETA courses:* These have increased and appear to be increasing.
a) *Demand from students*: According to VETA, there was a demand from the local population:

> "When we did our graduation last year in Kisarawe, the Kisarawe people asked their member of the parliament representative who is also a Minister, Why don't you turn the FDC into VETA, so that the majority of youths get vocational skills? They explained that they had youths who cannot go to secondary schools. They needed vocational skills that they can work on."

> "The aim of the FDCs was to train people who already are doing something at home. But I think the government got lost somewhere and that is why VETA came in to take over FDCs. They gave us [a new] curriculum. The problem is that many young people want certificates they will use to find jobs."

b) *Certificates* seem to be at the heart of this trend. Already a number of students in the FDCs were sitting for VETA examinations, because, as one said, "The FDC certificate is not recognised - each college sets their own assessment". The addition of VETA assessment and qualifications to the FDCs' long courses had been going on for some time at the demand of the students, with the encouragement of some FDC staff to attract students, particularly in those FDCs which had become VETA test centres. The trend was officially recognised by MCD in 2013.

The ESA survey (2011) found,

> FDCs do not offer academic certificates due to the underlying folk development philosophy which emphasizes the acquisition of knowledge and skills for self-employment, and the nature and variety of trainees and courses. (ESA p. 195)

> Colleges do offer course completion certificates, and long course participants who wish to upgrade academically are encouraged to attempt the Trade Test Examination offered by VETA for certification. This is eased by the fact that FDCs are also VETA trade test examination centers. (ESA p. 332)

c) Some FDCs have converted fully to VETA courses: "All our courses have been transformed into VETA". "We do not offer FDC courses, we offer VETA courses, we use VETA curriculum. This is a Centre for VETA examinations." Others have

retained only FE courses. For, although this trend was welcomed by a good number, there was opposition to VETA courses in some FDCs. Several saw their traditional student pool changing and perhaps dwindling:

> "VETA want us to be accredited on the basis of their standards which are so demanding. They need competent staff, they need modern buildings etc. We can't afford that. Secondly, they need students who are secondary school leavers. Thirdly, the language [of the assessment], English, could be a barrier to many students".
> "Why did they change the curriculum into English? In the past, it was translated."

This last was almost universally a matter of concern, even among those enthusiastic about the change:

> "The use of English is very challenging.[12] Previously in VETA, when they were using a trade test examination system, they [the students] were being taught in Swahili, and most students were passing, but now they introduced a new system based on Competence Based Education and Training (CBET). The students are categorized as competent or non-competent. This is confusing when graduates look for jobs, how can employers judge someone with those two categories?"

> "[VETA assessment] is also confusing because it has so many subjects. And it is piece by piece, not holistic." "With VETA, they [the students] are given so many subjects which are complex, mathematics, engineering science etc - ten subjects in total, while in the past in primary school they had only 7 subjects. Even the examination system is complex. So VETA system is very complex."

A small number of colleges have both VETA and FE courses and recognise some of the issues that arise from this:

> "Because my college is VETA and FDC, we have to be flexible. It is not FDC per se."
> "We have both courses, the FDC and VETA, but most students are doing VETA courses, only a few FDC courses. ***Why do they take FDC courses?*** It is because of their capabilities. VETA courses normally require a relatively higher pass mark and many students do not get that pass mark. The pass mark for VETA is 60, and most of them don't get it."

3.3.3 Student recruitment:

VETA courses have affected some of the FDCs' traditional ways of doing things. For example, "FDCs aimed to admit students who did not qualify for admission to courses in VETA vocational schools, but now the admission system in some FDCs has come to be similar to that of VETA".

a) *Entry requirements* in FDCs differ from those in VTCs:

[12] VETA students also have problems with the language issue. We met some VETA students in hotel and tourism whose English was inadequate to translate what their customers asked for and requested us to translate for them.

VETA courses are selective while FDC courses are not selective - anyone can go:

> "(i) VTC/VETA courses: [are aimed at] primary school leavers and O-Level secondary school dropouts or leavers. For the VETA-managed centers, the minimum entry requirement is to have completed Standard VII or Form 4, in addition to an aptitude test, to select the best candidates according to the number of seats available. Many Standard VII school leavers apply as they are left with few education alternatives. They are obviously at a disadvantage compared with their Form 4 counterparts, who sit the same entry test, especially in urban areas (where O-Level leavers are more numerous). The selection is competitive, as places are limited and applicants are numerous: in 2008, 5,000 applied for 1,000 seats. The admission procedures in non-VETA centers are similar, with an entry aptitude test, although the selection criteria might differ;
>
> and (ii) FDC courses: [are aimed at] active workers, regardless of their level of education. Entry to FDCs is open to youth and adults, including the elderly and people with special needs (with disabilities, young mothers, child laborers, and so on) regardless of their level of education. The preferred mode of selection is that whereby villages/communities select and present their applicants. Also, trainers from FDCs visit outreach centers to provide training on the spot." (ESA p. 324)

Non-selective entry is made easier in the FDCs by the fact that no FDC we visited was at capacity - all had room for more students, both residential and day students:

> "We can take up to 270 (240 boarding). However, currently we have only 92."

b) *Local or national recruitment:* The original intention was that each FDC would recruit students from communities in the immediate neighbourhood. This phase has in large part gone. In many cases, the students today come from distant places:

> "Some of [our students] are from the community around; others are from Zanzibar, Iringa and other regions. The reason they come is because of the reputation of the college – it has enough teachers, good qualifications, students performing well, etc. They hear about it."
>
> "Most of the students are coming from [the local community] but we also receive some students from Kagera, Dar-es-Salaam, Mtwara and Morogoro".
>
> "Most of our students come from Morogoro region. Others come from Songea, Mbeya and Dar-es-Salaam. Those who are around don't send their children."
>
> "Most of them come from far regions such as Dar-es-Salaam, Mbeya, Mufindi, Iringa Municipal, Morogoro and coastal region."

Apart from the desire of many young people to move away from the home environment for study purposes, the reputation of some teachers attract them to specific colleges:

> "…30 students defected from *** FDC. The teacher shifted from there and students followed him. … any FDC with qualified staff, i.e. a graduate from university and those with vocation, will automatically attract many students".

Local (usually day) students are however present in many colleges, even if in small numbers: one FDC reported having "two …; one of them is working in town – she was sent by her boss so that she can teach others after she finishes."

c) *Impact of student fees:* Each college (with its board) can set student fees at a level they feel is necessary - but there are guidelines: "The ministry does not give us adequate funds, but they are limiting us by giving guideline on the fee." In some FDCs, "students bring their own foods". In others, an additional charge is made to cover teaching-learning materials and equipment:

> "We have a separate students' contribution of 130,000 shillings for each student for all trades to support the practical work. They pay a fee and an additional amount just for practicals to buy some materials. We don't have an accommodation fee, we have what we call a meal contribution which is 400,000 shillings for boarding and 200,000 for non-boarding per year."

d) *Poorer students:* There is general concern that student fees are reducing the intake of students from poorer families and communities (although it is only fair to add that these students are already and primarily handicapped by poor primary and lack of secondary education in their communities, so going even to an FDC is beyond the aspirations of many of them). The impact of students' fees on the enrolment of poor students was keenly felt by some: "This can increase the gap in the community. The main idea of establishing FDCs in communities was to reduce poverty and reduce inequalities."

Several FDCs feel there is little they can do about that: in answer to a question about whether the college could help poorer students, the answer was, "No, students have to find their own sponsors, they have to find by themselves. Some organisations support them". Others however reported concern about these:

> "We have a provision for poor students, they can come, our college supports them, they can study free; they just pay for VETA exam. Currently we have three of them. They only need a letter from a community leader so that we can identify them. Some of them have lost both of their parents. They come with a letter from a community leader."

> "Some financial support to students is available. Students have to pay according to VETA requirements; they pay a little amount, things like accommodation etc."

e) *Age range of students:* The introduction of fees has reinforced a trend that was already happening - a move away from the adult education orientation to a post-school training orientation:

> "The system has changed. In the past, FDCs had older students because students were expected by their villages to go back after studies, because we were following the policy of *Ujamaa*. Students who were coming to FDCs were being appointed by villages. This has changed now. At that time, they were going back as experts but now everyone looks for his [sic] individual needs and personal survival. Students do not go back to their community unless in a service position - they say they feel trapped."

And as we have seen, the spread of community secondary education has meant that many primary school leavers who once went to the FDCs now go into these schools and more of the secondary school students seek to come to the FDCs. The (relatively few) older adults who came have largely disappeared:

Nevertheless, several FDCs recorded some students over the age of 25. In a survey conducted for us by KTA[13], 27 colleges reported having some older adult students, often in significant numbers. Currently at least 260 long-course students in the FDCs are aged over 25 - though the fact that that is approximately 1% of all the recorded enrolled students shows how far the trend towards younger students, most of them immediate post-school youth, has progressed. Interestingly, almost all of these older adults are men; there are few more mature adult women in the college long courses.

3.3.4 The curriculum of the long courses: The initial vision for the FDCs was wider than vocational training to include elements of a liberal and radical adult education agenda; and as we have seen, the revised 'Folk Education' is still conceived of in wider terms than skills training (see 3.3.1 p30 above) . But in practice, the curriculum is rather more limited.

a) Most of them offer a small range of skills areas - though we may also note that the skills areas of the VTCs are also limited to much the same range of skills areas:

> In 2008, the most popular courses [in VTCs] were tailoring, car mechanics, carpentry and joinery, domestic electricity and computing (accounting for 49 percent of the graduates). These courses have remained very popular over the decade. (ESA p. 88);

and equally a donor-provided EEVT[14] programme has the same subjects: "vehicle mechanics, electrics, plumbing, carpentry and food preparation and protection". In the FDCs, there is a sameness about the skills areas: one FDC told us the range of courses there was masonry and brick laying, motor vehicle mechanics, electrical installation, food production, and tailoring; another: "We only offer 4 courses: masonry and brick laying, electrical installation, carpentry, and tailoring. The majority of students want electrical." Yet another, "electrical installation, tailoring, food production, welding and carpentry." Even one of the bigger colleges said that their skills courses were "tailoring (design, sewing and cloth technology), cookery (but not hotel management per se), carpentry and joinery, masonry and brick laying, motor vehicle mechanics, and agriculture."

