



# A Comparative Analysis of Policy Processes in Education amongst Selected Political Parties in Tanzania

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**Abstract:** *The study focused on the educational policy process in the Tanzanian Political Parties. The area of interest was the manifesto and policy establishing processes with a special focus on issues in education. The theoretical framework guiding this study was built by two theories; decision making theory on one hand and the stakeholder theory on the other. The study was qualitative. Targeting quality and contents of education policies on one hand and the interface to or the use of research-based information as an input in decision making on the other, the study aimed at exploring different methods used by the political parties in terms of their committees and/ or individual leaders in these political parties, to acquire information for the policy setting. From the selected political parties, interviews were conducted with members and individuals responsible for policy formulation and education planning. Members from research communities were also interviewed to triangulate and supplement the gathered information. This helped to establish the general trend on research utilization, as reflected in political decision systems and well knowledgeable groups in Tanzania. The study, therefore, was limited to structured and semi-structured interviews, discussions based on checklists and documentary analysis. From the study, it was evident that, first, at political parties' level, education policy processes do not exist as a distinct policy process rather as a comprehensive part of the social policy process. Secondly, policy process at political party level, much as it is a precursor to national policy process, it essentially ends with a policy agenda setting, influenced, mainly by the popular issue with a limited room for research influences.*

**Keywords:** *Education policy, Education planning, Policy reform, Policy planning, Policy research*

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## 1. Introduction

Over the decades, poor information exchange between researchers on one side and policy and decision makers on the other has been widely reported. Smith, 1994 and Edwards, 2019 had a concern on how policy makers consult researchers to enrich the planning process. Schneider (2019); Saguin (2019) had made a similar point in the context of Tanzania in two dimensions. The

first dimension builds on the concept that researchers, by design or default, limit information sharing amongst themselves, leaving so little for non-academic consumption. This problem is supported by the fact that the audience for the academic driven research is the fellow academicians and more often than not specialists in the subject area while planning is broader. This phenomenon has affected all sectors and the field of studies, and education sector is no exception. The second

dimension is the demand and consideration of research-based information for planning and decision-making purposes. According to Schneider (2019), planning units at ministerial levels, for instance, do not aim at facing the research specialized institution to inform the planning process. The least they may opt is to use in-house or commissioned research to gain an understanding of the subject matter in a course of planning.

The two dimensions are actually pulling the research communities and decision cum planning authorities wider and wider apart. As a result of this widening gap between the two groups, sectors, be it agriculture, health, industry. etc., perform unavoidably poor. A look at the education sector, in this context, indicates a range of changes over time. The major changes that cannot go unnoticed, or fairly considered as landmarks in education sector development include, but not limited to; formulation of the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) policy in 1967; Introduction of the National Education Act no. 25 in 1978; which was later amended into the Education and Training Policy in 1995; Education Sector Development Program that is split into Primary and Secondary Education development plans (Nyerere, 1967; URT, 2000; 2001). These changes and many others are, mostly, corrective measures that aim at bringing the policy issues in focus following mistakes that had happened previously. There is one major way to explain these mistakes and that is: policy and/or decision making is not well informed, which means the research process for a long time has been side-lined.

It is understood that decision and policy making in Tanzania, as it could be in other countries, is driven by political communities, political parties if you like. This means that, to fairly understand why research consumption is the level it is at the moment, one needs to understand the chemistry behind policy planning and decision making in political parties. It is expected that political party association to research based information will likely be reflected in policy and decision making. The general focus of the article is to explore the position of research in policy and decision making in political systems in Tanzania. Political Parties are viewed as the driving force of decision making in Tanzania, just like any other state where political parties are the custodians of the power forming authorities. The central question in this article is understanding the position of research-based information in policy processes, educational policy planning and decision making within the existing political system.

## 2. Literature Review

This section addresses issues related text to the theme in focus as shared by other scholars. The section is divided into three parts labelled 2.1.0; 2.2.0 and 2.3.0 covering

education planning in Tanzania; Knowledge Production, and Policy Spaces, respectively.

