GLOBALISATION AND SKILLS FOR DEVELOPMENT IN RWANDA AND TANZANIA

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April 2003

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Department for International Development: Educational Papers

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Abbreviations

ADEA	Association for the Development of Education in Africa
AVU	African Virtual University
BEMP	Basic Education Master Plan
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CCs	District Coordination Centres
CEDAW	Convention to End all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
COMESA	Community of East and Southern Africa
COSTECH	Commission for Science & Technology
DFID	Department for International Development
DIT	Dar es Salaam Institute of Technology
EAC	East African Community
EFA	Education for all
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
ESDP	Education Sector Development Programme
ESR	Education Sector Review
ETP	Education and Training Policy
FDC	Folk Development Colleges
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GER	Gross Enrolment Ratio
GoR	Government of Rwanda
HDI	Human Development Index
HEAC	Higher Education Accreditation Council
HEMP	Higher Education Master Plan
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HRD	Human Resource Development
HRDA	Human Resource Development Agency
IAE	Institute for Adult Education
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
ISAE	Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry
ISFP	Higher Institute of Public Finance
KFPE	Swiss Commission for Research Partnerships with Developing Countries
KHI	Kigali Health Institute
KIE	Kigali Institute of Education
KIST	Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management
MoA	Ministry of Agriculture
MoCDWAC	Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MoF	Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning
MoG	Ministry of Gender and Women in Development
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoIT	Ministry of Industries and Trade
MoLG	Ministry of Local Government and Social Affairs
MoLYD	Ministry of Labour and Youth Development
MoSTHE	Ministry of Science, Technology & Higher Education
MoYSCVT	Ministry of Youth, Sports Culture and Vocational Training
NEC	National examination Council
NECTA	National Examination Council of Tanzania
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
NIC	Newly Industrialised Countries
NIE	Newly Industrialised Economy
NORRAG	Northern Policy Research Review Advisory Network on Education & Training

Abbreviations - Continued

NQF	*National Qualifications Framework*
NUR	*National University of Rwanda*
PCDCE	*Prefectural Centres for Development and Community Education*
PEDP	*Primary Education Development Plan*
PPTC	*Post Primary Training Centre*
PRSP	*Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme*
PRSP	*Public Sector Review Programme*
PTC	*Primary Teachers' College*
RIAM	*Rwanda Institute of Administrative Management*
RPF	*Rwandan Patriotic Front*
RVTC	*Regional Vocational and Service Training Centre*
RWEDNET	*Rwanda Education Network*
SADC	*Southern African Development Community*
SAP	*Structural Adjustment Policies*
SEMP	*Secondary Education Master Plan*
TAA	*Tanganyika African Association*
TANU	*Tanganyika African National Union*
TEMP	*Teacher Education Master Plan*
TIE	*Tanzanian Institute of Adult Education*
UK	*United Kingdom of Great Britain & Northern Ireland*
ULK	*Kigali Independent University*
UNESCO	*United Nations Educational, Scientific & Cultural Organisation*
UNICEF	*United Nations Children's (Emergency) Fund*
UPE	*Universal Primary Education*
URT	*United Republic of Tanzania*
VET	*Vocational and Education and Training*
VETA	*Vocational Education and Training Authority*
VTC	*Vocational Training Centre*

Preface

This publication draws together findings of original research carried out in Rwanda and Tanzania during 2001. The work has empirical, theoretical and methodological dimensions, inspired by a concern to inform the improvement of education and training policy in the countries concerned. Generating the collaborative, international research partnership that underpinned the research was a project process objective in its own right.

This report draws together findings from two unpublished country reports from Rwanda and for Tanzania that are available on request from DFID or from the authors. In so doing it seeks to provide a comparative analysis based on the two country studies.

1 Executive Summary

1. This report is a result of a research project funded by DFID entitled *Globalisation and Skills for Development in Rwanda and Tanzania: Implications for Education and Training Policy and Practice*. The project was a collaborative effort between the Universities of Bristol, Bath, Dar es Salaam and the Kigali Institute of Education. The research design had embedded within it clear process goals to develop research capacity in a spirit of equal partnership. This synthesis report compares and contrasts the research findings from Rwanda and Tanzania. It is accompanied by individual country reports for Rwanda and Tanzania but can be read separately from these. These unpublished reports are available on request from DFID.

2. The overall aim of the research was to create a context-relevant knowledge base about the implications for education and training policy of globalisation in two low income sub-Saharan African countries. The research was conducted between March 2001 and April 2002 in three phases. Phase one was a preparation and piloting stage including a full literature review and preparation of research instruments. Phase two was largely devoted to data gathering with emphasis given to qualitative single and group interviews of a representative range of stakeholders, document analysis and in-country workshops. Phase three was demarcated as one of data analysis and dissemination including a regional dissemination workshop.

3. The research adopted a 'skills formation' approach. Rather than see skill acquisition simply as a 'technical issue', this approach aims to take account of the economic, political and cultural contexts within which skills are defined and learned. Underlying the approach is the identification of key 'pressure points' which provide a framework for understanding the policy tensions inherent in a skills for development strategy and the differing preferences of key stakeholders. The four pressure points link a country's skills for development strategy to the different stakeholder views concerning a) the nature of globalisation, its implications for national development and the role of the state and of the private sector in national development; b) the capacity of the education and training system to deliver appropriate skills; c) the tension between skills for immediate poverty reduction and gender equity and those required to foster global economic competitiveness; and, d) the impact of national cultural norms and values on skills for development policies. Research questions and instruments were designed in order to understand how these pressure points have operated in the Rwandan and Tanzanian contexts in the development of national policy.

4. Rwanda and Tanzania are amongst the poorest countries in the world. They are ranked as the 12th and 22nd most underdeveloped nations according to the Human Development Index. Both are heavily dependent on agriculture, however, in both countries there has been some growth in the service sector including financial and business services. Nonetheless the economy of both countries is heavily affected by low agricultural productivity. Both also have low human resource development and low employment opportunities. In Tanzania, unemployment has been exacerbated since the

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1990s by cuts in the public service workforce associated with privatisation. Both countries continue to experience high population growth and, in Rwanda's case, one of the highest population densities in the world. Rwanda is also recovering from the after effects of the 1994 genocide in which up to one million people lost their lives. Both countries have a weak export base. This is made worse for the Rwandan economy by high transport costs associated with it being a land locked country. Both countries are vulnerable to external price shocks and suffer from a narrow revenue base and low economic growth. Rwanda and Tanzania have respective external debts of 1.4 billion dollars (representing 75% of GDP) and 8 billion dollars (representing 100% of GDP).

5. Existing capacity for skills development is limited in both countries. Many current problems relating to this limited capacity can be traced back to the colonial and post-colonial periods. The capacity of the education and training system in Rwanda was also severely affected by the genocide. The school systems of the two countries suffer from low enrolment and completion rates, particularly at the secondary level where there has been a proliferation of private schools, and from poor quality. There are also problems of lack of relevance of the curriculum in relation to development priorities. There has been an expansion in tertiary education provision in both countries including specialist higher education institutions, although enrolments remain very low, particularly in scientific and technological subjects. The vocational education and training system in both countries also suffers from low enrolment and quality and from a lack of coherence and relevance. There is limited co-ordination across ministries relating to skills development priorities and both countries are in the process of putting in place a human resource framework. In line with global development agendas, both countries are currently working towards the education development targets and are seeking to gear their education and training systems to the realities of globalisation.

6. The overall view of globalisation put forward by the research informants in both countries saw globalisation as containing both opportunities and threats for national development but as being an inevitable and largely irresistible phenomenon. Globalisation was seen to be concerned principally with economic integration into regional and global markets underpinned by new technologies. It was also seen, however, as involving political and cultural aspects. Informants from the urban educated elite tend to emphasise the economic opportunities generated by globalisation, while recognising the dangers of intensified external influence through, for example, the role of international agencies in sector wide approaches to planning and development. Informants commenting from more marginalised rural contexts were more likely to highlight the economic and cultural threats of the global penetration of dominant Western goods and values. Both countries were universally seen as being in a weak position in relation to global forces but as having something to contribute to an emerging global economy and culture.

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7. Views amongst research participants about how Rwanda and Tanzania ought to respond to globalisation crystallised into two broad development paths or models. The first 'localised path' sees globalisation principally as a threat to local markets and livelihoods, especially the livelihoods of the poor. In this model, the state should take a leading role in protecting local markets, developing the rural economy and providing opportunities for rural workers to develop and diversify their skills. This model provides continuity on the inward-oriented growth paths followed by both countries in the period following independence. The second 'globalised' path sees Rwanda and Tanzania as modernising the agricultural sector whilst seeking to attract foreign direct investment and moving in the long term towards an economy based on a strong manufacturing and service sector. Development will be led by the private sector. This second, more outward-looking growth path is more in keeping with the policies of recently globalised economies elsewhere. The models represent two ends of a spectrum and the views of different stakeholder groups fit more or less closely with one or other of them. Many of the rural participants in the research articulated elements of the localised model whilst the globalised model was more popular amongst the urban elite.

8. In developing their own visions of national development the governments of Rwanda and Tanzania have adopted the globalised model and have acknowledged that there can be no turning back to a localised model. Nonetheless, there are differences in the visions of national development put forward by both countries related to their specific contexts and histories. The Rwandan government wishes Rwanda to 'leapfrog' the industrialised stage of development and to become a communications hub and provider of services for the region. This vision acknowledges Rwanda's weak agricultural base and geographic realities such as large distances to the sea, that make traditional industrialisation costly. Tanzania, on the other hand has adopted a more 'evolutionary' model of development. Its vision is focused on the modernisation of its potentially strong agricultural sector and more traditional industrialisation with an expansion of services. Both countries are also sensitive to changes in the global economy and the opening up of new niches, for example, in the production of garments, and need to build in some flexibility into their visions.

9. Like emerging models of the state elsewhere in the world, the model that emerged in the context of this research is that of the 'facilitatory' and 'catalytic' state. In the case of Rwanda and Tanzania, where there is a relatively undeveloped private sector and where the needs of poverty reduction are so stark, the state must continue to play a leading role in tackling poverty through the provision of basic services. It must also act as a catalyst for economic growth through the development of an indigenous private sector and by prioritising public expenditure in areas that are likely to lead to competitive global advantage, including education and training. Like elsewhere in the world, there was a recognition by research participants that in pursuing these objectives the state

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needs to work in partnership with the emerging private sector, donors and with civil society and to adhere to the principles of good governance.

10. The report presents a typology of skills identified by the research participants in each country as being relevant to the two country contexts and development needs in a globalising world. The typology includes, agricultural, vocational and artisan skills, generic and transferable skills, high skills and service sector skills, basic skills, private and business sector skills, public sector skills and political and citizenship skills. Each of these types of skill are described and analysed in the report as being more or less relevant to the histories and development paths of the two countries. In practice a full range of skills are required by both countries to embark on a globalised path and the question is one of balance and of which skills to prioritise.

11. The report discusses the relationship between skills required for poverty reduction and gender equity and those required for global competitiveness. Both governments see the achievement of global competitiveness as providing the long term basis for poverty alleviation. Key policy documents try to strike a balance between the skills required for long term global competitiveness and those required for immediate poverty reduction. Yet the relationship between poverty reduction and global competitiveness is complex. Countries that have successfully globalised have managed to reduce overall poverty, although there have been economic winners and losers in the process. The 'winners' in Rwanda and Tanzania are likely to be those who can gain employment within the emerging manufacturing and service sector. The potential 'losers' are those who are likely to be displaced from agriculture and fail to find viable alternative employment and those in small, indigenous manufacturing enterprises. The government must on the one hand provide the skills for workers involved in the emerging sectors whilst providing new training opportunities for the potential 'losers' that will help them find new employment or diversify their current income-generating activities. This involves striking a new balance between funding of different types and levels of education and training. Primary and adult education are seen as essential for tackling poverty but so too is the development of vocational and technical skills. The goal of global competitiveness also demands a new emphasis on the secondary and tertiary education sectors. Besides expansion, the curriculum and teaching methods also seem to need to be more focused on developing generic and attitudinal skills such as critical thinking and problem solving as well as promoting national reconciliation and life skills such as those that can help counter the spread of HIV/AIDS.

12. Globalisation also has implications for the role of women in low income countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania. Women have often benefited from new employment opportunities in globalised economies, particularly in some manufacturing industries and within the service sector. Women have also borne the brunt of exploitative working

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practices and have had the double burden of coping with their new position within the labour market and their traditional roles as wives and mothers. Globalisation has also meant that those women unable to benefit from globalisation have often been displaced from the land and from traditional livelihoods. Women in Rwanda have had to assume new non-traditional roles as a consequence of the genocide whilst women in both countries have had to enter the labour market whilst maintaining their traditional roles as housekeepers and mothers. Women's' livelihoods and employment opportunities are also likely to be affected by the planned expansion of manufacturing and services in line with the experiences of women elsewhere. If women are to benefit from globalisation and resist and manage its negative aspects, they must be given equal opportunities to develop their skills. At present, information relating to gender in education is limited in both Rwanda and Tanzania. Although enrolment for girls is equal to that for boys at primary and secondary levels, there remains a large imbalance at tertiary level. There is also a need to develop a gender-in-education policy, to tackle gender stereotyping and for gender issues to be mainstreamed throughout the education and training systems.

13. The report considers the role of cultural norms and values in relation to skills development. Culture is an important ingredient for developing social capital. Our research informants suggested that on the one hand there are many positive aspects of Rwandan and Tanzanian culture. These relate primarily to those to do with parenting and a sense of commitment to the family and the community. These values are potentially under threat from the mass media. Some aspects of traditional culture were also found to be inimical to a modern, globalising nation. Examples here included some views on gender that barred women from accessing certain skills that were perceived to be 'male' skills; a lack of critical thinking, entrepreneurial skills and an ability to take the initiative rooted in traditional views of authority; and, a poor use of time. In the case of Rwanda, the society has always been traditionally inward looking. Education and training have a critical role to play in fostering those aspects of traditional culture that can create a basis for social capital formation. It also has an important role to play in developing those cultural traits required by globalisation such as critical thinking and taking initiative that are perceived to be lacking in traditional culture.

14. On the basis of the analysis of data, the report sets out key elements of a skills development strategy that, it is suggested, would be relevant for the two country contexts. The nature and relative priority given to each element would differ, however, in the two cases. The key elements of a skills development strategy that are discussed include the development of a core vision of lifelong learning; a proactive approach on the part of the government to identifying and implementing skills development priorities; a 'joined up' approach to policy making; putting in place an appropriate legal framework; the identification of necessary government structures; the use of a strategic approach in identifying and balancing competing skills development priorities; the

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development of appropriate tools for identifying skills shortage; a commitment to good governance including full stakeholder participation in a skills development strategy; putting in place a new approach to education funding; establishing a suitable ICT strategy; embarking upon new forms of regional co-operation; and addressing key priorities for building capacity within the education and training systems themselves.

15. In conclusion the report considers the extent to which Rwanda and Tanzania demonstrate similarities and differences between themselves and other, high income countries in relation to skills development priorities. It also reflects on the process goals of the research itself and makes recommendations concerning the development of a skills development strategy in both countries. The recommendations contained in this report compliment the recommendations contained in the two accompanying country reports.

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Background to the research

Research aims and Outcomes

The overall aim of the study is to create a context-relevant knowledge base of the implications for education and training policy of globalisation in two low-income sub-Saharan African countries.

The more specific objectives are to:

- Identify the perceptions of key stakeholders in relation to the nature of globalisation and its implications for skills development in Rwanda and Tanzania.
- Assess the capacity of the education and training systems in these countries to provide the skills required by globalisation.
- Understand the relationship between the implications for skills development of economic globalisation and those of poverty alleviation, gender equity and social justice.
- Gather data concerning the perceptions of key stakeholders regarding the relationship between the skills required by globalisation and national cultural norms and values.
- Identify the key implications of changing skills requirements for education and training policy and practice.

A comparative rationale

This Synthesis Report develops a comparative analysis of the more detailed research findings presented in two companion, country studies written for Tanzania and Rwanda. These unpublished reports are available on request from DFID. This comparative dimension was built into the original research design from the outset, recognising the potential for broader insights that can be derived in this way. The two hypotheses that were formulated to guide the overall study thus have a comparative nature, and the second one focuses most directly upon this dimension, as reproduced below:

Research hypotheses:

1) Globalisation has radically different implications for skills development in low income countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania, compared to Western industrialised countries and the newly industrialised countries of the Pacific Rim.
2) Rwanda and Tanzania are likely to be similar in their responses to four policy tensions or pressure points identified in the literature review.

In this synthesis report, we focus upon the comparative insights that can be derived from the research and pay particular attention to the theoretical, methodological and broader policy implications of the work as a whole. Our commitment to comparative analysis reflects the resurgence of interest in such frameworks and perspectives that have, in part, been stimulated by the intensification of globalisation itself. We set out our own comparative framework that draws on a skills formation approach below. Moreover, recent work in the

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field of comparative and international education has drawn attention to the renewed dangers of the uncritical international transfer of educational policy and practice; tensions between global and local agendas; and the significance of culture and context in both educational development and educational research (Arnove and Torres 1999; Crossley 1999). Helpful comparative studies have thus begun to focus upon the impact and implications of globalisation in different contexts – and upon the actors and mechanisms that underpin the process. Our study thus engages with this work, noting the current paucity of analyses and empirical investigations undertaken within sub-Saharan Africa.

From a methodological perspective, we also engage directly with innovative, contemporary work that has begun to prioritise the forging of research partnerships between the North and the South (King and Buchert 1999). For many writers, this is increasingly seen as a way of maximising the potential benefits from comparative studies that draw upon insider-outsider collaboration (Crossley 1990). Such collaboration, it is argued, has the ability to increase the context sensitivity of research, while benefiting from the traditionally recognised advantages that can accrue from more detached external vantage points. By adopting a largely interpretative research strategy, that emphasises in-depth qualitative research, we have also prioritised the generation of locally grounded knowledge and interpretations (Crossley and Vulliamy 1997). To this we add the importance of historical analyses, noting: 1) how this helps to ground contemporary educational research in terms of the foundations of past policy and practice and broad historical context; and 2) how some comparative researchers have argued that recent tendencies to marginalise historical analysis have both impoverished and dehumanised much educational research (Kazamias 2001). Our comparative studies, therefore, also purposefully generate comparisons of education and development over time in both Rwanda and Tanzania.

Rwanda and Tanzania were seen to be most appropriate contexts for a comparative study because they share many similarities in their relationship with globalisation. These similarities and differences are documented and examined in depth later, but here it is perhaps pertinent to note that:

- Both rank amongst the poorest countries in the world.
- In recent years, there has been convergence in the areas of democratic governance, economic and social policy. In Rwanda's case, this has followed a protracted period of ethnic conflict culminating in the genocide of 1994.
- Both countries have embarked upon structural adjustment reforms to their economy since the 1980s, including reform of the civil service and the privatisation of public enterprises aimed at attracting foreign investment. It is largely these aspects of globalisation that have placed new demands on skills development.
- In both cases, the agricultural sector remains the backbone of the economy.

In addition, Rwanda and Tanzania have similar educational foundations on which to develop skills for development as we suggest in section three. The study design also facilitates

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comparisons between conceptions of globalisation (and policy implications) drawn from a review of the international literature and those derived from research informants within Rwanda and Tanzania.

Origins

Planning for this study began in the year 2000 with the convening of a team of colleagues drawn from the University of Dar es Salaam, in Tanzania, the Kigali Institute of Education, in Rwanda, and the Universities of Bristol and Bath, in the United Kingdom (UK). Team members shared common interests in the processes of globalisation, international development co-operation and the contribution of research to educational and national development. Long-standing working relationships were already well established between most of the research partners, the two national systems of education (Rwanda and Tanzania), the key institutions and the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

From the outset, team members also had a number of specific intellectual and professional interests in common. These included concern with the prominence of Western or 'high skills economy' perspectives in the existing literature relating to globalisation and education (see Brown and Lauder 1996; Brown 1999; Mebrahtu, Crossley and Johnson 2000; Tikly 2001); and a critique of the powerful influence of 'external' agendas and priorities upon both educational research and educational development throughout the South (Garrett 1995; Crossley and Vulliamy 1997; Tikly 1999; Crossley 2001).

In the light of this background, the team were keen to develop a collaborative and international research partnership that advanced a critical analysis of globalisation and education from the perspective of a range of different African stakeholders. Recognising DFID's efforts to support such international research partnerships (DFID 2000b), a joint bid for research funding was submitted within the framework of DFID's Globalisation and Skills for Development initiative (DFID 2000a).

The Skills for Development Initiative

The skills for development initiative was launched in 1999 by the United Kingdom Secretary of State for international development as an attempt to work with aid recipient countries to develop skills that will directly contribute to economic growth. The Secretary of State announced the new initiative during the Gaitskell lecture in 1999 (Short, 1999). In this lecture she not only emphasised basic education but also the need to develop skills amongst the population as a whole as a basis for industrial development. She pointed out the link between skills, the capacity to absorb new knowledge from outside sources and increased industrial productivity. She further pointed out the dearth of necessary skills for development in many 'developing countries' and used Rwanda after the genocide as a specific example of a country where DFID would launch the new initiative. The Secretary

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of State mentioned three strands to the skills for development programme, namely building institutional capacity to deliver skills for development; promoting greater relevance in terms of the outputs of existing institutions; and, developing innovative methods of delivering skills training. These three strands were each reflected in the design of our research project.

The nature of the skills for development initiative was elaborated upon in a paper released by DFID in June 2000 (DFID, 2000b) and in the White Paper on Globalisation (DFID, 2000a). In these documents the idea of skills for development were linked more explicitly to globalisation and in particular the spread of information and communication technologies and the needs of an increasingly global economy.

Defining the Research Problem

Although there is a growing body of literature dealing with globalisation and skills for development in high income countries, there is a much more limited literature concerned with low income countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania. Where this literature does exist, it is based on limited empirical evidence. The literature also commonly assumes that the implications for globalisation are uniform across low income countries. This is despite the observation that although countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania do share similarities, they are also structured differently in their relationships with the outside world. These similarities and differences are spelt out in more detail in this Synthesis Report.

There is also a danger in assuming that the opportunities and threats posed by globalisation are similar for different sectors of the economy and for different sections of the population *within* countries. Our experiences of living and researching within Rwanda and Tanzania suggested to members of the research team that far from having an homogenous set of implications, globalisation in fact represents a series of tensions and trade-offs for policy makers as governments attempt to balance competing perceptions, needs and interests and that different governments choose different policy priorities. In relation to the skills for development initiative, it became clear to the team that if governments are to adopt an effective skills for development strategy, that will benefit the dual aims of economic growth and poverty alleviation then this must be based on a prior understanding of these differing perceptions, needs and interests.

Finally, as a team we were conscious of the need to develop a notion of 'skills' that is both context sensitive and relevant to the changing needs of a globalising economy. For example, it became apparent to us that existing notions of 'skills for development' often rely on an underlying view of skills as possessing a universal form and currency and do not take sufficient account of the context in which they are acquired and in which they operate. We were thus keen to identify how different notions of 'skill' were defined by different stakeholders as being relevant in relation to their own understanding of the broader context. A concern with the broader context also emerges from recent literature on globalisation in

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high skills economies (e.g. Brown, 1999). This draws attention to new kinds of skills that are required by a globalising economy, such as social, communication and teamwork skills. The importance of these skills is increasingly recognised by the World Bank and other international agencies and is captured in the term 'social capital'. The significance attached to these kinds of skills underlines the need for a new emphasis on understanding the social contexts in which skills operate. Our concern to understand the implications of globalisation in terms of policy tensions and in relation to a context sensitive view of skills themselves, led us to adopt a 'skills formation' approach in order to understand skills for development and this is spelled out below.

The 'skills formation' approach

By skills formation we mean the development of the 'social capacity for learning, innovation and productivity' (Brown, 1999, p. 233). Rather than treat skill acquisition as purely a 'technical' issue (for example in the way that some manpower planning and human capital approaches have done in the past) the use of the term 'skills formation' is intended to draw attention to the wider social context of skills development, and the skills development debates in different settings. Wedded to this approach is an understanding of skills themselves as more than just the acquisition of narrow technical competencies but also including interpersonal, communications, teamwork and creative skills as well. This is to acknowledge the inherently social nature both of learning and of skills in practice, whether in formal schooling, the workplace or some other context.

This research framework starts from the identification of various 'pressure points' in the process of skills formation. It is in relation to these pressure points that the policy tensions mentioned above can be identified and understood. This framework is also intended to facilitate comparative analysis of skills formation strategies across a range of country and regional settings in Africa. The framework we have adopted draws on and extends recent work by Philip Brown and his colleagues (Brown, 1999; Brown, Green and Lauder, 2001). Whereas Brown et al's research into skills formation has focused on high income economies, we seek to extrapolate some of their ideas in order to draw out their relevance for Africa. This necessarily entails taking into account aspects of the colonial legacy in education and training, a recognition of the vastly different learning contexts linked to different socio-economic environments in Africa compared to the 'high skills economies', and the importance of poverty alleviation, gender relations and of cultural issues such as language. In order to do this we have found it necessary to reformulate somewhat the pressure points identified by Brown et al.

The **first pressure point** *concerns how different individuals and groups within a specific country understand skill formation in relation to national development priorities and the changing role of the state and the private sector in providing skills for development opportunities.* The recognition of this pressure point turns the spotlight on differing perspectives within a country in relation

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to economic priorities in the context of globalisation based on regional, economic, political or other interests. Linked to these are likely to be differing views about what skills are 'relevant' and even about the nature of skills themselves. The identification of this pressure point also draws attention to the relative power and influence of different stakeholders and the degree of social cohesion and/or conflict in the policy-making arena around national development goals and priorities. Closely linked to the above point will be differing views concerning the role of the state and of the private sector in skills formation. The prevailing view concerning skills formation priorities will inevitably differ between countries, depending not only on their different political systems and relationships between interest groups but also on their differing economic realities. In this respect, skills formation research needs to take account of differences in interest and perspective between as well as within countries and the possibilities for developing regionally coherent strategies. One way of perceiving the role of the policy researcher in relation to this pressure point is to bring to light these differing perspectives as a means of facilitating the development of a political consensus or compromise around skills formation issues and priorities. This in turn has implications for research methodology and the ethical dimensions of educational research as we spell out below.

The **second pressure point** concerns the *capacity of education and training systems to deliver the skills required*. Here research needs to take account of the colonial and postcolonial legacies in the provision of education and training that differ between countries. Any assessment of the capacity of a country to embed successful skills-formation strategies must also necessarily take account of the degree of co-ordination between education and training, the labour market, science and technology and industrial relations policies and practices. Another key issue in relation to capacity for skills formation is the development of indigenous research capacity (including capacity for educational research) within the higher education sector and industry. As Ntuli (1998), Brock-Utne (1996) and others have pointed out, the development of such capacity within higher education in Africa could, for example, assist in the development of new biotechnologies to expand and develop the agricultural sector or provide affordable remedies for diseases such as malaria or HIV/AIDS. The issue of the need to develop capacity within higher education, however, poses dilemmas concerning the funding of this sector as compared to primary, secondary and technical education sectors. Closely related to the development of indigenous research capacity is the issue of 'brain drain' or the migration of skilled personnel from African countries. Finally, a consideration of capacity within the context of a region also raises questions about the possibilities for regional co-operation in the development of skills-formation strategies.

The **third pressure point** focuses on *global competition versus social and economic inclusion*, i.e. whether the skills required to foster global competitiveness are the same as those required to promote social inclusion and to eliminate poverty. The issues raised above concerning the need to balance funding for different sectors and levels of education and training raise more fundamental questions about the relative priority given to different kinds and levels of skills.

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Part of the research approach itself would be to seek to provide a typology of skills types and levels relevant for different countries. The identification and specific balance given to different kinds and levels of skills will depend on the development path adopted by a country and on the kinds of questions raised in relation to the first pressure point. Too much emphasis on high skills is likely to favour middle-class urban elites, while basic and vocational skills (along with many of the generic and transferable skills identified) may be found to be crucial for poor, rural communities. It is not just a question, therefore, of what skills are prioritised within a skills-formation strategy, but also who has access to different types and levels of skills. Research needs to address how, within a skills-formation strategy, marginalised groups can gain access to 'high skills' as well as those skills that will enable them to develop and diversify their productive activities. In this last respect, research also needs to find ways of recognising and accrediting specific skills that marginalised groups may have but that are not traditionally recognised.

The **fourth pressure point** concerns *the extent to which existing cultural norms and values encourage or provide a block to skill formation*. The impact of cultural norms and values on skills formation strategies has become increasingly significant, partly because of the growing interest expressed by the World Bank and other important global institutions in notions of 'social capital'. Coleman defines social capital as follows:

> *If physical capital is wholly tangible, being embodied in observable material form, and human capital is less tangible, being embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual, social capital is less tangible yet, for it exists in the relations among persons* (quoted in Brown, 1999, p. 235).

The importance of social capital for the skills-formation debate lies in the idea that the more people co-operate and communicate, the more they will be able to achieve and the more they will be able to alleviate poverty. There is a possible tension here, however, between acknowledging traditional cultural beliefs and values, such as those inherent in some religious schools and institutions, teaching about diversity, and encouraging skills such as critical thinking that are identified in the literature as being necessary for fostering innovation and change. The need to critically engage with existing beliefs and values, along with modern day pressures, in a country such as Rwanda has also been underlined by the experience of genocide. Finally, educational research needs to engage with the issue of language in relation to skills formation. The significance of language issues, as Mazrui (1999) reminds us, lies in the observation that no country has successfully advanced scientifically without significantly developing indigenous language/s. There is a tension, however, between the need to develop indigenous languages on the one hand and on providing access to global languages on the other (see Phillipson, 1998; Moodley, 2000; Rassool, 1998). Once again, the balance between these two imperatives will depend on the specific context.

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A collaborative partnership

The research team was comprised of Dr Hillary Dachi (University of Dar es Salaam), Beatrice Mukabaranga (Kigali Institute of Education), Dr Michael Crossley (University of Bristol), Dr Roger Garrett (University of Bristol), Dr Leon Tikly (University of Bristol) and Dr John Lowe (University of Bath). Overall project management responsibility was in the hands of Dr Leon Tikly, with Beatrice Mukabaranga and Dr Hilary Dachi taking responsibility for local project management in Rwanda and Tanzania respectively.

As already indicated, the study was designed from the outset as a collaborative partnership between the University of Dar es Salaam, the Kigali Institute of Education and the Universities of Bristol and Bath. Rwanda and Tanzania comprised the two national contexts chosen for the comparative research, and all partners were involved in all aspects of the study from research design to final publication and dissemination. The study, thus, has process goals aimed at strengthening relevant comparative and international research capacity (in both the North and the South), and product goals related to the publication and dissemination of substantive research findings. Moreover, the study was explicitly designed to contribute to the emergent methodological literature concerning international partnerships in research (King 1991; KFPE 1998, RAWOO 1998), and to help inform related changes in international development policy, discourse and practice (NORRAG 1998; World Bank 1998).

In pursuing these process goals, we were well aware of the potential difficulties involved in translating such partnership rhetoric into successful practice (Crossley and Holmes 2001) – and of the dilemmas generated by different research cultures, prior expectations, differential resourcing and logistical and time frame issues (Van der Eyken, Goulden and Crossley 1995).

The Research Methodology

Consistent with our commitment to maximising context sensitivity – and access to local perceptions and critical standpoints – the study adopted a largely qualitative, interpretive/ hermeneutic research strategy (Crossley and Vulliamy 1997). This was further influenced by work on critical theory, and postcolonial modes of analysis in particular (see Tikly 1999). Overall the aim was, thus, to generate local 'social constructions of reality' (Berger and Luckman 1967) and perspectives on globalisation and education as held by a range of different stakeholders in Rwanda and Tanzania.

Phases for the study

Three phases were originally planned for the conduct of the study. The nature of each phase is broadly outlined here, but specific details of methods employed in each country are provided in later sections.

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- Phase one was seen as that of preparation and piloting. During this initial period (early 2001), relevant bodies of literature relating to the nature and impact of globalisation on skills development policies were reviewed; research instruments were developed during a team workshop in Dar es Salaam; and policy documents and possible informants for engagement in the study were identified.

- Phase two (mid-2001) was largely devoted to data gathering with emphasis given to qualitative interviews, focus group discussions, document analysis and in-country workshops. The latter were held to develop dialogue between participants on local perceptions of the nature of globalisation and its implications for skills development. One such workshop was held in each country.

- Phase three (late-2001 to present) was demarcated as one of data analysis and dissemination. To allow for the full input of the African-based team members, it was planned that data collated during each phase would be first analysed in-country. This was also seen to be advantageous if further documentary evidence was required, or if follow-up interviews were necessary. The production of two Country Reports was envisaged – along with this broader Synthesis Report comparing findings in the two countries. Phase three also incorporated a Regional Dissemination Workshop, held in Dar es Salaam, during which participants commented on emergent findings and considered appropriate recommendations for policy and practice. In line with the capacity building goals of the study, a project secretariat was established at the University of Dar es Salaam to lead arrangements for the regional and national workshops – and to widen the involvement of local university colleagues in the initiative.

Research methods

Specific research methods employed in both countries consisted of:

1) document analysis;
2) qualitative interviews with single informants;
3) group interviews;
4) national workshop consultations.

Team members also drew upon their own professional and experiential knowledge. Details for each of these methods are as follows:

1) **Document analysis**

   Key policy documents relating to globalisation and to education and training policy were gathered by the African-based partners. These were incorporated into a special collection on globalisation and skills development and housed in the Kigali Institute of Education, the University of Dar es Salaam and the University of Bristol. A list of the key documents is provided in appendix A

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2) **Qualitative interviews**

Semi-structured interviews, each lasting up to one hour, were conducted in each country with key stakeholders (25 in Rwanda and 17 in Tanzania). The stakeholders were selected to represent a range of perspectives and views on globalisation, its implications for national development and for skills development. In both cases this meant including:

- Senior officials from key ministries, i.e. ministries that have a major stake in skills development
- Leading representatives of international donor organisations based in-country
- Representatives of civil society that play a leading or influential role in skills development initiatives and programmes
- Representatives of multinational and local business interests, particularly those who have been pro-active in skills development initiatives and programmes
- Representatives of organised labour including the teaching profession

The interview questions varied in form and emphasis depending on the interviewee but were closely based on the research questions identified above. Where necessary, prompts were included, for example, around the nature and scope of globalisation although these were used as a starting point for informants giving us their own views about globalisation processes. Following the qualitative tradition (Davies 1997), a largely open-ended interview schedule was used to guide the discussion. This instrument was developed by members of the globalisation research team, and trialed in March 2001 with educational professionals in Arusha and Dar es Salaam, for Tanzania. The interview schedule was purposefully designed to enable informants to express themselves freely and to raise their own issues and concerns relating to globalisation and skills for development. The schedule covered five sections relating to: 1) Understandings of Globalisation; 2) Skills Development Capacity of the Education and Training System; 3) Access and Equity; 4) Cultural Implications of Globalisation; and 5) Research and Development. The full interview schedule is included as Appendix B. Interviews were usually conducted in English, but in some cases Swahili, French or Kinyarwanda was used, with the interview transcripts later translated into English.

3) **Group interviews**

In addition to the individual interviews separate group interviews (focus groups) were held with key rural stakeholders. In Rwanda these included, cattle keepers, tea pickers and artisans. In Tanzania they included local government officials, farmers, teachers, and representatives of rural NGOs. Full details of the group interviews are given in the individual country reports. The aim was to balance the views of the individual interviewees who were predominantly educated urban dwellers with rural perspectives. A group interview methodology was chosen to make the interview seem less

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intimidating for the informants, many of whom lacked any formal education. A similar interview schedule to that used for the individual interviewees was used although it was sometimes necessary to use additional prompts, largely about the effects of globalisation with which the rural dwellers would be familiar. The group interviews were also recorded and transcribed.

4) **National workshop consultations**

A day long workshop was held in both Kigali and in Dar es Salaam. The aim of the in-country workshops was to develop a dialogue between participants on the nature of globalisation and its implications for skills development. Specifically, the workshops consisted of the following components:

- Presentations and discussion on the nature and implications of globalisation for education and training policy drawing on the literature review, documentary sources and interviews with key stakeholders
- Discussion of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the existing education and training system with respect to skills development to meet the challenges posed by globalisation
- Discussion of the dilemmas between ensuring global competitiveness and alleviating poverty and gender inequality and their implications for skills development
- Discussion of the relationship between skills for development in the global era and national cultural norms and values.
- Key recommendations for education and training policy

Each discussion component involved group and plenary work and the outcomes of all sessions were recorded and transcribed. The workshops involved 30 and 28 participants in Rwanda and Tanzania respectively and participants drawn from each of the key stakeholder groups identified above and some practitioners (e.g. principals of local schools/technical colleges). Further details of the workshops including lists of participants are given in the two country reports.

5) **Data Analysis**

Data relating to each research objective was analysed as follows:

Objective one: perceptions of key stakeholders concerning the nature of globalisation and implications for skills for development.

Transcripts of interviews, focus groups and workshops, along with evidence from key policy documents are used to ascertain the perceptions of key stakeholders on the nature of globalisation and related skills implications. Perceptions are analysed with respect to information on national goals and priorities in relation to globalisation; opportunities and threats of globalisation for economic competitiveness and social justice; and against

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basic economic indicators and plans. This provides a 'map' of differing stakeholder views. An example of such a 'map' for one stakeholder group in Rwanda is given in Appendix C.

Objective two: the capacity of Rwandan and Tanzanian education and training systems to meet changing skills requirements.
As above, data are used to explore perceptions of the capacity of existing systems to meet changing skills requirements. This generates a largely qualitative overview of the key strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats facing the Rwandan and Tanzanian education and training systems; changing priorities; the extent of co-ordination and the relative significance of the state and private sector.

Objective three: the relationship between the implications for skills development of economic globalisation and those of poverty alleviation, gender equity and social justice.
For this objective, data are used to assess perceptions of the relationship between the skills required by globalisation and those required for poverty alleviation, gender equity and social justice. Particular attention is given to perceptions of equality of access, relative weights for government funding for different levels and sectors, and the degree of recognition of skills for development brought by women and groups at risk of marginalisation.

Objective four: the relationship between the skills required by globalisation and national cultural norms and values.
Data are here used to compare the fit between skills required by a globalised economy and existing cultural norms.

Objective five: the implications of changing skills requirements for education and training policy and practice.
In meeting this objective, analysis focuses upon identifying perceived policy priorities and related recommendations in the light of the collective data, the historical review and the theoretical analyses.

Research audiences
Consistent with the overall aims and objectives of the study, research findings are presented in a form designed to identify policy options, priorities and recommendations for a range of different interested stakeholders (Gmelin et al 2001). These include policy makers and planners in Rwanda and Tanzania, in a range of government ministries concerned with economic development, education and training.

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Conclusions are also directed at the generation of accessible recommendations for aid agencies and NGOs supporting skills development in the two countries, and for major employers in the formal sector. On a more theoretical level, conclusions are drawn for use by the international development community, both bilateral and multi-lateral, and for the local and international academic community concerned with developing a more inclusive understanding of globalisation, and of the potential of international research partnerships in practice.