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[13]We are very grateful to Garasiawo Myinga of KTA for his work on this survey and other assistance.
[14] Enhancing Employability through Vocational Training; see http://vsoveta.blogspot.co.uk/

There are many reasons given for this limited range and the scarcity of new courses, apart from inertia ("We can't think of any new course."). The Guidelines are at times taken as a rule rather than guidance: when asked why there was a limited range of subjects on offer, one response was, "This is because we have a Guideline, this is the one we follow." But more significantly, new courses require new staff, new workshops and equipment: "Sometimes there is a demand from the community, but you find that you have no capacity." Thirdly, there is a clear demand for the existing range of courses and a relative lack of expressed demand for new subjects from the current cohort of students: "Demand is strong for courses of electrical installation and motor vehicle mechanics." One college informed us that, although they had a large and active farm, they did not offer agriculture as a skills area because "we advertised it for two years and no student came."

b) *Supplementary subjects:* Alongside the main skills area are the 'supportive or supplementary subjects': "We teach mathematics, technical drawing, engineering science, life skills, communication skills, English, entrepreneurship, and basic computer application." One college listed the compulsory additional subjects as computer, life skills, entrepreneurship and English-communication skills. In addition, there are "related courses; for example, those who study motor vehicle mechanics need also to study engineering science. All of them need to study mathematics and technical drawing, except those who are studying hotel management. For those in hotel management, they are supposed to learn French, but I don't have teachers". The liberal adult education curriculum for active citizenship and social change originally envisaged, including social studies, economics, philosophy, literature, and cultural subjects such as music and art, is very muted, although we saw some history taught[15].

3.3.5 Staff:

These courses are taught by full-time staff in the colleges, whose salaries are provided by the Teachers Commission, together with some part-time staff. The Ministry Guidelines suggest the normal establishment is about ten teaching staff per college, although the number varies. "We have 9 teaching staff and 8 technical supporting staff"; "We have 27 staff members, out of which 10 are teaching and the rest are supporting staff." Almost all FDCs reported being short of staff: "We have a shortage of staff in areas such as electrical installation, food production and tailoring."

a) *Staff training:* The training of the FDC staff has been a key element in the creation of the FDC identity. It was based on a folk high school model, and was kept separate from other forms of teacher training, even in adult education. Originally it was at Kibaha, but the TANDEM project of Linkoping University envisaged a training of trainers team scattered throughout the FDCs rather than located at one centre. This appears to have vanished over time..

Although we were assured that "Most teachers have a certificate in teaching", the picture is very mixed. It seems that there is a generally acknowledged need for staff training: "Most teachers here do not have a teaching qualification." "Some of the staff who come are competent in theoretical subjects and they are not competent in

[15] I was informed that the liberal and radical adult education subjects have also been reduced over the years in the Swedish FHSs.

trades/vocational skills." We were told that the staff had to find their own way to training.

The linking of the FDC staff with the Tanzanian Teachers' Union (TTU) appears to have made a difference[16]. KTA and KSA recognised the need for staff training and raised some resources for this; in association with TTU, the Institute of Adult Education was encouraged to develop a distance-education Diploma course (ODL) specifically for FDC teaching staff. "So far 53 students have graduated a year ago. There is a certificate course also."

> "Many FDC staff received training through ODL. The centre for this training was at Bigwa FDC. It was a six months course. The first batch was supported but currently they have to pay about 600,000TZS. The course is a three-year course. It also had some 3- 4 days face-to-face sessions conducted in Morogoro. It was funded at first by Sida but not now. It should increase their salary but not always; some aim to get a degree to go elsewhere for employment." (KTA)

Several have had training at VETA Training College at Morogoro and elsewhere. The colleges visited reported:

- "Some of them have been trained in teaching, three of them have teaching qualifications, others have full technician certificates, one with Engineering, and one studied a Diploma at the Institute of Adult Education."
- "Some of them have a teaching qualification from VETA Teachers College, none of them has the Diploma from the Institute of Adult Education."
- "Some teachers from FDCs take courses from the Open University of Tanzania."

We found one member of staff with a degree in adult education and others with degrees in other subjects.

b) *Leadership training*: When some of the staff trained on the ODL programme made suggestions about new ways of practising Folk Education, there was some resistance from some principals. This led to a new one-year course for principals in 'Democratic Leadership', again with IAE using ODL approaches. We were informed that this course made a substantial contribution to networking between FDCs, including the use of computers supplied to them with e-mail and skype facilities. Regional meetings of principals and senior staff were also held; several principals said this was their first meeting with other principals[17].

3.4 SHORT COURSES:

[16] The teachers in ICBAE have a separate section in the Tanzanian Teachers Union

[17] As with so much of the work of the FDCs, KTA and KSA, there appear to be no reports of this leadership course in English in the public domain; this would seem to be a weakness of the whole sector.

a) *Role of short courses*: In the year 2015-16, 35 of the 55 FDCs were recorded as having short courses, with a total enrolment of 13,570[18] (more than half, 7664, women). Short courses consist of residential or non-residential courses ranging from one week to three months (a few may be up to six months). They cover a wide range of subjects. Some are on-campus, some out in the community. "We have drafted eight short courses but we have not yet started". "We had some short courses, the longest was three months. We sometimes take short courses outside the college but not recently, it depends on the demand." "We sometimes follow them [the community members]; we use village offices and ward offices to conduct courses. We have one short course on campus at the moment".

Short courses are a secondary consideration after the primary function of the long courses. "We are doing but not very much. Sometimes we run but not very much." And other FDCs have none at all: "We don't have any short course."

b) *Partnerships:* Most of these short courses are provided by other bodies: several Ministries (including Health and Agriculture) use the colleges as sites for their programmes, and the FDCs provide suitable locations in rural areas for some NGOs to offer their programmes, either on an individual site or on multiple sites. In 2009-10, out of 26,126 short and outreach course participants, "13,347 participants were trained by FDCs in collaboration with other Government and private institutions" (MCD, FDC provision). We noted that Plan International runs some courses under their Youth Economic Empowerment (YEE) programme, and Eye of Africa has organised programmes for women on running small livelihood enterprises. We heard that Skills for Oil and Gas in Africa (SOGA) works with some of the FDCs in the south for skill development programmes. No doubt examples in other parts of the country exist.

"These are using our facilities", and sometimes college staff. Although the Tanzania Open University informed us that

> "The OUT has 25 centres throughout Tanzania. Currently they have no connection with FDC centres, no direct link. The FDCs are in a different Ministry and the OUT is in different Ministry",

nevertheless, at least one FDC reported,

> "Yes, we have institutions such as the Open University. Students from the Open University use these dormitories. They are charged for accommodation. Sometimes they are used for exams. Other organisations come to conduct seminars."

3.5 OUTREACH

a) *The mission of the FDCs* was to reach out to their local communities:

[18] See note 10 p29 above regarding these statistics; we suspect short courses are substantially under-reported like outreach.

> "Colleges are community-based institutions supposed to avail public and private institutions and communities with facilities for their use. Facilities include classes, workshops, furniture, play grounds etc" (MCD, FDC Provision)

b) *Decline*: Almost universally we were told that 'outreach activities' had diminished after the withdrawal of SIDA's assistance. "Outreach died because initially there was a support from SIDA and now it is no longer there; at that time, they were giving bicycles, motorcycles etc. Most of the staff see themselves as teachers, not as outreach workers". "We don't run outreach courses. How can we reach while we don't have a car?" "We don't have outreach programmes. We don't have outreach because we are very few and we don't have enough students."

c) *Continued provision:* Nevertheless, one FDC reported, "We have a college health worker who sometimes goes out into the community". Yet another, "our agriculture tutor goes out to give advice and training to local farmers". And at almost every FDC, we saw and/or heard about members of local communities who came into the colleges to use the maize grinding mill or carpentry workshop equipment etc; some even run their own small businesses on the site (one college had a timber merchant on site):

> "Some people are using the buildings, not only during the break [vacations], even during the term; sometimes they don't pay anything, we allow them because they are from the community, sometimes we ask them to contribute something."

College land is sometimes used by community members for growing crops.

d) *Outreach or community engagement?* There seems to be a view of what is 'outreach' which excludes the assistance which the college and its staff and students provide informally to the local community. "Currently there is no staff who goes to the local community, but some people from the community have been coming to ask for assistance, there is no record of this." The concept of outreach seemed to be unclear or viewed within a limited perspective. For example, in one FDC we visited, they were inviting farmers to come and learn some of the agricultural activities, but they did not treat this as an outreach activity. Elsewhere, in answer to the question, 'Do you have people from the community coming to get help?', the answer was, "Yes but not many". There is more going on than is reported.

We suggest that the term 'outreach' be replaced by 'community engagement'.

e) *Libraries:* A number of FDCs have libraries which are (in theory) available to local communities when such communities are nearby. "We also have a community library. However we have been asking the community around to come and read but very few are coming." "We have a community library; it is used by both the communities and students within and from outside the FDC, students from nearby secondary schools. We get some books from donors. But we don't get every year." One college reported the provision of a new library by a donor: "We have a big and wonderful library, but few people come to use it"; but during our visit, we found some students and a trained librarian in this active library.

f) *Impact:* The impact on the local communities does not seem to have been researched yet in depth. MCD, which conducted one such survey in 2009, suggested that "If you do an impact survey, you will see that the communities surrounding FDCs also become prosperous and rich in terms of skills, because most graduates from FDCs also become local leaders". But as we have seen (3.3.3e, p34), others deny that the students return to these local communities: "They do not go back to the communities; people nowadays don't want to engage in manual works, they want sophisticated jobs".

Tracer studies: Several colleges manage to keep in touch with some of their students although the students are now widely dispersed after they graduate. "Most students go to towns; many go into employment first before self-employment." "Some graduates are being self-employed. We keep in touch with them. Some of them have been coming here to ask what next step they should take." "Most students who come here, once they finish level 1 and 2, they get the qualification and they employ themselves and start their own businesses. They employ themselves if they have capital. Some of them go to level 3" [VETA courses] or to other studies. We were told of one student who went through the FDC, and then took a degree programme; "she is currently teaching at the Mkwawa University College".

3.6 SELF-RELIANCE PROJECTS

Self-reliance projects formed a feature of every FDC when they started. The aim was to provide the students with practical experience, to provide demonstration activities to the local communities and at the same time to provide some income for the college. Many of the FDCs hold land, sometimes extensive; one has at least 477 acres. "We have projects: the hostel, our driving course, and when it is raining we have agriculture." Several hire out their buildings: "our projects are hiring out our dining hall for meetings, and rearing cows and goats". One had a bio-gas demonstration plant.

- "We have some projects including a rest house, fees from short courses, hiring of our premises for seminars and trainings, and crops and farming, although these have been mainly for our own consumption."
- "We have a few projects such as a garden – we sell vegetables; [we have] milling machine for maize, carpentry workshop – people from the community come and use it, and land – we have a total of 60 acres for different activities including farming and animal keeping."

3.7 INNOVATORY PROGRAMMES

It is almost certain that the number and range of other activities which go on at the FDCs are greatly under-estimated and rarely reported. We can list here only those we heard about and saw - but there must be others throughout the 55 FDCs in the country.

It is useful to remind ourselves that the Folk High Schools in Sweden see themselves as 'educational avant-gardes', piloting new developments (Larsson 2013: 72-98). The

FDCs too have piloted new programmes which have made an impact nationally when scaled up.

a) *Fema Clubs:* We were told about the Fema Clubs which had been run by or in association with all of the 55 FDCs.

