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# THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICS IN CURRICULUM CHANGE AND INNOVATION IN TANZANIA

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### Abstract:

This is the library based paper that discusses on the influence of politics in curriculum change and innovation in Tanzania. The various definitions of curriculum, curriculum change, curriculum innovation and their differences according to different scholars have been dealt first. Then followed with a discussion on the sources of curriculum, types of curriculum change and innovation, factors (sources) of curriculum change and innovation, briefing the models of curriculum change and innovation, describing the curriculum change and innovation processes, a brief discussion on the major curriculum changes in Tanzania after independence and finally a detailed discussion on how the two jargons (change and innovation) are influenced by politics. Areas where politics intervene the change and innovation discussed are: formulation of education policy and philosophy, selection of what to be taught in schools, methods to be used, language of instruction and the evaluation strategies to be employed. The paper suggests that in order for the curriculum change and innovation to be profitable in the contemporary society, there should be a fair involvement of curriculum planners and the consumers. The consumers here are the students, parents, societies and other scholars who are not involved in politics.

Keywords: curriculum, curriculum change, curriculum innovation, politics, Tanzania

### 1. Introduction

The curriculum is one among the main concerns in the educational field. The word curriculum is originated from Latin word "*currere*" meaning 'to run a course'. The word curriculum means a course of study or a plan that provides learning opportunities in the form of knowledge, skills, attitudes, and beliefs. The purpose is to bring about

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changes and reinforce already acquired behaviour in the learner. In the context of the school system, curriculum is considered to be the totality of what pupils learn at school. However, for purposes of efficient management of the school curriculum, learning is categorized into different courses of study, i.e. the syllabuses. Thus, broad and narrow definitions of curriculum exist. Narrowly defined, the term curriculum can be used to refer to a planned, written academic program (syllabus), to co-curricular activities or to school ethos (hidden curriculum). Usually, broad definitions combine all the above. This suggests that actually curriculum is a set of desired learning outcomes and the structured set of learning experiences aimed at achieving such outcomes. As Marsh & Willis (1995) suggest, *'it is an interrelated set of plans and experiences that a student undertakes under the guidance of the school.'* It includes the behaviour patterns and attitudes of the pupils and staff and the general tone and ethos of the school or college.

Early in the twentieth century curriculum was seen as a course of study or a list of subjects or subject matters set out by teachers for students to cover. According to this view in those days and to some extent to-day especially in centralised systems of education, the curriculum is "written" by a team or panel of people comprising school teachers, Ministry of Education officials, school inspectors, staff from curriculum development centres, and so on (Osaki and Pendaeli, 1991). The resulting document popularly referred as syllabus is approved by the education authority or body concerned, mimeographed or printed and distributed as the official document to be used in all the schools in the school system, state or nation (in Tanzania the body responsible to approve the syllabus is the Ministry of Education, Science, Technology and Vocational Training (MESTVT) but is authored by the Tanzania Institute of Education). These courses of study or curricula contain the "ground to be covered" within a stipulated period of time. According to this view, the process of curriculum revision or improvement involves a re-writing of this course of study by removing, adding or altering topics here and there or by adding or removing an entire subject or subject matter area.

For example, in Tanzania the primary school curriculum was changed by replacing civics with political education and adding cultural and self-reliance activities. In Malawi it was changed by adding Malawi Young Pioneer. Normally, impressions of users of the curriculum constitute the basis for a revision; rarely are research and evaluation results used as a basis for change.

Later in the century the curriculum was thought of as "experiences". The main forces and factors which led to change in ideas or thinking about the curriculum include: changes in educators' knowledge of the nature of the learner and the clearning process; changes in our conception of knowledge; and the need to relate what is going on in the school to what is going on in normal life outside the school. For example, developments in psychology not only shifted the emphasis in the educational process from teaching to learning or from the teacher to the learner but they also triggered off changes in educators' conception of or thinking about the curriculum resulting in curriculum definitions with psychological orientations. For example, during the third decade of this century Caswell and Campbell (1935) conceived or thought of the curriculum as being "composed of all the experiences children have under the guidance of teachers" and the school.

Change and innovations are sometimes used interchangeably though they are different but closely related as one depends on the other. For example according to Meena (2009), the differences between the two terms seem to be a non-stop topic of discussion among researchers in education and in other field of the study. However as said before and according to Bucciarelli (2015) the two concepts have a cause and effect relationship where by innovation starts leading to change. Innovation can be the introduction of new and improved ways of doing things (ibid) or an adoption of new object, idea or practice by an individual group of organisation (Marsh & Willis, 1995). Tidd & Bessant (2009) define innovation can be in terms of inventions in the aspects of what we do, how we do, who we do for and how we frame it.

Innovation is assumed to be adoption of a new idea which affects the education system practices as according to Marsh and Willis (1995) arguingthat innovation goes beyond adoption of a new idea or object to mean a process encircling the useof newly planned ends and means which aim at improving the effectiveness and efficiency of the education system. From this perspective, we can say that curriculum innovation is the initiatives that are perceived to be new by those who introduce and experience them towards effective and efficient education practices.