3 The National Contexts
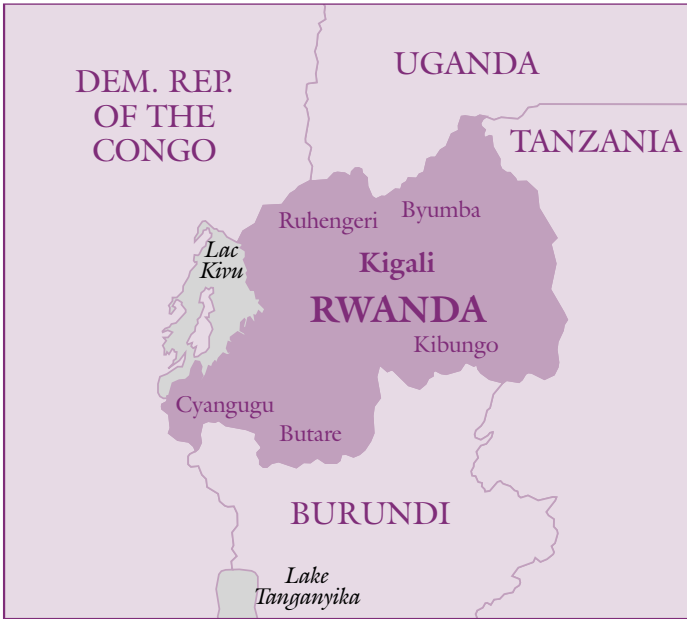
Figure One: **Rwanda**
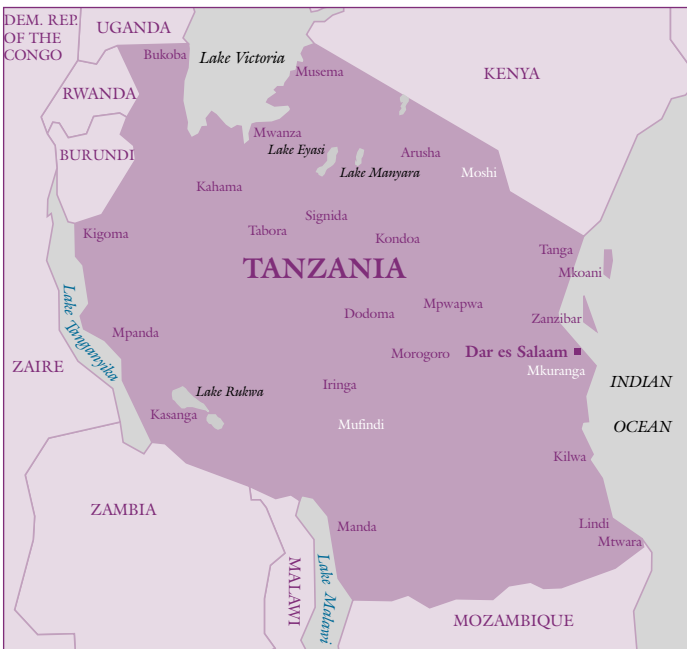
Figure Two: **Tanzania**

3 The National Contexts

Historical Context

i) Rwanda

Prior to the advent of colonisation in 1894, Rwanda was a landlocked mountain kingdom organised on a feudal basis and totally shut off from the rest of the world. Hutu, Tutsi and Twa lived within the same pre-colonial social and economic structure and shared a common language (Kinyarwanda) and culture. The idea of Hutu and Tutsi as distinct ethnic groups emanated with the early English explorers and anthropologists and was propagated by the European colonisers (Melvern, 2000). Up until the First World War, Rwanda was subject to indirect rule by Germany but after the war it became a Belgian protectorate and gradually came under direct rule. The census of 1933 led to the measurement and the classification of the population along racial and ethnic lines. By favouring Tutsis in education, the colonial administration and clergy, colonial policy ensured that ethnic divisions became more pronounced. The old economic and political structure of *ubuhake* based on mutual dependence and reciprocal arrangements between Hutus and Tutsis was replaced by a Tutsi oligarchy. Hutus were often used as forced labour and many migrated to neighbouring countries.

By the late 1950s and with the support of Belgian priests, Hutu nationalists began to press for majority rule. In 1959, three years before independence, the Tutsi King died in mysterious circumstances fuelling ethnic tensions and violence. Over the next several years thousands of Tutsis were killed by Hutu extremists, and some 150,000 were driven into exile into neighbouring countries. The monarchy was abolished and Rwanda was declared a republic in 1962 with Kayibanda installed as President in the context of continued violence against Tutsis and their political representatives. Quotas were introduced under the Kiyabanda regime limiting access of Tutsis to education and jobs within the administration. Hutu nationalism was fuelled by a myth, started under colonial times, of the Tutsi as a 'foreign invader' and in 1963 there was a further massacre of Tutsis exacerbating the already serious refugee situation. Habyarimana ousted Kayibanda in a bloodless coup in 1973 and declared himself president. Habyarimana himself died in a plane crash in 1994. The children of the many exiles formed the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and began a civil war in 1990. The war, along with the increasing influence of Hutu extremists and deepening economic crisis, exacerbated ethnic tensions culminating in April 1994 in the genocide of up to a million Tutsis and moderate Hutus. The RPF defeated the Hutu regime and ended the killing in July 1994, but approximately 2 million Hutu refugees fled to neighbouring Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zaire, now called the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). Since then most of the refugees have returned to Rwanda. Despite international assistance and political reforms – including Rwanda's first local elections in March 1999 – the country continues to struggle to boost investment and agricultural output and to foster reconciliation. A series of massive population displacements, the continuing threat of Hutu extremist insurgency and Rwandan involvement in two wars over the past four years in the neighbouring DRC continue to hinder Rwanda's efforts.

3 The National Contexts

ii) Tanzania

According to the archaeologists, Louis and Mary Leakey, Tanzania may be the site of origin, some three million years ago, for the world's oldest human beings. Trade between Arabia and the East African coast dates to the first century AD; there is also evidence of early connections with India. The indigenous peoples of the coast were Cushitic language speakers, though some evidence of Bantu language speakers has also been found. Europeans first arrived on the coast of East Africa when Vasco Da Gama's ships landed in 1498. Omanis replaced the Portuguese in the 18th century. In the mid-nineteenth century, Ngoni peoples migrated from southern Africa and reached the Ufipa river in southwest Tanzania. In 1890, Germany and Britain worked out the agreement that the British would establish a protectorate over Zanzibar and that Tanganyika would become a German colony. At the Versailles peace talks, the Supreme Council conferred all of future Tanzania to Britain. It was only after World War II, however, the British mandate was changed to a United Nations Trusteeship. Opposition to British rule took several forms. The Tanganyika African Association (TAA) was established in 1929 to give a forum to trade unionists and cooperative farmers who opposed British rule. Other opposition movements developed in response to specific colonial policies. In 1953 Julius Nyerere was elected president of TAA (soon to be renamed the Tanganyika African National Union or TANU). TANU won wide support in the country's first general elections in 1958-59; the successful candidates later formed the administration that assumed responsibility for internal self-government in May 1961. Tanganyika was proclaimed an independent nation on December 9, 1961 and a republic one year later. Zanzibar was granted independence from Britain on December 10, 1963. One month later, the Sultan of Zanzibar was overthrown and replaced by representatives of the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP) with Karume as its head of state. Karume signed an Act of Union with Nyerere and combined the two countries later that year to form the modern nation of Tanzania.

Soon after Tanzania was formed, a one-party system was implemented, along guidelines announced in the 1965 constitution and directed by a new party named Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), "the Party of the Revolution," and chaired by Nyerere. The 1967 Arusha Declaration announced a program of "Socialism and Self-reliance" for the United Republic. Rural development was to be reorganized, moving farmers to new locales and establishing cooperative *ujamaa* villages. In 1975, the government made public plans to relocate the capital to Dodoma in the Central Highlands.

In October, 1984, Salim Ahmed Salim, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was elected Prime Minister. In 1985, when Nyerere's final term of office came to an end, Ali Hassan Mwnyi was elected to replace him and Idris Abdul Wakil succeeded Mwinyi as president of Zanzibar. In November 1990, Mwinyi was re-elected for a second five-year term on a platform fighting corruption and reaffirming economic reforms. In 1991 a commission was established to sound out the public's views on a change to a multi-party system. The first multi-party legislative and presidential elections, held on October 1995, gave victory to Mr. Mkapa, winning 62% of the vote. While the movement toward a multi-party government has broad support in Tanzania, the dismantling of

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the single-party system has loosened some of the bonds that held the nation together. While most Tanzanians applaud changes that led to the end of political restrictions, many are concerned over emerging divisions in the country: between the mainland and the islands; between Muslims and Christians; between indigenous and Asian communities; between Zanzibaris of African and Arab ancestry; as well as among indigenous ethnic groups on the mainland .

Geographic and Demographic Context

Some comparative geographic and demographic facts relating to Rwanda and Tanzania are given in table 3.1.

Table 3.1: **Rwanda and Tanzania: Key geographic and demographic facts**

Topic	Rwanda	Tanzania
Official name:	Republic of Rwanda	United Republic of Tanzania
Capital:	Kigali	Dodoma
Administrative divisions:	12 prefectures (in French – prefectures, singular – prefecture; in Kinyarwanda – plural – NA, singular – prefegitura); Butare, Byumba, Cyangugu, Gikongoro, Gisenyi, Gitarama, Kibungo, Kibuye, Kigali Rurale, Kigali-ville, Umutara, Ruhengeri	25 regions; Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, Iringa, Kagera, Kigoma, Kilimanjaro Lindi, Mara, Mbeya, Morogoro, Mtwara, Mwanza, Pemba North, Pemba South, Pwani, Rukwa, Ruvuma, Shinyanga, Singida, Tabora, Tanga, Zanzibar Central/South, Zanzibar North, Zanzibar Urban/West
Area (Thousands of km²):	26	945
Population (millions):	7.9 (2001)	36.0 (2001)
Age structure		
0-14 years:° 15-64 years:° 65 years and over:°	42.4% (male 1,555,878; female 1,544,942) 54.73% (male 1,989,501; female 2,013,012) 2.87% (male 83,769; female 125,654) (2001 est.)	44.76% (male 8,152,438; female 8,063,520) 52.35% (male 9,387,737; female 9,581,518) 2.89% (male 473,498; female 573,363) (2001 est.)
Population growth rate	1.16% (2001 est.)	2.61% (2001 est.)
Population density (per°km²):	304 (2001)	38 (2001)
Urban population (%-2000):	6%	33%
Ethnic groups:	Hutu 84%, Tutsi 15%, (Pygmoid) 1%	mainland – native African 99% (of which 95% are Bantu consisting of more than 130 tribes), other 1% (consisting of Asian, European, and Arab); Zanzibar – Arab, native African, mixed Arab and native African

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Table 3.1: **Rwanda and Tanzania: Key geographic and demographic facts** - *Continued*

Topic	Rwanda	Tanzania
Religions:	Roman Catholic 52.7%, Protestant 24%, Adventist 10.4%, Muslim 1.9%, indigenous beliefs and other 6.5%, none 4.5% (1996)	mainland – Christian 45%, Muslim 35%, indigenous beliefs 20%; Zanzibar – more than 99% Muslim
Languages:	Kinyarwanda (official) universal Bantu vernacular, French (official), English (official), Swahili (Swahili) used in commercial centers	Swahili or Swahili (official), Kiunguju (name for Swahili in Zanzibar), English (official, primary language of commerce, administration, and higher education), Arabic (widely spoken in Zanzibar), many local languages

Source: CIA (2002)

There are the following points of comparison between the two countries based on their geography and demography that have a bearing on the study:

i. *Rwanda is much smaller than Tanzania and is landlocked*. This has implications for the development of trade and industry in Rwanda due to the high transport costs to the sea. Tanzania doe not suffer from these difficulties.

ii. *Rwanda has a much greater population density than Tanzania* with a population expected to reach 11 million by 2010 and 13 million by 2020. Rwanda is the least urbanised country in Africa and the vast majority of the population are dependent on agriculture. This fact, coupled with problems of poor soil fertility, soil erosion and outdated farming methods makes it more difficult for the agricultural economy in Rwanda to sustain the growing population and explains why the government lays such an emphasis on modernising and diversifying the agricultural sector whilst seeking an exit strategy into other areas including the service industry. The Tanzanian government, on the other hand, lays a greater emphasis on the long term future of the agricultural sector as a basis for sustaining its population (see section four).

iii. *The nature of linguistic diversity in the two countries has implications for how they face up to the challenges of globalisation*. For Rwanda, the geographic position between Francophone and Anglophone Africa makes them well placed to act as a communications hub for the region. The widespread use of both English and French in Rwanda serves as a comparative advantage. In Tanzania, Swahili has served well as a national and regional *lingua franca* and has been a medium of instruction in schools. The growing importance of English as a global language, however, has led some to

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demand that the teaching of English should be given a greater emphasis and has led, more recently to a proliferation of private schools where the medium of instruction is English (see section five).

iv. *The existence of a plurality of ethnic and religious groups present challenges to both countries.* Rwanda faces the challenge of forging national unity after the genocide. In Tanzania's case, the achievement of national unity was one of the successes of the post-independence period, but recently this unity has been threatened by an escalation of ethnic and religious tension. The need to forge national unity has implications for the content of the curriculum, the management of the competitive ethic embedded in responses to globalisation, and the need to develop political and citizenship skills amongst the population. The need for these skills is also underlined by the fact that both countries are embarking on a multi-party democratic system after the experience of genocide in Rwanda and of a one-party system in Tanzania, and the future success of this system will rely in part on educating good citizens.

The Economic Context

Table 3.2 **Rwanda and Tanzania: Key Economic Indicators**

Topic	Rwanda	Tanzania
Gross national income (per° capita):	US$230 (2000)	US$280 (2000)
Structure of GDP (%–2000):		
• Agriculture	46	45
• Industry	20	15
• Services	34	40
GDP growth rate	5.8% (2000 est.)	5.2% (2000 est.)
Inflation rate:	4% (2000)	6% (2000 est.)
Natural resources:	gold, cassiterite (tin ore), wolframite (tungsten ore), methane, hydropower, arable land	hydropower, tin, phosphates, iron ore, coal, diamonds, gemstones, gold, natural gas, nickel
Industries:	cement, agricultural products, small-scale beverages, soap, furniture, shoes, plastic goods, textiles, cigarettes	primarily agricultural processing (sugar, beer, cigarettes, sisal twine), diamond and gold mining, oil refining, shoes, cement, textiles, wood products, fertilizer, salt
Industrial production growth rate:	8.7% (1998 est.)	8.4% (1999 est.)

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Table 3.2 **Rwanda and Tanzania: Key Economic Indicators** - *Continued*

Topic	Rwanda	Tanzania
Agricultural products:	coffee, tea, pyrethrum (insecticide made from chrysanthemums), bananas, beans, sorghum, potatoes; livestock	coffee, sisal, tea, cotton, pyrethrum (insecticide made from chrysanthemums), cashew nuts, tobacco, cloves (Zanzibar), corn, wheat, cassava (tapioca), bananas, fruits, vegetables; cattle, sheep, goats
Exports		
Commodities:	coffee, tea, hides, tin ore	coffee, manufactured goods, cotton, cashew nuts, minerals, tobacco, sisal (1996)
Partners:	Germany, Belgium, Pakistan, Italy, Kenya	India 20%, UK 10%, Germany 8%, Japan 8%, Netherlands 8%, Belgium 4% (1998)
Imports		
Commodities:	foodstuffs, machinery and equipment, steel, petroleum products, cement and construction material	consumer goods, machinery and transportation equipment, industrial raw materials, crude oil
Partners:	Kenya, Tanzania, US, Benelux, France, India	South Africa 8%, Japan 8%, Kenya 7%, India 6%, US 5% (1998)
External debt:	$1.4 billion (2002 est)	$8 billion (2002 est.)
Economic aid:	$591.5 million (1997); note – in summer 1998, Rwanda presented its policy objectives and development priorities to donor governments resulting in multiyear pledges in the amount of $250 million	$963 million (1997)
Number of internet service providers	1	13

Table 3.2 shows key economic facts and indicators for Rwanda and Tanzania. The following points of comparison are relevant for the present study:

i. *Both countries have, since the mid-1980s, been pursuing similar economic policies*. They have been transforming their economies through processes of deregulation, privatisation and economic restructuring aimed at creating macroeconomic stability and attracting foreign investment. Both have been fairly successful in maintaining steady rates of

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economic growth and keeping inflation within manageable limits, although growth has slowed in recent years as the prices of exports have fallen on international markets and as a result of reduced tourism and higher transport costs in the wake of the September 11th attacks on Washington and New York.

ii. *Both economies are heavily dependant on agriculture with relatively small industrial and service sectors*. However, Tanzania has greater potential for developing its agricultural base in a way that can sustain rural livelihoods (see above). Both countries have potential to diversify and grow more exotic fruits and flowers for foreign niche markets and to develop the value-added agricultural sector through enhanced food processing and packaging. There is potential for Tanzania to become a significant exporter of seafood to Japan. The development of the agricultural sector for export in both countries is hampered by the absence of quality control mechanisms. Prospects for sustained growth in the agricultural sector of both countries remain dependant on the prices of agricultural produce on international markets and the lifting of prohibitive trade restrictions.

iii. *The industrial sector in Tanzania shows greater potential for development than does the industrial sector in Rwanda*. At present Rwanda's industrial sector is mainly comprised of small scale cottage industries. Rwanda lacks natural resources and suffers from high transport costs. The industrial sector in Tanzania is also currently limited, mainly to the processing of agricultural products and the production of light consumer goods. Unlike Rwanda, however, Tanzania is rich in mineral resources and its mining industry is an important contributor to the country's GDP. Although currently under-developed, the mining sector shows good potential for future growth. The oil industry in Tanzania is a key sub-sector in the economy of the country. Industrial growth in both countries is hampered by a poor communications and transport infrastructure although this is more the case in Rwanda where the infrastructure was severely damaged by the war. Both countries are dependent on imported fuel, but both have fairly substantial but as yet untapped sources of natural gas.

iv. *Both countries are developing measures to attract foreign direct investment*. Tanzania is currently developing an export processing zone (EPZ) to encourage foreign direct investment and to absorb the unemployed work force. A similar scheme is being considered by Rwanda. An EPZ is a geographical area within a territory where economic activities are promoted by a set of policy instruments that are not applicable to the rest of the country, including special tax incentives. Labour intensive processing industries that add value to output from primary production activities of agriculture and natural resources such as minerals, forestry and fisheries would be relocated to the EPZ. Indeed, it is hoped that products such as garments and other textiles, could attain international competitiveness. Both countries have recently been encouraged to develop their garment industries on account of favourable terms of trade from the USA.

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v. *Both countries have growing service sectors*. Both Rwanda and Tanzania have potential to develop their hotel and tourism industries. However, whilst the hotel industry in Tanzania is growing fairly rapidly, the Rwandan tourist industry is still affected by the recent legacy of genocide. Both countries have a growing financial services sector.

vi. *Both countries have a very high external debt*. Rwanda and Tanzania have an external debt of 1.4 and 8 billion dollars which represents 75% and 100% of GDP respectively. The level of debt re-servicing seriously affects the amount that each government can spend on social services such as health and education. In 1998, for example, the amount that Rwanda spent on debt re-servicing was 21% higher than on health and education combined. Both countries have qualified for the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative (HIPC)

vii. *Both countries have a weak but growing ICT infrastructure*. Accurate figures about the coverage and spread of ICTs in Rwanda and Tanzania are difficult to obtain. In both countries, there has been some ICT penetration into the public and private sectors. This is reflected, for example in the fact that all of the banks are computerised and that most of the large private sector organisations and international NGOs use computers. There has also been a proliferation of internet cafes in Kigali and Dar es Salaam, indicating a growing level of public demand, although this demand is mainly focused on the urban areas which in Rwanda in particular accounts for only a very small proportion of the population. There has been a more limited penetration of computers and other ICTs into the rural areas. Both countries import computer equipment and neither manufactures or assembles equipment in-country.

Poverty in Rwanda and Tanzania

Table 3.3: **Poverty in Rwanda and Tanzania: Key Indicators**

Topic	Rwanda	Tanzania
Human development index (HDI) ranking:	152nd of 162 countries (1999)	140th of 162 countries (1999)
Gender-related development index (GDI) ranking:	135th of 146 countries (1999)	124th of 146 countries (1999)
Population below poverty line:	70% (2000 est.)	51.1% (1991 est.)
Household income or consumption by percentage share:		
Lowest 10%	4.2%	2.9%
Highest 10%	24.2% (1983-85)	30.2% (1993)
Life expectancy at birth:	43 (1960), 40 (2000)	41 (1960), 51 (2000)
Mortality rate under 5 years old (per 1,000):	206 (1960), 187 (2000)	241 (1960), 165 (2000)
HIV/AIDS – adult prevalence rate:	11.21% (1999 est.)	8.09% (1999 est.)

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Table 3.3: **Poverty in Rwanda and Tanzania: Key Indicators** - *Continued*

Topic	Rwanda	Tanzania
HIV/AIDS – people living with HIV/AIDS:	400,000 (1999 est.)	1.3 million (1999 est.)
HIV/AIDS – deaths:	40,000 (1999 est.)	140,000 (1999 est.)
Population using improved drinking water sources (%–2000):		
• Total	41	68
• Urban	60	90
• Rural	40	57

Sources: CIDA (2002); CIA (2002)

Both Rwanda and Tanzania suffer from endemic and widespread poverty that is reflected in the social indicators highlighted in table 3.3. The following account of the characteristics of poverty in Rwanda and Tanzania is based on a comparison of the PRSPs for the two countries. In Rwanda, poverty has been particularly exacerbated by the effects of genocide. Before turning to a comparison then it is important to look more closely at what these effects have been.

- Up to 1 million people were killed and three million were in exile in neighbouring countries
- A high proportion of households are headed by women (34% in 1996) and by female widows (21% in 1996). Men form a minority of the adult population. Inflows of population into areas such as Umutara and Kibungo pose infrastructural challenges.
- The war and genocide left 85,000 child headed households, some of whom have grown up or been absorbed into other households.
- About 120,000 people are in prison awaiting trial for genocide-related crimes, imposing a large economic burden both on the state and on their households.
- The experience of violence traumatised a high proportion of the population.
- Shelter and capital stock have been reduced in both the household and small business sectors. Poor households have not yet been able to replenish their livestock holdings, for instance.
- Networks of social links, for instance between rural and urban areas, have been damaged, impeding internal commerce.
- The prevalence of HIV has increased dramatically. The prevalence is 11.1% nationally and 10.8% in rural areas, compared to a rate of 1.3% in rural areas in 1986.
- Human resources were drastically reduced. In 1995 79% of core civil servants had not completed secondary education; this proportion fell to 51% by 1998.
- Continued external security threats, including the insurgencies of 1996/7 and 2001.

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- There is an acute need for political development to aim at reconciliation and forge a new sense of national identity in social cohesion. Open debate with collective responsibility for development, needs to replace the culture of passive obedience which left people open to political and sectarian manipulation.

Characteristics of poverty in Rwanda and Tanzania that have a bearing on the present study may be summarised as follows. Poverty is defined here in terms of a comparison of the income and non-income attributes that are recorded by the respective PRSPs (GoR, 2001; URT, 2000b) and from responses from our research informants.

a) Income poverty

i. *Increase in the incidence of poverty*. Poverty has been increasing in both countries. In Rwanda poverty was increasing in the late 1980s and 1990s. As a result of the genocide, poverty rose dramatically in 1994. Since 1994, poverty has fallen every year but it remains much higher than it was before the genocide. The incidence of poverty declined in Tanzania between 1983 and 1993 but has increased again between 1993 and 2001. The number of poor households in Tanzania has increased from 48% in 1991/2 to an estimate of well over 50% in 2001.

ii. *Increase in inequality*. Both countries have experienced a widening of income inequality. In Rwanda for instance, in 2001, consumption in the top quintile of the population was more than ten times the average consumption in the bottom quintile and almost three times the consumption in the second quintile. By contrast, during the mid-1980s, consumption in the top quintile was only four times that in the bottom quintile. Rwanda is one of the most unequal societies in sub-Saharan Africa. In Tanzania, although accurate up-to-date figures are not available, inequality, particularly amongst the lowest income earners was reported to have increased during the 1980s (Ferreira, 1996) and since then (URT, 2000b).

iii. *Poverty is largely a rural phenomenon in both countries but urban inequality is increasingly a problem*. Poverty is more widespread and deeper in the rural than in the urban areas with the majority of the poor concentrated in subsistence agriculture. In Rwanda, 75% of the people in Kigali urban areas are in the top expenditure quintile in the country. In Tanzania, poverty is also less acute in the urban areas compared to the rural areas. In 1994, for example, the basic needs poverty index for Dar es Salaam was 4.2% compared to a national average of 30.8%. In both Rwanda and Tanzania, urban poverty is increasing, however, partly as a result of greater influxes of poor people from the rural areas.

iv. In both countries, *the youth, the old and those living in large households are more likely to be poor*. In Rwanda, given the legacy of genocide female-headed households are more likely

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to be poor although this is not necessarily the case in Tanzania. In both countries, women are generally perceived to be poorer than men.

v. Causes of income poverty. In Rwanda, increased income poverty is associated with:

- Low agricultural productivity;
- a lack of commercialisation and marketing problems;
- high unemployment caused by retrenchments from the public and private sectors associated with privatisation, the demobilisation and reintegration of soldiers and the release of prisoners under the *gacaca* programme;
- the small size of farms;
- significant numbers of households without adequate livestock;
- lack of awareness about the uses of fertilisers amongst farmers;
- the limited impact and lack of awareness of micro-finance opportunities to re-capitalise households.

In Tanzania, the increase in poverty is attributed to:

- Poor working tools and technology;
- non-availability of farm inputs;
- poor roads;
- limited access to markets;
- non-availability of credits;
- collapse of co-operatives;
- adverse climatic conditions;
- absence of safety nets to cope with fluctuations in income

It can be seen from the above lists that there are similarities in the causes of poverty that have a bearing on skills development, which will be discussed in sections five and seven.

b) Non-income poverty

Poverty in Rwanda and Tanzania is also reflected in a range of non-income factors. Some of these are outlined below.

i. *Survival*. In Rwanda, the genocide produced a dramatic deterioration in human development indicators. Table 3.3. shows that whereas life expectancy has increased in Tanzania since 1960 from 41 to 51, in Rwanda, it has actually decreased from 43 to 40 during this period. Child mortality is also higher now in Rwanda than it was in the mid-1980s. 1 in 5 children in Rwanda die before they reach their 5th birthday compared to 1 in 6 in Tanzania.

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ii. *Nutrition*. Child malnutrition is a serious problem in both countries. In Rwanda, child malnutrition has recently been estimated at 6.7% for wasting (low weight to height ratio) and 42.7% for stunting (low height for age). Corresponding figures in Tanzania are 7% for wasting and 43% for stunting.

iii. *HIV/AIDS*. A significant proportion of adult mortality in both countries is due to HIV. In Rwanda, the incidence of HIV increased dramatically in the mid-1990s, partly as a result of the genocide. For instance, the incidence in rural areas in 1986 was 1.3% compared to today's figure of 10.8%. In Tanzania, the recent decline in life expectancy is largely attributable to HIV/AIDS. AIDS is the leading killer disease in the economically active section of the population (i.e. people between the ages of 15-59). For example, AIDS accounts for 35.5% and 44.5% of male and female deaths respectively in Dar es Salaam. HIV/AIDS has also created a lot of orphans in both countries, estimated, for example, at 680,000 in 2000 in Tanzania.

iv. *Clean and safe drinking water*. Despite a relatively high rainfall, there has been a poor and declining condition of access to clean and safe drinking water in Rwanda. The situation in Tanzania is exacerbated in some regions by drought. It is harder to gain access to drinking water in rural areas in both countries. The long distances that many have to travel for drinking water, particularly in rural areas has a particular impact on women's' time and energies.

Existing Provision for Skills Development in Rwanda and Tanzania in Comparative Perspective

The Historical Legacy of Skills Development in Rwanda and Tanzania
A full historical account of education and training in Rwanda and Tanzania is given in the respective country reports. The following themes emerge from a comparative analysis of the educational legacies of Rwanda and Tanzania that have a bearing on the present study:

i. *Teaching of traditional skills and values have been threatened by successive waves of globalisation*. Both countries had informal systems of passing on knowledge, values and skills from one generation to the next in place before the arrival of the first Europeans. Education was dispensed to the young people by elders of the family and of the community. It was based mainly on oral transmission of knowledge and information through story narration, poetry, dance and songs. It centred on preparing the young generation to become honourable and productive adults, who upheld morals and traditional values of society. Traditional education placed a strong emphasis on the development of traditional skills. Skills deemed appropriate for men included hunting and fishing, blacksmithing, carpentry, professional sports, cattle keeping and being valiant warriors. These were taught to boys by male elders. Likewise, young women

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were taught by their elder women folk the skills designated for females such as child-rearing, cookery, house keeping and house decoration, handicrafts, pottery, traditional dancing, local medicine production and traditional agricultural methods. To some extent, these skills and methods persist up to the present day, particularly in rural areas. They have been disrupted, however, by the impact of colonialism, the effects of contemporary globalisation, by large migrations of people who have brought cultures and values from the outside and, in the case of Rwanda, by genocide and war. Traditional skills have often been neglected by the formal education system. Nonetheless, our research informants identified traditional skills in areas such as crafts and medicine as potential areas for exploitation in the era of contemporary globalisation (see section five).

ii. *Global religions have had a major influence on the development of education in both countries*. In Tanzania, the metropolitan Swahili already had an established network of Koranic schools before the arrivals of Europeans. In both countries, Christian missionaries played a major role in establishing schools for Africans where moral and religious education was emphasised. In both countries religious organisations and churches remain important providers of education and skills training.

iii. P*rimary education has never been universally available in either country*. Since the introduction of colonial education in Rwanda and Tanzania from the late nineteenth century onwards, primary education was geared towards a few years of teaching reading, writing, numeracy and basic hygiene. Only a small fraction of the population, however, had access to primary education under colonialism. Access was increased in the post-independence period in both countries. In Rwanda, school enrolment had increased from 250,000 pupils at the time of independence to 386,000 pupils at primary level in 1975. Net enrolment increased steadily following independence and now stands at 63%. In Tanzania, primary education was emphasised in the period following independence as an aspect of Nyerere's philosophy of education for self reliance. By 1980, enrolment had reached 3.6 million, or more than seven times the number at independence. By 1985 83.8% were enrolled but this figure fell to 66.2% in 1999 (see below). Adult literacy and worker education were also emphasised by the post-independence government in Tanzania and reached a figure of 75% in 1984, well above the African average of 48%. Rather than increasing, however, the figure has remained the same since then. Adult literacy levels in Rwanda have decreased from 50% to 44% since 1991, partly as a result of genocide with differences between men and women (see section seven).

iv. *Access to general, technical and vocational secondary education has been limited in both countries*. Prior to independence, secondary school provision was limited to a few institutions. The main purpose of secondary education was to train a small number of native 'auxiliaries' who could service the local administration, health and education

systems, work in agriculture or become priests or nuns. In Rwanda a vocational school was established for girls to teach them basic house craft skills. At independence, there were 64 secondary schools with a student population of 11,227 students. The secondary education system offered three years of core education, after which students had an option either to continue with general education, or to pursue three-year vocational training to become mainly primary teachers. A few students pursued technical training to become carpenters, tailors, builders and mechanics. In Tanzania, by 1975, secondary school enrolment had tripled and reached 180,899 in 1993; an additional 15,824 students were at teacher training colleges. The reality is that the proportion of primary school students going on to secondary school remained very small, even compared to many other African countries, and this was a deliberate policy. In 1972 the government diversified secondary education into various vocational streams and introduced post-primary vocational centres as part of the ESR philosophy. Nonetheless, the proportion of students enrolled in secondary education in both countries remains very limited.

v. *Tertiary education was expanded after independence in both countries but has been given less priority since the 1980s.* Following independence there was an attempt to expand tertiary education in both countries. The National University of Rwanda was established in 1963. By 1975 it had six faculties: Medicine, Agriculture, Law, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences and Arts; and it had an enrolment of 619 students. By 1994 (30 years after its establishment), the National University of Rwanda had produced 1,000 graduates, most of whom had specialised in languages, arts and social sciences. Many of these either perished during the 1994 events or they went into exile. Other institutions that offered post secondary education in the post-colonial period were the Military Higher Institute for training senior military officers, and the African Institute of Catechism that prepared catechism teachers for Central Africa. As we will see below, several tertiary institutions have been recently established in Rwanda. In Tanzania comparable improvements in university-level education have also occurred. In 1975, there were more than 3,000 students at the University of Dar es Salaam, a dramatic increase over the enrolment at independence. By 1993, there were 5,500 university-level students and Tanzania today has a relatively large number of tertiary institutions (see below). However, since the 1980s and in the context of increasing financial austerity and the post-Jomtein emphasis on primary education, there has been a slow down in expansion of the tertiary sectors. Gross enrolment now stands at less than 1% of the population in both countries.

vi. *There has been changing emphases between academic and vocational concerns in the two countries.* At independence Rwanda inherited an educational system with a strong academic bias. Secondary schools were based on a seminary model and emphasized the study of religious education, philosophy and languages. This trend persisted until the 1980s when the government developed a network of Integrated Rural and Craft Education Centres run by communes or religious institutions. These centres were

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thought to be inefficient and ill adapted and have for the most part been converted to youth training centres (see below). More recently the government has established vocational streams in secondary education. By way of contrast to the academic focus during the colonial period in Rwanda, in Tanzania, there was a form of 'adapted' education introduced by the British which emphasised basic agricultural skills as well as functional literacy. Following independence, Tanzania placed great emphasis on practical aspects of education. Agriculture, commerce, home economics, and technical and scientific subjects played a central role in secondary school curricula. According to Nyerere's system, students were to be prepared not primarily for examinations, but for the agricultural life to which most of them would return. Curriculum reform was facilitated by the introduction of the East African examinations Board to replace the Cambridge Overseas examination. Again, however, the reality was that this was highly unpopular and people saw schooling as a way of trying to escape from the drudgery of agriculture. There was massive cynicism about teaching agriculture in schools. Despite the official attempts to limit secondary school places there was a growth in private provision as people saw primary schooling alone as a dead end. Thus although we see this as a key policy dilemma, we suggest that future considerations of the teaching of agriculture in schools should take care to account for past experience.

vii. *The struggle against illiteracy has suffered setbacks in recent years*. The post-independence governments gave attention to tacking illiteracy in both countries through programmes of adult and non-formal education. In Rwanda, government emphasis on tackling illiteracy was evident as early as 1975. Prefectural and Communal Centres for Development and Continuing Education (PCCDCE) were established in 1977 to co-ordinate various schemes of adult education. Initiatives involved basic training programmes in literacy and numeracy. In 1984, however, literacy programmes along with other areas of public spending lost government funding as economic crisis deepened. In 1988 a national programme to combat illiteracy was launched with support from UNICEF although the programmes turned out to be an unprecedented failure due to bad planning and a lack of an overall focus (GoR, 1998a). The outbreak of war in 1990 contributed to the reduction of the already meagre results and by the time of the genocide in 1994, activities in 90% of the PCCDCEs were completely paralysed. In Tanzania, the struggle against adult illiteracy through study campaigns was a major thrust of the ESR initiative. These involved distance education programmes using radios and correspondence courses, many of them co-ordinated by the Institute for Adult Education (IAE). The establishment of 54 Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) in the late 1970s also provided local centres for adult and basic education and training including tackling illiteracy. Official figures put the literacy rate at 96.8 per cent in 1986 and although these figures must be treated cautiously, the country was hailed worldwide as a model success for adult empowerment to read and write. However, the story changed drastically about ten years later. In 1998, the Ministry of Education and

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Culture quoted literacy as standing at 77 per cent. The figure now stands at 75% (see below). The dramatic fall in adult literacy can be attributed to cutbacks in expenditure on non-formal education, decreased enrolments in primary schools and problems in the effectiveness of FDCs linked to falling levels of funding and a change in emphasis towards vocational education.

viii. *There has been a decline in quality of education and training in both countries*. Deepening financial austerity coupled with pressures to expand the system have led to a decline in quality of educational provision at all levels (see below).

ix. *There has been a recent growth in private education*. Private educational provision has flourished in both Rwanda and Tanzania since the 1980s as an alternative route into secondary and tertiary education for those unable to obtain access to government schools. There has historically been a difference in the quality of provision, however, with government schools perceived to provide better quality. This is despite the existence of a two tier private education system, with a smaller number of English medium private institutions catering for the local elite.

x. *Gender stereotyping has been endemic in the curriculum in Rwanda and Tanzania*. Informal education in pre-colonial societies was heavily gender biased (see above). Gender stereotyping has been further entrenched since colonial times when segregated schools were established for girls to teach them house keeping skills. In the post-colonial period there has been a deeply ingrained tendency towards gender stereotyping in the curriculum in both countries. This is reflected in low uptake rates for girls in the fields of science, technology and mathematics. To some extent this was challenged in Tanzania after independence where girls took up typically 'male' vocational subjects in the immediate post-independence period. Both governments now acknowledge that gender stereotyping remains a serious problem.

xi. *The legacy of colonial education has hindered innovation and creativity*. Arguably, one of the most challenging legacies of colonial education with its emphasis on rule following and subservience to authority has been to stifle innovative and creative thought. This tendency was continued in the Rwandan system under the post-independence regime and was reinforced by hierarchical and traditional authority structures in society, particularly in the rural areas. In Tanzania, the philosophy of ESR sought to challenge colonial thinking amongst Tanzanians although this philosophy has been subsequently criticised for being too dogmatic in its approach.

xii. *Education, ethnic divisions and national unity*. Following independence Rwanda and Tanzania adopted radically different policies in education relating to ethnicity and national unity. Education was used by the colonial educators as early as the 1920's and

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1930's to divide Rwandan society. Ethnic differences were emphasised in schools, putting Hutu and Tutsi children into distinct categories. Children of Tutsi chiefs were favoured by being admitted to the prestigious Astrida Secondary School, preparing them for service in the colonial administration. Hutu children were not admitted into these special colonial schools. This was the beginning of the process of sowing divisions in Rwandan society that had been more homogeneous in the pre-colonial days (although still with some ethnic divisions and stratifications). The colonial masters' design was to groom Tutsis for leadership and exclude Hutu children. This was a strategy of divide and rule and it was a major contributing factor to the upheavals of the 1950s and to the subsequent conflicts of the 1960s. One major cause of conflict during this time was precisely because the Tutsi had been favoured in the colonial education system and consequently dominated in the local administration. This fuelled the resentment of the Hutu elites who had mainly received seminary education. It culminated in the 1959 civil war and the death of many Tutsis. Others went into exile. After independence, Tutsi children who stayed in the country were barred from going beyond primary level. Identity cards were introduced in the school system and in the work place to reinforce the ethnic segregation. This discriminatory system was equivalent to that of apartheid in South Africa and resulted in many young people fleeing the country to seek educational opportunities in neighbouring states, especially at university level. In Tanzania by way of contrast, education was used by the post-independence government to foster national unity. Laws were passed outlawing racial and ethnic discrimination in education. Swahili was promoted as a lingua franca and a common philosophy of socialist self-reliance and Tanzanian national pride took precedence over ethnic difference.

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Current indicators and trends relating to skills development in Rwanda and Tanzania

Table 3.4 **Basic indicators relating to skills development for Rwanda and Tanzania**

Topic	Rwanda	Tanzania
Education funding as a proportion of government expenditure (%)	22.7	24.2
Education spending as a proportion of GDP (%)	2.8	2.6 (2000)
Spending per sector (%)		
• Primary	64	62
• Secondary	16	7
• Tertiary	10	24
Enrolment by sector		
• Primary	1,479,272	3,943,000
• Secondary	141,163	212,000
• Vocational	8,736	40,000
• Tertiary	7,224	13,000
Gross enrolment ratio by sector (%)		
• Primary	76.6	66.2
• Secondary	10.2	9.0
• Vocational	–	3.38
• Tertiary	1.0	0.79
Proportion of learners in private secondary schools (%)	44	51
Children completing primary school (%)	68.37	50.0
Average pupil–teacher ratio		
• Primary	59.1:1	36:1
• Secondary	21.9:1	17:1
Qualified teachers (Primary) (%)	49.0	44.2
Adult literacy rate (%–1999):		
• Total	66	75
• Men	73	84
• Women	59	66
Tertiary students in science, maths and engineering (%)	32.9	39.0

Sources: GoR (2001); URT (2001a); UNESCO (1998); UNESCO (2000). All figures for 1998 unless otherwise indicated.