KTA is collaborating with Femina Hip, a Multi-media civil society platform in conducting clubs and active-learning activities at all 55 FDCs.
A Fema Club is a group of fifteen or more people who believe in promoting healthy lifestyles, brought together by their trust in and devotion to the Fema magazines. A variety of activities are undertaken by Fema Clubs including: study circle (reading and discussing a Fema magazine), peer and community education, environmental activities, poultry farming and keeping vegetable gardens. Club members encourage voluntarism and civic engagement as well as promote a culture of reading. KTA believes in adult education and use FEMA clubs as a method of adult learning. Through Fema clubs, students at FDCs have a chance to start a study group, and make decisions on their own matters with the support from the club mentor. KTA through FEMA clubs aims at improving confidence, independence and culture of reading among young adults in Tanzania through FDCs. (from KTA website)

Promoted by feminahip.tanzania, a number of agencies such as Peace Corps have adopted these groups. Through KTA, the FDCs provide a base for such clubs both for FDC students and staff and also for some of the villages around - although "currently there are no funds for this programme", and no college we visited mentioned them.

b) *Kindergarten:*
In 2015-16, 36 FDCs were recorded as having 'pre-school' groups, catering for 1122 participants. "We now have day care centres and we have a good number of children facilitated by KTA." In two FDCs, a donor had built special rooms for the kindergartens and was supporting the cost of one of the carers.

c) *The Mama programme:*
The Mama programme is one of the most significant activities of the FDCs today. It is part of a national campaign aimed at enabling teenage girls who have become pregnant during their schooling to continue their education - most schools exclude then from further studies. A national coalition made the issue very public, especially with the Ministry of Women's Affairs.

KTA, with its commitment to gender equality and close links with the Ministry, saw the opportunity to use the FDC colleges as the site to demonstrate that it was possible to get some of these girl-mothers back into education. Funds were raised in Sweden and the programme was launched.

> **"**They [a number of the FDCs] took those girls who dropped out from school system [because of pregnancy], they study with their babies. We have colleges which are running these courses; [last year] 8 of them were supported by KTA, and one of them was supported by a sister college in Sweden."

> "The programme is free. The money comes from Forum Syd in Sweden [via Farnebo FHS] to KTA. Now they won't continue to fund. We want to look for local funding. The idea of Mama programme has been taken up by the government. …. The Mama course currently is in 7 FDCs."

In the colleges, we saw and heard about the Mama programme:

> "Last year we had 15 students but now we have only 14. They come with their children and they stay in a dormitory. We have one mother who is employed to take care of their children. They were supposed to study for one year because of lack of funds. Now that we have secured support, it will be two years. This is a good programme because most of them come here with lost hope. The programme can take only 15 students [in each participating FDC], we cannot take more."

Another reported, "Three out of the 15 graduates from this programme managed to continue with the FDC."

The programme has now achieved national recognition. KTA has recently reported:

> "The Minister of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children, Ummy Mwalimu, addressed the issue of girls' rights to education and their rights to re-enter the public school system after giving birth, during the launch of the National Plan of Action to End Violence against Women and Children (NAP-VAWC) in December 2016.
>
> What we first understood was that a discussion about a policy change should be taken in the parliament. A couple a weeks ago we learned that the government is in the process of starting a program which will allow girls who fall pregnant in school to return to school without any form of victimization. The government´s commitment is to ensure that the girls are allowed to resume their classes right from primary schools to the higher institutions where they dropped out.
>
> There is a suggestion that the Mama Course program shall be scaled up to involve all 55 FDCs and to be conducted both as an on-campus program and as an outreach program.
>
> This is a huge achievement for all the work and lobby activities that civil society organization and activists including KTO have done during the years." (KTA pers. comm.)

The impact of this programme, in which the FDCs linked with a national women's movement and with government through MCD, has been considerable. The FDC pilot demonstrated that it could work and that there is much local support for it. This is one example of the potential of the FDCs to contribute to Tanzanian social development as well as the education of its youth and adults.

d) *Women's football:*

This is another initiative in which the FDCs have played a major part in providing the arena for piloting a national programme and demonstrating not just that it works but brings with it many unanticipated benefits. Again it is a result of the bridge which KTA has built between the FDCs and national interest groups for women's equality.

This programme, started about three years ago, may be seen in the world-wide context of women's entry into male-dominated sports like rugby and boxing. In Tanzania, women's football has been taken up by the Tanzanian Football Federation who supplied training and materials to the participating FDCs and signed a Memorandum of Understanding at a national ceremony. As KTA told us:

> **"**Football for women is used as an approach to work on gender issues and to address gender equality. We collaborate with [the Tanzanian] Football Association in 25 FDCs, to run associations for women's football. KTA provides training for referees and coaches. Each of the FDCs out of the 25 is supposed to start a team. They are aimed at empowering women. There are many issues we can address through women's football team. …The choice of the 25 FDCs was based on advertising the programme to all FDCs. 34 FDCs applied, and then we started screening them."

One FDC reported how it worked in their case. Each participating FDC appointed a member of staff as co-ordinator of football:

> "First we had to advertise it, it was first of all introduced to community primary schools and secondary schools and then was introduced to sports administrative officers using various media. But even before, we had a women's football team. We have 18 members at present - we want to grow."
>
> "We have some challenges – we don't have jerseys, some participants have no [money] to pay the fees; some parents do not allow their children to join the [girls'] football team because it is viewed as a boys' sport. We have a football pitch but it is not in a good order."

Apart from the general motivational, disciplinary and health benefits for the participants, we were informed that the football programme was attracting some students to some of the FDCs. Equally, it has led to closer relationships between these FDCs and local schools, to discussions with parents to allow their daughters to play the game, and to the presence on FDC campuses of local supporters when matches are played. "Over 1000 girls are playing football through the FDCs."

The purpose is not just to assist the FDCs but "to play a part in a national movement to lay the ground for an infrastructure of women's football in Tanzania, through educating female coaches, judges, referees, sports administrators etc. This will amongst other things promote gender equality. There is currently a women's football team, but no league" (Linkoping 2017).

e) *Technology:*
MCD informed us that

> **"**In 2008/2009 the Ministry established a very important programme that is 'Skills Development Integrated with Simple and Appropriate Technology'. The main objective is to provide skills to the target groups accompanied with simple and appropriate technologies with the view to enabling them to excel in their productive endeavors. The technologies provided to 49 FDCs in 2009/2010 were power tillers, fuel conserving stoves, food processing device, oxen and plough, push carts, electricity generated by grinding machine device." (MCD, FDC Provision)

Today, KTA told us that **"**there is a programme in five FDCs to help them take advantage of technology which has been supported by Sida." We saw a bio-gas demonstration unit at one FDC.

Universally we found concern about ICT - equipment or staffing or a reliable source of energy. But equally we saw signs of progress in this field and a keenness to develop it further.

f) *Election peace promotion:*
In line with some of the concerns of the FHSs in Sweden, the FDCs played a part in the recent elections to help them to take place peacefully and effectively.

> "Before the election, we were working with other organisations, namely FEMINA and UNDP, to prevent violence during the election. We were using drama and other means such as dialogue and football teams. We had *bodaboda*[19] football teams to initiate dialogue before the election and after. We initiated community programmes so as to maintain peace before, during and after election. Also we initiated programmes to motivate communities to participate in election." (KTA)

The FDCs provided the bases and the staff for such programmes.

g) *The role of KTA in innovations:* While a number of such innovations come from the colleges themselves, the initiative and coordination of most of them come from KTA, and the search for resources, including funds, is done by KTA. KTA is the bond which is holding the whole sector together. It is currently supported by both the MCD and Swedish interests. In a world in which NGOs and other aid agencies vie with each other for limited resources, especially funds, KTA offers a way in which the interests of the FDCs can be supported by becoming the entry point to the sector for other aid and development agencies: "these other agencies do not know the FDCs, they think they are schools".

Initiating projects on a multi-FDC scale is clearly a matter for an umbrella organisation, whether the initiatives arise from the FDCs or from other agencies such as NGOs who wish to work with the colleges. KTA offers co-ordination of such projects. "It could be useful if the linkages of the FDCs with other organisations are coordinated."

[19] motorcycle taxis usually run by young men

3.8 BUILDINGS AND RESOURCES:

To do all this requires buildings and resources.

a) *Funding:* It is widely recognised that the FDCs are greatly underfunded: ESA commented in 2011:

> "Indeed, while technical nonhigher education absorbs almost 57 percent of all TVET resources, vocational training receives just 37 percent, against a low six percent for folk education. This funding imbalance should be reduced." (ESA 2011, p. 28)

(This is discussed more fully 4.1.2d, p50 below.)

b) *Buildings and workshops:* As we have seen, since the end of SIDA's assistance, buildings and equipment have in many cases been neglected. In particular, teaching-learning equipment is often outdated and in poor state. As one FDC told us, "Most of the infrastructure such as workshops are not in a good condition. This is because since the withdrawal of funds, there has been little support from the government, no one picked up after SIDA stopped." And another, "I have only 10 laptops - these are not good for beginners, I have no desktop computer".

But others have managed to retain what they have and one or two to develop them further with support from other sources. Donors have been drawn upon, and staff and students already engaged in the building skills development area have spent time on repairs and maintenance. But concern over buildings is one of the reasons why the link to VETA is welcomed by some FDCs: "I think the colleges' infrastructure will be improved under VETA; it is the main problem".

3.9 SECTOR:

The FDC sector is today probably more united than it has ever been. Many factors have brought them together. The staff and principals' training programmes, the women's football ensure that they meet more frequently; the new IT technology (e.g. laptops) supplied to each FDC facilitates intra-sectoral communication; they network with each other and through KTA. Despite the fact that the FHS support from Sweden is based in most cases on one FHS to one FDC, the links between the FHSs ensure that information about the work being done is shared. The report by a Swedish participant of one such initiative is very telling:

> In the *Coast to coast project* (in which four FDCs have cooperated with four FHSs for 15 years), we held a meeting at Kisarawe in November last year. … We arranged a car for the principal at Arnautoglu to go to Kisarawe, and the principal of Ikwiriri (they have got a car of their own) came together with a representative from Kilwa in the south. This was the first time for the new principals to meet, and the first time for the principal of Arnautoglu to go to Kisarawe (only 35 km away). The discussions at the meeting were about possibilities and challenges for further cooperation and reminding of why we have something in common (the new teachers are not very aware of the origin

of the FDCs), as well as presentations of challenges and possibilities for the four colleges.

The principal at Ikwiriri told us that they would have a celebration party for the community the day after to celebrate that [their FDC] had got two new wells from the community. As Kisarawe FDC has a huge water problem, he was invited to … talk to the community officers [in Kisaware]. So he did and this turned out to be successful. When we evaluated the meeting, we concluded that bringing together/networking probably is our contribution in this cooperation. When one of the four [coastal] FHSs visits their sister college, they also try to visit the others or to gather principals/staff to a meeting." (pers. comm.)

