

Education in Africa

How effective are the education systems in Kenya and Tanzania? Historical review and current comparison

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Above: CDF scholarship holders in Kenya (Kendu Bay) 2019

Below: CDF scholarship holders in Tanzania (six young women, one young man) in Zanzibar 2019; on the left behind Barbara Schmid-Heidenhain and CDF manager Vuai

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Foreword²

Education is a broad field. It embraces not only simple physical skills and artistic abilities, linguistic capabilities and cognitive abstraction, simple knowledge, and the understanding of complex relationships, accumulated personal experiences and the great traditional stories. But also, it includes the presence of the mind, i.e. the ability to apply these skill and knowledge at the right time, in the right place and to the right person, even if it is only in conversation in the form of a good metaphor or an apt proverb, a gift that is particularly valued in Africa.

We can hardly find a better source for this ability than in the famous novel by Chinua Achebe, "Things fall apart". It is the wonderful story of the hero Okonkwo – who unfortunately ends tragically after achieving respect and wealth in the village through wrestling, political skill, hard work in growing of yams, but above all through his accurate and poetic sayings. Here are just a few examples from the dozens of proverbs in this novel:

"The sun will shine on those who stand before it shines on those who kneel under them."

"Youth that proves itself is honoured even in old age."

"When the moon is shining the cripple becomes hungry for a walk."

"A man who pays respect to the great paves the way for his own greatness."

"Whenever you see a toad jumping in broad daylight, then know that something is after its life."

"You always only see the splinter in the other person's eye."

"Men have learned to shoot without missing their mark, and I have learned to fly without perching on a twig."

"Flying without perching on a twig" no longer seems to be part of education in our "modern" Western culture – wrongly, as we will see. The acquisition of education is now almost exclusively assigned and attributed to public institutions: kindergartens, general and vocational schools, colleges, and universities. Until the second millennium (2000), the result of this educational mandate was soberly described as accumulated "human capital" and measured by "input", i.e. the number of years of schooling that children and young people enjoy on average. The level of education in a country was therefore the number of children

² This essay (as of 03/06/2024) is a component of a multimedia project (e-book) Engagement in Africa by G. Schmid and B. Schmid-Heidenhain. The many [Hyperlinks](#) are intended to provide interested readers with a deeper understanding or even to check and verify. Criticism and (encouraging) comments are welcome. As the original version was addressed to the German audience, many links lead to German sources. However, with "google chrome" as the default browser, the English translation option can be used except for pdf-files. In the latter case, we tried to find English alternatives, but not always with success.

Another component is a video film (45 minutes long): *We all need to grow-up. But do we "develop"?* Education in Berlin and Germany, addressed to children and young adults in Kenya who we support; the link to this film can be provided on request.

The third component is a comprehensive report *"The Child Development Fund (CDF) in Kenya: Useful NGO or post-colonial relic?"* enriched with hyperlinks, photos, video clips, and interviews, to be downloaded on the CDF-Website www.childdevelopmentfund.com under "other media."

who actually went to school. In Chinua Achebe's time, schools were still out of reach for many, especially for girls in rural areas.

If we do not choose Nigeria, Achebe's homeland, but Kenya and Tanzania from the fascinatingly diverse continent of Africa, this is primarily for purely biographical reasons: we have travelled to these two countries several times, having supported and sponsored children there since 1986; since 2009, the activities of our foundation have concentrated ["Child Development Fund"](#) on these two countries, with a focus on education for girls; contacts with writers and artists were the reason for deepening our experiences, partly also in [Publications](#) and through [Exhibitions](#) documented.

In addition, over the years we have increasingly felt the need to assure ourselves: Do our activities and their focus on education still make sense? Is education really the key factor for development in Africa? Especially in the countries that we now know better? What evidence is there for this? How effective, in particular, are the education systems in Kenya and Tanzania? What explains their differences? What does German development policy contribute to education in both countries?

Public attention is also increasingly turning to Kenya and Tanzania. Not only because of the still inadequate processing of the colonial era, but also because of the leading political and economic role of both countries in Africa. German and European development policy - so we argue - is not giving due consideration to the importance of [Education](#) for the [Development](#) not only young African people, but also entire countries and nations on the African continent. This applies to Kenya as well as Tanzania.

Today, practically all children go to school, at least part of the time in Africa, but the [average length of school attendance](#), the current life expectancy of the population of over 25 years in Kenya is only 6.3 years and in Tanzania 5.8 years, which is only half as long as the 13.2 years in Germany (2015). The differences become even more problematic when we consider the [Primary school graduation rates](#) regard. In Germany, all children successfully complete primary school – at least formally – and gender differences no longer play a role. In Kenya and Tanzania, significant differences can still be seen even at this level: in Kenya, only 71 percent of girls complete primary school, while in Tanzania, the figure is 83 percent, a possible indication of the early equality policy in Tanzania. In contrast, the [Upper secondary school graduation rates](#) In Kenya, the average parity rate is 50 percent in favour of girls, as in Germany (parity indicator 1.03), but in Tanzania it is only at the level of 11 percent to the detriment of girls (parity indicator 0.93).³

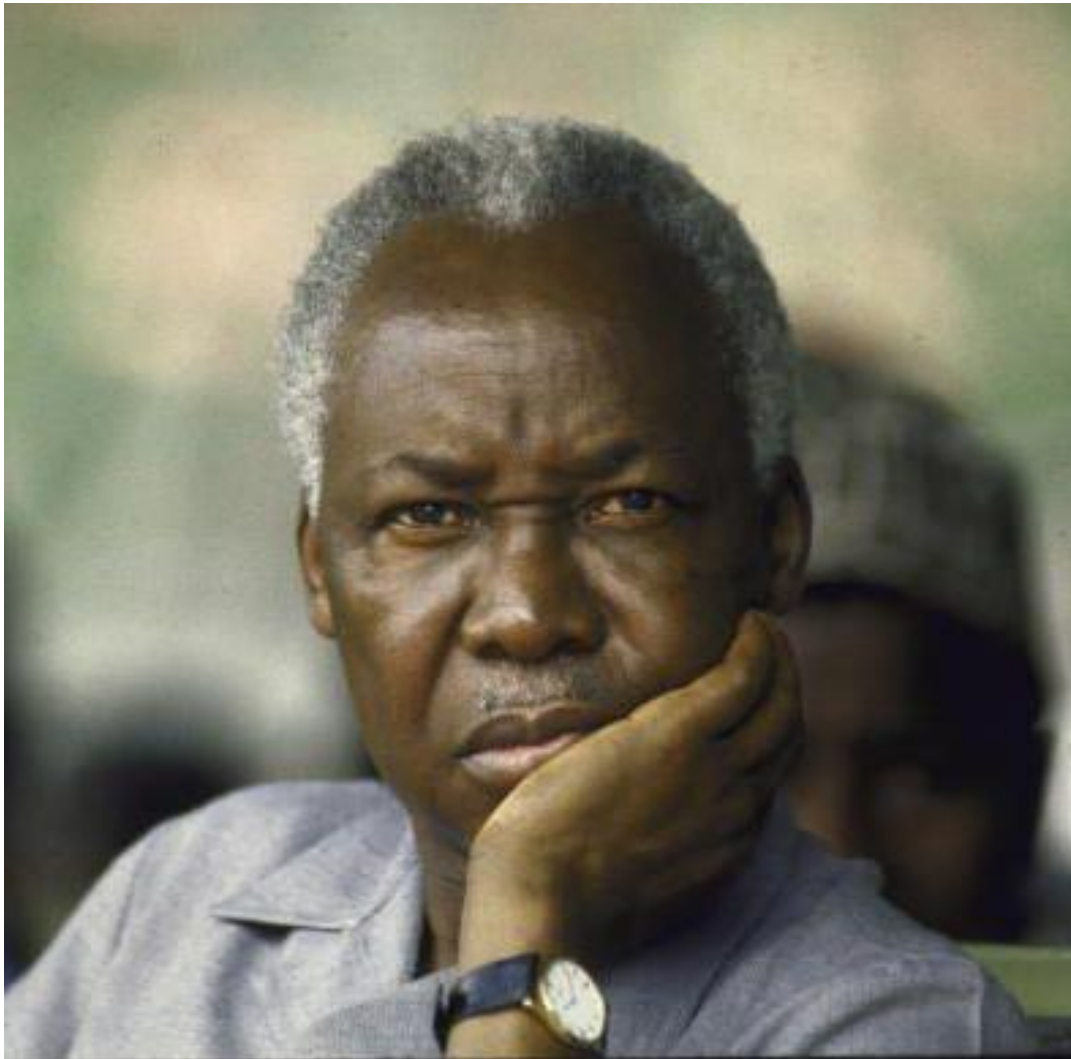
We now measure and evaluate education in a more differentiated way. In the framework of its 'Sustainable Development Goals,' the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

