Decentralisation and Primary Education in Tanzania: What are the Contemporary Successes and Challenges?

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ABSTRACT

This is a report of a study that critically explored the implementation process in the decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania. The main objectives of the study were to explore the successes and challenges of the on-going decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania.

The study mainly adopted a qualitative research approach. The methods employed to collect data were interviews, informal field observation, focus group discussions as well as documentary analysis. The informants involved in the data collection were policy-makers, council officials and councillors, Head teachers and members of the school committee. In addition to these informants, officers from HakiElimu were also involved.

In brief, the study revealed that, following the contemporary decentralisation of primary education, there have been some improvements on access, quality and management of primary education. The Gross Enrolment Ratio has increased from 77.6 percent in 1990 to 114.4 percent in 2007. The Net Enrolment Ratio reached 97.3 percent compared to 58.8 percent in 1990 (Okkolin, 2006; URT, 2007a). The pupil book ratio has at least slightly increased in Mbeya District Council from one book to three pupils (1:3) in 1999 to one book to two pupils (1:2) in the 2007. The school buildings such as teacher houses, classrooms and offices have also relatively increased in number. Moreover, the transparency and management of primary schools has shown some improvements.

Despite the successes mentioned above, the study also revealed some challenges which still characterised the contemporary decentralisation processes. First, the current limited financial and human resources make it difficult for decentralisation to succeed. Second, about one fourth of the teachers in the two councils involved in the study had qualifications below the required standards. In relation to that, the relevance of primary education was questionable in the sense that it does not fully cater to the interest of the local communities. Thirdly, the members of the school committee lacked both relevant knowledge and experience to efficiently manage the schools in their areas of jurisdiction. Fourthly, the central-local relations were said to have some contradictions. Finally, extreme poverty was found to be the stumbling block to the decentralisation initiatives.

The study report is concluded by a recommendation for a comparative study involving two or more regions with different economic and academic status about the contemporary successes and challenges of decentralising primary education in Tanzania. As this study employed a qualitative approach and therefore a small sample, further studies need to be conducted so as to cover a large sample size.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BEMP	Basic Education Master Plan
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
DAO	District Academic Officer
DEO	District Education Officer
DIA	District Internal Auditor
DRDP	District Rural Development Programmes
DT	District Treasurer
ESR	Education for Self-Reliance
ETP	Education and Training Policy
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HK	HakiElimu
HQ	Head Quarter
HT	Head Teacher
LGRP	Local Government Reform Programme
MCC	Mbeya City Council
MDC	Mbeya District Council
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PEDP	Primary Education Development Plan
PMORALG	Prime Minister's Office Regional Administration and Local Government
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PTA	Parents Teachers Association
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
SC	School Committee
TASAF	Tanzania Social Action Fund
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Decentralisation is one of the many key reforms currently being implemented by many developing countries. During the past few decades, most of the sub-Saharan African countries have implemented decentralisation policies. The government of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT) is among many countries in Africa currently undergoing decentralisation processes where effort is being put into decentralising fiscal, political and administrative responsibilities to the lower levels. Like many African countries, education decentralisation in Tanzania is not being implemented as an independent sectoral policy but rather as an effort that is embedded in the wider government reform endeavours covering several sectors (Naidoo & Kong, 2003). Basically, there are three main arguments that are often being put forward as to why primary education is being decentralised. First, it is argued that because the Central Governments in developing countries are increasingly unable to directly administer primary education, then, decentralisation ought to result in improved provision of primary education since it is assumed that lower levels would perform education provision tasks better than central levels at the moment. Second, it is argued that since primary education has placed unlimited strain on limited government resources at national level, then, decentralisation will likely improve economies of scale and lead to more appropriate responses to the particular local needs. Third, it is also argued that through actively engaging the community as well as private sectors in the management of primary education, decentralisation will generate more involvement and equity in decision-making and thus promote greater local commitment to primary education (Carnoy, 1999; Lexow, 2002; McGinn, 1997; URT, 1995; URT, 2006; Winkler, 1994). Based on the presented arguments and the current practice, the study whose findings are reported in this thesis sought to explore the contemporary successes and challenges of the on-going processes of decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania.

1.1 Problem Statement

The Vision 2025, which is a Tanzania Government Development Vision and thus, a long-term plan, envisages the total elimination of poverty by 2025 (URT, 1999; URT, 2000). In this long-term development plan, it is argued that the alleviation of poverty will only take place if there are increased and improved levels of education (URT, 1999). Indeed, lack of education has been found to be both the cause and effect of poverty (URT, 2003). It is

particularly argued that lack of access to quality basic education by children of Tanzanian communities undermines the efforts to improve health and nutrition, reduce infant, child and maternal mortality and to address the causes and impact of HIV/ AIDS (ibid). Within this contextual framework, Tanzania is undertaking various initiatives towards the eradication of poverty through provision of access to quality primary education. One of the initiatives worthy of mentioning at this juncture is decentralisation of primary education.

Tanzania has various government policy documents that indicate the intention of the Central Government Ministries to decentralise their roles to lower levels. According to various government documents, the Central Government intends to remain engaged in only core functions. A number of government documents spell out the responsibilities given to lower levels and the Local Government Authorities (LGAs). Some of these documents include: Education and Training Policy (ETP) (URT, 1995); the Local Government Reform Programmes (LGRP) (URT, 1998); Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) 2000-2005 (URT, 2001); Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) of 2002-2006 (URT, 2001) and the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) of 2002-2006) (URT, 2001).

The Education and Training Policy (ETP) document of 1995, for instance, clearly stipulates a number of aspects pertaining to the management of education decentralisation. The document points out that "**Ministries responsible for education and training shall devolve their responsibilities of management and administration of education and training to lower organs and communities**" (ETP, 1995:26). The document articulates further that lower levels such as school committees of education and training shall be responsible for management; development planning; discipline and financing of institutions under their jurisdiction.

Nevertheless, there seems to be some contradictions between the intention as stated in the policy documents and the actual results of decentralisation as observed by some of the researchers. On one hand, it is argued that decentralisation, or rather, devolution of primary education is a viable strategy as it involves the entire community to manage and fund primary education and thus lead to equity, access and quality provision of primary education (URT, 1995; URT 1998; URT, 2001; URT, 2004). In contrast, it has been argued that "delegation of the responsibility for funding to the communities, so called 'decentralisation', will often mean that poor communities will not be able to fund much education for their children" (Brock-Utne, 2006: 28). **Based on these conflicting findings, I have been**

motivated to carry out a study which explores the contemporary successes and challenges of the on-going decentralisation of the primary education in Tanzania.

1.2 Research Objectives

The overall objective of the study whose results are discussed in this thesis was to critically explore the implementation process of decentralisation of Primary Education in Tanzania. In light of the brief background information provided above, the study specifically addressed two objectives:

- ❖ To investigate the successes of contemporary processes of decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania.

- ❖ To examine the challenges of the on-going decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania

1.3 Research Questions

This study, therefore, explored the successes as well as challenges of contemporary decentralisation initiatives relating to primary education in Tanzania. Accordingly, the following specific research question guided the study:

- ❖ **What are the views of the people on the successes and challenges of the on-going decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania?**

1.4 Significance of the Study

The study was expected to be of significance particularly with respect to the following areas:

- ❖ To contribute to the growing literature on the successes and challenges of effecting decentralisation measures with the view to improving efficiency and quality in the provision of primary education in developing economies such as Tanzania

- ❖ To provide additional information to Central Government Ministries, such as the relevant ones in Tanzania, with respect to the provision of primary education, including information on how to improve access, equity, quality and management of primary education through decentralisation strategies.

❖ To contribute the knowledge pool of relevance to enable the key stakeholders in Mbeya District Council and Mbeya City Council to be able to assess the degree to which decentralisation has succeeded in supporting the improvement of primary education as well as what remains to be done so as to overcome the currently existing challenges facing education decentralisation.

❖ To generate insights that may enable other District Councils in Tanzania and elsewhere in developing countries to make use of the experiences gained from this study to improve the management of decentralisation of primary education in their localities.

❖ To inspire other researchers to carry out studies related to the decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania in particular and elsewhere in general.

❖ To contribute to the raising of community awareness concerning the role they can play in enhancing access, equity and quality of primary education through decentralisation strategy.

❖ To provide some information to guide the initiatives of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and other interested parties on how their contributions can improve the provision of primary education through decentralisation.

1.5 Scope of the Study and the Education System in Tanzania

The education system in Tanzania is structured along the following pattern: 2-7-4-2-3+ implying that 2 years of pre-primary education, 7 years of primary education, 4 years of secondary ordinary level, 2 years of secondary advanced level and a minimum of 3 years of university education (URT, 1995).

Pre-primary education in Tanzania is provided for children aged five to six years. Usually, there is no formal examination which promotes pre-primary children to primary schools. Instead, pre-primary education is formalised and integrated into the formal primary school system. Primary schooling in Tanzania is universal and compulsory for all children from the age of seven. The primary school cycle begins with standard one (STD I) on entry, and ends with standard seven (STD VII) in the final year. At the end of standard seven, pupils sit for

the National Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE). This examination acts as a selection examination for entry to secondary education (form one). A Primary School Leaving Certificate (PSLC) is awarded to all children who complete standard seven (URT, 2006). This study focuses on decentralisation and primary education in Tanzania particulary in Mbeya City Council and Mbeya District Council.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis consists of six Chapters. Chapter one provides a general introduction to the study which concludes with the definition of both its main objective as well as the main research questions.

Chapter Two presents the education policy framework in Tanzania. Here, the historical perspective and the policy context under which primary education is being decentralised are presented.

Chapter Three provides the theoretical framework for the study. Here, the two main theories governing this study, namely, Education for Self-Reliance and decentralisation are articulated.

Chapter Four is devoted to the methodology used in the study. This chapter discusses the sequential process of the study. The chapter specifically offers information on: research strategy and reasons for its choice; research design; research settings; target population; sample; sampling techniques; research methods; validity and reliability of instruments; data analysis plan; ethical considerations and lastly, challenges and lessons learned from the field work.

Chapter Five presents the findings and discussion. Two major themes are presented: the successes and the challenges of decentralisation in relation to the provision of primary education in Tanzania. The discussion of the research findings was guided by the qualitative research approach on the one hand and, Education for Self-Reliance and decentralisation theories, on the other hand, as they are presented in chapter three.

Chapter Six presents summary, conclusion and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: EDUCATION POLICY FRAMEWORK

Having presented the introductory part in Chapter One, this chapter presents the primary education historical perspective as well as the contemporary policy context in Tanzania. This section, therefore, is intended to articulate the context under which the contemporary education decentralisation is taking place in the country.

2.1 Historical Perspective: Post-Colonial Period

One can identify three major socio-economic development periods which Tanzania has gone through namely, Pre-Arusha Declaration Era 1961-1967; the Arusha Declaration period 1967-1986 as well as the Post-Arusha Declaration/liberalisation phase 1986-to date.

2.1.1 Pre-Arusha Declaration Era 1961-1967

Tanzania Mainland is the then Tanganyika which became independent in 1961. In its first plan for development in 1961, Tanzania identified three major obstacles to socio-economic and political development that the country faced: ignorance; disease and poverty (Nyerere, 1967). Efforts to eradicate ignorance involved investing in human capital which was expected to result in a healthy and well educated population which was considered to be necessary pre-conditions for social and economic development (Kamuzora, 2002). Thus, the new government repealed and replaced the colonial legislation of 1927 Education Ordinance with the Education Act of 1962 (Mamdani, 1996; URT, 1995). Among other things, the 1962 Act intended to make newly established Local Authorities and communities responsible for the construction of primary schools; provision of primary education; streamlined the curriculum; examination and financing of education (URT, 1995).

2.1.2 The Arusha Declaration Period 1967-1986

In this period, various attempts to reform education received a special impetus in March 1967 when President Nyerere launched the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) policy to guide the planning and practice of education following the adoption of the Arusha Declaration in the country in the same year (Nyerere, 1967).

The philosophy of Education for Self-Reliance was a programmatic follow-up of the aspirations articulated in the Arusha Declaration and it underscored the weaknesses of the

existing education system. The ESR, as it will be discussed in Chapter Three, emphasised the need for curriculum reform so as to integrate the acquisition of practical life skills. It also urged the linkage of education plans and practices with national socio-economic development and the world of work. According to the principles of Arusha Declaration, access to the scarcest resources such as primary education was to be regulated and controlled in such a way that it would be available to all Tanzanians regardless of their socio-economic status, ethnic origins, religious affiliation or gender (Galabawa, 2001; Mbilinyi, 2000).

Between 1967 and 1978, the Government of Tanzania took several egalitarian-oriented steps and enacted several laws in line with the goals of the Arusha Declaration and the ESR (Bana & Ngware, 2005). Notable among these laws and steps were the Education Acts of 1969 and 1978; the decentralisation programme of 1972 which in essence led to the abolition of the Local Government in the same year; and the Universal Primary Education (UPE) goal contained in the Musoma Resolution in 1974 (URT, 1982).

As a result of these steps taken following the Arusha Declaration, there is a strong evidence to suggest that there was considerable success particularly in raising primary school enrolment rates to well over 90 percent, a result recorded in early 1980s (Davidson, 2004). The corresponding Net Enrolment Rates which arguably gives a true picture of the number of children that actually attending school were only considered to be in the region of 65-70 percent (Davidson, 2004).

Nevertheless, this 'success story' was fractured by the economic recession of the late 1970s as well as early 1980s, when Tanzania's economy suffered greatly (Mmari, 2005). Much has been discussed about the causes of Tanzania's problems during this period. Many writers have argued that the key causes of the problems were due to the external factors such as the oil price-shocks as well as deteriorating terms of trade (Galabawa, 2001). On the contrary, other writers blame internal factors including weak and inappropriate policies and poor governance (Davidson, 2004). Whatever the causes of the economic problems, at this juncture, it is worth noting that these problems eroded the social service gains that had been achieved since the adoption of the Arusha Declaration. As a result, the 1980s witnessed increasing pressure from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and other key players in the development aid business, being put on Tanzania to accept an IMF Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) (Davidson, 2004).

2.1.3 The Post-Arusha Declaration-Liberalisation Era 1986-to Date

As was noted earlier, despite the continued resistance from President Julius Nyerere, his successor President Mwinyi accepted the 1986 IMF Structural Adjustment Programme (Davidson, 2004). The President Mwinyi phase of Tanzania's political history was mostly characterised by newly introduced liberal ideas of free-choice, market oriented schooling, and cost efficiency (Galabawa, 2001). All these practices resulted in the individualisation of the education services and soon they were only available, not to all but to only those with the means (Mukandala & Peter, 2004). Similarly, Galabawa (2001) noted that Structural Adjustment were in vogue in the mid 1980s and had a highly adverse effect on primary education. This period experienced the very first blow against equity in education and the principle of "Education for All" when school fees i.e. cost sharing, was imposed as one of the conditions for accessing World Bank Loans in the early Structural Adjustment days (Mbilinyi, 2003). As a result, the proportion of the school age children began to drop immediately. From a peak of 98 percent Gross Enrolment Ratio in 1980, gross primary school enrolment dropped to 71 percent in 1988, and only gradually rose to 78 percent in 1997 (Lema, Mbilinyi & Rajan, 2004) .

Similarly, in their study conducted in Tanzania, Lema et al (2004) observed that in 1999, out of every 100 children of primary school age, 56 were enrolled in schools; of 56 enrolled in schools; only 38 completed primary school. Of the 38 who completed primary school, only 6 proceeded to secondary schools. Moreover, there were significant differences in school enrolment according to location reflecting regional, district, ethnic and urban-rural differences (Mukandala & Peter, 2004).

Nevertheless, some of the recent studies have shown that the status of primary education in Tanzania has improved considerably since 2001 as a result of the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) (URT, 2004). The observed improvements could be attributed to the government's abolition of the school fees and mandatory cash contributions from parents (Lema, et al, 2004). For instance, the Net Enrolment Rates have increased from 59 percent in 2000 to 91 percent in 2003, and Gross Enrolment Rates have increased from 78 percent to 108 percent during the same period. The actual enrolment grew by 50 percent up from 4.4 million in 2000 to 6.6 million in 2003 (Lema et al, 2004).

In spite of these great achievements in expansion in school enrolment, the majority of pupils do not have access to good quality education, with well motivated teachers, adequate learning materials and child-centred forms of teaching methodology (Davidson, 2004). The deplorable conditions of most primary schools, especially in the rural areas, and the inability of many poor families to afford other costs of schooling such as school uniforms, notebooks and the like are among the major factors causing an extremely high school drop-out rate. After entering primary school, just over 70 percent of pupils reach standard 7 (Lema, et al, 2004).

One of the most contemporary challenging outcomes of neo-liberal policies in education, however, has been the government's encouragement to invest in private primary schools. As a result, two contrasting school systems emerged by the end of the 1990s: one for the well-to-do and another for the poor majority (Mbilinyi, 2003). The private, high-cost school system is characterised by its focus on English as a medium of instruction from pre-school up through primary and secondary school levels. This growing demand for English medium in part may reflect globalisation forces, and obviously contradicts the emphasis in the past on one unifying language, Kiswahili, as a means of building national unity and Tanzanian (or even East African) identity (Brock-Utne, 2006). These private schools, to the great extent, exclude the majority of children from enrolment. This stands in stark contrast to the principles of equity and justice promoted by Mwalimu Nyerere. At the same time, conditions in the public schools have, worsened since PEDP. Teachers' salaries remain low, and teachers are often not paid according to their respective salary scales (Lema et al, 2004). They lack adequate textbooks and other teaching materials, and in many areas, the classrooms are severely overcrowded (Sumra, 2004). By Standard 6 or 7, however, many classrooms become half-empty because of the extremely high drop-out rate in both urban and rural areas, one third of primary school children drop out before completion of school (Davidson, 2004).

Nevertheless, from 2003, Tanzania found itself in an important moment in its history. A large number of reforms in the economy were underway in Local Government, public service and several key sectors, including education (Mbilinyi, 2003). Both government and donor resources have increased in recent years, enabling sufficient investments to be made in public education. But, the extent to which these reforms have benefited the people,

particularly the poor, remains a question as inequalities are growing and the lives of too many Tanzanians are characterised by exclusion as well as marginalisation (Mbilinyi, 2003).

2.2 Policy Context

Having presented the historical perspective, this section presents some of the policies and government documents which are related to the education decentralisation in Tanzania. This section, therefore, is intended to provide the policy context under which the contemporary education decentralisation is taking place in the country.

2.2.1 Tanzania Development Vision 2025

Tanzania Development Vision 2025, formulated in 1995, envisages the total elimination of poverty by the year 2025. The document recognises education as a strategic agent for mindset transformation and for the creation of a well educated nation sufficiently equipped with the knowledge needed to competently and competitively solve the development challenges which face the communities and the nation. In this light, the document emphasises that education should be restructured and transformed qualitatively with a focus on promoting creativity and problem solving.

Equally important, the Tanzania Development Vision 2025 devolves a greater role to the local actors to own and drive the process of their own development. The document points out that the local people know their problems best and are better situated to judge what they need, what is possible to achieve and how it can effectively be achieved.

2.2.2 Education and Training Policy (1995)

The Education and Training Policy (ETP) was introduced in 1995. The policy is a product of the liberalisation policy which started in Tanzania in 1986 following the signing of an agreement with both International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) (Mrutu, 2007). As such, the thrust of the policy initiatives is liberalisation, privatisation, and facilitation as opposed to state ownership in the provision of services.

The major aims of the Education and Training Policy include achieving increased enrolments, equitable access, quality improvements, expansion and optimum utilisation of facilities as well as operational efficiency throughout the system (Mhalila, 2007).

The policy also aims at enhancing partnership in the delivery of education, the broadening of the financial base, the cost effectiveness of the education, and streamlining education management structures through the devolution of authority to schools, local communities and Local Government Authorities (Mrutu, 2007).