CHAPTER IV: 2016-2017 CURRENT CHANGES IN THE FDC SECTOR

In 2016, the intention to move the FDCs from MCD to the MoE was announced but not implemented immediately.
Reasons for the move: *behind this move lie political changes; new policy formulations stressing the national need for industrial development and therefore for skills development. VETA sees itself as the national agency for co-ordinating all VET in the country. The Education Sector Analysis Report (ESA) of 2011 urged the relocation of the FDCs to the vocational training sector where there is increased funding available; it suggested that the FDCs could fill some gaps in the regional distribution of VTCs.*
The move in progress: *after ESA, VETA explored the FDCs, chose 25 for orientation. In early February, 15 FDCs were selected to go to VETA to become District VTCs; their buildings and workshops were upgraded. Later in February, the sector as a whole was transferred to MoE but the administrative staff and budget currently remain with MCD.*
Impact: *The impact of these moves to MoE/VETA is very uncertain; some believe it will be good, others bad. There are concerns whether the sector will be divided, whether the freedom of the FDCs to innovate and raise resources will be limited, whether the Folk Education and other elements will be lost. Which raises the question, what are the essential elements which make the FDCs what they are?*

The scene is about to change and probably change radically. In May 2016, the government decided the FDCs should be moved from MCD to the Ministry of Education, Science and Vocational Training.

4.1 WHY?

4.1.1 *Political changes:* The move needs to be seen in the light of political changes in Tanzania (Yule 2001; Preece 2009), and especially in the context of developments in educational policy-making over the last twenty years. The 1995 Education and Training Policy proposed the decentralisation of educational implementation. This was followed in 1999 by Vision 2025 which can be said still to be influential on educational policy and programmes. This has been described as neo-liberal in tone, reflecting the "donor-led form of capitalism" of international agencies (Preece 2009 p. 138). The election of December 2005 led to a new focus on vocational training, and more recently, the government has been stressing industrialisation and modernisation as the key to the country's development, and economic growth as the primary means to the reduction of poverty and social inequalities. These trends had already been reflected in the 2000 Poverty Reduction Strategy, in the Education Sector Policy Review of 2004 (and the Adult and Non-Formal Education Sub-Sector Medium-Term Strategy).

In so far as the FDCs featured at all in these statements, they were seen as "a sub-sector of the post-primary education and training" programme (Mutanyatta 2003), but for the most part, they were ignored, in their home in the then Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children. But now skills development had come to the top of the education agenda. Hence the Ministry of Education and Culture was retitled

Ministry of Education and Vocational Training. Hence the importance given to bodies such as VETA.

VETA (soon to be moved from the Ministry of Labour to the Ministry of Education) saw its role as overseer of all VET in the country. A key report commissioned by VETA on the FDCs in 2000 (Redeker et al 2000) recommended "that VETA should take a much stronger role in coordinating the activities in basic VET provision among the various providers, both on a national and regional level" (p. 5). This report was the first indication of attention being given to the FDCs in policy circles; it is probably significant that government funding to the FDCs was renewed in 2000. It was followed in 2003 by Mutanyatta's report to the World Bank[20] on the then 58 FDCs "to provide a basis for an investment programme aimed at achieving a relevant, effective, efficient and sustainable Vocational Education and Training (VET) system" (Mutanyatta 2003 p ii; see also Mutanyatta 2007). Thereafter the pace quickened. In 2004 Msimba prepared a report for MCD (Msimba 2004).

The Government of Tanzania began to take an interest. In an analysis of 2005 clearly written under VETA influence,

> The Education Sector Review, conducted in 2005, identified a number of problems facing the Folk Education sub-sector, including obsolete infrastructure, lack of national qualification framework, lack of clear inter-linkages, FDCs not being represented in BEDC [Basic Education Development Committee], lack of strong development levy, inadequate capacity to address crosscutting issues, curriculum not sufficiently demand driven, less qualified teaching staff and serious under-funding of FDCs activities. (MCD, FEDP p2)

By 2010, the FDCs were seen as part of the national "investment in human capital" (MKUKUTA II p 57).

Both the Ministry of Education and VETA told us that the FDCs

> "… have become important because of political change, TVET is now important. Who is in power or in office matters a lot in Tanzania. Does he/she value education as a pillar to development?"
> "Such a change [of Ministries] is common, because even the current VETA was under the Ministry of Labour before it became an Authority in 1995."

> "Originally [the FDCs] were in the Ministry of Education and now they are coming back to the Ministry. The reason is that … we want now to develop skills because we have discovered that there are many primary school leavers who enter the labour market without required skills, so we want to provide them with both FDC skills and vocational skills Between 800,000 and 1 million enter the labour market without any skills. There was a cry from members of the Parliament saying that many primary school leavers were finishing primary education without acquiring proper skills." (VETA)

[20] Clara Hyldgaard Nankler provided me with some pages from this report which is difficult to obtain; again I am grateful.

Thus the perceived changed economic structure of Tanzania's society is a major factor in bringing about this change: as one FDC principal told us,

> "I think initially the purpose of the FDCs was to enhance farming and cottage industry in rural areas. I don't see this to continue happening any more. So it will be good for them to move into VETA."

> "I think it is a good thing. We don't have option. No one came to ask us if we wanted to move or not. Under MCD, aspirations declined; **p**erhaps, with this move, some of our desires will be now met. These include a desire to be allocated students automatically by the Ministry."

Others outside the sector said:

> "[The FDCs] are very useful, especially now when we are talking about industrialized Tanzania. That is where we have to start from, because industrialization needs skills. My fear is that some leaders are not sure what [the FDCs] are. They don't know the FDCs' functions; they have a negative perception. When we talk about industrialization, where do we start**?** It depends, but the current Tanzanian leadership is talking about self-reliance, so the importance of FDCs can be revived - the views of Nyerere are coming back".

But others argue the opposite:

> "With these changes, the philosophy of Mwalimu Nyerere to the FDCs is undergoing a natural death. An idea was to retain the FDCs as they were, because the philosophy behind the FDCs was to help indigenous people, but it seems that this is undergoing a natural death because of labour needs."

This is the context in which the *Education Sector Analysis* (ESA) was published in 2011, what may turn out to be the most important document in the history of the FDCs. For in this report, the government began to plan for the future of the FDCs.

4.1.2 The Education Sector Analysis 2011

a) The *Education Sector Analysis* was a report compiled by UNESCO Dakar office with major inputs from the Government of Tanzania and other bodies[21]. The report recognised the FDCs as part of the country's education sector - but in a sector of its own:

> Since 2008, the education system is organized into four subsectors :
> (i) Basic Education, that comprises pre-primary, primary, secondary, teacher training, and adult education and nonformal education (AE/NFE);
> (ii) Folk Education;
> (iii)Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET); and
> (iv) Higher Education (University and non-university) (ESA p. 78)

[21] We were informed that Sida had a part in its compilation; that is not mentioned in the report itself, but it may help to account for the attention given to the FDCs

It is significant that the Folk Education sector (which is very small compared with the other three sectors) should be treated separately, for it was recognised that their unique combination of activities fell between the various other sectors:

> … folk education may be categorized either under AE/NFE in the case of Folk Development College short courses, or under vocational education and training (VET) for FDC long courses. (ESA p.78)

b) *Adult Education sector:* The report said that the FDCs have been seen as Adult Education establishments:

> Adult Education is delivered though Folk Development College (FDC) short courses, Vocational Education and Training (VET) short courses and tailor-made courses (via both the in-centre and outreach modalities). Both FDC short courses and VET short courses/tailor–made courses are programmes offered for one to ninety days in areas such as income generating support skills, business skills, entrepreneurship, gender knowledge, environmental management, food preservation, and so on. Outreach courses depend on trainee needs and are delivered at their residence or place of work. All short and outreach training courses are normally provided after conducting needs' assessments and identifying specific areas for training and groups or individuals in need. (ESA p. 81).

> As part of adult education, in 2009, ICBAE [Integrated Community-Based Adult Education, the main adult education programme in the country] was said to reach some 950,000 participants; while 24,849 enrolled on folk development college short courses, and 45,890 enrolled on vocational training centre short and outreach courses, [both] demonstrating a general rising trend. However, a slight decrease in enrollment is noticeable for all services over 2008-09 … the net closure of 44 [VT] centers (reducing their number from 880 to 836) may account for [some of this reduction] (ESA p. 87; see also Preece 2009 pp 140-1).

c) *Vocational Education sector:* However, the *ESA Report* in 2011 also saw the FDCs as belonging to the vocational education sector:

> As such, the subsector [vocational education] is the dual responsibility of both MoEVT, through the Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA), and the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children (MCDGC), through the Folk Development College Secretariat. The VETA Corporate Plan (2007-11) and the Folk Education Development Programme (2007-11) are currently their main respective guiding frameworks. The subsector is still governed by the Education Act of 1978 (delineating FDCs' roles and responsibilities) and the VET act of 1994 (that created VETA). However the two training arrangements are institutionally distinct: FDCs fell under the mandate of the MCDGC in 1990, transferred from the Ministry of Education, and in 2005, VETA was integrated to MoEVT from the Ministry of Labour, Youth and Development to allow for more integration within the education sector. Despite the strong links that exist between VETA and FDCs, the current institutional set-up contributes to the fragmentation of VET service delivery. (ESA pp. 193, 323-4)

> VET is also delivered through Folk Development College long courses. Long course programmes refer to all courses with a duration of ninety days to two years, aiming to provide knowledge and skills essential for self-employment. The subjects offered are carpentry, masonry, metal work, domestic science, car mechanics, agriculture, welding and so on. General education support subjects are provided to broaden learners' mental faculties and enable them to utilize their technical skills more productively. These subjects include civic education, culture, languages and bookkeeping. Contrary to VETA long courses, FDC long courses do not provide certification because of the variety of candidates and courses offered. Participants are however delivered a completion certificate by the training institution and are allowed to sit VETA-supervised examinations (ESA pp. 81-2).