### 2.1 Educational planning in Tanzania: Planning Models and Uses

Establishment of the African rule after independence in 1961 came with the strengthening of the policy planning units. In relation to educational objectives in the independent Tanganyika, educational policy was part of the emphasis. The successors, just like their predecessors, had education as their concern in the creation of a nationalistic leadership that could, not only replace the departing foreigners but also participate fully in transforming Tanzania (Tanganyika at that time) into a modern African society (Samoff, Stein, & Campbell, 2019). In 1965, with the single party system, the planning had to be more centralized and controlled entirely by the ruling party, the Tanganyika African National Union-TANU (ibid.). After the Arusha Declaration in 1967, Tanzania became a socialistic state with a focus on streamlined education system and equal opportunities for all. As a socialistic state, Tanzania had a centralized governing system (Nyerere, 1967; Samoff, et al., 2019). This was for both decision making and planning; and the provision of social services, which includes the provision of education.

Every planning has a central point at the national level: National Political level is, therefore, the main and active role player in planning and decision-making. According to the classification on planning models as presented by Smith (1994) in 'Evaluation: Models and Approaches' the Tanzania's model of planning is classified as Political-Central model as opposed to professional and local oriented. Farrell (1994) would classify it as top-down, and Tjeldvoll (1995) could name it as normative. Under the African socialistic system, Ujamaa, literary meaning 'family-hood' the government has been planning centrally, campaigning for the program to let the civil society understand the plan, implementation process and the leaps on the plan made. This used to be done prior to implementation, making people feel they are part of a planning process in a decision making (Carnoy and Samoff, 1990; Nyerere, 1967). This explains the success behind the plans in the late 1960's up to mid-1970 programs for example, the literacy campaign that placed Tanzania as one of the top conquerors of the illiteracy in the developing countries (Samoff, *et al.*, 2019).

Like planning, for it to be credible, educational decision making has to take a route that can be symbolized, as input- implementation- output- Outcome. Just like Lundgren (1990), Farrell (1994) puts this identification of a social phenomenon as: policy problem, raising problem high enough on a political agenda, identification

and evaluation of a range of possible solutions, selection of one sound solution (the policy), implementation and lastly evaluation or feedback into the cycle wherever appropriate. This cycle may as well be summarized in the form of set agendas, policy formulation, policy adoption, implementation, evaluation of new agendas. From these stages in educational decision making, though uniform as they seem to be in the stages, the difference is strongly manifested in who has an active role to play and when in the course of planning and decision making. With the change in a political system to free economy system on one hand and significant forces of the global economy (i.e. globalisation) on the other, decentralization is left as the only option out (Carnoy, 1999; Lexow.*et al*, 2002). The decentralization did not spare educational planning and decision-making. As the provision of education and authority on it has been moving from state level to relatively low level, so it is for the planning. However, the process of planning and decentralised decision-making, for the majority of Tanzanians is a new experience, in which they seem, un-prepared for (Lexow.*et.al*.2002; Malekela, 1998; Lundgren, 1990). The swaying of the state is accounted by economic reforms driven by the west as response to 1980s economic crisis for an improved state operational costs. The reforms in developing countries, Tanzania included had these reforms coined as the ESAP-Economic Structural Adjustment Programme imposed, which dictates the cutting of the state running costs (Daun, 2002). It is the social services that faced the brutal consequences in this respect, mainly, educational and health sectors (Brock-tune, 2000).

## 2.2 Knowledge production and Sharing

With the role of research as offering details that are needed to set the ground for decision-making, one can ask the context of the flow of information from the educational researchers to educate decision makers in Tanzania. This can be used to mark two important ends in the system; one end is on how the research findings are processed and delivered as output while the other one is how the research-based information is accessed as decision making input. On the other angle, this can be understood by looking at how the decision and policy makers work out to get the results in their hands, as planning inputs. And this brings about the whole question of information flow in the form of educational problems and the corresponding researched results between the two terminals. The two terminals may even be considered to represent the academicians as researchers and the planners as politicians (Smith, 1994).