³ The corresponding figures for Germany are 78 percent (down from 88% in 2010) with a parity indicator of 1.08 in favour of girls.

Organization (UNESCO) uses 43 indicators that focus more on outcomes and less on participation as such. Probably anyone who takes the trouble to read the latest education report from the [UNESCO](#) will be quickly reminded of the saying "you can't see the forest for the trees". We hope not to lose sight of the beautiful "forest of education" in the following report.

A historical review can help to consider this proverb. At the time of Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere (1961-1985), participation in education was still the focus. This should be remembered when we briefly outline Nyerere's first statements on education. The Tanzanian people had good reason to revere their first president as "Mwalimu" (teacher), not only because he had previously held this position, but also because he always acted as an educator at home and abroad mastering the art of proverbial wisdom – mentioned at the beginning – like hardly anyone else. His views – which he liked to broadcast on the radio at the time – are therefore even more important. He therefore takes precedence in the following.

1. Julius Nyerere's ideas on education and development



Daily News: https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=Foto+Julius+Nyerere#imgrc=MAL5kuo0D0Ut4M&imgdii=z9fNKyeIW09_FM

Nyerere was born in 1922 as the son of a Zanaki chief near Lake Victoria. He was not allowed to attend school until he was 12. Under the influence of missionaries (here the White Fathers) he converted to the Catholic faith, which he practiced until the end of his life. A scholarship enabled him to study in Edinburgh, Scotland in the early 1950s. Back in Africa, he founded his own party with the support of trade unions, the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the forerunner of today's leading "Party of the Revolution", [Chama cha Mapinduzi \(CCM\)](#).

In the two decades of his presidency, Nyerere developed into Africa's undisputed intellectual leader, as many of his writings and [Biographies](#) document. Nyerere's political philosophy of Ujamaa ("village community, family and community spirit") shaped the principles of "African socialism", in which education was assigned a special role in economic and social development. Nyerere's principles can still be seen in Tanzanian educational institutions

today, and they partly explain the different level of performance of the Tanzanian educational system compared to Kenya, as we will see.

In the programmatic Arusha Declaration (February 5, 1967), Nyerere lists two conditions for the country's development: hard work and intelligence.⁴ Work comes first, but it should be "intelligent". In the words of the great teacher, this intelligence at that time consisted primarily of passing on the knowledge of the older to the younger generation: a large hoe brings greater yields than a small one, and an ox-drawn plough is even better. Pesticides and knowledge of soil quality and the seasonality of plant growth and similar experiences are other components of intelligent agriculture. Scientific research into mechanical cultivation methods or the processing of agricultural products were not yet considered in this program.

For Nyerere, the financing of education was of course a public task, if it was not free through personal passing on. The financing of higher education by parents or loans, which is practiced in many countries, especially in the USA, was unthinkable for Nyerere. Especially since he had a reserved relationship to money and capital anyway. For him, money in the sense of credit or loans was not part of "intelligent" economics. On the contrary, in his early writings, Nyerere considered thinking in monetary terms to be stupid or at least "dangerous" for development. Money is the "mammon" of capitalism, "hard work ... the root of development" in socialism. The Arusha motto therefore verges on naivety: capitalism exploits people, in socialism people cooperate on an equal footing. This simplified (and constantly repeated) equation of capitalism with (colonialist) exploitation can, in retrospect, be seen as an obstacle to the development of a genuine Tanzanian welfare state model – and perhaps also for other African economies and societies.

The fundamental Arusha Declaration, which Nyerere held on to for a long time, is silent on details of the education system. In [later speeches](#) he clarified his ideas. Two points are striking and – as it were genuinely Nyerere – which he always repeated in variations: First, the aim of education is to strengthen the “social ethics” that prevails in the country; second, education should always be a cooperative effort and not serve individual advantage. He therefore took it for granted that – in addition to passing on the rich treasure of silent knowledge – a good general education and free access to this knowledge for all were a necessary condition for “intelligent” agriculture. To ensure this, Nyerere nationalised the education system – in addition to nationalising banks and companies – but soon had to make concessions to the established structures, especially of the religious and increasingly Islamist-

⁴ For Nyerere's ideas on education, we used the following literature: Julius K. Nyerere (1966), *Uhuru na Umoja / Freedom and Unity – A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1952-1965*, Dar es Salaam, Oxford University Press; (1968), *Uhuru na Ujamaa / Freedom and Socialism – A Selection from Writings and Speeches 1965-1967*, Dar es Salaam, Oxford University Press; (1973), *Uhuru na Maendeleo / Freedom and Development – A Selection of Writings and Speeches*, Dar es Salaam, Oxford University Press; (1977), *The Arusha Declaration Ten Years After*, pdf; (2008), *The Arusha Declaration – Rediscovering Nyerere's Tanzania*, preface by Madaraka Nyerere, introduction by Selma James, London, Crossroads Books; (2011), *Freedom and A New World Economic Order – A Selection from Speeches 1974-1999*, Oxford University Press (The Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation).

based private schools. Basic education, however, remained free and freely accessible to everyone, including girls. Nyerere paid particular attention to adult education (literacy) – with rapid and globally recognised success: During his reign, the [Illiteracy rate among adult Tanzanians](#) (age 15+) to about 15 percent, but then rose again and is now (2021) 18.2 percent; [Illiteracy rate among adult Kenyans](#) is only slightly lower at 17.1 percent (2022).