Shen (2008) on the other side of the coin describes change as the adoption of an innovation with the ultimate goal of improving educational outcomes through an alteration of practices. According to Meena (2009), curriculum change refers to "any alteration in the aspects of a curriculum such as philosophy, values, objectives, organizational structures, and materials, teaching strategies, student experiences, and assessment and learning outcomes". Marsh and Willis (1995) describe curriculum change as a generic term that subsumes innovation, development and adoption concepts. Basing on these descriptions we can generally define curriculum change as a conscious, deliberate and collaborative effort to improve the education practices. This is made possible through the adoption of new ideas and beliefs on the curriculum components as suggested by Meena's definition such as (objectives, content, teaching and learning activities and assessment methods) which later leads to educational improvement.

Politics is a set of procedures by which some people try to dominate others formally, informally or social processes of influences (Joseph, 2015). Young, Levin & Wallin (2007) define politics as aprocess adoptedbya certain society to determine how power, wealth, opportunity, status and other social goods are distributed to members of that society. Basing on these broad definitions one can comprehend that politics encompass the power of an individual or group of individuals to have more influence in decision making than others. In planning educational objectives, content development, teaching strategies to be used to deliver the content, teaching/learning materials, assessment of the learning outcomes and evaluation of the learning outcomes, politics have big influence as it has power to dominate the decision in all those arenas of the school curriculum. Curriculum change is the "transformation of the entire curriculum scheme, including design, goals, content, learning activities, scope etc" (Taba, 1962, p. 452). It involves change in value assumptions on which all the aforementioned areas of the curriculum are based (Zais, 1976). Taba insists that to change the curriculum means, in a way to change an institution as it "involves change in values, people, society and culture, and basic assumptions about what constitute education and the good life" (Taba, 1962, p.454). It is not surprising to find that curriculum change usually occurs only very gradually and in response to the pressures of historical circumstances (Zais, 1976, p. 19). It is rarely that widespread, significant and lasting curriculum change has been brought about as a result of the efforts of professional educators as attempts to change the curriculum are resisted and individuals who engage in curriculum change should expect to assume the risks that accompany any attempt to reorder the society and its value structure (Zais, 1976). There are two arguments on the nature of the curriculum change:

"Change is inevitable as it will occur despite attempts to inhibit it. Change itself is neither good nor bad; it is the direction of change and the value judgement placed on it that determines its goodness or badness. It seems natural preferable that it be directed by intelligent human intervention than that it be allowed to occur randomly as a result of accidental historical circumstance." (Zais, 1976, p. 19)

### 2. Sources of the school curriculum

According to Tyler model of curriculum development, curriculum objectives are the criteria which guide selection of teaching and learning materials, content, developing instructional procedures and evaluation processes. The main goal of curriculum objectives is to make sure that the intended learner acquire skills needed to fit in the society and therefore learner and society are the sources of these curriculum objectives (Tyler, 1949). Basing on this importance of curriculum objectives, Tyler suggests that the decisions about what should be taught in schools should come from three sources, namely; subject specialists, learners and the contemporary society. The importance of learners and the society as sources of curriculum objectives is explained briefly below.

### 2.1 Learners as source of curriculum objectives

Learner is the centre of curriculum development process since each process puts learner as the first priorities. Education is the process of the behaviour patterns of the learner. A study of the learners would be to identify the required changes in behaviour patterns of students which the educational institutional should seek to produce. The study of the learner will help to explore the needs and the interests of the learners. The needs and interests of the learners are very important aspects in developing curriculum objectives. As education is the active process, involves the active efforts of the learners themselves. *"If the school situations deal with matters of interest to the learner, he/she will actively participate in them and thus learn to deal effectively with these situations"* (Tyler, 1949, p. 47).

### 2.2 Society as the source of curriculum objectives

The study of the societies aims at attaining cultural heritage, stability, solidarity and integration. The values of the societies are to be inherited by the learners through learning in formal setting. Inculcation of appropriate values and attitudes in the curriculum will provide to the learner strong beliefs and values in the fight against tribalism, racialism, corruption and stand for highly relevant values such as tolerance, fair play, justice and integrity in public life. Probably the consideration of these two sources of curriculum objectives is on building the so called social efficiency ideology and social reconstruction ideology as suggested by Schiro (2013).

According to Tyler, having a number of educational objectives then the psychology (about the nature of the learner and the learning theories) and philosophy of education (in case of Tanzania the philosophy of education for self reliance) should be used to screen them so that we get precise and achievable objectives into the curriculum. Marsh and Willis (1995) added that the decision over curriculum change and innovation can be influenced by different groups such as local community, students, parents, school boards, teachers union, professional associations, news media, national educational agencies, textbook publishers, employers and government. The influence happens in different ways, through rational or goal directed or political bargaining where everyone advocates the personal political interest. From these processes of political bargaining is when the curriculum is regarded as a political act.

### 2.3 Types of curriculum changes and innovations

Curriculum changes and innovations put more emphasis in teaching culture (teaching methodologies and learning styles) and the philosophy that accompany such a curriculum. For example a move away from traditional subject designs such as subject-based, knowledge-centred, teaching focused approaches to modern subject designs such as "student-based, competence-centred, learning-focused approaches that stress the educator's role as a facilitator of learning, rather than a transmitter of knowledge" (Huba & Freed, 2000; Jones, 2002; Merton, Clark, Richardson & Froyd, 2001). In higher education institutions, this is an example of small changes which are usually approved and implemented with a minimum discussion. A good example is that a subject can sometimes be postponed in a year when specialized staff is on long service or study leave. This type of decision is usually made by a Head of Department, or a small committee of staff administering the particular program (Gruba, Moffat, Sondergaard & Zobel, 2004).