2.2.3 Education Sector Development Programme (1996)

The Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP) was developed in 1996 immediately after the development of the Education and Training Policy. ESDP is a sector wide approach initiated to facilitate achieving the government's long term human development and poverty eradication targets and to redress the problem of fragmented interventions under the project modality of development assistance. The essence of the sector wide approach is collaboration by the key stakeholders, using pooled human, financial and material resources for planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluation. This approach established new relations which promote partnership, co-ordination, and ownership amongst all groups of people with a vested interest in education (URT, 2001).

It should be noted that the ESDP derives its objectives from the Education and Training Policy of 1995 as well as from the broader national development strategy of MKUKUTA and the long-term development plan of the country's Vision 2020 (URT, 2001). Thus, among the ESDP's objectives related to education include: comprehensive efforts to improve the quality of the education process, increase and improve access and equity for all children, the decentralisation of the management structures, the devolution of authority to local levels and broadening the financial base which supports the education system.

2.2.4 Local Government Reform Programme (1998)

Reform of the local government system was initiated in 1996 seeking to move towards a Vision for Local Government in Tanzania. This vision was subsequently summarised in the Local Government Reform Agenda, and, in October 1998, was endorsed by the Government in its Policy Paper on Local Government Reform (Mmari, 2005).

The Local Government Reform Programme (LGLP) is a vehicle through which the government promotes and derives the decentralisation processes (Mmari, 2005). As such LGRP is said to be an integral part of the wide public sector reforms. The programme

implementation of the LGRP began on 1ˢᵗ January, 2000 (ibid). Specifically, LGRP is a primary mechanism for the decentralisation and devolution of power to local levels, a main feature in the delivery of education at the primary level. The Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) for example is set firmly within this decentralised framework and includes components that help to develop the capacity of personnel and structures at the local level, enabling the local level to participate in the comprehensive planning and delivery of high primary education services.

To conclude chapter two, one can say that the historical perspective presented herein and the current policy context have influence on the contemporary successes and challenges of decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania. Hence, knowledge of primary education trends and policy contexts will help us to discuss the contemporary successes and challenges in the forth coming chapters.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORY

The chapter presents the theoretical framework on which the study is based. Accordingly, the chapter is divided into two major parts. To start with, Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) theory is presented. The main thrust here is to outline the relevance of Education for Self-Reliance theory in relation to this study. This will be followed by the description of decentralisation theory. Emphasis will be placed on discussing issues of deconcentration, delegation as well as devolution as they are applied in the education sector. As aforementioned, the two theories form the main premises of the theoretical basis of the study. The second section of the chapter is devoted to a brief review of other studies related to this topic. In particular, examples will be drawn from countries such as Tanzania, Mexico and Ghana.

3.1 Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) Theory

ESR launched in March 1967, was formulated by the late first President of Tanzania, Julius Kambarage Nyerere (1922-1999)[1]. In brief, ESR provided a formidable response to the critiques of the inadequacies and inappropriateness of colonial education and outlines the kind of society Tanzania was trying to build; examines the existed education system around 1967 and, lastly, proposes changes designed to transform the Tanzanian education system to make it more relevant and appropriate in serving the needs and goals of a by then local society.

Through ESR, therefore, Nyerere was concerned about how colonial education discourages the integration of pupils into a society as a whole and promotes attitudes of inequality, intellectual arrogance, and individualism among those very few who were able to enter the school system.

Basically, ESR is an attempt by Nyerere to address the shortcomings of colonial education. ESR finds the inherited colonial education system to have the following weaknesses: is elitist in nature catering to the interest of very few people who could afford schooling; divorces its participants from the society in which they are supposed to live; breeds the notion that education is synonymous with schooling, where people are judged and employed

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[1] President Nyerere was born in 1922 and died in 1999

on the basis of their ability to pass exams and acquire paper qualifications; and lastly, fails to involve its students in productive work (Machange, 2004). Such a situation deprives the society of their much needed contributions to the increase of the nation economy output and also breeds among students the concept for manual work.

Given the Tanzanian realities of a poor, underdeveloped, agricultural-based economy and the cherished goals of socialist transformation, Nyerere (1967) proposed an alternative education model to re-orient the goals, values and structure of education. According to Nyerere (1967) education must: inculcate social values; prepare young people for the work they will likely do in the Tanzanian society; prepare people for their responsibilities as free citizens in a free and democratic society. Also, education should prepare learners to think for themselves, make judgement on all issues affecting them as well as to be able to interpret decisions made by other people and institutions such as Central Government as well as implement decisions in line with the local context (ibid).

On organisational changes, Nyerere proposed three main changes in the education system in Tanzania and puts considerable emphasises on their interconnectedness. The three changes are: the entry age into primary school; the content of education, that is, the curriculum itself and; the organisation of the schools. In principle, Nyerere argues that education should aim at preparing people for meaningful and productive life in the societies in which they live. Since the majority of people in the context of Tanzania live in rural areas, these aims could only be met, Nyerere argues, if we reform curriculum along these lines:

> We [centre] should not determine the type of things children are taught in primary schools by the things a doctor, engineer, teacher, economist or administrator needs to know. Most of our children will never be any of these things. We should determine the type of things taught in primary schools by the things which the boy or girl ought to know– that is, the skills he ought to acquire and values he ought to cherish if he, or she is to live happily and well in a socialist and predominantly rural society and contribute to the improvement of life there. Our sight must be on the majority, it is they we must be aiming at in determining the curriculum and syllabus (Nyerere, 1967: 63).

In this case, Nyerere proposed that the curriculum should be decentralised so as to cater to the interest of the local society. Nyerere further argued that the re-orientation of the school curriculum has to go hand in hand with de-emphasising the importance of formal examinations which merely assess a person's ability to memorise facts. Likewise, Nyerere proposed to abandon examinations that were geared to 'an international standards practice' regardless of the country's particular problems and needs. Nyerere also proposed the organisational structure of the schools to become both social and economic centres for the

local communities so as to make them an integral part of the society and economy. The assessment of the students' performance would take into account both academic abilities and work done locally for the school and community.

3.1.1 Relevance to the Study

As it has been mentioned earlier, Education for Self-Reliance is concerned with how the inherited (colonial) education discourages the pupils' integration into their immediate societies. It has been shown that the colonial education promoted inequality, intellectual arrogance and individualism among those who entered the school system. These qualities serve to divorce, rather than integrate the children from their communities (Nyerere, 1967). To revamp the situation, the Education for Self-Reliance ideology was founded with the intention to bring about people's development through formal education. First and foremost, it was thought significant to decentralise primary education and actively involved the community in the process of providing primary education. Community's involvement in this context was primarily meant to make the content of the primary school curriculum relevant to not only those who received the education but also the surrounding community from which the learners came. Secondly, ESR placed equal emphasis on practical knowledge as to theoretical knowledge in primary education. What was thought of paramount importance was the expression on what a graduate could do after acquiring education in terms of tangible actions rather than mere memorisation of facts from schools. Certainly, tangible things done by the graduate could be appreciated by the local community from which the pupils came. In other words, the focus was on the immediate environment from which the learner came. In the context of this study, this may imply that effective education decentralisation could be achieved if the needs of the local community were taken into consideration in the planning and provision of education. Focusing on community's needs could imply devolving decision-making to teachers, pupils and the larger community on how to make education relevant for the communities from which learners came (Kassam, 1994).

Another aspect of relevance as far as ESR is concerned is what Ishumi (1978) referred to as functional education. In this study, Ishumi (1978) explains functional education as such education that would enable Tanzania to make tremendous progress in a number of fields in national life such as economic, social, cultural and even technological. To put it differently, Ishumi observed that ESR is correct in realising that effective primary education is unlikely to be achieved if the focus is solely on what the graduate can memorise and produce on the

final examination day rather than what a graduate can practically do for himself/herself and his/her society. For, in ESR, what matters most is what a graduate does in his or her community, how the graduate behaves before the community and how the immediate community interprets the actions and behaviour of the graduate. It is therefore through primary education decentralisation that the parents and the community can have a voice to suggest what they think their children should learn that can make them fit into their relevant communities.

To sum up, ESR is unique in that it emphasises a combination of theory and practical skills. Indeed, it places equal importance on both theory and practical skills in the provision of education. In other words, what makes ESR attractive in the context of this study is its attempt to decentralise primary education, and involve local community in the planning and provision of primary education in order to achieve the twin objectives above: the combination of theory and practical skills. Practical skills can only be given the importance under decentralisation which facilitates devolution of key functions of education planning to the teachers and the immediate communities around the schools.

3.2 Education Decentralisation

This section presents the concept of decentralisation as it shall be used in the context of this study. To start with, it is important to highlight that education decentralisation in Tanzania, as in other African countries, is implemented not as an independent education sectoral policy but is imbedded in larger government reforms (or public reforms programme) (LGRP, 2007). It is thus advisable to understand various ways in which the concept is used. Based on the complex nature of decentralisation, an attempt will be made to first provide a general description of decentralisation before moving on to discuss specific explanation of the usage of the concept.

3.2.1 The Concept of Education Decentralisation

Decentralisation as a policy can be traced to Tanzania's commitment to adhere to the principle of subsidiarity (LGRP, 2007). The principle of subsidiarity refers to the concept that "the Central Authority should not be very powerful, and should only control things which cannot be controlled by the local organisations" (Wehmeier, 2007: 1531). Put it simply, the principle states that matters ought to be handled by the smallest component of

authority. The concept of subsidiarity is found in several constitutions around the world such as United States of America and European, Asian, and African countries (Lauglo, 2007). Tanzania seeks to comply with the subsidiarity principle as it is enshrined in the government reforms' documents that "control and management of services are best attained at the level where these are delivered and consumed" (LGRP, 2007: 13).

The concept of decentralisation is not easily defined. It is a vague concept, which refers to different things to different people (Lauglo, 1995; McGinn & Welsh, 1999; Rondinelli & Cheema, 1983). It is due to this reason that various scholars have different definitions of the same concept. Comparatively, it is easier to define centralisation than it is to define decentralisation. According to Lauglo (1995) 'to decentralise' refers to the condition of objects being located remote from a centre. Lauglo (1995) further defines a centre to mean a point that has a greater possible distance from all boundaries or a point denoting the central tendency in the distribution. Diagrammatically, the distinction between centralisation and decentralisation can be depicted as follows:

Figure 1: Differences between Decentralisation and Centralisation
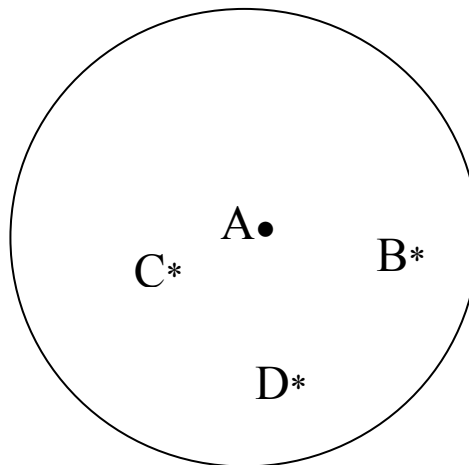
In figure one it is assumed that point A is at the centre of the circle. Point A is the simplest point which can be traced as it is the only point at the centre. Point A shows the sense of centralisation. Point B, C and D are difficult to trace as we cannot know exactly how far they are from the centre. But, because point B, C and D are not at the centre of the circle, they indicate a sense of decentralisation with different lengths from the central point. Figure 1 may provide answers to any question which asks if a country X or Y has decentralised its education system or not.

Thus, centralized authority means concentrating in central or top authority decision-making on a number of important issues leaving only programmed routine implementation in lower levels in the hierarchical organisation structure. In this context, the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) in Tanzania, may control education aims and objectives, the structure and localisation of provision, curricula and teaching materials to be used, prescribed teaching methods, and assessment of budgets and inspections, and the appointments of staff such as District and Regional Education Officers (Gershberg *&* Winkler, 2003; Lauglo, 1995). In this case, decentralisation is in essence an antonym of centralisation. The term refers to anything that reverses the educational centralisation processes. It is claimed that while some of the educational tendencies that decentralise may be official, formal or *de jure,* other tendencies may be informal, unanticipated or *de facto* (Mukandala & Peter, 2004). In this context, decentralisation will refer to the mutual transfer of administrative authority or decision-making to Local Government or lower units in the hierarchical structure. Examples of such units are regions, districts or municipalities and school committees. It is worth noting that in many definitions provided by different scholars on education decentralisation, there is a sense of a 'shift' or 'transfer' of authority from one level to the next (see for instance Carnoy, 1999; McGinn & Welsh, 1999; Winkler,1994). What only differs is the way in which the authority is being shifted. The shift of authority can best be examined through forms of decentralisation.

3.2.2 Forms of Decentralisation

There are disagreements and on-going debates about the uses of key concepts regarding decentralisation. Although different authors use different terms to identify various degrees or forms of decentralisation, most of them show that differences are important. The three degrees of authority that are usually being referred to are deconcentration, delegation and devolution (Bray, 1996; Mosha & Dachi, 2004; Winkler, 1994). However, most of the recent writers' definitions and categorisations of decentralisation seem to be rooted in the work of (Rondinelli & Cheema, 1983) who categorises and defines forms of decentralisation as follows:

First, deconcentration is the process through which a central authority establishes field units, staffing them with its own officers. In the Tanzanian context for example, personnel of a

Ministry of Education may be sent out from the headquarters to work in regions and Districts Councils. Some scholars have however warned that education deconcentration is unlikely to lead to potential benefits of education decentralisation (Lexow, 2002, Mushi & Dachi, 2004). Education deconcentration reforms basically shift authority for implementation but not for making them (McGinn & Welsh, 1999). Thus, greater authority in deconcentration remains under the control of the Central Government. For that matter, deconcentration is regarded as the weakest form of decentralisation as it does not transfer any significant authority to sub-national governments (Mukundani & Bray, 2004).

Second, delegation implies a stronger degree of decision-making power at the local levels, but power in a delegated system still basically rests with the central authority which has chosen to 'lend' them to the local one. Under this approach, the Ministry of Education, for example, lends authority to lower levels of government[2] or organisational units with the notion that the delegated authority can be withdrawn. In this case, the elected officials can be Regional, District Education Officers and Head Teachers (Heredia-Ortiz, 2006). Comparatively, there is a stronger degree of decision-making at the local level in delegation than it is in deconcentration.

Third, devolution involves the transfer of service delivery responsibility to lower levels of government such as regions, municipalities/districts, divisions, wards to mention a few. Devolution is in theory at the highest level of decentralisation as it is assumed to be a level which is completely independent in decision-making authority from the centre. For that matter, devolution can be assumed as an ideal level of decentralisation as it entails transferring real educational decision-making authority to the lower levels. Such situations of devolution may occur/exist mostly in countries with purely political and market decentralisation (Lauglo, 1997; McGinn, 1999; Naidoo & Kong, 2003). It is however argued that devolution is the least practiced form of decentralisation as most of the Central Governments retain authority over educational policy and curriculum framework (Geo-Jaja, 2004).

Apart from the three common forms of decentralisation which will mostly guide this study, Gershberg and Winkler (2003) add what they term as implicit or *de facto* delegation to community schools. It refers to a special case of education delegation. It sometimes may

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[2] Lower levels of government in Tanzania refer to regions, districts, divisions, wards and village levels.

result from the failure of the government to provide educational opportunities in remote areas. Hence, the community concerned takes upon itself the finance and the provision of schooling.

3.2.3 Why Education Decentralisation?

The rationale underlying education decentralisation can be grouped under two categories: the publicly manifested justifications and the practical circumstances (Lauglo, 1995).

3.2.3.1 Publicly Stated Reasons

The publicly manifested justifications can be explained based on Winkler (1994) who categorises four major arguments that can be attributed to the popularity of decentralisation. These include attempts to improve educational financing, efficiency, accountability and effectiveness as well as redistribution of power within the system that manages delivery services in the education sector.

First, the educational finance argument is that, education decentralisation may result from the rapid increase in the number of both primary and secondary schools accompanied by the increase in education expenditure. This can result in the Central Governments facing severe fiscal constraints to continue the expansion of education opportunities. Hence, the Central Government, in trying to resolve the financial problems, starts shifting part of the burden for support of primary and secondary education to Local Government levels such as regional, districts and school committees (Geo-Jaja, 2004; McGinn & Welsh, 1999). Here the assumption is that greater involvement of more social groups will automatically generate more resources for funding primary education (Naidoo & Kong, 2003).

In Tanzania for instance, studies which were previously carried out indicated that decentralisation through Local Government Reform Programs (LGRP) were seen as a means of shifting the financial burden from the Central Government to Local Governments by cutting costs and reducing the central government's role as the sole provider of services (Naidoo & Kong, 2003). This is also in line with the World Bank's rationale for decentralisation.

Second, the efficiency rationale for the decentralisation argument is that centralised planning and administration both at national and in large urban school municipality levels has led to expensive education which often is accompanied by a decrease in quality (Winkler, 1994).

The efficiency rationale gives a number of explanations in relation to the increase of high costs: The first factor is the inability of the Central Government to administer centralised education systems. The second factor mentioned is that the cost of decision-making in a system in which even the most minor education matters have to be decided by a geographically and culturally distant bureaucrats leads to high costs. The third factor is the frequent application by educational authorities of nation wide standards to the entire country, especially where the three variables are concerned: curriculum, building constructions, and teacher quality. The application of nation wide standards often tends to hinder cost savings through adjustment of educational inputs that are in tune with local or regional price differences (Naidoo & Kong, 2003; Winkler, 1994; Winkler &Yeo, 2007).

The third argument for education decentralisation is the effectiveness rationale. This claims that the centralised systems reduce the accountability of schools to their customers. It is further argued that the administration and accountability can be improved if schools are made to be more responsible to the parents and local community and, if the need for Central Government Ministries to make decisions on local educational matters is eliminated (Carl, 1994; McGinn, 1997; Winkler, 1994).

Research carried out in Thailand and Sri Lanka revealed that the two countries implemented education decentralisation reforms with the fundamental objectives of increasing compliance with the curriculum, and yielding higher achievement scores. It was however later on discovered that the decentralisation reforms' objectives were achieved through centralisation (McGinn, 1997). In other words, the two reforms in Thailand and Sri Lanka worked well because of the integration between local and central actions. To put it simply, some policies may just sound nice but with no positive impact on the society in question. Likewise, since 1993 Ethiopia elaborated in its constitutional framework the intention to devolve education authority to lower bodies. However, the actual devolution of power has been to the regions, not Local Government, and the effectiveness of the local entities is still somewhat constrained (Naidoo & Kong, 2003).

The fourth and last argument is that education decentralisation leads to improvement in decision-making, thereby contributing to democracy and more equitable distribution of resources (Chapman, 2002; McGinn, 1997). On this point, Winkler (1994) points out that unfortunately, the factor of redistribution is rarely stated as being one of the goals for

decentralisation, but rather the focus tends to be on democratisation or inclusion of marginal groups in society. Based on this argument, one can say that redistribution of political power could be the central aim of educational decentralisation in most societies. That being the case, decentralisation can be undertaken to empower groups in societies that support the Central Government policies or even to weaken groups that pose obstructions to those policies (Lauglo, 1995).

Studies in Mexico indicated that education decentralisation served to reduce the power of the Teachers' Union by transferring salary negotiations from the central to the state government levels (Winkler, 1994). From Mexico's experience, it can be argued that one of the consequences of decentralisation can be to increase the effective control of the Central Government or decision-makers within the Ministries of Education. Similarly, decentralisation policies in Ghana were implemented mainly for three reasons. One of them is the democratisation and participatory approaches to development (Naidoo & Kong, 2003).

From the four above arguments supported by relevant examples from Africa and the rest of the world, suffice it to say that some of these financial; efficiency; effective and political assumptions do not take into account contextual realities. However, they are just the publicly stated goals for justification of education decentralisation in most countries. As previously stated, the publicly stated reasons for education decentralisation may differ significantly with the real aims, and thus, it is advisable to also pay attention to practical circumstantial reasons that may lead to implementation or rather, adoption of education decentralisation reforms.