The global trend toward the production of knowledge, is aiming at responding not only fast to policy problem but also accurately and appropriately. For this to work

efficiently, the link between the universities as research centers and the policy making authorities within a nation state cannot be overemphasized. Research institutions, mainly the universities, are responsible for the production of new knowledge. The knowledge so produced need to be synthesized in the most practical and meaningful form before it is forwarded to policy authorities at hand in the national interests. The debate, however, is how best this can be done. Workshops, seminars, conferences and different projects all over the world have been established to give thorough consideration of this linking problem, especially, between policy authorities and the researchers. It is therefore necessary to take a look now than later, in Tanzania so as to understand the nature of information flow, its efficiency and use of research results to correct past and present mistakes that have been done by both the politicians and researchers, not only in education but also in entire linking of the politics and academics. It's also very important to look at communication, between the two parts as one can take it as a reflection on the efficient education management, a necessary input in the moulding the economic development engine.

## 2.3 Policy space: A Place for Policy Dialogue

It is argued that in Tanzania, like in many other countries, a policy space is increasingly marked since late 1990s, following establishment of policy dialogue format that is in one way or the other endorsed at international level. This is associated with the introduction of the International Financial Institutions, notably the IMF, Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PSRPs) (Wangwe, 2004). The consultation phase, which is supposed to be rigorously handled, in PSRPs is associated with policy space creation. It is this phase which involves reliable information gathering, had highlighted a research demand in policy processes. As a response to this research tasks that used to simply be categorized as basic and applied research are increasing characterized by the commissioned research across. It as well follows that individuals, singly or as a group are given research like tasks in line with commission research, referred to as consultancies (Warira, Mueni, Gay & Lee, 2017). This phenomenon has forced two scenarios in policy/ decision making processes and research institutions. On policy processes, research/ information gathering is critical phase of informed decision, especially in new policy frontiers. On the other hand, Client oriented research approach is being institutionalized into traditional research institutions.

A sudden shift of research towards client-oriented research towards policy processes is emerging in the wake of a contradicting concern between researchers and policy/ decision makers. While researchers argue that

research findings are hardly considered in policy making process, policy makers assert that research does not address real problems that affect people on the ground (Saxiana, 2005). It is interesting to explore opportunities for policy – research linkage on one hand and structural re-organization that supports traditional parallel systems (of researchers and policy makers) to suddenly form what is seen as an alliance.

### 3. Methodology

This study aims at explaining the institutional operation, based on existing culture and practices in the society. The cultural relation between institutions in a society was analysed through selected actors, in this case the civil society organizations representing a common man out decision making and the political policy-decision making system represented by political parties. For the purpose of this study, grounded theory was applied to govern the methodological aspects of the study. Glaser and Strauss developed the interpretive theory and this theory said to be useful in studies involving analytical observations, formal and informal interviews. From the choice of the grounded theory, it follows that the study was qualitatively designed (Belgrave & Seide, 2019; Clarke, 2019; Sebastian, 2019; Bakker, 2019). It was therefore, centred on the researcher themselves, for gathering of information, in a course of research.

The study employed two methods namely interviews (conversations with purpose) which were organized for Actors in policy mechanisms, mainly those involved in preparation and operationalization of policy packages, in terms of constitutions, manifesto, party philosophy (Clarke, 2019 & Bakker, 2019). The study took advantage of 2005, 2010, 2015 and 2020 general election settings in a country where participation at the presidential race level, was taken as the main criteria for a political party to be involved in this study. For this matter CCM, CHADEMA, CUF, NCCR- MAGEUZI and TLP were selected as the participants were identified to representing political parties<sup>1</sup>. Most important is the fact that the winning party would then have the opportunity to operationalize its manifesto as a national policy orientation, take it or leave it. In these parties interviews involved officers from General Secretary Office, selected Members of National Executive Councils and/or the party publicity or Public relation officers. The selection of these individuals as participants of this study aimed to capture experiences in policy making in political parties in focus. This scenario was meant to capture understanding on how policy settings operate from party

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<sup>1</sup> In 2015 UKAWA was an operational label carried by CHADEMA representing an informal coalition which brought CUF, NLD and CHADEMA under one group.

level to national level, with a focus on information search for policy purposes. It is this search for information that brings research activities in a picture. Another group of participants was Key informants; these were retired or past actors in political parts, scholars from research communities as well as members of civil societies. The informants were important for complementarity of the collected information and triangulation purpose. Document analysis<sup>2</sup> was done as it involved policies and guidelines at party level. Data collected through both interviews and documents, were synthesized into themes and discourses to allow a content analysis (Belgrave & Seide, 2019)

### 4. Results and Discussion

This part of the paper organises issues that emerged from the discussion prepared as either as interviews or checklist-based discussions. The discussions were, then, consolidated to form four thematic areas. The themes were categorised as organs for policy making; source of policy information; policy issues; policy output or policy form.