Education in the sense of further development through basic research and learning to learn were not included in Nyerere's early ideas. Quite the opposite. In a famous speech at the University of Dar es Salaam in July 1966, he appealed to the conscience of the teaching staff and students that "pure research for its own sake" was a "luxury" given Tanzania's current level of development; priority was given to applied research to combat poverty and accelerate economic development. Every student must also be prepared to undertake physical work in the countryside, in construction or in the communities. Only in later speeches and writings did Nyerere recognize the high value of basic research: His research group, which he led, [“Southern Commission”](#) (1987-1990) emphasized more than before the individual side of development: *“Development is a process which enables human beings to realize their potential, build self-confidence, and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment. It is a process which frees people from the fear of want and exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic, or social oppression”* (p. 10 of the report). The commission also expressly recommended that the allocation of resources to "science and technology" and the corresponding "education and training" be given much higher priority than before.

To sum up, it must be stated that despite his studies of English literature, history and social economics in Edinburgh, the popular teacher Nyerere – at least at the beginning of his term in office – insisted on a concept of education that had strong traditionalist African features. From this perspective, it is not so much the school as the village or the community that educates and trains children. Consequently, the "village", i.e. its adults, must also be included in education insofar as they cannot yet read or write to reliably pass on their knowledge. In keeping with his philosophy of self-reliance, Mwalimu Nyerere concluded that all efforts should initially be concentrated on education in primary schools and the literacy of adults. A primary school certificate is initially sufficient for life, and primary school should therefore not be viewed as a preparatory stage for secondary school. Nyerere's ideas about higher education were, on the one hand, strongly humanistic and philosophically based, and on the other hand, they reflected a deep aversion to the educational inequality experienced in England, particularly the educational arrogance of the elite. The scientific and – yes – the enlightenment tradition of scientific education were not very pronounced, at least not in the young Nyerere.

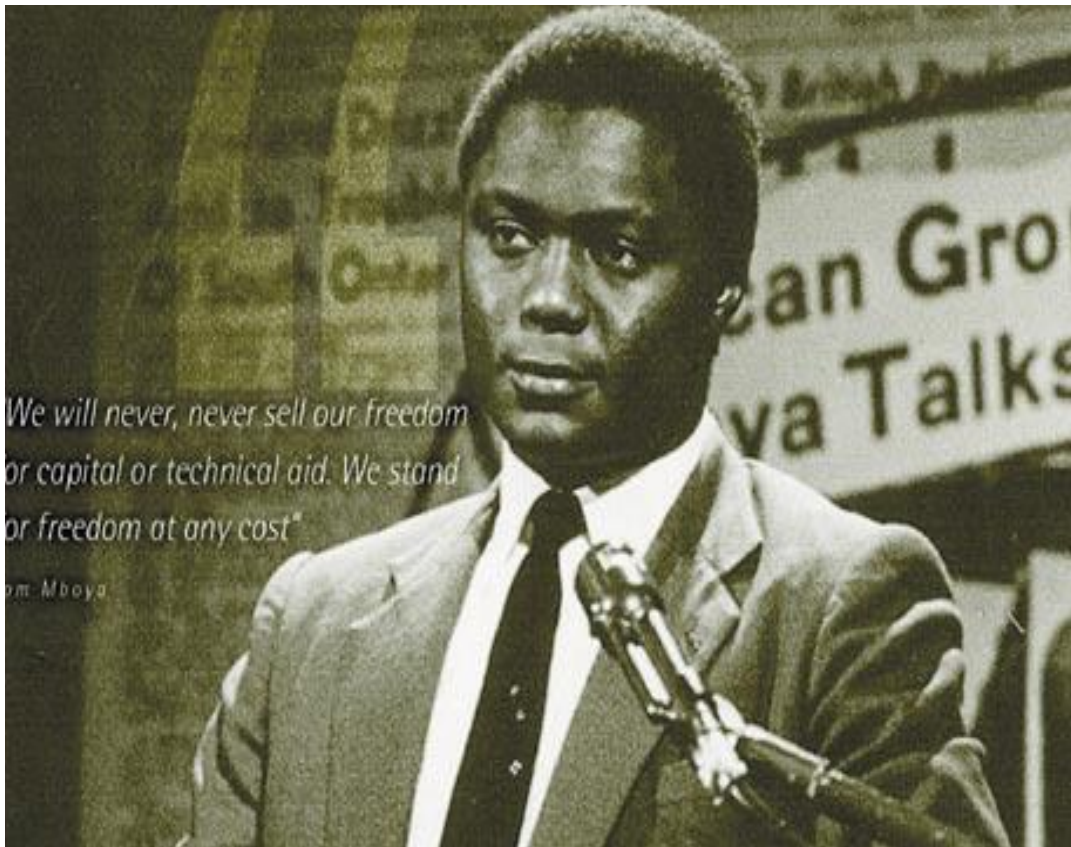
This raises the question: is this the root of the still relatively low performance of the Tanzanian educational system today? Just as Gandhi's idiosyncratic concept of education partly explains the under-development of education in India declared against China or South

Korea.⁵ Like Gandhi, Nyerere was almost a fanatic of practice-oriented education. This initially went so far that he obliged schools to maintain farms on which students would work, not only to practice the use of the hoe, but also to learn modesty in the face of any educational arrogance. In addition, these farms – and thus also the students – were supposed to partially secure the schools' upkeep. This view also explains why Nyerere was at loggerheads with university students in Dar es Salaam in the first years of his presidency. Many rebellious (and at times even striking) students were therefore sent to the countryside - as if for resocialization. In contrast to Gandhi, however, who held on to the caste system until the end of his life, Nyerere stood firmly for the principle of equality in education, including for girls and young women, and thus against any privileging of social classes.

To answer the question of whether Nyerere's presidency is still having an impact today, we need to take a closer look at the Tanzanian education system in the context of economic and social development. The "causal" question can best be answered through a comparative perspective. That is why it makes sense to compare Tanzania with its neighbouring country Kenya: both countries are of a similar size in terms of geography and population; both countries have a colonial history; both countries achieved independence at about the same time: Tanganyika in 1961 (united with Zanzibar in 1964 to form Tanzania), Kenya in 1963.

⁵ This can be read in the excellent study by Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen (2013), *An uncertain glory: India and its contradictions*, London, Allen Lane (Penguin); also recommended because the connections between education and development are well addressed.

2. Tom Mboya's ideas about education and development



Cover from: "An Evening with Tom Mboya," published by Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, Nairobi 2006.

Tom Mboya, born in 1930, was the eldest son of a devout Catholic Luo family. His father worked in the sisal fields of Thika, northeast of Nairobi. Although the Luos otherwise mainly live on Lake Victoria, he came therefore into close contact with two other large ethnic groups through several stints at Catholic mission schools in the geographical centre of Kenya: The Akambas and Agikuyus. He soon mastered three African native languages, and early English lessons also promoted his talent as a great communicator and mediator between the large – and linguistically divergent – Kenyan ethnic groups.

After completing secondary school, he attended the *Royal Sanitary Institute* in Nairobi. As a young medical inspector, he quickly came – as he remembers⁶ –into contact with British racist discrimination. Outraged, he turned to trade union politics and in 1951 joined the *African Staff Association*, an association of black government employees, of which he was elected president. He oversaw its transformation into a national union in 1952, a predecessor of today's Kenya Trade Union Confederation [COTU](#). In 1953, he lost his job and devoted all his energy to the trade union movement. He soon became its general secretary, a position that opened the door to the international trade union movement.