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The aim of this section is to provide background information about the existing capacity of the education and training systems in Rwanda and Tanzania. Table 3.4 shows some indicators relating to skills development for the two countries. There is much that the two countries share in common with regard to existing capacity for skills development although there are differences as well. The following points summarise the key characteristics of the various sub-sectors of education and training in both countries:

a) Provision and participation in education and training

i. *Primary education*. Primary enrolments have increased in Rwanda since the genocide but have decreased slightly in Tanzania since 1991 due to low capacity of schools to accommodate all school aged children and the low economic capacity of parents to be able to meet the direct costs of schooling. There is poor internal efficiency within the education system and this is reflected in the poor completion rates for primary school. Both countries also have high drop out rates at primary school and low transition rates to secondary education. In Rwanda, out of the 1.5 million children who are enrolled in primary schools, only about 100,000 pupils get to Primary Six and sit the National Primary Leaving Exams (the 'P6' exams), which qualify them to proceed to secondary level. As already mentioned, out of the 100,000 pupils who sit for P6 exams, about 25,000-30,000 pupils proceed to either public or private secondary schools, which represents a 25-30% transition rate. The remaining 70-75 % drop out of the school system at an age of between 13-15 years old, without any of the skills that can help them to survive. In Tanzania high drop out and repetition rates imply that almost a third of children entering the primary education system do not complete primary education. The survival rate at the end of the primary education cycle is only about 50%.

ii. *Secondary education*. Enrolments in secondary schools in both countries are small by regional standards (average GER for secondary level is 26.2% for sub-Saharan Africa) (UNESCO, 2000). The costs of secondary education prove prohibitive for many parents even in government subsidised schools (GoR, 2001; URT, 2000b). Although few children are in private primary schools in both countries, a significant proportion of secondary school children are enrolled in private secondary schools (see table 3.4 above). The large proportion of private school enrolments reflects the demand for secondary school places that neither government can currently satisfy. The drop out rate from secondary schools is also high. In Rwanda, for example, out of the 153,210 students who are currently in secondary school, only 18,000-20,000 students are in the final year (MoE, 1998a, 1999a,b). As noted above, issues of quality severely affect secondary education in both countries although private secondary schools are generally of a lower quality than government schools.

iii. *Vocational education and training*. VET provision in the two countries may be summarised as follows. Starting with Rwanda, responsibility for vocational education and training is split between the MoE, the Ministry of Youth, Sports, Culture and

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Vocational Training (MoYSCVT) and several line ministries which provide specialised skills programmes for their staff and the public. There is no one authority with overall responsibility for VET. Secondary education is split in Rwanda between academic, teacher training and technical/ vocational streams. There are an estimated 8,736 students enrolled in 71 technical and vocational schools. Of these, 31 are private and 29 are state subsidised. Each province also has a primary teacher training college, a nursing school and an agricultural secondary school. In addition, the MoE is in the process of establishing 12 centres of excellence for the teaching of maths, science and ICT. Parallel to the professional training provided by the vocational/technical education streams of the school system, there are also youth training centres which operate under the supervision of the MoYSCVT. These centres provide training in employment in courses such as construction, carpentry, sewing, plumbing, welding and electricity.

In Tanzania the Vocational Education and Training Agency (VETA) has overall responsibility for co-ordinating vocational education and training (VET) across a number of ministries, in particular the MoEC and the Ministry of Community development, Women Affairs and Children (MoCDWAC). Several Ministries have responsibility for skills development as it applies to their own sphere of influence including the MoSTHE, the MoEC and the Ministry of Industries and Trade (MoIT). It is estimated that around 40,000 trainees are registered in VET in Tanzania. Company based training, private operators, governmental providers as well as church linked VTCs contribute to services. Many institutions are registered under VETA and belong to Line Ministries. Under the MoEC are 8 Technical Secondary Schools which aim to link general secondary school education with vocational skills. A network of 242 Post Primary Technical Centres (PPTCs) offer basic technical skills to primary school leavers. However, enrolment in these centres is well below capacity due to concerns about their quality and relevance (see below). 54 Folk Development Colleges provide literacy and vocational skills (including extension skills) to adult learners. The Ministry of Labour and Youth development (MoLYD) also runs 7 training institutions for people with disabilities as well as 3 youth training centres. The Ministry of Works runs a vocational training centre in Morogoro to train ministerial technical staff; the Ministry of Industry and Commerce has established a college for business education and a high precision technology centre. The Ministry of Agriculture (MoA) runs 12 agricultural colleges around the country but these are only used to around 40% capacity. Short term training courses are run by other line Ministries for their staff and the general public. They also seek to raise gender awareness and foster community participation in decision making. They are run by the Ministry of Community Development, Women Affairs and Children (MCDWAC). Vocational education has also been provided by the larger parastatals and larger companies and has been mainly demand driven although since privatisation there has been a decline in provision by this sector. About 16,000 training places are offered

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by private vocational institutions whilst church owned VTC cover about 30% of the existing capacity. VETA implements vocational and skills training in 20 training institutions including nine Regional Vocational and Service Training Centres (RVTCs).

The main issues that arise from this summary of VET in the two countries are as follows. Despite the existence of VETA in Tanzania, there are problems in both countries of overlap and lack of coherence between different line ministries and institutions responsible for VET. There are also major concerns about the poor and even non-existent links between VET and the needs of the labour market (MoE, 1998a,b). Rwanda and Tanzania differ in the availability of a VET infrastructure, with much of the Rwandan infrastructure having been damaged in the war and many trainers either killed or displaced by the conflict. The more developed infrastructure in Tanzania also exemplifies a greater historical commitment on the part of the Tanzanian government to VET (see above). Enrolments in VET in both countries are low, even by regional standards. In Tanzania, concerns about the quality and relevance of parts of the VET system have led to these parts operating at less than full capacity. On the other hand, the proliferation of private VET institutions in both countries in some areas of provision has led to duplication and competition between service providers.

iv. *Non-formal education and training*. Illiteracy, particularly in the rural areas remains a major problem in both Rwanda and Tanzania, especially amongst women (see table 3.4 above). An account was given above of the various efforts made over the years to tackle illiteracy in Rwanda and Tanzania. In Rwanda, responsibility for non-formal education rests with the Ministry of Gender and Women in Development (MoG), the MoYSCTV, religious institutions and NGOs. The system of Prefectural Centres for Development and Community Education (PCDCEs) under the MoG is currently being rehabilitated following the war where many buildings were damaged. These centres provide adult literacy programmes as well as basic education programmes. The centres that are operational also suffer from a lack of material resources and trainers which limits their effectiveness (MoE, 1998a). The youth training centres run by the MoYSCVT have also traditionally provided adult literacy programmes although these centres have increasingly become centres of vocational training. Churches and NGOs continue to provide literacy programmes although data about the nature, extent and effectiveness of these interventions is lacking. In Tanzania, the Folk Development Colleges under the MoCDWAC play a similar role to the PDCDEs in Rwanda, providing literacy training in the various local centres. These centres also appear to have become more vocational in orientation, however. The Institute for Adult Education remains a key provider of non-formal education through correspondence programmes. As in Rwanda, churches and NGOs also play a key role in provision although it is hard to quantify this role. Key issues in relation to the provision of non-formal education in both countries are lack of provision (particularly in Rwanda), poor levels of funding, questions about quality

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including materials and the number of suitably qualified trainers and an overall lack of coherence and co-ordination within the sub-sector.

v. *Higher education and scientific research*. Higher education provision in Rwanda may be summarised as follows. In total, Rwanda has now 13 Higher Education Institutions spread over several ministries with a current annual enrolment of 4,801 and a total student population of 15,362. When compared with the secondary school population of 157,210, this figure indicates that the transition rate from secondary to tertiary has increased very significantly since before the 1994 war. In Rwanda there are currently:

Universities:

- 1 state university (the National University of Rwanda)
- 1 social sciences orientated private University (ULK)
- 3 religious studies institutions belonging to the Catholic Church
- 2 mostly social sciences oriented institutions belonging to the 7th DAY Adventist Church

Higher professional institutions:

- Kigali Institute of Science, Technology and Management (KIST)
- Kigali Health Institute (KHI)
- Kigali Institute of Education (KIE) (includes 10 distance education centres at provincial level)
- Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry (ISAE)
- Higher Institute of Public Finance (ISFP)
- Rwanda Institute of Administrative Management (RIAM)
- 1 private higher diploma Teacher Training College

In the near future, the Higher Education Sector is promising to expand even further as the Catholic Church plans to open two new universities. An association of parents also plans to open a private university. The Government, in collaboration with the private sector, hopes to establish a School of Tourism and Hotel Management to train professionals for the developing tourism industry and the increasing number of hotels and restaurants. The Government also plans to establish a School of Monetary Studies to train professionals in areas of financial management, accounting, auditing, insurance, banking, and taxation.

The higher education institutions have designed an implementation strategy for distance education programmes in Rwanda. This strategy envisages the use of a combination of both traditional and modern ICT related methods of distance training. In addition to

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distance training, the tertiary institutions are also progressively expanding their evening programmes which target both working people and secondary school leavers who did not get a chance to proceed to university. Along similar lines are community service programmes run by KIST and NUR using students who are on industrial attachment. These students train members of the community in basic skills (e.g. computing, management and book-keeping skills). KIE has 10 distance training centres at provincial level. These are used to train unqualified teachers. They will also be used to train teachers, students and members of the community in basic computer skills, French, English and business studies. This will increase opportunities for government employees, individuals working in their private businesses, women and youth, to enhance their knowledge and skills. This is in line with the ICT Policy and Plan to increase education opportunities for the majority of Rwandese by using ICT in education and by establishing distance education and open learning programmes.

Available data for Tanzania indicate that in 1999 the tertiary education system had an estimated enrolment of 16,700 students. Therefore, an increase in GER from 0.56% in 1985 to 0.79% in 1999 still translates into a low participation rate for a Tanzanian population estimated at 32 million people (URT, 2001a). The statistics for higher learning institutions in Tanzania (1996/97 – 2000/01) show that there are:

- 4 public universities
- 8 private universities
- 3 public technical colleges
- 13 other institutions of higher learning.

In addition, there are more than 170 tertiary institutions for professional development and training, spread over several ministries, including:

- health - 87
- co-operatives - 20
- community and rural development - 12
- agriculture - 10
- finance - 9
- natural resources - 2
- home affairs –5

(URT 2001a)

This relatively substantial tertiary education infrastructure has been sustained despite the very high emphasis being given to primary education. Indeed, this sub-sector represents the second highest level of investment.

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The key issues relating to this sub-sector for both countries that have a bearing on the study are as follows. Firstly, both countries are in the process of developing a fairly extensive network of higher education institutions although Tanzania is more advanced in this respect in terms of the numbers and quality of the institutions provided. Rwanda's higher education infrastructure was damaged during the war. Secondly, however, enrolments in this sub-sector for both countries are low by regional and international standards. Thirdly, both countries lag behind other countries in the proportion of graduates in the scientific fields. Fourthly, the two countries differ in the quality of higher education provision. Whilst the quality of higher education is fairly good, at least by regional standards, in Tanzania, this is not the case for Rwanda, where the quality is more patchy. This can be explained by the loss of key personnel during the genocide, damage to infrastructure caused by the war, the lack of crucial equipment and laboratories, particularly in the natural sciences. Institutions that have been established more recently, such as KIST do not suffer from these problems so much although they do lack suitably qualified personnel. Fifthly, both countries are striving to make more use of distance education methods in teacher training and in other fields as well to include more adult learners. Both are included in the African Virtual University (AVU) initiative (Juma, 2002). Sixthly, both countries spend relatively little by international comparisons on scientific research although the research infrastructure is more developed in Tanzania then it is in Rwanda.

b) Cross-cutting issues relating to skills development

1. *Overall responsibility for skills development.* Responsibility for skills development in both countries is shared across a number of ministries and agencies. In Rwanda the recently established Human Resource Development Agency (HRDA) has overall responsibility for skills development. This is an inter-Ministerial body that also includes stakeholder representation. The Ministry of Education (MoE) has overall responsibility for primary, secondary and higher education. Responsibility for vocational education and training is split between the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Youth, Sports, Culture and Vocational Training (MoYSCVT). In Tanzania there is no separate agency with overall responsibility for skills development. Primary and secondary education is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC). The Presidents Office and the Ministry of Local Government are also involved in the provision of basic education and on driving the decentralisation process. The Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education (MoSTHE) oversees science and technology policy, research and higher education. A government agency, the Vocational Education and Training Agency (VETA) has overall responsibility for co-ordinating vocational education and training (VET) across a number of ministries, in particular the MoEC and the Ministry of Community development, Women Affairs and Children (MoCDWAC). Several Ministries have responsibility for HRD as it applies to their own sphere of influence including the MoSTHE, the MoEC and the Ministry of Industries and Trade

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(MoIT). The functions of co-ordinating ministries is complemented by various other professional institutions (under the ministries) such as the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE) and the Institute of Adult Education (IAE) and other quasi-autonomous bodies such as the National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA) and regulatory bodies such as the Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), and the Higher Education Accreditation Council (HEAC).

2. *Policy context for skills development*. Policy relating to skills development is also dispersed across several areas in both countries. Both countries are in the process of developing a human resources development strategy which will bring together the disparate HRD strategies of the various Ministries and agencies listed above. Both countries have an existing education and training policy framework covering all levels of the education and training system (MoE, 1998b,c; URT, 1995a,b; URT, 1996; URT 1998; URT 1999a,b) (the policy documents consulted are listed in Appendix A). Rwanda's education and training policy is currently being revised. Tanzania has developed an Education Sector Development Plan (URT, 1999a) which provides a blueprint for the development of sub-sectoral plans. Policy relating to skills development is otherwise covered by the policies of the various ministries and agencies listed above. The recent Poverty Reduction Strategy Programmes (PRSPs) set policy priorities for the education and training sectors in both countries as we discuss in section six.

3. *Degree of centralisation and decentralisation*. It has been noted above that both countries have a legacy of centralisation in education. In Rwanda the central administration follows up and evaluates all of the extra-curricula activities through out the country. The local administration is characterised by a double system of inspection at the district and sectoral levels. The administrative bodies of primary and secondary education establishments are equally important in local school administration. However, in spite of the existence of district inspectorates, almost all decisions are taken by the central administration, leaving little room for manoeuvre for regional and local services. For some time the NUR has enjoyed greater administrative autonomy.

In Tanzania, powers and decision making have also been highly concentrated at ministerial level. According to the Education Sector Development Plan (URT, 1999a), attempts to involve the regions, districts and communities in the management of educational and training institutions in their areas of jurisdiction have been found wanting. Even in the sub-sector of basic education where management of education and training has been decentralised for a fairly long time, the existing system does not empower education managers at lower levels to exercise autonomy and decision making. As in Rwanda, the universities enjoy more autonomy in decision making.

4. *Problems of lack of management and leadership capacity at all levels*. A key issue to emerge from our country reports and from key policy documents is the lack of management

capacity at all levels of the education and training systems in both countries. This is considered especially serious, however, given the trend towards greater decentralisation in education. The success of decentralisation will rely on the development of leadership and initiative at the local level.

5. *Funding for Education and Training*. The overall amount spent on education as a proportion of GDP is low in both countries by international and regional standards (average is 5.1% for sub-Saharan Africa) (UNESCO, 2000). The emphasis in funding in both countries has shifted in the last decade towards primary education and away from other sectors. The proportion of the overall budget spent on each sector is given in table 3.4. The tertiary sector in Tanzania continues to absorb a relatively high proportion of funding reflecting the greater historical emphasis and development of this sector since independence.

6. *Problems of quality*. A major difficulty facing the Rwandan and Tanzanian education systems is the poor quality of education especially at primary and secondary school levels. This is due to a number of factors, including overcrowded classrooms, poor and inadequate infrastructure, lack of furniture and other school equipment, poor school management, and shortages of teaching/learning materials including textbooks, visual aids, teachers' guides, students' manuals, course books, laboratories and libraries. In both countries, teacher salaries absorb more than 90% of the education budget, leaving little left for buildings and basic materials (including text books and furniture). Poor quality is reflected also in high pupil: teacher ratios for both countries and in the low percentage of qualified teachers. There is also a shortage of qualified teachers and low motivation for teachers. The low status of the teaching profession discourages many young people from becoming teachers, especially primary teachers. They prefer to seek admission to other fields offered in different tertiary institutions. A very ambitious programme is being designed by the MoE in Rwanda and the KIE to establish 159 District Coordinating Centres (CCs) for coordinating in-service training of unqualified primary teachers. These centres will be coordinated at the provincial level by the 12 Primary Teachers Colleges (PTC's). Beside teacher development and management programmes, the PTC's and CCs will be used for school management programmes, targeting school management committees as well as local education representatives. This will expand the capacity to improve school management and education quality at a grassroots level.

7. *Problems of relevance*. A theme that often comes up in the documentation and in the interview data is the perceived lack of relevance of the curricula at various levels for meeting the skills needs of Rwanda and Tanzania (this theme is explored in greater depth in later sections of the report). The question of lack of relevance is manifested in a number of ways. Firstly, there is an insufficient emphasis on basic life skills in schools

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and the absence of a link in both countries between what is taught in primary and secondary education and the world of work (see section five). The school curriculum, according to our research, often appears too theoretical in orientation. Related to this is a lack of articulation between the school curriculum and what is taught as part of a subsequent vocational programme of study. Participants in both countries also felt that greater emphasis needs to be given to science and technology education through greater emphasis of these subjects in the curriculum and through encouraging more students to take these subjects, particularly at secondary and tertiary levels. This emphasis is also reflected in key strategy documents as we will see in section five. The view was also expressed, however, that an emphasis on science and technology should not be at the expense of social sciences as these subjects are important for developing national unity and good governance through their role in facilitating citizenship and critical thinking. Finally, the question of relevance also relates to the localised nature of the curriculum and the need for the school curriculum in particular to emphasise greater awareness of the outside world.

8. *Use of ICT in education*. There is a serious shortage of people with ICT skills in both countries. On the whole there is a serious lack of computer system development, implementation and maintenance skill. The key areas of hardware, software and computer network systems development are equally affected. Part of the reason for the shortage of ICT skills is the low level of skills training in the use of ICTs in the education systems of the two countries.

In Rwanda, the penetration of ICTs into education is very low excepting some of the elite private schools. The government, however, plans to increase the use of ICTs in education as part of its national ICT strategy (GoR, 2000a). Rwandan public higher education institutions and, at a later stage the private institutions, are to be interconnected through an ICT Link, under the Rwanda Education Network (RWEDNET). Depending on the availability of donor support, RWEDNET will also extend to secondary and primary schools and form the Rwanda Schoolnet. The Ministry of Education has commissioned a nation-wide feasibility study of ICT-connectivity of all the 402 secondary schools and of establishing at least 5 computers in each secondary school. It has also commissioned a feasibility study to network all the 2200 primary schools and install at least one computer in each school. USAID, World Links and Microsoft are working in partnership with the Ministry of Education to start pilot projects for ICT in some primary and secondary schools. A number of colleges and higher level institutions have introduced some element of computer education and training into their programmes. For example, the NUR has introduced basic computer training into all of its degree and diploma programmes. The NUR has also introduced a Bachelor of Computer Science degree programme. KIST also has some diploma level training. The private institutions mainly offer basic computer skills courses. Both Rwanda and Tanzania are involved in pilots to become part of the African Virtual

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University (AVU) which will offer distance education courses in computer technology and related fields (see http://www.avu.org; Juma 2002).

A national ICT strategy has yet to be fully developed in Tanzania. This is despite the fact that there exists a larger ICT infrastructure in the country as a whole than is the case in Rwanda (see table 3.2). In education, however, there is little evidence that ICTs have made much impact or have been introduced in any planned sustainable way except in the elite private schools (Miller, Esselar and Associates, 2001). The presence of computers in schools is minimal in Tanzania. 'Unofficial' syllabuses exist for standards 4-7 which offers basic hands-on training. There is also an official secondary school Computer Studies syllabus for forms 1-4 although there is no evidence that anyone is taking these courses. At tertiary level both the University of Dar es Salaam and the Dar es Salaam Institute of Technology (DIT) offer heavily subsidised public education opportunities for students interested in ICT. As is the case with Rwanda, there is no advanced level institution specifically devoted to ICT

Policy Priorities in Education and Training

Below is a brief summary of the main priorities currently being pursued by the governments of Rwanda and Tanzania. This will provide a basis for discussion of skills development strategy in section eight.

i) Government priorities in Rwanda

The Ministry of Education is in the process of revising existing education policies and strategies (MoE, 1998c). The process is guided by 'Vision 2020' (MoF, 2000a) and conforms with the macro-policies of the PRSP (GoR, 2001), as well as with the development of a human resources framework (MoF, 1999) and the ICT Policy and Plan (GoR, 2000a). The major thrust of the proposed education policy centres on the promotion of attitudes and values for human rights, tolerance, national unity and reconciliation and on creating the productive human capital necessary for individual and national development.

Key sub-sector policies include: Basic Education for all by 2010 (EFA 2010), science and technology, especially the use of ICT in education, and the promotion of girls' education. The Ministry of Education has established some major strategies for the implementation of the national education policy, among which are the following:

i. *The involvement of all stakeholders, especially the local communities, in the construction and management of schools to increase access to education and to facilitate implementation of basic education for all (EFA 2010), and also to ensure efficiency in the school system.* This will promote the development of literacy and numeracy skills for all beneficiaries of basic education (currently defined as primary, lower secondary and adults who attend literacy education programmes).

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ii. *Establishment of primary teachers colleges*, one in each of the 12 provinces, to cater for the pre-service training of primary teachers as well as coordinating in-service training of unqualified primary teachers. The establishment of the Kigali Institute of Education (KIE) and 10 KIE Provincial Distance Training Centres to cater for the pre-service training of secondary school teachers and distance training of unqualified teachers.

iii. *Strengthening of technical and vocational education* through the rehabilitation, expansion and re-equipping of the physical infrastructure, revision of the curriculum to make it more relevant and in order to integrate life skills and entrepreneurial skills, and setting strategies for a sustainable staff development scheme.

iv. *Strengthening the evaluation and examination system* by providing institutional support to the relatively young National Examination Council (NEC) which was established in 1997. This involves construction and equipping of the National Examination Council building and recruitment and training of staff.

v. *Strengthening of the General Inspectorate of Education*, which was also established in 1997, through capacity building of the staff (including training them locally and abroad in order to give them exposure to and enable them to learn from the experiences of other countries); and the provision of logistical resources to enable the regional, provincial and district inspectors to undertake efficient monitoring of the education system.

vi. *Improvement of the school curriculum* through comprehensive curriculum revision and integration of life skills, practical skills, entrepreneurial skills, citizenship skills and development skills in the curriculum at all levels of education system. Provision of teaching and learning materials to schools.

ii) Government priorities in Tanzania

The Tanzanian government has adopted the sector wide approach to education development, which has been translated into the current Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP). The essence of the sector wide approach is the pooling together of resources in support of comprehensive programmes for the development of the sector as a whole, tangential to fragmented interventions. The ESDP defines government priorities through a set of broad policies, to guide sector wide development in education. These broad policies are subsequently translated into detailed sub-programmes articulated in sub-sector master plans. These include, a Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP), Secondary Education Master Plan (SEMP), and Teacher Education Master Plan (TEMP). The Secondary and Higher Education Master Plans (HEMP) are not yet completed, but are in an advanced stage of development. The ESDP strategic priorities include:

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- prioritising spending on basic education;
- improvement in secondary school opportunities;
- more demand driven and market oriented post-secondary and higher education;
- institutional development to improve sector management and strengthen capacity to monitor progress.
- Greater decentralisation to regions, districts and communities, local management of schools and greater community involvement in education at all levels.

The Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) (2002-2006) is the first outcome of the ESDP and envisages covering primary education provision and education for out of school children and youths. The PEDP strategic investment priorities are as follows:

- enrolment expansion focusing on classroom construction, teacher engagement and teacher deployment;
- quality improvement, encompassing in-service and pre-service teacher training; and teaching and learning materials provision;
- system-wide management improvements, through a range of capacity building efforts.

As these plans are completed and implemented, it is important that they take on board the many implications of intensified globalisation for both the economy and social development of Tanzania, and the education and training systems themselves. It is in this context that our own study has been conceptualised with a view to contributing to the further evolution of both educational policy and practice. In the next section, we, therefore, look more closely at conceptions of globalisation, and at the place and future of Rwanda and Tanzania in a global world.

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Understandings of Globalisation: from the Literature

In this section we set out first the views of globalisation from the broader literature that informed the development of our own conceptualisations prior to the research. We then set out the views of globalisation put forward by the participants and compare these with those in the literature. Specifically, we will set out the way that the participants understood the implications of globalisation for national development as well as the perceived role of the state and of the private sector in relation to development. These factors impact on the nature and delivery of skills for development which forms the basis of section five.

DFID (2000a) have defined globalisation as:

> *The growing interdependence and interconnectedness of the modern world through increased flows of goods, services, capital, people and information. The process is driven by technological advances and reductions in the costs of international transactions, which spread technology and ideas, raise the share of trade in world production and increase the mobility of capital*

This definition has provided a valuable starting point for our own research. As a definition it is clear and accessible and we have used it as a basis for discussion during the in-country workshops. However, the focus of this definition is more on the economic and technological aspects of globalisation. As educationalists we are also interested in the implications of cultural and political globalisation for skills development. Further, given our focus on low income countries largely on the periphery of the major global flows and networks, we were keen to develop an appreciation of globalisation as it impacts on these contexts in particular. We set out our own view of the key characteristics of globalisation as it impacts on low income countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania below. The discussion is divided into four key sections dealing with the overall nature and scope of contemporary globalisation and then in more detail with economic, political and cultural globalisation.

The nature and scope of contemporary globalisation

i. *Globalisation is transforming the world in contradictory ways*. There are different ways of understanding the nature, scope and trajectory of globalisation within the literature. For example, Held et al (1999) identify three ways of understanding, or tendencies, each of which has different implications for education and training. Firstly, the 'hyperglobalist tendency' suggests that we are in a new 'global age' characterised by the emergence of a 'global village' or common global culture. The second 'sceptical tendency' that they identify, however, challenges this, arguing that globalisation is nothing new, that global flows and networks were in fact greater during colonial times and, that global capitalism is leading to greater polarisation between and within nation states. Their third tendency, labelled the 'transformationalist approach', is the one closest to our own understanding. It assumes previous eras of globalisation but argues that contemporary global flows and networks are unprecedented in the extent to which they are transforming global

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economics, politics and culture. Unlike the hypergobalist view, however, the effects of these processes are complex and contradictory rather than linear and so are experienced unevenly. We develop this approach below.

ii. *Globalisation is not a new phenomenon*. In their analysis, Collier and Dollar (2002) argue that there have been three main waves of globalisation. The first wave, according to the authors, commenced in 1870 and lasted 45 years. This saw rapid integration of national economies fuelled by falling transport costs. Between 1914 and 1945, however, although transport costs continued to fall, trade barriers rose with a negative impact on world trade. The second wave of globalisation, then, only occurred after 1945 and was a return to the patterns of the first wave. The third wave, dating from 1980, has seen the gradual incorporation of the so-called 'new globalisers', i.e. those low income countries that have integrated into the global economy. For these economies there has been a massive jump in the share of manufacture in their exports from 25% in 1980 to 80% today. There has also been a substantial increase in foreign direct investment to the newly globalised countries during this period. During the new wave of globalisation, world trade has grown massively.

Held et al (1999) provide an account of different eras of globalisation that also takes on board political, religious, cultural and linguistic aspects. The authors describe globalisation, in the pre-modern, early modern, modern and contemporary periods. Like Collier and Dollar, they argue that international and global inter-connectedness is by no means a novel phenomenon. Tikly (2001) suggests that previous forms of globalisation have had huge implications for education. For example, the spread of global religions (and in particular Islam and Christianity) throughout sub-Saharan Africa during the pre-modern and early modern periods, brought with it their own educational forms and systems of schools and universities. These interacted with and often disrupted and displaced indigenous forms of education, ceremonies, skills and crafts training. The spread of 'modern' forms of schooling and of European languages throughout the sub-continent, however, is most closely linked with European colonialism during the early modern and modern periods.

iii. *Contemporary globalisation is historically unprecedented*. With Collier and Dollar, Held et al argue that contemporary globalisation is historically unprecedented in terms of its extensity, intensity, velocity and impact. They distinguish the contemporary period (corresponding to Collier and Dollar's second and third waves) as commencing after the Second World War (i.e. post-1945). It is characterised by the end of Empire and the emergence during this period of the United States as the one truly global power. American hegemony has been accompanied by ever tightening systems of economic regulation (first through the Bretton Woods system and more recently through the World Trade Organisation) alongside a more liberal world economic order.

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Contemporary globalisation has also involved a massive increase in migrations of populations, the increasing significance and impact of environmental issues and concerns, and developments in mass media and technologies. Contemporary globalisation involves the emergence of a growing worldwide elite as well as popular consciousness of global interconnectedness. It is also contested as states, citizens and social movements resist or manage its impacts.

iv. *An African response to globalisation*. A recent example of an attempt to articulate a specifically African response to globalisation is the debate around the concept of the 'African Renaissance'. (For a recent discussion of this concept in relation to skills for development initiatives see Tikly and Memella, 2002) The concept has recently underpinned the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) launched in Abuja, Nigeria by several African heads of state led by Thabo Mbeki on October 23 2001. Put in its simplest terms 'African Renaissance' implies a rebirth of Africa in economic, political and cultural terms. Mbeki (1999) has identified tasks that the African continent must face if the vision of an African Renaissance is to be realised. For example, he talks of the establishment of genuinely African democratic political systems and institutions; achieving sustainable economic development and qualitatively changing Africa's place in the world economy; ensuring the emancipation of the women of Africa; successfully confronting the scourge of HIV/AIDS; rediscovering Africa's creative past and advancing science and technology; strengthening the genuine independence of African countries and the continent in their relations with the major powers; and, enhancing their role in the determination of the global system of governance. Through providing an account of Africa's priorities in relation to globalisation, the idea of an African Renaissance has major implications for skills for development.

Implicit in the idea of the African Renaissance is a view of the wide-ranging scope of contemporary globalisation. In contrast to the 'hyperglobalist' perspective (see above) many commentators perceive globalisation as a set of processes rather than a single condition, involving interactions and networks within the political, military, economic and cultural domains as well as those of labour and migratory movements and of the environment (see Held et al, 1999; Giddens, 1999, for example). It is often at the intersection of these different global influences that the current realities of African education are best grasped. However, although all of the aspects of globalisation outlined so far impact on education to some extent in low income countries, most commentators have focused on the implications for education of economic, political and cultural global flows and networks. We shall consider these implications below.

Economic globalisation

i. *Globalisation means greater economic integration*. For DFID (2000a) and for authors such as Collier and Dollar (2002), globalisation means integration into global economic flows and networks. For Collier and Dollar, for instance, integration 'is the result of

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reduced costs of transport, lower trade barriers, faster communication of ideas, rising capital flows, and intensifying pressure for migration' (p. 15). This understanding of economic globalisation is repeated elsewhere (e.g. Hodgeson and Spours, 1999) and can be traced back to Robert Reich's (1991) work on the impact of the changing global economy. It is this integration that has generated anxieties about rising inequality, shifting power, and cultural uniformity. Collier and Dollar estimate that about 3 billion people now live in 'new globalising' developing countries including India and China, Vietnam, Hungary and Thailand. These economies have managed to attract foreign direct investment and have experienced a shift towards manufacture and service industries. As a result, they have become more integrated into the global economic system. They estimate, however, that 2 billion people, including inhabitants of most sub-Saharan African countries like Rwanda and Tanzania, have been left out of globalisation. Global economic integration has also had different implications for men and women. We will explore the relationship between globalisation, poverty reduction and gender equity in section seven.

Hoogvelt (1997) adds to an understanding of the nature of contemporary global economic flows and networks. Firstly, she describes the advent of a *new market discipline* which, within an increasingly shared phenomenal world, creates an 'awareness of global competition which constrains individuals and groups, and even national governments, to conform to international standards of price and quality' (p. 124). Secondly, she describes *flexible accumulation through global webs* by which she refers to the 'way in which the fusion of computer technology with telecommunications makes it possible for firms to relocate an ever-widening range of operations and functions to wherever cost-competitive labour, assets and infrastructure are available' (p. 126). Finally, Hoogvelt describes *financial global deepening* which has involved a 'tremendous increase in the mobility of capital. This mobility refers not only to the speed and freedom with which money can move across frontiers at the press of a computer button, it also, more significantly, refers to the way it is being disconnected from social relationships in which money and wealth were previously embedded' (p. 129). Significantly, financial deepening has involved the concentration and increased flow of capital within a geographically confined area including the western and newly industrialised countries and excluding large swathes of sub-Saharan Africa (see below). For these countries on the margins of the emerging global system, it is instructive to consider how the literature envisages their development and possible future insertion into the global economy.

ii. *A new global division of labour*. The global division of labour, developed under colonialism, was based on the production of primary commodities in the South and their conversion to manufactured products in the North. Now, however, much of the labour intensive manufacturing is being relocated to wherever in the world production costs are lowest. Further, the development of new materials has undermined the market for

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primary commodities traditionally produced in the South. The effects of this undermining have been exacerbated by protectionism amongst rich countries (and to a lesser extent amongst low income countries themselves) which has reduced the market for primary commodities from low income countries (Collier and Dollar, 2002). Consequently, the high levels of economic growth associated with financial deepening and the increased trade in new commodities and financial services have principally benefited western and newly industrialised nations who are integrated into these new global networks. For authors such as Castells (1993) and Amin (1997), the upshot of the new technologies has been to create pockets of the 'fourth world' in the former first, second and third worlds. Much of sub-Saharan Africa is included in this emerging 'fourth world'. Rather, Africa's major contribution to contemporary global flows and networks has been in the form of debt re-servicing which has in itself contributed to increasing poverty through limiting the amount governments can spend on basic services like housing, health and education. Importantly, however, many postcolonial elites in sub-Saharan Africa have 'bought into' the emerging global economy. According to Hoogvelt (1997), this has sometimes been achieved in the past by using money fraudulently diverted from overseas loans and from government funds. This has tended to exacerbate inequality within countries whilst also deepening poverty. The implications of globalisation and inequality for poverty reduction will be discussed more fully in section seven.

iii. *The integration of low income countries* into the global economy. We can broadly distinguish in the literature two perspectives on how low income countries can become more integrated into contemporary economic flows and networks, each with its own implications for engagement with the global economy and each with its associated education and skill training requirements (see section five, below). The first of these is an evolutionary or gradualist approach which takes as given the developmental route historically followed by the countries of the North and, so it is claimed, by the Newly Industrialised Economies (NIEs) of East Asia too. Beginning with a predominantly agricultural economy, the first step in this route is the modernisation and diversification of agriculture and the development of agriculture-based industries such as food processing, together with other forms of support activity based on relatively low-technology crafts and artisan skills. This is followed, or paralleled by labour-intensive, low-skill manufacturing, in turn to be followed by moves into higher value added, higher skill, more capital-intensive industry. The final goal is a move into the high-skills, advanced technology, knowledge-based sector, in both manufacturing and services. This model often remains implicit in many accounts where the focus remains firmly on the early stages of the process as a means of alleviating or eliminating existing poverty, while future development remains unspecified with any precision (e.g. World Bank 1999, DFID 2000a). This model is closest to that currently being pursued by the Tanzanian government.

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The second identifiable perspective is one which not only contemplates but argues the necessity for an economic development strategy that 'leapfrogs' the historical stages of development elsewhere. DFID (2000a), for example, refers to the potential for 'leapfrogging' the development trajectory of industrialised countries through the use of new technologies that offer access to knowledge and links to the global economy. The driving force behind this approach is ultimately a perception of fundamental changes in context that are being wrought by increasing globalisation. This perspective is the most dominant one in the literature and is the one shared by the Rwandan government as we discuss below.

Some commentators have suggested ways in which Africa can respond to its position of marginalisation from economic globalisation. For these commentators (Mazrui, 1999; Adedeji, 1998; Mayer, 1998) the future success of African economies lies in the extent to which they can diversify their industrial base and export markets, and hence become less dependant on domestic markets and foreign imports. Mayer, for example, has argued that greater trade integration along regional lines should be used by regions to promote such diversification as well as to attract investment (domestic, regional and foreign) and to ensure an equitable distribution of the gains of trade integration between countries. She also makes the case for greater specialisation within regions, i.e. for countries within a region to specialise in the production of goods that they can produce competitively.

Political globalisation

i. *The changing role of the nation state*. A key issue for educationalists relating to political globalisation is the changing role of the state in relation to education policy and provision. Contemporary globalisation involves *an adjustment in the influence of the nation state* in relation to areas such as education policy, although this has been contradictory in its effects. All countries have experienced an increase in global and regional influences over education policy and a proliferation of mechanisms through which these influences have been brought to bear (Dale, 1999). In most high income, western countries, however, the nation state remains the main locus of decision-making over areas of social policy, including education (Green, 1997). This is less the case in low income countries where the influence of multilateral and donor agencies has been increasing since the 1980s through the mechanism of conditional lending (Samoff, 1994; 1999; Dale, 1999; Tikly, 2001). For some authors the dominance of multilateral and donor agendas in African countries can be understood as an aspect of the emergence of the 'weak state' in Africa (Clapham, 1996) in the context of international relations. Several inter-related factors are important here. Many African countries have emerged in the postcolonial period with artificially created borders – and have had to reconcile often conflicting political and ethnic interests as a consequence. (Whilst Tanzania is an example of a country with this kind of legacy, this is not the case with Rwanda where

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the borders have remained fairly similar to those of pre-colonial days). Of more relevance for Rwanda is the legacy of colonialism in sowing ethnic divisions amongst the indigenous population (see for example Prunier, 1997 and Melvern, 2000 in their accounts of the role of the Belgians in fomenting Hutu and Tutsi rivalry in Rwanda during colonial days). The weak state in Africa is also related to the postcolonial legacy, and specifically to the use of the state by postcolonial elites in many countries to serve their own rather than national interests, corruption, lack of capacity for good governance and the growing marginalisation of African countries from the global economy and political systems (Clapham, 1996; Bayart, 1993; Bayart et al, 1999; Chabal and Deloz, 1999; Hoogvelt, 1997).

ii. *Globalisation and localisation*. As Giddens (1999: 3) points out, globalisation is:

…a complex set of processes, not a single one. And these operate in a contradictory or oppositional fashion. Most people think of it as simply "pulling away" power or influence from local communities and nations into the global arena. And indeed this is one of its consequences… However, it also has an opposite effect. Globalisation not only pulls upwards, it pushes downwards, creating new pressures for local autonomy.