#### 4.1 Policy processes: Party point of view

The discussions were held with members of political parties, featured as current leaders and or key informants based on their experience as participants in party policy making. Parties were selected based on their participation in General Elections in Tanzania, with a special interest on the Presidential race. One reason stood behind this decision, is the fact that, the candidate winning the presidential race, would have their manifestoes as guiding policy for the nation to follow. The five political parties namely CCM, CUF, NCCR- Mageuzi, TLP and CHADEMA presented a description of policy processes from the party's point of view. Though it was made clear that the project had intended to understand the details on education policy processes, it became apparent that all social policies undergo the same process and at times the policies are comprehensively taken together. The parties' description of policy processes indicated similar party mechanisms with a few noticeable differences. With interest on the similarities, it was noted that all parties have policy cycle initiated by the Secretary General's office or an equivalent capacity. It was easy to note that as all parties have maintained the party leadership structure that was headed by the Chairperson at national

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<sup>2</sup> Policy Documents are not featuring in a list of references for uniformity as not all political parties had their documents fitting into the academic parameters of references

level, supported by the Secretary General as an executive officer overseeing party day to day operations. The Secretary General, according to these descriptions, oversees the activities of the Executive Committee.

The policy processes are therefore initiated and governed by the Secretary General of the party, where a team works on the policy issue to form a policy proposal, which is then submitted to the Executive Committee for scrutiny prior to approval by the General Meeting. The two parties had displayed a difference as issues are brought forward by heads of departments or sections at national level, repackaged into specific policies. The executive committee then works on the comprehensive policy package and like in all other parties, upon approval by the committee, forwards the document to General Meeting for final scrutiny and endorsement. This description matches explanation put forward by Samoff (2018) on the structure of political parties in Tanzania. It's worth noting that of these two parties, one had a mechanism extension that involves public engagement, in terms of debate, for critical analysis of the issue in question prior to setting the policy proposal on the same. The aim is to solicit a second opinion on the matter from the party outsiders.

As different as they seemed to be, all parties had policies originating from individuals. These ideas, as policy issues leading into policy documents, are prepared as draft materials proposed into the framework through the party and finally confirmed as policy documents by higher organs in the party. This organ, which is referred here as an, Annual General Meeting, is labelled by political parties differently though the mechanism and operational principals are the same. For instance, the meeting is chaired by the national leader of the party coupled by the executive officer labelled Secretary General of the party. This explained one fact for sure that all parties have a similar organizational structure, which runs from ten cells (hamlets), village, through districts and regions, to the national level. Arguably, these similarities could be as a result of limited experiences of political institutional governance and/ or the remanencies of dominant mono-party system for decades to 1992 when multi-partism was introduced (Mann, 2017 & Schneider, 2018).

It all sums up to two mechanisms as featured in social issues and in the policy documents. These mechanisms are presented, according to Chilshom, 1998, as the policy formulation in one hand and policy development on the other. There are disagreements between scholars as to what policy formulation is and is not (Adams, 2006; Chilsom, 1998); Lundgren, 1990; Mosha, 2006; Packalen, 2007; and Tjeldvoll, 1995), more interest, in the context of this paper, builds on the policy development aspects rather than policy formulation. Contrary to the premises created by this article, in which policy process interest was focused on education sector,

it was evident from the political parties that policy processes dealt with broader social issues in a comprehensive manner as opposed to sectorized notion. Education policy issues have been addressed more or less under social development issues, more specifically, under the social services policy line in most cases with water and health sectors.