Most of the VET courses are delivered through the VT centres across the country:

> In 2008, VTCs accounted for 94 percent of all training centers (889), and FDCs for the remaining six percent (54 centers); 730 training centers were nongovernmental, or 77 percent. The two largest categories respectively accounted for 43 and 31 percent of VTCs: private and faith-based (FBO). VETA itself was only directly responsible for 21 centers (two percent of VTCs). (ESA p. 323)

> In technical education, all folk development courses are government-run, but those delivered through vocational centers are increasingly private, reflecting the ministry's policy of diversification to promote the subsector.(ESA p. 30)

d) *Funding of VET and the FDCs:* The report points out that the VETA sector takes the lion's share of funding available for VET:

> Out of the … budget for TVET (43%), vocational education courses delivered through VETA are allocated 37 percent of TVET resources and folk education absorbs the remaining six percent. Thus VETA received 83 percent of the government's allocation to this VET subsector in the financial year 2008/09; the remaining 17 percent funded folk education. (ESA p. 123)

(There are no signs this balance has changed since that year.) VETA has privileged funding:

> Although folk education is directly funded by the government (through a specific MCDGC budget allocation), VET activities under VETA are funded differently: in addition to subsidies received directly from the government, VETA benefits from indirect subsidies through the Skills Development Levy, and generates income from its operations (fees and production activities). (ESA p. 143)

The report challenges this '*imbalance'* on three grounds:
i) that "VETA-owned centers only account for eight percent of VET enrolment" (ESA p. 144) and that the FDCs provide more cost-effective training than the VT centres:

> …unit costs are 70 percent higher for VETA-owned centers than for folk development centers. On the one hand, this suggests that folk education may be underfunded. However, the extent of the resource gap in folk education should be considered in the context of the community-based services offered, whereas VETA-owned institutions are considered to be VET centers of excellence. On the other hand, it suggests that enrollment in VETA-owned centers could increase, making high quality vocational training accessible to a greater number of youth. (ESA p. 148)

ii) that the FDCs are more effective than the VTCs, as a study on the impact of folk education (MCDGC, 2009) suggested:

> Between the academic years 2001/02 and 2009/10, 221,716 (105,169 female and 116,547 male) adults were provided [by the FDCs] with skills in different trades including agriculture, carpentry, masonry, tailoring, mechanics (MCDGC 2009). Most of the graduates (54 percent) were self-employed, 39 percent were involved in agriculture and masonry, 33 percent of the female graduates in rural areas were tailors (also involved in agriculture), and 47 percent of urban women were tailors. Very few graduates (about two percent) were engaged in private garages doing mechanical work. Half those having followed folk education had built decent houses, could pay for their children's education and were healthy, demonstrating a significant impact on people's lives. Also, 57 percent of technicians in the villages surrounding FDCs were graduates from these colleges, mainly in carpentry, masonry and tailoring." (ESA p. 257).

iii) Thirdly, this funding imbalance within the TVET system is

> "questionable, given that vocational education faces huge social and economic demand. Indeed, the following are worthy of consideration: (i) many children were obliged to curtail their studies after primary because of the limited number of places in secondary school … ; (ii) these children are likely to be eligible for some kind of vocational training; and (iii) this social demand for vocational training can also be viewed as an economic demand: there is a sizeable unskilled labor force working in the traditional and informal segments of the economy, where labor productivity is very low." (ESA p. 128)

However, not all the government funding gets through to the FDCs:

> A quarter of folk education recurrent expenditure is retained at the ministerial level to cover overheads (the remaining 75 percent is allocated directly to Folk Development Colleges). This share is comparatively higher than for other education subsectors: for basic education, central administrative costs represent approximately 10 percent of total public recurrent expenditure, and for higher and technical education, they are just seven percent. This suggests that there is scope to reduce administrative overheads, in benefit of the share of resources channeled directly to FDCs, especially for underfunded pedagogical items (teaching, training and learning materials). (ESA p. 143)

It must be pointed out however that the budget of the FDCs compared with the budget for primary and higher and technical education is minuscule and that the administrative overheads cannot be compared in this simplistic way. Central costs on a small sector will always be proportionately higher than for a larger sector.

4.1.3 *Regional distribution - District VT Centres* Seeking to expand the sector to all parts of the country, the report pointed out that the VTCs are unevenly distributed around the country, with

> "some regions particularly well endowed compared with Rukwa, Manyara, Tabora, Kigoma, and Singida regions …, each have fewer than 15 training centers. … The 53 folk development colleges are better allocated: most regions have one. Those of Dar es Salaam and Morogoro regions enrolled the highest number of students (per 100,000 population), followed by Kilimanjaro, Mbeya, and Kagera regions, indicating better coverage relative to potential demand. … (ESA pp. 226-227)

The report suggested that the FDCs be brought into the VET sector of the Ministry of Education, since "there is … a strong will to ensure that all districts have a VTC, however the lack of adequate financial resources is a serious constraint to their adequate expansion nationwide." (ESA p.223) The FDCs or at least some of them could help fill that gap.

> "During the situation analysis study, they realized that there were these institutions [FDCs] that could potentially offer vocational skills, and actually some FDCs were requesting to be registered by VETA and offer VETA training. So among other things, [the report] recommended that (1) some FDCs should be rehabilitated, (2) to retrain their teachers, (3) to offer them a status of District Vocational Training Centre." (VETA)

The aim is to use the distribution of the FDCs to fill out the map of vocational training centres. The Ministry of Education said,

> "By taking the FDCs, we also have an opportunity to expand them from the current number of 55. Our intention is to make sure that all districts in Tanzania have centres where we provide skills. Those institutions are very crucial."

And in the colleges we were told:

> "One of the reasons is that it was government mission to have a vocational training centre in every district. So they took the loop hole that the FDCs were not active. They said that this will be the first phase."

4.2 HOW?

4.2.1 The move to the Ministry of Education has been undertaken in stages.

a) The *Education Sector Analysis* 2011(devoted almost exclusively to vocational education and training) laid the foundation by presenting evidence-based policy

proposals to the government. The decision to move the whole sector from MCD to MoE was taken in 2016. VETA took the first steps.

b) 25 FDCs were chosen, and the staff of these FDCs invited to attend orientation and training sessions at VETA's centre at Morogoro. "We selected 25 FDCs out of 55. We developed a vocational skills curriculum in those FDCs as a pilot to find out how they will perform." Some early work was done on upgrading the buildings and equipment in some FDCs.

c) Early in February 2017, fifteen FDCs were chosen to become District Vocational Training Centres and put under VETA: as VETA told us,

> "Not all have been moved, only few of them. 25 FDCs were visited and evaluated before being selected. They came here [Morogoro VETTC] to be trained. After they move, we expect to train the 15 colleges and to re-train them. They will be transferred to VETA, [although] VETA is a regulatory authority. … VETA will build and equip workshops. They will change their names. … VETA has funds - the priority now is District VTCs, then push out into the rural areas We chose those 15 FDCs out of 25".

According to the letter of transfer of the fifteen FDCs, they are Masasi, Newala, Kilwa, Nzovwe, Malya, Mtawanya, Mwamva, Kisaware, Mamtukuna, Katumba, Sengerema, Kasulu, Chilala, Malampaka and Rubondo.

One FDC at least welcomed the change:

> "The VETA regional director has been directed to conduct a feasibility study to make sure those FDCs shift. They will be much more advanced than the current FDCs; we are going to be a DVTC".

d) On 20 February 2017, the whole sector was transferred to the Directorate of Vocational Education in the Ministry of Education. Since this move coincided with a move of central government institutions (including MEST) from Dar es Salaam to Dodoma, it is not surprising that there is some uncertainty about the exact arrangements for the FDCs and that contradictory evidence was given to us. The situation is fluid.

e) Plans for the future have yet to be finalised. As the Ministry of Education said,

> "Whether these fifteen remain under the auspices of VETA is uncertain. … Unfortunately they [VETA] also own some of the training centres because in the past there was not any institution commissioned to provide vocational skills. Currently we are working on how to separate the two, so that VETA remains with the function of overseeing the quality. We may set up an institution to own VETA schools".

The Director of Vocational Education in MEST said they needed a detailed survey of the resources and potentialities of the whole sector, to see what they could do and how.

4.3 The impact of the change

We sought opinions about the impact this move will have on the FDCs.

a) *Funding:* Whether there would be more money for the sector is not clear:

> "It is always a government decision on the amount they will give. Our task is to make a request. We prepare our budget but the final decision remains with the government on how they want to spend. However this sector is still underfunded." (MCD)

It may be that student fees will be standardised and raised: VETA claimed that "the students contribute very little for their accommodation and food."

b) *Uncertain futures:* The government argues the FDCs, or at least those chosen, will benefit from the move:

> "The reason the FDCs don't offer many courses may be because the FDCs were under a wrong Ministry, the Ministry which could not invest very much on FDCs. They could have delivered more than what they did. So they offer few skills because they offer only courses which need small investment."

The Ministry said all options were open:

> "As I have pointed out, we are doing a study to see how best we can do this. After the study, we may find that some FDCs are not functioning, e.g. they have only 10 students or 2 students while they need to employ 30 teachers. In that case some of them might need to be turned into something else".

VETA felt that "some may be absorbed and some retained in partnership".

c) *Retaining the FDC culture:* Several times we were assured by both VETA and the Ministry of Education that "the philosophy behind taking FDCs is to maintain both FDC Education and vocational skills." When asked if VETA would remove the FDC programmes, the answer was: "No, they will be DVTC but they will keep the Folk Education courses. They will continue so that they reflect the local community's labour market needs." "The FDCs will move to be better but they can still maintain their partnerships." *Will you keep the Folk Education?* "Yes, we want to maintain". It was suggested that the IAE training ODL Diploma for FDC teaching staff would continue for Folk Education, but the VETA teachers would (at least in future) require a certificate from the VETTC at Morogoro.

The FDC culture is however not just Folk Education, but (as we have seen above, 1.2.4) it is the freedom of FDCs, although government-owned institutions, to act individually and collectively as service-providing institutions free to innovate and to raise resources for these innovations. It would seem that in the past the Ministry of Education and Culture controlled the FDCs more closely; during the early years of the TANDEM programme, principals were at times denied permission to implement some of the practices being taught - but that changed when the FDCs moved to MCD. The recent change of the VETA curriculum and assessment to English language led one FDC to say that it felt as if "the traditional FDCs are being transformed into formal institutions". As we have already noted, several of those we interviewed

thought the move of FDCs into the vocational sector will affect the flexibility of admission because "they will become more formal. In this way they will leave out some of the students."

The move to the Ministry of Education was however (as we have seen) welcomed by others: "If we move into Ministry of Education, it will be much better, because they are familiar with what we are doing. We will be in the right place." Some FDCs hope the move will mainstream the FDC sector: "It seems that moving to the Ministry of Education is viewed as going to the mainstream and it is better because FDCs were more or less left alone."

d) A sector and where located? Whether the FDC sector would be kept as a whole or be subdivided and where they will eventually end up are issues not yet determined:

> "If they [the new Ministry] see their value, they could put the establishment of FDCs under the Department of Adult Education in the Ministry of Education, but because they offer vocational training that is why they are under VETA."

The new ESDP (currently in formulation) will seek to help resolve some of these uncertainties and perhaps herald a brighter future for the FDCs.

4.4 *The key questions* then seem to be
a) will the FDC sector be maintained as a whole sector? Or will it be split?
b) will the FDCs be merged with VTCs with the loss of their distinctive features? or will they be kept distinct with their own culture which could contribute to the whole VET sector?
and c) will the Ministry continue to encourage the freedom of the FDCs, individually and collectively, to innovate in response to local aspirations and to raise the resources for these innovations?