3.2.3.2 Practical Circumstantial Reasons

Apart from the publicly stated justifications for decentralisation discussed in the section above, practical circumstances that may not be the publicly stated justifications for adopting decentralisation policies may also play a role in individual ministries Lauglo (1995). For instance, it is argued that the main motive for decentralisation policies includes the need for the central level's pursuit of strong objectives (ibid). These objectives, which Lauglo puts forward, include the need for the elites to build centralised education systems as a means to use their power of state to shape future generations to serve social transformations. Elites and bureaucrats set conditions to be fulfilled prior to decentralisation. Those who hold power at the centre would be more ready to redistribute it at the local level if the two parties

seem to share the same goals. Usually, there has to be consensus about the ends and means to education that provide a smooth climate which facilitates decentralisation without much resistance from the centre (ibid). Trust in integrity is also an important component of considerations from the elite point of view. On the other hand however, the negligence and reluctance to decentralise certain key roles by the centre may be due to the perception of elites at the centre that the local actors are incompetent to perform the required decentralised duties (Lauglo, 1995; McGinn, 1997). Thus, one can argue that the frequent trainings done by the Central Government to Local Government Authorities in most of the developing countries, including Tanzania, could be based on the beliefs that local level participants are incompetent and therefore training is needed before they can be given more authority to manage education in their areas of jurisdiction (Therkildsen, 2000).

Another publicly un-stated reason is the external pressure by International Development Agencies. There is a lack of empirical evidence that the local authorities or communities in most of the developing countries demand a more participatory decision-making process. Most of the reforms in developing countries, including the education decentralisation reform agenda, are more externally than internally driven (Brock-Utne 2006).

The four arguments for education decentralisation policies that have been discussed in the previous section and the practical circumstances discussed above are important to consider when dealing with the examination of the contemporary success and challenges for decentralisation of primary education. However, it is not always necessarily the case that the four arguments and the practical circumstances have to fit in each country's education system. Much depends on a number of things including but not limited to historical, political and socio-cultural contexts of the country in question.

3.2.4 Experience/Lessons from Other Countries

The following are thought to be some of the pre-conditions to be met in some countries if education decentralisation is to achieve its desired goals. As it was pointed out earlier, Tanzania as well as other countries in the world complied with the subsidiarity principle and thereafter, decentralised education for the purpose of improving social services, in this case primary education. It is crucially important to recognise that education decentralisation is not a panacea to educational problems. It is rather a means to an end but not an end in it self. A lesson learnt from studies in other developing countries, seem to suggest that primary

education can be improved through decentralisation if only the following conditions are taken into consideration: Local financial capabilities; local management capabilities; clear role distribution and information management system. Like any other social phenomena, it is important to note that the presented few pre-conditions can result in either negative or positive effect(s) depending on the way decentralisation is implemented.

3.2.4.1 Local Financial Capabilities

In most of the developing countries, it is a well known fact that education decentralisation is often associated with a shift as regards the shouldering of the financial burden involved in education provision from the Central Government to the Local Authorities (Brock-Utne, 2006; Lauglo, 1995; McGinn & Welsh, 1999; Rondinelli & Cheema, 1983). This being the case, education decentralisation goes concomitantly with the need to encourage local communities to finance primary education in their respective localities. Community financing in developing countries characterised with high-levels of poverty will often result in three scenarios. One, financially poor communities are always unable to fund primary education in their respective areas (Brock-Utne, 2006). Two, when the financially poor communities are compelled to stretch their resources as contribution, then, the materials or the structures funded by the financially poor communities normally do not meet the Central Government standards (Mlaki, 2005; Sumra & Scholl, 2007); and, as a result, the third scenario is that community financing may result in the increase in inequality in educational performance between the poor communities and the rich ones (Carnoy, 1999; Dachi, 1994; Winkler &Yeo, 2007). For example, a 2006 evaluation of Mexico's quality school programme found increased disparity in education (Winkler & Yeo, 2007). Thus, for successful decentralisation, it is imperative to identify the financial capability of the communities concerned so that the related challenges can be predicted and tackled.

In connection with the local financial capability, financial resources have to be decentralised. It should thus be understood that decentralisation efforts without devolution of fiscal power means virtually nothing (Jarrad, 2000; Mwampeta, 1978). Thus, ignoring financial resource aspects is likely to lead to negative effects of education decentralisation policies. Likewise, Michael (1997: 158) recommends that "transferring administrative responsibility without shifting fiscal authority is well documented as a fundamental problem in decentralisation [of education]". It is thus crucial to identify and decentralise financial

resources. This makes the community feel involved and hence may contribute fully to the development of the school.

Additionally, unequal distribution of resources may hinder successful implementation of decentralisation policies. In a situation where the authority such as Ministries or District Councils have to distribute resources, studies based on context specificity must be carried out prior to distribution so that there can be a balance in resource distribution. If this condition is ignored, there will be certain regions, District Councils or schools with more resources than others. Expressed differently, the fact that some regions or districts are richer in resources than others need not be ignored. Overlooking economic imbalance may lead to inequality among the district councils. In other words, poor regions and district councils might not be able to access resources in the same way as rich ones do. This would lead to the situation where the richer regions become richer while poor become poorer. And hence, the socio-economic and academic inequality will increase (Carnoy, 1999: Jarrad, 2000; Mushi, 2006).

Similarly, Mlaki (2005) for instance did a research in Tanzania on how decentralisation enhanced quality education throughout the three Dar es Salaam municipalities: Ilala; Temeke and Kinondoni. One of the key findings revealed that construction of school buildings was a shared responsibility between the Central Government and local communities. Nevertheless, the communities' task to construct up to linter level was a big problem as most of the community members were poor. This implies that imposing such a large financial burden on the shoulders of the poor communities may lead to having many poor communities without schools altogether or at best constructed in a poor standard.

This inequality will not only be limited to school buildings alone. It will also be reflected in other aspects of education provision such as allocation of teachers as well. For example, studies conducted in Tanzania in 2007 indicated that there were regional inequalities in the Teacher Pupil Ratio. The problem is more acute in schools in remote areas where teachers are unwilling to be posted (Brock-Utne, 2006; Carri-Hill & Ndalichako, 2005; URT, 2003; URT, 2004). The study found that a wide regional variation in Teacher Pupil Ratio continues to be evident with rates varying from 1:40 in Kilimanjaro to a high of 1:69 in Shinyanga (Sumra & Scholl, 2007). This particular study done in Tanzania is congruent with Winkler and Yeo who observed that "Decentralisation does not need or always have a positive

influence. To the extent education finance is decentralised; differences in fiscal capacity at the local level may generate increased disparities in spending and education outcomes" (Winker & Yeo, 2007). Thus, the difference in Teacher Pupil Ratio between Kilimanjaro and Shinyanga may be mainly due to urban versus rural differences.

3.2.4.2 Local Management Capabilities

For effective decentralisation, there should be competent people at the local level with relevant skills to manage the decentralised functions. The key components to be considered include: relevant skills and knowledge on decision-making, monitoring and evaluation, planning and implementation (Naidoo & Kong, 2003). These skills are crucial to almost all key actors at all levels. Management capabilities become vital particularly at the school level where there are actors who translate decentralisation policies into concrete actions. The required skills can be acquired through offering regular training to the relevant actors. For instance, Members of the School Committee need to be trained so that they can acquire management skills as well as collection and analysis of school data (Chapman, 2002). This may mean that individual and institutional capacities should be developed to assess educational needs, monitoring progress and provide supervision.

In Mali for instance, a study was conducted in 2005 on whether decentralisation leads to school improvement (De Grauwe et al., 2005). It was found that, teachers and other Parents Teachers Association (PTA) members were poorly informed if not excluded altogether from the day to day school activities. One of the reasons given patterns the profile of the PTA members. The majorities were illiterate, and many did not know the decrees which ruled the PTA. This made the PTA members deal only with fund mobilisation, leaving all other powers to the Head Teacher. As such, there is a danger that the PTA becomes an instrument in the hands of the Head Teacher (De Grauwe et al., 2005). This could imply that the lack of management skills as well as information may culminate not only in being less involved but also a loss of confidence. Similarly, a study conducted in Tanzania, Mara Region on assessment of PEDP implementation revealed that all the Head Teachers who were interviewed admitted that they had frictions with their school committees on issues related to financial management (Louis, 2005). These frictions between the two parties could be obstacles to the development of the schools.

3.2.4.3 Clear Role Distribution

Another pre-condition for successful decentralisation is a clear role distribution of functions within and between different levels of the education delivery system. For this pre-condition to be realised, there should be legal instruments for delegation of authority to each level. Detailed implementation strategy and operational manuals purposely designed for managing education decentralisation, should be developed and enforced. The Central Government should articulate the national vision and strategy for the reform to all stakeholders. If less effort is made to specify individual and organisation respective roles, the lines of responsibilities can become blurred (Naidoo & Kong, 2003).

Studies done in 2005 in Tanzania in Dar es Salaam region found that orders on enhancing quality of primary education through decentralisation that came from the District Council officers in Kinondoni, Ilala and Temeke Municipalities restricted the investment choices of the relevant school Head Teachers in organising the purchase of books from Macmillan Publishers (Mlaki, 2005). According to the Head Teacher, books from Macmillan Company had shallow contents while books from Oxford Company were considered to be good even teachers and pupils liked the books (Mlaki, 2005). In this example it is clear that both Macmillan and Oxford were foreign companies in Tanzania. One would also ask where are the local companies that publish books to be used in Tanzania. Nevertheless, the point being underlined from this study is that decentralisation is supposed to be accompanied with operational manuals on who is supposed to do what, when and why? Such a manual could serve to reduce communication problems and avoid duplication. But, if the operation manuals were in place as we shall see in chapter five, then, one would be interested to know why Head Teachers should be compelled by the officer from the District Council to buy books from a specific company. Similarly, another question would be directed to the Head Teacher, whether there was any data indicating the shallowness of books from Macmillan. If not, I may be convinced to suggest that there could be a hidden agenda related with corruption practices behind this scenario as the source of conflict. In this regard, I could comply with Lauglo (1995) who argues that there are always practical circumstantial reasons for most of the actions related with decentralisation. What is said before the public would differ from the actual aims that made the District Council Officer and the Head Teacher disagree on the appropriate company to buy the school books.

To conclude, this chapter has outlined a theoretical framework of this study and also briefly presented the experience of education decentralisation from other countries. In general, one can say that the theory of Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) seeks to promote local skills, knowledge and experience in the formal primary education curriculum in order to make education relevant to the society in which it is supposed to serve. To achieve this, ESR emphasises an inclusive approach of the local community in the planning and provision of education. This is where the theory of education decentralisation, the second main theory in this study, becomes meaningful as it also seeks to involve the local community through deconcentration, delegation or devolution of primary education. The present socio-economic situation becomes the best determinant of which type of decentralisation fits into a certain community and for which purpose. What is important to emphase then is in fact that each society has its reasons for decentralising education. These can fall under either publicly stated or circumstantial reasons. Usually, it is the combination of the two. It should as well be emphasised that decentralisation in itself is not a solution to educational problems and as such, that is, decentralisation may not always lead to a positive impact on education. Much depends on the context in which the process of decentralisation is undertaken. This includes, among other things, political will, local financial and management capabilities, communication and the need to connect decentralisation with educational equity, access and quality. To put it simply, the experience from other countries has shown that if designed and implemented well, decentralisation has the potential to improve education equity, access and quality.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter is devoted to the methodology used in the study. The chapter specifically provides information on the following: research strategy and reasons for its choice; research design; research settings; target population; sample; sampling techniques; research methods; validity and reliability of instruments; data analysis plan; ethical considerations and lastly, challenges and lesson learned from the field work.

4.1 Research Approach and Reasons for its Choice

Research approach refers to a general orientation to the conduct of social research (Bryman, 2004). Depending on the position of the researcher, there are fundamentally three different research approaches: quantitative, qualitative and comparative research (Ragin, 1994). Quantitative research approach emphasises quantification in the process of collection and analysis of data and entails a deductive approach to the relationship between theory and research. In contrast, the qualitative research approach emphasises words rather than quantification in the process of collection and analysis of data, and emphasises an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research (Bryman, 2004). Regarding the comparative research approach, Ragin (1987) for example criticises the tendency of viewing the qualitative and quantitative research as separate and distinct from each other. In his book called "*The Comparative Method: Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies,*" Ragin suggests that, it is more useful to view the dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative research in terms of a continuum, in which he places comparative research between the two. Thus, Ragin arrived at three methodological approaches in research: the qualitative approach to study *commonalities*, the comparative approach to study *diversity* and the quantitative approach to study *covariation (*Ragin, 1994; Tenga, 2000). Therefore, based on Ragin, it will be argued in this study that no approach can claim to be the best among the three, rather the choice of which one to use depends on 'What is it that the researcher is trying to answer in a given study'?

In this study's results, a qualitative research approach was adopted because it seemed to be more likely than any of the two other approaches to assist in answering the research questions and in successfully reaching the study's conclusion. Basically, the advantages associated with qualitative research methodology forms the rationale behind my choice of this methodology. In a nutshell, the main purpose of this study was to explore people's

insights and opinions in relation to the contemporary successes and challenges in implementing decentralisation policies in primary education Tanzania. Even though the qualitative research faces criticism for working with a small number of cases, often through non-random procedures and that it does not allow generalisation to a larger population, the approach can find details in people's understanding, feelings and experiences which otherwise could not easily be gathered using the quantitative methodology (Silverman, 2000; Silverman, 2005). Equally important, I needed the views and insights of the policy makers, councils' practitioners and members of the school committee in this study. In addition, the qualitative approach allows the use of more than one technique in the process of data collection which helped me to counteract and strengthen the data's reliability. The qualitative approach was useful in this study because sampling is predominantly purposive. Purposive sampling enabled me to obtain the sample that was rich in providing information related to the contemporary successes and challenges in implementing decentralisation policies in primary education. The qualitative research methods which were employed enabled the informants to explain their experiences by using their own words. Likewise, due to financial and time constraints, plus my experience in the field of primary education, it was fair to go directly to the people whom I knew were rich source of information.

4.1.1 Research Design

Bryman (2004) defines research design as a framework for the collection and analysis of data. I did my study in only two councils in Mbeya region as a case to enable me organise the data collected from informants by specific cases for in-depth study and comparisons (Patton, 2002). I was aware that a case can be on single community, organisation, person or event (Bryman, 2004). I treat this study to be a case as my focus was to provide an in-depth explanation of the contemporary successes and challenges on decentralising policies in primary education in Tanzania. I included in my consideration that the choice of the case study would provide an optional basis to answer my research questions. I also know that case study is criticised because of its findings' inability for generalisation, but the major purpose of the study was not generalisation rather, the intensive examination of the decentralisation policies in question. Likewise, the comparisons of the two councils would enable a better understanding of an event under study. Moreover, case study enabled me to deal with the easily controllable area as well as sample to acquire information on the study at hand.

4.2 Research Settings

Every qualitative research is supposed to be carried out in a particular social setting (Maxwell, 1996). Maxwell maintains that a research setting should refer to the exact place where something actually happens or which is thought to be a centre of something. I chose to undertake my study in Mbeya District Council and Mbeya City Council in Tanzania due to a number of reasons. First, I come from Tanzania. Secondly, my choice of Tanzania was to comply with the quota scheme programme's[3] regulations which state that any master student sponsored under quota scheme in Norway must undertake his/her research in a country of his/her origin. Thirdly, and most importantly, the decentralisation policy which is the main theme of the study was being implemented in Tanzania. Tanzania's current decentralisation reforms started in January 2000 (Lexow, 2002). Dar es Salaam was included in the study because it is the capital city of Tanzania and indeed its inclusion simplified my easy access of information such as documents and the availability of policy makers at the ministerial levels. It was also easy to find NGOs dealing with education in Dar es Salaam.

4.2.1 Why Mbeya District Council and Mbeya City Council?

Mbeya District Council (MDC) is situated in a rural area with most of its people engaged in small scale agriculture. MDC has an area of 2432 sq km with the population[4] of 254,897. On the contrary, Mbeya City Council (MCC) is the Head Quarter of Mbeya Region. This means that most of the people in MCC live in the city centre. MCC has an area of 214 square kilometres, with the total population of 266,422. Both MDC and MCC are among the councils that have been implementing the contemporary decentralisation policies. These few differences and many more un-mentioned here, made me interested to study the differences and similarities on how the two councils were experiencing the successes and challenges of decentralisation of primary education. On top of the geographical reasons, I am personally currently employed in Mbeya District Council as a District Academic Officer (DAO). I work under the Department of Education which is one of the 15 departments which make up the council. Thus, doing a research in my working area could, and indeed did, simplify my work of data collections. I could easily access different official documents with lesser restrictions. In a nutshell, my doing research in Tanzania and consequently Mbeya District Council was

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[3] Quota scheme is a funding scheme offered by the Norwegian Government to students from developing countries, countries in Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

[4] The population size in MDC and MCC was according to the 2002 Tanzania National Population and Housing Census.

also to comply with Brock-Utne (1996) who criticises the tendency of African researchers to rely on western sources. Brock-Utne believes that an African researcher knows her/his environment better than most of expatriate can. Brock-Utne further challenges the African researchers to ask questions built on their own experience and environment. This is necessary in not only bringing the voice of Africans in academia, but also in undoing the Eurocentric biases that have shaped quantitative and qualitative research (Tenga, 2000). Moreover, the geographical closeness of the two councils enabled me to reduce transport problems and helped me to establish a better time management. I actually used less than thirty minutes to move from Mbeya City Council to Mbeya City Council Head Offices.

4.3 Target Population

The targeted population in this study involved mainly informants from three levels: the national, district and school. At the national level, the study involved policy-makers from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT), the Ministry of Prime Minister's Office Regional Administration and Local Government (PMORALG) and one department: the Local Government Reform Programme (LGRP). This first group constituted the government policy-makers who were thought to be well informed with regard to Decentralisation and Primary Education in Tanzania. Officers from HakiElimu (HK)[5] as a Non Governmental Organisation were involved purposely to enable the researcher to get different views, opinions and ideas from informants who were not part of the status quo.

The second level involved council officers and political leaders (councilors) who worked at the City/District Councils. In a way, one could argue that this group translated policies from the Central Government and implemented them at district and school levels. The primary schools were answerable to the City/District Councils while the councils were answerable to the ministries. The councils situated as they were between Ministries on one hand, and

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[5] HakiElimu (means the right to education) is a Tanzanian locally based NGO whose mission is to realise equity, quality, human rights and democracy in education by facilitating communities to transform schools and influence policy making, stimulating imaginative public dialogue and organising for change, conducting critical research, policy analysis and advocacy and collaborating with partners to advance common interests and social justice (Shivji,2006)

schools on the other hand and therefore linked the two levels: the national and the local level. The insights acquired from district informants could assist me to cross-check with the information from school and ministerial levels.

The third level involved Head Teachers (HT) and Members of the School Committees (MSCs). This was thought to be the most potential level at the grass-root that involved informants who directly experience the successes and challenges of education and decentralisation policies in Tanzania.

4.4 Sample and Sampling Techniques

4.4.1 Sample

In the study, the sample included a total number of 46 informants: At the national level, 7 were policy-makers at the Ministries concerned with primary education. The district level involved 20 informants. At the school level, 4 Head Teachers (HT), and 13 Members of School Committees (MSCs) were involved. The study also involved 2 officers from HakiElimu (NGO). It is worthy noting that the sample was selected purposely as the informants were thought to possess rich information on the contemporary successes and challenges of decentralisation and primary education in Tanzania. This kind of sample selection is in line with Creswell (1998) who observes that the goal in qualitative research is to collect rich data in order to present the reality accurately even from a single entity. Likewise, Hycner (1999: 156) maintains that "The phenomenon dictates the method and (not vice-versa) including even the type of participants". The table below shows the distribution of 46 informants.