## **4.2 Acquisition of information for policy purposes**

Political Parties have been using a range of approaches to search information for policy purposes. One approach, notable in all parties, is experiences of individual in political parties and more so from members of a delegated group, policy task force or department/ directorate member in policy processes. This is mentioned as an important element that determines both the quality and quantity of information. This experience is argued to be as a result of education level and specialization. It is pointed out that the higher the education, the better though higher education does not necessarily mean better policy inputs. On specialization on subject matters of policy interests, it was mentioned that professionalism and competence were the key elements for individual participation in a policy process. In the context of this study, good knowledge in education issues as well as experience in education and / social policies was viewed policy capital for quality policy output. The challenge, notably, had always been to balance party support in terms of membership and experiences needed for the specific policy setting. Political parties, therefore, are interested in capturing members from different walks of life to have all expertise and experiences within the party settings (Lee, Ocepek, & Makri, 2022 and König, & Lin, 2021).

The second approach is to gather information from the general public, this approach is in line with Bischof (2018) work in Western Europe politics. This is the public opinion-based information search for policy packaging. The public opinion approach highlights issues that the public considers important and more often politically sensitive. There are several links to the public opinion for policy purposes. One link is public meetings and / or rallies. These events involve questions and discussion as raised by the public at the meeting, more often than not the issues in these events are determined based on existing political waves. Another link in this approach is opinion from the civil society organizations. These groups are organized as either advocacy agencies of issues in question or lobbyists aiming at manipulating the policy direction in their interests. As advocates,

issues are displayed for everyone to see and inform the policy makers and stakeholders, political parties being part of them. While as lobbyists, civil society organizations take a step further towards the policy shaping to as close as moulding the policy statements. Fourth link is media where issues are reported and shared across the country and beyond. Media has influence in shaping the topical issues and perceptions, political parties are as well influenced and hence capture a number of issues into policies as media serves as a quick window into the society (Bischof, 2018; Williamson & Magaloni, 2020).

The third approach for policy information search and policy issues identification is opinion poll and surveys. Lee, Oceppek & Makri (2022) describes opinion polls as simple research tools that are prepared to gauge the direction and or trend of a specific issue, the approach was visible in two parties participating in the study. It also measures the public opinion and position on the matter. While the policy to be shaped rests on the mandate of the part, poll or survey taken may be handled by the party itself or commissioned to another body. It as well happens that parties taking advantage of opinion polls and/or survey conducted by other bodies not linked anyhow to the party as long as the discussions on that poll are in a direction accepted by the party. At least from the parties' point of view, opinion polls are based on a simple tool administered to a targeted population section followed by a data analysis. More often than not this analysis aims more on direction than the magnitude of the issues. The survey, on the other hand, may involve an administration of a tool to a relatively smaller population with intentions to capture detailed information on a range of issues. By Implication, surveys will arguably require higher research skills from tool designing, administering analysis and report writing. In this case, political parties, which happen to opposition parties, either use their available professionals from within the party or hire researchers on commission basis.

### **4.3 Use of research-based information: A policy position**

Policy documents, as mentioned before, have carried policy issues on implicit basis. This is also reflected on the information search mechanism for policy purposes, in which research is not mentioned to be a primary source of information rather a support towards a decision that a party has decided to pursue. Two parties however have indicated a significant use of research for policy purposes or as part of policy processes. One party, out of two five major groups under this study, has indicated a use of compressive questionnaires on social issues that is given

to a sample cross-section of a Tanzanian population to understand the state and extent of social problems prior to determining the policy stand, directions and eventually the magnitude. The second party, to explicitly bring out the role of research in a policy process, has indicated a continuous support of research on a policy process.

This support is mentioned to be applied in the course of preparation of public presentation papers, which are in essence research reports, for forums and presentation. Accordingly, papers with alternative views, even with opposing views, are also prepared and presented in the same forum to provoke discussions that would distil best analysis and opinion in a balanced manner as possible prior to preparation of final policy stand point and the final document. However, this case is not applied in every policy issue but in some and more issues that the party has not established a policy direction while the issue in question is attracting a lot of public interests.