# 2.4 Factors (sources) for curriculum innovation and change

Before changing the curriculum, the educators need to conceptualize as to why there is a need to change the curriculum. Tyler (1949, p.1) provides to educators four questions that they have to reflect when they want to change the curriculum

1. "What educational purposes should the school seek to attain?

- 2. What learning experiences can be selected which are likely to be useful in attaining these objectives?
- 3. How can these learning experiences be organized for effective instruction?
- 4. How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained?"

From these four questions, Tyler is addressing four important elements or components of the curriculum namely: curriculum aims or objectives, selection of learning experiences, organisation of the learning experiences and evaluation. The curriculum is a panacea device for instilling individuals with knowledge required in the society which is dynamic, meaning that it keeps on changing now and then basing on a number of factors. According to Emesini, Ogah & Eze, (2013), changes in the society bring about challenges, needs and problems that require updated knowledge and skills to address them and hence curriculum changes becomes an inevitable phenomenon.

Curriculum innovation and change is an incessant process that comes as results of a number of factors. Innovations are normally initiated when a certain group of individuals is not satisfied with education practices. The factors can be internal or external to the educational field or a specific nation. Curriculum may change if there is a change of government or the emerging of new technological, economic and social needs (Jansen, 2009). The curriculum is used as a tool for social, political, economic and technological development; hence any changes in such areas leads to curriculum innovation and change so that it addresses the new needs and demands. Msabila (2013) argues that national curriculum change as countries find the appropriate response in the constant economic, social and political change combined with rapid scientific and technological innovations. Gruba, Moffat, Sondergaard & Zobel, 2004, p. 44) pointed ten important factors influencing any curriculum change and innovations namely:

"Influential or outspoken individuals, financial pressures including resource availability, staff availability or workload, employer or industry viewpoints, current or prospective student viewpoints, student abilities or limitations, or intake considerations, pedagogical argument, or academic merit, university or government requirement or regulation, professional accreditation needs, or syllabi set by professional bodies and academic fashion including the desire to remain in step with other institutions".

According to Ijaduola, Odunaike & Ajay (2012), the following are among the factors that influence change and innovation of the school curriculum;

- a) Need to improve on the standard in the curriculum and this occurs when the experts and public opinion claim that the standards are questionable.
- b) Future expectations as reflected on the vision and mission of the philosophy guiding that curriculum.
- c) External factors such as global policies and crosscutting issues and;
- d) Creativity as curriculum may change because of experts creativity towards realization of educational objectives for example if they realize that the system of

assessment done is not relevant and they have discovered the new one which gives more relevant outcomes to both the students and the curriculum itself

### 2.5 Models for curriculum change and innovations

There several models which has tried to describe the process of curriculum change and innovations. The simplest and most overt models were developed by the curriculum educators namely Marsh and Willis in 1995. They provided two categories of models basing on either the sources are external or internal.

### 2.5.1 The change is from external influence

- **Research, Development and Diffusion model**: The model was initiated by Clark and Guba (1965) and it is widely used as it relies on empirical findings. The assumption is that curriculum change process is very systematic following empirical based procedures. The problem is identified, with empirical procedures solutions are found and then disseminated for implementation.
- **Center-Periphery (CP) model**: This model was developed by Schon in 1971. In this model innovations are prepared in prior and diffusion is centrally managed. The CP model put much emphasis on diffusion/dissemination of innovation from center to the periphery (top-down model).
- A negotiation model: This model was developed by McDonald and Walker (1976): the model describes the tension and stress that happen in implementing the curriculum innovations which are external to teachers and specific school.

These models by Marsh and Willis are supported by Pellegrin (1966, p.15) who postulates that:

"The greatest stimuli to changes in education originate in sources external to the field of curriculum. What I have shown is that the sources of innovation lie largely outside the local community and in most instances outside education profession"

By that statement there is a suggestion that curriculum innovation and change is not merely influenced by political phenomena but that it may itself be a political process in several ways. Kirst and Walker (1971) presented three important sources of curriculum change namely: groups that establish minimum curriculum standards, alternative generators and groups demanding curriculum change.

### 2.5.2 The change is from within the school

- **The proactive/interactive model**: the model assumes that internal forces within a school can initiate and implement curriculum change which requires rational and systematic communication.
- **Problem-solving models**: this model assumes that teachers can identify problems from their day to day implementation of curriculum and through a systematic process tend to solve.

#### 2.6 Curriculum change and innovations processes

According to Lachiver & Tardif (2002) as cited in Gruba, Moffat, Sondergaard & Zobel, (2004, p.4) curriculum change is managed in a logical five-step process as indicated below:

- a) "An analysis of the current offerings and context
- b) The expression of key program aims in a mission statement
- c) A prioritization of resources and development strategies
- *d)* The implementation of the targeted curricula change
- e) The establishment of monitoring tools and processes"

Generally the process of curriculum change originates from a small cohort of senior staff, but they are usually discussed by a teaching committee and debated widely. For such a reason there is a sense of shared ownership of changes (Gruba, Moffat, Sondergaard & Zobel, 2004). Though it would be fair to say that the collegiate decision making process is primarily applied to smaller changes, and that large changes such as the introduction of new postgraduate coursework programs tend to be driven and implemented by a small number of individuals (a good example is a recent PhD programme by coursework in the School of Education, University of Dar es salaam). However, it should be open that the major change requires to be initiated with great care. Bocock (1994) points out that to bring impact of radical change on staff then professional development including pedagogical training must be done carefully.