Table 1: Informants

SUB & MAIN TOTAL	LEVELS	SETTINGS	TITLE	FEMALES	MALES	TOTAL
	NATIONAL	DSM	MoEVT	1	2	3
		DSM	PMORALG	1	1	2
		DSM	LGRP	1	1	2
		DSM	HAKIELIMU	1	1	2
Sub Total				**4**	**5**	**9**
	DISTRICT	MDC	Councillors	1	2	3
		MCC	Councillors	1	2	3
		MDC	DEOs	2	1	3
		MCC	DEOs	2	2	4
		MDC	DTs	1	2	3
		MCC	DTs	2	0	2
		MCC	DIA	1	0	1
		MDC	DIA	1	0	1
Sub Total				**11**	**9**	**20**
	SCHOOL	MDC	HT	1	1	2
		MCC	HT	1	1	2
		MDC	MSC	2	4	6
		MCC	MSC	2	5	7
SUB TOTAL				**6**	**11**	**17**
MAIN TOTAL				**21**	**25**	**46**

Note: DEOs-District Education Officers; DIA-District Internal Auditor; DSM-Dar es Salaam; DTs-District Treasurers; HT-Head Teacher; LGRP-Local Government Reform Programme; MCC- Mbeya City Council; MDC-Mbeya District Council; MoEVT- Ministry of Education and Vocational Training; MSC-Member of School Committee; NGO - Non Governmental Organisation; PMORALG - Prime Minister's Office Regional Administration and Local Government.

As Table 1 indicates, 46 research informants were involved in the study, 21 females and 25 males.

4.4.2 Sampling Techniques

All of the 46 research informants were selected through purposive sampling. Before going to Tanzania for data collection, I set the criterion for choosing informants from ministries, councils and school levels. The informants from MoEVT and PMORALG were to be officials working under the directorate of primary education. The LGRP informants were initially not in my sample. I included LGRP after I had interviewed the informant from PMORALG who advised me to visit LGRP as they had rich information on Decentralisation by Devolution (D by D) that seemed important for my research. For LGRP informants, I had

to set the same criterion as I did for MoEVT and PMORALG. Similarly, at first I planned to interview only the District Education Officers as the Head of departments in both councils. However, in the course of our interview sessions with those heads of departments, I was directed to see other officers in the same councils for more clarification on certain issues. I followed the chains as I was advised and indeed, their clarification was quite useful.

Four primary schools, two schools from each council were purposively selected. Between the two schools from one council, I chose one school which performed poorly both in local and national exams, and had very poor infrastructure[6]. While the other school, I selected was doing relatively well in both local and national exams, and at the same had very good infrastructure. The two Head Teachers selected from the two schools in a council were of two opposite sexes. Moreover, the two schools were to be from different geographical localities. If one school was closer to the city centre for example, the other school was selected from the peripher. The PEDP[7] reports, local and national examination results helped me to get the information on the schools which qualified for my study.

The Members of the School Committees were selected from the same school. That is to say, from each school I interviewed the Head Teacher and Members of school committee (refer Table 1).

4.5 Research Methods

Let me begin this section by mentioning the common mistakes we students make often differentiating between 'methodology' and 'methods'. While methodology refers to a general approach for studying research topics, methods refer to specific research techniques for gathering data (Silverman, 2005). In this study, I used methodology to answer the research questions and methods for gathering data.

A number of data gathering techniques were purposely employed in this study so as to allow the research instrument to counteract and strengthen each other in the data collected. A

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[6] By infrastructure we meant the teaching and learning environment such as teachers' houses, classrooms, toilets, desks, tables, books etc

[7] PEDP was a five year plan (2002-2006) that articulates the vision of Universal Primary Education within the wider Tanzanian policy frame works. PEDP consists of four main components: expanding enrolment, improving the quality of teaching and learning processes, building capacity within the education systems and strengthening the institutional arrangements that support the planning and delivery of education services.

combination of the following research methods enabled me to get the expected results: Interview, observation, documentary reviews and focus group discussion.

4.5.1 Interviews

The study used semi-structured interviews to gather the information which was intended. The purpose of interviewing as Patton (2002) stated**:**

> We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe. The issue is not whether observational data are more desirable, valid or meaningful than self report data. The fact is that we cannot observe every thing. We cannot observe feelings, thoughts and intentions. We cannot observe behaviours that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We cannot observe how people have organised the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things (Patton, 2002: 340).

Based on Patton's argument, semi-structured interview enabled me to capture individual informants' experiences which formed the basis of the study pertaining to the contemporary successes and challenges on decentralisation and education in Tanzania.

To obtain deeper information from the informants, semi-structured interviews were purposively applied to provide an opportunity to the researcher to be able to probe further issues that needed clarification while at the same time allowing flexibility. It was thus possible to tailor the line of inquiry based on experiences gained in previous interviews.

I used semi-structured interview which had to a greater extent open-ended questions. The aim was to give an opportunity to informants to provide their views and experiences freely. Even more simple, direct but meaningful languages used in interview sessions meant to ensure clarity to the questions asked while encouraging informants to attend the asked questions. It is in the same line that interviews purposely involved face-to-face sessions to enable the researcher to elicit views and feelings from informants. The interpretation of gestures and words for instance, could in turn be connected to the non-formal observation techniques. All the interviews at the three levels (national, district and school) meant to obtain the opinions and perceptions from the informants of each particular level on how contemporary successes and challenges of decentralisation and primary education were being perceived.

At different levels, the intention has been to asses various issues. Questions at the national level (ministries) for example were intended to obtain information from the selected

informants on plans and actions that were taken to exploit the opportunities and address the challenges on decentralisation and primary education in Tanzania. Questions to the NGO's informants were intended to asses their knowledge and awareness of education decentralisation issues. NGOs were also asked to suggest their views on how the implementation of decentralisation polices could be improved. The questions at the district level were intended to evaluate the on-going decentralisation policies in primary education. Lastly, the researcher interviewed the informants at the school levels to get their feelings, perceptions and opinions on successes and challenges in implementing decentralisation policies in primary education.

All the interviews were recorded through note-taking and an MP3 player[8]. However, the MP3 player was not used often as most of the informants tended to lose confidence once I requested to record them. The doubts were mostly evident with particularly teachers and Members of the School Committees especially when they talked about the challenges of the current government in implementing decentralisation policies in primary education. It was after I had intervened in the situation, by re-giving deeper explanations, stating that the recordings were strictly for the researcher's use, that the informants became real free and able to talk without any more doubts. Whatever the mode of recording was preferred, I noted almost all the important issues in each theme and sub-theme. Immediately after an interview, I spent some few minutes to evaluate whether the important issues that came out from the previous conversation were accurately jotted down.

4.5.2 Field Observation

I employed non-formal observation with the intention to observe the real environment from district to school levels pertaining to successes and challenges in implementing certain aspects of decentralisation policies on primary education. The use of field observation was preferred as it produces data which other methods such as interviews and documentary review cannot (Patton, 2002). I visited four primary schools to learn tangible and intangible aspects that had either been strengthened or negatively affected by the implementation of the contemporary decentralisation polices in primary education. Whenever I went to schools for interview sessions, my eyes were open to see certain successes and challenges associated with implementing decentralisation policies in primary education. I was, for instance, able to

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[8] Mp3 player is a portable digital handheld music player that records, stores, organises and plays MP3 and other audio files.

assess directly the quality of the constructed school buildings funded through community financing.

4.5.3 Focus Group Discussions (FGD)

A focus group refers to a situation where a focus group moderator keeps a small and homogenous group of six to ten or twelve people focused on the discussion of a research topic Bryman (2004). As mentioned earlier, this method of data collection was used in connection with Members of School Committees. The aim was to get the perceptions and feelings of the informants on the contemporary successes and challenges in implementing decentralisation policies in primary education at school level. The method was useful because: it allowed interactions among informants which enhanced data quality; it was relatively cost effective; and it provided checks and balances that were important to weed out false or extreme views (Patton, 2002).

Two discussions were conducted, one in each council. Six informants (2 females, 4 males) formed a group in MDC, while seven informants (2 females, 5 males) formed the other group in MCC. I used probes which also involved open-ended questions and some questions were given prior to the interview. Kiswahili language was used during the discussion. It is worthy emphasising that the discussion was carried out in an environment where each participant was freely encouraged to contribute. To avoid interference in the informants' daily activities, the discussions were carried out from 3 pm when the majority had finished their work. The school committee chair persons and the school Head Teachers were excluded from the group since it was thought that their presence would have inhibited the freedom of other participants. The two leaders were interviewed separately.

4.5.4 Documentary Analysis

Documentary analysis refers to any written or recorded material which is not prepared for the purpose of the inquirer (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The method was used to gather information from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources included original reports on the contributions and constructions of the school buildings. Secondary sources included information from books, pamphlets and articles in journals which did not bear any direct physical relationship to the study of contemporary successes and challenges in decentralisation and primary education in Tanzania.

I obtained the documents from various sources including: MOEVT, PMORALG, LGRP, HK and the library of the University of Dar es Salaam. Some of these documents include: Tanzania Education and Training Policy (TETP) (1995); the Local Government Reform Programmes (LGRP) (1998 & 2007); Basic Education Master Plan (BEMP) 2000-2005; Education Sector Development Program (ESDP) of 2002-2006; the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) of 2002-2006 and PEDP ii of 2007 to 2011 and MDC and MCC PEDP Performance Reports, 3rd Quarter (2007). The information which I extracted was useful to complement the primary data gathered through interview schedules. The main advantage of this method is that documents are stable and can as well be reviewed repeatedly (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Trochim, 2006).

4.6 Validity and Reliability of Instruments

Validity refers to the quality that an instrument used in research is: accurate; correct; true; meaningful and right (Guba & Lincolin, 1998). Reliability refers to the degree of consistence within which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer but in different occasions (Hammersley, 1990). Silverman maintains that "Unless you can show your audience the procedures used to ensure that your methods were reliable and your conclusions valid, there is little point in aiming to conclude a research dissertation" (Silverman, 2000:175).

In order to achieve validity, I decided to perform a number of tasks. First, I employed multiple sources of data and any contradictory statement was ruled out. Second, I ensured that all the instruments prepared were checked by both my research supervisor and my fellow master's students. Indeed, their comments were useful and made me refine my instruments by adding, subtracting or retaining some items.

I tried to increase the reliability of data by building a good rapport with the informants when I introduced myself by telling them the main purpose of the study. I also ensured my informants the confidentiality of the information which they were providing would be safe-guarded. Follow up questions were used to seek for clarity.

4.7 Data Analysis Procedures

The data collected were analysed into four stages: first, the raw data which I collected from the informants were categorised into national, district and school levels. Secondly, I amplified the data to suit the themes of the research. As mentioned earlier, the themes of this study are mainly the success and challenges of education decentralisation in Tanzania. In the third stage I assessed whether the amplified data were responding to the research questions to meet the intended objectives, and then I discussed the results. I eventually organised the findings into the proper order and then wrote a comprehensive report by adhering to the series of the specific objectives for an acceptable coherence of the study.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

It is argued that "ethical concerns are paramount when planning, conducting and evaluating research" Cozby (2007:38). The letter that I received for permission to do research from the University of Oslo went through the Tanzanian hierarchical order from ministries, regional, district up to school levels for introduction and permission to undertake the research at each respective level. For all the informants of each level i.e. ministry, district and school, I did the following things with the informants: The informants were requested to attend the interviews. Here, the informants were free to agree or disagree; we discussed the research objectives; I assured the informants of their privacy, confidentiality, and anonymity for whatever we would discuss. After reaching consensus, I interviewed the relevant informants at each level by using clear and simple language in most cases Kiswahili.

4.9 Challenges and Lesson Learned from the Field Work

I encountered a number of challenges and lessons in the process of data collection for this study. I cannot disclose all but few examples which are worthy mentioning. I conducted this study in Tanzania. This is a country in which I was born, brought up and presently where my family and relatives live. Before going back for the field work, I had been away from Tanzania for almost one year. I was allowed to stay in Tanzania for only two months for data collection purposes. Doing a research in such a context was not all that easy. Time management was among the most challenging factors. My family, friends and relatives wanted to have time for socialisation with me for at least every evening. They wanted to hear experiences from Norway. But, I did not have enough time for socialising as each

evening I had to think of the next day by confirming the appointments and summarising my interviews on my lap top.

Likewise, as I mentioned earlier, I collected the data in Mbeya District Council. This is where I am employed as a District Academic Officer. While it was easy for me to access information, use local language and trace the institutions easily, doing a research in this council led me face a number of challenges: some of the informants for example did not want to answer 'simple' questions because they thought that I knew the answers and therefore asking such questions was like testing them or wastage of time. Similarly while some of the informants were so open to tell me the school problems with the expectation that I could help them find the solution, other informants did not want to disclose some of the weak points because doing so would mean accusing their leaders such as Head Teachers, School Committee Chair Person and Village Government Leaders. To deal with these challenges I had to re-explain the intention of my study several times.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents and discusses the main findings from this study. In order to put the discussion of the study in its right context, the chapter will first present the main characteristics defining the different categories of informants.

The findings are based on the sample of 46 research informants. There were two informants from HakiElimu (NGO), while other informants were selected from the main three levels of education system in Tanzania namely, national, district and school. The informants were purposefully selected based on their positions in their institutions and therefore their knowledge and experience on the education decentralisation in Tanzania. The distribution of the informants was as follows: at the national level, there were seven informants representing policy-makers from the MoEVT and PMORALG. At a District level, there were 20 informants out of whom six were political leaders (councillors) and 14 were council officials working in the District Executive Director's office. At the school level, there were 17 informants where 4 were head teachers and 13 Members of the School Committees. The study involved only adult informants meaning that they were above 18 years of age. Education wise, the informants of this study ranged from those who had no any formal education up to those with university education level. At the school level for example, very few informants[9] had no formal education but the majority had primary education, and some had secondary education. At the district level, the informants had primary education (e.g. some of the political leaders), secondary education and university education. At the national level, all the 9 informants had university education. Primary school teachers had either primary or secondary education. Political leaders at the council level had either primary, secondary or university education. In the course of my field work, I carried out 33 interviews. As I said earlier in chapter four, I formerly planned to conduct fewer than 33 individual interviews. The 33 individual interviews were mainly the result of "snowball effect" during my field work. In addition to the 33 interviews, I conducted two focus group discussions, one at each council. The two focus group discussions had thirteen informants in total (see Table 1).

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[9] This group of informants who did not have formal education was composed of members of the school committees.

Having outlined the main characteristics of my informants, the main findings of the study are presented along the lines of my two specific objectives. In adhering to the research questions, the findings are presented under four main areas namely, access and equity, quality, management issues as well as extreme poverty. It should also be remembered that "PEDP is set firmly within the decentralised framework" (URT, 2001:4). Thus, currently, there is almost no way PEDP can be excluded from education decentralisation discussions in the Tanzanian context.

5.1 The Success of Decentralisation Policies

5.1.1 Access and Equity

The Government of Tanzania is committed to the Universal Primary Education and in this regard the government has been striving to expand education opportunities to all children in the country. Indeed, decentralisation of primary education was also argued to be a reason of achieving access and equity.

5.1.1.1 Enrolment

In its commitment, the policy stipulates that "the Government [of Tanzania] shall ensure that all primary school age children are enrolled in school and in full attendance*"* (URT (1995: 101). After more than a decade of its implementation, then, to what extent has the government succeeded in its efforts? Perhaps the most notable and therefore acknowledged benefit that could be attributed to decentralisation policy is the immediate massive expansion of enrolment in primary schools. The analysis and interpretation of the research findings showed that the success in enrolment was due to a number of factors. One and perhaps the main factor mentioned was the involvement of the community in the enrolment processes. Complemented by other factors such as abolition of school fees, political commitment on the part of the government and so many others, community participation was said to be the main reason behind the great success in expanding access and equity. The government data on Basic Education Statistics from 2003 to 2007 seem to confirm this trend in primary schools in Tanzania as shown in Table 2 below:

Table2: Total Enrolment, Population (7-13) Years and Enrolment Ratios

Year	Total Grade I-VII	Population 7-13 Years	7-13 Years in Grade 1-VII	NER	GER
2003	6, 562, 772	6,229, 830	5,515,793	88.5	105.3
2004	7,083,063	6,665,347	6,034,526	90.5	106.3
2005	7,541,208	6,859,282	6,499,581	94.8	109.9
2006	7,959,884	7,063,362	6,788,561	96.1	112.7
2007	8,361,925	7,271,198	7,075,899	97.3	114.4

Source: Basic Education Statistics in Tanzania (2006-2007)

Table 2 shows that the Gross Enrolment Rate (GER) reached was 105.3, 106.3, 109.9, 112.7, and 114.4 in years 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007 respectively, compared to only 77.6 in 1990 (Okkolin, 2006). NERs attained in 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006 and 2007 were 88.5, 90.5, 94.8, 96.1 and 97.3 respectively, compared to 58.8% in 1990 (Okkolin, 2006).

A closer scrutiny of the data from Mbeya District Council, taking the PEDP performance report in particular as a point of reference, suggests that there has been a steady increase in the actual enrolment as compared to the estimated enrolment in 2000-2007 as shown in the table below.

Table3: Estimated Versus Actual Enrolment Figure in MDC in 2000-2007

Year	Estimated			Enrolled			% of Enrolled
	Male	Female	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
2000	3645	3689	7334	3431	3018	6449	87.9
2001	6676	6190	12866	5955	5518	11473	89.2
2002	6100	5691	11791	8022	8178	16200	137.4
2003	5157	5003	10160	5059	5062	10121	99.6
2004	5357	4442	9799	4542	4480	9022	92.1
2005	4232	4326	8558	4174	4347	8521	99.6
2006	4266	4345	8611	4235	4574	8809	102.3
2007	4738	4762	9500	4617	4664	9281	97.7
TOTAL	**40171**	**38448**	**78619**	**40035**	**39841**	**79876**	**101.6**

The information used to develop table 3 was collected from MDC PEDP performance report January-March 2007

Table 3 indicates that in the period from 2000 up to 2007, a total of 79,876 pupils were enrolled in standard one in Mbeya District Council and there has been an increase in the enrolment expansion. In 2000, for example, only 87.9 percent of the estimated children were enrolled. This was the period before the current decentralisation. The situation was different after the start of PEDP. In 2002, 137.4 percent was enrolled. Since PEDP is set within the decentralised framework, it is reasonable to observe therefore that the success in enrolment expansion in MDC ought to be associated with the adoption of the decentralisation policies which facilitated the involvement of different stakeholders at different levels in education provision.

Similarly, based on Table 3 shown earlier, it can be seen that there was a great improvement considering the number of boys and girls enrolled since 2000 up to 2007. Before PEDP, in 2000 for example, 94.1 percent of boys estimated were enrolled. On the other hand, 81.1 percent of girls estimated were enrolled. After PEDP in 2002, 131.5 percent of boys estimated were enrolled. But, surprisingly, 143.7 percent of the girls estimated were enrolled. The success in the total enrolment expansion may imply that both parents and the community at large were motivated to send their children to schools. Other main reasons that could be attributed to the success in the enrolment expansion include the abolition of the school fees accompanied by the community participation in school works.

Thus, the findings concur with Winkler and Yeo (2007) who argue that involving parents more directly in the education of their children may also lead to increased enrolment and school attendance as well as changed behaviour in the home due to parents more closely monitoring their children's study habits.

5.1.1.2 School Building Constructions

It is a fact that the decentralisation of primary education provision encouraged communities to support the expansion of access and equity through construction of classrooms, teachers' houses, latrines and so forth. Responding to the question which sought to identify ways in which the decentralisation strategy improved the school teaching and learning environment, councillors from both MCC and MDC interviewed in this study (six out of seven) said that through decentralisation, there was a considerable improvement in the school infrastructure compared to the last ten years.

For instance, the findings from documentary analysis in MCC indicated that until December 31st 2005, out of 1567 classrooms required, the council had 1041 (66%) classrooms available. On the other hand, out of 1904 (100%) classrooms required in MDC, 1017 (53%) classrooms were available by June, 2007. The appreciation on the increase of the improvement of school infrastructure was also noted by one of the councillors in MCC who had this to comment:

> *Karibu kila kijiji kina shule. Na, kila shule walau ina jengo moja jipya. Jengo jipya lililopo karibu kila shule laweza kuwa darasa, choo, nyumba ya mwalimu na kadhalika. Kwa upande wa madarasa, baadhi yana madawati mapya. Baadhi ya watu vijijini walitoa pesa taslimu na wengine walileta madawati halisi. Nakwambia, ilikuwa pata shika, nguo kuchanika, kila kona ilikuwa kampeini ya michango. Na matokeo yake yanaonekana, shule na madarasa vimeongezeka. Watoto wetu wamepata pa kujifunzia.*

Author's translation:

> Almost every village has a school. In each school, there is at least one new building. The new building is a new classroom, toilet or teacher's house and so forth. In the case of the classrooms, some of them have new desks. Some of the people in the villages paid cash while others paid in terms of their labour and others contributed actual desks. It was hectic, everywhere there were contribution campaigns. The results of these efforts are apparent. Classrooms and schools have increased in number. Our children have now a place for studying.