### **4.4 Position of educational research in educational planning**

The article explores relations between research and policies. Two levels, were established, the first level was on process in both policy and research. At this level policy processes as information demanding activities. The target was to establish an understanding of the information search approach as employed by parties to strengthen the quality of the policy proposal. At the same time research as information analysis machinery was to be explored as how it is applied in policy settings for political parties to take it as a mechanism to improve the policy products. The second level of policy and research relations was evaluated based on the policy's acknowledgement and intentional promotion (if any) of the research. This is all about mapping of research in party policy documents. Three dimensions of the second level research map in political parties were noticed. Distinguishably, the three dimensions were seen to be housed in different political society as connoted by the political parties (Kyando, 2016).

All these dimensions, however, were notably listed under the political concerns under the science and the technology line of concerns. The first dimension, focused on R & D programs. This dimension seems to list resource allocation as the main limiting factor that hinders development of science and technology. It builds on the assertion that poverty in the southern hemisphere is a result of poor science and technology development. A solution package to this problem includes promotion of R and D institutions, especially its expansion. In this case, Nyumbu as an example of innovation center is focusing on promoting into R & D institutions. These efforts are also coupled with a target to increase funding allocation for research related activities to the level of 1% of GDP. This fund is expected to be channelled via

the Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). Still on innovation promoting efforts, this dimension underlines interest to promote patent registration, following innovation and prototype production (Kyando, 2016; Samoff, *et al.*, 2018). The second dimension, acknowledges the role that higher learning institutions have in promoting science and technology through training programs. These programs are considered as appropriate approach for transferring knowledge from one generation to the other, while giving a room for modification and updates on scientific advancement over time. Central to this dimension is expansion of science and technology at Institutions of higher education. It is assumed that promotion of research activities is implicitly captured in the expansion of science and technology programs (Kyando, 2016).

The third dimension in this line is centred on researchers. This dimension is built on the assumptions that the motivations and incentive for researchers to engage in research activities seem to be on the low. It is these elements (i.e. low motivation and incentives) that are accounts for limited engagement into research activities and hence limited research products. To tackle this part, the dimension is embarking into improving motivation and incentive packages to research activities (König & Lin, 2021). This measure is coupled by the intentions to ensure patent licensing and copyrights to support innovations. From these results, it was evident that level one research-policy relation as described earlier in this section, is largely missing across the parties, except for one party that mentioned a use of research to build an understanding on selected issues. This is followed, as a case determine, by scholarly organised dialogue for sharing an understanding. There was a mention on the questionnaire application as a tool to extract issues of public concern, by another party. Apart from these patches on analytical information for policy purposes, there were no evidences from the policy processes that research-based information is fed into the policy cycle to inform the policy decision making.

According to Adams (2006), Farrell (1994) and Tjeldvoll (1995) description of planning and policy making models, policy processes are informed by either political authorities, analytical / elite or even both. While the use of elite to drive the policy, direction does not guarantee the use of research-based information, it provides, however, a room and some degrees of consciousness towards analytical facts for better policy direction. This, however is possible provided that policy issues are drawn with limited politically motivated influences, without which, though is very difficult, even the political centred authorities would very much use the analytical skilled workforce to shape the policy direction and magnitude. Adams 2006 has classified these policy approach models as political and technicist. There are experiences of a combined influence on the policy direction from both the

political authorities and knowledge experts. According to Adams (2006), this combined model is referred to as a consensual model, which is said to have influence from the implementation class (the administrators) of the society.

## 4.5 Trends in research dissemination and use: Practices and Empirical Cases

Research use as a result of research dissemination in political parties was assessed in the context of the multiparty setting in Tanzania. This setting was re-installed in 1992 after a two-level mono-party rule between 1965 and 1992. Level one of the mono-party rule which was arguably pseudo-mono-party as the two parties were operating, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) and Afro Shirazi Party (ASP) in Tanzania Mainland (formerly Tanganyika) and Zanzibar (the isle party of Tanzania) respectively. The political practice was resolved by the union of the two parties into the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), literary translated as Revolutionary Party in 1977. From 1977 to 1992 CCM remained the sole political party until 1992. This is as well noted in reflected in Samoff (2018) , Mann(2017) and Schneider(2019).