CHAPTER V: CHARACTERISTICS OF FDCs DISTINGUISHING THEM FROM VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTRES

As we have suggested above, the FDCs combine all three main strands of post-school education, liberal adult education, education for social transformation, and education and training for livelihoods and active citizenship; they are not confined to any one of these strands.

Among the chief characteristics of the FDCs which distinguish them from VTCs are the following: They form a family with a strong common identity and inter-sectoral links; they have a commitment to development in the local communities outside their campus; they promote gender equality in society as well as in the college; they combine a liberal adult education curriculum with skills development; they exercise a degree of flexibility in the light of local needs which results in each FDC being different from all the others, especially in their freedom to approach donors (they bring strong Swedish and other support with them); their students may be different in terms of ages (some are more mature adults) and entry requirements (they are non-selective, taking students unqualified to enter VETA training centres),and they have a concern for poor students; they have their own staff training programme.

On the other hand, they may learn from the VT sector how to encourage more creativity among their students. And it is acknowledged that both sectors need to develop greater critical reflection among their graduates.

5. WHAT IS SPECIAL ABOUT THE FDCS?

5.1 *Tanzanian institutions*: As we have suggested above, the FDCs are *sui generis;* in the past they lay (uncomfortably?) outside each of the three main sectors, and they have features common to and yet distinctive from each of these sectors. But the special features which mark them off from CDTIs, VTCs and AECs should not be seen as creating division and being exclusive; for example, if they are merged with the VTCs, they should be seen as making a contribution to the whole VT sector - that (some) VTCs could become like FDCs. We heard rumours of some VTCs who wished to join the FDCs.

Wherever the FDCs end up, the question is what would they bring to these other sectors? In what ways are they different from adult education centres and vocational training centres? What of their current characteristics should and can be preserved?

It is important that the focus of this discussion should be on the FDCs as they have emerged after forty years in Tanzania. They may be seen as part of the "will to spread the idea" of the Scandinavian folk high school tradition (FB 2011a, 2011b) but only in a very loose sense; like Wittgenstein's family of resemblances, there are general characteristics common to both sectors but the FDCs have emerged as Tanzanian institutions with their own traditions and aspirations. The key question was raised by one of our respondents: "What has been constructed in Tanzania in response to the Folk High School movement?"

And that means, of course, that it is the FDCs themselves, led by KTA, who are best able to determine what they feel are their special characteristics and how best they may be preserved. What follows is a purely personal view based on experience of adult education in a wide variety of contexts. It will be taken, I hope, not as a blueprint but as a contribution to that debate.

We suggest that a debate begin among all FDCs as to what are the key features they wish to retain

5.2 *The FDC identity:* Unlike the other three sectors, the FDCs form a family of institutions. The title 'Folk Development College' is itself an important label, and the term 'Folk Education' has entered into policy discussions; when one principal says, 'We are no longer a FDC, we are a District Vocational Training Centre', he had a clear view of what a FDC meant. The FDCs know each other and share (to some extent[22]) not only their common origins but also a common ideology; we noticed how often they talked of 'us' in a way which VTCs do not tend to do. Even without KTA, the FDCs were distinctive, but KTA plays a vital part in retaining and building up this sense of common identity; this is unusual in a government-owned sector. One FDC valued this: the FDCs "have zonal meetings every year and a common fund. At this time they can learn from each other. This meeting is out of FDCs' own initiative and it is not supported by the Government. This is different from private vocational institutions which do not have such a link". Another said, "Last year we visited [two local] FDCs and we are thinking of doing more networking activities this year with [two more] FDCs." The Ministry may find a common identity acceptable: "We are restructuring the organization so that the FDCs become a section under my department". The VTC sector does not possess such a clear sense of common identity or networking.

We suggest that in this debate, the origins of the FDCs should be clarified.

5.3 *Three dimensions:* In part, this identity is created by being unique institutions in Tanzania. The FDCs (as we have seen) have been isolated from the three sectors they could relate to, and yet they draw upon all three sectors:
i) they provide vocational training to their students
ii) as adult education institutions, they aim to contribute to the continuing education and lifelong learning of adults in their neighbourhood
iii) and as Folk *Development* Colleges, they contribute to the community and national development goals.
This hybridity is one of their unique contributions to the Tanzanian educational sector.

5.4 *Sites for innovation:* The shared identity of the whole sector (55 FDCs at the moment) provides a facility for some major large-scale initiatives reaching into locations which no other sector can reach. The recent successful initiatives on a national scale, the Mama programme which showed by piloting it in 25 FDCs that the programme was both possible and needed, and the women's football, again piloted on a large scale and now a national programme, show something of the way the FDCs

[22] A report of a visit from Sweden to Tanzania in 2015 included the statement "the new teachers are not very aware of the origin of the FDCs" which suggests a programme of awareness raising with newer staff may be useful.

provide a platform to pilot issues of social concern on a large scale. It is difficult to see this operating through the vocational training centres. KTA is clearly pivotal in inspiring and mobilising for such initiatives

5.5 *Community links and goals* (socio-economic development and social transformation) comprise an essential element in their make-up. Even VETA acknowledges this:

> "The FDCs are important because people in rural areas need training on how to add value on whatever they are doing. It can be crop production etc. Rural people are in need of empowerment. They need training."

VTCs also have some element of this community dimension, but on the whole (especially the private VTCs) they do not have much of the outreach and other community-related programmes and activities which the FDCs have.

5.6 *Gender awareness***:** As an example of this commitment to social transformation as well as personal development through skills training, the FDCs have a specific commitment to gender reform. This is not just to try to ensure gender equality in staffing and enrolment of students in which, with the cooperation of MCD, they have been very successful. VETA too has such a commitment: "We have a gender policy, it encourages the poor and the girls [sic] to join our programmes." The FDC commitment to gender change however aims beyond equality of student recruitment and staffing to address the structural inequalities implied in existing gender relations in the wider society. While it is true, as one principal said, that "we cannot do much about that - it starts in the family", some of the colleges are aware that they are teaching the next generation of families and that their power to influence future gender relations is considerable. And programmes such as the Mama programme an the women's football directly challenge gender stereotypes. While the VTCs seek a gender balance in recruitment of students, they do not on the whole address directly structural gender issues inherent in society.

5.7 *Liberal adult education curriculum:* The FDCs were and to some extent remain committed to an inclusive liberal curriculum rather than an instrumental curriculum of narrow skills training: "The training offered at the colleges also is aimed at enhancing their [the students'] understanding as well as enabling them to solve their immediate problems that arise in the society" (MCD, FDC Provision). Although "Folk Education cannot be defined", it is a family of resemblances; the ideal was perhaps sketched out to us by one of the Swedish respondents: "community development, basic skills, gender, democratic values and human rights". As we have seen, complementary subjects are taught within the limits of the teaching resources available: some have "common subjects, and life-skills etc, and activities at the colleges which promoted debates on current issues like gender and others".

VETA schools too have complementary subjects: "Language, lifeskills and entrepreneurship are supporting subjects; maths and computers are required in VETA schools. Environmental issues such as climate change are compulsory". They share with the FDCs what the FEDP calls 'cross-cutting issues, such as "HIV and AIDS, Environmental education, ICT services, Gender equality and equity, and Guidance and Counseling" (MCD, FEDP). But the range of subjects which FDCs feel are necessary for engagement with active citizenship and social transformation (such as

basic economics, history, sociological issues and literature) and which they would wish to see taught (but which relatively rarely are taught at present because of lack of staffing and materials) is wider. This (like some other aspects) is an ideal which the FDCs could bring to the VT sector. As one respondent put it, "To put it short, the VTC focuses on participation in the labour market whereas the FDC focuses on participation in all spheres of life: labour market, civil society, family, politics and culture." This may be an ideal but it is a worthy ideal.

5.8 *Diversity and flexibility:* Because of the commitment to the development of their local communities, the FDCs have a diversity and flexibility which VTCs lack.

a) *Informal:* "In most cases, the FCDs are informal unlike VETA." "The vocational training centres are too formal, while the FDCs are flexible and they are down to the community." The principals have a good deal of discretion to be responsive to local needs, if they wish to use it. "To some extent, we have more flexibility now. We can establish our own projects, because there is a guideline [to that effect]". "Currently we are free; we can decide about offering some courses depending on the needs of the community. For instance, motor vehicle mechanics was not here in the past six years, but we started it after we learnt its need." But VETA suggests they can take over the role of assessing local needs - at least at zonal level: "We have local zone offices who can see the needs of local communities."

b) *Encouraging diversity and flexibility:* Will such provision really meet local needs? And will MEST not only allow but encourage such diversity? This query has already been raised **:** **"**If the FDCs go back to the Ministry of Education, there is one problem. The Ministry of Education tends to liken all of its institutions to the same teaching standard. But one of the ideas is that FDCs need to be different. Its aim is to develop local communities. Will the Ministry allow them to be free or flexible?" VETA suggests that this is possible: "No-one is in charge of the FDCs at the moment. They will not lose their freedom." But equally VETA is aware of what increased government supervision will imply:

> "As they move to the Ministry of Education, that is a ministry of protocol, the flexibility may somehow be affected. Even under VETA, we are somehow controlled but we still can work with several organizations."

c) *Donors:* The Ministry assured us that "the principal can still raise resources", as they can at present:

> "I am free to approach donors. Last year, we received support from KOICA – a Korean Development Agency. I approached the Country Director; they supported us with a library and a kitchen. Before that, the condition of our kitchen was very bad. We also have 13 computers from KOICA."

This freedom to approach donors directly may be curtailed: "There is a guideline. When they write any proposal for assistance, they will still need to come here for approval." (MoE)

> "One thing which will determine flexibility and independence is mainly about funds. If they are funded by the government, they will have to follow what the

> government wants. But Ministry of Education is diversifying - for example, in the teacher training colleges."

VETA indicated that Swedish support can continue; they pointed out that "Canadian and English agencies are in VETA".

d) *Innovations:* However, it was suggested that innovations like women's football are "not very likely" to continue.

5.9 *Recruitment of students:*
Perhaps the biggest change may come in the recruitment of students
a) *Adults:* the FDCs were initially *adult* educational institutions; MCD can speak of the work of the FDCs as

> "The objectives of the training are to equip the participants (Adult Tanzanians) with knowledge and skills that would enable them to be self employed and self-reliant." (MCD, FDC Provision)

Even now they retain something of this commitment, although the large majority of their students are young adults (between age 15 and age 25); as noted above, some FDCs still recruit older adults: "We have adults but they are relatively few. This is because of the existing general view that vocational education is a secondary education consideration". "There is only one male student above 25 who is in second year. There is another one who is 24 years of age, also in second year. He was not working before."

b) *Flexible entry requirements:* Changes in Tanzania's education system, especially the increasing provision of post-primary schooling, are bringing changes to the student cohorts in the FDCs: "In the past FDCs, the main students enrolled were primary school leavers. But now after the introduction of community secondary schools, many students are enrolled with community secondary schools, they are taking students who would be FDCs students. [So] that most FDCs students now come from secondary school".