Community contribution is undoubtedly the most repeated aspect throughout my interviews One Member of the School Committee in Mbeya City Council put it like this:

> *Kumbuka kuwa baadhi ya watu walijitolea kutoa ardhi yao bila malipo yoyote. Mimi kwa kweli sikumbuki sehemu yoyote ambapo serikali imenunua ardhi kwa ajili ya ujenzi wa shule. Ndio, tunajua kuwa watu ni maskini lakini wakiamua kutoa wanaweza ili mradi wawe wameamua. Watu wanaweza wasiwe na uwezo wa kupata hata milo miwili kwa siku lakini wakipania kufanya jambo wanaweza.*

The Author's translation:

> Remember that people offered their land free of charge for school construction purposes. I don't really remember any single case where the government had bought a piece of land for constructing primary schools. Yes, we know that people are poor but they are ready to give whatever little they have once they decide to do so.

Decentralisation, therefore, seems to have stimulated tremendous enthusiasm among the people to support government efforts to expand access and quality of primary education through, among other things, construction of school buildings. According to the two

informants above, in Mbeya as well as Tanzania, classrooms, toilets and teacher houses were built as a result of implementing decentralisation policies in primary education.

It should also be pointed out that the idea of contribution, especially the provision of properties such as free land by the people is not without its share of criticism. Some scholars are questioning whether the poor people were really voluntarily motivated to give their properties for free or it is the question of the reality on the ground which compels people to do so along the lines mentioned above. This "enthusiasm" discussed above can be associated with what Winkler and Kong (2003) refer to as *implicit or de facto* decentralisation: a situation which may result from the state's failure to provide education opportunities in certain areas, particularly in remote areas and so the community takes upon itself the responsibility to finance the provision of schooling. In connection with the previous informant's arguments, the information from documentary analysis presents how the school building responsibilities were shared among the Central Government, MDC and communities.

Table4: School Construction among Central Government, MDC and Communities

Year	Project's Name	Target	Actual	Cost in Tanzanian Shillings		
				Central Government	District Council	Community Contributions
2001/2002	Teachers' Houses	6	6	160,000,000	3,500,000	6,000,000
2001/2002—2003/2004	classrooms	26	22	51,470,000	640,000	27,000,022

Data for developing this table were gathered from monthly reports in Mbeya District Council (MDC).

Table 4 shows that the Central Government, MDC and communities had strategies to maximise the quality of primary education by sharing responsibilities through construction of school buildings. From the table, we can read that in the period 2001/2002 -2003/2004, a total of 79,610,022/= were incurred to build 22 classrooms. Out of this amount, the Central Government paid 51,470,000/=, Mbeya District Council 640,000/= and the community contributed with an estimated 27,500,022/= shillings which include money, labour, and other construction materials. Moreover, it was revealed by one of the education officers at Mbeya District Council that in addition to the classrooms shown in Table 4, the communities managed to build 128 classrooms without sharing responsibilities with either the Central Government or Mbeya District Council.

Similarly, community involvement was also said to have significantly contributed in enhancing effectiveness and efficiency of the use of development grants from government in constructing schools' buildings. Through documentary review, I was able to access one of the past MDC written speeches for the Honourable Minister. In that speech, I was able to get the explanations on how the Council managed to go beyond the Central Government targeted number of buildings. This is how it goes:

> *Mheshimiwa Waziri, ofisi za walimu hujengwa kwa kutumia ruzuku ya maendeleo (Development Grant) inayotolewa kwa ajili ya ujenzi wa madarasa. Kumbuka, serikali kuu hutoa sh. 3,100,00/= kwa ajili ya darasa moja tu. Lakini, Kulingana na mkakati wa halmashauri hii, badala ya kujenga darasa moja lililodhamiriwa na serikali kuu, tunatumia kiasi kilekile cha fedha kujenga yafuatayo: Ofisi moja ya mwalimu, stoo moja na madarasa mawili. Hii inawezekana kwa kuwa tunatumia nguvu za wananchi. Kwa hiyo, serikali kuu iliipa Halmashauri hii kiasi cha fedha za kujengea madarasa 155 tu. Hata hivyo, MDC kwa kutumia kiasi hicho hicho cha fedha iliweza kujenga vifuatavyo: madarasa 310; Stoo 155 na ofisi 155.*

Author's Translation:

> Honourable Minister, teachers' offices are built by using the Development Grant from the Central Government. Remember, the Central Government offers Tsh 3,100,000/=for building one classroom. But, according to the strategy of this council, instead of building one classroom targeted by the Central Government, we use the same amount of money to build the following: one teacher's office, one store and two classrooms. This is possible only because we use community's labour. Thus, the Central Government gave MDC funds enough to build 155 classrooms. However, MDC using the same amount of funds was able to build the following: 310 classrooms; 155 stores and 155 offices.

The above quotation shows different ways in which district levels try to maximise the limited funds they receive from the Central Government. Here, we see how the Central Government's effort is supplemented by the local initiatives and hence produce beyond the expected number of buildings. In other words, if the responsibility for construction of school buildings was not decentralised, 155 classrooms, 155 stores and 155 offices would not have been built. On the other hand however, such an attempt of maximisation can endanger the quality of the buildings if precaution is not taken. After visiting some of the schools, I saw that some of the classrooms in MDC were left unfinished due to the ambition of the lower levels multiplying the number of the buildings more than intended. This point will be elaborated further in the forthcoming section about the challenges.

5.1.2 Administration and Management Issues

It is now a common knowledge that involvement in the management of school is indispensable in enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of the service delivery system within the education sector. Among other things, community participation through the school committees is said to improve the governance and management of school as well as increase of people's sense of ownership of schools.

5.1.2.1 School Committees

Tanzania recognises the importance of community involvement in educational development issues (URT, 1995, URT, 2001). Thirteen Members of the School Committees attended the focus group discussions. It was found that, all of the four schools visited had school committees. It was however revealed that the school committees were essentially involved in matters pertaining to construction, procurement of the textbooks, and sometimes student discipline. This is how one of Members of the School Committees revealed:

> *Kwa kweli kwa sasa tunashiriki kazi za shule. Tunashiriki mambo ya fedha za shule, ujenzi wa shule na hata kama kuna mtoto mkorofi tunaweza kutaarifiwa tuchukue hatua ya kinidhamu. Katika kutekeleza kazi zetu, tunajitahidi kufuata mafundisho waliotupa viongozi wetu toka wilayani. Mara nyingi, unafunua miongozo tuliyopewa tunasoma kutafuta ukweli wa mambo.*

Author's translation:

> Actually, we are now being involved in a number of the school's management tasks. We are for example, involved in issues related to management of school finance, construction, and also in disciplinary matters. If there are troublesome pupils, we are often informed so that we may take disciplinary measures. In carrying out our roles, we very much make use of training we received from the District Council. Often times, we refer to the guidelines we received from the District Council to get some insights on how to handle any given matter.

Indeed, it is obvious from this study as well as from my own personal experience that currently, the school committees exist in all of the primary schools in Tanzania. The fact that these organs exist and function is in itself an achievement, which should be accredited to the decentralisation policy in the country. What is more impressive and which has been emphasised by most informants is that Members of the School Committees are not only present to take orders from the top. On the contrary, they are also actively involved in the running of the schools affairs and some take their responsibilities very seriously. Given that the Members of the School Committees represent the parents and the entire community, the school committees have become important organs as they facilitate the necessary links between the community and the schools. This link has, for example, proved to be of high

value in the current success in funds mobilisation for schools. Thus, findings are in line with Heredia-Ortiz (2006) who argues that, by empowering local communities and giving them information about the school's performance, decentralisation may increase communities' participation in school governance, raise their expectations of school performance, and lead to increased pressure on teachers and schools to perform.

5.1.2.2 Capitation Grants to Schools.

All the primary schools in Tanzania receive capitation grants from the District Councils (URT, 2004). All four Head Teachers involved in the study said that the transparency in the whole system of procurement and management of school funds had been improved. One of the Head Teachers pointed out that, immediately as the funds were disbursed into the school bank accounts, the District Executive Director (through the District Education Officer) informs all the communities and schools. The communities are informed through displaying the information on the public notice-boards showing the amount of funds which has been allocated to each school. At the same time, the District Executive Director sends letters with information on the arrival of funds to all Head Teachers. Consequently, the Head Teachers inform other teachers and the Members of the School Committees to make allocations based on guidelines governing the funds as well as according to the schools' development plans in general. Actually, in one of the schools where I went, these guidelines were displayed on the notice-board in the Head Teacher's office. From these guidelines, the break down of the capitation grant is as follows:

Table5: Allocation of Capitation Grants Cost in Schools

Capitation Grants Cost	$ USD
Facility repairs	2
Text books, teaching guidelines, Supplementary reading materials	4
Chalk, exercise books, pens and pencils	2
Administration materials	1
Examination paper purchase and printing	1
Total Capitation Grants	10

Source: URT (2001:30)

Table 5 is based on the capitation grants or sometimes referred to as "Block funding to school". The Head Teacher explained on how the capitation grant was allocated. According to the explanation from the Head Teacher and the URT (2001), the amount of capitation grant allocated for each school is determined according to the actual number of enrolments

(see Table 5). For example, a school I visited with 600 enrolled pupils was supposed to receive USD 6000 for the year 2007. That is to say, 600 pupils enrolled in a school multiplied by 10 USD, of which each pupil is supposed to be paid for annually. Similarly, from Table 5, in order to determine how much would be allocated for a single item such as text books, teaching guidelines and supplementary reading materials for example, then, 600 pupils in a school would be multiplied by 4. The total would be USD 2400. That is how the school funds should be allocated (URT, 2001).

At this point, it should be mentioned that this is undoubtedly the most innovative and important aspect /outcome of decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania. For, prior to this, there was no direct funding from the Central or District Authority that used to go to schools. But, as a result of primary education decentralisation, now all the primary schools receive some money from the Central/ District Authority. As we shall see later, this funding has been a great source of motivation for not only teachers and Head Teachers but also the community at large.

The information from the District Education Officers (DEOs) and Head Teacher discussed above, concur with the information collected from HakiElimu's brochure which I received from the headquarters in Dar es Salaam during data collection. The brochure apart from giving suggestions seems to appreciate the measures which had been taken by the Central Government to be more transparent in the management of school funds. The brochure in part reads as follows:

> The education budget should be presented in a clear and understandable way, so that parents and teachers are empowered to follow up. The current practice of publishing transfers in news papers is commendable, but these adverts should be more comprehensive and provide more explanation. This information could also be transmitted through more popular means such as Radio or TV sports and could also be posted on schools notice board (HakiElimu, Brief 07. 1E).

Given the information from DEOs, Head Teachers and HakiElimu, it seems that the implementation of education decentralisation policies have made some commendable improvements on the accountability and management of school funds. The fact that communities were involved in the provision of their labour and the management of the school funds would imply that signs of checks and balances existed in and outside the schools. The School Committees were supposed to be accountable to the parents who elected them, Village Councils, Wards and District Councils. The District Councils would be

accountable to the region and ministries responsible for primary education. The presence of such a chain of command and therefore checks and balance would obviously imply the minimisation of chances of misappropriation. Similarly, Carnoy (1999) argues that improved governance and accountability through decentralisation may lead to higher efficiency in the use of resources, which contributes to improved school performance.

5.1.2.3 Availability of Teaching and Learning Materials

The URT (1995: 103) stipulates that "Government shall set and establish standard infrastructure and facilities for primary schools, such as educational equipment, libraries and instructional materials necessary for effective delivery and acquisition of good quality education". At this point, it should be pointed out that as far as quality is concerned, the following aspects have been identified to have been improved due to the decentralisation of primary education, namely text books, reading and learning materials.

Table6: Available Teaching and Learning Materials in MDC in 1999 and 2007

Year	Number of Pupils	Text Book	Book Pupil Ratio	Supplementary Books	Teacher's Guide	Science Kits	Atlas
1999	37,483	14,191	1:3	2,499	1,511	1	7
2007	69,868	31,152	1:2	5,992	-	52	-

The information used to develop this table was collected from MDC Primary School Statistics 1999 and 2007 Annual Reports.

Table 6 indicates that in 1999, the MDC had 37,483 pupils in primary schools. The pupil book ratio was by that time one book to three pupils (1:3). This was the period when the responsibility for the procurement of the text books and other teaching and learning materials was not yet devolved to schools. At that time, the procurement was done by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training and the books were distributed to schools by the District Councils. In 2007, MDC had 69,868 pupils enrolled in primary schools. The pupil book ratio was approximately one book to two pupils (1:2). This was the period after the responsibility for procurement of text books had been devolved to the schools. Nevertheless, it should be noted that a slight increase in the number of books is not only attributed to the delegation of procurement responsibility to the lower levels but to other factors such as the increase of donors and consequently the increase of the amount of money to fund primary education.

As Table 6 shows, the total number of enrolled pupils was 69, 686 in primary school in 2007. According to the total number of text books per each subject, MDC had categorically reached the following Book Pupil Ratio: Hisabati (Mathematics) 8500 (1:8); Kiingereza (English) 7117 (1:10); Kiswahili 9519 (1:7); Sayansi (Science) 6016 (1:12). The Book Pupil Ratio in this case implies that one book of mathematics for instance was supposed to be shared by eight pupils. Despite the slightly improved book pupil ratios, it is clear that Mbeya District Council still has a long way to go in achieving the National target of one book to one pupil (1:1) (URT, 2001). However, what is interesting is that the authority for book procurement has been decentralised from the central and district levels to the school level. It is hoped that this will reduce some bureaucratic procedures and therefore facilitate quick procurement of books. Pupils' and teachers' accessibility to teaching and learning materials would therefore be achieved. This was confirmed by one of the education officers in Mbeya District Council:

> *Kuanzia mwezi Januari 2004, serikali ilibadilisha utaratibu wa kupeleka ruzuku ya ununuzi wa vitabu Halmashauri kwa kutumia akaunti namba 5 ya Idara ya Elimu. Awali, Halmashauri ilitumia fedha kununua vitabu na kuvigawa shuleni. Kwa sasa, mambo yamebadilika. Ruzuku toka serikali kuu ya ununuzi wa vitabu inapelekwa moja kwa moja kwenye akaunti ya kila shule kwa kupitia Halmashauri. Hadi sasa, shule zote zimenunua vitabu na tayari vimeanza kutumika.*

Author's Translation:

> From January 2004 the government has changed its system in purchasing textbook for primary schools. In the previous system, the government used to disburse the funds for textbooks procurements for primary school through the District Council Account Number 5 under Education Department. The District Council then used the funds to procure textbooks and then distribute them to schools. This is no longer the case now. In the new system, funds for the purchase of textbooks are sent directly by the Central Government to the account of each school via the District Council. Up to now, all schools have already bought text books and they are already in use.

From the quotation, it can be noted that the authority for the procurement of textbooks has been delegated to the School Committees. This can mean that the Head Teacher, the school committee, teachers and probably pupils have been given the opportunity to choose the books they want. If this power is not misused, it is likely to improve the quality of teaching and learning as teachers will obviously suggest quality and user friendly books. Thus, the findings concur with Winkler and Yeo (2007) who suggest that decentralisation that gives schools autonomy and responsibility for their performance appears to generate the characteristics of highly effective schools.

5.1.2.4 The Sense of Ownership

Ownership was one of the aspects which were attributed to decentralisation. The findings revealed that people felt the sense of owning the school by being involved in a number of issues including school funds management. This was more obvious during the focus group discussion where one Member of the School Committee described the involvement of the community, in the management of the school as having led among many other things to the increase in security around the schools' properties. This is how the respective informant from Mbeya District Council put it:

> *Siku za nyuma watu wasiofahamika waliiba mali za shule. Lakini, tunajiuliza, watu hawa walitoka wapi? Hakuna anayejua, lakini nadhani walitoka maeneo jirani na shule. Na, yayumkinika kuwa wanajumuia walijua ni nani walifanya uovu huo. Hata hivyo, wote tulibaki kwenye mataa kwani hakuna hata mmoja wetu alikuwa tayari kutoa taarifa za watu hao. Lakini, mwenzangu! Mara tu zoezi la kushirikisha jamii kusimamia fedha za shule lilipoanza, kesi za wizi zimepungua. Sasa, usiniulize zimepungua ngapi, kutoka ngapi lakini najua kutokana na uzoefu wangu. Kwa sasa watu wanajua fika kuwa kama shule ikiharibiwa, ni watu hao hao watakaohitajika kutengeneza. Kwa jinsi hiyo, watu wapo tayari kutoa taarifa ya uharibifu wowote unaojiotokeza shuleni ikiwa ni pamoja na kumtaja mhalifu wa uhalibifu huo.*

Author's translation:

> In the past, our schools used to be vandalised and some properties used to be stolen from them. One wonders where these people who did all these things come from. No one seemed to know, but I think they ought to have come from the same community around the schools. And most likely, some members of the community might have known these people. The problem however was that no one among us was ready to report these people. But, my friend! That was in the past and not now. Since the exercise of involving the people in the financing and management of schools started, the vandalism and stealing cases in our schools have been reduced. But don't ask me about the statistics because I don't have them. But, I know from my experience that the incidents have dropped sharply. Now, people know that if some properties in a school are destroyed, they are the ones who will be asked to replace them. Hence, they are ready to report any destruction that happens in schools as well as to report the perpetrators of these destructions.

Another Member of the School Committee from MCC had more or less similar views. This is how the informant put it:

> *Kwa sasa tunamiliki shule kwa sababu tulizijenga wenyewe. Tulitengeneza madawati na kutayarisha viwanja vya kuchezea. Kijana, katika dunia hii mtu asikudanganye, ukigharimia kitu ndipo unakuwa na sauti juu yake.*

Author's translation:

> Now we own the schools because we built them ourselves. We made the desks and we also prepared school play grounds. Let me assure you my young man, in today's world, to have a say on something, you have to own it.

According to these informants, community participation into the management of the schools has enhanced the sense of ownership of schools, which in turn has improved the security situation around the schools. The community learned that if something is destroyed or taken away, it will be responsible to repair or pay for it. Thus, almost everyone in the community is aware of the school properties. On the other hand, contribution gave the communities the voice over schools' affairs especially on matters of how the schools are managed.

The findings on the successes of education decentralisation seem to be consistent with Mosha and Dachi (2004) who found that democratic and popular participation through decentralisation of education in Tanzania were not incidental. They were meant to empower stakeholders in education and other citizens through their Local Governments and communities to promote broad-based collaboration in the mobilisation of resources. It is maintained that "prescriptions from above or elsewhere do not work" (Mosha & Dachi, 2004: 171). This can mean that if the community is effectively involved, it can make good contributions to their development than receiving orders from the centre. Similarly, URT (2004) noted that school communities in Tanzania had begun taking local ownership seriously and the 'demand culture' was growing as a result of decentralising primary education.

5.2 Challenges for Decentralisation Policies

Having presented what the study revealed to be the main achievement associated with decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania, it should also be noted that a number of challenges still face this process. In this section, the challenges are categorised along the broader areas of access and equity, quality, management issues and extreme poverty.

5.2.1 Access and Equity Challenges

This section provides the findings under two components: unequal allocation of teachers and school buildings and other facilities.

5.2.1.1 Unequal Allocation of Teachers

Teachers are the most important factor in delivering instruction to children (Gersberg & Winkler, 2003). If the exercise of allocation and transfer of teachers is mishandled by the District Councils, then, the potential benefits of decentralisation can be highly constrained.

In the study, it was revealed that, unfortunately, the rapid enrolment expansion which most of the people cherished in Tanzania had abruptly turned the schools into a chaotic situation and consequently affected the quality of education. This was mainly because the available teachers did not match with the rapid increase in the number of enrolled pupils in schools. In other words, what was termed as success in terms of equity and access has adversely affected the quality of primary education due to the mismatch between the number of teachers and pupils in schools. The information collected through documentary review in the table below shows the public primary schools Teacher Pupils Ratio in MCC and MDC in 2007.