⁶ See his memoirs "Freedom and After", published already in 1963, London, Andre Deutsch.

A scholarship from the British Trade Union Confederation enabled him to study political science and economics at Oxford University (Ruskin College) in 1955. With a degree in *Industrial Management*, he returned to Kenya in 1956, where the British colonial government had just crushed the Mau-Mau uprising. He was the first African to win the election for a seat in the *Legislative Council* of the colony. Dissatisfied with the minority of African members of parliament (MPs), he founded the Kenyan People's Congress Party. He shared with Nyerere [pan-African](#) goals and also sought contact with Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana, the first African republic to emerge from a British colony. However, Nkrumah had partly different ideas about education than Nyerere, which we will discuss later.⁷

The career of the young Tom Mboya was – like that of Nyerere – breathtaking. In 1958, at the age of 28, he was elected chairman of the *All-African Peoples' Conference* founded in Accra (Ghana). In 1960, following the example of Tanzania, trade union and political movements joined together to form the *Kenya African National Union* (KANU) in order to appear across the country's ethnic boundaries at the London Conference, where Kenya's independence was being prepared. From 1960 to 1969, Tom Mboya led KANU as Secretary General, and in this capacity also led the Kenyan delegation in London. The lack of education among the Kenyan population played a central role in the negotiations on independence there. Tom Mboya used this situation – caused by the colonial powers – as an offensive weapon: "Without education there can be no government, no democracy, and no justice."⁸ In December 1963, Kenya celebrated its independence.

In 1961, Tom Mboya was elected to parliament for the Nairobi constituency and in 1963 was appointed Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs. For a time, he also held the office of Minister of Labour and eventually became Minister of Economic Planning and Development. During the period of government formation, he published several political articles, including a manifesto for "African Socialism", which was adopted by the Kenyan parliament. These writings coincide conceptually with the approaches of Nkrumah, Nyerere and Kaunda.⁹

In the middle of his career, which threatened to overshadow even freedom hero and President Jomo Kenyatta, 38-year-old Tom Mboya was gunned down in the streets of Nairobi on July 5, 1969. The assassin – who was probably hired – was convicted and hanged; speculation

⁷ We recommend the dissertation by Peter Häussler, long-time director of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation in Dar es Salaam: *Leadership in Africa: A Hermeneutic Dialogue with Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere on Equality and Human Development*, PhD Thesis HSSPET003/PhD, submitted to the Department of Social Development, University of Cape Town.

⁸ This saying was remembered by Harry Belafonte, whom Tom Mboya met in the 1950s. Belafonte was a committed supporter of the airlift for Kenyan students to America; see: Tom Shachtman (2009), *Airlift to America: how Barack Obama, Sr., John F. Kennedy, Tom Mboya, and 800 East African students changed their world and ours*, New York, St. Martin's Press, with a foreword by Harry Belafonte.

⁹ Kenneth David Kaunda, the first President of Zambia from 1964 to 1991, was also – apart from his autocratic style of government – a strong advocate for an African education

about the reasons and the "great man" behind this assassination is still present in Kenya.¹⁰ In the last decades of the last millennium, however, Tom Mboya got almost forgotten.

Only recently has the memory of him returned, as can be seen in the founding of universities bearing his name (e.g. in Homa Bay) and the Tom Mboya Labour College in Kisumu, as well as in the growing tourist appeal of his mausoleum on Rusinga Island (Lake Victoria). Finally, his life's work was remembered again through the rise of Barack Obama to the American presidency: Obama's father (Barack Hussein Obama, Sr.) had spoken to his Luo friend Tom Mboya shortly before the assassination. He was one of the first to profit of the [Airlift Africa 1960](#), which Mboya had negotiated in a crucial role with the industrialist [Scheinman](#) and John F. Kennedy.¹¹ In 1959/1960, this airlift brought 285 students to New York on four separate flights, where they were then distributed to various American universities and provided with scholarships. Among those on the first plane – along with other personalities who later became prominent, such as the Kenyan Nobel Prize winner Wangari Maathai – was Obama's father.¹² The decision of many of these students to study in America was deliberately directed against the elitist British education system.

Education as a prerequisite for development was so obvious to Tom Mboya that he rarely reflected on it or addressed it in writing. However, his close contacts with the USA, his several months of travel there and his lecture experiences left clear traces. Back then, in the 1950s, the British made sure to disparage the American education system. Only a thin and select elite gained access to the prestigious and British-run Makerere University in the capital of Uganda in the 1940s, and even less later to British universities: Nyerere was one of the lucky ones; Mboya was granted this privilege at least in part through his connections with the British trade unions.

In the American education system, Mboya recognized the priority of a socially open and performance-oriented education as opposed to the socially closed, even snobbish elite-orientation in England. On the other hand, he became convinced that higher education was a priority at the beginning of economic and social development. His acquaintance with John F. Kennedy and his convincing speeches on the importance of education reinforced this impression.¹³ In addition, the civil rights movement of Martin Luther King, whom Mboya

¹⁰ Tom Mboya was gunned down on 5th July 1969 at the age of 38year, at Government Road (now [Moi Avenue](#)) Nairobi CBD after visiting Chaani's Pharmacy. The assassin Nahashon Isaac Njenga Njoroge upon his arrest he asked "why don't you go after the big man?" Due to such statements, suspicions arose that Mboya's shooting was a political assassination.

¹¹ An important link between the two was [William X. Scheinman](#), whom Tom Mboya had met in 1956 on a lecture tour in New York. Scheinman was secretary of the American Committee on Africa (chaired by Senator Kennedy), co-founder of the American-African Student Association, philanthropist, and entrepreneur (aircraft parts in Kenya). Eventually close friends with Tom Mboya and his family, he was buried next to Tom Mboya in the Rusinga Mausoleum.

¹² Barack Hussein Obama, Sr., studied in Hawaii, met Obama's American mother there, but then returned to Kenya after completing his studies in New York and separating from Obama's mother.

¹³ At an event in Palo Alto, for example, Kennedy said, "Education is, in truth, the only key to genuine African independence" (quoted in Shachtman, op. cit.)

also got to know on his lecture tours, was slowly gaining a foothold and bearing its first fruits for African Americans.

At an event organized by the Kenya Committee for Human Rights in 2006,¹⁴ Tom Mboya's companions recalled: When formulating the first National Development Plan from 1964 to 1970, difficult decisions had to be made: between public consumption in the form of free education, free healthcare and housing or public services, investments in agriculture, infrastructure, and the corporate sector. Although the urgency of general education was undisputed on all sides, Tom Mboya had pushed for free education to be concentrated on the tertiary and upper secondary levels to meet the skilled labour needs of the emerging economy. The results were impressive: annual economic growth of a good seven percent and correspondingly growing state revenues. This would have been enough to finance the infrastructure for primary and lower secondary schools in the 1970s.

We can draw an interim conclusion: Tom Mboya, in stark contrast to Nyerere, prioritized higher education from the outset. Like Nyerere, he condemned any elitist educational presumption, but was impressed by the American credo of competition and scientific excellence. His influence ended with his violent death. The question of whether traces of his ideas can still be found in today's educational system requires an in-depth and comparative analysis of the Kenyan educational system, which we will now turn to.