It should be noted that Tanzania has experienced no other political party ruling other than Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) directly or indirectly, through the parent parties' ASP and TANU. For uniformity and consistence (Samoff, 2018), this study had looked at the policy documents based on the participation of political parties in the national level general elections. The focus was on the manifestos prepared to guide presidential campaign. This was based on the fact that according to the political setting currently in place, the party whose presidential candidate fetches more votes, its manifesto will form the policy base of operation for the next five years. Manifesto preparation processes reflect the policy processes in the party settings. The task force approach is seen to be dominant across political parties. In this approach, a team is appointed to prepare the policy documents. This appointment is built around the Secretary General's Office, directly or indirectly, through the Executive Committee at National level. Most of the visited parties displayed this phenomenon with a slight modification on the [Annual] General Meeting, which in most parties is seen as the highest decision-making organ. The modification was on either the Executive Committee working on the document constitutionally and present to the General Meeting for approval and/or endorsement or the General Meeting prepare logistical arrangements and instruct the Executive Committee to follow through. Research works seem to sporadically serve a supportive role in this approach. The trend

indicates commissioned studies and consultancies have worked to inform the policy processes at least used to support the direction of policy decisions.

## 4.6 Policy issues

In search for the contemporary policy issues in the party context, a range of issues were brought forward. As far as education sector is concerned, issues were mostly coming from basic education and secondary education as sub sectors. Issues of education in the policy documents were seen to fall into two categories. These are issues regarding quality of education while the second category constitutes issues under access and equity in education, as labels after synthesis. On the quality category, all policies have indicated limited satisfaction of the education provided. This is reflected in the policy expectations on the school leavers as education throughput. The quality concerns according to policies are meant to provide relevant skills to the learners. Limited review of colonial inherited education curricula is noted as a hindrance to today's relevance of education. This is attributed to differences in objectives and philosophy of education at colonial times against the today's fast changing socio-economic landscapes. Some policies stated a need to repackage the philosophy first then work on the relevant course content (curricula) in that line, followed by a close look on the examination and certification issues as a support to quality.

Other political parties have looked at the question of *learning in relation to local context*, calling for strengthening of the subject biases, mainly agriculture, technical and commerce subjects, in lower secondary schools from the functional literacy point of view. Functional literacy concepts, have raised interest on the learning processes in schools and hence a medium of instruction. With a target on secondary education and higher education, where medium of instruction is English, to the extreme one of the policy proposals aim at instituting Kiswahili as medium, the argument been the fact that so much is lost in translation leaving very little for meaningful learning. English, and in some proposal, French language too is said to be promoted as key foreign language essential for global citizenship. The other aspect of learning equation in schooling set up is resting on *teachers and the teaching profession*. The proposals aim at developing teachers academically and socio-economically, coupled with better remuneration as a way to raise the teaching morale which for a long time is considered to be low and decreasing as supported by Edwards (2018) and Samoff., *et al*, (2019). This low morale is making it difficult moral/ ethical issues to be maintained, hence a concern in reviewing of management of education.

*Access and equity* category of issues, addressed the

concerns that limit learners' participation in the Tanzanian schooling system. Policies had expansion of schooling spaces as a priority step for allowing an increased accommodation of learners to as low as pre-school level which for sometimes was considered informal and optional. This measure was presented around the educational infrastructure provision and development. These included the construction of classrooms, libraries, laboratories and supporting structures such as toilets, clean water and teachers' houses. Other policies have emphasized on renovation of existing dilapidated school building. This aims at increasing the places in schools with positive inclination towards accommodating historically alienated social groups on the basis of gender, ethnic group, physical limitations and mental disabilities. Lack of funding (underfunding) has been the main obstacle to solving these problems, prompting proposals to allocate more funding for education by both amount and proportions in budgetary terms. Complementary basic education (COBET) had featured as an issues reflecting a catch-up approach to limited access to compulsory schooling in the past. The missed opportunities in compulsory education brought age as a limiting factor in accessing education. The COBET, there is packed and compressed to impart primary education in less than scheduled seven years (Fute, *et al.*, 2019).