These pressures for local autonomy have coincided with a tendency towards greater decentralisation in Africa as elsewhere. This tendency towards decentralisation has also been encouraged by the donor community as an aspect of 'good governance' understood as 'accountability, transparency, effectiveness and efficiency' (MoF, 2000a: 13). In relation to the core themes of the present research, global and local agendas, priorities and tensions have multiple implications for Rwanda and Tanzania, for the collaborative research strategy employed and for local understandings of globalisation reflected in the empirical data emerging from the country case studies.

iii. *Commonalities and differences in national responses to globalisation*. There are, however, commonalities and differences in the way that nation states have responded to globalisation in political and educational terms and this is as true in sub-Saharan Africa as elsewhere. As Arnove & Torres (1999: 1) point out, 'the increasing inter-connectedness of societies pose common problems for education and societies around the world'. They go on, however, to argue that 'regional, national and local responses also vary' since a 'dialectic is at work between the global and the local' (p. 1). Hodgeson and Spours (1999) identify three broad responses to globalisation on the part of western governments since the 1980s. It is instructive to outline these and relate them to the responses of low income countries such as those of sub-Saharan Africa. One response has been for the state to play a leading and regulatory role in the economy in response to global forces and to see itself as the main, if not sole provider of services such as education and training for the public good (the welfare model). This was the model adopted by countries such as Germany, France, Finland and Norway. The countries of the Pacific Rim have also followed a state-led regulatory path, though with more authoritarian

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regimes and a social agenda aimed at nation building (Green, 1997). Many postcolonial states in Africa, including Rwanda and Tanzania also pursued a state-led model of development following independence although this was hampered by the phenomenon of the weak state described above. Nonetheless, many postcolonial governments saw themselves as playing a crucial role in regulating and protecting internal markets, securing employment and remaining the principle provider of services including health and education. (It was this notion of the state that underpinned the idea of 'self reliance' in Tanzania for example.)

The dominant response to globalisation during the 1980s, however, was the neo-liberal response in which some western governments, most notably those of the UK and USA, sought to reduce the economic management role of government, to privatise public sector activities and to produce an ideal of the low-taxation, low spending and *laissez-faire* state. The neo-liberal model also formed the basis of the so-called 'Washington consensus' which provided a normative framework for the US government, its allies and key multilateral and donor agencies in their dealings with Africa and other low income countries and regions (Gore, 2000, Fine, 2001). The model also underpinned many of the so-called structural adjustment policies (SAPs) which were imposed on many low income countries (including Rwanda and Tanzania) by multilateral agencies during the 1980s as a condition for access to loans. The key characteristics of SAPs are well known and have been discussed in some detail in relation to their effects on African education elsewhere (see Samoff et al, 1994; Stewart, 1996, for example).

According to Hodgeson and Spours (1999), the neo-liberal response exposed serious economic and social dysfunctions in western countries, notably social polarisation and the running down of social infrastructures. The perceived problems with both the old welfarist and neo-liberal models led to the development of the so-called 'Third Way' (Giddens, 1994; 1998) and its uptake by, amongst others, New Labour in the UK. At the heart of the idea of the Third Way is that, whilst there can be no return to the old welfarist model, opportunities are being opened up for a new 'enabling' role for government in which investment in skills and infrastructure equips people and businesses to thrive in the competitive economic environment created by globalisation. The implications for the role of the state in the Third Way are that the state 'seeks to invest in human capability through lifelong learning; to build new partnerships between the public and private sectors to maximise the most effective contribution of each; to draw individuals, government and the voluntary and private sectors into new relationships of mutual support and responsibility; and to strengthen families as the bedrock of social stability' (Hodgeson and Spours, 1999).

Like the neo-liberal approach of the 1980s in western countries, the 'Washington consensus' has also increasingly come under strain as structural adjustment policies (however their merits are perceived) have also been criticised for exacerbating rather

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than reducing poverty (see Gore, 2000; Samoff et al, 1994; Muganda, 2001, for example). It has also been criticised for producing what Carnoy (1999) describes as a globalised bureaucratic state, i.e. a state that is reduced to responding bureaucratically to the demands of global forces and donor agendas rather than advancing an indigenous response. In this respect, the emerging 'post-Washington consensus' that is increasingly providing a normative framework for the World Bank, the IMF and the donor community is based on the acknowledgment that some of the policies associated with structural adjustment, such as the introduction of user fees, have in fact exacerbated rather than reduced poverty. The new consensus is, according to Gore (2000), aimed at broader objectives than the achievement of a free market economy (the objective of neo-liberal economics) including a focus on the living standards of people and the promotion of 'equitable, sustainable and democratic development'. In this view, change cannot be imposed from the 'outside' but requires ownership, participation, partnership and consensus building. Similarly, and in relation to the African Renaissance debate, Ajulu (2001) has argued that the emerging consensus is against the idea of untrammelled market forces and sees a significant role for national, regional and global regulation and intervention in markets in order to achieve the objectives of ending poverty and underdevelopment. Arguably, this implies a view of the state similar to that underpinning the Third Way, i.e. a more reduced role for the state than the old welfarist model but also a more strategic and enabling and regulatory role than the neo-liberal model allows for.

iv. *The increasing significance of the regions*. Related to the above is the view in the literature of the importance of the regional level in relation to African development. Working within the grain of trends in globalisation elsewhere, writers such as Ajulu (2001) and Mayer (1998) have drawn on the idea of 'developmental regionalism' as a means of securing African interests. At the heart of this concept is the view that successful participation in the global economy might most effectively be achieved through participation in regional trading blocks that are more able to attract foreign investors whilst being more able to intervene in the market than individual nation states. Indeed, Tanzania and Rwanda are members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Community of East and Southern Africa (COMESA) respectively, a point that was considered significant by many of the research participants as we shall see below.

Although we argue that these models of the state in a globalised world are broadly applicable to Africa they have to be set against the legacy of the weak state in Africa described above. There are also important differences in the nature of the Tanzanian and Rwandan states related to their recent histories and other factors such as the size of the country, the population density and their distance from the sea that impact on the specific responses of these countries to globalisation. Some of these are discussed below in relation to Rwanda.

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Cultural globalisation

i. *Changing cultural identities*. Mention has already been made of the importance of education in spreading western cultural forms during the colonial era. As some commentators have pointed out, however, one of the effects of contemporary globalisation is to reshape cultural identities in new ways. Hall (1992; 1996) and Hoogvelt (1997), for example, have commented on how processes of migration, diaspora formation and cultural hybridisation have transformed individual and group identities and created 'new ethnicities' based on fluid rather than fixed cultural attributes. In the African context these processes appear contradictory and partial in their effects. The impact of foreign culture has increased in many African countries as a consequence of the advent of mass media including the internet. War, famine and poverty on the sub-continent have also led to a growing number of refugees in countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania and have accelerated processes of migration between countries and between rural and urban areas. This has inevitably entailed the development of cultural 'melting pots', particularly in the urban areas. The existence of a diaspora in the USA and elsewhere has also influenced the development of youth culture on the sub-continent.

These 'new ethnicities' have also emerged, however, at the same time as there has been a reassertion of more conservative and 'fixed' religious and cultural identities and an escalation in ethnic conflict. Writers such as Amin (1997) have argued that the growth in the number and intensity of these conflicts must be seen as an aspect of the colonial legacy which destabilised ethnic relations, the demise of uniting ideologies by which the nation state could secure the basis for national unity and growing poverty and inequality associated with economic globalisation and financial mismanagement. Carnoy (1999) sees the assertion of cultural identities in the contemporary period as 'an antidote to the complexity and harshness of the global market' and to 'the globalised bureaucratic state' (p. 78). Given Africa's increasingly marginal position in relation to global economic and political forces, coupled with growing inequalities, the dynamics giving rise to ethnic conflicts have been writ large on the sub-continent. As Prunier (1997) and others have pointed out in relation to Rwanda, the roots of ethnic conflict there are complex but are in part related to the factors outlines above.

ii. *Education and cultural identity*. In sub-Saharan Africa education continues to play a key role in relation to culture and ethnic politics. This is because schools and other educational institutions are a significant locus where different cultural forms interact. In the postcolonial period, many governments have used education as a means of forging national unity through curricula interventions, language policies, ceremonial activities and suchlike. As some writers have pointed out, however, the challenges of changing cultural identities and the legacy of ethnic conflict pose new challenges for educational planners and policy makers who must find new ways of working with diversity and

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difference in the curriculum. This is particularly important in countries such as Rwanda where access to educational opportunities has itself been a contributing factor to ethnic conflict in the past (see section three, above). In some countries, decentralisation has provided one mechanism for ensuring a greater say for communities, whether defined in cultural, geographical, linguistic or religious terms. As Carnoy (1999) and others (see, for example, Bray and Lillis, 1988) have pointed out, however, the central government still has a key role to play in 'levelling the playing fields' in terms of opportunities afforded to different groups.

In relation to language planning in particular, Rasool (1998) has described the issues surrounding linguistic human rights in the context of globalisation. On the one hand she describes the tremendous possibilities opened up for language choice for migrant and formally colonised groups of people in relation to ever-changing geographical demographies. On the other hand, she points to the difficulties of language planning in relation to these groups. She demonstrates how the issue of language choice for specific communities in former colonised countries is heavily contingent on a number of factors including their social status within the country in question. Language planning must also contend with the ambiguous role of colonial languages in relation to globalisation and cultural politics. Pennycook (1995) describes how the spread of English, partly through education, has had contradictory effects. On the one hand, it has contributed to western hegemony. On the other hand Pennycook argues that this phenomenon can act in the interests of indigenous groups as access to English can mean access to global networks.

Negotiating issues of language, identity and power is critical in the African context. It links directly with economic globalisation and is deeply implicated in the maintenance of support, and resistance to state strategies. In relation to the idea of an African Renaissance, it has been observed that no country has become globally competitive without nurturing indigenous languages (Mazrui, 1999). Africa provides rich examples of policies concerned at negotiating language rights in the era of contemporary globalisation as exemplified by the Swahili experiment in Tanzania, the official languages policy in South Africa and the trilingual approach adopted by Cameroon (Tikly and Memella, 2002).

Returning to the view of contemporary globalisation sketched above, a key issue emerging from the literature is that globalisation differs in its implications for different countries and for different levels and strata of society within countries (Held et al, 1999; Collier and Dollar, 2002). In this view, power is a fundamental attribute of globalisation, and 'patterns of global stratification mediate access to sites of power, while the consequences of globalisation are unevenly experienced. Political and economic elites in the world's major metropolitan areas are much more tightly integrated into, and have

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much greater control over, global networks than do the subsistence farmers of Burundi' (Held et al, p.16).

Clearly there is a need for more context-sensitive educational research into the impact of globalisation in low income countries. Along with many of the authors cited above, we argue here that 'Understanding this interactive process, the tensions and contradictions' (Arnove and Torres, 1999:1) is at the heart of the contemporary work in the field of comparative and international research in education and in work on educational policy and practice world-wide. Globalisation is a complex and often misunderstood concept that, in itself, deserves closer analysis – especially from an educational perspective. To-date, for example, few studies of globalisation have focussed on the effects of global cultures on the processes of learning – but there is much to suggest that the mechanisms and effects of globalisation have been of questionable benefit to educational development in contexts such as sub-Saharan Africa. Of the research that has been done, work on mechanisms and processes by Dale (1999) and Samoff (1999), stakeholder analyses by contributors to Mebrahtu, Crossley and Johnson (2000), and more conceptual contributions by, for example, Tikly (2001) and Louisy (2001), generate useful and critical insights – with many implications for more detailed and contextually focussed studies. We hope to develop these in the sections that follow.

Understandings of globalisation (Utandawazi): from the data

Participants views of the nature and scope of globalisation
'Utandawazi' is a Swahili word that was used to capture local conceptions of globalisation. This fuses two Swahili words that relate to the concepts of 'network' and 'openness'. At the most basic level, this indicates the increasing local significance of globalisation as a concept, but also the importance of the influence of language in shaping conceptualisations of globalisation itself. (Interestingly, there was no equivalent word in Kinyarwanda although there were varying degrees of familiarity with the English word 'globalisation'). Further, although the majority of interviewees from the government, the education and private sectors and from civil society (members of the so-called 'urban elite') all had at least some familiarity with the term this was not the case for the rural participants in the group interviews. Here the need for prompting with specific examples of globalisation was important (this was true to a lesser extent for all participants). From a research methodological point of view, the key point is that after prompting the participants were able to make sense of the issues relating to globalisation in relation to their own interests and perspectives.

In general terms there is support in the interview, in-country workshop and documentary data for the characterisation of globalisation presented in the literature, although the responses tend to reflect Rwanda and Tanzania's relative positions in a globalised world as

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well as differences of emphases between stakeholders. These will be discussed more fully below. There was an overall view in both countries that globalisation is a reality and is here to stay. In this respect the participants rejected the 'sceptical approach' to globalisation characterised in some of the literature. Some interviewees talked in terms of the creation of a 'global village' or a 'global culture', reflecting what Held et al (1999) describe as a 'hyperglobalist' tendency. Here the emphasis was on the spread of global knowledge and culture through the increasing use of ICTs. This was seen as a two-way process with Rwanda and Tanzania as 'equal partners' in a globalised world. Most interviewees, however, tended towards a more nuanced understanding of globalisation as a contradictory set of processes rather than as a single condition and with unequal consequences for rich and poor countries and for groups within countries. This complexity of understanding is more akin to what Held et al describe as a 'transformationalist' perspective.

It has been noted that within the general literature globalisation is not considered to be anything new and has been equated with global flows and networks from previous eras such as those associated with the spread of Islam and Christianity and with European colonialism. Indeed, Tanzania's experience of global flows and networks dates back to the Islamic influence in the 16th century before the arrival of the first Europeans on the East African coast (see section three). By way of contrast and from a Rwandan perspective, globalisation is considered relatively new. Many participants pointed out Rwanda's history as a small, landlocked and relatively isolated country and the first experience of colonialism was in 1884 with the arrival of the Germans. These experiences of past forms of globalisation have helped to shape attitudes to contemporary globalisation as we shall see below.

In terms of participants' understanding of the nature and scope of contemporary globalisation, it is clear that the governments of both countries place great emphasis on economic globalisation supported by the development of ICTs. It is this emphasis that is reflected in their respective development visions (see below) and in key policy documents. This emphasis was echoed in the interviews and in the in-country workshops. The majority of research participants moved further, however, particularly in Tanzania where the concept of 'utandawazi' has taken a stronger hold and attempted to provide a broader meaning of globalisation from an economic point of view. This entails the movement of physical, financial and human capital from one part of the world to the other as well as the proliferation of multi-national companies and financial institutions across countries. At the centre of this perspective is the idea of 'opening up the economy' and a belief that globalisation is encouraging 'investment relationships' that will, ultimately, stimulate economic growth. Competition is seen to form the lynchpin of capital investment with the overall objective of competitiveness driving the involvement of Tanzanian entrepreneurs in export-oriented activities. This awareness accords well with the literature and Hoogvelt's (1997) notion of a 'new market discipline' and the recognition of global competition for jobs and markets.

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Globalisation is also conceived of as driven by developments in information and communications technology (ICT). This is further seen as requiring the two nations to take advantage of technology and physical capital from the north, Asia and Africa to stimulate growth. Our informants also suggest that, globalisation requires a widespread (nation-wide) proliferation of, and accessibility to information and communication technology.

However, a significant number of research participants also perceived globalisation in terms of other factors besides the economic and the technological. For example, the data reveal different perspectives in the political realm. First, globalisation is frequently linked to the political ideology of neo-liberalism, in which freedom means the opening up of markets and the free flow of goods and people across national boundaries to take advantage of changes in production relations and production forces. This is seen in the movement of private capital within the two countries and the inflow of human capital, finance capital and economic capital to the countries from outside. Secondly, however, globalisation is perceived by many, in a more critical light, to be a modern 'dogma' replacing previous dogmas such as communism, capitalism and imperialism. Indeed, one of the interviewees captures this by maintaining that "globalisation is an extension of colonialism".

Also within the political realm it was suggested that buzz words such as 'human rights', 'good governance', 'democracy', 'transparency' and 'accountability to tax payers' have had the effect of internationalising some of the two countries' internal affairs. In part, this reflects the impact of donor agendas on national policy. Participants also pointed out the growing significance of the region, expressed in terms of the influence on national policy of the East and Southern African Development communities, the increased mobility of people within the region and of the growth of regional conflict, particularly the war in the Congo.

They also talked at some length, as we shall see below, about the growing significance and challenge posed by global cultures for local culture. This was to acknowledge the influence and spread of the mass media including the internet. In Rwanda's case it was also to acknowledge the significance in cultural terms of a large diaspora, in part a product of the genocide and its aftermath.

Whereas the above view of globalisation as a set of processes was evident amongst the urban elite who made up most of our interviewees, the rural perspective that emerged from the group interviews was more critical, fearful and limited. Here the focus of discussion was on the opening up of trade within the region, the threats that this has posed to local business, the fall in the prices of local commodities and produce and the swamping of local markets with 'unwanted' goods from the prosperous North. Rural perspectives were not entirely negative, however. For example, the cattle keepers that were interviewed in Rwanda talked of the opportunities for greater regional mobility as opportunities for a more sustainable existence opened up in neighbouring countries.

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Views of the implications of globalisation for national development:

Analysis of informants responses

The majority of responses from the participants concerning the implications of globalisation for national development were in the form of the perceived opportunities and threats. Most participants agreed that contemporary globalisation is uneven in its implications for different countries and for different levels and strata of society within countries. For most of the research participants, globalisation does not represent a 'level playing field'. For the most part, globalisation was perceived as the dominance of rich countries over poor countries in economic and political terms expressed, for example, in the influence of donors over local policy agendas. Amongst many of the Tanzanian participants, the effects of structural adjustment policies were seen to have contributed to the increases in absolute poverty noted in section three. Understood as such, globalisation was perceived as potentially harmful. Nonetheless, it was also perceived by many of the participants to offer a route out of poverty by attracting foreign direct investment and opening up external markets for the export of locally produced goods. Most of the participants saw globalisation as a series of processes that could be made to work in the national interest. In brief, echoing the optimism of the two countries 'vision' documents (see below), participants expressed the view that Rwanda and Tanzania could find a niche in a globalising economy although this would prove difficult given the two countries weakness in global economic and political terms.

a) Opportunities

Data from the Tanzanian interviews suggest that the success of globalisation for national development is seen to hinge on the development of the free market economy both nationally and internationally. Economic liberalisation was perceived to have relaxed barriers to international trade that existed before the onset of globalisation, although significant trade barriers remain that limit access to markets, particularly in the North. Nonetheless, a Tanzanian can now import or export almost all forms of goods and buy services from anywhere in the world and this is perceived as being almost akin to a common market. It is clear that the business community in Tanzania sees globalisation largely as a positive phenomenon, particularly when it is associated with investment opportunities. The big businesses, like Coca-Cola, Tanzania Breweries Limited and the textile industry, consider themselves to be in open partnership with their international counterparts. It is assumed by these groups, that there is going to be an increased demand for goods and services of higher quality as a result of changes to local market consumption patterns and the meeting of external market standards of production. In addition to that, there is seen to be a demand for an increased use of sophisticated and modern production systems. This sense of optimism was also evident amongst some of the Rwandan participants, although given that Rwanda has a very small industrial sector compared to Tanzania, opportunities for exploiting global markets were seen to hinge in the first instance on the development of an entrepreneurial middle class. There were also perceived to be greater problems in ensuring universal standards of quality in production.

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Faced with the inevitability of globalisation, many informants saw possibilities to learn from the best practice of other countries in tackling global diseases such as HIV/AIDS, implementing appropriate education and training policies, developing a successful business community, mastering new technologies and meeting international standards in production. The internet was seen as a key mechanism that would allow Rwanda and Tanzania to catch up with ideas and technologies developed elsewhere. Such technologies are getting cheaper, and their capabilities and profitability in terms of enhancing access to information is increasing. In this respect it was suggested that the application of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) in the planning and managing of various productions of goods and service delivery processes is expedient if the national economy has to compete at the global level, and that there is, therefore, an increased need to put in place appropriate scientific and technology skills to harness ICT capabilities. This demands that adequate investments in human capital are made in science and technology based education and training (see section five).

Increased migration and study tours were also seen as providing opportunities for Rwandans and Tanzanians from all backgrounds to learn from the experiences of others. It was felt that exposure to international competition would make the populations of the two countries more creative and imaginative and more able to compete regionally and globally. Some informants also commented, however, on the extent to which Rwanda and Tanzania can learn from the mistakes of other countries in their efforts to develop global competitive advantage.

Many of the informants recognised the significance of the agricultural sector in relation to national development because of the high degree of dependence on this sector by the vast majority of the populations of the two countries. Thus, although they commented on the problems currently faced by the sector, they also saw the possibilities afforded in regional and global markets through its modernisation and diversification. Several informants expressed the view that the development of this sector would not only contribute to poverty alleviation but would also help to create less dependence on foreign imports. In this respect, it was suggested by some of the Rwandan participants that Rwanda can also learn from other countries in the region, such as Kenya and Uganda, which have been more successful in developing and diversifying agriculture.

There was also widespread support for the idea of diversifying the economy through the development of the service sector, tourism and industry. Tourism in particular was highlighted as an area holding great potential for development, particularly by representatives of the private sector. This was particularly the case in Rwanda where there has been more limited economic diversification to date than in Tanzania. In this respect it was recognised that the development of Rwanda's human resources is a critical factor. Indeed, it was felt by some informants that Rwanda holds a comparative advantage over

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other countries in the region in relation to human resource development, particularly with respect to the development of bilingualism. In agreement with the Vision 2020 document (see below), several informants talked of the possibility of Rwanda becoming a 'communications hub' for the region, i.e. to use the country's strategic position between 'Anglophone' and 'Francophone' Africa to act as a provider and broker for areas such as financial services. Other cultural attributes such as a strong sense of family values and community spiritedness were also seen by both Rwandan and Tanzanian participants as providing a potential advantage as they face up to change and something distinctive that the two countries can offer to the emerging global culture.

As with the overall views of globalisation, however, the above account reflects the perspectives of the majority of informants who belong to the urban elite, mainly residing in Kigali and Dar es Salaam. There was once again a notable difference in emphases between the views of these informants and the views of the rurally based participants. Here the priorities were much more localised in scope and focused on the pressing conditions experienced by members of these groups living in the rural areas. To an extent some of these perspectives were also shared by representatives of civil society and NGOs. It will be recalled that, for rural participants, the overall view of globalisation was more negative and unsurprisingly, therefore, their views concerning national development were expressed more in terms of threats (see below). Nonetheless, some opportunities relating to globalisation were also noted. Thus the artisans interviewed in Rwanda, for example, suggested that provided they were given appropriate training to meet international standards, they would be able to benefit form the opening up of regional markets. For the cattle keepers and tea pickers there was also a view that regional markets afforded them the possibility to supplement their meagre incomes through diversifying their productive activities, e.g. growing 'exotic' fruits. On the other hand, the tea pickers suggested that their opportunities to compete could be enhanced if the government facilitated their setting up small scale farms and co-operatives.

b) Threats

Many informants identified the myriad problems faced by Rwanda and Tanzania that pose key threats to the development of global competitiveness. In Rwanda's case, the landlocked nature of the country, its limited natural resources, the poor state of agriculture and the legacy of genocide were frequently cited as barriers to achieving global advantage. The negative side of Rwanda's inward looking past was also often mentioned. In particular informants discussed the extent to which Rwandans remain closed in their minds to the realities of globalisation and are unaware of the need to change certain working practices (for example, respect for time and the need to be more productive and competitive). The on-going war in the Congo was seen as a threat to the development of tourism by one Rwandese informant. Although many informants remained optimistic about Rwanda's opportunities to diversify economically, there was also a widespread view that the paucity of

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the country's human resources posed a serious obstacle. In this respect many informants commented on the weaknesses of the knowledge base, partly a result of genocide but also as a result of 'brain drain'. A minority of informants remained sceptical of the extent to which Rwanda would be able to benefit from technological developments elsewhere because more powerful countries would be unwilling to share their expertise.

In Tanzania's case, many participants, particularly from the private sector, recognised the weak starting point that Tanzania has in terms of becoming globally competitive. They also talked of the negative effects of structural adjustment policies in relation to increasing unemployment. An example here is the programme of privatisation of state enterprises and parastatals. This has led to a major increase in unemployment as privatised companies have attempted to become more competitive by shedding staff (see section three). Although it is intended that these companies will eventually provide a more efficient and a higher quality service, these potential gains have yet to be felt. Further, it was pointed out that the Tanzanian government and local financial institutions have not put up credit facilities to enable Tanzanians to participate in the development of the investment sector and to acquire shares in the public enterprises which are currently divested.

The government is also not yet seen to have created an effective enabling environment for self-employment in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy. Accordingly, graduates in the fields like engineering, law, architecture, computer sciences, veterinary sciences, pharmacy, accounting and commerce should be able to embark on self employment if credit facilities are available and land policies allow them to own or lease land under concession arrangements and use the title deeds as a collateral.

Nearly all participants noted weaknesses in the education and training system (see section six) and in particular the outmoded and irrelevant nature of the school and university curricula, which are seen as being too theoretical and divorced from the needs of the country. Representatives of the education sector and the government remarked upon the poor science and technology base in schools and universities. The chronic under-funding of research in this area was considered to be a contributing factor as this had a trickle down effect to lower levels. The representatives of the private sector in Rwanda and Tanzania lamented the lack of practical experience afforded to young people by the education and training system and the failure to inculcate entrepreneurial and critical thinking skills. They also lamented the reluctance on the part of parents and educators to encourage young people to get involved in business. These views were shared by representatives of government and by participants in the in-country workshop who also mentioned the almost total absence of career guidance for young people. A key point made by participants in the country workshops was the lack of involvement of the private sector in setting education policy and priorities which reflected a deeper malaise, namely an overall lack of coordination on the part of the government in developing a skills development strategy.

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For the rural informants, the threats posed by globalisation for national development outweighed the opportunities. Many of the threats mentioned relate directly to rural poverty, to the lack of clean water, clinics and schools in rural areas, expensive medicines and the prevalence of famine and drought. In Rwanda, they explained that much of the rural infrastructure had been destroyed or damaged in the war. They also mentioned the neglect on the part of government to provide enabling conditions for them to develop. The artisans in Rwanda, for example, complained of high taxes and the low prices offered on local markets for their goods. They explained that they found it increasingly difficult to compete with imported goods and blamed this on a lack of information about how to access external markets, an absence of necessary skills for marketing their products, a lack of raw materials and limited publicity or promotion of their products. The cattle keepers also mentioned the lack of markets for their products and of the absence of a marketing board to ensure fair prices. A lack of management skills meant that they were unable to establish cooperatives.

Globalisation and National development: two government visions compared

This section considers the two visions of national development put forward by the governments of Rwanda and Tanzania. In particular the section deals with the issues of how each government perceives national development in relation to globalisation, the similarities and differences between the two visions and how realistic each vision is.

a) Rwanda's Vision 2020

Rwanda's vision in a nutshell

By the year 2020 Rwanda will transform itself from a low income economy based on agriculture to a middle income economy that will act as a communications hub and service provider for the region.

The Rwandan government's vision for national development is contained in the *Strategy for National Development for the Year 2020* (herein referred to as the 'Vision 2020' document) (MoF, 2000a). The document sets out a 20-year development strategy for Rwanda that is intended to guide and coordinate the activities of government departments and the donor community. The document was drawn up after a process of national consultation and input from technical experts. It has provided a framework and point of reference for the other key documents and for many of the informants who participated in interviews and the in-country workshop. Vision 2020 can be seen as a country-specific version of the 'leapfrogging' model of national development described above, in that the GoR has sought to balance the need for poverty alleviation through modernising the agricultural sector with the need for Rwanda to rapidly find a niche within a globalising economy.

The document starts with a recognition of the failings of previous post-colonial administrations to reverse the dependence of the economy on cash crops (tea and coffee)

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and on migrant labour built up during colonial times. The document notes that 'no consistent effort was made to train Rwandans or raise the level of skills needed for development' (p. 10). Having failed to develop capacity for capital accumulation the document then suggests that subsequent post-colonial regimes then became over-reliant on aid. The aim of Vision 2020 according to the government is to 'change fundamentally, the colonial and post-colonial economic indifference, and to install a transformation regime to permit the rise of social and economic indicators for all Rwandans' (p. 12).

Although the Vision 2020 document does not explicitly refer to globalisation, a view of the need to address the major challenges posed by economic globalisation for low income countries is implicit. In line with contemporary thinking about how the 'new globalisers' have succeeded in becoming integrated into global flows and networks (Collier and Dollar, 2002), the Vision 2020 document advocates a policy of opening up markets in order to attract local and foreign direct investment; encouraging traditional and non-traditional exports; and, diversifying the economy by modernising and diversifying agricultural production and encouraging a greater emphasis on manufacture and services supported by new technologies. The vision is also based on a recognition of the specific problems faced by Rwanda that were outlined in section three including problems of soil erosion and low soil fertility, a high population density, the fact that Rwanda is landlocked and far from a sea port, the legacy of genocide, a poor infrastructure ravaged by war and poor management capacity at all levels.

Specifically, the document sets out the following tenets as a basis for its strategy:

- Effective state, efficient and transparent public service, with sufficient capacity to formulate and implement enabling and empowering policies; this in turn would lead to good governance and popular participation;
- Modernisation of agriculture, leading to the transformation of Rwanda's rural economy; and thereafter to link to other economic sectors;
- Development of industry and service sector geared towards substituting expensive mass products; attraction and fostering local and foreign investments, based on a skilled workforce;
- Comprehensive human resources development aimed at public sector, private sector and civil society;
- Development and promotion of a business middle class and entrepreneurship;
- Entry into regional and global trading and economic integration in which Rwanda has a particular niche (MoF, 1999, p. 3).

To achieve the vision, the document sets out short, medium and long term priorities as follows:

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1. Short term (1999-2006):

In the short term the objective of the government is to build state capacity to put in place the necessary policies to foster the growth of the private sector and to create macroeconomic stability. This in turn would reduce dependency on aid.

2. Medium term (2007-2013):

In the medium term the government will aim at continuously intensifying farming and providing an enabling environment for the development of industrial and service sectors. Key here are lowering costs and improving the quality of energy, water, telecommunications and transport. Also pivotal is the development of specialised skills in agriculture, manufacturing and the service sector. A highly skilled and motivated labour force will be necessary to provide high quality educational services in science and technology as will the strengthening of the service sector finance such as banking, insurance, data processing and ICT.

3. Long term (2014-)

The document notes that in the long term the backbone of the process of capital formation must be the indigenous middle class and entrepreneurs. This will form a basis for Rwanda to compete in regional and global markets. Rwanda must aim to find a market niche in the region, e.g. by becoming a telecommunications hub.

b) Tanzania's Vision 2025

Tanzania's vision in a nutshell

By the year 2025 Tanzania will have transformed itself into a middle income country through modernising the agricultural sector in a way that can sustain the livelihoods of all Tanzanians and through facilitating the growth of a strong and globally competitive industrial sector.

The Tanzanian government's vision for national development is contained in the *Tanzanian Development Vision 2025* (herein referred to as 'Vision 2025') (URT, 1999c). Like the Rwandan Vision 2020, the document sets out a 25 year development strategy for Tanzania that is intended to act as a guide for government departments and the donor community. The document was drawn up under the auspices of the Department of Planning but involved input from a range of key stakeholders, local and international experts. The Tanzanian vision 2025 is based on the recognition that after 15 years of pursuing structural adjustment policies, the country needed a new vision of national development around which to build popular ownership of economic and social policy. The document commences with an analysis of Tanzania's previous two visions, namely the vision that guided the struggle for independence and subsequent vision contained in the Arusha declaration. It notes that whilst the legacy of the Arusha declaration is increased national unity and peace, the state-

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led model of socialism implicit in the declaration did not take sufficient account of the policies and incentive structures required to drive the vision. The document also notes various impediments to national development including:

- A donor dependency syndrome and a dependent and defeatist developmental mindset.
- A weak and low capacity for economic management.
- Failures in good governance and in the organization of production.
- Ineffective implementation syndrome (URT, 1999c).

The document notes that, partly as a result of globalisation, the context of national development has also changed fundamentally since the Arusha declaration. The document suggests that globalisation has had the following implications for national development:

- The on-set of political and economic pluralism.
- Exposure of the limitations of policies of public sector-led development and administrative control of the economy in a centrally planned fashion.
- The recognition of individual initiative and the private sector as the central driving forces for building a strong, productive and renewing economy
- State welfare responsibilities are more focused on cost-effective ways of enhancing access to and the quality of social services.
- The fast changing market conditions the technological developments
- The determinants of international economic relations are being influenced by post-cold war geopolitical factors.
- National-state economic behaviour is being transformed by globalisation and regionalism, trends which undermine inward looking economic nationalism.

Although vague, the above analysis of globalisation in the document provides continuity on many of the themes relating to contemporary globalisation expressed in the literature. For example, the vision suggests a new, facilitative role for the state in line with Third Way' thinking and the 'Post-Washington consensus'. By way of contrast to the Rwandan vision, the document can be seen as following a more 'evolutionary model' as described in the literature, based on the modernisation of the agricultural sector and growth of industry. The vision does not seek to find an exit from agriculture as the Rwandan vision does. More so than the Rwandan vision, the Tanzanian vision is explicit in its aim to develop the agricultural sector as a means to sustain rural livelihoods and to work towards the elimination of poverty. Vision 2025 sets out its targets for national development under three key headings:

i) High Quality Livelihood
A high quality livelihood for all Tanzanians is expected to be attained through strategies which ensure the realisation of the following goals:

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- Food self-sufficiency and food security.
- Universal primary education, the eradication of illiteracy and the attainment of a level of tertiary education and training that is commensurate with a critical mass of high quality human resources required to effectively respond and master the development challenges at all levels.
- Gender equality and the empowerment of women in all socio-economic and political relations and cultures.
- Access to quality primary health care for all.
- Access to quality reproductive health services for all individuals of appropriate ages.
- Reduction in infant and maternal mortality rates by three-quarters of current levels.
- Universal access to safe water.
- Life expectancy comparable to the level attained by typical middle income countries.
- Absence of abject poverty

ii) Good Governance and the Rule of Law

It is desired that the Tanzanian society should be characterized by:

- Desirable moral and cultural uprightness.
- Strong adherence to and respect for the rule of law
- Absence of corruption and other vices.
- A learning society which is confident, learns from its own development experience and that of others and owns and determines its own development agenda.

iii) A Strong and Competitive Economy

The economy is expected to have the following characteristics:

- A diversified and semi-industrialized economy with a substantial industrial sector comparable to typical middle-income countries.
- Macroeconomic stability manifested by a low inflation economy and basic macroeconomic balances.
- A growth rate 8% per annum or more.
- An adequate level of physical infrastructure needed to cope with the requirements of the Vision in all sectors.
- An active and competitive player in the regional and world markets, with the capacity to articulate and promote national interests and to adjust quickly to regional and global market shifts.

It is also envisaged that fast growth will be pursued while effectively reversing current adverse trends in the loss and degradation of environmental resources (such as forests, fisheries, fresh water, climate, soils, biodiversity) and in the accumulation of hazardous substances.

In order to realise the vision, the document also outlines three 'driving forces' required if the vision is to be realised, namely:

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- A developmental mindset imbued with confidence, commitment and empowering cultural value.
- Competence and spirit of competitiveness; and
- Good governance and the rule of law.

Education is deeply implicated both in the vision and in the driving forces to realise the vision as we will see below.

The visions compared

The two visions share common characteristics. Both are based on:

- a recognition of the inevitability of globalisation and of the need for the two countries to globalise.
- a common aim of becoming a middle income country by the end of the duration of the vision
- a similar view of the need to modernise the agricultural sector
- the need to create macroeconomic stability as a basis for attracting foreign direct investment
- the need to develop the ICT and science and technology infrastructure
- the central role of human resources and of education and training in national development
- a shared view of the changing role of the state in relation to national development more in line with the idea of the enabling or facilitating state in the literature
- the need for a fundamental change in the mindset of the population, i.e. that the populations of the two countries need to become more competitive and entrepreneurial
- the need for good governance as a prerequisite for development
- both visions emphasise the importance of national unity
- both seek to reduce dependency on aid

The visions also contain some important differences. These can be related to the historical contexts of the two countries as well as to demographic and geographic realities outlined in section three. For example, although both visions can be seen to lie within the terms of the so-called 'post-Washington consensus' and are concerned with alleviating poverty, the Tanzanian vision is more explicit about the need to improve the quality of livelihoods of the rural poor than is the case with the Rwandan vision. It also draws on the philosophy of self-reliance as a means to counter donor dependency. These aspects provide continuity on the trajectory of post-independence government ideology in Tanzania, reflected for example, in the Arusha declaration. By way of contrast the Rwandan vision is more explicit about the need to create an entrepreneurial middle class as the driving force for development, reflecting a stronger neo-liberal bias. Further, whereas the Rwandan vision seeks to

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'leapfrog' the industrialisation phase and become a knowledge based economy, the Tanzanian vision adopts a more 'evolutionary' approach based on a modernised agricultural sector and the gradual development of the industrial and services sector. In part this can be attributed to the potentially greater productivity of the Tanzanian agricultural sector, the high population density in Rwanda and to other factors. In this respect, although the development of ICT infrastructure and of human resources is central to the vision of both countries, it is arguably even more critical for Rwanda given its aim of becoming a knowledge economy by 2020. This, however, raises questions about how realistic each vision is.

How realistic are the two visions?

It is beyond the scope of the present research to provide a full scale evaluation of the two development visions. Both visions have been arrived at through a process of local and international consultation with experts from a number of fields. The visions also need to be respected as representing an attempt by the governments of the two countries to set out their own developmental paths in relation to their own perceived needs and interests. It is important, however, to provide an idea of how realistic the two visions are inasmuch as this impacts on the aims of the present research, namely, the identification of skills development strategies and priorities.

One way to consider how realistic the two visions are is in terms of historical precedent although there are dangers in making international comparisons because of differences in context and histories. Nonetheless, Tanzania's current 'evolutionary' approach appears more realistic in these terms because it has many precedents both in the western industrialised world and amongst the newly industrialised nations of South East Asia. Rwanda's approach on the other hand has fewer precedents. The leapfrogging model is reflected in the experiences of some recent globalisers such as Mauritius and some states in India where development has moved rapidly from an agricultural base to an economy increasingly based on service industries. It is early days, however, to assess the long term 'success' of these more recent globalisers, reflected for example in their ability to sustain high levels of economic growth. These countries also have a comparative advantage over Rwanda in that they have had a stronger human resource base on which to attract foreign direct investment and to build their service sector. In Rwanda's case, however, the leapfrogging option may be the only option available. Given high population density and growth, there is a recognition that the country can no longer sustain itself on an unproductive agricultural sector. Given high transport costs and the absence of many raw materials there are also difficulties associated with developing the industrial sector. In this respect the vision 2020 document seems justified in claiming that Rwanda has little option but to develop its service sector and monopolise on its comparative advantage in languages. Tanzania is not caught in such an invidious position. It has a potentially more productive agricultural sector and the geographical basis and natural resources to develop industry. It also benefits from having an

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already more diverse economy than Rwanda from which to develop niches in regional and global markets.

Another way to assess how realistic the visions are in the long term is to consider the extent to which the visions have begun to meet their targets. In both cases the results are mixed. The short term goals for Rwanda were to build state capacity to put in place the necessary policies to foster the growth of the private sector and to create macroeconomic stability. The Rwandan government has begun to put in place policy frameworks in areas that will build state capacity such as ICT (GoR, 2000a), poverty reduction (GoR, 2001) and good governance (MoLG, 2001). It is also in the process of developing a human resources framework (MoF, 1999). The government is behind in its plans, however, to develop management capacity within the state and private sector as set out in the Vision 2020 document. It also remains heavily reliant on donors to implement some of its more ambitious policies such as developing an ICT infrastructure. These factors may prove hazardous to policy implementation in the short to medium term. The Tanzanian government on the other hand has purposefully not set itself short term targets. Rather targets relate to the twenty five years of the vision. The longer time span of the vision also gives the Tanzanian government greater time within which to meet the targets. Some of the targets, particularly those concerned with the moral disposition of the population and the absence of corruption are also difficult to quantify. With respect to the more quantifiable targets, however, such as those relating to quality of livelihood and to economic performance, it is clear from section three that Tanzania is falling further behind other nations rather than catching up. This is true, for example, in relation to Tanzania's ranking in relation to the human development index. It is also reflected in rates of economic growth that are far lower than those anticipated in the vision.