### 3. Major curriculum changes in Tanzania

There are several curriculum changes which have taken place in Tanzania from independence to date. Each change was triggered by either adding the content of the subject or reducing/replacing the content. The major curriculum changes that Tanzania has passed on are four namely: 1967 curriculum change, 1979 curriculum change, 1997 curriculum change and the 2005 curriculum change. Let see in brief on each curriculum change.

### 3.1 Curriculum change of 1967 in Tanzania

This change was triggered by the introduction of education for self-reliance (ESR) policy resulted from the Arusha declaration (Nzima, 2016). The Arusha declaration spelled out important pillars such as human dignity, cooperation and obligation to work. It was during this time when the education system and curriculum were reviewed to scatter the predominant colonial education in line with the Tanzanian context. This change resulted to primary school enrolment be compulsory to all children aged 7 years. ESR had its objectives namely: (i) to equip learners with knowledge, skills and attitudes for solving societal problems. (ii) to prepare youth ready for work in agriculture as was declared to be the backbone of Tanzania' economy. (iii) to enable learners know appreciateand develop a culture that could preserve the national

tradition, individual freedom, responsibility, tolerance and respect. It was from the ESR that Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere spelled out the important recommendations regarding education which are (i) education should be relevant to the society. (ii) Educated individual must serve the society. (iii) Education must be problem solving (iv) education must be work oriented and (v) educated people should be integrated with society (it is believed that from these recommendations, people were to live together popularly known in local people as "Mhamo" "shifting"). To meet these demand Kiswahili language was prioritizedas a national language and became the medium of instruction throughout primary schools taking out the colonial English medium (Msabila, 2013).

# 3.2 Curriculum change of 1979 in Tanzania

The ESR philosophy was still guiding the curriculum process. It was populated with "politics is agriculture". It is during this time when the school curriculum was organised according to the vocations leading to four biases namely agricultural, home domestic/home economics, commercial and technical schools. Subjects such as agriculture, business, engineering, technical and domestic sciences were taught in schools. The diversification of the curriculum made an opportunity for both teachers and students to engage in productive activities towards rural life. In turn students' assessment also changed to accommodate assessment of character behaviour, namely; diligence; valuing work; caring for property; sociability; obedience; honesty and cleanliness (Mushi, 2011). In that case, students had to pass both academic and character assessments. It was during the Musoma Declaration on education for all that increased the students' enrolment that in turn demanded more teachers and hence there were establishment of two programmes for preparing teachers namely BA(Ed) and BSC(Ed) (Nzima, 2016).

### 3.3 Curriculum change of 1997 in Tanzania

This change was a result of the presidential commission popularly known as Makweta Commission report of 1982 and the report of the National Task Force of 1992 on education. The commissions were given task of reviewing the education system and recommend possible measures towards addressing social and political changes. For example the Makweta commission came up with three major recommendations namely: (i) Elementary, adult education and education for the handicapped; (ii) Consolidation of the teaching of the 3Rs at the primary school level (iii) Improvement of technological and vocational education. This change was due to the changes in political economy from socialism towards that of liberalism of 1980's and the introduction of the multiparty system in 1992. The recommendations from the two reports gave rise of a Tanzania Education and Training Policy (ETP) of 1995. This policy affected each level of education at pre-school, primary, secondary and teacher education. Major changes in the curriculum as reported by Nzima (2016) were the reduction of subjects at the primary school level from 13 subjects to 7 subjects, introduction of new subjects named Social Studies and Life Skills at the primary school level, introduction of information,

computer science and civics to form I-IV, general studies was introduced at high school level, and lastly there were addition of crosscutting issues like HIV/ AIDS, environment, health habits and gender. Also during this change there was introduction of Teacher education at certificate and diploma integrating academic and professional subjects. Subjects specialization was introduced in the certificate of teacher education instead of taking all subjects taught at primary education level.

### 3.4 Curriculum change of 2005 in Tanzania

This change was pioneered by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) through TIE. The change aimed to change the curriculum from the dominated content based curriculum to the competence-based curriculum (CBC) (learner-centred curriculum). The change was due to the significance of competences required in labor market in the globalized world. The aim of the CBC was to improve the quality of education and to equip school leavers with solid knowledge, skills and attitudes to enable them strive academically and socially in the dynamic world (MoEVT, 2005). Competence-based curriculum have big changes in pedagogy and assessment (it is from these changes when UDSM revised the lesson plan by adding competence and assessment activities for the purpose of teaching practices). The CBC changed the role of teachers and learners as shown in the following explanations.

The teacher does learning tasks less, learners do more. These tasks are such as problems solving, discussions, drawing, dramatizing and role-playing (Osaki, 2001, Kasuga, 2012). The teacher does less in talking in discovering; learners do more discovering on their own and give feedback by talking more. Discovery is achieved through discussions, reading books, doing experiments, making observations, making interviews to people and participating in group works (Weimer, 2002). The teacher does more designing works for learners to do; learners do all the designed works effectively and in time scheduled. The works to be done by a teacher are such as preparing quizzes, assignments, instruments for experiments, books for reading, things learners to observe, topics for debates, projects to be done, drawing instruments, composing drama, games, songs, making sports materials and others (Khursheed, 2002). The decision was made to adopt a competence based curriculum as it emphasizes life skills and evaluates mastery on skills, necessary for an individual to function proficiently in a given society (Komba & Mwandanji, 2015). According to Paulo and Tilya (2014) in the implementation of the CBC, teachers are called upon using interactive, participatory teaching and learning techniques with good learning environment.