Table7: Teacher Pupils Ratio in MCC and MDC in 2007

District Council	Schools	Teachers			Pupils			Teacher Pupils Ratio
		Male	Female	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
MCC	81	487	990	1,477	33,563	34,415	67,978	1:46
MDC	146	678	749	1,427	34,223	35,645	69,868	1:49

The information used to develop a table has been collected from MCC (April-June) and MDC (January-March) PEDP performance Reports 2007.

Table 7 presents and compares the 2007 number of primary schools, teachers and pupils in Mbeya City Council (MCC) and Mbeya District Council (MDC). The Teacher Pupil Ratio is 1: 46 in MCC and 1:49 in MDC. Although the ratios in both councils are closer to the standard nationally suggested ratio, they are not yet reached. According to URT (2001:5) "the standard teacher-to-pupil ratio is 1:45". Ideally this would seem that both councils are about to meet the national standard of one teacher to 45 pupils.

On the other hand, it is important to emphasis upfront that Table 7 above has been provided to show how the District Councils face challenges in allocating teachers to schools according to the number of pupils. Statistically, it is true that the District Council (MDC) has almost reached the national standard on the Teacher to Pupils Ratio, but, the formal teaching and learning process does not take place at the district level rather at schools. Thus, the findings from two schools within Mbeya District Council can reflect the challenges faced by the Local Governments to allocate scarce teachers to their respective schools according to the demands.

Table8: Teacher Pupil Ratio in Itete and Hekima Primary Schools

Itete Primary School				Hekima Primary School			
Grade	Boys/Male	Girls/Female	Total	Grade	Boys	Girls	Total
1	34	23	57	1	25	28	53
2	17	23	40	2	24	22	46
3	35	33	68	3	27	20	47
4	46	44	90	4	35	19	54
5	29	29	58	5	24	16	40
6	29	21	50	6	28	34	62
7	24	25	49	7	22	24	46
Total (Pupils)	214	198	412	Total (Pupils)	185	163	348
Teachers	Male	Female	Total	Teachers	Males	Females	Total
	2	1	3		4	10	14
Teacher Pupils Ratio 1:137				**Teacher Pupils Ratio 1:25**			

The information on Itete Primary School was collected through a telephone interview with the office of the district's Education Statistics and Logistics Officer (SLO) on the 9th April, 2008. The Information about Hekima Primary School was collected from a monthly school report dated 30th March, 2007.

From Table 8, it can be noted that Itete primary school has grade one up to seven with a total number of 412 pupils but only 3 teachers. This can imply that on average, one teacher takes care of one hundred and thirty seven pupils (1:137). However, it is important to note that most of the time, Head Teachers deal with administrative issues rather than teaching in classrooms. That is to say, in practice, two teachers are mostly responsible in taking care of grade one up to seven in Itete primary school. Such a situation might not only necessitate pupils' congestion in classrooms but also teachers should overload. Among the reasons as to why Itete primary school had only three teachers is that, it is situated in the periphery of MDC, where social services such as clean water, electricity and roads are not available. As a result, most of the teachers who were posted did not report at all or those who reported immediately found excuses that led to their transfer from Itete primary school.

Surprisingly, while Itete primary school had (1:137) teacher pupils' ratio, the situation was quite different in another primary school. According to the 30th March 2007 monthly school report, Hekima primary school, in the same District Council (MDC), had a total number of 348 pupil and 14 teachers. On average then, Hekima had a teacher pupils ratio of (1:25). As indicated earlier, Hekima primary school is situated closer to the city centre (Mbalizi)[10] where most of the social services were relatively available. As a general rule, schools in the

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[10] Mbalizi is a city centre in Mbeya District Council. Services such as transport, clean water, hospital and electricity are available.

remote areas had few teachers than schools closer to the city centres in Mbeya District Council.Teachers imbalance could imply that it was not enough for the government to annually train and recruit more teachers. What also needs to be done is for the government to come up with a clear development system which incorporates an incentive package such as teacher housing and special allowances especially for the schools in the rural areas.

It should also be noted that out of three teachers in Itete Primary School only one teacher was a woman. On the contrary, out of fourteen teachers in Hekima primary school only four teachers were males. Again, as a general rule, most teachers in urban schools are females. This explains a result of the fact that many female teachers moved to urban areas to join their husbands upon their marriages.

The findings on the contemporary imbalance between teachers and pupils are in contrast with PEDP one of whose aims was to establish a Teacher to Pupil Ratio that effectively accommodated the enrolment increase (URT, 2003). On the contrary, recent studies have found that recruitment of teachers in rural areas remains a major challenge in the primary education sector (Sumra & Scholl, 2007). Similarly, (Brock-Utne, 2006; Carr-Hill & Ndalichako, 2005; World Bank, 2000) assert that the state of teachers' working conditions in rural areas in Tanzania had a detrimental effect on deployment as well as retention of teachers in those areas. Yet, there seemed to be no easy solution to the problems which stemmed partly from lack of adequate facilities such as houses and partly because 46 percent of teachers were females (Galabawa, 2001; URT, 2003). Most of female teachers were married and could not be located far from their husbands. Many of these teachers were located in urban areas, and if they were required to move to the rural areas, they would quit teaching (URT, 2001).

5.2.1.2 School Buildings and Other Facilities

One of the questions in the interview sessions sought to discover the extent to which the schools had enough facilities to cater to the pupils and teachers use. Four Head Teachers attended the interview. All the informants revealed that the current increasing number of pupils and teachers did not match with the available facilities in schools. This is how one of the Head Teachers in MCC put it:

> *Ni kweli wanafunzi wameongezeka, lakini sasa shida ni tuwaweke wapi? Japo wananchi na serikali wamejitahidi kujenga lakini bado shida ni kubwa.Vyumba vya madarasa havitoshi*

kabisa. Mara nyingi tunachanganya mikondo miwili hadi mitatu ndani ya darasa moja. Matokeo yake wanafunzi wanabanana sana ndani ya darasa. Wakati mwingine, wanafunzi wengine inabidi wakae chini wengine wasimame kwa kuwa hawatoshi kwenye darasa.

Author's translation:

> It's true that the number of pupils has increased but then where do we place them? Although the government and communities have tried to increase the number of classrooms, the problem is still big. Classrooms are not enough at all. Most of the time, we combine two or three streams into a single classroom. As a result, pupils are congested in the classrooms. Sometimes, some of the pupils have to stand up while others are seated because the rooms are too small to accommodate all of them.

The quotation seems to imply that in some of the primary schools, the available classrooms did not match with the number of pupils. This situation makes both the teaching and learning process less comfortable. Pupils who were forced to stand looked like they were being punished. The information from the documentary review in the table below can help to verify the real scarcity of classrooms, teachers' houses, offices, stores, toilets, desks, tables and cupboards in Mbeya City Council and Mbeya District Council.

Table9: Required, Available and Shortage of School Buildings and Facilities

No	Facility	Which Council?	Requirement	Available	Shortage	Percentage of Deficit
1	Classrooms	MCC	1,567	1,041	526	34
		MDC	1,904	1,017	887	47
2	Teachers' houses	MCC	1,271	76	1,195	94
		MDC	2,049	531	1,518	74
3	Offices	MCC	183	113	70	38
		MDC	523	368	155	30
4	Store	MCC	136	46	90	66
		MDC	372	278	94	25
5	Toilets	MCC	2,715	1,037	1,678	62
		MDC	2,990	1,224	1,766	59
6	Desks	MCC	17,533	14,538	2,995	17
		MDC	23,389	17,909	5,480	23
7	Tables	MCC	2,417	529	1,888	78
		MDC	2887	1505	1,382	97
8	Cupboards	MCC	517	114	403	78

The information used to develop the table above was collected from Mbeya City Council (Urban) and Mbeya District Council (Rural) PEDP performance reports third quarter, January- March 2007.

Although some of the differences between MCC and MDC can be noted, the major intention of Table 9 is to show that each of the two District Councils still lacks school buildings and other facilities to facilitate the smooth provision of primary education.

Comparatively, MCC had 67,978 enrolled pupils and 1,477 teachers. MDC had 69,868 pupils and 1,427 teachers. The rural-urban differences can also be seen in Table 9 whose calculation of deficits is based mainly on the number of pupils and teachers. In Table 9, MCC had 34% of deficit in classrooms while MDC had 47%. This could mean that people in cities were relatively able to fund classroom constructions than in rural areas (MDC). Deficit in classrooms in both councils can also imply that there was congestion in classrooms. Such congestion can hinder smooth teaching and learning processes.

Deficits in teacher houses could imply that most of the teachers in both MCC (94%) and MDC (74%) were not provided with enough houses by their respective authorities. This situation could affect efforts to improve primary education as well. As one of the District Education Officer from MDC insisted, "Teachers who work and live closer to their schools have a greater chance of attending most of their subjects in classrooms than those who live far away". This could mean that there were many obstacles when getting to schools including transport problems. While teachers from MCC (city) could face cues before boarding the public buses (daladala), teachers from MDC (rural) complained that some of them passed through frightening bush areas and forests on their way to schools. The information collected from both MDC and MCC confirmed that some of the teachers became tired before they had started teaching due to walking long distances on their way to schools. While some of the teachers from MCC walked long distances because they could not afford to pay the daily transport fare, teachers from MDC walked long distances because they did not have any other option for transport except walking.

The findings in Table 9 are in line with Sumra (2004) whose study found that construction of primary school classrooms in Tanzania had not matched requirements as many primary schools were without adequate number of desks, pit latrines, water tanks and teacher houses. However, the inadequacy not only existed in primary schools. The Education Sector Situational Analysis also found that some of the teacher training institutions lacked basic facilities including stocked libraries, classrooms, offices, resource rooms, laboratories with equipments and chemicals, lecture theatres, computers labs and connectivity to mention a few (Carr-Hill & Ndalichako, 2005). This can imply that teachers who trained under the scarcity of teaching and learning materials are likely to provide low quality education to primary school pupils.

5.2.2 Quality Challenges

There is, perhaps no other issue which occupies a centre stage on the discussions of the education reforms more than the issue of quality. Indeed, most education reforms across the world are justified on the grounds of improving quality of education. Quality in education is defined as "going beyond quantitative inputs such as the number of qualified teachers, adequate and appropriate physical structures and facilities, equipment to include teacher competence and commitment, curricula relevance and gender sensitive" (Fawe 1995 in Brock-Utne, 2006:60). Because the concept is too broad to tackle, the study focused on some of the aspects of education quality categorised under: teachers' qualifications; relevance of education imparted; incorporation of indigenous knowledge in the curriculum; foreign values and, national examinations.

5.2.2.1 Teachers' Qualifications

EFA goals direct nations to enhance teachers' status, morale and professionalism, professional development and effective management of the teaching force as a crucial factor in enhancing the relevance of quality of education. It is stated that "the minimum qualification for a primary school teacher shall be possession of a valid grade A Teacher Education Certificate" (URT, 1995: 102). The findings through documentary analysis from both MCC and MDC revealed that there were three groups of teachers teaching in primary schools: Diploma; Grade 111A and Grade B/C.

Table10: Primary School Teacher Qualifications in MCC and MDC July, 2007

Council	Diploma			Grade IIIA			Grade B/C			Gross Total		
	M	Fe	T	M	Fe	T	M	Fe	T	M	Fe	T
MCC	27	43	70	409	672	1081	51	275	326	487	990	1477
MDC	44	16	60	502	590	1092	132	143	275	678	749	1427

The information to develop the table was collected from MCC and MDC as per July, 2007.

Note: M=Males; Fe=Females; T=Total

Table 10 indicates the extent to which Mbeya City Council (MCC) and Mbeya District Council (MDC) have been able to meet the Central Government's goal. Out of the three groups: Diploma; Grade IIIA; and Grade B/C, only two of them qualify for teaching in primary schools: diploma and grade IIIA. Grade B/C are said to be unqualified to teach in primary schools in Tanzania. However, they are still there as the table above shows.

As the table above indicates, poor quality of teachers is another major challenge facing the implementation of decentralisation policies in MCC and MDC. Many teachers are still under the required qualifications to teach in primary schools. The number of teachers who were still under the required qualifications level in MCC and MDC were 326 (22.1%), and 275 (19.3%) respectively. In other words, the presence of such kind of teachers in primary education can make it difficult to provide quality education considering that almost one fourth of the all teaching staff in both councils were under the required level of qualifications.

Similarly, Sumra and Scholl (2007) found that better qualified teachers tended to be found in urban areas in Tanzania. For instance, in their study in 2007, whereas 86.9 percent of teachers were grade IIIA, diploma and graduate-teachers living in Dar es Salaam. Only 55.7 percent of teachers in Lindi had similar qualifications.

5.2.2.2 Relevance of Education Imparted

Most of the governments in the world place emphasis on the provision of relevant education. Perhaps an interesting question to start this subsection could be: yes, relevant education, judged by whom? In other words, who should gauge/measure/prove the level of relevance? The Government states that "the curriculum at all levels of education and training shall emphasise and promote the merger of theory and practice and the general application of

knowledge" (URT, 1995:54). From the community's perception on the contemporary curriculum, the study revealed that the contemporary primary education lacked some aspects of decentralisation which would make the education provided more relevant to the local communities. The vocational skills subjects which were thought to be relevant for the majority of primary school pupils were given less attention from the government. According to the informants, there was a big difference between the pupils who completed their primary education before 1940s and those who completed it recently. The informants thought the new generation lacked practical skills in most of what they learned at schools. The lack of practical skills made the school leavers seem incompetent in the eyes of the community concerning the communities' needs. In an interview session with one chairperson of the school committee this aspect was articulated as follows:

> *Hebu fikiria! Kijana aliyehitimu darasa la saba anashindwa kugonga msumari kwenye ubao. Kugonga msumari tu! Hata biashara, vijana wengi waliomaliza darasa la saba hawawezi kuuza dukani kwakuwa hawawezi kurudisha chenji sahihi kwa wateja. Ndio, nakubali vijana wana mabegi makubwa yamejaa vitabu lakini sijui ni mambo gani hawa walimu wa kisasa wanafundisha huko shuleni.*

Author's translation:

> Imagine! A standard seven leaver cannot hammer a nail to wood! Just hammering a nail! Even in business, many of the school leavers cannot sell in a shop because they are unable to give back the change to the customers. Yes, our children have big bags full of books but I don't know what knowledge and skills these modern teachers impart in schools.

It is obvious that the chairperson of the school committee places a lot of emphasis on practical skills imparted to the children in schools. According to this informant, hammering a nail to wood was a simple thing supposed to be familiar to all children in the community. The community also expected a school leaver to be able to help their parents in conducting transactions like selling in the kiosks. If a school leaver failed to obtain these skills, then the education acquired by the school leavers seemed to be irrelevant to the community.

Similarly, Mosha and Dachi (2004) conducted a study in Tanzania on how education decentralisation can alleviate poverty. They found that:

> Students are generally poor in measurements of lengths and weight in both metric and British systems. They are many, even up to university level who have low knowledge of measurements. This is a big deficit because proper spacing of crops, application of fertilisers, determining yield and construction work require sound knowledge and practical skills in the area (p.191).

In this case, general knowledge and practical skills would particularly be useful to students who did not have the chance for further education. Table 11 below indicates pupils who did not have the chance for further/secondary education in Mbeya District Council from 1999 to 2003.

Table11: Selected and Not Selected Candidates 1999 to 2003 in MDC

Year	Candidates Examined			Candidates Selected			Candidates Not Selected			
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	%
1999	1969	2242	4211	155	152	307	1814	2090	3904	93
2000	1942	2324	4266	155	154	309	1792	2170	3962	93
2001	2212	2442	4654	156	150	306	1899	2198	4097	88
2002	2205	2478	4683	145	146	291	2060	2332	4392	94
2003	1437	1526	2963	366	363	729	1071	1163	2234	75
Total	**9765**	**11012**	**20777**	**977**	**965**	**1942**	**8636**	**9953**	**18589**	**90**

The information used to develop this table was collected from Mbeya District Council (MDC) on National Standard Seven Examinations Reports 1999-2003.

In general, Table 11 indicates that from 1999 to 2003, out of 20,777 (100%) pupils who sat the Standard Seven National Examination, only 1,942 (10%) were selected for secondary/further education, the rest 18589 (90%) did not have the chance. This is to show that only very few of the standard seven pupils get accessibility of further education.

The implication here is that the rest (90%) of the students who were not selected for further education had to go back to their homes in villages to help their parents in such activities like farming, animal husbandry, small business and so forth. The argument here is that, if the standard seven leavers who go back to their homes did not acquire skills the necessary concerning the needs of what they will be doing at their homes, then, the packages of education they acquired may seem irrelevant in the eyes of the community in which they will live. Thus, the findings in this section are in tune with Nyerere (1967) who argues that:

> We should not determine the type of things children are taught in primary schools by the things a doctor, engineer, teacher, economist or administrator need to know. Most of our pupils will never be any of these things. We should determine the type of things taught in primary schools by the things which the boy or girl ought to know, that is, the skills he ought to acquire and the values he ought to cherish if he, or she, is to live happily and well in a socialist and a predominantly rural society, and contribute to the improvement of life there. Our sight must be on the majority; it is they we must be aiming at in determining the curriculum and syllabus. Those suitable for further education will still become obvious, and they will not suffer….The object of the teaching must be the provision of knowledge, skills

and attitudes which will serve the student when he or she lives and works in developing and changing a socialist state; it must not be aimed at university entrance.

From Table 11 above, the candidates 'not selected' are the majority (90%) and their needs should have been focused on in determining the curriculum. Although Nyerere suggested the focus to be on the majority since 1960s, until today, primary education in Tanzania seems to be mainly theoretical, intended to benefit the minority (10%). This tendency is not only contrary to Nyerere's suggestion but it results in the majority of the pupils staying in schools for seven years and thereafter going back to their villages without practical and relevant skills to help them master their environment. To put it differently, it is the majority that Nyerere (1967) is referring to who are likely to make fast developments in their respective local communities. After all, the majority of those who continue with secondary/further education never go back to stay in their villages.

5.2.2.3 Incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge in the Curriculum

From the views of the previous informants, I was interested to know the extent to which the current curriculum catered to the local needs. In a focus group discussion, the members of the school committee said that elders' accumulated skills, values and wisdom were not fully exploited by the young generation. One of the members of the school committee had this to say:

> *Mfumo wa sasa wa elimu umeshindwa kutumia maarifa na ujuzi wetu. Tutakufa na ujuzi wetu bila kuurithisha kwa kizazi kipya. Serikali inaonekana kukumbatia mawazo ya wasomi tu. Wanadhani hatuna mchango wowote kwenye elimu kwa kuwa hatukusoma. Lakini, hata watu wa maofisini wengine ni wadogo kiasi kwamba hawajui historia za jamii zetu ipaswavyo. Baadhi ya watu maofisini hawawezi kutabiri kipindi cha mvua wala kiangazi. Kuna mambo tunayajua ambayo wao hawayajui.*

Author's translation:

> The current education system has failed to exploit our knowledge and skills. We are going to die with these skills unexploited. The government seems to respect only views from educated people. They think we have nothing to offer because we are uneducated. But, some people in the offices are very young to the extent that they don't know the deep history of our society. They can neither forecast local rainy seasons nor dry ones. There are things we know that educated people do not.

According to this informant the elders and indeed the members of the community should be given an opportunity to include their views in what the children learn at schools. The elders asked to be involved in education system so that the younger generation can have an

opportunity to learn and inherit the indigenous education. The quotation concurs with Nyerere (1967) who argues:

> Every thing we do stresses book learning, and underestimates the value to our society of traditional knowledge and the wisdom which is often acquired by intelligent men and women as they experience life, even without their being able to read at all (p.57).

From this quotation, one can note that the knowledge and experiences for primary school children should not solely be suggested by the centre, but an addition can come from the local community to enrich the formal curriculum. In other words, the contributions of the local community through decentralisation should not only mean tangible and financial matters, but also the elders' accumulated skills and experiences can improve the quality of primary education in Tanzania.