Whatever the success or otherwise of the visions to date (and it is still early days), the two governments remain firmly committed to their respective development paths. At the heart of both governments' plans is the long term aim to break with donor dependency. Both governments acknowledge however that the donor community has a significant role to play in the short to medium term to assist in the process of global integration and poverty alleviation. For example, DFID has acknowledged that the international community needs to step up efforts to alleviate the debt burden facing the two countries. At present, Rwanda, for example, spends twice as much on re-servicing its external debt than it does on education and health combined. DFID also acknowledges that the British government and the international community can do more to ensure fairer access to markets for poorer countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania. This was a point brought up by many of the research participants, particularly in Tanzania. In Rwanda's case, the realisation of their ambitious vision relies heavily on the development of a human resources and ICT framework that can facilitate a rapid shift to a knowledge economy and this will require a large measure of support from donors. Once again the British government has promised to assist countries

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such as Rwanda in this respect through the Prime Minister's *Infundo* project and other initiatives. This report, and the recommendations contained in it, is written in the hope that such help will be forthcoming and that the international community will assist Rwanda and Tanzania in the realisation of their development plans.

Views of the role of the state and of the private sector in national development
It will be recalled that a key aspect of the first pressure point identified as informing the research is the respective role of the state and of the private sector in facilitating national development and skills formation. The review of the literature above describes the changing perceptions concerning the role of the state internationally. Government thinking about the role of the state and the private sector in Rwanda and Tanzania is evident from a consideration of recent policy documents. 'Reading between the lines' of these documents it is possible to detect an underlying model describing a changing relationship over time between the state and the private sector.

The Vision 2020 document (MoF, 2000a), for example, starts from a recognition of poor institutional capacity which the present government inherited. It notes that:

> *Past governments rather than develop institutions and systems, continued to rely on technical assistance that was both costly and largely indifferent to domestic long term needs. Consequently the country did not develop appropriate institutional capacity nor made an attempt to develop and utilise internally developed human resources*
> (MoF, 2000a, p.14).

The Tanzanian Vision 2025, explicitly talks about a move away from a state-centred model of development characteristic of the years immediately following independence, towards a more facilitative role for the state.

An immediate priority for both governments is to develop capacity in governance. This was reflected in the convening of a national workshop on Strengthening Good Governance for Poverty Reduction in Rwanda and the subsequent strategy framework (MoLG, 2001). The Tanzanian government has similarly committed itself to good governance both in its Vision 2025 and in the broader policy arena. In both cases the principles of good governance can be summarised as:

- The separation of powers
- The rule of law
- Participation in decision-making
- A dedicated leadership
- Transparency
- Efficiency and effectiveness

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- Equity and fairness
- A long term vision
- Accountability
- Enlightened population

Both governments consider it the responsibility of the government, the private sector and civil society to realise these principles through constructive interactions. A cornerstone of increasing accountability is decentralisation to the local level such that 'the policy making process will be in the hands of local communities who know their own conditions better than distant bureaucrats in the Capital City' (MoF, 2000a, p. 15).

In this respect, the most contentious aspect of the Education and Training Policy (ETP) in Tanzania has proven to be the issue of ownership arising from the perception that national policy-making has been hi-jacked by foreign and international agents (Samoff 1994; Buchert 1997; PED 1998). The influence of donor agencies may be traced in the priority that ETP gives to primary and pre-primary education and equality, in particular with respect to gender. The World Bank agenda is evident in the stated commitment to decentralisation, liberalisation and cost-sharing, although the mechanisms through which these initiatives are to be achieved are not well developed. The aims and purposes of the various educational levels given in the ETP can thus be seen as part of an ideological tradition dating back to Education for Self Reliance and continued though the 1984 and 1993 policy documents (see also ADEA 2001). This also implies organisational continuity, despite the stated commitment to decentralisation, in that it envisages its directives will be carried out by existing institutions.   In other words, although the influence of external agendas is undeniable, ETP is also a Tanzanian document.

In development terms, the goal of increasing capacity in governance must be the creation of macroeconomic stability. Both governments see the role of the state as being one of ensuring the welfare of their citizens, creating stability and fostering prosperity. The two governments see their key role as providing a safety net for the most vulnerable, for example by providing employment schemes for the rural unemployed whose numbers are predicted to rise as a consequence of the modernisation of the agricultural sector. In relation to social welfare they clearly see their role as providing basic goods and services but only those that cannot be provided by the private sector. Thus in relation to poverty reduction:

> *The state will focus on interventions in areas where there are strong public-goods reasons to intervene: where markets fail and where outcomes would be highly unequal if left to the market. It will not intervene in areas where equitable and efficient outcomes can be expected from private sector activity in the absence of intervention*
> (GoR, 2001, pp. 39-40).

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As far as human resource development is concerned, the two governments see their principle responsibility in terms of funding basic education. They see the provision of technical, vocational and higher education as involving a partnership with a substantial input of funds from private sources although these will become increasingly significant even in relation to basic education as the private sector develops. As such it is stated that the private sector must be fully involved in the formulation of policy (GoR, 2001). Finally, both governments see a role for civil society and in particular NGOs in the provision of certain services, in research and in monitoring the activities of government.

The two governments see their overall goal as being the creation of a 'self-sustaining integrated economy that is market-oriented in which the role of the state will be stimulatory and catalytic' (MoF, 2000a, p. 15). They are committed to opening up markets to local and foreign competition through tax reforms, competitive exchange rates and market-driven interest rates. However, although they are obviously keen to attract foreign investors, the Rwandan government in particular sees the development of an indigenous middle class as vital in relation to global competitiveness:

> *It is true that business has become globalised, in an environment that consumption of goods is increasingly uniform. International business establishments trade in all corners of the world, particularly with the advance of information-based trading. It remains, nevertheless, a crucial component of development to have a local-based class of business, particularly in the light of the fact that the role of the state is uniformly retreating*
> (MoF, 2000a, p. 17).

The principle ways that the Rwandan government sees for empowering this new entrepreneurial class are through privatisation of state assets, including the parastatals and micro business and the creation of export processing zones in which foreign operators could have local partners. It also envisages a role for itself in encouraging the creation of an informal *Jua Kali* sector (informal sector self employment). The Tanzanian government has embarked on a similar set of policies, although as many of our research participants pointed out, there is a feeling that the government needs to do more to support private enterprise.

The model of the role of the state that emerges from an analysis of government policy is summed up by the notion of the 'stimulatory' or 'catalytic' state mentioned above. It is in line with contemporary thinking about the role of the state in relation to globalisation in many other parts of the world (see above). Thus although it still contains strong neo-liberal overtones (for example, the idea of the gradual withdrawal of the state), it actually assumes a much more significant role for the state than is assumed by the neo-liberal model, particularly with respect to poverty alleviation. This view of the state also differs from western models in that it engages with the historical legacy of the state in Rwanda and Tanzania which has been described above as the legacy of the 'weak state'.

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The government's view of the role of the state was broadly shared by many of the interviewees and participants in the in-country workshops. Thus it was acknowledged by most informants that the state must take a leading role in relation to the provision of education and training. The role of the private sector was to 'fill in the gaps' in state provision. Rather, the government needs to play a much stronger regulatory and coordinating role than it has done hitherto particularly with respect to ensuring greater coordination between the outputs of education and training and the economy. Many participants looked forward to the development of a coherent and integrated human resource development framework in which the private sector would have a significant input.

Once again, however, there was a significant difference in the contributions of the rural informants. Here the state was expected to play a stronger role in assisting them with their plight. From a rural perspective the state was clearly seen as the principal if not sole provider of services such as education and training with no role envisaged for the private sector. There was also a view that the state needed to protect the interests of rural producers in local markets whilst providing training and other support that would enable them to participate in regional markets. The model emerging here was much more along the lines of the traditional welfare state.

Two Models of development from the Data

At some risk of over-simplification, the above account of the implications of globalisation in Rwanda and Tanzania can be reduced to two contrasting developmental models. These should be recognised as 'ideal types', useful for analytical purposes, rather than representing exclusive options. We stress that the models are derived from the data as a whole rather than representing the views of specific stakeholders or policy documents (although different stakeholders or policy documents may be more or less biased towards one particular model). As such they represent two ends of a continuum. They do, however, serve to emphasise some of the tensions or 'pressure points' (Brown 1999) facing policy makers dealing with the issues of skills for development. They can be conveniently labelled as the 'localised' and the 'globalised' paths.

Localised path:
- Prioritisation of skill development in traditional sectors such as agriculture
- Protection of internal markets
- Limited diversification of the economy
- Prioritisation of the reduction of extreme poverty
- Major focus on basic education for literacy and numeracy
- Some new technology, but an emphasis on development of 'appropriate' technologies
- The state provides services and infrastructure and protects internal markets.

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Globalised path:

- Prioritisation of skill development for export-oriented production and to attract foreign investment
- Openness to international markets and competition
- Diversification of the economy into new sectors
- The development of a new entrepreneurial and technical middle class
- More balanced expansion of education that includes higher education in key areas
- Introduction of advanced technologies within a coherent technology policy framework
- The state as a catalyst for diversification into sectors that can provide international comparative advantage, and as an enabler of market operation.

One way of viewing the models is in terms of a progression. In this respect, the first model describes how successive post-colonial administrations have tackled national development historically. It is also possible to envisage how in the short term drive to eliminate poverty elements of the first path might seem more appropriate. In the same vein, both the Rwandan and Tanzanian governments have acknowledged the necessity to move rapidly towards a more globalised development path. What is most important, however, is the nature of the articulation or link between the two models. Both governments are clearly intent on meeting immediate poverty alleviation needs (which imply elements of the first model), but laying the basis for the globalised model must also start immediately. This means, for example, opening up markets to outside investment and competition and encouraging an active role for the private sector in national development, even in the short term. It also means putting in place an ICT strategy and, as we argue in later sections, investing in higher level skills. The implications of the two models for skills development are discussed in more detail in the next section.

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Globalisation and Skills: What the literature tells us

It will be recalled from section four that there were two broad approaches to economic development advocated for those countries at the periphery of the global economy, one that assumes an evolutionary process of 'catching up' and one that recognises the possibilities afforded to low income countries by ICTs to 'leapfrog' the industrial stage of development into a high value added knowledge economy. Within the so-called 'evolutionary perspective', educational development priorities remain firmly focused on basic education, in turn commonly interpreted as primary education characterised by a 'lean curriculum' of literacy and numeracy skills, perhaps with some science. In this context the World Bank (1999a) refers to 'foundation skills' of literacy, numeracy, reasoning and 'social skills such as teamwork', that are presented as generic rather than specific to any particular form of economic activity. This education is to provide a basis for the learning of 'advanced skills throughout life' but, as Afenyadu et al (1999) point out, skills development and training needs are largely neglected, in their specifics at least, in most international policy making recently. They argue that there is insufficient evidence that basic education alone will prepare individuals for the sort of productive life implicit in currently dominant models of economic development and question whether primary education as currently conceived within the call for UPE is an adequate preparation for individuals to engage in productive economic activity. King (1996) notes evidence from the informal (*jua kali*) sector in Kenya that workers with vocational skills gained through formal training or on-the-job experience do have higher earnings than those with basic education alone. In view of this, it is worth reviewing the bases on which the arguments for an emphasis on primary education are built.

Riddell (1996) identifies three sources to this emphasis. There is the indisputable correlational evidence that links exposure to primary schooling to important developmental factors such as agricultural productivity and improved child health. There are also rates of return analyses located in a Human Capital Theory framework that indicate highest returns to investment in primary education. Finally, there is an analysis of the success of the East Asian 'tiger' economies that notes the existence of almost universal primary education preceding industrial take-off in those countries. Riddell argues that the first two of these sources have led to an emphasis on quantitative educational concerns in terms of enrolment and retention rates that have diverted attention from a more informed consideration of what is taught in schools. She maintains that a closer analysis of the East Asian experience challenges this approach. Since the Asian NIEs represent the most successful economic development story of the last fifty years and they are used as a model to support a variety of arguments, it is pertinent to examine the features of the 'East Asian model'.

Green (1999) suggests that there are common features that define an East Asian model of skill formation, namely:

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- High stocks of literacy and basic skills at the onset of accelerated industrialisation
- Specific state interventions to develop these stocks through mass education
- The deliberate articulation of educational and economic development policies
- Mass primary education established before the expansion of secondary and then tertiary education
- Highly centralised control of all aspects of education including the curriculum, attainment standards and students flows through different 'tracks'
- Emphasis on the core skills of literacy, maths and science
- Homogenisation of provision for all at the first two levels of education (except in Singapore)
- Great stress on values and moral education, to develop a sense of national unity and a disciplined citizenry

Green also points out that significant differences exist in the experiences of the countries concerned. These indicate the importance of examining the political and social foundations of these skill formation systems if we are to understand their success or if we are to try to draw lessons for other countries. Human Capital Theory is criticised for precisely this lack of contextualisation. This point is taken up by other writers, who note the particular importance of the global context in an era of economic globalisation. Riddell (1996) argues that the new competition of globalisation in more recent years requires very different human resources from those that were successful in propelling East Asian countries from agricultural to industrial and even post-industrial economies. Echoing Oman (1996), she suggests that the option for developing countries to attract investment through the availability of low-wage labour in labour-intensive manufacturing may no longer be viable. A reduction in the proportion of low-wage labour costs in a firm's total costs, makes other factors more influential in decisions about where to locate production. Amongst these is the quality of human resources available: globalisation increases the importance of education for the enhancement of productivity and attraction of foreign capital (Stewart 1996).

Wood (1994) writes that the development of human resources is the key to accessing the global economy through export-oriented industrialisation, stating that illiterates are of little use in manufacturing. He further argues that sustained economic growth cannot be built on low-skilled labour alone, so that a longer-term perspective must emphasise skills enhancement. Unfortunately, the relative absence of advanced skills in subsistence agriculture based economies with high levels of illiteracy, hinders the development of those advanced skills, potentially leading to a vicious circle of skills deprivation. This prefigures the social capital arguments that point to the importance of supportive networks within any society for the educational and skills development of individuals (Brown, 1999).

Oman (1996) suggests that 'Taylorist' forms of industrial enterprise have the capacity to absorb low-skilled labour, even the illiterate. These are enterprises relying largely on a

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disciplined but low-skilled workforce carrying out simple repetitive tasks that require a minimum of training. He then argues, however, that long-term, effective participation in the global economy will demand the 'flexible' forms of production that are increasingly used in the established industrialised countries. 'Flexible' production is based on an organisational ability to adapt rapidly to changes in demand. To assist in this, management regimes are flat rather than hierarchical, so that decision-making rather than rule-following becomes a responsibility of all involved in production. Workers are expected to be creative problem solvers, capable of working in teams on a range of tasks demanding multiple skills and, crucially, capable and willing to engage in continuous learning and retraining. The workforce therefore requires basic skills of literacy and numeracy, as in Taylorist forms of production, but also skills in communication, teamworking, the application of knowledge to problem-solving in real-life situations and 'trainability' through a capacity for continuous learning. Riddell (1996) endorses this position and argues that the development of these capacities will demand not just more schooling and not just a revision of the formal school curriculum. A new form of schooling is required, with a new ethos and new demands on the teacher. The current emphasis on obedience, discipline, rote learning and individual attainment must be replaced by a classroom which facilitates creative thinking, problem solving, group working and the development of the capacity to learn from a range of sources.

There is general agreement that the adoption of new technologies is essential for participation in the global economy, although there are also warnings that the introduction of advanced technologies into subsistence agricultural economies (Carnoy 1997) or into countries where there is an inadequate educational base (Ashton and Green 1996) can be a source of deskilling rather than re-skilling for a large part of the work force. DFID (2000a) refers to the potential for 'leapfrogging' the development trajectory of industrialised countries through the use of new technologies that offer access to knowledge and links to the global economy. It further recognises that an expansion of secondary and tertiary education are essential for the effective use of these technologies – and, indeed for sustained export-led industrial growth in general – but reiterates its commitment to primary education as its central focus. Pigato (2001) argues that ICT can have a direct impact on the raising of living standards and should be seen as a tool in the fight to eliminate poverty, rather than a luxury. The long-term establishment of ICT resources is best served by the development of ICT skills 'from below' through school-based education, requiring in turn an integrated policy for ICT investment within education, at all levels of the system. Her study of ICT in Africa and South Asia supports the point made by other writers that the effective use of new technologies demands the development of indigenous technological capacity that can adapt these technologies for local use and, ultimately, build a capacity for technological innovation (Singh 1994, Riddell 1996, Haddad 1997). It is argued that this technological capacity will not be developed by reliance on market forces alone but must be deliberately brought about through an integrated technology policy and government action, in line with the experience

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of the East Asian NIEs. This in turn raises the need for the enhancement of skills of policy-making, planning and implementation in the public sector (Ashton & Green 1996). Neither can this capacity be realised in a population with only basic education, thus demanding a more balanced expansion of educational provision that includes secondary and tertiary levels, particularly in science, technology and management. The elitist potential of such a policy is recognised but may be a price that has to be paid for long-term economic development within, rather than marginalized by, the global economy (Haddad 1997).

Lall and Wignaraja (1997) present one of the few available empirical studies in sub-Saharan Africa of local industrial technological competence, basically defined as the ability of firms to manage the complex process of technological development. They examined the impact of World Bank/IMF structural adjustment on a range of manufacturing companies in Ghana. Part of this structural adjustment included a general liberalisation and increased market orientation of the economy and, in particular, the exposure of local companies to greater external competition. The more technologically competent firms that could survive in these new conditions were characterised, amongst other things, by significantly higher levels of education among entrepreneurs and production managers. For these successful firms, this meant university level education, including MBAs and chartered accountants, not just the secondary schooling that characterised the maximum educational level of their counterparts in less successful companies. These successful companies also had much higher proportions of scientists, technicians and quality control and maintenance personnel amongst their employers. Furthermore, the level of general skills amongst employees in these firms necessary to maintain technological capacity and be able to meet challenges from foreign producers could not be developed without higher levels of formal education than primary schooling. One overall conclusion drawn from the study is that the development of skill levels adequate for successful participation in global economic competition depends not just on the establishment of appropriate means for teaching industry-specific skills, but on the development of much higher levels of general education in a significant proportion of the population. Technological capacity to meet the challenges of the global economy cannot be developed on the back of basic education alone.

Skills implications of key development strategy documents

As described in Section 4, the development strategies of both Rwanda and Tanzania are outlined in two key documents in each country. The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers focus primarily on short-to-medium-term strategies, whereas 'Vision' documents, *Vision 2020* in Rwanda and Vision 2025 in Tanzania, provide longer-term perspectives. Though tending to adopt a different time horizon, the PRSPs are both explicitly set within the developmental context and aims outlined in the vision statements. None of these documents provides a detailed analysis of the skills that must be promoted in support of the strategies they outline, but then that is not their function. Some broad categories of skills development needs are clearly indicated, but much more remains implicit. The aim here is to extract and

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compare both the explicit and implicit skills needs of the development strategies for the two countries as indicated in these four documents. It is recognised that within each country there are (or are in process) other documents, such as Rwanda's ICT development policy paper, that deal with specific areas of skills development. The intention here is provide a comparison of the broad areas of skill development needs within the overall development strategy contexts of the two countries, rather than to focus on detail.

(a) Tanzania

The identification of agriculture as the starting point for future development, with the need to modernise the sector and increase productivity, implies the development of new skills and knowledge in agriculture. This only appears explicitly in the documents in relation to promoting agricultural research and the training of extension workers. Agricultural development is primarily seen as a matter of increased inputs, notably fertilisers, and the adoption of new technologies rather than the development of skills in farmers themselves, but it seems reasonable to assume that successful adoption of these new inputs and technologies will demand new knowledge and skills.

The overall concern to develop a more market-based economy and to improve the efficiency of market processes within the country (as well as in its regional and global dealings), together with a desire to encourage the establishment of small and medium sized enterprises, suggest the need to develop basic business and marketing skills among a wider population. These might be necessary both in the transformation of agriculture itself towards a commercial rather than a subsistence activity and also in the diversification of livelihoods away from a total reliance on agriculture. Associated with these moves would be the development of simple agro-processing skills such as food preservation and storage, either by improving existing techniques or introducing new ones. Such skills developments receive no explicit mention in the documents analysed here, although broad references to 'adult education' and 'vocational training' can be taken to include them.

The establishment of larger scale agro-processing and indeed of other industries, as envisaged in Vision 2025 as the developmental route for the country, will demand rather different skills. At this point there will be a need for a specifically managerial cadre, with higher level training in enterprise management, together with accountants and other white-collar support staff. Although such personnel have been in existence in the country for many years, the entrepreneurial and competitive business context in which they will be expected to work will be very different from that of the parastatal bodies that largely managed such industries in the past. This suggests, therefore, that in addition to the development of specific business and management skills, a new set of attitudes will be sought: attitudes that encourage flexible and innovative responses to increased competitiveness and changing market conditions, and those that encourage informed risk-taking rather than bureaucratic rule following. This need for a new mind-set better suited to a free market economy is recognised, indeed emphasised, in both key strategy documents.

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The overall evolutionary developmental perspective of Vision 2025 suggests that initial industrial development will be based on labour-intensive practices demanding relatively low levels of skills amongst production workers that will often be developed on-the-job rather than through specialised vocational training. There will undoubtedly be a demand for some workers with more specific and higher level skills but since the developmental vision is not one of rapid transition to 'high-tech' production, the numbers of these will continue for some time to be quite small. The existence of a non-formal, small-scale manufacturing and service sector is also acknowledged, with its own vocational training needs, which it is suggested will primarily be met by NGOs with some government support.

The opening up of local markets to regional and global competition and the desire to export to regional and global markets does mean that the production standards, and therefore the standards of skills behind that production, both on the shop floor and in management, will be determined internationally rather than locally if products are to compete successfully. This will be even more the case where foreign and multinational companies set up locally or take over local companies. This further indicates the need for skills both to put in place and to participate in quality assurance systems that match those found outside the country. All of this in turn suggests that a certain minimum, basic educational experience will be required even at the lower skills end of the industrial workforce.

Basic education is identified in both the documents under review as a fundamental underpinning of the development strategy. Universal primary education and the eradication of illiteracy are targets of Vision 2025 although it is less specific about secondary and tertiary educational expansion, referring only to the need for the output of the latter to be commensurate with the human resource demands of the envisaged development. The PRSP does offer a target for secondary school enrolment growth which is quite modest. This and the overall emphasis on basic education are further support for the analysis of Tanzania's development strategy as being closer to the 'evolutionary' than the 'leap-frogging' model, as discussed in the Section 4. It should be noted, however, that Vision 2025 does call for a radical qualitative transformation of education to 'focus on promoting creativity and problem solving' that will assist in the reorientation of society towards a new 'culture of entrepreneurship and self-development through creative and innovative hard work.' That is, the role of education is to be one of developing attitudes appropriate to a new economic and social order as much as specific skills.

Basic education can also be taken to be central to the improvement of health and general social well-being, largely, in the current situation, through adult education programmes. This link between basic education and health appears primarily (if still left more implicit than explicit) in relation to the health of women and children and in the adoption of family planning.

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The only subject areas that receive a specific mention in passages on education are science and technology and information and communication technology (ICT). These are portrayed not as skills development imperatives for a minority of potential specialists but as important skills for all. They are seen as essential for the formation of a knowledge-rich society that will be able to engage successfully with the global economy and to support the successful introduction of new technologies in agriculture and industry. There is an implication that some specialists will be required in the ICT field but otherwise the only mention of high-level scientific skill development is in relation to agricultural research.

Throughout the two documents concern is voiced over ensuring 'good governance and the rule of law'. This is occasionally seen in terms of public management and administration skills but much more predominantly it is expressed in terms of culture and attitudes. A general lack of capacity in the public sector and in particular a low capacity for economic management in the face of changing conditions are identified, but any analysis of skills needed to alleviate this must take into account the redefinition of the role of the state in terms of support and facilitation of the market and the private sector. Threats to good governance are identified in the form of increasing corruption 'and other vices'. The antidote proposed for this is, on the one hand, the development of a culture of accountability and transparency in the public sector and, on the other, the promotion of an active and participatory civil society in which people have both the willingness and the capacity to hold the public sector to account. This latter strategy can be linked to a more general concern to raise the popular level of awareness and sense of ownership of the development process. No indication is given of how this might be achieved but it presumably has implications for formal and non-formal education in the development of knowledge and skills for citizenship and democratic participation.

(b) Rwanda

There are certain broad similarities in the PRSP and Vision documents of Rwanda and Tanzania, with consequent similarities in the implications for skills. These similarities tend to be found in the short to medium-term development strategies and will be summarised briefly below before focussing on the differences. It is worth noting at this stage, for further attention later, that even where similarities in development strategies exist between the two countries, these often have very different historical origins and their implications for skills development must be interpreted within the particular social, economic and political contexts of each country.

As in Tanzania, agriculture is seen as the primary engine of growth in Rwanda and the current low efficiency and predominantly subsistence nature of the sector are the foci of attention. The identified needs are improvements in techniques, crop diversification and the development of product processing and marketing. The explicit identification of skills development needs for agriculture is as absent here as it is in the Tanzanian documents but

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can similarly be taken to include training of farmers in new techniques and the use of new technologies, simple product preservation and storage skills, and basic commercial and marketing skills. Further rural development is dependent on the promotion of non-agricultural goods and services, for which suitable (but unspecified) vocational training opportunities need to be established.

Much of the further development planning for Rwanda parallels that of Tanzania: the development of agro-processing industry and diversification into other forms of industry that are likely, initially at least, to demand relatively low skilled labour, together with a smaller number of managers, administrators, accountants, etc. Other similarities are a call for greater emphasis in education on science and technology, the development of the use of ICT, the promotion of the private sector, with the necessary entrepreneurial skills and attitudes, and the ensuring of good governance by the development of higher skill levels in the public sector and the establishment of transparency and accountability in public service.

Within these similarities with Tanzania, however, there are some significant differences in emphasis, whose origins can be traced to differences in history and developmental baseline positions between the two countries. Further discussion of these differences will be presented below, but it can be noted here that Rwanda is starting from a much narrower economic base that Tanzania, with a higher proportion of the population dependent on subsistence agriculture and even lower levels of agricultural inputs and technology. The need for agricultural skills development in the direction of modern practices is consequently more severe. The existing non-agricultural economic base is very limited, so that it is much more a case of identifying new 'engines of growth' than is the case in Tanzania, with the attendant need to establish new skills rather than develop an existing skills base for industrial and service activity. Indeed, the PRSP makes the point that Rwanda is currently an importer of skills of all sorts and at all levels from neighbouring countries. One consequence of this is a greater emphasis in the Rwandan documents on vocational education for the training of middle level, technical skills such as building, carpentry, electrical installation, etc.

The main divergence in the developmental visions of the two countries is Rwanda's determination in the medium and longer-term to occupy a high skills, advanced technology, services based economic niche in the region as the core to its developmental success, as described in Section 4. The skills development demands of this strategy are clearly going to be different from those of the more broadly based, gradualist approach espoused by Tanzania. These include the broadening and deepening of the science and technology skills base, with ICT skills being a particular focus. It will not be enough simply to establish a broad base of ICT usage as described in both the Tanzanian and Rwandan documents; the development of a highly skilled cadre in ICT will be essential to fulfil the developmental vision.

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This promotion of science and technology and ICTs, but particularly the development of a high skills sector in the labour force, has implications for education. In common with Tanzania, Rwanda recognises the importance of basic education – both formal primary education and adult programmes – in supporting development. It is seen as a key to improvements in health and livelihoods and to ensuring a sense of national reconciliation and unity. The latter is of particular concern in view of the country's recent history. Although Tanzania recognises the need to reinforce a sense of national coherence and unity, it is building on fairly firm foundations in this respect, despite some fears that these may have crumbled a little in recent years. Rwanda, on the other hand, is starting with a legacy of genocidal national division that must be repaired as a precondition of development. There is great faith in education as a tool to assist in this process, so that attainment of as near universal primary school enrolment as possible becomes a priority. On the other hand, there is recognition that secondary and tertiary enrolments are below even the low continental and regional averages, while it is the outputs from these sectors that will be the key to success in its high skills development strategy. Rwanda is therefore faced with a more complex balancing act in expanding access to formal education than is Tanzania, and the expansion of secondary and tertiary education are given somewhat higher priority. Secondary schooling is also recognised as a suitable minimum education for primary teachers so that primary education expansion and improvement is dependent on increasing secondary enrolment and graduation.

In both Tanzania and Rwanda it is recognised that participation in global markets demands fluency in a 'global language' over and above indigenous languages. For Tanzania the preferred option in this respect has always been English, with the language debate then being one over the relative positions of English and Swahili. Rwanda, on the other hand, has opted for the teaching of both French and English in all schools, in addition to the single indigenous language, Kinyarwanda, spoken by all. This is seen as central to the longer-term development strategy of becoming a communications and services 'hub' between Francophone West and Anglophone East Africa. Bilingualism is therefore essential for the country to occupy successfully its target regional economic niche.

Classifying skills requirements

In response to questions about the skills needed to support development, our informants produced a lengthy and diverse list. The aggregated results of the interviews were categorised under a set of headings, which is reproduced below together with examples of particular skills within each category. It must be emphasised that these skills examples are all taken from the empirical data, each having been named by at least one informant.

In some cases, the categorisation of a particular skill is influenced by the context in which it was mentioned. For example, skills given as important for diversification in agriculture but still based on agriculture and not intended to replace it as the prime economic activity are

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classified as 'Agricultural'. This particularly applies to the processing of agricultural products by the producers themselves: making items out of skins and hides, or food processing and preservation, for example. When, however, skills are suggested as alternatives to agricultural activity rather than building on it or developing it, they are classified as 'Vocational'. Similarly, marketing skills related to the sale of agricultural produce by the producers, on a relatively small scale, are distinguished from suggestions in which the informant's vision seems to be of entrepreneurial activity as the sole or major source of income rather than an extension of subsistence farming. The latter are categorised as 'Private Sector' rather than 'Agricultural'. Clearly, there is a continuum between these two in practice, as farming moves from being largely subsistence to being primarily commercial, and classifications here reflect the researchers' judgements based on the context in which skills were described in the interviews.

Information and communication technology (ICT) skills represent another important example of this importance of context to classification. When an informant referred to the development of specialist, high-level expertise in the field, whether in software or hardware, this was seen as an example of 'High Skills'. A more general reference to the importance of computer literacy in a range of domains, however, was classified under 'Generic or Transferable Skills'.

Finally, the 'Service Sector' category (below) is essentially a sub-category of 'Private Sector' but it was felt useful to distinguish it as a domain that some informants felt offered considerable scope for economic development, but which they considered was often under-valued.

Skill categories and specific skill examples:

Basic Skills:
functional literacy and numeracy, basic health knowledge and skills (including hygiene and HIV/AIDS prevention), child rearing skills, domestic skills, simple psychomotor skills, 'basic education'.

Generic and Transferable Skills:
problem solving, reasoning, creative thinking, analysis of information, attitudes (such as 'a respect for time' and 'a spirit of inquisitiveness'), communication and language skills (particularly bi- and tri-lingualism), basic computer skills, social skills of interaction with others.

Private Sector/ Business Skills:
entrepreneurial skills (and attitudes), management, marketing and trading, packaging, dealing with banks, book-keeping and accountancy, micro-enterprise management.

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Public Sector Skills:

policy making skills, project design and management, including specific technical skills such as planning and management uses of ICT.

Vocational Skills:

building and construction, electrical installation and maintenance, electronic equipment repair, handicrafts and pottery, baking, car mechanics, painting, tailoring, carpentry, ICT skills for secretarial work.

Agricultural Skills:

improved agricultural techniques and technologies, improving soil fertility, food preservation and storage, weaving and making products from hides and skins, diversification of crops.

High Skills:

science and technology skills, advanced technical skills (computing, laboratory technicians, etc.), engineering, research, agronomy, botany and biochemistry, teaching and education.

Service Sector Skills:

accountancy, the servicing of contracts, banking, tourism-related skills: hotel management, skills for guides, cooks, waiters, etc.

Political and Citizenship Skills:

moral and values education, Rwandan culture and history, participatory citizenship education, political awareness and critical thinking, attitudes to authority, human rights, unity and reconciliation.

Stakeholder views on skills development priorities

As described in the methodological section of this report, the opinions of a wide range of stakeholders were sought on which skills they felt are a priority for development. In the following account of their responses, greater attention is given to those opinions which differed from or went beyond rather than simply repeating the skills identified from the strategy documents.

a) Tanzania

Tanzanian informants offered a variety of prioritisations of skill development requirements that reflect a fundamental dichotomy in development choices between the 'globalised' and the 'localised' routes. This dichotomy is particularly marked in the Tanzanian case where an historical ideological legacy of sustainable self-reliance remains strong among certain informants, including members of the educated elite. For this group, the priority in response to globalisation is to develop traditional skills and associated niche markets where Tanzania

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already has a competitive advantage or could develop one. In contrast, is the view that survival in the global economy demands entry into the highly competitive, high technology route to development, although some are conscious of the problems that the initial very low skills base poses for any such attempt to compete in the 'technology game'.

There is widespread recognition that Tanzania lacks the skills necessary to participate effectively in a competitive private commercial sector, whether the competition is global or local. These skills include more specific management and leadership capacities, but are often better seen as an entrepreneurial approach as much as a definable set of skills. There is a need to develop leadership of institutions, industry and services that is capable of delivering high quality goods and services for effective participation in the global market through export-led trade. Coupled with this is the need to train a workforce with the production skills to add value to primary production activities that currently dominate the economy, but to quality standards that will make these products internationally competitive. A particular concern is with the self-employed labour force in both the formal and non-formal sectors, where both production and entrepreneurial skills must be promoted in tandem.

The need to develop skills in the public sector is noted by several informants in two respects. The first is very specifically in response to globalisation, where it is felt that improved policy-making, analysis and decision-making capacities are essential for international co-operation, negotiation and bargaining and in the fight against human capital flight from the country. A particular skill need noted here is knowledge of and capacity to exploit international law. The second respect in which public sector skills must be developed are those to enable the development of basic infrastructure that will provide better integration and exchange between rural and urban areas, providing the rural population with better access to local and, in particular, global markets.

The latter set of skills can be described as skills to encourage greater participation amongst the population in general. The other essential half of this process is seen by informants as the promotion of political and citizenship skills amongst this wider population, particularly in the areas of civic rights and responsibilities and economics. The politically naïve and ill-informed worker risks exploitation in an era of greater exposure to other systems of government and an influx of foreign businesses with alternative expectations and working practices.

Language skills are identified by informants as being of particular importance. The importance of Swahili for national unity and identity is recognised, but so is the need for other international languages to enable Tanzanians to deal with and mediate the external world. In the context of globalisation, English is seen as the most important of these international languages and a wider fluency in English is widely considered to be essential.

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b) Rwanda

The interviewed Rwandan stakeholders describe the same broad range of skills needs for the country as those implied in the strategy documents reviewed above. There are, however, some important differences of emphasis between the documents and the interviewees. These can be summarised by stating that the interviewed stakeholders are more concerned with the immediate, shorter-term needs than Vision 2020 in particular, although there are important qualifications to this broad statement, as discussed below.

There is a widespread recognition of the inefficiency of the country's agriculture. When coupled with the massive dependency on agriculture of both the national economy and individual families' very existence, a sense of impending crisis is commonly portrayed, with consequent focussing on agricultural development as a priority. The development of skills to improve and diversify agricultural production, to move beyond production to simple product processing and marketing, and then to diversify out of agriculture are identified by the informants in much the same way as they are in the development strategy documents, though perhaps with an even greater sense of urgency. There is a similar recognition too that certain basic skills underpin the formation of these agricultural skills and successful development in general: literacy, numeracy and simple health knowledge and skills, for example.

Perceptions of the need to develop private sector and entrepreneurial skills are shared by informants and strategy documents alike. The absence of a significant and viable private sector is seen as a major handicap to engagement with the regional and global economy. Informants list specific business skills that will be needed for such a sector to thrive but just as common are suggestions that an entrepreneurial spirit or frame of mind is largely absent from the population as a whole and must somehow be promoted. Linked with this is a concern for the absence of 'generic' or 'transferable' skills that are seen to offer a key to successful participation in a new market-led, competitive economic order: skills of creative thinking and analysis, problem-solving, reasoning and communication. The need for these skills, in the informants' minds, derives from their understanding of the rapidly-changing, competitive nature of the global economy on the one hand and a perception that the Rwandan society and education have traditionally not encouraged their development, on the other. The service component of the private sector receives mention from only a small number of informants, such as those with an immediate interest in it, despite the documentary identification of a service sector niche for the longer term development strategy.

Of particular concern to very many of the informants is the absence of basic vocational and middle-level technical skills in areas such as plumbing, electrical installation, carpentry, car mechanics, and so on. One aftermath of the genocide is a serious shortage of skilled personnel at all levels, but the absence of these 'every day skills' (as one informant described

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them) is particularly noticeable in daily life in both urban and rural communities. This concern over vocational skills is not mirrored in the strategy documents, although there are several initiatives in place to address the shortage.

The most significant differences between the strategy documents and interviewees with respect to skills needs identification are in the areas of high-level skills and public sector skills. Despite the high skills based economic goal of Vision 2020, few informants placed much emphasis on the development of such skills. General recognition of the need to promote wider understanding of science and technology and experience with ICT is noted but there are few mentions of higher technical skill training or higher education expansion, except from those within higher education or in teacher training. In the area of public sector skills, the need to improve the policy making and other technical capacities within government and public service is noted by just one informant within that sector and one donor representative.

There is, amongst informants, a recognition of the need to promote political and citizenship skills, primarily in the context of social and political reconstruction after the events of recent history. This is expressed in various forms. Some emphasise moral education based on traditional Rwandan culture and value systems as a means to establish a common identity and sense of national unity. Others frame the needs in more immediate political terms of national reconciliation and refer to the need to develop a more participatory political culture through education for citizenship and knowledge of human rights. Still others identify root causes in attitudes and cultural traits centred round obedience to authority and urge the deliberate promotion of more critical attitudes and modes of thought. The more explicitly cultural aspects of these views will be revisited in the later section of this report on cultural norms and values.

Contexts and Histories: a comparison of skills needs identification in the two countries

It is important that the skills needs discussed above be understood not only in terms of the development paths and strategies embraced by the two countries but within the contemporary contexts in which they have been identified and the historical contexts in which they have emerged. The intention here, therefore, is to develop an analysis of some of the broad areas of skills needs identified by stakeholders and in strategy documents within the different contexts presented by the two countries in the study. Some points of similarity and difference have already been noted, together with the caveat that even when similarities in identified skills needs arise, it is important that attempts to address these needs take the particular national contexts into account. This position is developed further, below, starting with an overview in broad terms of 'skills shortages'.