From the age of point of view COBET is an *adult education* package on its own right. COBET as adult education path, that policies intend to promote post primary schooling to the highest possible level, highlights policy concern for costly schooling. This includes expansion of Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET). The call for free education, which was addressed in the sector development plan it has been limiting its application to compulsory education, including COBET. A post COBET concern is associated with other policy proposals aiming at a comprehensive financial support for learners at universities and higher learning institutions, and also support learners in lower levels, especially the poor and orphans (i.e. the most vulnerable children/ learner). Policies have targeted at revisiting the operational principles of the Higher Education Students Loan Board (HESLB). Financial limitation to schooling is seen on the policies concern for costly schooling. This review is proposed to go hand in hand with the massification of higher education as a global agenda. Enhancing financial support is stated to ensure access in higher education regardless of classes, as the poor are seen to experience an increased pressure to access. The phenomenon is well captured in Clancy, & Goastellec (2007), Rolleston & Iyer (2019) and Fute, *et al.*, 2019, among others.

Contextualization and decontextualization of the school curricula were presented as a policy issue across the participating groups, with an emphasis on relevant life



skills. Though using different words, groups seemed to build their thinking and argumentations around Mwalimu J. K. Nyerere's education for self-reliance philosophy, which was pioneered as part of the Arusha Declaration in 1967. Education for self-reliance had a focus to make schooling linked to livelihood in Tanzania and especially rural area (Nyerere, 1967; Mann, 2017 & Schneider, 2019).

## 5. Conclusion and Recommendations

### 5.1 Conclusion

It is fair therefore to argue that policy process in the context of political parties, which includes the educational policy processes, starts with agenda setting within the political party and ends with political agenda presentations in the forms (policy outputs) briefly presented as:

**Policy Banners:** These include literal messages and catch phrases that a political party puts out as a social identification. This study experienced catch phrases like *Maisha Bora Kwa Kila Mtanzania; Demokrasia Na Maendeleo Kwa Kila Mtanzania; Haki Na Usawa Kwa Wote; Kazi Na Bata* and many more some groups had context specific banners for places, some for specific social groups.

**Manifestoes:** These documents are considered an extension of constitutional points. The main difference was the idea that manifestos are time specific, context specific and operational. They are considered to be operational and set in a format that can practically be evaluated or rather measured against specified indicators. These documents, as opposed to constitutions where they originate, are prepared with the sole objective of promoting the party beyond the member group. They are commonly used to propagate socio-political agenda, attract attention as part of election campaigns at national, constituents, and ward level as in the context of Tanzania mainland political systems. Manifestoes are used as important entries for the political party to gain access to state power formations.

As far as the policy process in education is concerned, it can, conclusively, be argued that research activities have not been indicated as a primary source that brings in the issues for policy purposes. It had however been seen in a number of political groups that research, in terms of surveys and opinion polls, is used to determine the

magnitude while the direction is clearly established by the inner circle of the group.

Furthermore, research communities, universities and research institutions to be specific, are not involved at any level along the policy cycles as institutions. This could be attributed to many factors. Two issues came into a picture as main reasons for this scenario. One is the fact that participation in a policy cycle in a given political party involves understanding and believing in a political philosophy of the group in question. This is contrary to the setting in the research community where research activities are mainly driven by research interest, given that other factors are kept constant. The second issue is that research issues in the context of academics are mainly responding to academic parameters while political groups move in accordance with the political wave and the order of the day in terms of comprehensive social problems that communities face and trends towards political support. Issues in Dar es Salaam, may not necessarily be issues in Kigoma in political terms, for instances.

### 5.2 Recommendations

Given that research is an important element in supporting informed policy and political decision, need to have a visible space in policies and guide on how it is used to inform and support decision making processes. This setting needs to have an established base or foundation in political parties provided that it is the political elite that oversee policy processes and decision making at national level.

Further to this phenomenon, lobbyists and advocates for research use in policy and decision making are recommended to direct their efforts in persuading political groups including political parties to improve research consumption and expand research space in policies and decision making.

For purpose of expanding an understanding on research and policy process interphase, it will be interesting, to assess the transformation of the policy process with respect to multi party setting from other stakeholders. A focus on policy related activities in legislative bodies, especially the National assembly and its interaction with the ministry responsible for education, will provide a broader picture on social and public policy processes, education sector development included.

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