¹⁴ [Kenya National Commission on Human Rights](#) (ed.) (2006), *An Evening with Tom Mboya*, P O Box 74359-00200, Nairobi, Kenya, © Kenya National Commission on Human Rights.

3. The education systems of Kenya and Tanzania

3.1 *Comparison of the basic features*

The education systems of Tanzania and Kenya are similar, with two important exceptions. Kenya still practices the 2-8-4-4 system: 2 years of pre-primary school, 8 years of primary school, 4 years of secondary school and 4 years of university or college. However, this system will expire in 2028; in 2017, the 2-6-3-3-3 system was introduced as part of the competency-based curriculum (CBC): in this, two years of preschool, six years of primary school, three years of lower secondary school, three years of upper secondary school, three years of university. In contrast to the 8-4-4 system, progress in secondary school now depends on achieving a certain number of points. The main reason for this was the overcrowding of the higher secondary levels, which led to unbearable teacher-student ratios. This system may also already be outdated. The comprehensive inventory of the recent [Reform Commission](#) recommends speaking of junior and senior secondary schools, administratively standardizing the school system up to tertiary studies, slimming down the curriculum and giving more weight to technical and vocational training.

The Tanzanian education system has so far been more differentiated in the middle range: 2-6-4-2-3+: i.e. two years of preschool, 6 (previously 7) years of primary school, 4 years of lower secondary school, 2 years of upper secondary school, 3 or more years of college or university. This structural difference is probably also a reason for the fact that a stronger selection has been observed in the Tanzanian educational process to date than in Kenya: While in Kenya the sharpest cut took place at the transition from the longer primary school to secondary school, children in Tanzania have to overcome two further hurdles (Form 2 and Form 4) in the lower secondary school as part of nationwide examinations to move on to the upper secondary school (F5, F6), two hurdles hardly to overcome especially for girls or young women, as we will see in a minute.

Table 1 reflects the differences between the two education systems using several indicators. First, the transition rate of pupils from primary school to secondary school is considerably lower in Tanzania at around 56 percent than in Kenya at 95 percent; the slightly different figures from UNESCO confirm the large difference even in recent times and in Kenya's policy, which set itself the early goal of 100 percent transition. Second, the enrolment rate shows that considerably fewer children or young adults in Tanzania reach college or university level than in Kenya. In addition, despite a larger population, considerably fewer children and young adults are enrolled in colleges or universities (44.5 vs. 31.8 percent); however, at this level there is no evidence of comparatively greater discrimination against young women (row 7). The structurally stronger selection is also reflected in the significantly smaller number of Tanzanian young people abroad.

Table 1: Indicators of the education systems of Kenya and Tanzania 2023¹⁵

	Kenya	Tanzania
(1) Population in Million (2021) * Change 1960-2000 / 2000-2021 in %	53.0 298/72	63.6 243/85
(2) 15–24-year-olds in millions in % population **	11.9 21.1	12.6 19.9
(3) Education expenditure (public) in % GDP	5.0	3.4
(4) Transition rate from primary school to secondary school in % ***	95.0 [89]	56.3 [44]
(5) Enrolment rate in % year group	10.0	7.8
(6) Total students in % of 15-24 years old	527.833 44.5	399.885 31.8
(7) Female students in % of all students	238.831 45.2	181.390 45.4
(8) Students abroad in %	14.060 3.1	7.131 1.8
(9) DAAD Grant recipients - Grant recipients from Germany - Grand recipients from abroad	133 1268	133 410

*) Source: own calculations on [Google Search](#)

**) For comparison: The proportion of 15–24-year-old in Germany is 10 percent

***) Proportion of pupils who move from primary school to secondary school, in Kenya after the 8th year of primary school, in Tanzania after the 7th year of primary school; in Kenya, data for 2019 [Republic of Kenya](#) in Tanzania Data for 2013 ([The United Republic of Tanzania-UNICEF](#)) [Information according to [UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report 2023](#) for the year 2021, Table 2, p. 363].

The support provided to students by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) is low in both countries, but even lower in Tanzania than in Kenya. The [DAAD](#) low numbers related to Kenya are due to the following reasons: The fact that the Kenyan secondary school certificate is not recognized in Germany as a university entrance qualification has a negative effect on the attractiveness of a bachelor's degree in Germany. If you do not already have good German language skills, you must expect to spend at least two years to gain access to

¹⁵ Sources, unless otherwise stated [DAAD for Kenya](#) and [DAAD for Tanzania](#). As this article originally was written in German, some of the links refer to German sources; in the case of DAAD, the English speaking readers might visit <https://www.daad-kenya.org/en/>.

university (one year for language acquisition and one year for the preparatory college). Since there is an ever-widening range of English-language bachelor's degree courses in Germany that require less German language skills, it is particularly unfortunate that Kenyan school leavers cannot make direct use of this opportunity. Another barrier to studying in Germany is the guaranteed sum (currently this sum is 10,236 euros per year) that is required to obtain a study visa. In addition, Germany is only the 10th most popular destination for young Kenyans to study. Unfortunately, conclusions for German development policy from these deplorable facts have not yet been drawn.

Finally, public spending on education in Tanzania measured related to economic performance (gross domestic product) is 1.6 percent points lower than in Kenya. Given the different population dynamics, this could be one reason for the lower number of students compared to Kenya. Compared to around one tenth in Germany, young people aged 15 to 24 (i.e. in the age-range of upper secondary school or vocational school, college, and university) make up almost equally two tenths of the population in Tanzania and Kenya. In Kenya, the rate of population growth has slowed over the past two decades, but to a much lesser extent in Tanzania. However, Tanzania's education policy has not kept pace with the population explosion: at the beginning of Nyerere's presidency (1962), there were around 10 million people living in Tanzania; in 2021, there were almost 64 million; by 2050, 128 million are expected – a further doubling. This dynamic was further fueled by the birth-promoting family policy of President Dr. John Magufuli (2015-21). His policy even went so far as to exclude pregnant young girls from school, a step that his successor Samia Suluhu Hassan reversed.

Another key contextual feature for understanding the differences between the two educational systems is language. Despite his penchant for Shakespeare¹⁶ which Nyerere even partially translated, his offensive language policy consolidated Swahili as the national language – not only officially, but (in contrast to Kenya) also de facto, including linguistic and grammatical refinements. English is increasingly disappearing from Tanzanian colloquial speech¹⁷ while in everyday life in Kenya “Sheng” is increasingly spoken, a mixture of Swahili and English.¹⁸ While in Kenya, lessons are taught in English from primary school onwards, in Tanzania this is only the case from secondary school onwards. Teaching materials in Tanzania, however, are predominantly in English from secondary school onwards as well as in colleges or universities. So, the language barrier for Tanzanian children and young people is higher than in Kenya, probably one of the reasons why many young Tanzanians drop out of school or perform poorly; furthermore, many teachers in Tanzania do not get on well with English.