Skill Shortages and Skill Bases

It is not an unreasonable characterisation, nor an unhelpful one in terms of supporting analysis, to describe the general tenor of responses from Tanzanian informants as one of the

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identification of national skill bases to be developed or expanded; whereas Rwandan informants are more likely to talk in terms of the total or almost total absence of skills in many key areas. Thus, with some important exceptions that will be dealt with later, the Tanzanian concern is largely with the upgrading of existing skills and skills training provision to meet the new demands posed by greater engagement with the regional and global economy, together with a general expansion as the economy and its skills needs grow. The suggestion is that there is a broad skills base and training institutional base within the country that can act as a foundation for future growth if these bases are appropriately modernised, reoriented and expanded. By contrast, Rwandans refer to the acute shortage or almost total absence of skills at all levels and in all sectors: from artisans and technicians (and those who might train them) to university lecturers and researchers; and in agriculture, the industrial and the service sectors, in both private and public concerns. They often give the impression of, at best, a very weak national skill base that could be developed and, in many cases, of a dependency on skilled personnel imported from the region and beyond. Among some informants there is considerable pride in the range of new training institutions that have recently been established, but the fact that these are often totally new institutions serves to further emphasise their previous absence and the absence of skills in the domains they serve.

The most obvious cause of the skills shortage in Rwanda is the 1994 genocide and, to a lesser extent, the post-genocide flight of refugees and those attempting to escape retribution. There was some slight balancing of this loss of skills amongst those long-term exiles and refugees who subsequently returned – some of them with qualifications, skills and experience gained in a diverse range of countries – but this could not compensate for the total devastation wrought on the country's pool of educated, skilled and experienced personnel. The nature of Rwandan society at that time meant that the massacre of Tutsis was also the massacre of a large proportion of the most educated and skilled across a wide swathe of economic, political and cultural life. The National University of Rwanda, both staff and students, was a particular target in the genocide.

But there are other factors which contribute to the greater skills shortage in Rwanda than in Tanzania. Amongst these is the higher proportion of the population engaged in agriculture and the attendant lower level of urbanisation. There has always been, therefore, a lower demand for the middle-level technicians and artisans such as electricians, plumbers and mechanics, more associated with urban than rural life. Perhaps partially as a consequence, that informal sector of mechanics, repairers, small-scale manufacturers and various service providers known in East Africa as the jua kali sector has not been a significant phenomenon in Rwanda. Indeed, informants suggest it is almost totally absent. Since this sector is also an important opportunity for entrepreneurial initiative and experience, its absence may go some way to explaining the absence of a significant Rwandan entrepreneurial class that several informants comment on. Some point out, however, that where entrepreneurial activity does

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exist in Rwanda it is often in the hands of non-Rwandans from neighbouring countries and suggest cultural explanations for lack of entrepreneurial initiative amongst Rwandans. The relationship between culture and skills development is complex and will be returned to in section seven of this report.

It is tempting to suggest a link between differences in the stocks of skills in the two countries and the envisaging of respective development trajectories: the elements of a 'leap-frogging' approach in Rwanda and a more evolutionary approach in Tanzania. In a situation of major skill deficiencies, such as that in Rwanda, there is perhaps less of a tendency to be constrained by the existing structures when thinking about possible future strategies. In Tanzania, the existing body of skills is more likely to be seen as a foundation on which to construct future development and at the same time influence the shape of that development. In the absence of a strong foundation, there is greater scope to vary the shape of future construction. This is, of course, not to suggest that the existing skills situations of the two countries have been a major or even a significant determinant of development choices, merely to propose that they are a component of the framework within which options are considered.

Following this broad comparison of overall skill levels in Tanzania and Rwanda, attention is now turned to examining similarities and differences in relation to particular skill areas or issues and relating these to the two national contexts.

Skills for rural development

In the context of rural development it is important to consider not just agricultural skills but also those skills that are agriculturally based or are seen as providing a basis for diversification out of agriculture. In both countries, the need to develop agriculture is given a high priority either by interviewees or in development strategy documents. Both countries recognise the role of agricultural production as a key 'engine of growth', but whereas in Tanzania it is clearly seen as providing the broad base on which future development will take place, in Rwanda it takes on more of the nature of the platform on which development must initially stand, only to be able to make its leap into a very different kind of economic future.

Despite some similarities in the identification of weaknesses in existing agriculture in both countries, there are important distinctions to be made that have implications for skills identification. While both countries report a low level of inputs and mechanisation in agriculture, the gross figures suggest that Rwanda compares poorly with Tanzania in both respects: for example, mean fertiliser application of 400 g/ha in Rwanda and 12000 g/ha Tanzania; or 1 tractor per 100 ha in Rwanda compared to 24 tractors per 100 ha in Tanzania. These data alone might suggest that the scope and need for agricultural modernisation in Rwanda is significantly greater but even these figures must be interpreted in their wider national contexts, such as the nature of the terrain in Rwanda, which often mitigates against intensive tractor use, and the different forms of organisation of rural

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communities in the two countries. The specific nature of the technology and agricultural knowledge and skills needed in the two countries (and, of course, in different regions within each) will differ. This emphasises the need, identified in strategy documents in both countries, for highly context-relevant research and extension work to support development of the sector, with associated higher-level skills development demands. These skills are commonly identified as being primarily science-based skills, but it should be remembered that the practice of agriculture, perhaps most particularly subsistence agriculture, is more than just the application of technical skills. It is also a set of socially and culturally embedded practices, so that awareness and sensitivity of the local socio-cultural contexts will be demanded amongst those responsible for the successful implementation of change in agriculture.

A common (though not universal) perception of a major threat to agricultural development in Rwanda, noted in both documents and informant responses, is the high population density and the consequent shortage of agricultural land. This is exacerbated by degradation of the soil, through erosion resulting from poor practices, and is sometimes presented as a looming threat to Rwanda's capacity to feed itself. This increases the urgency in identification on the one hand of the need to increase agricultural productivity and, on the other, of encouraging diversification out of agriculture, removing population from rural to urban residence and occupation. Note that it is the perception of a land crisis that is as important as any real crisis in promoting these positions. Although such simple comparisons must be treated with caution, for example in relation to levels of dependence on agriculture, the amount of arable land per capita in Rwanda is actually very similar to that in Tanzania and Kenya. The impact of an impending land crisis, whether real or perceived, is to increase the sense of urgency in the increasing of agricultural productivity, but also to reduce confidence in relying on agriculture as a medium- to longer-term foundation for economic growth. Thus, the promotion of skills for a more modernised, productive farming goes hand-in-hand with a call for immediate training in skills to decrease dependence on agriculture, in the form of craft, artisan and entrepreneurial skills.

By way of contrast, Tanzania has a long tradition of prioritising agriculture and rural development over urban development, partly with a conscious though not always successful aim of discouraging rural-urban migration. Thus there is an element of continuity in its current strategy of using agriculture and agriculture-based industry as a primary engine of growth, and a considerable infrastructure available to support it and its attendant skills development needs. Other development opportunities are recognised, notably in mining and tourism, so that agriculture is actually seen as the dominant rather than exclusive component of a range of options. In comparison with Rwanda, it is interesting to note that this greater long-term reliance on agriculture exists despite a history of more precarious agricultural production in Tanzania. Food production in Rwanda may be inefficient but the country has not been faced with periodic droughts and food shortages on the same scale or

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with the same frequency as Tanzania. Rwandan informants suggest that one impact of this general availability of produce in Rwanda throughout the year has been to inhibit the development of basic food preservation and processing skills that are widely practised in neighbouring countries: skills such as drying and smoking of foods, for example. This is exacerbated by the low level of marketing opportunities within the country, perhaps in turn partially a result of having only a small urban, wage-earning population. Thus we have the identification by Rwandan informants of a group of what are seen as associated skills of processing and marketing, that are largely absent rather than just underdeveloped or not widely practised.

Skills for the private sector

In both countries the private sector, in commerce, manufacturing and services, is small. In Tanzania this is largely a legacy of an 'African socialist' government policy of state control of key enterprises through parastatal bodies. This was accompanied by an ideology of self-reliance based where possible on import substitution and seeking to protect local markets. Private enterprises did exist, particularly small-scale businesses, but these were limited and were strictly controlled. There was little encouragement or opportunity for entrepreneurial initiative and little experience of production for a competitive market. One impact of this has undoubtedly been that both the standards of products and the efficiency of production and marketing have been low in comparison with global and even some regional standards. Recent years have seen the steady privatisation of the former parastatals and a general liberalisation of regulations to encourage both indigenous private enterprise and foreign capital. The low levels of entrepreneurial experience, private sector management skills and local sources of capital have meant that – in the eyes of some Tanzanian informants at least – these policies have led to many of the newly privatised enterprises being taken over by outside capital, notably from South Africa.

Rwanda has even less experience of private enterprise than Tanzania, for several reasons, including the murder or flight of much of the business community during the genocide. Tea and coffee marketing, which dominates export earnings is in the hands of parastatal bodies, though these are to be privatised. Only 6% of the male labour force (and 1% of females) were working in any form of industry in 1996, and only 8% and 2% of the male and female labour force were in services. Once again, the very small size of the non-agricultural sector has limited opportunity and experience in the development of skills needed for successful participation in the private sector, particularly in the face of regional and global competition.

Where productive skills do exist – and even in Rwanda there is a large body of rural cottage industry craft workers making a range of traditional items – informants in both countries recognise that greater regional and global trade will have implications for the standard of work produced. Success in markets demands standards that are comparable with those of one's competitors so that as the two countries' economies are deliberately opened to greater

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regional and international competition, product standards will no longer be a matter of national, internal definition. This in turn demands skill levels to match those of one's competitors. In both Rwanda and Tanzania, there are expressions of fear that local producers will be unable to meet these demands arising from globalisation. In some cases these are accompanied by calls for protection of local markets; in others there is greater confidence that product and skill levels can be raised, even if only in certain niche markets that must be identified.

Skills for the public sector

There is an explicit concern in the strategy documents of both countries to promote 'good governance', although the meaning of this is not discussed in much detail. It might be cynically argued that this interest in good governance may be as much a response to donor concerns and agendas as any genuine belief that the standards of governance and public administration are in need of improvement. What is certainly true in both countries is the recognition that the role of government will be different, particularly in its relationship to a more marketised, less centrally-controlled and more globally-engaged economy. This itself may demand new types of skills and Tanzanian informants did make more references to the need for policy making, analysis and decision making skills and were particularly aware of their importance in a context of greater globalisation and international contact and co-operation. Their identification of international law as an area for particular development of knowledge and competence was notable here. Rwanda, certainly through its strategy documents, if less so through the informants that were interviewed, recognises too that a 'new order' in government is required, although for more complex reasons than in Tanzania that will be discussed below. It is somewhat surprising, therefore that the development of public sector skills received such little mention from informants.

Undoubtedly, the key difference in this respect between Tanzania and Rwanda is that the former is undergoing a radical change in the demands on the public sector against a background of considerable relative political and social stability over a long period of time. In contrast, Rwanda is facing the demands of the same 'new model' as it emerges from a traumatic experience of total political and social breakdown. Government has had to be rebuilt in Rwanda, not just adjusted. The new government appears to have accepted a model for itself of being a facilitator rather than a provider, particularly in relation to the economy, of adopting a less hands-on role in some domains than has previously been the case. That is, it has accepted this model, at least in principle, as that which will guide its own reconstruction, whereas Tanzania is faced with the much more difficult job of effecting a transition in existing government and public administration. In Rwanda these were hit at least as hard as any other by the genocide and the skills shortages in this domain may be seen as just part of a total picture of skills destruction during that event. The establishment of the Rwanda Institute of Administrative Management (RIAM) is clear evidence of the recognition of skills deficiencies in this field.

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The genocide has, however, had other impacts relating to public governance that form an interesting comparison with Tanzanian experience and perceptions, but are better discussed under a different heading.

Skills for civil society

The effective functioning of civil society can be seen as the other half of the good governance formula. This is stated quite explicitly in the Tanzanian Vision 2025 document, which refers to the need to ensure that 'people are empowered with the capacity to make their leaders and public servants accountable.' It is recognised that 'good governance' is more than a set of technical skills among public servants, important as these may be. These skills must be practised within a 'culture of accountability' and good governance cannot in fact be realised without skills and opportunities for democratic participation amongst the populace as a whole. These statements within Vision 2025 have to be understood against a background of perceptions that Tanzania's 'national unity, social cohesion, peace and stability' that it has established and enjoyed since independence may be in a process of decline, with 'corruption and other vices' as part of the evidence for this. Holding on to and reinforcing these threatened achievements is particularly problematic at a time when significant changes towards 'political and economic pluralism' are taking place. Tanzania does in fact have a tradition of encouraging community participation, but this was very much within a framework of central control and one-party politics that has ultimately contributed to the cynicism and corruption that is now seen to be part of the problem. Thus the 'traditional' community participation skills may not serve in a country giving greater emphasis to the market, private enterprise and multiparty politics. The development of 'community spirit' remains a key target but a new need to balance this with 'individual initiative' is noted, hinting at a source of tension that may arise during the social and economic transitions that are envisaged.

The promotion of greater civil participation in Tanzania is largely discussed in terms of 'mindset' and 'culture' rather than skills, and a similar position is common in Rwanda. The context here is significantly different, however. In Rwanda, the fundamental concern derives from perceptions of root causes of the genocide. Civil society participation is not seen in terms of enabling good governance as such, but in terms of the need to rebuild completely the basis for social cohesion and national unity and to try to ensure that the events of 1994 can never happen again. Thus there is not the perception of a base on which to build, or a situation to rescue from decline, as in Tanzania, but a need for a radical reformulation of the basis of community. This is commonly described by informants in terms of cultural traits amongst the population, and these elements will be looked at in a later section, but there is also an identification of skills needs that have been classified as either 'generic' or 'political and citizenship' skills. The genocide is seen as having been facilitated by a tendency for Rwandan individuals to follow authority blindly rather than making their own decisions. The development of independent and critical thinking skills is therefore identified to counter this

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and so these skills are explicitly given a political role as well as one in supporting the new entrepreneurial economy, which is where it tends to be identified in the Tanzanian context. At the same time the need is recognised for more specific citizenship and political education, both formally and non-formally delivered, in both countries. Some of the content of this education will be specific to the perceived needs of each country (such as reconciliation in Rwanda) but there is common ground in the idea of raising awareness of civil rights and responsibilities.

The development of skills for effective participation in civil society might be interpreted as a purely 'internal' concern for each country rather than one that has relevance to a study focussing on globalisation. It is important to note, however, how these skills are located in the overall agenda of development within the context of globalisation, in documents and informants' responses from both countries. In the case of Tanzania, development strategy, particularly economic development strategy, is now overtly cast in the context of global developments and global competition, in contrast with the more isolationist self-reliant development approach of earlier years. Good governance and an 'empowering culture' are essential parts of this strategy, and, as discussed above, these in turn require a populace with the skills to engage actively in political and civil life. From the informants, an even more direct link was made with the argument that increased contact with the outside political and business worlds demands a more sophisticated knowledge of rights and responsibilities amongst the Tanzanian population if they are not to be exploited.

From Rwanda, similar arguments about the nature of society necessary for successful engagement with globalisation are also heard in support of the promotion of political and citizenship skills, but globalisation also appears in a different role, in an argument that is linked once again to the genocide. This begins with the belief that the introverted, isolationist nature of Rwandan society was a key factor that allowed the genocide to take place. A greater openness to the outside world, through economic and political activity, is therefore an important means of preventing the same conditions that fostered the genocide of arising again. A critically reasoning, rational and empowered citizenry, aware of its civil and political rights, is further seen as essential for the maintenance of such an open society, one that cannot again be manipulated by the political elite. Thus, greater regional and global exchange opportunities are given a political role in encouraging national stability. The urgency in promoting national coherence and unity is clearly much greater in Rwanda than in Tanzania in view of its recent history. Threats to stability remain outside the country in the form of militia who fled westwards but also inside the country in the unresolved problem of dealing with those involved in the genocide and of reintegrating demobilised soldiers and infiltrators who have surrendered. Indeed it can be argued that building a new base for social stability is a prerequisite for any economic development, whether cast in a localised or a globalised mould. It is interesting to note how some informants refer to the great advantage that Rwanda has in this respect in the form of the 'returnees' that now make up a significant

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part of the political elite. These are people who have returned with experience of 'the outside world' to a greater extent than previous Rwandan elites and therefore provide just that external orientation that is now considered so essential. There is also the danger, however, that they will be a source of tension within Rwandan society in the contrasting cultural, linguistic and political characteristics that they bring, compared with the majority of the population.

Underlying almost all of the accounts of skills development discussed above is a perception that basic education and basic skills are fundamental to the successful promotion of other skills sets. The final part of the comparison looks, therefore, at the role of formal education and the skills it promotes in the development strategies of both countries.

Skills from formal education

The importance of basic skills, notably numeracy and literacy, is recognised in both countries as a foundation for other skills and basic education, both in primary schools and in adult education programmes, is given a high priority. In terms of adult literacy, Tanzania starts from a better position than Rwanda, thanks to large-scale literacy programmes in the past. The low level of adult literacy in Rwanda is recognised by several informants as a problem in developing agricultural and other basic vocational skills. Primary school enrolment figures are similar for both countries, with Rwanda possibly having the advantage (although there are reservations about the reliability of these figures). It should be recognised, however, that current primary enrolment figures for Tanzania represent a very significant decline from a relatively high level in the mid-1980s. To some extent, Tanzania is trying to rebuild its primary education system and public confidence in it. Rwanda's figures probably still reflect the disruption of war and genocide, but a reasonably high popular demand has been maintained.

Secondary and higher education enrolments in both countries are unusually low, even by African standards. A considerable expansion in Tanzanian secondary school numbers has taken place in the last decade or so, but this is accounted for to a large extent by the increase in private schools. In Rwanda, private schools account for perhaps some 30% of enrolments at secondary level, compared with over 50% in Tanzania, but the Rwandan figure is growing. Tanzanian policy in the past has been to limit access to secondary schools and higher education to meet manpower planning projections only. Government policy currently accepts the need to provide more places at this level while also relying on private schools to meet much of the demand. Nonetheless, basic education is prioritised and secondary and higher level expansion is addressed cautiously in development strategy documents. A demand-driven and market oriented approach is being adopted to the expansion of post-secondary provision.

Rwandan policy towards secondary and higher education is not yet formalised but there is clearly a perception that enrolment levels must be raised. Private sector involvement in

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higher education is encouraged but there has also been considerable expansion in government provision, both in the expansion of student numbers at the National University of Rwanda and in the opening of several new post-secondary institutions. The overall impression is that Rwanda, while continuing to recognise the importance of basic education, is more consciously trying to expand at higher levels than Tanzania. Apart from an overall general feeling that higher level enrolment rates are 'too low', two concerns may be driving this policy. The first is, once again, the serious lack of skills at all levels as a result of the genocide. It is not just a case, therefore, of producing skills at a level to replace natural wastage, plus some expansion, but of rebuilding skills stocks anew. Particular emphasis is placed by some informants, for example, on the need for secondary and post-secondary graduates to meet teacher training needs, but similar shortages could be identified in almost all areas. The second driving force behind this policy is likely to be the development goal of transforming Rwanda into a knowledge based economy, with its attendant demand for high skills based on high levels of formal education. Although the Tanzanian Vision 2025 recognises the future demand for highly skilled manpower and the need to gain an 'advanced technology capacity', the overall approach to this is much more gradualist than that of the equivalent Rwandan document.

Both countries recognise the role of formal education in supporting attitudinal changes in the populace – what the Tanzanian Vision 2025 refers to as 'mindset transformation'. Both refer to the need to develop creativity and problem-solving to meet the demands of external economic competition and new forms of production and contrast this with existing mindsets that are oriented towards bureaucratic rule following. Both countries recognise the need for curriculum change to meet these new demands, with Tanzania in particular seeming to recognise that this will mean a major qualitative shift in the nature of educational provision. Science and technology and ICTs are identified by both as foci for educational attention. Skills in the latter are seen as central to global participation and accessing information and, as such, are seen as important across a wide range of occupations.

Both individual and documentary sources identify formal education as providing the necessary context for successful skill formation. There is a general awareness in both countries in this study that formal education has a pivotal role to play in developing general skills that are useful across a wide range of occupations and which may also provide the means to acquire more occupationally specific skills. Literacy and numeracy are the most widely recognised of these general skills, although other generic or transferable skills are increasingly being added as being essential for successful participation in a globally competitive economy: team-working, communication, critical thinking, problem solving, independent learning and ICT skills are perhaps the commonest such skills identified. Formal schooling is increasingly seen as the most suitable arena for inculcation of these general skills, an observation that has far reaching consequences for the curriculum, teacher education and, indeed, the very organisation and management of schools.

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There is also awareness that the role of formal schooling goes beyond that of laying a foundation for an individual's occupational skill development. There is considerable reference in the literature to the notion of 'externalities', that is 'the value of a well-educated workforce in general which helps the ability of a nation to adjust quickly to changes in technology and markets' (Kuruvilla and Chua 2000). This is certainly recognised in documents consulted from both countries, but it still fails to capture the broader role that both documents and informants wish to entrust to education. Both countries expect education to play an important part in broader social and political agendas that do not directly, at least, address occupational skill formation. The detail of these agendas is country specific although common broad concerns include the development of common values as a basis for national unity, education for civic and political awareness and an enhanced awareness of cultural and historical heritage. Added to these may be a desire to use formal education to promote new sets of values and new ways of thinking that were discussed above. The possibilities for tensions, even conflict, in supporting these different agendas through education are obvious.

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Globalisation and Poverty: What the literature tells us

There are two broad schools of thought about the relationship between globalisation and poverty. The first suggests that globalisation is itself a cause of poverty. It was mentioned in section three, for example that for some authors, such as Amin (1997), Castells (1993), Chossudovsky (1997) and Hoogvelt (1997), the effects of the introduction of new forms of production based on ICTs and the intensification of financial flows between parts of the globalised world has been to create greater inequality within and between countries, what Chossudovsky describes as the 'globalisation of poverty'. This has been compounded, according to these authors, by the structural adjustment policies pursued by the World Bank during the 1980s and 1990s which have exacerbated debt whilst actually increasing poverty and inequality.

A second strand in the literature argues that the effects of global processes have in fact been more uneven in their implications for poverty than the above commentators suggest (see, for example, DFID, 2000a; World Bank, 2000; Collier and Dollar, 2002). It is argued in this literature that globalisation can in fact work for the poor but that this requires governments to pursue policies that will facilitate integration into the global economy as well as requiring reform of aspects of the global institutional and regulatory framework that currently discriminates against poorer countries.

DFID (2000a), for example, suggest that there is no systematic relationship between globalisation and inequality, or more precisely between economic 'openness' and inequality and between economic growth and inequality. This view is shared by the World Bank (2000) and by Collier and Dollar (2002). It is argued that whereas the world's richest countries have continued to grow in the last decade, the world's two most populated countries, China and India, have accelerated their growth rates over the last two years whilst many of the worlds poorest countries, including those of sub-Saharan Africa have stood still or have experienced negative growth. This has contributed to an overall decline in inequality between countries. Thus whereas in 1990 the average real income of countries containing the worlds richest fifth of the population was 18 times greater than that of the countries containing the worlds poorest fifth, this figure had fallen to 15 times greater by the end of the 1990s (DFID, 2000a).

The increased growth experienced by the 'new globalisers', which include Chinese provinces, Indian states and countries such as Bangladesh and Vietnam has led to large scale poverty reduction of around 120 million people in absolute terms (Collier and Dollar, 2002). It is pointed out, however, that integration into the global economy would not have been feasible without a wide range of domestic reforms covering governance, the investment climate and social service provision, along with international action, which provided access to foreign markets, technology and aid. Growth in the East Asian countries has also been accompanied by high levels of investment in education. Conversely, for countries at the

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margins of the global economy incomes have decreased, poverty has been rising and they participate less in trade than they did 20 years ago. It is argued that if these countries were to become more integrated into the global economy and improve their economic performance then global inequality and levels of poverty will fall, but that if they do not they are likely to rise.

It is further argued that even within countries that have globalised there are winners and losers (DFID, 2000a; World Bank, 2000; Collier and Dollar, 2002). Thus owners of firms and workers in protected sectors are likely to lose from liberalisation and a more competitive economy, whereas consumers and those who find jobs in new firms will be among the winners. It is suggested that it is important to counter the risks of loss through social protection. It is also suggested that if poor countries are to successfully integrate into the global economy then they need a good investment climate including a sound basis of property rights, good economic regulation and governance (including effective anti-corruption measures), a sound infrastructure (roads, electricity, water, telecommunications etc.) and efficient financial services. At the global level it is noted that rich countries maintain protections in exactly the areas where poor countries have comparative advantage. It is suggested that trade barriers that currently affect low income countries ought to be reformed (Collier and Dollar, 2002) and that debt relief needs to be increased but linked to poverty reduction (DFID, 2000a). Finally, a key element that emerges in this strand of the literature is the need to increase access to education to promote growth and to reduce poverty. As we saw in section five, however, this raises the question of the extent to which these two goals imply different priorities for education and training policy and practice.

On the one hand the goals of poverty reduction and economic growth are complementary as poverty reduction in the long term will depend on achieving economic growth. On the other hand it is possible to detect an unresolved tension in the development literature between education and training policies and priorities to alleviate poverty and those required for global competitiveness. At present donors channel the vast majority of their aid for education (about 80% in the case of DFID) on meeting the development targets to eliminate poverty and reduce gender inequality, i.e.:

- Universal primary education in all countries by 2015
- Demonstrated progress towards gender equity and the empowerment of women by eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education

There is, however, also an awareness amongst donors and multilateral agencies of the need to develop those skills required by countries in order to foster global competitiveness. Thus the World Bank, for example, argues that globalisation requires a new kind of worker who,

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will be able to engage in lifelong education, learn new things quickly, perform more non-routine tasks and more complex problem solving, take more decisions, understand more about what they are working on, require less supervision, assume more responsibility, and – as vital tools to those ends – have better reading, quantitative reasoning and expository skills
(World Bank, 1999a, p.1).

The above view of the implications of globalisation for skills development has implications for curriculum reform (see section five). More significantly, however, by advocating lifelong learning, the World Bank is also suggesting an approach to skills formation that goes beyond a focus on basic education. DFID also recognises the importance of lifelong learning and of post-primary education. The Globalisation White Paper (DFID, 2000a) reiterates the importance of the primary level for children and as a means to tackle adult illiteracy. It goes on, however, to advocate a sector wide approach to funding that also takes account of the need for secondary and tertiary levels of skill in a globalised world:

This focus on the [education] sector as a whole recognises that countries need a balanced approach to the expansion of education. Success in improving access and quality at the primary level leads to increased demand for post-primary education and for teacher training. This in turn requires improvements in higher education. Jobs, whether in the modern manufacturing or service sectors, increasingly have a strong information processing and knowledge content. East Asia's experience shows that sustained export-led growth, and the development of the learning economy, require the investment in secondary and tertiary education essential to enhance capacity to research, analyse, train and manage
(DFID, 2000a, p. 37).

The idea of a balanced and integrated approach towards education funding across levels fits well with the findings of sections five. It is also suggestive at a general level of a means by which the tension mentioned above between skills for poverty reduction and skills for global competitiveness can be reduced. It raises questions, however, about the nature of the balance that must be struck in specific countries between funding for different levels of education and training, as it is likely that each country will have a different approach according to their skills development needs and strategies.

Skills for poverty alleviation in Rwanda and Tanzania

Because of Rwanda and Tanzania's status as highly indebted countries, both have been obliged to produce a Poverty Reduction Strategy Programme (PRSP) in order to qualify for debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. The PRSP for each country sets out the objectives and actions for tackling poverty across all sectors. They form the basis for the national planning effort over the medium term (10 years) guiding government's expenditures and other actions as well as providing a framework for donor funding. Sectoral strategies in areas such as education will in future be guided by the PRSPs.

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The PRSPs have been drawn up through a process of national consultation but have also involved the input of various technical experts from the World Bank. Both the Rwandan and Tanzanian PRSPs bear the hallmark of recent World Bank thinking around issues of poverty, and this is reflected in the views on education (see below). They also share many similarities in terms of their overall structure and priorities for tackling poverty.

Both PRSPs are written up, however, with reference to the development visions of the two countries. One way of approaching the tension highlighted above, between the skills required for poverty reduction and those required for global competitiveness, is to compare the recommendations relating to education and training in each country's PRSP (GoR, 2001; URT, 2000b) with the analysis in section five of the skills that are required for each country to become globally competitive.

It is noted in each PRSP that the development of human resources is central to the reduction of poverty. In each case, the overall aim in relation to education is broadly similar, namely, to help reduce poverty through a prioritisation of government funding of basic (primary and non-formal) education with more limited support for secondary, vocational and higher education. (There are some differences in the specific objectives and actions relating to this aim but these need not detain us here and are covered in the separate country reports). This overall aim is geared towards meeting the international development targets for education and is underpinned by the arguments linking basic education to poverty reduction outlined in chapter five. In brief, human resource development is seen as central to poverty reduction although this should not imply, according to the PRSP documents, that the government ought to fund education at all levels (GoR, 2001). The documents advocate government spending on basic education because of the benefits to the child and to society in the form of higher wages and better health outcomes. In the case of secondary, vocational and tertiary education though, the documents are more reticent, noting that the private benefits go to those who are already relatively well off. The case for government expenditure here, so it is claimed, rests on the external benefits – the effects of the presence of highly educated people on governance, economic growth and employment (GoR, 2001). Government funding at these levels ought, therefore to be more limited with a greater emphasis on private sources of funding. In the case of Rwanda, given the impact of the genocide on the supply of human resources at all levels, there is a recognition of a need for some government funding of secondary, vocational and higher education as well as investment in science and technology, although only limited targets relating to secondary education are set for these levels. The same is true for Tanzania where the relative proportion of the education budget for secondary, vocational and higher education has fallen off in recent years (see section three).

Despite the fact that the PRSPs have been developed within the overall framework of the two country's visions of national development (see section four), there is a large gap between the implications for skills development contained in the PRSPs and those contained

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in the national visions. There is also a gap between the PRSP and the ideas about the skills required for globalisation produced by our informants (see section five). The gap is attributable in part to the different time horizons of the PRSPs and the national visions/ views of research informants. Thus whereas the PRSPs are concerned with short to medium term poverty reduction priorities by focusing on strategies to meet the international development targets (0-10 years), the national visions/ views of research informants take a longer term view of national development (20-25 years). Here the alleviation of poverty is linked not only to short term measures like those in the PRSP, but also to strategies to achieve sustained economic growth through integration into the global economy. The differences between the skills priorities identified by the PRSPs and those identified by the national visions/ informants can be seen as an aspect of the third pressure point identified in the introduction, namely, that between skills required to achieve long term global competitiveness and those required for short term poverty alleviation and social justice. The differences in the implications of the PRSPs on the one hand and the national visions and views of research informants on the other may be summarised in the form of various policy tensions:

i. *Skills to meet development targets vs other skills required for short term poverty reduction*. Although the PRSPs, the national visions and the views of the research informants all deal with the skills required to achieve an immediate reduction in poverty, the objectives of the PRSPs are more narrowly focused on meeting the development targets through increasing enrolments and, to a lesser extent, improving quality through the provision of text books and buildings. By way of contrast the skills suggested by the participants involved changes in the content of learning as well, including a greater emphasis on generic and life skills, agricultural skills, political and citizenship skills for national unity and reconciliation, management and leadership skills.

ii. *Skills for short term poverty alleviation vs skills for developing long term global competitiveness*. Implicit in the national visions and in the views of the informants was the view that poverty reduction depends on Rwanda and Tanzania becoming more globally competitive and that this involves both countries finding a niche in regional and global markets. Achieving this longer term transformation, however, requires making short to medium term investments in human resources (see section five), including developing public, private and service sector skills, ICT skills, generic and entrepreneurial skills, professional, technical and other skills that were outlined in section five. This is especially the case in Rwanda which, as a result of the genocide, has a more limited skills base on which to base its economic development and which has pursued a more ambitious 'leapfrogging' model of development as well.

iii. *Basic skills vs other skills required for global competitiveness*. The above differences are reflected in differing priorities regarding the sub-sectors and levels of the education and

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training systems that ought to be invested in, at least in the short to medium term. For the PRSPs, the emphasis is almost exclusively on basic education whereas for the national visions and in relation to the views of the research informants, the emphasis is also on expansion to secondary, vocational, tertiary education and the development of an ICT infrastructure.

iv. *States vs markets – who should fund skill development?* Also linked to the above are differences in perspective as to who ought to fund short to medium term skills development priorities. The idea, implicit in the PRSPs is that these sectors can only be expanded in the short term through an increase in private sources of finance. The national visions and the views of the informants, on the other hand, assume a more leading role for the state in funding higher levels of education and training, at least initially. This is in line with the view of the enabling or 'catalytic' state outlined in section three.

In the section above we suggested that although the two goals of poverty alleviation and economic competitiveness are in tension, it is possible to strike a balance between them. Indeed, we argue that striving to strike such a balance is absolutely necessary because at the end of the day the two goals are inter-dependent. Economic growth depends upon stability, cohesion and a sense of well-being amongst the population whilst poverty reduction can only really be achieved on the basis of long term economic growth. This argument has implications for the tensions highlighted above. Rather than see them as irreconcilable, the art of government must be to strike a balance between the extreme positions that they represent in a way that will ensure both poverty reduction and future economic growth. In section eight, we suggest ways in which the above tensions may be reconciled in terms of an overall skills development strategy.

Gender, Poverty and Globalisation

There is widespread acceptance in the literature that around the world women bear the brunt of poverty. According to Beneria and Bisnath (1996), for example:

1.3 billion people in the developing world are poor. Women represent approximately 70 percent of this figure, yet, as a group, they work longer hours relative to men and contribute more in terms of social reproduction. The causes of poverty are complex and go beyond economics; political, cultural, social and religious institutions and processes are implicated in the production and perpetuation of poverty. Poverty, as experienced by women, can be linked to gender-specific needs which may be biological, such as those related to health; and it can result from the structure and nature of relationships between women and men and their individual and/or group relations to institutions, economic practices and resource allocation. These, in turn, partially shape and/or reinforce socially constructed notions about women and men that are deeply rooted in all societies (available at: *http://www.undp.org/gender/resources/mono2.html*) .

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The effects of globalisation for women in low income countries have been contradictory. On the one hand, for some women, employment opportunities have risen as a result of foreign direct investment in certain sectors and industries (DFID, 2000d; Joekes, 1995; Fontana et al, 1999). This is true, for example in the clothes manufacturing industry where women's manual dexterity and perceived passivity in the face of austere working conditions has given them a comparative advantage over men in terms of employment opportunities. This has potentially significant implications for Rwanda and Tanzania given that recent trade agreements favour the expansion of this industry in both countries.

Foreign direct investment has also led to an increase in employment opportunities for women within the labour intensive service sector. For example, more jobs for women are being created globally within the information-based industries which use telecommunications infrastructure to access cheap, educated female labour in low income countries for operations such as data processing. Globalisation has also resulted in the establishment of branches of service sector transnational corporations, such as banks and insurance companies which supply services to the country or to the region. In all these cases, new employment opportunities for women have been created locally in the services sector, spread across both low and high skilled grades. This increase in female-intensive employment into some service industries has been accompanied by the recent expansion of exports of fruit, flowers and vegetables, again based largely on use of female labour, from some poor countries including Kenya and Mexico. According to Keller-Herzog (1998) this secondary expansion of the niche agricultural sector may represent the main or even the only immediate employment possibility for many women in sub-Saharan Africa, where, as a result of failings in educational provision, the female labour force is poorly equipped for work in modern industry.

It is the potential exclusion of women in Africa from integration into globalised manufacturing and higher value-added production that presents the biggest risk of keeping women in relative poverty (Keller-Herzog, 1998; DFID, 2000d). Even when countries have begun to globalise, however, women are still at risk. Firstly, they may be subject to discriminatory laws and practices that prevent them from equal participation in employment within the manufacturing sector. Secondly, women may be pushed out of traditional domains of production by the introduction of new technologies and land uses. Thirdly, employment in the new manufacturing and service sectors has its own risks of exploitation as the following quote demonstrates:

Women are seen, and hence favoured, as a passive, compliant workforce that will accept low wages without demanding labour and human rights. The traditional sexual division of labour (the location of women in employment to which they are regarded as inherently suited, for example, the caring professions or textiles industries) has been furthered through the addition of new locations and forms of work (services industry, tourism, work in free trade and export process

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zones). What remains constant is the low economic value accorded to work performed primarily by women in conditions of exploitation, no job security and violations of human rights. The last occur both directly through prohibitions on labour organization and indirectly through further abuses where women have claimed rights such as to organize or to be free from sexual harassment (Chinkin, 2002 available at: http://www.worldassemblyofyouth.org/way-forward/may_issue/gender.htm).

Finally, women often carry a double burden of responsibility at work and at home. They therefore are affected the most from cuts in services like education and health because they are left to 'take up the slack' through caring for children and sick relatives. The effects of structural adjustment policies during the 1980s and 1990s were to deepen poverty for women, particularly in the rural areas.

The implication of the brief account of the gender implications of globalisation given above, is that if women are to benefit from globalisation then a multi-pronged strategy is required (DFID, 2000d). It is only in a context of addressing the various obstacles to women's empowerment that women can hope to begin to benefit from globalisation and to resist and manage its more negative effects. At the heart of DFID's strategy are improved educational opportunities for women. Without more investment in female education, women could become locked into low-skilled, low paid, and insecure work. Creating greater access to skills will enable women to benefit from the opportunities opened up by globalisation. It also has other spin-offs. The literature suggests that women with even a few years of basic education have smaller, healthier families; are more likely to be able to work their way out of poverty and are more likely to send their own daughters or sons to school (DFID, 2000d).

Currently girls and women face a number of interrelated problems of access and opportunity in education. Enrolment is on average still lower for girls in primary and secondary schools. For example in sub-Saharan Africa in 1997, the gross enrolment rate for girls was 49% compared to 54% for boys. This is reflected in key indicators. In 1998, for example, the literacy rate amongst young women aged between 15-24 in sub-Saharan Africa was 72% compared to 81% for men. Similarly the adult literacy rate was 51% compared to 68% for men (DFID, 2000d). In line with other donors and multilateral agencies, DFID has committed itself to the target of eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education by 2005. From her own case studies of three African countries, Swainson argues that poor educational outcomes and low participation rates become more pronounced at the secondary and tertiary levels and that any access at all to vocational education remains a major problem for girls. The upshot is that the poor qualifications of girls (particularly in maths, science and technical subjects) inhibit their access to labour markets and that unless this cycle of inequality is broken, the paucity of female role models in teaching and other professions will continue, thereby narrowing women's' access to income earning opportunities (Swainson, 1998).

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Globalisation and Gender Equity in Rwanda and Tanzania – implications for skills development

i) Women, globalisation and the economy in Rwanda and Tanzania

Women make up 50% of the populations of Rwanda and Tanzania. In Rwanda, however, women make up a majority of the adult population as a consequence of genocide. Up-to-date information does not exist about the gender composition of the labour force in both countries. In 1990, women comprised 49% of the labour force in both countries. Out of this figure, 98% of women are employed in agriculture with less than 1% in industry and 2% in the service sector. In Tanzania 90% are employed in agriculture, less than 1% in industry and about 8% in the relatively larger service sector (World Bank, 2002). Figures do not exist for women's' participation in the informal sector. Evidence from our research informants suggests that in Rwanda, an effect of the genocide has been to increase the proportion of women in the labour force. Women are now also expected to undertake many jobs traditionally reserved for men. Furthermore, a high proportion of households (34%) are headed by women (GoR, 2001) compared to 14% in Tanzania (URT, 2000b). In both countries female headed households are more likely to be poor than male headed ones. In both countries women are generally perceived to be poorer than men.