Similarly, Mosha and Dachi (2004:181) found that "poverty can be addressed through education if the Tanzanian Institute of Education (TIE) prepares only the core curriculum and stakeholders are given more say in determining support and enrichment curriculum". In this way education decentralisation can be used as a strategy to alleviate poverty in Tanzania.

The findings on involvement of the local stakeholders to influence the teaching and learning processes are also in line with Nyerere's theory on Education for Self-Reliance who argues that:

> The education systems in different kinds of societies in the world have been, and are, very different in organisation and content. They are different because the societies providing the education are different, and because education, whether it be formal or informal, have a purpose. That purpose is to transmit from one generation to the next the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and to prepare the young people for their future membership of the society and their active participation in its maintenance or its development (Nyerere, 1967:44)

The quotation from Nyerere (1967) in this context may imply that, different societies should have different curriculum contents due to the existing differences among societies including the societies' backgrounds. For that matter, the curricula of different societies should encompass a number of skills which are vital in making sure that the young generations will fit into their respective societies. Fitting in one's society includes but is not limited to the acquiring of verbal skills of the particular community; differentiation of fertile from infertile lands for production purposes; skills on curative traditional herbs for First Aid or even chronic diseases and having skills to trade within and outside the pupil's community

area. It also may imply that the education provided in Tanzania could prepare the young generation for their future membership only if the curriculum content was locally oriented. Only in this way, can the education be said to be instrumental in poverty alleviation. That could be done by devolving the authority of the construction of the curriculum where the people at the grass-root levels could be involved to suggest certain skills which they think are of paramount importance for the young generation. Similarly, one's active participation in the society could be brought about by making sure that the learners obtain skills which are of immediate use, skills which enable the learner to link the theories from the books on what is actually taking place in their daily lives.

Thus, Nyerere's philosophy on Education for Self-Reliance was expected to enable those who went through it to become self-confident, cherish local knowledge and indigenous science, build a modern scientific outlook and actually practice scientific critical thinking. For example, the pupils who went through Education for Self-Reliance would not reject the use of traditional herbs for medicinal purposes only because they were from local herbs or, equally embrace every foreign medicine merely because it was labelled 'foreign' (Lwaitama, 2004).

5.2.2.4 Foreign Values

There is a growing perception that currently, foreign values are embraced at the expense of the local ones in the Tanzanian education system. Some of the informants involved in this study commented that the behaviours of their children changed dramatically as their sons and daughters started formal education. The informants mentioned a number of factors including a school acting as an agent of the spreading foreign values. One of the Members of the School Committees had this to say:

> *Kama kawaida walimu huanza kufundisha kusoma kuanzia a, e, i, o, u. Siku moja, nikamwambia mwanangu nisomee mnayofundishwa. Mwanangu alishika kitabu na kusema mwalimu kasema herufi 'A' inasimama badala ya tunda la "Epo" [apple]... Unaona chanzo cha matatizo? Kwa nini watoto wadogo wafundishwe 'maepo' yanayolimwa nchi za nje badala ya mazao kama vile mihogo, mahindi, maharage, viazi, ndizi..?*

Author's translation:

> As usual, teachers start teaching to read from the letters a, e, i, o, u. One day, I asked my daughter to read for me. My daughter took her book and said: our teacher said a letter 'A' stands for 'Apple'…Do you see the source of some of the problems? Why don't our teachers teach crops we grow in Mbeya? Why should the young learners first be taught about apples

grown in other countries instead of crops such as cassava, maize, beans, potatoes, or bananas..?

From this quotation, one can note that an 'apple' was mentioned by the informant but it could as well mean more than that. It could actually mean the imposition of foreign values in primary schools in Tanzania. The curriculum, teaching and learning materials could be agents of imposing foreign values in the education system. In other words, foreign culture, according to the informants, seems to be increasingly imposed in Tanzania primary education through the on-going liberalisation in which decentralisation is part and parcel of the processes.

The findings seem to be in line with Brock-Utne (2006) who found that donors through their aid had enormous influence on the primary school curriculum in Tanzania, particularly in those subjects and themes in which they were interested. Brock-Utne further argues that donors had exerted great pressure to have the themes they were interested in become full-fledged subjects in primary schools in Tanzania. A good example of donor involvement in influencing primary school curriculum is shown in the quotation:

> Nearly all the curriculum integrated projects based at the Ministry of Education and Culture headquarters or TIE (Tanzania Institute of Education) are run by donor funds, without which they will stop. At TIE for example there is a Family Life Education project funded by UFPA; the Environment Education Project funded by GTZ; and a AIDS Control Education funded by WHO. The donor pressure on what should be included in the content is tremendous (Mbunda 1997 in Brock-Utne, 2006:128).

According to Mbunda in Brock-Utne (2006), donors still dictate what should be relevant for the Tanzanian community. Whoever goes against the wishes of the donors on the content of the curriculum often experiences the withdrawal of funds or other punitive actions by the donors against the recipient country's implementing agency (Brock-Utne, 2006). Under these circumstances, where the donors from the North dictate which content fits the South, it is rather difficult to expect that the primary school curriculum contents will reflect the interests of the local communities. Yet, it is an enormous challenge to the Central Government whether to ignore the donors' funds and implement the curriculum which is in tune with local communities' interests or take the donors' aid and implement the curriculum which ignores the interest of the community.

Similarly, Lwaitama (2004) whose study based on Nyerere's Education for Self-Reliance (1967) argues that the education provided in Tanzania should aim at liberating learners by

empowering them from being victims of colonialism to enable them cherish that which is indigenous, and boost their self-confidence. Lwaitama (2004: 35) further found that "Education for liberation seeks to have a less alienating curriculum and builds from what is local and indigenous, while integrating foreign elements which are independently selected and adopted for the benefit of the indigenous".

Based on Lwaitama (2004), the education for liberation was supposed to enable the Tanzanian primary school leavers to be active members of their societies. Pupils' activeness in their societies can be achieved through making the learners aware of their immediate environment. This can imply that learning can move from the known to less unknown; from the familiar to less familiar; and from the local to the foreign or even from South-oriented to North-oriented skills. The curriculum with elements of decentralisation would for example include introducing indigenous science systems such as local numbering, counting and local crop planting procedures. In this conception where some aspects of the curriculum are decentralised, primary education would be linked to production in the sense that learning activities lead to preparation of products which have intrinsic use value and indeed market value. That means one learns as one produces and equally one produces as one learns.

5.2.2.5 National Examination

"There shall be centralised examinations at the end of standard seven VII" (UTR, 1995: 59). The findings presented under this sub-theme were collected in response to the question which required the educational policy-makers to give reasons as to why the local stakeholders were less involved in the development, management and administration of Standard Seven National Examination. The findings revealed that the local levels were not yet strong enough to independently handle the National Examination issues. This is how one policy-maker in the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) characterised the situation:

> *About the exam, it has been unfortunate that the local education managers have shown a great interest on the national examination results. The Regional Education Officers; the District Education Officers; the Head Teachers and other political leaders are more interested in examination results. As you know, exams determine one's future. If we had to decentralise this function today, I don't know what could have happened. The national examination results have led to the change of the teaching style. Nowadays there is 'coaching' instead of teaching in schools. We therefore need to change the mindset of the people at the local level first because abrupt changes would lead to the distortion of the whole issue of the National Examination administration.*

That is to say, the centre was more comfortable if decisions on 'sensitive issues' such as curriculum and national examinations were done at the central and not at the local levels. According to the research findings, the authority on national examination could not be decentralised to Regions, Districts and School levels because the lower levels had vested interests in the examination results. Officers at the local levels were affected by the examination results by being either promoted or demoted due to the standard seven national examination results. The best examination results might have led to one's promotion while the worst examination results might have led to the demotion. Under normal circumstances, most of people like promotions. To avoid demotions, most of the officers, teachers and other stakeholders at the lower levels fought hard to make sure that examination results retained them in their positions or lead to promotions. In this case, teachers would not simply 'teach' but 'coach' to make sure that by all means their pupils passed the national examinations. Hence, the education quality dropped in the process of wanting to pass the National Examination. It was only that content which seemed relevant to the exam which was mostly taught and learned by the pupils. Other contents irrespective of their potentialities in real life situation were left untaught.

Other studies have shown the link between curriculum and national exams. Curriculum and national exams seem inseparable. Brock-Utne (2006:129) for example noted that "as all educators know, exams decide the curricula". This means, it is that per se what is measured in the exam that counts for further advancement in the education system that the pupils try to learn by heart no matter what is stipulated in the national curriculum. The Head Teachers, teachers and in general education administrators were valued depending on how much the pupils in one's locality passed the standard seven national examination. It therefore goes without saying that even if there would be imaginative and inquisitive teachers whose efforts tried to focus on the relevant skills which learners are supposed to have to enable them fit in their respective communities, no/few learner(s) would concentrate on the acquisition of such skills as they know through 'past papers' that certain things are not nationally examined and therefore not useful.

The findings concerning the local level inability to influence contents and exams concur with Geo-Jaja (2004) who argues that, although decentralisation is defended as the transfer of decision-making power to sub-national governments, this transfer of power may be partial or complete. If complete, Geo-Jaja further argues, then, decentralisation would transfer all

formal rights of structure and content in education to sub-local governments to which the full responsibility for management would be relegated. That is why, Lauglo (1995) contends that no clear examples of completely decentralised systems exist, but rather one finds decentralisation within centralism.

5.2.3 Management Issues

The management issues consist of other sub-themes such as lower level management capabilities; delay of funds, inadequate allocations and central-local relations.

5.2.3.1 Lower Level Management Capabilities

The URT (1995:98) stipulates that "All education and training institutions shall have school or college committees....Committees of education and training shall be responsible for management, development, planning, discipline and finance of institutions under their jurisdiction". In this sub-theme, the Members of the School Committees from Mbeya District Council and Mbeya City Council were asked to give their views on the extent to which they were capable of efficiently managing schools in their areas of jurisdiction. Four (57%) Members of School Committees from Mbeya City Council said they had powers to manage the schools. Nevertheless, five (83%) Members of the School Committees from Mbeya District Council complained that their capacities to manage the schools were questionable. They went further explaining that they lacked relevant knowledge and experience on how to manage the schools. Members of the School Committee's incapability to manage led the majority of them to leave most of the powers to the Head Teachers. From both councils, eight (62%) Members of the School Committee knew how the power to manage schools was devolved to school committees. In practice however, most of the members of the school committee left the management and administration responsibilities to Head Teachers. The major reason given for the school committee to surrender their responsibility was due to the committee's incompetence due to a low level of education and a lack of experience in running schools. In a focus group discussion, one of the members of the school committee commented:

> *Bwana Mtafiti, unaona! Kwa kweli, kamati ya shule ina madaraka makubwa lakini inabidi tuwaamini walimu na hasa mwalimu mkuuu kwasababu walimu wanajua A mpaka Z kuhusu shule. Walimu wanajua sheria na kanuni zinazoongoza shule. Wanajua ni kitu gani watoto wetu wanajifunza na wanajua kuwalisha [kimasomo] wanetu. Wanajua viongozi ngazi ya mkoa na wilayani. Walimu wanajua lugha ya kuongea na 'watu wakubwa'. Zaidi ya hayo, walimu wameelimika sio kama mimi. Kwa hiyo ni jambo jema kuwa sisi wanakamati*

kuwasikiliza na kuwapa ushirikiano wanaouhitaji walimu. Kwa namna hii, shule yetu itatoa elimu bora.

Author's translation:

> Mr. Researcher, you see! The school committee has big powers but we have to trust teachers and especially the Head Teachers because they know the A to Z of the schools. They know laws and bylaws that govern the schools. They know what our children learn, and they know to feed [give education] our children. They know leaders at regional and district levels. Teachers have a command of a language on how to talk to 'big people'. After all, teachers are educated compared to me. So, it's a good idea that we members of the school committee listen to them and give them support they need. In this way our school will provide good education.

The quotation from the informant may indicate that the Members of the School Committees in primary schools lack relevant knowledge and experience to efficiently manage the primary schools. Lack of knowledge and experience had made the members of the school committee inferior and led them to informally surrender their decision-making powers to the Head Teachers. From the two District Councils, 4 (31%) informants who accepted that they had power came from Mbeya City Council and their education background was higher compared to those coming from Mbeya District Council. This can imply that the selected members of the school committee with relevant competences and experiences were confident and could efficiently utilise their decision-making powers better than those members of the school committee who lacked the required competences.

The data on the inabilities of the members of the school committees are in line with Mcginn and Welsh (1999) who argue that decentralisation makes sense only if those who make decisions at the lower levels have relevant knowledge and are able to carry out the best practices. This can imply that there is no advantage in transferring the decision-making processes to the local levels where actions take place if the local capacity for management is lacking. Thus, the principle of subsidiarity suggests that "not just for moving decisions to the site of action, but also making local decision makers competent" (McGinn & Welsh, 1999: 66). In line with the ongoing discussion, Mulengeki (2004) discovered that the school committees in Tanzania had very low capacity to efficiently manage their schools under their jurisdiction. The competence required at the local level in this case is not solely knowledge in carrying out the decisions made by the ministries at the centre. Rather, the Members of the School Committees for instance must be in a position to decide when problems occur, the proper time when rules must be carried out and when those rules can be changed.

5.2.3.2 Donor Dependency Syndrome

More than 80 percent of the primary education budget in Tanzania is dependent upon donors Mushi (2006). Accordingly, primary education (PEDP) is funded through basket funding with World Bank (28.8%); the Netherlands (9.6% co-financing with World Bank); Canada (9.5); Sweden (14.2); Ireland (2.5); EC (15); Norway (6.9); France (0.9) and Belgium (1.8) (ibid). The question in this section sought to know how donors influenced the contemporary primary education decentralisation in Tanzania. The findings revealed that the current primary education in Tanzania suffers from donor dependency syndrome. With regard to these signs of dependency, one of the informants in HakiElimu had this to comment:

> *Kila mtu anapenda kuongea juu ya mafanikio tuliyopata katika elimu ya msingi. Lakini, mara tu mtu anapoanza kusifia baadhi yetu tunaanza kufikiria pia uendelezaji wake. Kweli maendeleo haya ni endelevu? Itakuwaje kama hawa wafadhili wakijitoa?*

Author's translation:

> Everyone likes to talk about the success in primary education. Of course, we are proud of this situation. But as one praises the situation some of us start to think about the sustainability of it. Are these developments sustainable? What would happen if these development partners were to pull out?

The quotation above seems to imply that because a considerable amount of funds to run the District Councils and primary education in particular comes from donors. That situation in itself creates fear. In the absence of donors, primary education in Tanzania can face a lot of problems.

In line with these findings, Mukandala and Peter (2004) conducted a study in Bukoba Rural and Mtwara-Mikindani in Tanzania. Their study was on the impact and effectiveness of Local Government reforms in promoting and strengthening democratic local governance at the grass-roots level. They recommended that government funding is considered more reliable, understanding and flexible compared to donor funding.

5.2.3.3 Irregular Disbursements

The Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP) evaluation report for 2004 indicates that the flow of funds to schools in Tanzania is irregular contrary to the project design which instructs quarterly disbursements to schools (Mushi, 2006). Similarly, all the council officials and Head Teachers interviewed in this study complained that the flow of funds from

the Central Government was not smoothly forthcoming. This is how the Head Teacher commented:

> *Kuchelewa kwa fedha ni kati ya matatizo sugu kwenye shule za msingi. Mipango yetu inakwama kwa kuwa hatuna fedha za utekelezaji. Tuna mpango mkakati wa mwaka, mwezi na hata wiki. Lakini sasa ina maana gani kupanga ukiwa huna uhakika wa vitendea kazi? Hii ni changamoto na hasa kwetu sisi walimu. Inafika wakati ambapo shule nzima haina hata kipande cha chaki cha kuandikia ubaoni. Lakini sasa tufanyeje? Ukienda ofisini kwa Afisa Elimu wa Wilaya anakwambia hawajapokea fedha kutoka serikali kuu.*

Author's translation:

> Delay in receiving funds is among the biggest problems in primary schools. Our plans fail because we do not have money to implement them. We have annual strategic plans, monthly plans and even weekly plans. But, where is the logic of planning when you are not sure of the resources? It's indeed a big challenge for us Head Teachers. It happens sometimes the whole school does not have a single piece of chalk to write on the board. But what can we do about the situation? When you go to the DEOs' offices they say they have not yet received grants from the government.

According to the informant on this sub-theme, it has been a big problem to implement decentralisation policies in primary education without the assurance of funds. If the money agreed upon was not sent on time, all the plans became useless as it is difficult to implement without having power especially on financial matters.

Similar views were given by one of the education officers in Mbeya City Council:

> *Tunapaswa kupokea hela toka serikali kuu kwa robo mwaka. Robo ni kipindi cha miezi mitatu mitatu: Januari-Machi, Aprili-Juni, Julai-Septemba na Oktoba-Disemba. Hata hivyo, wakati fulani yaweza kupita robo mbili au zaidi bila kupokea fedha kutoka serikali kuu. Hii ni Agosti kwa mfano, lakini hakuna fedha iliyoletwa toka serikali kuu.*

Author's translation:

> We are supposed to receive funds from the Central Government quarterly. A quarter is normally a period of three months: January-March, April-June, July-September and October-December. However, sometimes it can go two quarters or more without receiving funds from the Central Government. This is August for example, but no funds for this quarter have been disbursed to the council from the Central Government.

From this quotation, the informant explained that although funds for the second quarter were supposed to be disbursed in early July, 2007, more than one month had passed without the council receiving the funds. This can mean, as the council gets funds from the Central Government about forty days late, then, the schools will likely receive the funds even later than expected. Needles to say, such practices may automatically deteriorate efforts to improve primary education.

5.2.3.4 Inadequate Allocation

The minutes from the four schools I visited indicated that even if funds from the Central Government were disbursed in time to the lower levels, usually the funds received were too little to cater to the needs of the respective schools. One of the Head Teachers commented:

> *Hata ufanyeje pesa tunayopokea bado ni ndogo sana ukilinganisha na matumizi ya shule yangu. Hata ingeletwa kwa wakati, haitoshi. Matumizi halisi ya shule yanazidi fedha ambayo shule yangu inapewa.*

Author's translation:

> No matter what the case may be, the money allocated to my school is very little in comparison to the school's expenditure. Even if it was disbursed on time, it does not suffice. It is too little. The actual school's expenditure outweighs the money disbursed to my school.

The quotation shows the inadequacy of funds disbursed to schools. This situation, which we experienced at the school level, is also reported to characterise what happens at national level. Sumra and Scholl (2007) for example comment that not only are the approved budgets for primary education amounts below the projected costs, but the amount of funds actually realised normally fall short of the approved budget. For the financial year 2005/2006 for instance, just 89.4 percent of the approved budget was released for the primary education sector at national level (Ibid). Likewise, it is interesting to note that there has been a wide variation in the percentage of funds released for various strategic primary education components as follows: personnel enrolment (100%); administration (98.9%); enrolment expansion (96.5%); quality improvement (60.5%); cross-cutting issues (49.1%); capacity building (33%) (Sumra & Scholl, 2007). From these percentages, one can comment that inadequate allocation is a stumbling block in decentralising primary education.

5.2.3.5 Central-Local Relations

Relations among different levels are some of the factors that can affect the successes of education decentralisation. Through documentary analysis, it was found that there were frictions between Ministries and the Local Government Authorities. The poor relations could be noted in the following quotations from (PMORALG, 2007:30) document.

> The Education Act, No 25 of 1978 centralised the administration of the schools by giving powers to the minister of Education and the Chief Education Officer and denying the LGAs [Local Government Authorities] the administration and management mandates.

From this quotation, one can note that the power of the Chief Education Officer to choose who administer primary education is enshrined in the 1978 Laws. Thus, any changes to

chose who are to be responsible for primary education administration should start from amendment or enactment of the laws of the land.