¹⁶ Regarding the early spread of Shakespeare (practically in many backpacks of British and German soldiers, missionaries, or researchers), we recommend the entertaining and informative book by Edward Wilson-Lee (2019), *Shakespeare in Swahililand. A literary search for traces*, Munich, Luchterhand (translated from English by Sebastian Vogel).

¹⁷ At Nyerere's instigation, even English-language novels are said to have been banned from libraries, if not burned.

¹⁸ According to the current constitution in Kenya, Swahili has been one of the official languages of parliament along with English since 1992, and every candidate must demonstrate knowledge of both languages. However, all parliamentary decisions must be made in English.

Both countries are also struggling with a relic of colonial elite education, even if its importance has already declined significantly: craft, entrepreneurial or agricultural-vocational training is still frowned upon by many or is rarely offered.¹⁹ This applies not only to Kenya and Tanzania, but to virtually all regions of sub-Saharan Africa, as one [Conference proceedings](#) (financed by the VW and Bertelsmann Foundation) documented in detail and from various perspectives.

In addition, the emigration of newly qualified academicians (*brain drain*) is a constant danger. According to Karim Hirji²⁰ for example, a former professor of mathematics and statistics at the University of Dar es Salaam, this type of migration continues today, regardless of ethnic origin. According to him, eight percent of trained doctors tend to emigrate to "juicier pastures"; 40 percent stopped practicing after a short time because they found better earning opportunities elsewhere. The more qualified, the greater the tendency to emigrate or to switch to a well-paid job with the government that no longer has much to do with the profession they trained in.²¹

Furthermore, and according to our own experience, the quality of schools varies greatly from region to region. The urban-rural differences are significant in both countries, and in Kenya there is also a north-south divide. Moreover, parents who can afford it are increasingly sending their children to fee-paying private schools in both Tanzania and Kenya, which have better infrastructure or more qualified teachers. In rural areas of Kenya, boarding schools are playing an increasing role at secondary school level, due to the population being scattered across hamlets and villages; but even the publicly funded boarding schools require a substantial contribution from parents.

In Tanzania, primary schools have long been free of charge, thanks to Nyerere, but secondary schools have only been free of charge since 2016. Nevertheless, parents still must pay contributions for food, infrastructure, textbooks, uniforms, etc.; and now and then for minor bribes (tutoring, exams). Additional costs for accommodation arise – as in Zanzibar –

¹⁹ Dual vocational training is almost non-existent in Zanzibar, and at the middle level there are only a few, but very expensive, technical colleges such as the Kizimbani Agricultural Training Institute (KATI), the Institute for Public Administration (IPA) or the College of Health Science in Stone Town.

²⁰ We especially recommend his entertaining autobiography, which also describes the position and role of the Indian minority in East Africa [Karim F. Hirji \(2014\), Growing up with Tanzania](#) Memories, Music and Math, Dar es Salaam, Mkuki na Nyota; we mention his name also because this unusually productive intellectual explicitly deals with the relationship between education and development, e.g. in the following books: Karim F. Hirji (2017), *The enduring relevance of Walter Rodney's: How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Dar es Salaam, Daraja Press; *ibid.* (2018), *The Travails of a Tanzanian Teacher*, Dar es Salaam, Daraja Press; *ibid.* (2019), *Under-Education in Africa: From Colonialism to Neoliberalism*, Ottawa, Daraja Press.

²¹ Contrary to traditional belief, however, migration research states that the emigration of educated workers brings a net benefit to the sending countries; see H. Brücker et al. (2012), *Understanding highly skilled migration in developed countries: The upcoming battle for brains*, in: T. Boeri (ed.), *Brain drain and brain gain. The global competition to attract high skilled migrants*, pp. 15-208. Research indicates that this emigration can be more than compensated for by remittances, later returns (brain circulation) or positive effects of improved networks (positive externalities).

when schools for the upper secondary level F5 and F6 are only open in the next larger city; registration and examination costs are also still common in the upper level.

The central problem in both countries – according to many reports, including the [UNESCO](#) – is the low quality of teaching staff at all levels. This is accompanied by frequent absences from regular classes which applies not only to teachers but also to students. Although absenteeism among teachers has decreased, an absence rate of 47 percent was still measured in 2016 (14% absent from school, 33% did not show up for class).

For Tanzania, a [World Bank report 2021](#) The main reason is a lack of motivation due to low salaries, a lack of opportunities for additional income (*marupurupu*), poor learning and working conditions and the low social status of the teaching profession.²² Our experience in Zanzibar is that frequent absence of pupils leads to the common practice of locking pupils up in so-called camps at the school for two to three months before the national examinations, so that they are present from Monday to Friday and from morning to evening (including overnight stays).²³

Finally, the teaching methods are mostly outdated, i.e. frontal teaching, memorization and "multiple choice" tests predominate. For girls, the situation is made more difficult by the fact that they are still often asked to help in the family; that there is no sanitary support during their period; or that they are even – as already mentioned – banned from school if they are married early or pregnant.

3.2 *Comparative assessment*

At the end of this section, we turn once again to the comparative evaluation of the two education systems. What advantages and disadvantages can be identified in these education systems, and how can the – sometimes – striking differences be explained? To assess this question, we need a more comprehensive spectrum of the quality characteristics of an education system. Fortunately, the [Mo Ibrahim Foundation](#) offers current information. Its 2023 Governance Index report, as part of the [Human Development Indexes](#)²⁴, also monitors the development of education systems using five indicators:

1. *Educational equality*: This indicator measures the gender parity ratio in primary and lower secondary education and assesses the extent to which high quality basic education is guaranteed to all citizens.

²² [All our 13 scholarship holders](#) (plus one scholarship holder) in Zanzibar indignantly rejected the idea of taking up a teaching profession.

²³ In addition to the parents, the headmaster in Jambiani (on the east coast of Zanzibar), for example, asks the hotels to contribute to school meals or mattresses for accommodation.

²⁴ The Human Development Index (HDI) includes, in addition to education, the dimensions of life expectancy and economic prosperity (but no ecological dimension!). With a value of 0-100, Kenya recorded a slightly higher HDI value than Tanzania in 2021 (0.575 vs. 0.549); since 1990, however, development in Tanzania has been comparatively more positive (HDI 1990: 0.482 vs. 0.371), i.e. an improvement of 0.178 vs. 0.093

2. *Participation in education*: This indicator measures the percentage of students enrolled from pre-primary to tertiary education over the corresponding eligible official school-age population for each level of education.
3. *Educational attainment*: This indicator measures the completion rate at primary and secondary education levels.
4. *Educational resources*: This indicator measures the average number of pupils per qualified teacher at primary level of education and the percentage of teachers in primary education who have received the minimum standard of training required for teaching.
5. *Quality of education*: This indicator assesses the extent to which there are solid educational institutions and education policy that are successful in delivering high quality education and supports research and development, as well as the extent to which the education system meets the needs of a competitive economy and the number of expected years of learning-adjusted years of schooling.

Overall, as shown in Table 2 below, the education system in Tanzania performs only slightly less than that in Kenya. Out of 100 possible points for the five education indicators, Tanzania achieved 56.8 points, placing it 17th out of all 54 African countries²⁵.

In addition, Tanzania appears to be catching up with Kenya in terms of the dynamics of its education (7.1 vs. 1.9 points compared to the previous decade). The Kenyan education system comes out – as has been indicated several times – to be more advanced: the country is ranked 11th with still slightly positive dynamics compared to other African countries.