In 2007 the MoEVT introduced the ICT Policy for Basic Education to guide the integration of ICT in Pre-primary, Primary, Secondary and Teacher Education as well as non-formal and adult education. In implementation of this policy, ICT/information and computer studies subjects were introduced to primary, secondary and teacher education (MoEVT, 2007). It was during this time when teachers were required to have Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge (TPCK) to master the teaching of the competence based curriculum. This was a movement which probably raised the retooling project which was conducted in 2014-2015 in Tanzania with an emphasis on

the use of ICT to simplify teaching the complex topics in science subjects and mathematics.

### 4. Influence of politics on curriculum change and innovations in Tanzania

Politics in education and curriculum is an inevitable phenomenon as it influences the curriculum from the beginning stages of curriculum planning to curriculum evaluation. In Tanzania, as elsewhere, politics occupies a central place in the daily affairs of the nation. The political class seeks to control and manipulate the policy, either explicitly or implicitly. Education is usually an implicit tool in the trick of the political class (Freire, 1972). The influence of politics in curriculum development in Tanzania is best seen through the formation of various education commissions, committees, and working parties. Since independence, there have been several major commissions on the school curriculum. Due to the centralized system of education in Tanzania, all powerful nature of the politics in Tanzania most decisions on education especially those which results to innovations and changes are top-down.

It is believed that policy decisions are made through political processes. It is obvious that "politics is the process used by any society to determine how power, wealth, opportunity, status and other social goods are distributed to members of that society" (Young, Levin & Wallin, 2007). Curriculum politics is seen as part of the overall process of government and involves decisions about content such as what body of knowledge should be included or excluded from the curriculum (Joseph, 2015). Education is one of issue addressed bythe public policy. Connelly et al (2008) posits that "politics governs almost every aspect of education in relation to what schooling is provided, how, to whom, in what form, by whom and with what resources". The politics of a curriculum defines what is legitimate and valued and what is not (Lo, 2017). Every education is being politicized in decision making policy. "However this does not mean that every educational issue will be the subject of intense public discussion and political lobbying" (Connelly, 2008).

Curriculum development policy is seen as an integral part of the larger policy of education change. In Tanzania policy for education change is the ESR of 1967. In the centralised system the social and political objectives of education change are determined by the parliament and they are part of a larger policy for transformation of the society as a whole (Njabili, 1999). Thus policy matters that are likely to impinge on the education at any level are deliberated at parliament where it is assumed that members of the public are fully represented by the respective members of parliament. With this assumption it is taken for granted that members of parliament consult widely with their constituents over issues that are to be deliberated at parliament. It is forgotten that such members of parliament only are only intensively consult with their constituents with a heavy manifesto as they humble seek for votes just before elections and only come back again just before the next election with more promises than the first time (Njabili, 1999). The Tanzanian curriculum is strongly influenced by political forces at local and national levels. Examples of political decisions on the curriculum that resulted to curriculum innovation and change include the following:

- a) The nationalization of education and adoption of the Education for Self Reliance policy in 1967;
- b) Establishment of the National Examinations Council, 1971;
- c) The policy on Universal Primary Education in 1978;
- d) The Education Act 1978;
- e) The Presidential Commission on Education, 1980;
- f) The Education and Training Policy, 1995;
- g) The Education Sector Development Programme including its components viz. PEDP, SEMP, TEMP, SEDP, and higher education policy.

Through such policy decisions and goals of education have shifted, objectives have been re-defined, new education structures were set up, new strategies have been worked out, syllabus contents have been reviewed, and new mechanism for evaluation have been adopted. Politics affect the way the curriculum is designed, organised, implemented and managed. As such, curriculum change and innovations in most cases generate discussion, conflict, and political resistance. Politics in the decision to take a certain path arises even if the changes intend to improve practices and standards on curriculum objectives, content, teaching and learning methods or assessment techniques and certification standards. Fiske (1996) argues that change in curriculum brings discussion, conflicts and political resistance because it have political consequences, including affecting who gets hired and promoted as well as on the status and professional life of educators. Change and innovations bring conflicts of interest between political leaders, donors and other educational stakeholders.

As it has been pointed earlier, the four major curriculum changes were first triggered by political leaders who then directed the authority to implement what the political leaders have decided. From literature and experiences politics has influences in all elements of the curriculum.

- Politics define the goals determine content, learning experiences and evaluationstrategies in education.
- Curricular materials and their interpretations are usually heavily influenced by political decision.
- Entry into different educational institutions and the examination systems is influencedby politics.

While political leaders are in favour of a curriculum that protect and maintain their status quo donors and other external agencies use their economic power to dictate the kind of values being attached in the curriculum of the developing countries (Phillips & Hawthorne, 1978). The situation is believed to create winners and losers depending on how powerful one is in influencing the adoption of curriculum change and innovations. In Tanzania students, parents and teachers all cases are considered as losers as they are not involved in making final curriculum decisions. For example teachers perform the key roles in curriculum implementation and evaluation as they:

- Prepare teaching materials such as teaching aids, textbooks, guides;
- Prepare the content to teach;
- Develop tests, assignments, projects, portfolios, experiments;
- Carry out classroom instructions;
- Plan interesting and meaningful learning experience for students;
- Use a variety of instructional materials and procedures;
- Integrate various resources into lessons;
- Monitor, record, and report the students growth and achievement;
- Manage the classroom environment;
- Adapt instruction to students' intellectual, emotional, social and spiritual needs;
- Relate instruction to students' home and daily lives.