However, many of these school leavers do not have qualifications enabling them to proceed into further education: the FDC open enrolment system alone meets this need. The FDCs **"**enable the young people who dropout early or later, which is one of the big challenges for Tanzania, especially now when students go through free education and some of them cannot continue after primary education, to continue their education." VETA entry is selective, the FDCs are non-selective: "VETA is only for those who pass, but FDCs pick every one, Standard 7 and secondary education failures, etc. VETA takes only Form IV passes". "The FDCs are the only institutions where one can go without entry examination and without qualifications." "FDCs are supposed to be flexible, students do not need qualifications; even those who have no qualifications to join VETA can still learn trades under FDCs." "Imagine, most of the students who come here have failed". "Most students here are not Standard 7 leavers, they are Form IV leavers. This is because nowadays it is difficult for the majority of Form IV leavers to go directly to [other training establishments], because you can't go with 2 D passes." "But now if you change it into VETA, we will be limiting some students." "VETA requires someone to finish secondary education, but for me I take even those from primary school. So for these students, they don't take VETA final

exam, some of them just take courses without certificates. Others become motivated to try sitting for VETA examination".

The Ministry of Education affirmed that flexible entry requirements can continue: "The FDCs accommodate young adults, youth without employment who cannot enter VETA. Some of those arrangements can continue even after they are moved to VETA, provided they don't interfere with VETA requirements." The Ministry also point out, "We have introduced a recognition of prior learning scheme (for people who have skills which are not recognised). This is under VETA". VETA elaborated: "VETA has recently established a system for prior skills recognition; they assess prior skills and give certificates. People have a lot of skills which are not recognised." AP(E)L systems are increasingly common but it has been found that some of them now tend to *exclude* more people than they enable to access provision (see for example, Singh 2015).

c) *Poor students:* The FDCs have a commitment - which they try to meet wherever possible - to help students from poorer backgrounds to continue their education. This is of course shared with many VTCs, especially the faith-based VTCs, although less frequently among the private VTCs. VETA say that they "have places for people from poor backgrounds and people with disabilities. However, we ask for a proof from their local community leaders." (see above 3.3.3d page 33)

5.10 *Training of FDC teaching staff:* As we have seen, the training of the staff has contributed significantly to the FDC identity. Because of the rather different ethos of the FDCs, the training of the FDC staff has from the start been separate from the training of other vocational training teachers, adult educators and community development workers. The special contributions to the professional development of FDC teaching and technical staff, especially democratic leadership, will need to be not only preserved but perhaps extended alongside the training from the Morogoro VETA Centre.

5.11 What the VTC sector can offer: It was however also suggested to us that the VTC sector may have something to offer to the FDCs - apart from improved resources and staff training. "The VTCs can offer the FDCs *creativity* which FDCs seem to lack".

And VETA felt that in both sectors, the FDCs and the VTCs, *critical thinking* was missing. An increase in this during the training would be beneficial to all training institutions.

6. POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS

In looking for potential areas of growth, it is important that innovations should not be parachuted in from outside but grow naturally from internal developments. Equally, innovations should be given time to take hold and mature.
Among those listed (which are not all appropriate in all contexts owing to the location of some FDCs) are the encouragement of principals to ***innovate*** *(but that will mean reducing the high turnover rate and short-term tenure of that office); working with* ***other agencies*** *(many agencies said they would like to work with the FDCs, especially in implementing the SDGs); developing* ***bridge courses*** *for less well qualified students; widening the* ***range of skills*** *being taught, especially digital technology skills; working with* ***local commercial and industrial concerns****; using their* ***sites*** *more productively; increasing their* ***community engagement activities,*** *such as* ***kindergarten****, using their* ***library*** *facilities for adult literacy and other community purposes in appropriate contexts, and providing increased access to some measures of* ***health*** *care to local residents; increasing their* ***tracer studies*** *of past graduates through the use of* ***social media****.*
In all of this, ***KTA*** *will play a large part; KTA has much potential to affect the development of the FDC sector as a whole.*
To do any of these will require that the ***uncertainties*** *which have played such a large part in the history of the FDCs be removed.*

Among the recommendations for immediate action are the following:

- *a workshop on the Sustainable Development Goals and new partnerships for the FDCs;*
- *a workshop on new digital technologies as applied to SMEs and therefore to training for SMEs;*
- *and discussions among the FDCs on the greater uses of the assets of the FDCs, especially their sites.*

.
We were asked to comment on the potentialities of the FDCs as we saw them.

6.1 Conditions for growth:

a) *Participatory planning***:** It is surely important that such developments are created locally in a participatory way, and that they should build on already existing activities rather than new activities be 'parachuted in' from the outside. Therefore this section, like the preceding section, should be written by the FDCs themselves. We would like to stress that some FDCs are already trying to implement some of these potential developments within the limits of their resources: not everything in this list is new to the FDCs.

We tried to explore local development aspirations of the FDCs, should the MEST-DVT continue to encourage the freedom of the FDCs to innovate and find resources. We note that innovations require time to embed themselves in their institutions; the demand for quick results (digging up the plant to see how its roots are developing) will result in the death of the new plant.

It was not the intention of this report to make recommendations but at the request of others, we have risked making some recommendations for immediate action.

b) *Framing the future***:** It is important that future developments should represent all three parts of the FDCs' identity - as vocational training institutions, as liberal adult education providers and above all, as development organisations committed to social change. The danger of the liberal adult lifelong learning dimensions and the radical socially transformative development dimensions being lost within purely vocational training institutions appears to be very real. The balance needs to be maintained in all future developments.

c) *Local development plans:* We asked about the FDCs plans for future developments. We found considerable desire for growth and expansion. "In five years to come, we see this FDC growing." "My plan is to find means to build an administrative block. We also have very few classrooms. I want if possible every trade should have its building. Currently they use shared classes. We need about 14 classes." "We would like VC [Vocational Certificate] level 3 - we have applied to VETA, but we would need teachers and tools." "I would like to have one big project".

d) *Principals***:** It was agreed that, apart from resources, the principals are key to expansion: "Much depends on the spirit of entrepreneurship of the principals", supported by their board. But we are also aware of two things: first, that the long-term lack of resources has reduced the willingness and indeed the ability of many FDCs to innovate and experiment; but secondly (and alternatively) there is much going on, often in hidden ways, in many of the FDCs - local initiatives, only a few of which we heard about. However, frequent and short-term turnover of principals does not encourage innovativeness among the principals. Like innovations, principals need time to develop initiatives. We heard of at least one Swedish FHS partner which had abandoned its links because "the principal changed twice in a very short time".

It has been pointed out by many, especially since the TANDEM Project, that the principals need to continue to work collectively with their staff in democratic leadership; many are - and new principals as they are appointed may need help with this.

6.2 The Sustainable Development Goals:

Internationally, the most important change which can and should affect the FDCs in Tanzania is the adoption in 2015 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The key feature of these 17 goals is to try to achieve integrated development rather than separate sectoral development - and this calls for partnerships in which educational institutions like the FDCs will be involved. The future work of the FDCs, whether vocational training, community development or adult liberal education, will inevitably be seen in the context of their contribution to the SDGs.

We cannot stress enough the importance of the SDGs for the future of all adult learning in Tanzania (including vocational training).

a) The SDGs include adult learning objectives in every one of the 17 Goals, and they therefore call for genuine partnerships between development agencies and adult education institutions like the FDCs[23]. The FDCs are already contributing to the *gender* goal (women's football; Mama programme) and to the *health* goals (Fema groups and short courses on health and food practices). More such partnerships will greatly add the FDC contribution to the SDGs in Tanzania. For example, closer links with health extension agencies to provide health information to local communities, especially nutrition in which (through their cookery teaching) some of the FDCs are already strong[24] would be one such partnership.

We urge that a workshop should be held for all FDC principals and senior staff on the SDGs and the FDCs.

b) *Partnerships:* SOGA (see 3.4 p35 above) is an example of the way in which some FDCs can benefit from working with other agencies. Already a good deal of co-operative work is undertaken by some FDCs with programmes such as the YEE Plan, but more could be done; the potential for further development is enormous. In this short visit, we found several organisations who said they would be keen to work with the FDCs, seeing such a network of institutions, located often in unexpected places, as a potential base for some of their activities. VSO, for example, with its EEVT programme said that "the role of VSO is to add capacity to the centres" they work with. The land available to some FDCs suggests profitable links could be strengthened with the agricultural extension services and with agro-forestry; it was suggested that the Aga Khan programme of agricultural development could be drawn upon "to get more information on projects". We note two micro-finance programmes, *Uhiki* (Allen 2008) and Vicoba (Vicoba 2008; Lema 2011; Lado Haule 2015), one of which has been working in Njombe town - programmes which if linked to the FDCs might help to open access to some finance for graduates from the FDCs. There will be others.

6.3 *Bridge courses:* We noted the concern of the FDCs for students who do not possess the required qualifications to enter post-school education at any level. There appears to be no bridge course at present in the FDCs: "No, currently we don't have any. But we are taking this suggestion as something we can start doing." VETA pointed out that "throughout the country there are qualifying examination centres which prepare them [less-well qualified students] for secondary education examinations. If they obtain three credit passes, they qualify to enter VETA." And we learned how "currently, in Lindi, VSO helps students to strengthen foundation skills before they join VETA. They inform students on different pathways. They focus on primary and secondary education students, informing them on what opportunities are there. They teach entrepreneurial skills." They identified a gap in the use of English language in learning. "The FDCs teach English as a subject, although the instruction

[23] In 2016, Uppingham Seminars held an international workshop on the adult learning dimensions of the SDGs - the report of that is on the Uppingham Seminars website http://uppinghamseminars.co.uk/page3.htm

[24] See for example, Government of *Tanzania National Nutrition Social and Behavior Change Communication Strategy July 2013 – June 2018* available at https://scalingupnutrition.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/TANZANIA-NATIONAL-NUTRITION-SOCIAL-AND-BEHAVIOR-CHANGE-COMMUNICATION-STRATEGY-2013-latest-1.pdf

of most subjects is in Swahili" - English language tuition (perhaps on a part-time basis) could perhaps be expanded, especially using the community libraries. "The language problem is quite normal for many Tanzanian students. … with the SOGA project, we want to develop a capacity building for language." Providing similar bridge courses may be one way the FDCs could use their existing staff and resources to diversify their teaching-learning programmes.

6.4 *Expanding the skills programme:* Given the potential of upgraded buildings and equipment, it should be possible for some of the FDCs to widen the range of skill development programmes they offer, particularly to their immediate locality (we heard of demand for hair-dressing and beautician training and carpet-weaving, for example). Work-related training with existing workers, re-skilling some of them, working with small employers as well as employees and the unemployed, working with trade unions through short courses, workshops, etc could all form part of a flexible programme of skills development. The FDCs may be better placed than the VTCs to engage in this wider agenda of skills training, continuing and lifelong education. "Both FDCs and VETA are training people before work and those who are already working. If you are employed, or you have formal work or even if you are self-employed, you need up skilling. Normally that kind of training is done by short courses. Those mainly depend on who sponsors you."