The assessment of the two education systems differs greatly in some dimensions, however. Both countries, especially Tanzania, receive the worst values for educational participation. In Tanzania, we can attribute this mainly to the strong selection process in the educational transitions upwards. This selection process is, as already indicated, probably a relic of Nyerere's hesitant policy to expand the secondary and tertiary education system. For a long time, Nyerere insisted that the "elementary school" was perfectly sufficient for the majority of a predominantly agrarian population.

Kenya receives the best score (in the ranking) for educational quality, i.e. in the assessment of the level of educational institutions and educational policy. With all due caution – because of the long period of time – it is reasonable to assume that Tom Mboya's emphasis on excellence and economic competitiveness is still paying off in terms of educational quality today. Tanzania performs mediocre at best on this indicator, but – in contrast to Kenya – has improved significantly in the last decade.

²⁵ With Mauritius in first place and South Sudan in 54th place.

Table 2: Education indicators of Kenya and Tanzania in 2021

Indicator	Kenya			Tanzania		
	Index ¹	Rank ²	Change ³	Index	Rank	Change
Educational equality	58.1	17	- 2.6	70.6	7	+17.7
Educational participation	35.6	20	- 0.6	30.2	28	+9.5
Educational attainment	72.0	9	+9.5	50.4	25	+2.5
Educational resources*	74.8	23	+36.1	81.9	21	- 2.4
Educational quality	76.3	3	+1.4	51.1	18	+8.3
<i>Education overall</i>	<i>60.5</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>+1.9</i>	<i>56.8</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>+7.1</i>

*) no current data for Kenya, data for 2019 (compared to 2010)

1) Index = score achieved from 1 to 100; 2 Ranking among 54 African countries; 3 Change compared to 2012; Source: [MO-Index Governance, Country Score Cards](#) (2023, country tables p. 35 and 58).

However, in addition to improve educational attainment, Tanzania needs to focus on the area of educational participation. In concrete terms, this means, also according to our CDF-foundation's experience, preparing children more intensively and in a personalized manner for the national final examinations, for example through improved teaching methods, and further increasing the number of public education places in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Currently, Tanzanian girls' chances of progressing to the higher secondary level (F5/F6) are particularly low because they generally perform worse than boys in the national examinations in the lower secondary levels (F2 and F4). We can confirm the significantly better graduation rates in Kenya from our own experience: the Kenyan children we support in the secondary level consistently performed better than in Tanzania.

What is most interesting in connection with our review of two historically leading figures, Julius Nyerere and Tom Mboya, is Tanzania's comparatively outstanding ranking in educational equality; this applies both in terms of level and positive dynamics. Here we can judge with good reason that Mwalimu Nyerere has left a truly lasting positive legacy in favour of educational equality for girls and women. The fact alone that the current President of Tanzania, Samia Suluhu Hassan ("Mama Suluhu"), is one of the very few women at the head of an African government can fill the country with pride. In Kenya, we already see a few women at the head of government at the regional level (e.g. Governor Gladys Wanga in Homa Bay County), but in parliament they are still heavily underrepresented at 22 percent, while women in Tanzania are guaranteed a 40 percent share through co-election.

However, the positive assessment of Tanzania's gender equality policy is subject to two important caveats: first, it only applies to the primary and lower secondary education sector, and second to the allocation of positions at the political level. In the higher education segments, the situation in Kenya and Tanzania is reversed, which is probably an expression of

the patriarchal family policy in Tanzania, where former President Dr. John Magufuli even publicly demanded higher birth rates. The difference in family policy is also reflected in the widening gap in population numbers: a [Lancet Study](#) estimates the population increase in Tanzania from 54 million in 2017 to 186 million in 2100, while in Kenya it will only increase from 48 to 74 million.

4. Social and economic development in Kenya and Tanzania

Kenya is not only more advanced than Tanzania in industrialization, but also in areas of modern technology and social infrastructure. This can be demonstrated by some key indicators.

First, a few highly aggregated performance figures: [Our-World-in-Data](#) calculates an average learning indicator based on various (worldwide standards) performance tests of students and linked to the average economic performance. Kenya received a learning indicator of 455 compared to 388.5 in Tanzania (Germany 517.3), at a gross national product per capita of US\$ 4,498 compared to only US\$ 2,551 in Tanzania (Germany 51,840 US\$).

These differences are reflected even more clearly in the complexity index of economic and social development. This index was calculated by a [Research team at MIT](#) and is updated annually. Kenya ranks 87th in the world related to this index, compared to Tanzania at 116th place. The index is based on a revolutionary insight from the latest development theory: it is not so much the accumulated financial or human capital, nor the classic division of labour according to Adam Smith, but the social capital (in the form of freely forming social networks and complementary craft, technical, professional, and scientific skills) that promotes innovation, investments based on them and ultimately economic prosperity. The quality of relationships and not the quantity of capital ultimately makes the difference. Table 3 compiles the development of this index in the areas of trade, technology, and research.

Table 3: Complexity Index for Development (worldwide ranking)

<i>Country and year of comparison</i>	<i>Trade</i>	<i>Technology</i>	<i>Research</i>
Kenya (2022)	- 0.50 (87)	- 1.52 (92)	0.38 (40)
Kenya (2012)	- 0.54 (86)	- 0.22 (114)**	- 0.14 (54)
Kenya (2002)	- 0.31 (57)	- 2.67 (151)*	- 2.67 (151)*
Tanzania (2022)	- 1.08 (116)	No data	0.05 (50)
Tanzania (2012)	- 0.83 (101)	- 2.36 (150)	- 0.40 (98)
Tanzania (2002)	- 1.19 (96)	No data	0.48 (28)
<i>Germany (2022)</i>	1.75 (5)	1.55 (2)***	1.80 (11)
<i>Germany (2012)</i>	1.93 (3)	1.13 (13)	1.50 (15)
<i>Germany (2002)</i>	1.92 (2)	1.08 (8)	0.61 (21)

* 2003; ** 2013; *** 2021

Source: <https://oec.world/en/rankings/eci/hs6/hs96?tab=ranking>; own compilation

In all areas, Kenya is more advanced than Tanzania and is even ranked in the lower middle of the world in research. Tanzania is lagging in the areas of technology and trade. Germany is

(as expected in this comparison) among the world leaders, but in trade it has fallen from 2nd to 5th place in the last 20 years; Japan, Switzerland and China are now the leaders here.

In contrast to Tanzania, which - in addition to tourism – continues to focus heavily on the exploitation of its minerals (especially gold, copper, tanzanite, recently discovered gas deposits) and thus faces the threat of [resource curse](#), Kenya set itself the goal early on (2008) of becoming a leading African industrial nation by 2030. In addition to tea and coffee, Kenya is now strong in the export of cut flowers, for example. This sector is certainly not a model for knowledge-based technology, but it does offer paid jobs and transition prospects into expanding service sectors for the rural population still poorly educated and made redundant by agricultural modernization.