Despite the mentioned roles, teachers together with their students, parents and the society at large becomes toothless dogs in terms of decision making, planning and suggestion on what should be innovated and changed in the curriculum instead both the educated and non educated political leaders using their positions dominates the processes.

As it has been speculated briefly on the curriculum changes earlier, Tanzanian curriculum has undergone different changes and innovations which aimed at producing the results that would in glory to both national and global objectives. Curriculum design, development and evaluation are and will always be special cases of political behavior (Monchinski, 2007). It is of evitable for sure as a political value because all the activities are directed towards influencing or controlling decision about value allocation. Different stakeholders such as learners, parents, teachers, book publishers, government and others use curriculum to promote personal values especially on the content of the curriculum. The clash of influence at a point affect the curriculum values as some values have to go into the curriculum because of the great power of those who favour such values and for this case the political leaders. Politics in curriculum change and innovation sometimes occurs as a result of elite's pressures through school leaders, and resisted or transformed by teachers as they negotiate their roles with students (Waks, 2003).

Politics influences curriculum from national level to the lowest decision making level i.e district level. Some authors have baptized them as macro and micro levels of political influence in curriculum design, development and evaluation (Nkyabonaki, 2013). Due to the influences of politics in curriculum design, development and evaluation, it goes in the same vein affecting curriculum change and innovations. Politics play a corner stone role on deciding on what to be taught, how it should be taught, how students should be assessed as well as financing the whole curriculum development and implementation process (Marsh & Willis, 1995). The political influence is overtly observed in the centralized curriculum where most of the curriculum decisions are made by the central government through different organs where in case of decentralized curriculum the influence over what children are learning arises almost at all levels, from the national to the local government.

Tanzania has the education system that is centralized and hence has a single curriculum all over the country. Decisions on what to be taught, how to be taught, materials to be used and how to assess are all decided by the government through its organs. Therefore, with the centralized curriculum most of curriculum innovations and change are done on the basis of top-down framework. A publication done by Kiwia in 2000 has an argument that, in the Tanzanian context, there is a tendency for educational initiatives to carry multitudes on the political objectives rather than an educational one. This implies that political objectives dominate other objectives, including those over curriculum change and innovations hence ignores others sources as suggested by Tyler (1949). Kopweh (2014) added that political context has more influence over the success of any changes in curriculum content and methods.

To answer the question and understanding that curriculum change and innovation being political activity is to rely on the fact that change and innovations are products of the political process and depends on political will for its successful implementation. Kiwia (2000) elaborated that in Tanzania policies are introduced through a statement from the central political organ and subsequently through government directives. One of the notable parables is the 1967 decision to adopt socialism and Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) philosophy was made by the central committee of the ruling party (TANU) and advanced by the late Mwalimu Nyerere.

As a result of the ESR philosophy, the succession of five year development plans between 1964 and 1980 witnessed a significant expansion of primary education and hence increased the enrolment exponentially. These efforts were followed by the formation of three programmes named 'the national economic survival plan of 1981, the economic recovery programme of 1986 and the economic and social action programme of 1988' (MOEC, 1996). Despite the formulation of these programmes, there was a minimal change of national aims emphasizing primary schooling be a cycle of learning rather than a selection mechanism for advancement to secondary education. The issue of politics influenced curriculum by then where the budget in education instead of rising, it was decelerating year after year. For instance the central government budget allocation to the MOEC was dropped from 11.7% in 1980/81 to 3.3% in both 1993/94 and 1994/95 (MOEC, 1996).

In order to transform the national aims into action, several attempts were made in the 1970's and early 1980 where there was localization of the primary school curriculum through emphasizing the integration of theory and productive work. It was then expected that this strategy to learning, through drawing on contributions from parents, agricultural workers and artisans from the villages would enable children to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes for community development. Basing on the ESR Kent and Mushi (1995, p. 42) cemented its political nature by stating that:

"The policy of ESR could therefore be perceived as a political yet pragmatic response to defuse the emerging conflict between the ideology of the state anxious to stem urban migration and the expectations and aspirations of Tanzanian families who perceived that educational progression was the vehicle through which their children gained passage from rural, low paid agricultural employment to urban, relatively well paid employment in a parastatal organization. In national political processes such as curriculum making, voice is mirrored through the positioning of the voice and authority of who gives orders. In addressing the authority and positionality of voice the question of power, is also critical who exercise power and through which voice." (Chisholm, 2003).

The Adoption of the ESR philosophy resulted in curriculum change through a series of measures which aimed at eliminating the colonial education by implementation of ESR, particularly changing the content of the curriculum, organization of the schools and the entry age into primary schools (Nyerere, 1967). The schools curricular were to be organized in such a way that it is complete with necessary ingredients and children were to be enrolled in primary education at the age 7 years so that when they complete standard seven could be 14 aged and then join the family in farm work and other productive activities (Kopweh, 2014). On the other hand in 1973 the secondary education curriculum was diversified in four vocational biases namely agricultural, commercial, technical, and domestic science lines to ensure that students acquire vocational knowledge and skills for the provision of service in society. The ESR policy had advocated a work and service-oriented curriculum. Its purpose was to make the curriculum relevant to productive work situations in order to solve the problem in the society especially unemployment which is partly considered a result of a mismatch between what is learnt at school and what the community does/require (Sifuna, Malekela & Mwiria, 1990).