Many of the benefits and risks facing women in relation to globalisation that were identified in the above analysis will be of relevance for women in Rwanda and Tanzania given that the two governments are committed to pursuing policies of encouraging foreign direct investment in manufacturing, the diversification of agriculture and the growth of the service sector. Women are likely to play a leading role in garment manufacturing and in an expanding service sector, for example. Women could also potentially benefit from a modernised agricultural sector in both countries, the development of niche markets in exotic agricultural produce and crafts. Women also potentially face the risks associated with globalisation, such as discrimination in the labour market, being forced out of traditional occupations through agricultural modernisation and suffering from exploitation in the workplace.

Some progress has been made in recognising the key role of women in relation to development in the global era. Rwanda, for example, does have a Ministry of Gender, Family and Social Affairs whilst Tanzania has a Ministry of Community Development, Women and Children. Rwanda also has had a gender action plan in place since 2000 which links gender issues to the Vision 2020 (MoG, 2001). The Tanzanian vision 2025 (URT, 1999c) states the achievement of gender equity in the economy, society and culture as a target by the year 2025. Both countries have made limited progress in implementing policies and laws aimed at gender equity. Both for example, are signatories of Convention to End all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Overall, however, gender issues have a low profile in most of the key policy documents consulted for the research. Thus although, for

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example, the PRSPs identified gender as a crosscutting issue in poverty reduction, there is limited analysis concerning the effects of poverty on women in Rwanda and Tanzania and about how each priority area identified in the plan will impact on women. There is also limited factual information available about the role and status of women in Rwandan and Tanzanian society.

ii) Gender and education in Rwanda and Tanzania

If women and girls are to benefit from the opportunities afforded by globalisation and avoid the risks, then they require access to skills development opportunities at all levels. The table below provides some basic indicators relating to women and education in Rwanda and Tanzania.

Table 6.1 **Key education indicators by gender**

Topic	Rwanda	Tanzania
Adult literacy rates (% 15 and over)		
Male:	27.3	16.9
Female:	41.4	35.0
Youth literacy rates (% ages 15–24)		
Male:	15.3	7.1
Female:	19.9	13.0
Net primary enrolment rates (% of relevant age group)		
Male:	90.1	47.4
Female:	91.8	48.9
Net secondary enrolment rates (% of relevant age group)		
Male:	–	4.5
Female:	–	3.3

The data shows inequalities relating to adult and youth literacy rates suggesting that adult non-formal education needs to target women and girls in particular. Enrolment rates at primary level show no gender disparities although more boys are enrolled in secondary schools in Tanzania than girls. There are no data relating to secondary school enrolments by gender in Rwanda or indeed to tertiary and vocational education enrolments in both countries by gender. This is unfortunate as it is often at the secondary and tertiary levels that the biggest discrepancies exist between male and female enrolments in sub-Saharan Africa (Swainson, 1998).

In our own research, many of the informants identified barriers in the way of women gaining the skills that would allow them to work their way out of poverty or to prepare them for economic change. The barriers included traditional attitudes which inhibit women from taking up certain vocations such as carpentry and mechanics. This in turn hinders women

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from gaining training and qualifications in these areas. The informants also reported gender stereotyping in schools and universities as a major problem which prevented girls and women taking up courses in science and technology. Once again this resonates with the international experience, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa (Swainson, 1998). Finally, globalisation was seen to pose a threat at a cultural level including the way that women are represented in the global media and in pornographic images available on the internet. In section eight we suggest ways in which the governments of Rwanda and Tanzania can address some of these issues.

7 The Relationship between Globalisation and Cultural Norms and Values

The significance of cultural norms and values

The relationship between culture and economic development has been a source of debate since at least Max Weber's declaration of the 'protestant ethic' as the driving force behind the development of capitalism in Europe. At various times claims have been made that the differential rates of economic development both between and within countries can be explained by cultural differences, associated with different norms and values. Modernisation theory, prevalent in various forms from the 1950s onwards as an explanatory theory of economic development, assumes a change in cultural values to be essential for 'progress', itself defined in terms of the historical trajectory of the industrialised countries of the West. The identified 'essential' values have variously included individuality over communality, though tempered by a respect for bureaucracy and the rule of law, an 'achievement drive', a secular rather than a religious orientation, a future-oriented rather than past-oriented perspective, universalism rather than particularism, and assorted other traits and norms.

The success of Japan and then the East Asian 'Tigers' has both challenged and reinforced cultural explanations of economic success. Although initially presented as providing support for Modernisation Theory, by a selective analysis of their development histories, challenge to key aspects of the culture-development links model came from the recognition that East Asian national cultures were not the same as those of Europe and North America. Indeed, aspects of Japanese and other East Asian cultures, such as a communal rather than an individualistic orientation, were antithetical to the conventional modernisation model. Later analyses, however, have attempted to rescue culture-based explanations of economic success by some modification of the original model and, in particular, the identification of 'Confucian values' as providing a powerful framework for capitalist development.

In recent years, most especially since the end of the Cold War (a coincidence that itself calls for analysis), there has been a resurgence of models of economic development which identify culture as the essential factor that distinguishes the successes from the failures. For example, one of the leading proponents of this approach, David Landes, makes the claim that 'culture makes almost all the difference' (Landes, 2000). These models can be criticised on a number of grounds, although to do so is not to deny that there is value in them. They are certainly a lot better at providing a *post hoc* explanation for the success of certain countries or groups of people than they are at predicting where the next success will be. They tend to treat culture as a 'given' with no historical roots and no structural causes, separated from other social institutions rather than part of a complex web of historical interactions that includes economics, politics, religion and external relations with other peoples. At their worst they may depict culture as static rather than dynamic. They do very explicitly shift the responsibility for economic development onto the individual, the nation or the ethnic group, largely denying structural explanations for development failures and, as such, forming part of the currently dominant neo-liberal philosophy that supports particular economic policies.

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It has been noted that the behaviours, rooted in values and norms, that will lead to success in a globalised economy based on 'post-Fordist' flexible systems of production may be very different from those that worked in a Fordist system of mass production based on a disciplined, rule-following workforce. This was touched on in the literature review of section five, where the focus was on skills, but the point was also made that the successful implementation of new skills demanded new attitudes and cultural environments in which they could flourish. Creative, independent problem-solving skills are difficult both to inculcate and to use in an authoritarian environment that emphasises discipline and rule-following. Singapore provides one of the best examples of this concern to identify attitudes and ways of thinking needed to engage successfully in a high-technology, knowledge-based globalised economy, and the cultural implications that this may have. Having been a shining success in the industrialising, modernisation approach to economic development, Singapore is now attempting to be equally successful in the global knowledge-based economy. The initial success was achieved, however, in a highly controlled, authoritarian political and cultural climate and a concern now is whether the promotion of creative, independent thought demanded for the envisaged economic development can be achieved within such an environment.

The experience of Singapore and other East Asian NIEs provides another important lesson on the importance of culture for economic development. Almost all of the NIEs have deliberately combined strategies for economic development with the inculcation of shared national values to strengthen a sense of national unity and purpose. Green (1999) argues that this promotion of national identity is not an adjunct to economic development but a central and necessary component of that development, particularly important as all of the NIEs were responding to a national crisis of one sort or another that threatened their national integrity and sovereign power. An educational emphasis on social education and values and attitude development is crucial for social cohesion but has economic value, through the creation of political stability and a hardworking, disciplined workforce, both attractive to foreign investors. A further important aspect of the experience of these countries was either the existence or the deliberate promotion of a common language, as a force for national cohesion.

The development of shared values is an important element in the promotion of social capital. As discussed earlier (section four), social capital is widely proposed as a powerful component in successful economic development, but Rwanda provides a chilling warning that high levels of social capital do not necessarily have positive social consequences. Coletta and Cullen (2000) point out that the horrendous effectiveness of the genocide in Rwanda was made possible by the existence of considerable but perverted, state-organised social capital that bound the perpetrators through a sense of ethnic, even national duty. A lesson to be learned from this is that social capital can be used for good or ill, dependent to a considerable extent on the particular moral values that underpin it.

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In the specific context of sub-Saharan Africa and writing largely within the 'culture makes almost all the difference' paradigm, Etounga-Manuelle (2000) is highly critical of certain common cultural traits that he believes are antithetical to economic development. He comments on the existence of entrenched hierarchies in which rights to authority and privilege are accepted irrespective of the actual capacities and performance of the individual occupying a position. He particularly laments the subordination of the autonomy of the individual to the will and welfare of the community. He criticises attitudes to time which he sees as inhibiting foresight and planning; he complains of Africans' unwillingness to take risks and he attacks both irrationalism and religious attitudes as undermining belief in the capacity to take charge of one's own fate. These views are contentious, although it is interesting to compare them with some comments from informants in our own research that are discussed below. It is worth noting, however, that, though calling for a 'Cultural Adjustment Program' in Africa, Etounga-Manuelle also insists that the intensely humanistic values underlying African culture must be preserved and must form the foundation on which any cultural changes are built. This emphasises the importance (and the dilemma) of encouraging cultural continuity that can generate a sense of shared identity, pride and purpose while simultaneously trying to effect cultural change.

Culture is a notoriously difficult and contentious concept to define. To facilitate the discussion below, a model of culture proposed by Schein (1985) is particularly useful. This distinguishes three layers to the concept. The 'surface layer' comprises the external, observable behaviours and artefacts that many would think of first when considering 'culture'. Included in this layer is language, often the most obvious 'marker' of a cultural group. The second layer consists of the values and beliefs that underpin these more visible behaviours. It is the shared nature of these values that promotes social cohesion and continuity. Beneath these common values, however, lies a third layer, characterised by Schein as the worldview that is the foundation of any culture: the underlying understanding of the nature of the universe and the way in which it functions. This third layer is rarely made explicit and, because it is accepted as 'natural' or even 'obvious', even those who share it may be unable to articulate it. There is a dialectical relationship between adjacent layers in this model, so that, for example, changes in behaviour may reflect or lead to changes in shared values, and vice versa. It is important to recognise this when attempting to change practices and behaviour that are culturally embedded in the sense of reflecting an underlying set of common values. Most discussions of culture tend to focus on the first two levels, behaviours and values, and both the national strategy documents consulted and the individuals interviewed for this research are no exception to this, as the discussion below will reveal.

The cultural contexts in Rwanda and Tanzania

It is impossible in the short space available here to provide anything like a complete and accurate account of the cultural contexts of the two countries. All that has been attempted is the identification of some issues within the rather ill-defined domain of culture that are

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considered important in terms of skills development and the impact and implications of globalisation. In particular, key differences between the cultural contexts of the countries are outlined.

i. The cultural and linguistic homogeneity of Rwanda contrasts with the diversity of Tanzania. Somewhat unusually for an African country, Rwanda has a population that is, in cultural terms, relatively homogeneous and which shares the same mother tongue. As has been described in Section three, the ethnically, even 'racially' divided society that is the image familiar to the outside world is the outcome of a deliberate manipulation by the former colonial power of historical but indistinct social divisions within Rwandan society. Perhaps the greatest tragedy is that this manufactured ethnic division was absorbed into the psyche of Rwandans themselves, leading ultimately to one of the most awful episodes of internally-wrought genocide imaginable. The reality is that in terms of cultural practices and behaviour and the values underlying these there is no difference between Hutu and Tutsi. This is not to state that there are no cultural sub-groups based on forms of livelihood, religion or other factors, but simply there are no ethnically-based cultural divisions for 99% of the population.

ii. This contrasts with the Tanzanian context of more than 130 'tribes', each with their own mother tongue, certainly having many fundamental values in common but each with its own recognised set of cultural practices and behaviours. What is noteworthy in this Tanzanian context of ethnic diversity is the way in which a sense of national unity and a shared identity as 'Tanzanians' has developed and contributed to more than forty years of post-independence stability. Undoubtedly contributing to this has been the presence of an almost universally spoken African lingua franca in the form of Swahili, which has been strongly promoted and developed by the government to meet the emerging needs of a changing society. Though only the first language of a minority of the population and despite its composite cultural origins, Swahili is essentially an African language.

iii. In both countries, therefore, there exists a powerful tool in the form of a single African language, spoken by all, for the development of national unity based on the indigenous cultural values that are inevitably bound up with the language. Under the impact of increased regional and global contacts and information flows, however, there is widespread recognition of the need for access to other languages. Within Rwanda, colonial history has determined that this other language has been French, but the country is now committed to developing bilingualism in French and English (which effectively means trilingualism, given that everyone will also speak Kinyarwanda). This situation has arisen largely through the stimulus of the many 'returnees' who grew up and were educated in 'Anglophone' countries of East Africa and beyond and who now constitute an influential elite within the country. The existence of speakers of both of

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these European languages, together with the country's geographical location, has been seen as presenting an economic development niche opportunity in the form of a bilingual service sector.

iv. In Tanzania, the question of which language would be the most useful for facilitating external dealings has never really been an issue. Where it existed, the debate was over the relative merits of Swahili and English as the most appropriate second language (after an individual's mother tongue). Given the focus on development through self-reliance, the emphasis on Swahili was perhaps inevitable and has undoubtedly contributed to a sense of national unity and cohesion. More recently, particularly with a shift to a greater external orientation and engagement, there is a common perception that more attention must be given to the standard of English in the country (and other 'global' languages to a lesser extent).

v. Both countries are, therefore, faced with a complex linguistic situation as a result of internal considerations on the one hand and the demands of globalisation and greater exchange with the outside world on the other. Arguments for the strengthening of cultural identity and continuity demand a focus on indigenous languages; economic imperatives lead to a focus on non-indigenous languages which, in turn, encourage exposure to outside cultures that may be perceived as threats to the core social values and inter-generational cultural continuity. This need for multilingual skills also imposes great demands on education systems, demanding large allocations in the timetable at the expense of other important areas.

vi. Two central components of traditional cultures in both countries, as in most of Africa, are the local community and the extended family. A whole range of practices and obligations have traditionally bound individuals to a wider notion of kin than that which is now common in the Western industrialised world and have also provided valuable sources of support that has helped to hold the local community together under adversity. Tanzania in particular attempted to use these traditions of communal inter-dependence as a basis for self-reliant development through the ujamaa policy, as outlined in the Arusha Declaration. The outcomes of these attempts have been mixed. On the social side there is some justification for claims that a sense of communal identity and cohesion has been strengthened but the economic consequences are now widely recognised as having been limited, at best.

vii. In contrast, Rwanda's experience of trying to build on these traditions of community has largely been a disaster. This is most obviously evidenced by the manipulation of the notion of community that led to the genocide, but is also visible in the way in which traditional forms of mutual self-help were heavy-handedly transformed into what became perceived as a form of forced labour. As a result of the genocide, communities

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that were the basis of social organisation have often been destroyed or have been split by suspicion and guilt. One particular consequence that is a major break with tradition is the emergence of large numbers of female- and child-headed households. The destruction of some communities has been so complete that even the traditional practice of communal responsibility for children may not be able to cope. Traditional ideas about roles and responsibilities in society, most notably those of women, are being challenged by this situation. Social trust and social links have to be rebuilt and there is a danger that new factionally-oriented social organisations will emerge, such as those that distinguish 'victims' from 'genociders', or 'returnees' from 'indigenes'.

viii. Extended family networks that constitute a key component of African culture have often been perceived rather ambiguously in relation to development. On the one hand they are important mutual support mechanisms to supplement often meagre state support provision. They are important in such areas as finding school-fees, child-care, the care of the elderly and the sick, finding employment and material support in times of unemployment or food shortages. On the other hand, extended family responsibilities are also seen as impediments to economic development in a variety of ways, such as their potential to undermine individual initiatives for self-betterment and their encouragement of inefficiency and corruption in employment practices. There is undoubtedly a cultural tension between the demands of an economic system that is basically predicated on a mechanism of individual self-interest (extended at most to a limited concept of family) and traditions of mutual inter-dependence and responsibility (which may nonetheless be limited to a broader concept of family or to a notion of local community), often associated with hierarchies of power based on age and gender. These tensions often manifest themselves in the differences between urban and rural cultures and, as such, may be more visible in Tanzania, with its larger and more developed urban sector, than in Rwanda. In Rwanda, however, extended family networks have in many cases been weakened or destroyed as a result of the genocide. What the consequences of this may be and what form new social networks may take if they do emerge, it is difficult to predict. In addition to this damage to internal social foundations, there is the potential for cultural change in the presence of large numbers of former exiles returning with many years, even a lifetime, of experience of other cultures. To some extent, therefore, elements of Rwandan society are now something of a cultural melting pot, contrasting with the broad element of cultural continuity in Tanzania. Both now face new cultural challenges from the outside world, but from rather different cultural positions. This contrasts with earlier eras of introspection that characterised the political and much popular culture in both countries, though to different degrees. This was particularly acute in the case of Rwanda, exacerbated by its geographical position and its linguistic separation from its neighbours to the East. The country is undoubtedly more open to outside cultural contact and influence than it has been for much of its history.

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ix. One further component that cannot be ignored in any analysis of the cultural contexts of the two countries is that of gender and gender relations. This is one aspect of cultural tradition that is raised almost universally in any discussion of culture and development and traditional cultural positions on gender are criticised heavily. Because of its centrality, it is given specific, more detailed attention in section six, but its fundamental nature in any consideration of culture is recognised here.

Documentary and Interview Data on Issues of Culture and Globalisation

i. A basic ambiguity or tension is noticeable in documents and interview responses in both countries in relation to the role of culture in development and, in particular, to the demands of greater engagement with the global economy. This tension is essentially between the recognition that certain cultural values and practices are incompatible with the demands of economic and social development and the desire to retain what are perceived as valuable aspects of traditional culture and thereby to ensure cultural continuity and a distinct cultural identity. Related to this is the recognition that greater exposure to the information flows available in the wider world are essential to successful participation in a globalising economy and yet these flows themselves pose a threat to important cultural values. The internet is commonly identified as a prime source of this dilemma.

ii. A culture of dependence is identified in both Rwanda and Tanzania as presenting a major hindrance to development. Amongst Rwandan informants this is described in terms of individuals waiting for others to do things for them or to make decisions for them rather than seizing the initiative. This is in turn associated with the blind following of authority, which is contrasted with a capacity for creative thinking and deciding what is right and wrong, and is suggested as one of the factors that allowed the genocide to proceed with such awful effectiveness. The Tanzanian Vision 2025 is particularly concerned with 'donor dependency' which it sees as a 'mindset' shared by both the leaders and the people of the country and which it too believes is eroding the capacity to take the initiative. The challenge, according to this document, is to transform a 'defeatist' developmental mindset' into a 'progressive and development oriented culture'.

iii. In more explicitly economic terms, dependency is contrasted with entrepreneurship, which is commonly portrayed in terms of a culture or of attitudes as much as specific skills. The cultural basis of entrepreneurial activity is rarely made explicit but is hinted at or implied in a variety of ways. Rwandan informants associated it with particular peoples within the region, such as the Baganda from Uganda and the Kikuyu from Kenya, implying that 'entrepreneurial spirit' has roots in group culture rather than individual mentalities. It is associated with attitudes such as 'opportunism, risk-taking, restlessness and a desire to succeed', which contrast with the accounts of Rwandan culture as one of subservience. In

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Tanzania, *Vision 2025* associates entrepreneurship with the idea of 'self-development', perhaps unwittingly suggesting that the collective, community-oriented culture of the country (which it also seeks to promote) is inimical to entrepreneurial activity. Tanzanian informants also made the point that the entrepreneur flourishes in an economic culture of clients and markets, which is contrasted with the community and kinship based culture of traditional productive activity. This has interesting implications for the marketisation of traditional craft industries, suggesting that these industries must become separated from key aspects of the culture in which they have been embedded. The 'cultural artefact' produced for the global market actually becomes devoid of all cultural meaning or significance.

iv. Voices in both countries call for the preservation of certain traditional skills and values that it was felt are being eroded or forgotten, most notably skills of parenting and a commitment to the extended family and the community. Rwandan informants value traditional parenting skills because it is felt they encourage children to be well behaved and show respect to their parents. No one commented on a possible tension between these espoused values of discipline and respect for parental authority on the one hand and a perceived need to encourage more independent and critical thought on the other. Two specific sources of threat to parenting skills are identified by Tanzanian informants. The first applies only to the wealthier, urban parents who are felt to be abrogating some of their parental responsibilities to nurseries and day care centres, probably to allow them to continue with waged employment. The second source is television and video, which once again is primarily an urban phenomenon, though more widespread than the previous one. Television is criticised in both countries as a cause of erosion of traditional values more widely, particularly when parents are unable or unwilling to control what their children watch. There is some recognition however, of the conflict between welcoming the access that television (and other media) give to wider sources of information and the concern for its impact on moral and cultural values. This led some informants to call for a selective engagement with globalisation, based on a belief that the economic and the cultural are separable, and choosing those aspects that promote economic development while rejecting those that are likely to undermine traditional value systems.

v. Attitudes to traditional value systems in Rwanda have undoubtedly been affected deeply by the events of recent history. Although there is a desire for cultural continuity based on 'Rwandan values', there is also a recognition that some of these values played a significant part in promoting the genocide. The most extreme expression of this position came in the comment from one informant that 'I am not worried about values because what values can Rwanda boast of, especially after the genocide', but this was an exceptional view. The situation in Rwanda is seen as one that demands major social, political and cultural reconstruction. Many informants recognise that the foundation for this reconstruction has to be some set of values that will allow the people to regain a sense of pride in a Rwandan identity and, through this, a new sense of national unity.

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Calls are made for the rediscovery of and re-education in genuine Rwandan traditional culture, but some of the 'returnees' admit that they themselves are unfamiliar with what others might claim to be traditional Rwandan culture. The new openness to outside cultural influences that is inherent in a greater global and regional involvement is seen as a way of escaping from the introverted darkness of the past, but there is a parallel concern not to lose what there is of value in Rwandan traditions.

vi. Tanzania approaches the issue of national cultural identity from a different perspective. There is a pride in what has been achieved in the area of national identity and social cohesion. There is a sense, however, of decay from an earlier 'golden age' in recent history, epitomised in *Vision 2025* as the 'set of fundamental moral, spiritual, ethical and civil values' encapsulated in the Arusha Declaration. This decay is variously described as an 'erosion of trust and confidence among the people' and 'cracks in social cohesion', indicated by an increase in 'corruption and other vices in society'. Although the document recognises the need for cultural and attitudinal changes in response to changes in the political and economic orientation of the country in the light of globalisation, it clearly suggests that there is in existence a sound foundation on which these changes can build.

Ultimately, both countries are suggesting that development requires more than just new economic policies and more than just technical skills. Development, but particularly development in this era of globalisation is seen to pose what are effectively moral challenges. Success in a global competitive economy can only be achieved (as the experience of the East Asian NIEs suggests too) if there is a firm basis of national cohesion that draws on traditional sets of values as much as possible while accepting that cultural change must also occur. In terms of Schein's model, outlined above, the calls for cultural change within both countries can be located in different layers of the model. In some cases, new practices to meet the challenges of globalisation are called for without change to existing sets of values and beliefs. In others, some fundamental values and beliefs are challenged and recognised as in need of change, while others are to be retained. Few go so far, however, as to demand a change to the underlying worldview that is the tenor of some of the recent literature on culture and development reviewed at the beginning of this section. If Schein's notion of a dialectical interplay between the different layers of his model is correct, then there is scope for considerable tension in the various demands for both cultural change and continuity. While the model does not assume cultural stasis and the dialectical relationship between layers can be seen as a mechanism for cultural change, there is an implied notion of a degree of coherence between the different layers: practices consistent with beliefs and values that in turn are consistent with an underlying worldview. There is clearly an issue of whether countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania can retain at least minimal cultural coherence in the face of greater engagement with a global economy premised on values, and even a worldview, that are at odds with much of their traditional culture. For those who see much to value in that traditional culture this poses a considerable challenge.

8 Towards a Skills Development Strategy for Rwanda and Tanzania

It will be recalled from section two that one of the key pressure points to emerge in the development of an appropriate skills development strategy for countries wishing to globalise, is the relative capacity different countries possess for putting in place such a strategy. This section sets out the main elements required to build capacity for a skills development strategy in Rwanda and Tanzania. During the country and regional workshops, participants were asked to comment on the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats facing the Rwandan and Tanzanian governments in relation to building capacity for skills development. This section draws together some cross-cutting themes emerging from the two country studies and relates these to earlier sections of the report. Here, 'capacity' has two aspects, namely the existence of a supportive environment for developing appropriate education and training policy and the development of capacity within the education and training system itself through the identification of key priority areas. The discussion forms a basis for the recommendations in the concluding section.

Creating a Supportive Environment for Skills Development

i. *Develop a relevant vision and approach to lifelong learning*. Implicit in many of the views of the research informants and in the national visions of the two countries is the idea of lifelong learning. The idea has a long pedigree in the East African region. As long ago as 1974, Julius Nyerere declared 'We must accept that education and working are both parts of living and should continue from birth until we die' (1974: 300-301). The mass literacy campaigns in Tanzania in the 1970s and 1980s along with the development of the Folk Development Colleges and the Prefectural Centres for Development and Community Education (PCDCEs) in Rwanda can be interpreted as examples of trying to put lifelong learning in practice. Today, the idea of lifelong learning is central to developing education and training policy around the world and has recently been endorsed as a concept by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in their protocol on education and training (SADC, 1997). The need to develop and consolidate a lifelong learning approach in Rwanda and Tanzania is underscored by the impact of globalisation. Increasingly workers will need to skill and re-skillthemselves as the pace of economic and social change intensifies. The idea of lifelong learning needs to operate as part of a national vision to guide development priorities. It also operates as a general approach or strategic orientation that should inform policy making across sectors. The idea of lifelong learning, however, needs to be grounded in the realities of specific localities, countries and regions and needs to be adaptable to rapid changes in the global environment. For example, in Rwanda and Tanzania, a lifelong learning approach needs to find a way of bringing learners back into the education and training system and to recognise and develop traditional and other skills that in the past have been seen as marginal. It also needs to link skills development more clearly to national development goals and needs to provide greater articulation between elements of education and training, both formal and non-formal, that in the past have been treated as discrete sub-sectors. One means that

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we suggest below for facilitating a lifelong learning approach is the development of an integrated qualifications framework. If a vision of lifelong learning is to become a reality then it must be 'owned' by all sections of the population and across sectors. This means involving all stakeholders in the development of such a vision and its wide dissemination.

ii.   *The two governments need to be proactive in formulating skills development priorities and strategies in relation to a national vision*. In section four we presented a model of the 'catalytic' or facilitating state as being relevant for Rwanda and Tanzania in the global era. The success of skills development strategies elsewhere in the world has relied on the state taking a proactive rather than a reactive stance in relation to defining and implementing skills development priorities. This involves taking both a long term view of future development needs in a global era, whilst allowing for flexibility in order to meet short term skills requirements arising from changes within the national and global economic environments. For example, both Rwanda and Tanzania currently have the opportunity to respond to favourable terms of trade being offered in the field of garment manufacture by the USA. Being responsive to short term opportunities in the global economy should not deflect the state from long term priorities. The state also needs to be proactive in advancing nationally determined skills development policy or else risk that policy is set by donor rather than by local agendas.

iii. *Create a supportive and coherent policy environment for skills development*. Some elements of such a framework as they relate directly to skills development priorities are set out below. International experience suggests, however, that successful skills development strategies feed into and are supported by other areas of policy including policy relating to the economy, science and technology, youth, women, labour markets etc. At present there is little indication of coherence in either Rwanda or Tanzania between these different areas of policy and skills development priorities. To some extent this lack of coherence can be addressed through developing a human resources policy and framework which is currently being advanced in both countries.

iv.   *Put in place the necessary governmental structures*. International experience also suggests, however, that coherence is further achieved through the establishment of 'joined up government' in the form of relevant government bodies to oversee skills development and the establishment of effective lines of communication and a clear demarcation of responsibilities between these bodies, government departments, the private sector and other key stakeholders. A recent study of the skills development strategy adopted by Singapore is instructive in this respect (Kuruvilla et al, 2002). In Singapore the Ministry for Trade and Industry oversees economic policy. The Ministry is supported by a semi-autonomous Economic Development Board which has the primary responsibility for

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attracting foreign direct investment and (in conjunction with other bodies) meeting the skills requirements of foreign investors. A national Manpower Council brings together the Ministries of Manpower, Education and Trade and Industry to determine manpower targets from the Institute for Technical Education, the Universities and Polytechnics. The Ministry of Education has the primary responsibility for ensuring the longer term supply of skills in relation to national development targets. Communication concerning skills development priorities is ensured by means of several mechanisms including inter-ministerial and inter-board meetings, rotating ministers and civil servants between ministries and boards, the representation of educational institutions and various stakeholders on boards and the reciprocal representation of boards and ministries on the governing bodies of educational institutions. The recent establishment of a Human Resource Development Agency in Rwanda is a step in the right direction in putting in place an intra-governmental structure with overall responsibility for skills development although its strategic role will need to be carefully defined and developed if it is to emulate the work of similar structures in countries such as Singapore. In Tanzania responsibility for skills development lies mainly with the Ministries of Education and Culture and of Science, Technology and Higher Education. The Vocational Education and Training Authority (VETA) co-ordinates skills development within the VET sector and attempts to link these to regional and national skills needs. A recent report has cast doubt on the capacity and effectiveness of VETA to carry out this task. Furthermore, there is no intra-governmental body with strategic responsibility for overseeing skills development across sectors and this limits the extent of co-ordination and communication between government Ministries, bodies and stakeholder groups around the development and implementation of skills development priorities. It is not being suggested that the structures put in place ought to replicate the Singaporean or indeed any other national model. Rather, they ought to be designed in a way that is compatible with the national context, including existing structures.

v. *Provide accurate information on the nature and extent of skills shortages*. Effective planning for skills development is dependent on the provision of adequate information about the nature and extent of skills shortages and needs. This in turn relies on the development of adequate information systems. There has been a shift in emphasis in recent years away from manpower planning approaches to assessing future skills needs and towards labour market analysis. The focus of manpower planning is on the number of people with skills that are deemed to be necessary for producing the basket of a country's goods and services. Labour market analysis changes the focus to the labour force, a much wider concept, which includes those with no skills and the unemployed. It therefore fits more closely to the view of skills development used in this research. The differences between these two types of approach are summarised schematically in the table over.

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Changes in analytical emphasis between manpower planning and labour market analysis:

Less on:	More on:
Planning	Analysis/policy making
Manpower	Labour force
Counting heads	Measuring wages
Firm labour surveys	Household surveys
Opinion Surveys	Tracer studies
Occupational profile	Educational profile
Public sector only	Private and informal sector
Production efficiency only	Equity/poverty
Technical efficiency	Economic efficiency
Output-labour relationships	Cost-benefit analysis
Fixed wages	Flexible wages
Manpower needs	Labour supply and demand
Skill-specific training	General training
School-based training	Firm-based training
Free education/training	Cost recovery/user fees
Public education/training	Private education/training
Filling long-term skill gaps	Correcting present labour market distortions

Source: World Bank (1993)

In practice, many countries use a variety of methods for assessing skills shortages drawing on elements from both approaches and depending on the country context. (Some elements of the new approach, such as the use of user fees particularly in primary education have also more recently been reversed). Historically Rwanda has had no clear approach towards assessing skills shortages whilst Tanzania has depended in the past on a manpower planning approach which was abandoned in the 1980s with the failure of self reliance policies. It is suggested that both countries urgently need to put in place mechanisms to monitor skills needs as an aspect of an emerging skills development strategy.

vi. *Create an enabling legislative environment*. A skills development strategy also needs to be supported by an enabling legislative environment. For example, unlocking innovative and entrepreneurial skills within the two countries relies on the existence of a legal framework to protect intellectual property. Our research informants in both countries complained of the absence of such a protective framework, leaving locally based entrepreneurs with limited protection for their intellectual property. This concern is of relevance across the business spectrum from small scale business and crafts people to representatives of larger scale industry. In some countries also, skills training is part of

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the broader legal framework governing trade and industry. Some countries, for example, have laws that levy a special training tax on companies to fund education and training.

vii. *Strike a strategic balance between prioritising skills required for eliminating poverty, achieving global competitiveness, ensuring national unity and gender equity*. In section six it was suggested that the dual goals of alleviating poverty and achieving economic competitiveness present a series of tensions for policy makers. These two goals can be both mutually supportive and mutually dependent. The eradication of poverty relies on successful integration into the global economy whilst the focus on poverty alleviation will ensure that the benefits of global integration reach all sections of the population including those most at risk of suffering the effects of poverty. Through mainstreaming gender issues, the governments of Rwanda and Tanzania can ensure that skills development priorities recognise the vulnerability of women to poverty as well as their potential contribution to global integration. As we argued in section eight, poverty alleviation, developing economic competitiveness and ensuring gender equity also demand attention at the level of the curriculum and teaching methods to the cultural aspects of globalisation and the development of social capital as a basis for social cohesion and national unity. Thinking strategically around these different outcomes of policy means engaging with the inevitable tensions that arise between them but in a way that will lead to mutually supportive rather than contradictory outcomes.

viii. *Ensure that the principles of good governance apply and are adhered to in relation to education and training policy and practice*. The principles of good governance were set out in section four. When these principles are applied to the area of skills development, they suggest several priorities. Firstly, the state must provide a supportive environment for all stakeholders to participate in the identification and implementation of the skills formation strategy. This is particularly important for the present study because of the range of stakeholder views and perceptions that have been identified with respect to globalisation and its implications for skills development. The principles of participation, communication and dissemination of ideas are a key mechanism for developing national consensus around skills development priorities. Although both Rwanda and Tanzania have made efforts to include identified stakeholders in policy discussions, our research suggests that more needs to be done to include representatives of the private sector and NGOs in the development and implementation of policy as well as rural perspectives. This in turn relies on the state being proactive in developing capacity within the state, the private sector and civil society to participate in policy making and to deliver skills development initiatives. It also means that the state must establish suitable fora for participation to occur. Encouraging good governance also means supporting the decentralisation of aspects of education and training to the local level. At present, the governments of Rwanda and Tanzania are in the process of decentralising a range of aspects including teacher training, the procurement of teaching materials and teacher

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resource centres. Communities are also being encouraged to get more involved in supporting education and training. Below we suggest areas within education and training where decentralisation can be strengthened to meet local skills development needs. However, decentralisation also underlines the need for strong and coherent national norms and frameworks in order to ensure quality and equality of opportunity within a locally managed system, including frameworks relating to the financing of education and training, the curriculum and qualifications (see below).

ix. *Harmonise external support for education and training in terms of a sector wide approach*. Both the Rwandan and Tanzanian governments are moving towards a sector wide approach to funding in the education sector. A sector wide approach has some advantages from the point of view of the current study because it allows funds from donors and other sources to be channelled in relation to identified sector-wide skills priorities. It is preferable to a project funding approach which has predominated to date in both countries because of the potential lack of coherence between the goals and outcomes of different projects. A sector wide approach may also allow for greater stakeholder participation at the level of deciding national priorities and strategies. The challenge, however, is to ensure that the democratising potential of such approaches is realised in practice and that sector-wide priorities are clearly linked to national skills development priorities. This means ensuring the presence of linked up government policy and the establishment of governmental bodies capable of ensuring effective multi-sectoral planning and communication in relation to skills (see above).

x. *Increase overall amounts of money available to spend on education and training*. The success of other countries that have successfully globalised can be attributed, in part at least to the high priority that was afforded to investment in education and training. The national visions of both Rwanda and Tanzania acknowledge the critical role of education and training in development. Yet the overall proportion of GDP devoted to education and training by both governments is low by international and regional standards. One reason for this is the high proportion of government expenditure used to re-service the external debt. The international community needs to do more to rectify this situation which may result in both countries being unable to meet the global development targets for 2015. The impact of the HIPC initiative on the ability of the Rwandan and Tanzanian governments to meet the development targets needs to be carefully monitored. One option is for a limit to be put on the overall amount of government expenditure that can be used for re-servicing debt, thereby freeing more for health and for education. Another is to provide greater incentives through the HIPC programme for more of the money released through debt relief to be diverted to education and training. There is also much that the international community can do to reform the regulations governing international trade in a way that favours exporters of primary agricultural products such as Rwanda and Tanzania and would lead to a net increase in GDP. There is also much

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that the two governments themselves can do to increase the funds available for education and training within overall government expenditure including doing more to tackle corruption and mismanagement of resources. Both governments spend less than the regional average of their overall budget on education and training whereas the defence budget of both countries is relatively high. For example, Rwanda's ongoing military campaign in the Congo is a massive drain on government resources. The decision to increase funding for education and training is, at the end of the day a political one but one that from the point of the present research that cannot be put off.

xi. *Targeted support for those areas of education and training that will assist in alleviating poverty and promoting economic growth*. Both governments are committed to meeting the international development targets to achieve UPE by 2015. Below, however, we suggest that the definition of UPE needs to be broadened to include aspects of training. We also suggest that the state needs to give targeted support to other areas of post-basic education in order to promote economic competitiveness.

xii. *Encourage private provision and funding of education in areas where state funding for education and training is limited*. Even if the two governments are able to gradually increase overall levels of funding for education and training, it is unlikely that they will be able to sustain investment beyond a basic learner entitlement. There remains a crucial role for the private sector in providing education and training opportunities in order to fill in the gaps in state provision. At present, private sector involvement in skills training has taken the form of private schools and universities. These have often sprung up in an ad hoc manner to meet market demand and in relation to public perceptions of labour market opportunities. As a result, there were concerns expressed by research informants about the need for a tighter regulatory framework both to ensure quality and to link their outputs to national priorities. Support for private education can prove an efficient use of state resources, particularly at secondary and tertiary levels and can lead to greater diversity within the education system for meeting skills needs. Countries that have successfully globalised have often encouraged the private sector to provide training opportunities in key economic areas through offering tax breaks and other incentives. Foreign firms and even governments have been encouraged to establish skills training centres in exchange for access to graduates from these centres and other trade incentives. The involvement of private firms in training can also lead to a benevolent process of technology transfer as generic skills and technologies used by a particular firm can be made more generally available. There are limited examples of successful involvement of the private sector in skills training in Rwanda and Tanzania. In Rwanda, for example, locally based companies have co-operated with the Kigali Institute of Science and Technology (KIST) to design relevant courses and sponsor students. The private sector is, however, relatively small and under-developed in both countries which necessarily limits the extent to which they can provide education and training opportunities in the

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short term. As the private sector develops, the governments of the two countries will need to find ways to involve it more in skills development.

xiii. *Provide targeted support for groups most at risk of exclusion from education and training opportunities, particularly at secondary and tertiary levels*. At present both countries have committed themselves to fee-free primary education. However, secondary and tertiary education remain relatively expensive. In both countries access to these levels is skewed towards the more affluent sections of society with negative implications for equity and social justice. There is also evidence that the enrolment of girls and women at these levels is less than boys in both countries. This would suggest a role for the state in providing financial support in the form of targeted bursaries to students from lower socio-economic backgrounds and to girls where there is found to be a gender imbalance at certain levels of the system or within certain subject areas.

xiv. *Provide a strong regulatory framework to ensure quality and to provide coherence within a diverse system in relation to national skills development priorities*. The corollary of a decentralised and diverse system such as the one being advocated here is the need for strong national norms and standards in relation to the curriculum, qualifications and the funding of education. In other parts of the world, central curriculum frameworks accompanied by a rigorous inspection system and a suitable qualifications framework provide a quality control mechanism within a diverse system and help to link the outcomes of locally managed institutions to national development priorities. It will be suggested below that both Rwanda and Tanzania can do more to explore the potential and limitations of such frameworks.

xv. *Developing a suitable ICT infrastructure and policy*. In section three the relatively under-developed ICT infrastructure in both countries was noted. The participation of Rwanda and Tanzania in the global knowledge economy is dependent on the development of a suitable infrastructure. This is arguably even more relevant for Rwanda given the country's aspirations to become a communications hub and services provider for the region. It is also crucial for Tanzania, however, in its quest to industrialise and to find a global niche if it is to keep abreast of modern industrial technologies. ICTs are transforming education and training systems around the world, opening up new, exciting possibilities for distance education. They can potentially have positive implications for good governance through creating a more effective and efficient public service sector and through improvements in the communications infrastructure. The development of ICTs, however, needs to be located in terms of an overall strategy for their use and deployment and this strategy needs to have a skills development component if it is to succeed. As noted in previous sections, Rwanda has recently developed such a strategy and is currently seeking international assistance in implementing it. The strategy includes clear recommendations relating to the skills

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needs required to implement the strategy. Tanzania is in the process of developing its own strategy.

xvi. *Building the regional dimension*. Rwanda and Tanzania are part of several regional co-operation initiatives in East and Southern Africa. Rwanda has recently joined the Community of East and Southern Africa (COMESA). Tanzania has a history of regional co-operation including membership of the East African Community (EAC), the Great Lakes Region Initiative, and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Each of these regional bodies has a different history, membership and mission. COMESA for example has an explicitly economic focus whereas SADC involves co-operation in a number of areas of development including education. Indeed, Tanzania is a signatory of the SADC[3].Protocol on Education and Training (1999) which spells out areas of co-operation in:

- Policy of Education and Training
- Basic Education (primary and secondary levels)
- Intermediate Education and Training
- Research and Development
- Life-long Education and Training
- Publishing and Library Resources

The ultimate objective of the protocol is to progressively achieve the equivalence, harmonisation and standardization of the education and training systems in the Region in order to assist the sharing of resources in education, training and research and encourage student and staff mobility across the region. Regional co-operation in education is relatively under-developed in Africa as compared to some other parts of the world such as Europe (the European Union) and the Pacific Rim. Even in these relatively developed regions, education and training remains principally a function of national governments. Our research indicates that there are also threats to regional co-operation in Africa that must be overcome such as the instability caused by on-going conflicts in the region and the concern that less powerful nations will be dominated in the process by more powerful ones. Nonetheless, the benefits of regional co-operation for countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania are clear from the point of view of the current project because they could eventually facilitate the unnecessary duplication of expensive educational resources especially in the fields of tertiary education, training and research. The idea of regional co-operation is also a central aspect of NEPAD and a key theme of the African Renaissance idea. There are currently ongoing dialogues between SADC and COMESA on areas of possible co-operation. It is suggested that one such area might be to extend the protocol on education and training to COMESA members

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[3] SADC member states include: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South xxxxx xxxxxx xxxxx.