Kenya's leading role in the IT sector is almost proverbial, for example in cashless payment (M-PESA), with which the country is already making export profits, in approaches to mobile broadband, in clever digital start-ups and even in refreshing fashion designs. A young German entrepreneur working in Africa (Stefan Liebig), for example, raved back in 2019: “If you walk through Nairobi, you have a much better mobile network than in Berlin [...] Nairobi is famous for its great programmers and IT experts” (Tagesspiegel 19/11/2019). On closer inspection, however, the hype surrounding M-KOPA (the microcredit variant of M-PESA) is similarly skeptical, if not completely [to be evaluated very critically](#) like the hype about the [Microcredits from the Nobel Peace Prize winner](#) Muhammad Yunus.

Kenya also promises to be a model of success on the road to 100 percent electricity access. Off-grid solar solutions offer a cost-effective way to provide universal access to electricity to the many off-grid households in arid and semi-arid areas. With an average annual growth of seven percent, Kenya is one of the three countries worldwide that have made great strides in achieving 100 percent electricity access in recent years, through [Electrification](#).²⁶ Finally, Kenya is the African leader in the field of geothermal energy and the production of green hydrogen and already covers up to 90 percent of its electricity needs with renewable energy. On this basis, Kenyans also want to develop the production of fertilizers, which is dangerously dependent on Russia, to the point where it can be exported. All these facts were apparently the reason for the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) of Germany to make a [Development partnership](#) from which German and European citizens can only benefit. They could also be an opportunity to a [Paradigm shift in development policy](#) instead of giving in to populist demands for cuts, as the current debate on the BMZ budget suggests.

Finally, to return to the focus on education, Kenya pursued consistent family planning in conjunction with educational reforms at an early stage. In doing so, the country – in contrast to Tanzania – has created better conditions for the [demographic dividend](#) to use: higher education leads to lower birth rates, lower birth rates encourage higher education. Between

²⁶ Unfortunately, only available in German.

1989 and 2014, the average age of Kenyan women at their first marriage rose by a further two years, as did the average age at their first birth. Today, in Kenya, an average of ‘only’ 3.4 children are born per woman; in Tanzania, the figure is almost five (4.77).

Education and family policy in Kenya benefited enormously from the [Global Education Partnership](#). However, Tanzania has only decided to become actively involved in this partnership in the last few years. Official German development policy is not yet fully aware of the [Potential of this partnership](#) and contributes relatively little. [Young people in Germany](#) seem to be further along here – hopefully this applies to many.

5. A look into the future

Finally, we would like to recall an aspect that always played a major role in Nyerere's speeches on education, but has been forgotten, namely the sharp rejection of any economic and egocentric concept of education. This concept, which ultimately lies behind the term "human capital", cannot provide the recipe for sustainable development dynamics. Above all, the idea of education as an institution that creates exclusive property rights (e.g. linking wages or salaries to the formally achieved educational status) contradicts the development policy goal of a society that is both prosperous and just.²⁷ For Nyerere, education should always be a cooperative endeavour and not just serve individual benefit. For him, passing on knowledge was a prerequisite for sustainable economic and social development.

The renowned American economists Joseph Stiglitz and Bruce Greenwald, for example, demonstrate how highly relevant this view is in modern educational economics and sociology.²⁸ Their textbook-like study convincingly argues that innovation – and thus economic and social progress – is based on cooperation and the transfer of knowledge. Economics refers to this as “spillover” or positive external effects. Since these effects are particularly strong in the industrial sector, it makes sense to protect such sectors from ruinous competition in the early stages and only gradually to allow free trade to take place – a strategy that has so far been denied to most African countries.

In contrast, knowledge-based technology, especially in the IT sector, can only be accelerated through international cooperation. Even in global competition, however, educated employees in companies should not withhold their knowledge or experience out of self-interest or keep it as a monopoly for themselves. According to modern development theory, it is not so important to minimize operational transaction costs as the Nobel Prize winner Ronald Coase – who is still quoted with awe – would have us believe;²⁹ more important is to maximize the flow of information, i.e. passing on new knowledge between employees, companies, sectors, municipalities, and regions. In the long term, mere self-interest is harmful not only at the individual or company level, but also at the national and international level. The liberal market economy fails in its educational task of a learning society in an emerging global society; a renaissance of the social market economy on a global level appears necessary.

This applies also to a liberal financial capitalism, which is equally condemned by Julius Nyerere and Tom Mboya, in which shareholders rather than stakeholders have the upper

²⁷ The academic debate is about equity and efficiency: Neoliberal theory claims that there is a contradiction between the two, while the socio-economic theory represented here considers a balance between the two social goals to be possible and even necessary for sustainability. Compare, among others, G. Schmid: Equality and Efficiency in the Labor Market. Towards a Socio-Economic Theory of Cooperation in the Globalizing Economy, in: [The Journal of Socio-Economics](#), Vol. 22, 1993, No. 1, 31-67.

²⁸ Joseph Stiglitz and Bruce Greenwald (2015), *Creating a Learning Society. A New Approach to Growth, Development and Social Progress*, New York: Columbia University Press.

²⁹ Ronald H. Coase (1990), *The Firm, the Market and the Law*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press (Paperback edition).

hand. This view, for example, is also contradicted by the current behaviour of many nation states (including the German government), which – contrary to the postulate of cooperative education – withhold patent rights for vital medicine. For sustainable social and economic development, it is important to create a learning society, also on a global scale. Only such cooperation can guarantee welfare for all and not for the few.

A relatively easy prerequisite for more global cooperation would be to intensify the exchange of trainees or students. This is especially true against the background of a structural shortage of skilled workers and labour. Germany is only ranked 10th in popularity as a destination for international students. In particular, the number of Kenyan and Tanzanian students in Germany is ridiculously small. According to [Federal Statistical Office](#), in the winter semester 2021/22 only 1,012 Kenyan students were enrolled at all German universities and technical colleges, and there were only 201 from Tanzania; at the Free University of Berlin, just one young Tanzanian studied in the winter semester 2023/4. The level of support for German and Kenyan or Tanzanian students by the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) is also very low (see Table 1 above). The support for [dual training in Kenya](#) and especially in Tanzania is still in its early stages.

Intensifying educational partnerships at all levels and on an equal footing would perhaps also save us from the fate of the tortoise – to follow on from Chinua Achebe quoted at the beginning:³⁰

A long time ago, a leopard and a tortoise met by chance on a lonely road. "Aha," said the leopard, who had been trying to catch the tortoise for a long time. "Finally! Prepare to die!" And the tortoise said, "May I ask you a favour before you kill me?" The leopard had no objection and agreed. "Give me a few moments to prepare for my death," said the tortoise, and again the leopard had no objection and granted her wish. But instead of standing still as the leopard had expected, the tortoise began to behave strangely in the middle of the road – it scratched and pawed the road with its hands and feet and threw sand wildly in all directions. "Why are you doing this?" asks the astonished leopard. The tortoise replied: "Because I want people to say, when they pass by this spot after my death: Yes, two men fought here who were evenly matched."

³⁰ Achebe, Chinua (1987), *Anthills of the Savannah*, Willim Heinemann Ltd; translated back from the German edition (1991), Suhrkamp, p. 145.



Above: CDF fellows in Kenya (Mutonga) 2019
Bottom: CDF fellows in Tanzania (Zanzibar) 2023