Politics have been seen in the decision of the language of instruction to be used in different levels of education. In Tanzania, Kiswahili which was popular used during the struggle of independence as the effort of Mwalimu Nyerere in bringing unit had been used as a medium of instruction at primary education and certificate of teacher education while English was a medium of instruction from secondary education level, diploma in teacher education and higher education (MoEVT, 1995). This decision to use English from secondary level to other higher levels is believed to have been done by the president under the influence of the British Council as it was the colon that surrendered to give Tanzania its independence though there were still some influences in the country (Brock-Utne, 2002). There has been an endless if not unresolved discussion on which language should be used as medium of instruction at different level of education. Meanwhile English and Kiswahili remained to be taught as a subject at primary and secondary levels respectively. The hot debate among academics and the public at large in Tanzania is to whether Kiswahili should be used as a medium of instruction throughout all levels of education (Vuzo, 2010). There are some stakeholders who argue for Kiswahili to be used as a medium of instruction at all levels and others who claim for English language to be adopted and used at all levels.

Amazingly, neither government nor TIE has provided the overt directives on the prolonged debate. Accompanying to the new education and training policy of 2014 the confusion on language of instruction is still problematic. The policy states that the government will ensure that Kiswahili is used as a medium of instruction at all levels of

education and on the other statement, the policy claim that English will be used as a medium of instruction at all levels of education.

Through such policy statements, policy makers have failed to make a decision by ending up being undecided, meaning that the country is in-between which has great effects on the future of the nation as Kopweh (2014) supports that change of the language of instruction have been slow to come by as the use of English versus Kiswahili has often been politicized.

Government officials and politicians' tendency of substituting being educated with fluent in the English language have an influence on decisions on the use of Kiswahili at all education levels. To prove that, most of well off people, government officials, and politicians do take their children abroad or to English medium schools. Generally, the decision on the language of instruction proves how curriculum change and innovation is a political activity because if it would have been done in favour of academic excellence and national development then the governments would have been used educational experts such as teachers, parents and students to make none contradictory statements.

The change in the political system in Tanzania from mono-parts to multiparty system in 1992 resulted to a curriculum change and innovation as during a single party system there was a subject known as Siasa/political studies which aimed at teaching political ideologies and praising the ruling party. The introduction of multiparty system had an overt impact on the school curriculum especially on civic education. Komba (1996) argue that the adoption of multiparty led to a change of subject name from Elimuyasiasa to civics which assumed different names for different levels of education. It was renamed as Elimu ya uraia for primary schools and Teacher Training Certificate level, civics for ordinary Level, General Studies (GS) for Advanced Level in Secondary Education and Diploma in education level and Development Studies at Degree levels. Renaming these school subjects as a result of new adopted political system show how curriculum change and innovations is a political activity as the school curriculum was used as an instrument towards imparting political ideologies and values.

There have been politics in adding or removing the content of subjects by the power of political leaders while for sure the know and believe that knowledge is nobody's property and hence should not be identified with a single person, there has been incidences in Tanzania where individuals get credit of introducing changes and innovations (Kiwia, 2000). The political leaders have clandestinely using their power towards curriculum change and innovation to justify their presence and showing that they are working to win majority popularity (this is probably what others call political prostitution and hypocrite). Levin (2007) argues that every government is thinking all the time about how to improve its prospects for being re-elected, which means trying to do what voters want (it could be better to use this loop to listen what they suggest on the curriculum). Therefore, the government does everything in the shadow of elections by taking much consideration of voters' views (Njabili, 1999). In that case, curriculum changes and innovations are done on the basis of political influence. For that matter, some politicians under the umbrella of different government positions made an

uninformed decision over the school curriculum. For example the minister of education by then called Mungai made a review of the curriculum by omitting some subjects in the curriculum and merging others in 2006. Merging physics and chemistry at lower level secondary education to form physics with chemistry was a major scandal. This was surprised even to the head of state by then president Kikwete. This president's surprise over the decision is for sure revealing that the decision was made on political grounds and is attributable to mass popularity towards maintaining their status quo. Educational experts were not involved in making decisions; hence its implementation was rejected. Nkyabonaki (2013) argue that teachers signed a petition opposing the Minister's decision which was once revoked.

A notable and critical and perhaps the irritating political influence can be observed in curriculum assessment and curriculum evaluation. One of the issues that make students and the society unhappy is the practice of changing grading system of students' achievements in their final examinations. The grading system that has been used in Tanzania for many years since 1973 is total grading system with Divisions (Division I, II, III, IV and 0). However, in 2013 the Ministry of Education decided to start using Grade Point Average (GPA) system. This decision was confronted for what they claimed to match secondary school grading system with that of higher learning institutions to ease selection of students. This was not a joke as we witnessed secondary school graduates of 2013 and 2014 were graded on GPA basis. People were not happy with such system especially educational experts as such decision was used to hide the mass failure using the total grading system at CSEE. In nut shell GPA has a tendency of inflating performance compared to the total grading system. This system did not continue as was abandoned in 2016 after complains from the people but the decision was made clandestinely withoutevidence to justify the benefits of using a Division system that guarantees the abandonment of GPA system. Form this scenario it is obvious that the decision is a political parameter asLevin (2007) argue that from a political perspective evidence and experience are not enough and may be less important factors to drive decisions, what matters is what people believe to be true than what may actually be true.