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as well, including Rwanda. This would enable greater co-operation between the two neighbouring countries.

xvii. *Reversing the effects of the brain drain*. Like other African nations, Rwanda and Tanzania have both suffered from the on-going effects of the so-called 'brain drain'. Although our research indicates that this is a serious problem, more research is required in order to quantify the nature and extent of the brain drain as it affects the two countries and to devise suitable strategies to tackle it. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the movement of skilled personnel out of the two countries is often in those areas where skills are scarcest and where the skills are required most in order to meet national development targets (e.g. in the fields of science and technology, management and accountancy). The brain drain exacerbates the problem of dependency on technical expertise from overseas. To some extent the development of regional co-operation might offset some of the effects of the brain drain by creating more opportunities for sharing sought after skills in education and training and research and for the mobility for highly skilled people within the region. Indeed, Rwanda has relied heavily on regionally based expertise in the expansion of its higher education sector following the genocide. The potential threat is that the problem of the brain drain becomes exacerbated, this time at the regional level, as some nations benefit more from increased regional mobility than others. Further research also needs to take account of examples from initiatives used in other parts of the world that have been successful in reversing the brain drain. These include the reverse brain drain initiative in Thailand where the government offered financial and other incentives to Thai nationals working overseas in key skills areas to work in Thailand. The existence of a large diaspora, particularly from Rwanda, and the increasing ease of international communication also opens up possibilities for skilled personnel living elsewhere to be incorporated into research, consultancy and other activities that will directly be of benefit to Rwanda and Tanzania's national development goals.

Key Priorities for Education and Training

i. Building management and leadership capacity at all levels of the education and training system. Both governments need to put in place measures to support the development of management and leadership capacity at all levels of the system. At the national level this could involve orienting policy makers around the principles of good governance and in terms of new policy directions and orientations implicit in a skills development strategy and in the idea of lifelong learning. At the local level there is also a need to increase capacity to support the decentralisation process. This is particularly important in the context of the present research because the local level provides a crucial link between meeting local skills needs to alleviate poverty as well as skills needs to meet national priorities. A programme of management training based on a clear needs analysis is required in both countries.

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ii. *Supporting the emphasis on basic education*. Improving access to basic education (primary and non-formal education) and the quality of provision should remain a top priority because of the undisputed contribution of this level to immediate poverty reduction. As we argued in section five, the emphasis on basic skills also has implications for longer term global competitiveness because they are a prerequisite for attracting foreign direct investment. In particular we endorse the detailed objectives of the PRSPs summarised in the two country reports to reduce the private costs of primary education, to increase the supply of textbooks, to monitor student attainment and provide more teacher training opportunities. In the same way, the priority in the PRSPs to focus on non-formal education including adult literacy is supported.

iii. *Broadening the definition of basic education*. In their own recent research, Afenyadu et al (1999) have argued that there is a need to broaden the vision of basic education in the context of globalisation to encompass elements of vocational education and training. Our own research lends support to the view that targeted areas of vocational education ought to be included under the heading of basic education. These basic vocational skills have been identified as particularly important for government and donor support because they contribute both to short term poverty alleviation and to medium and long term growth through supporting regional and global competitiveness. Drawing on our analysis in section five, examples of such targeted areas could include:

- Agricultural skills
- Food processing and packaging
- Technical skills such as car mechanics, micro-electronics, electrical, carpentry and hairdressing
- Basic computing skills
- Basic business skills relevant to micro-business, cottage industries and cooperatives and to the *Jua Kali* informal sector
- hotel management and tourism
- craft and traditional skills that are usually transmitted informally such as traditional medicines, basket making and the use of hides to make goods.

iv. Mainstreaming gender issues in education and training policy. In section six we identified the need to address gender issues within education and training as being central both to the development of global competitiveness and to the elimination of poverty. We also identified some of the barriers in the way of greater female participation in education and training. Both governments have begun to make progress in addressing gender inequalities in education. For example, the Tanzanian government has committed itself to expanding girls' secondary education, access of women and girls to adult education, the review of the curriculum to prevent gender stereotyping and to strengthen girls' participation in science and mathematics subjects. Tanzania too has

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committed itself to gender equity in its national vision and education policy documents. More needs to be done, however, to understand the current position of women and girls in relation to skill development opportunities and to identify the implications of globalisation for this group. For example, there is a need for more research in the short term into the education of women and girls in Rwanda and Tanzania. Such research should aim to provide:

- Quantitative data about women's participation at all levels of the education and training systems and the level of skill that women have.
- Data about the causes of non-attendance and drop out from education of girls and women.
- Evidence relating to the skills required by women in relation to economic change and the priorities for the education and training system in delivering those skills
- The degree and nature of gender stereotyping in education and training and mechanisms to challenge such stereotyping.
- The role and position of female educators at all levels of the system.

Also in the short term we recommend that a task team be established within the two Ministries of Education to oversee the development of a sectoral policy and strategy relating to gender. This needs to be based on principals of participation. Too often in the past it has been left up to powerful men within education ministries in Africa to develop policy affecting the lives of girls and women (Swainson, 1998). The task team ought to prioritise the mainstreaming of gender issues so that a concern with gender is reflected in the work of the ministry and in all future policy, research and consultancy work. Research and advocacy in the short term should aim towards the elimination of gender discrimination in education in the medium term and the achievement of the second international development target relating to education (see above), i.e. gender equity by 2005.

v. *Targeted support for post-primary education and training*. There is also a need to expand secondary and tertiary education in both countries in order to provide a sounder basis for longer term global competitiveness although financial constraints will mean that expansion will necessarily have to be limited and targeted. In relation to the short term goal of poverty alleviation, as the PRSPs point out, the importance of secondary and tertiary education lies largely in the external benefits – the effects of the presence of highly educated people on governance, economic growth and employment. Recent evidence, however, suggests that in the case of junior secondary education, there are also high social rates of return, comparable to those from primary education (Swainson, 1998). Secondary and tertiary education can also make a direct impact on poverty alleviation through providing agronomists with the essential 'high skills' required to develop agriculture, contributing to public service management capacity and training teachers for lower levels of the education and training system.

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Crucially, however, secondary and tertiary education are also a prerequisite for the goal of global competitiveness because of their role in developing the other 'high skills' required by the manufacturing and service sector identified in section five, including science and technology, computing and management skills. Further, there is evidence to suggest that the capacity for innovation in industrialising/ modernising economies has only been achieved on the basis of expansion in secondary education (Riddell, 1996). Although both governments are committed to expansion of the secondary and tertiary sectors there is a need to develop realistic targets in the short term that would help to focus attention on the importance of expansion of these areas. These targets would complement the existing international development targets for basic education. Expansion of secondary and tertiary education needs, however, to be sharply focused on increasing enrolments in scientific, mathematical, technological, management and financial subjects whilst retaining enrolments in the arts, humanities and social sciences. Ways need to be sought for increasing enrolments into these areas, through, for example, the use of incentives or the development of quotas as has happened elsewhere in the world.

vi. *Reviewing the provision of vocational education and training*. The development of a high quality system of VET is central to the idea of lifelong learning and has been a characteristic of many nations that have successfully globalised. In section three we identified serious weaknesses with the existing systems of VET in both countries. In Rwanda, as with other sectors, these weaknesses are exacerbated by the effects of genocide and war on the basic VET infrastructure and number of trainers available. In the case of Rwanda, we agree with the need, identified in the PRSP to rebuild the district vocational training centres as a first priority. There is also a need in both countries, however, for the governments to review the entire sub-sector. Enrolment in VET is low by international and even regional standards in both countries. More needs to be done to attract non-traditional learners, women and girls into the VET system. In Tanzania a perceived lack of relevance and quality means that some areas of existing VET provision operate at a fraction of their overall capacity whereas in other areas there is unnecessary duplication of facilities. The VET system in both countries is highly fragmented and lacks coherence between the various service providers. Further, there is a lack of coherence and overlap between VET and other sub-sectors of education and training such as non-formal education. Perhaps the most serious problem though is the large gap identified in this research between the outcomes of VET and the perceived needs of the labour market that needs to be urgently rectified through greater involvement and communication between the providers of VET, the government, the private sector and other relevant stakeholders. International experience also suggests that more needs to be done to encourage foreign firms to become actively involved in VET provision in a way that will generate capacity for sharing generic skills and facilitate a benevolent process of technology transfer. From the point of view of this research, the

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review will need to take account of these identified areas of weaknesses within the context of a national skills development strategy.

vii. *The urgent need for curriculum reform*. The emphasis of the PRSPs is on increasing enrolment and quality through funding more teachers, classrooms and textbooks. Our research also highlights, however, the urgent need for curriculum reform as a basis for poverty alleviation. The above measures need to be set alongside a need for a more thorough review of the curriculum and teaching methods. For example, the primary curriculum can be made more relevant to poverty reduction through an increased emphasis on basic agricultural concepts and skills as well as life skills including HIV/AIDS prevention, parenting skills and political citizenship skills aimed at national unity and, in the case of Rwanda, national reconciliation. In the same way, non-formal education could include more information about the use of fertilisers and methods of crop cultivation to support food production. Non-formal education could also include information about how to diversify and grow new 'exotic' crops and basic skills concerning food preservation and the packaging and marketing of produce on local and regional markets. There is scope here for coordination across ministries including, for example, proposing a role for agricultural extension workers in skills development initiatives.

However, Tanzania, in particular, has long experience of the tensions generated between educational policies simultaneously designed to facilitate modern sector employment and those pursued to advance an 'adapted' school curriculum related to agricultural skills and rural life. This was the case in the pre-independence 'middle school' reforms, and with the implementation of the 'Education for Self-reliance' philosophy of more recent times. As Foster (1987) has so clearly argued with reference to the 'vocational school fallacy' thesis, the introduction of agriculture into the school curriculum is often rejected by parents and pupils as an inferior, second class option. Research by Psacharapoulos and Loxley (1985) in Tanzania and Colombia also found that practical and agricultural curricula were both impractical and costly, and did little to better orientate school leavers to rural occupations. While the times and the issues have changed dramatically, and new responses may now be possible, such past experience remains relevant for those involved in the contemporary skills for global competition and for poverty alleviation debate.

In the case of secondary education there is also a need to reform the curriculum and teaching methods so that they inculcate the necessary skills of critical thinking, team work, communication, life skills, political and citizenship skills. Reviewing curricula and teaching methods in the sciences, mathematics and technology needs to embrace the concern, identified in this research for a more practical approach to teaching these subjects. One way of inculcating the skills of critical thinking is to move from a content

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driven to an outcomes based approach. This has been the basis for reform in countries as diverse as South Africa and Australia. These changes will in turn rely on the provision of appropriate professional development opportunities for educators at all levels to support innovation and change.

Attention also needs to be given to the form of the curriculum. At present the curricula in Rwanda and Tanzania are driven by the demands of exam syllabi that are entirely centrally determined. The international trend, however, is for the central government to provide a strong framework of standards and outcomes which also allows some scope for meeting locally defined skills needs and allows teachers to match the curriculum to locally identified needs.

viii. *Greater emphasis on ICT in education*. In section three we noted the weak human resource base in ICT skills in both countries and linked this to the extremely limited and fragmented provision of ICT education. In section five we suggested that providing more ICT education is the basis for the success of an ICT strategy. Rwanda has begun to address the issues of ICT in education as part of its broader ICT strategy. Tanzania needs to address this area as an element of its evolving ICT strategy. An urgent priority is the need to develop an infrastructure of computers and other ICTs in education. A key consideration for both countries is also whether there is a need to establish a national institute specifically for ICT training. Both countries also need to develop their ICT strategies in relation to the development of a regional strategy. As in other areas, there is potential for the two countries to benefit from forms of regional co-operation.

ix. *Development of a national qualifications framework*. At the heart of a lifelong learning approach is the development of a national qualifications framework (NQF). At present responsibility for accreditation of different levels and sub-sectors of education and training in both countries is fragmented. An NQF could provide coherence through the creation of an equivalent set of qualifications spanning all of the sub-sectors. Another attraction of an NQF from the point of view of this study, is that it would make it easier for learners to enter and leave the education and training system at different points. Accreditation of prior experience whether in formal or non-formal education allows for learners that have had limited access to education and training in the past to be incorporated into the system and have their prior experience recognised. The form of an appropriate NQF, however, needs to be tailored to the needs of individual countries as well as linking with emerging regional qualifications frameworks where these exist.

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Revisiting the Research Aims and Approach

The overall aim of the study was to create a context-relevant knowledge base of the implications for education and training policy of globalisation in two low-income sub-Saharan African countries. In setting out to achieve this goal the project team drew on a 'skills formation' approach. In the context of this synthesis report, the approach also provided a basis for a comparative analysis of the two country case studies both in relation to each other and in relation to the broader international literature. As we argued in section two, the advantage of such an approach is that it allows for an understanding of differing contexts within which an appropriate skills development strategy can emerge and in which relevant skills for development can be defined and prioritised. For example, we have argued that the choice of a specific skills development strategy involves negotiating different stakeholder views of national development priorities and recognising the differing capacities of national education and training systems to deliver the necessary skills. It also involves negotiating policy tensions such as those that arise from a consideration of the skills required for economic competitiveness on the one hand and those required for poverty alleviation and gender equity on the other. Our research has also served to highlight the importance of non-economic as well as economic factors including the historical context and the crucial role of cultural norms and values in relation to understanding globalisation and skills development.

Through drawing attention to these aspects, we hope to have avoided the dangers of an uncritical approach to policy transfer and the idea that 'one skills development strategy fits all'. Thus, for example, although we have set out in the previous section elements of a skills development strategy that draw on ideas such as 'lifelong learning' that have international currency, we suggest that these elements need to be interpreted and understood in relation to the specific contexts and histories of Rwanda and Tanzania. In such a way we also hope to have deepened international understanding of these elements through drawing attention to their meanings and implications in previously under-explored contexts. Our approach also draws attention to the wider policy context and to the importance of the policy making process itself in defining skills development priorities. In this report, for instance, we have linked skills development to the principles of good governance and stakeholder participation. Finally, our concern with contexts and process has also meant that we have had to remain aware of our own process goals embedded in the project design as we discuss below.

This is not to suggest that ours is the only possible or desirable approach to understanding skills for development in Rwanda and Tanzania or that the present study has been exhaustive. Thus although in section two we have counter-posed our own, largely qualitative approach with more quantitatively inclined studies of skills shortages, we recognise that there is scope for both types of research and that indeed the two types of research can be seen as complementary rather than contradictory in as much as they draw attention to

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different aspects of the skills development 'problem'. In this report we have also identified areas for further research, for example, in relation to gender and education (section six) and in relation to identifying management training needs (section eight). Some of these suggestions are repeated in the form of recommendations below.

Revisiting the Research Hypotheses

It will be recalled from section two that the two research hypotheses for the study were:

- Globalisation has radically different implications for skills development in low income countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania compared to western industrialised countries and the newly industrialised countries of the Pacific Rim.

- Tanzania and Rwanda are likely to be similar in their responses to the four policy tensions or pressure points identified in the literature review.

The hypotheses were designed to stimulate a comparative approach towards thinking about skills development needs and priorities and it is appropriate in concluding this synthesis report to revisit these hypotheses. In relation to our research approach, we hope to illustrate the need to understand the broader context within which a skills development strategy can emerge. With regard to the first hypothesis, it is clear that there are both similarities and differences in the implications of globalisation for skills development for low income countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania as compared to high income ones. In section one it was concluded that the overall perception of globalisation in Rwanda and Tanzania is similar to the view of globalisation in the broader literature excepting that information about globalisation and its causes and effects is fairly limited to an urban, educated elite. Drawing out the views of other participants involved greater probing around key issues related to globalisation from the literature. There were also differences in emphases, linked to the two countries' relatively weak position, in relation to globalisation, the realities of extreme poverty and, in Rwanda's case, the recent legacy of genocide and war.

In this respect globalisation was perceived as containing both opportunities and threats for national development. Unlike the position in high income countries, the chief threat is of increasing marginalisation from the global economy and the dominance of foreign political interests and agendas and the 'swamping' of indigenous cultures. Rapid integration into the global economy was, therefore, seen as a priority by the majority of respondents balanced with a recognition of the immediate need in both country contexts to eradicate poverty and promote national unity. Like emerging models of the state elsewhere in the world, the model that emerged in the context of this research is that of the 'facilitatory' and 'catalytic' state. In the case of Rwanda and Tanzania, where there is a relatively undeveloped private sector and where the needs of poverty reduction are so stark, the state must continue to play a leading role in tackling poverty through the provision of basic services. It must also act as a

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catalyst for economic growth through the development of an indigenous private sector and by prioritising public expenditure in areas that are likely to lead to competitive global advantage, including education and training. Like elsewhere in the world, there was a recognition by research participants that in pursuing these objectives the state needs to work in partnership with the emerging private sector, donors and with civil society.

Meeting the dual goals of economic competitiveness and poverty reduction poses special challenges to the governments of low income countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania and their partners in the international community. So too do the continued legacies left by colonial and postcolonial systems of education and training. Whereas in richer countries, the trend is to pursue a 'high skills' path to economic development, the sheer lack of skills at all levels of society and the demands of poverty alleviation mean that Rwanda and Tanzania must emphasise not only the development of high skills but skills at all points of the spectrum, including basic skills, agricultural skills and vocational and technical skills. Sheer lack of capacity in both the private and public sectors also underlines the need for the development of skills relevant to the rapid development of these sectors. The recent experience of genocide and war in Rwanda and the growing threat of ethnic division in Tanzania also draw attention to the need in these national contexts for the development of political and citizenship skills. Unlike many high income countries, poor countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania also suffer from a lack of a supportive environment required for a successful skills development strategy as we discussed in section eight.

Finally, governments around the world, including those of many high income economies face the challenges of removing barriers and increasing participation of girls and women to skills development opportunities; recognising the unique skills that girls and women bring to the development process; and, removing barriers to their participation in labour markets. These challenges not only concern the realisation of equal rights for women and girls in the field of education, training and employment but overcoming them is crucial for both poverty reduction and economic competitiveness. In Rwanda and Tanzania, the need to address these challenges is especially acute because they must overcome deeply ingrained attitudes and values that deny them equal access to skills development and labour market opportunities, particularly in those areas that have traditionally been ascribed as a 'male' preserve. Women are also more likely to suffer from poverty and to feel the negative effects of economic globalisation in low income countries through being displaced from their traditional occupations on the land, in traditional crafts and in small industry. Overcoming barriers to women's participation in skills development provides a means for women to become empowered by giving them alternative routes out of poverty. Furthermore, the jobs that are created by economic integration of low income countries, especially those jobs within the service sector and some areas of manufacturing such as garment manufacturing, have provided opportunities for women to increase their incomes and achieve a measure of economic independence. Women and girls need to be given the skills to participate equally

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with men in these and other areas and to protect their rights as employees where these are threatened. In countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania, the education of women has a particularly large knock-on effect to society as a whole given the pivotal role of women as mothers and carers and as leaders within their communities and the evidence linking women's and girls' education to improvements in health and mortality rates and greater control over their own fertility .

Turning now to the second hypothesis, there are also similarities and differences in the responses of the two countries to the implications of globalisation and to the pressure points identified in section two although the similarities outweigh the differences. It should be clear from the preceding discussion that there is a good deal of overlap in the implications of globalisation for the two countries. Both countries share a similar economic status as low income, highly indebted countries, heavily dependent on agriculture and suffering from extreme poverty. These factors in many important respects define their relationship with the forces of globalisation and lead to similarities in their capacities to put in place an appropriate skills development strategy.

There are, however, differences in their responses to globalisation. Firstly, there are differences in understanding the implications of globalisation itself. A recognition of Rwanda's relatively recent opening up to external influences and the lingering effects of genocide continue to affect the country's relationship with the outside world. They provide a unique and powerful set of motives for policy makers to globalise and to further open up their economy and society as a means to overcome the effects of genocide whilst at the same time preserving those traditional values that are seen as critical for national unity and reconciliation. Secondly, the differing geographical, demographic and economic contexts of the two countries have led to the adoption of differing developmental paths that we have characterised as a 'leapfrogging' and as an 'evolutionary' model respectively. Taken together, these factors lead to some differences in emphases in the skills required for development (see section five). We also suggest in section eight, that these factors have slightly different implications for the development of a skills development strategy in each country.

Revisiting Process Goals

It will be recalled from section two that the process goals of building the research capacity of the team as a whole, developing a collaborative research partnership and effectively disseminating the outputs of the research to research participants and a wider research audience were at the heart of the project design. These goals are crucial for the success of a project such as ours because the project depends on knowledge of the local context and of the policy-making process. It is also a key concern of DFID, the Rwandan and Tanzanian governments and increasingly of the broader research community, that project outputs are clearly articulated with local development goals, priorities and processes if they are to contribute effectively to the realisation of these goals. It is, therefore, worth briefly revisiting the three process goals.

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Firstly, in relation to research capacity building, all team members were involved in all stages of the project from design to report writing. Details of the form that this participation took are given in section two. The forms of participation allowed for the African based team members to develop awareness within the team as a whole of the two national contexts and development priorities. It also allowed for the collective knowledge about globalisation and skills development from other parts of the world held by individual team members to be pooled. At times this provided for an invigorating exchange of ideas! Working within the smaller country-specific research teams meant that each smaller team was able to share and develop research expertise that can potentially be utilised and built on in the future. Rwanda in particular is a very under-researched country, and the novelty and newness of research for some of the research participants generated considerable interest and excitement. It also presented challenges to the research team and meant that particular attention had to be given to explaining the purpose of the research project and methods to participants. The presence of an experienced Rwandan based researcher was critical for this process. In Tanzania, the study itself, also built upon successful doctoral research carried out by the lead Tanzanian team member (Dr Dachi) at the University of Bristol Graduate School of Education. The globalisation study also generated partnerships that expanded to include the wider involvement of Tanzanian researchers in the form of the Project Secretariat established at the University of Dar es Salaam (Department of Educational Administration). It is envisaged that this collaborative success will be continued in future – as with the new links so effectively forged with the Kigali Institute of Education in Rwanda. Developing a broader awareness amongst research participants and audiences in the country and regional workshops proved to be a valuable secondary process goal in itself and the hope is that the research project will contribute to the creation of a stronger research culture in both countries.

Indeed, the strengthening of educational and social research capacity within Rwanda and Tanzania could play a central role in the promotion of more genuine and realistic development partnerships, as envisaged in current discussions relating to new modalities of international development co-operation. Improved local research and evaluation capacity could, for example, assist local and national stakeholders to play a more effective role in influencing the nature and content of policy discourse, and in the shaping of priorities within the framework of current sector wide approaches to educational planning. This is a particularly pertinent issue given the focus of our research, and in view of the emerging critique of sector wide approaches as potential vehicles for increased external influence on national development agendas and related educational policies (see King and Buchert 1999). The strengthening of local research and evaluation capacity could also do much to help address problems perceived to be associated with the 'donor dependent mindset' (see section four) that some analysts suggest has underpinned many social and educational failures in the past.

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Secondly, in relation to creating a collaborative research partnership, the following points are relevant. To begin with, although full project meetings, a preparatory workshop and various smaller meetings were built into the project design, communication was not always easy because of the challenges of distance. All team members also had to balance the considerable demands of this project with other commitments. Furthermore, the development of genuine partnerships brings with it its own difficulties of differences of perception, opinion and understandings that need to be balanced through an on-going process of dialogue and communication. There were also issues and problems relating to differential resourcing of participating institutions and to Western dominated time frames. Nonetheless, the development of a successful, collaborative research partnership was demonstrated in the following ways:

- Knowledge of the local context in Rwanda and Tanzania, held principally by the African based researchers infused the initial development of the research proposal including aims, objectives, methods and outcomes. This in turn allowed for the project to be tailored in a way that was perceived as 'relevant' to local needs.
- The detailed knowledge that the two African based partners held of the national policy context facilitated a more informed choice of research informants than would otherwise have been possible. They were also able to facilitate access to participants in rural areas and to communicate in Swahili and Kinyarwanda with those who did not possess a working knowledge of English or who preferred to address the complex issues involved in their first language.
- The African based partners also facilitated easier access to locally based resources including workshop venues, tape transcribers and translators than would otherwise have been possible.
- The comparative, regional dimension to the research led to a constructive process of sharing experience of common issues, problems, policy ideas and priorities relating to globalisation and skills development between Rwandan and Tanzanian research participants particularly in the context of the regional workshop held in Dar es Salaam.
- The development of a collaborative partnership also facilitated the process of research capacity building described above.

The attempt to implement the final process goal, that of disseminating research ideas and preliminary findings to research participants and to a broader audience, led to a further set of benefits. It allowed for the iterative development of concepts such as 'globalisation' and 'skills development' through a process of dialogue between researchers and informants both during the interviews and the workshops. This not only helped the research team in our effort to contextualise these concepts, but also helped to raise awareness of globalisation and its implications for skills development amongst research participants. Related to this point, there is much in our study to suggest that the nature and assumptions of internationally,

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influential 'Skills for Development' initiatives would benefit from a more locally informed critique in themselves – if the agendas of external agencies are not to be both overly dominant and unrealistic for the diverse contexts in which they are applied. This process goal was not always easily achieved however. Globalisation and skills development are both notoriously slippery concepts and do not translate easily into Swahili and Kinyarwanda. Developing an awareness of the key issues relating to these concepts proved particularly difficult amongst the rural participants. Drawing wider attention to the research goals was also facilitated in the Rwandan context through holding a press conference with representatives of the Rwandan media in Kigali immediately after the in-country workshop. This was also done in Tanzania following the regional workshop meeting. Both the country and the regional workshop allowed for key stakeholders to comment on and elaborate key findings from the research and their contributions fed in directly to the development of recommendations for each country. It is to these recommendations that we now turn.

Recommendations

Detailed, country-specific recommendations concerning skills development priorities in Rwanda and Tanzania are given in the individual country reports. In this synthesis report the aim is to make some general recommendations that apply to the development of a skills development strategy in both countries. These recommendations draw on and extend the recommendations in the individual country reports in the context of a detailed comparative analysis of each country case study in relation to the international literature. They may also generate relevant insights for other low income countries in sub-Saharan Africa and even beyond, although this ought to be the subject of further research. Key elements of a skills development strategy were discussed in section eight. They may be summarised as follows:

Table 9.1 **Key elements of a skills development strategy**

- *A core vision*. We suggest a vision involving elements of a lifelong learning approach that have been tailored to local needs and contexts is appropriate for the two countries.
- *A proactive approach on the part of the state* to skills development. The state must work to facilitate and catalyse the development of processes that will result in a coherent skills development strategy and must play a leadership role, in partnership with key stakeholders in identifying and implementing skills development priorities.
- *A 'joined up' approach to policy making*. This means developing a national skills development strategy in relation to existing and future policy frameworks relating to poverty alleviation, economic development, human resource development policy, education and training, trade and industry, labour markets, industrial relations etc.
- *Support the evolution of a skills development strategy with an appropriate legal framework*. A skills development strategy relies on supportive legislation, e.g. in the fields of intellectual property rights

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- *The identification of suitable intra-government structures* to provide coherence and communication across sectors in relation to identifying and implementing skills development priorities.
- *A strategic approach to identifying and implementing skills development priorities* that recognises and balances different perspectives and interests from the private sector, civil society and the donor community and different policy goals relating to poverty reduction, economic competitiveness and gender equity and national unity.
- The identification and implementation of *appropriate mechanisms and tools for assessing skills development* needs in the formal and informal labour markets and in relation to future development priorities.
- Ensure that the principles of *good governance* are applied and are adhered to in relation to skills development, e.g. all relevant stakeholders need to be included in policy making; capacity for implementing skills development priorities needs to be developed in the state, the private sector and civil society; and, decentralisation needs to be strengthened through management and leadership training at all levels and the elimination of mismanagement and corruption where this exists.
- *Find ways to increase overall amounts of money dedicated to skills development priorities.* This should include increasing funds from both government and private sources.
- *Encourage private provision of education and training* to increase overall capacity for skills development and to allow for other benevolent spin-offs such as technology transfer.
- Harmonise external forms of support for education and training in terms of a *sector wide approach* to funding.
- *Develop a balanced approach to education funding*. We suggest an approach that seeks to meet the international development targets but also one that broadens the definition of basic education to integrate elements of vocational training and targeted support for secondary and tertiary education in key areas such as science and technology.
- Find ways to promote *equity in skills development* through targeted support for groups most at risk of exclusion from skills development opportunities (including women and girls and the most impoverished sections of society).
- *Put in place an ICT strategy*. A skills development strategy relies on a complementary ICT strategy that identifies and seeks to implement skills develop priorities within this field.
- Ensure that a national skills development strategy takes account of and is clearly linked to relevant *regional policies and frameworks* such as the SADC protocol on education and training and an emerging regional qualifications structure. The aim of increased regional co-operation ought to be to ensure greater compatibility and mobility between national systems of education and training and to provide greater efficiency through placing expensive training and research facilities on a regional footing.
- Put in place measures to *reverse the effects of the so-called 'brain drain'*. More research is required into the causes and effects of the brain drain and ways to address it drawing on international experience.

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- *Identify key priorities for the education and training sector to address*. We suggest for priorities building management and leadership capacity; mainstreaming gender issues; reviewing the provision of VET; curriculum reform at all levels; greater emphasis on ICT in education; the development of national curriculum and qualifications frameworks.
- Develop a *programme of research and consultancy* to support the development of a skills development strategy. This ought to involve building capacity for indigenous researchers and consultants.

In order to put in place the elements of a skills development strategy suited to local needs we make the following recommendations to the governments of Rwanda and Tanzania, the education sectors in the two countries and to DFID and the wider donor community. Rather than seeking to present definitive 'solutions', the recommendations are intended as contributions to the ongoing debates amongst policy makers in Rwanda and Tanzania about skills development priorities and processes.

a) Recommendations to the governments of Rwanda and Tanzania

i. The governments of the two countries ought to *establish a skills development task team*. The task team ought to have cross-sectoral representation and include all major stakeholders including representatives from the private sector, civil society, NGOs and donors. It should also draw on regional and international expertise and link clearly to emerging regional policy relating to skills development. The task team ought to advise on putting in place each of the elements of a skills development strategy identified in table 9.1 above. The task team could be established under the auspices of an existing ministry, department or inter-governmental agency.

ii. On the basis of the findings of the task team, develop a strategy document setting out the government's vision for a skills development strategy and putting in place measures for its implementation.

b) Recommendations to the Ministry of Education (Rwanda) and the Ministry of Education and Culture (Tanzania)

Specific recommendations relating to the education and training sectors of Rwanda and Tanzania are given in the country reports. Recommendations that relate to both country reports and to the elements of a skills development strategy outlined above are set out below.

i. The two ministries should *conduct a needs analysis of management training* at all levels of the system. Particular attention ought to be given to strengthening policy making capacity and leadership and management at the institutional level. This will provide a basis for putting in place suitable management training programmes. The ministries should also work in partnership with the private sector, NGOs and community based organisations to identify training needs in the field of policy advocacy capacity.

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ii. The two ministries should each *establish a gender in education task team* with a brief to better understand the position of women and girls in relation to education and training provision and make recommendations about how gender discrimination can be tackled in all areas of education and training policy and practice.

iii. The two ministries should *conduct a thorough review of the VET system in each country*. The review should pay particular attention to opening up opportunities for previously marginalised groups to more actively participate in training, making VET curricula more relevant to development priorities and local needs, institutionalising greater links between the providers of VET and key stakeholders including the private sector, finding ways to encourage greater private sector provision of VET, providing greater coherence within the sub-sector through a process of rationalisation of provision at different levels and, provide greater coherence at the level of outcomes between VET and other sub-sectors of education including primary and non-formal education.

iv. *Establishment of a national qualifications framework (NQF) working group*. The purpose of this group will be to commission feasibility studies into the establishment of an NQF in each country and what form such an NQF ought to take. The working group will need to operate within a vision of lifelong learning as it applies to Rwanda and Tanzania and to take account of international experiences of an NQF and of ongoing regional initiatives involving SADC and COMESA so that the evolution of a national NQF provides coherence with these initiatives.

v. The two ministries should also *establish a curriculum review working group* alongside an NQF working group. The two working groups should work closely together. The curriculum working group should review the existing curriculum provision against the backdrop of a vision of lifelong learning and against a careful assessment, involving all major stakeholders of national development priorities and labour market needs. The working group should report on initiatives from other countries that have attempted to move away from an exam-oriented and content driven approach to an outcomes based approach to teaching and learning and should commission studies of other countries where similar reforms have been attempted.

vi. The two ministries should *establish an ICTs in education working group*. The working group should work within the framework of the existing ICT strategy (in the case of Rwanda) and the evolving strategy (in the case of Tanzania). It should also work closely with the curriculum and qualifications task teams.

vii. The two ministries should conduct a financial review of the education and training sector. The review should involve all key stakeholders. The main purpose of the review ought to be to find ways of increasing revenues for education and training both from

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government and private sources in order to meet existing development targets and to develop a balanced approach to sectoral funding in line with national development priorities. This will involve linking funding for post-basic education and training to clearly defined targets for improvements to access and quality in not only primary, but secondary, vocational and tertiary provision as well.

c) Recommendations to DFID and to the international donor community

i. We recommend that DFID and the international donor community should find ways to *actively co-operate with the governments of Rwanda and Tanzania to put in place a skills development strategy* for each country.

ii. We also recommend that DFID and the international community should seek to *reform the HIPC initiative* in a way that sets a limit on the amount of government revenue that can be used to service debt and that provides clear incentives to channel government funds diverted from re-servicing debt to education and training.

iii. DFID and the international community should redouble their efforts to *reform international trade regulations* that discriminate against low income countries such as Rwanda and Tanzania. The purpose of reform should be to increase the revenues available to the governments of the two countries for spending on basic services such as education and training.

iv. DFID and the international community should continue to *fund research and advocacy in the area of globalisation and skills development*. Such research ought to take account of the need to integrate process goals of capacity building, developing collaborative research partnerships and linking project outputs to the local policy priorities and processes.

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Appendix A

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Appendix A

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Appendix B

Exemplar interview schedule

Interviews to be conducted (where possible) in the preferred language of communication of the interviewee or in English. Interviews to be translated and transcribed.

1. What do you understand by globalisation?
2. What positive aspects does globalisation have for development in Tanzania/Rwanda?
3. Can you see any drawbacks of globalisation for development?
4. Do you believe that globalisation is good for the country?
5. What skills are required by Tanzanians/Rwandans in order to survive in a globalised world?
6. In addition to what you have just said, to what extent do you consider the following skills to be important? (list skills from list)
7. To what extent do you believe that the education system provides the skills that you think are important?
8. What are the major strengths/ weaknesses within the education and training system in relation to providing these skills?
9. What are the key priorities in the future for the education and training system in order to provide the skills that you consider important?
10. Do you think that research plays a role in national development currently? Should it? If so, how?
11. Do you think that the country has the necessary capacity in skills to do the research that you think is important?
12. Do the state and the private sector currently share in providing the skills training necessary?
13. Should the role of the state/ private sector change in the future?
14. Do you think that there is equality of access to the skills that you think are important?
15. What do you think are the major factors that limit access to skills for different groups?
16. Do you think that everybody needs access to the same kinds of skills?
17. In this discussion of globalisation are we in danger of ignoring other fundamental skills of a more traditional nature (e.g. parenting, pastoral, raising a household, basic crafts, agricultural)?
18. What effect do you think that globalisation will have on cultural norms within the next ten years?
19. To what extent do existing cultural norms and values hinder or promote the skills for development that you think are important?
20. Are there traditional skills that you think contribute to national development that are undervalued by society?

Appendix C

Exemplar 'Map' of Stakeholder Perceptions of Globalisation and of its implications for national development

Views of globalisation (education sector)

Characteristics of Globalisation (scope and trajectory)	Implications for National Development		Implications for the role of the state, private sector and donor community		
	Opportunities	Threats	State	Private	Donor community
Inevitable (A, C,D,E,F); Potentially harmful (G); Opening up of the economy to the outside world, liberalisation of trade, cross border movement of capital and finance (A); Spread of ICT and its implications for global communications (A); Bringing in of knowledge and skills from outside (A,C,F); Spread of global culture and knowledge (A); Opening of internet cafes (D); Greater mobility (D); New forms of regional cooperation and trade (G); A globalisation trend is towards gender equity (G);	Development of human resources (A); Diversify towards service based economy (B); Diversification of skills in rural areas can create less dependence on imports (B); Development of bilingualism (A, B, F, G); Easier access to knowledge and information via the internet (D); Greater mobility (D); Through increased international competition we can become more creative and imaginative (F); Can learn from the mistakes of others in the region (F); Opportunities opened up by regional bodies (G); Don't need large infrastructure to build ICT capacity (G); One has to preserve those traditions that allow us to move forward (G);	Rwanda is landlocked with limited resources (A) Brain drain (A); Bilingualism is costly (B); Poor science and technology base (B); Limited knowledge base (F); Danger of being swallowed up by globalisation (G);	Principal provider of education and training (B,E); Must provide policy and regulatory frameworks (B); Needs to develop human resource development policy (G) More accountable for use for public money (B); Government musts regulate private sector and ensure compatibility with the labour market (B, E);	Significant provider of services like education (A,B); Fills in gaps in government provision (E); Needs to work hand in hand with higher education in identifying and solving problems and funding solutions (G);	Important source of funds and expertise (C);

Central Africa