Some FDCs already serve as study centres for VETA and the Open University; it was suggested to us that perhaps more could be made of this in some contexts where the FDC is accessible to the local population, especially as MOOCs (free Mass Open On-line Courses) spread. This will imply the possession and supervision of new technology but some FDCs are already building up such capacities.

6.5 *Linking with local industries* in some places where this is possible has already been proved to be effective in providing students with practical experience and can lead to apprenticeships and even employment. We know that some FDCs are already working with various local bodies to widen their contribution to local economic development. At one FDC, a discussion on how to relate to local livelihoods led to suggestions that "It [this FDC] can be used for upgrading community skills. I can't see any other institution which can do this job better than the FDCs; for example, they can offer courses such as how to improve … packaging and marketing skills by offering evening courses, or (with other bodies) arranging for experts to come to talk about aspects of work. KTA could partner this." Another FDC said that "FDCs can work with other organisations and institutions in the community to offer marketing courses. They can also work with Cooperative Unions and Farmers Associations."

6.6 *Developing and utilising the FDC sites:* We were impressed with the under-developed potential for the exploitation of the valuable sites which many FDCs occupy. Only some were used to grow crops for use or sale - in particular, trees were rarely seen as profitable for fruit or timber. We appreciate that lack of water is sometimes a problem but again the lack of rain catch-water systems can be very easily remedied using FDC staff and students and equipment[25]. We heard about one

[25] In our visits more than twenty years ago, underground rainwater catchment systems were talked about but rarely seem to have been implemented since then.

(unspecified) tree nursery scheme, but more generally forestry issues could perhaps be developed by linking up with other agencies.

We urge that a meeting of all FDCs be held to explore ways in which the assets (including the sites) of each FDC can best be exploited

6.7 *Community engagement* : There are many ways in which the FDCs can increase their community engagement with very little in the way of financial resources. For example:
a) *Kindergarten:* We noticed the existence of pre-school groups in some FDCs where it is appropriate, but that some of these are "not open for others from outside." We did not see any reason why such provision could not be expanded where it is possible for members of the local community to get to the FDC.
b) *Libraries, literacy learning and cultural development:* Some FDCs have good library facilities - but we did not find any which had offered such centres to the adult literacy agencies for running initial basic education and post-literacy classes. This again will not be appropriate for all FDCs but to those where local residents can attend the FDC easily, it seems an obvious and very cost-effective programme. Many FDCs encourage local use of these resources but more innovative ways can be found to increase this use, including cultural events.

We recommend an approach to ICBAE to locate some adult literacy learning groups in FDC libraries where appropriate.

6.8 *New technologies:* The FDCs have begun to use new technologies despite challenges of electricity supply, poor and spasmodic signals and difficulties of maintaining the equipment, but more could be done. For example:
a) *Tracer studies through social media***:** Since the students now come from all over the country rather than locally, it is harder to keep track of them once they have graduated; but there are good reasons to try to keep in touch with past students (to assess the effectiveness of the training; to encourage them to recruit new students; to learn from them for curriculum development, etc). Employing social media (Twitter and Facebook etc) which some FDCs[26] are already using and which most young people now use, may help the colleges to keep in touch.
b) *The uses of new technologies in skills development and industries*: There is already a growing awareness in the FDCs of the important roles which new technologies play (especially mobile phones which most FDC students have) in skills development and in the industries into which many of the FDC graduates will go. But this is a fast moving scene, and the FDCs urgently need to catch up, not just in terms of the acquisition, maintenance and use of digital equipment but in terms of the application of these technologies to the skills areas they are teaching. There is a very extensive literature on the uses of digital technologies in Africa, especially mobile phones, for both communication and small enterprise activities - too large to be listed here; the FDCs need to be acquainted with some of this literature, as much of it relates to the informal economy. The work of Dr Tom Molony, for example, on the application of new technologies to several industries and economic spheres in Tanzania (e.g. Molony 2005, 2008), especially the informal construction industry, is highly relevant to the training which the FDCs (and the VTCs) are giving. Here is a major field where

[26] Handeni FDC for example

some specific training of FDC staff can be given immediately which will impact directly on their training programmes. The existing literature needs to be made available to the FDCs.

A small working party of staff from some FDCs might be the best way to explore the literature on the uses of ICT in local industries - working mainly by internet communications and an occasional meeting with a report (or series of reports)to go to all FDCs.

6.9 *KTA:* KTA could probably help with this ambitious programme. It is through KTA that the innovatory and experimental work going on in several of the FDCs has been and can still be promulgated to all FDCs. It would seem that KTA is the key to the growth of the FDC sector as it has been to the survival of the colleges as a system. It can be the partner of the Ministry in promoting the work of the FDCs.

As a critical friend, we would wish to say that KTA (like the FDCs themselves) have not been good at writing up their work, even when they have major successes. Detailed reports and evaluations of their work are missing, and their contribution to the literature on adult and vocational education in Tanzania is notable - by its absence; unlike the FHSs in Sweden who are prolific writers. This can and should be addressed.

Writing critical reports of activities is not time taken from activities themselves; they often lead to further possibilities and are essential for growth and progress.

6.10 *Removal of uncertainty*: Several FDCs urged what must be the minimal requirement for the full utilisation of the FDCs - the removal of uncertainty. "What will be required will be to put clearly what the FDCs will be doing." The biggest problem the colleges face are "future uncertainties about the FDCs …; you don't want to invest while you are not sure of your survival."

a) *Government support:* Our discussions both in Tanzania and since encourage us to believe that the Ministry of Education with the assistance of VETA will adopt:

i. *a TVET policy* to rehabilitate and expand the infrastructure, programmes and enrolments for the existing TVET and with this the FDC institutions, both of which they feel are currently underutilized - introducing more flexible programmes (including evening courses) to allow for multiple entries/exits, promoting the enrolment of students with disabilities and providing preferential support to disadvantaged students (including accommodation), scaling up the application of Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) to new entrants (but see caveat about this above 5.9b pp. 61); the current ESDP is encouraging in this respect
ii. *for the FDCs specifically,* a policy to expand access to Folk Education and vocational education and training of students enrolled on a non-selective basis, and to rehabilitate and expand the FDC infrastructure, and equip and furnish them with adequate teaching and learning materials. Such an ambitious policy will require considerable resources but the recognition of their (national and local) value will encourage government to develop the FDCs *on the basis of what already exists rather than convert them into something different.* 'Development' means building on indigenous foundations, not importing new constructions; growth springs from the

existing growth; all learning builds on prior learning. The FDCs are ready for their next phase of development, but it must strengthen what exists rather than change them into something they are not.

b) *FDC growth and development*: Equally, our discussions both in Tanzania and since encourage us to believe that the FDCs with the assistance of KTA, coming in from their isolation, could adopt:
i) a wider approach to their local development role based on the SDGs - we hope the FDC principals and staff will embrace these Goals as the charter for their future work, including new partnerships
b) an understanding of wider developments in adult education, skills development and enterprise (especially the role of new technologies in relation to these) and the implications of these for their training programmes
c) a wider use of their assets, especially their sites and libraries, for (for example) community learning

We see the FDCs as *learning institutions* as well teaching institutions - that is essential to ensure their survival and positive contribution to Tanzania's national well-being for the next twenty or more years.

CONCLUSION

The FDCs have huge national potential so long as new developments build on the foundations laid forty years ago, and preserved and nurtured over many years at great cost by agencies in Tanzania and outside, and so long as this heritage is not rejected in the search for more instrumentalist approaches to vocational training. Not only the Swedish and other international agencies who built up the system and supported it for so many years, but more importantly the many individual FDC staff (and students) who worked hard and persistently, who suffered from lack of support for a long time, deserve to see the FDCs retaining and enhancing their distinctive contribution to Tanzanian development, economic, social and cultural. The danger is that, in becoming vocational training institutions, the other elements of the FDCs, personal fulfilment liberal adult education and radical social transformative development, will be sacrificed.

It is to be hoped that the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology Directorate for Vocational Training will find ways to enable all of the FDCs to continue to exercise the freedom to develop their localised programmes and to raise resources for innovatory activities as they have in the past, not just to retain what has been done but to enable them to grow and develop, to make a wider and more productive contribution to the national Sustainable Development Goals.

As one correspondent wrote,

> "Through the FDCs, Tanzania is one of very few countries that have a national infrastructure with government support for adult education that is not only vocational but also promoting active citizenship in a broad sense. This infrastructure has the potential to be an important tool for many of the challenges in the Tanzanian society, poverty reduction, job creation, gender equality, community development, to mention a few. To my understanding, KTA plays a crucial role in this and has managed to develop strategies that are making the FDCs relevant to many different partners."

We hope for a new genuine partnership between the Ministry/VETA and the FDCs (including KTA) leading to a significant contribution of the scattered FDCs throughout Tanzania to national economic and social development and adult lifelong learning.

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APPENDIX: ITINERARY

Itinerary:

Monday 13th February:
depart from UK
Tuesday 14th February;
arrived in Tanzania; meetings with Dr Mpoki Mwaikokesya and Maggid Mjengwa
Wednesday 15th:
VSO
Open University of Tanzania
I gave a presentation at the Department of Adult Education and Community Development, University of Dar es Salaam and met staff and others at that meeting
Thursday 16th:
Ministry of Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children
Swedish Embassy
Institute of Adult Education
Friday 17th:
Visit to Kibaha FDC and Kisaware FDC
Saturday 18th:
meeting with Mpoki and Maggid to review progress and plan the second week
writing notes
Visits to the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology and to VETA, planned for this week, did not take place owing to the disruption caused by the decision to move the government offices to Dodoma. These visits were re-arranged for after our visit to the south.
Sunday 19th:
flight to Iringa; meeting at KTA offices
Monday 20th:
drive to Njombe; visit to FDC
Tuesday 21st:
Ulembwe FDC
visit to Lunguya Vocational Training Centre on drive back to Iringa
Wednesday 22nd:
visit to Neema workshops, Iringa
Ilula FDC
visit to Mikumi VTC on drive to Morogoro
Thursday 23rd:
Bigwa FDC
Morogoro Vocational Teachers Training College
drive back to Dar es Salaam
Friday 24th:
Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Director of Vocational Education
Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA)
meeting with Maggid who was unable to be with us during this day's meetings
Saturday 25th:
depart Dar es Salaam
Sunday 26th:
arrive in UK

A debriefing session was held by skype with the Swedish embassy on Thursday 2nd March.

A follow up **visit to Sweden** took place in April 2017.
19 April: meeting at Linkoping University with representatives of the University, KSA, Farnebo and other interested parties
20 April visit to Valla FHS
21 April meetings with staff of Sida and with staff of FOLAC