The prestige of the office permits government officials particularly president using the organs underneath to set national discourse and debates about education and specifically on curriculum. (Marsh & Willis, 1995) In Tanzania president's office has power and this will continue to have direct influence over curriculum innovations and change. Flashing back as have pointed earlierwhen discussing the major changes that have taken place in Tanzania there were appointmentof commissions by the presidents such as Presidential Commission of Education of 1981 (Makweta commission) and the National Task Force on Education of 1990. These two commissions were appointed by the president and hence were to work for the sake of safeguarding the president. Several recommendations were suggested from such commission such as the use of Kiswahili as the medium of instruction in secondary schools though this was not accepted as the use of English was given priority from British confrontation. It was from these recommendations that necessitated the formulation of the education and training policy of 1995.

The government plays part in financing education through annual budget. If there some of unanticipated developments and crisis affects financial stance of the central governments as in turn the financial flow to government institutions and projects including the Tanzania Institute of Education activities. As suggested by Levin (2007) that sometime government responds to unexpected events like an economic downturn, a natural disaster, or some other new development by taking attention and resources away from other activities that was on the priority list. Currently, there are multitudes of public servants fighting for the payment of the accumulated salary arrears and others. This may be could have been caused by the government during that time failing to balance the budget and hence created an accumulation of debts for the workers. Therefore, curriculum innovations and change are a political activity as it depends on the financial position and political will of the government.

Not only the politics of the specific country influences the curriculum change and innovation but there are other international agenda and economic policies such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948, world declaration on Education for All of 1990, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Dakar Framework of 2000. In response to the UDHR and EFA education, especially elementary was made as a right of everyone, free and compulsory regardless of any differences. Towards achieving the MDGs goals Tanzania had to implement the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) and Secondary Education Development Plan (SEDP) in phases for improving quality of education and access (Kitta & Fussy, 2013). The Dakar framework had an emphasis on eliminating gender disparity at all levels of education, harnessing ICT and combating HIV AIDS through education programmes (UNESCO, 2002). In response to this in 2003 Tanzania established national ICT policy following by the introduction of TEHAMA in primary schools and computer studies subjects in secondary schools (Lawrent, 2012).

In teacher education programme politics is a corner stone for the running and changes that have happened. As stated before the PEDP and SEDP programmes gave an exponential increase of community secondary schools and increase of student's enrolment. These on the other hand increased the demand for more teachers to an extent that the government was to find alternatives to curb the situation. Teacher education was expanded aiming at preparing subject specialists who could teach the expanded primary and secondary education sector. Certificate and diploma of teacher education were lowered from two to one year of residency training. It was in 2005 when upper secondary school leavers (Form six) were recruited and trained for a month (crash programme) (I remember I was one of them) and being sent to teach community secondary schools. As a long term plan, new teacher education programmes were established with reduced completion time. According to Nzima (2016), the newly established degree programmes were Bachelor of Arts with Education (BA. Ed) and Bachelor of Science with Education (BSc. Ed) were established with reduced duration from four years to three year.

The dependence of developing countries including Tanzania on economic and developmental assistance has been of strong influence over curriculum change and innovations. Here we are talking the donor influence that in Tanzaniais traced back soon after independence in adoption of socialism ideology as Ngowi (2009) is arguing that development assistance was basically given based on political ideological sympathies. Dependence on assistance from socialist oriented countries resulted in adoption of socialism ideology in Tanzania. This came into reality through the Arusha declaration where the decision to follow socialism was made and then education being used as an instrument towards such end by introducing a philosophy ESR.

In line with the discussed international agenda, there are other external forces that have direct political influence in curriculum change and innovations. Developed countries do influence education system and curriculum of developing countries through the power of persuasion and conditions attached to development loans (Al'Abri, 2011). This influence have been used for what it is said supporting developing countries to achieve the millennium development goals and other global policies. In 1979 the World Bank influenced the implementation of the vocationalised curriculum in secondary education through loans (Mushi, 2012). The loan was provided with the condition that it should be directed only to skills required for productive and economic activities otherwise sanctions could arise. This condition was based on the economic crisis due to the oil crisis resulted from the Tanzania and Uganda war of 1978.

Assuring quality of curriculum materials and assessment has also been politicised as currently it faced with problems of approving unqualified textbooks. The process of quality assurance was mandated by Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE), Education Materials Approval Committee (EMAC), NECTA and Inspectorate commission. TIE has a mandate to assure quality of curriculum materials during development stage, EMAC was responsible in approving curriculum materials especially textbooks. On the other hand, inspectors and NECTA assure quality at curriculum implementation and evaluation respectively. These organs are just the leaves of the tree as they are not autonomous because they affiliated to the big tree, the ministry of education which in turn is under the government. As stated before the government activities are monitored by the parliaments who have their political interest. Recently members of parliament were in debate concerning the quality of textbooks approved ready for use in schools. One Member of Parliament lamented that the concern was not only the typing errors but were not relevant in the new competence-based curriculum (Muneja, 2015). The other issue was the textbook approval process being corrupt as a result EMAC has been approving textbooks of low quality (Kira & Bukagire, 2013).

### 5. Conclusion

Curriculum change and innovation is inevitable in improving the curriculum for better fulfilment of the needs of society. In doing these, entire politics stand ahead in decisions making and triggering those effort towards change and innovation. The argument here is that due to the centralised system of education, politics has power to determine the nature and process of curriculum from top-down hierarchy. What is the issue here is the lack of involvement of stakeholders in the whole process of curriculum change and innovation. If this is not taken into consideration, then all what is happening will be for the will of the politicians.

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