Another quotation noted:

> The decentralisation envisaged in the Education and Training Policy of 1995 was based on the deconcentration concept rather than devolution. The policy continued to put the REO [Regional Education Officer] and the DEO [District Education Officer] directly under the jurisdiction of the Minister and the Chief Education Officer. The powers to appoint, transfer and promote REOs and DEOs are still vested in the MoEVT (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (PMORALG, 2007: 3)

From the quotation we can note that the power to appoint the Regional Education Officer (REO) is still vested under the Chief Education Officer in MoEVT. This seems to be an ambiguity because the REO is accountable to two officers at the same time: the Chief Education Officer (MoEVT) on one hand and the Regional Administrative Secretary (RAS) on the other. Thus, in the chain of command, the REO receives orders from two people: the Chief Education Officer and RAS, which can lead to confusion. In other words, there is an ambiguity because the RAS who employs the REO cannot fire him /her but the Chief Education Officer can.

The DEO is also accountable to two people at the same: the Chief Education Officer (MoEVT) on one hand and the District Executive Director (DED) on the other. While the Chief Education Officer can promote, transfer and fire the DEO, the District Executive Director who pays the salary to the DEO cannot transfer or promote the DEO. The ambiguity in the central-local relation can imply that the Central Government has not yet devolved the administrative aspect within primary education.

Another quotation showed that the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training continued to hold fund related functions which were supposed to be carried out by PMORALG. This is what the quotation indicated:

> The principle that resources follow function is not heeded. The MoEVT budget has continued to hold funds intended for classrooms constructions, teachers' houses etc. These activities had been devolved to the Local Government Authorities, but MoEVT HQ [head quarters] retains the financial resources.

This quotation seems to mean that the ambiguity exists between the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) on one hand and the Prime Minister's Office, Regional Administration and Local Government (PMORALG) on the other. Although functions are

performed at the district level, the MoEVT continues to hold funds intended for classroom constructions. The principle of subsidiarity suggests that the resources should follow function (URT, 2007b). That is to say, the resources should be directed where functions or activities are performed. However, the contemporary situation seems to be contrary to what it should be.

Another quotation captured from PMOLRG documents showed that even the human resources had not been decentralised contrary to what was supposed to happen:

> Management and administration of human resources in primary schools is still under the Central Government Institutions; MoEVT hqs [head quarters] (does the recruitment and transfer), the Public Service Commission (the Disciplinary role) and etc (PMORALG, 2007:3)

This quotation can be interpreted that although primary education was said to be decentralised in Tanzania, the management of employees such as teachers is still under the management of the Central Government institutions. The promotion of teachers for instance is determined by the Teachers Service Department (TSD). TSD is an organ for the Central Government. Thus, the ambiguity which exists is that, while primary school teachers are paid by their respective districts, their promotions are determined by the Central Government (TSD).

Generally, from the four quotations, it could seem that MoEVT has been buying time to shift certain authorities down to the lower levels. This was also evident in an interview session with one of the policy-makers in the MoEVT who seemed to imply that there was some sort of uncertainties in the decentralisation processes. In an attempt to answer the question which aimed at the informant providing reasons as to why the Central Government seemed reluctant to redistribute certain authorities to lower levels, the informant said: "decentralisation does not mean addition but subtraction". From the words of the informant, it was obvious that decentralisation processes implied the centre losing power while the Local Government gaining power. In other words, power is accompanied by functions. The shift of functions from the Central Government to the Local Government could mean the shift of decision-making power from the centre to the local level. That being the case, those who lose power at the centre may delay the process of decentralisation as it is not in

their favour. The table below shows the distribution of functions among Central Government Ministries, District Councils and public primary schools in Tanzania.

Table12: Who Does What in Primary Education Decentralisation?

Function	Ministries:(MoEVT/P MORALG	District Councils	School/Community
Pupils admission			√
Pupils' discipline			√
Teachers' recruitment	√	Recommends	Give tasks
Teachers' discipline	√		√
Teachers' transfer	√	√	
Fund raising	√		√ parents/community
Allocation of budget	√ centre transfers funds to LGAs		
Utilising the raised funds			√
Promotion & compensation	√		
Procurement of :books, chalk, furniture			√ Uses guidelines from ministry/district
Science kits		√ Gets guidelines from the centre	Receive from district
Building standards	√		
School constructions	Send money to LGA	Supervises	√ implements
School calendar	√		
Inspection	√		

The information used to develop this table was collected from views of informants and reports at all the three levels: national, district and schools.

Table 12 does not show what the situation was supposed to be but what the real situation was in MCC and MDC. Despite the fact that Tanzania is now championing the implementation of the principles of "Decentralisation by Devolution", certain crucial powers are still retained by the centre. From Table 12, it remains unclear whether primary education is decentralised or centralised.

The findings on the contradictions within inter-ministerial levels and the central-local relations are in consistent with Lauglo (1995) who argues that elites and bureaucrats at the centre set conditions to be fulfilled prior to implementation of decentralisation policies. The assumption inherent in Lauglo's argument is that those who hold power at the centre (MoEVT/PMORALG in this case) will be more ready to redistribute it to the local levels if the two parties (centre and local levels) seem to share the same goals. For that case, there has to be consensus between the centre and the local levels on how to redistribute the authority.

The consensus between the two parties helps to reduce the resistance to implementing decentralisation. In other words, issues of decentralisation always stimulate fear on the side of the people at the centre. Their fear may be that, to decentralise means to shift functions from the centre to the local levels. It should be noted that people are paid due to the functions they perform. People become popular due to the functions they perform. Thus, shifting functions from the centre could mean shifting payments as well as popularity to the lower levels. That is why decentralisation (especially of resources) may be preferred by people at local levels while resisted by people at the centre.

5.2.4 Extreme Poverty

Having presented the findings on quality as a challenge to decentralisation, this section presents extreme poverty and its effects on education decentralisation. One half of all Tanzanians today are considered to be basically poor and approximately one third live in abject poverty (URT, 2001). As it was discussed in chapter three, effective implementation of decentralisation policy depends among other things, on the financial capability of both national and particularly the communities in question. This section presents the challenges of decentralisation policy in education that can be attributed to extreme poverty. The challenges include: inability to fund school constructions; maltreatment during funds collections; sub-standard school buildings; too many contributions as well as unequal access to education opportunities.

5.2.4.1 Inability to Fund School Constructions

URT (1995:116) stipulates that "Financing of education and training shall be shared between government, communities, parents and end-users". The study revealed that community financing of primary education was not only difficult but also in some cases practically impossible due to extreme poverty. The majority of the communities were unable to fund primary education due to their financial problems. People, particularly those who live in the rural areas, were singled out as an example of individuals who suffered much from community financing exercises. During focus group discussions, one Member of the School Committee had this to comment:

> *Kwa sasa tulio wengi duniani haitutendei haki kabisa. Ndio! Sio siri. Wengi wetu tunalitambua hili. Mazao yetu hayanunuliwi tena kwa bei nzuri kama ilivyokuwa hapo awali. Ikitokea tukapata wanunuzi wanatupa fedha kidogo , Maisha yanazidi kuwa magumu kila kukicha. Inafikia wakati ambapo sina hakika kama familia yangu itapata mlo wa mchana na usiku.*

Mbaya zaidi, eti utasikia watu wanagonga mlango wangu wakiniulizia michango ya shule! Michango ya shule! Jamani, hebu fikiria!

Author's translation:

The world has now become really unfair to most of us. Yes! This is not a secret. Most of us understand this. Our crops are no longer bought at exorbitant prices as it used to be. If it happens that we get buyers, they give us very little money which does not even suffice for our daily spending. So, we are left in the dilemma whether to sell or not. If you don't sell crops to them, then, you end up attracting rats and other insects in your house. Actually, I don't know what happened with buyers these days? Oh! God knows. Life is daily becoming harder and harder. It reaches a time when I'm not sure of what my family will eat for lunch and supper. Yet, some people are still knocking at my door and saying school contributions! School contributions! Just imagine!

From the above findings, we can see that even if the communities would like to pay school contributions, the government has not yet created conducive environments for peasant communities to prosper. If the peasants' crops are not bought at good prices, then, it goes without saying that the communities especially in rural areas will be poor and, as a result will likely be unable to fund school constructions.

5.2.4.2 Maltreatment during Funds Collections

Community financing especially in developing countries may not be a simple task. During the focus group discussions, five (39%) Members of he School Committees revealed that the process of funds collections was not as smooth as one would expect. Theoretically, local leaders involved were supposed to persuade people about the significance of community financing school development. In practice, however, some of the leaders at the village level did not know whether school contributions were the matter of individuals' willingness as well as ability. The exercise turned into brutality to those who either delayed to contribute or could not afford to pay at all. This is how one Member of the School Committee put it:

Mtu anaweza kudhani ni kazi rahisi kwa kuwa majengo tayari yameisha simama. Hata hivyo, naweza kukuhakikishia kuwa usimamizi wa zoezi la jamii kufadhili maendeleo ya shule halikuwa na bado si suala rahisi hata kidogo. Walau nawajua watu kadhaa waliokimbia nyumba zao kwa kuogopa wakusanya michango. Baadhi yetu tulienda kukopa kwa jamaa zetu au hata kwa rafiki zetu hasa wanaoishi mijini. Na wengine waliuza mali zao kama vile kuku, bata, mbuzi, nguo na wengine vipande vya ardhi. Wengi wetu tulifanya hivi kwa kuhofia karaha ya kukutana na wanamgambo katili. Walipita nyumba moja hadi nyingine wakisaka michango… Ole wao ambao hawakuwa na kitu maana walikipata cha mtema kuni. Kwa mfano, wengine walipigishwa 'pushapu', magoti, kutukanwa, lugha za kejeli na matusi, na pengine kupigwa kibao kutegemeana na mgambo alikuwa na hasira au njaa kiasi gani.

Author's translation:

> One may think it is easy because the the buildings are already erected. However, I can prove to you that the exercise of community financing was and still is not an easy one. I at least know some people who deserted their families because of fearing school contribution collectors. Some of us went out to beg from our relatives or mere friends particularly who live in cities. Others sold their possessions such as chickens, ducks, goats, cows, clothes, or pieces of land. We did all these to avoid meeting the brutal militia men who went from one house to the other to collect money. People who did not have money to pay for school development had to face some problems like push ups, kneeling down, abusive language, or even a slap depending on how angry and or hungry the militia man was.

The quotation above shows that some people particularly in rural areas were not able to pay contributions for school building constructions. As a result, the relevant authorities sent some people to make follow-ups on funds collections. Either intentionally or unintentionally, people who were sent used force to collect funds from the community. The use of force can have two implications: The first one is that people did not pay contributions for schools because they were not willing to do so. The second implication could mean that people who did not pay on time were not unwilling rather they were unable to pay. This is confirmed by some of the people from the rural areas going to cities to beg money for the school's contributions. Thirdly, those who sold their properties might have had the intention to pay but did not have money. Furthermore, it could as well imply that the community sensitisation was not effectively done to both the members of the community as well as the money collectors. Moreover maltreatment of people who could not afford to pay can result in future hatred of the community against schools and hence discourage people's involvement on school matters.

5.2.4.3 Too Many Contributions

In community education financing practices, what matters may not only be how much one pays to fund the school(s) but how often the same person contributes to school(s). In a supplementary question, I asked the informants in a focus group discussion how often the relevant authorities asked for contributions from the communities. The findings revealed that most of people in Mbeya District Council and Mbeya City Council were frustrated not only due to their incapacity to pay but that the types and frequencies of contributions were too many. Even the very few who were considered to be financially capable to pay disliked the exercise because it had turned into chaotic practices. In one of the focus group discussions one of the members of school committees lamented:

> *Michango! Michango! Siku hizi neno 'michango' limekuwa kama wimbo kijijini kwetu. Watu wa afya wanadai michango! Elimu kadhalika! Ujenzi wa barabara, kanisani, harusini, misibani! Hivi kwanini? Kila kitu, kila mahali, tunakuta michango. Kwa kweli, tumechoka na*

huu wimbo usiokuwa na mwisho. Lakini, kwanini hawa watu huko juu hawakai pamoja na kuchambua kitu gani wanafanya? Jamani, tunasumbuliwa sana. Mimi binafsi kwa mfano nalipia michango ifuatayo kwa ajili ya shule: Shilingi 1000 kwa ajili ya uji wa mwanangu kila mwezi; Sh 1000 kwa ajili ya tuisheni; Sh 5000 kwa ajili ya ujenzi wa shule ya msingi; Sh 12,000 kwa ajili ya ujenzi wa shule za sekondari.… Bwana Mtafiti, nadhani una mambo mengine ya kufanya, kama nikitaja michango yote, utajaza kurasa na kurasa, hata marafiki zangu hapa hawatakuwa na muda wa kuongea na wewe.

Author's translation:

Contributions! Contributions! Nowadays, 'contribution' is like a song in our village. Health service personnel demand contribution! Education service personnel the same! Road construction, the church, marriage ceremonies, funerals! Why? Everything, everywhere, we find contributions. We are now tired of this endless song. Why these people up there don't sit together and analyse what they are doing? We're being bothered too much. I, for instance, pay the following for school contributions: Tsh 1000 for my kid's porridge every month; Tsh1000 for tuition; Tsh5000 for primary school building constructions; 12,000 for building secondary schools. Mr Researcher, I think you have other things to do, if I mention all the contributions, you will fill pages and pages, and even my colleagues here may not find time to talk to you.

This focus group revealed that there were too many contributions and that the communities were overtaxed. Worse still, all the contributions focused on an individual person. According to the informants, although different contributions were initiated by different people from different ministries, at the end of the day a single person ended up paying all those contributions.

In line with this study, Mulengeki (2004) conducted a study on education and poverty alleviation in Bukoba Urban, Bukoba Rural and Ngara Districts in Tanzania. He found that although communities were required to contribute and share costs to support PEDP initiatives, it had become a burden as the number of programmes such as TASAF, DRDP and World Vision also depended on community contributions. Thus, the findings also concur with Geo-Jaja (2004) whose study in Nigeria found that Central Governments imposed upon Local Governments the responsibility to provide and support education, claiming that providing education closer to home would enhance the quality of the outcomes. However, what the Central Governments delegated to Local Governments more often was the financial responsibility to pay for education, keeping at the Central Government control of the scope of education offering and the requirements for performance (Daun & Siminou, 2005).

The above argument on contributions is supported by the views from one Member of the School Committee in Mbeya District Council who had this to add.

Ni makosa kudhania kuwa elimu ya msingi sasa ni bure nchini Tanzania. Kwa wakati fulani ni heri kulipa karo ya shule ukapumzika kuliko kuchangia nguvu na bado ukalipa michango ambayo haifahamiki idadi na jumla yake. Kama ningekuwa na fedha ningemsomesha mwanangu shule za binafsi niachane na huu usumbufu lakini basi tu.

Author's translation:

It is wrong to assume that primary education is now free in Tanzania. Sometimes, it is actually a good idea to pay a fixed amount of school fees rather than paying unknown sums. If I had had money, I would take my kid to study in a private school so that I avoid these disturbances, but have no way out!

The informant's statement showed that because of implementing decentralisation policies in primary education, both government and communities were supposed to fund primary schools. Unfortunately, the community in question was economically incapable. The majority of the citizens were mere peasants. Their income was unpredictable. The biggest share of their disposable income was directed to the public projects such as schools. In addition to school contributions, the same people were supposed to pay other social and political contributions. Education decentralisation to some people in the communities meant too many contributions. The information collected through documentary analysis can give a clear picture of who contributed what for school constructions among the Central Government, MDC and communities, from 2001 up to 2004.

Table13: Who contributed what?

Annual Plan	Project's Name	Target	Implemented	Costs		
				Central Government	Local Government (MDC)	Community
2001/2002	Classroom construction	8	8	11,470,000	640,000	10,000,008
2002/2003	Classrooms constructions	10	8	20,200,000	—	8,750,000
2003/2004	Classroom constructions	8	7	20,000,000	—	8,750,007
Total		26	22	51,470,000	640,000	27,500,022

Source: Information Collected from MDC Annual Reports 2001 to 2004

As Table 13 indicates, no doubt, that the Central Government paid the highest portion (Tsh 51,470,000/=) followed by community contributions (27,500,022). Comparatively, MDC seems to have paid less (640,000) because most of what used to be its sources of revenues

such as head taxes had been abolished by the Central Government. Similarly, complaints that a heavy burden has been left to communities seems to hold water if one considers that the government has stronger sources of revenues compared to communities particularly facing extreme poverty. In other words, the government obtains most of the funds for schools from the donors. It was not clear how much the government per se contributed from its own local revenues.

The Efforts by the Mbeya District Council to provide estimated figures on the amount which communities might have contributed would deserve praise. Nevertheless, this attempt contradicted with the information from one policy-maker in the MoEVT who commented that Tanzania was facing a challenge as there were no criteria developed yet to transform communities' in-kind contributions into monetary terms. This is how the policy maker argued:

> *Serikali bado haijaanzisha mfumo wa kutathmini nguvu za wananchi na kuzibadilisha kifedha. Kwa mfano, wananchi wanafanya kazi kama vile kuchota maji, kutengeneza matofali, kubeba mbao na mengine mengi. Tukichukua mkoa wa Kilimanjaro kwa mfano, baadhi ya watu hujitolea kufundisha ngoma za asili. Hii inatakiwa ifanyiwe tathmini kwa vile mtu angeweza kutumia muda huo kuzalisha na kulipwa. Kwa hiyo tunahitaji wanauchumi ili kukokotoa hii…ni kwa bahati mbaya kuwa ndizi zinazonunuliwa sokoni zina thaminiwa zaidi kuliko ndizi zinazotoka kwenye mashamba yetu wakati zote ni ndizi tu.*

Author's translation:

> The government has not established the mechanisms for evaluating the community members' work and transform it into cash. For example, the communities do activities such as fetching water from the water sources, brick making, carrying timber from the forest and so forth. In the Kilimanjaro region, for example, some volunteers from the community may teach pupils on how to play traditional dances. This has to be quantified because the time spent by the volunteers could be used to produce goods for which they have been paid as well. So, we need economists to compute this. …it is unfortunately that bananas from the market are given more value than bananas from our own farms while they are actually the same.

From the quotation, it can be noted that the Government of Tanzania had not yet established the mechanism which translate peoples' labour into monetary terms. On the other hand, the informant complained that the government paid more attention to any contribution from donors. The specific amount and dates of which the funds from donors were collected could easily be traced. Unfortunately, the communities' initiatives to improve primary education were not transformed into monetary terms and therefore not properly recorded.

5.2.4.4 Sub-Standard School Buildings

As I explained earlier, teachers and Members of the School Committees were among the informants I interviewed in this study. I met teachers and members of school committees in the primary school buildings. During my visit to some of the selected schools, I was able to see poor quality of construction work through informal observation. This situation led me to form a supplementary question which sought to explore the reasons behind the schools having rickety buildings despite being new. The findings revealed that lack of funds necessitated the communities to hire cheap builders who in most cases lacked competent skills. In a focus group discussion, one Member of the School Committee from Mbeya District Council had this comment:

> *Kuna mambo tunaweza ficha lakini mengine hata hayafichiki. Hebu angalia hali ya majengo tuliyonayo kwa sasa. Linganisha majengo mapya na yale yaliyojengwa enzi za mkoloni. Mungu wangu! Yaani huwezi kuamini. Ni hasara na aibu kwenye nyuso zetu. Ni miezi mitatu tu imepita majengo yameanza kuwa na nyufa. Lakini, majengo ya miaka ya 1940 yaliyojengwa na watu weupe bado yako imara. Hii ni Tanzania bwana! Lakini tatizo ni nini? Ni fedha, utawala, vifaa vya ujenzi, au utaalamu? Sina hakika. Vyovyote iwavyo ni aibu kwetu sisi wote.*

Author's translation:

> There are things we can hide and others we cannot. Just look at the situation of the constructed buildings we currently have. Compare the newly constructed school buildings and school buildings constructed in colonial times. My God! You won't believe it. It's big shame. Just three months ago the buildings have started showing cracks. But, the 1940s classrooms built by the colonial people are still strong. This is Tanzania! But what is the problem? Is it money; administration; poor buildings materials? Or technical know how? I am not sure. Whatever the case is, it is a big shame.

According to this informant, the quality of most of the buildings was very poor. Complaints were directed to the government due to its decision to make the communities finance school buildings. Most of the informants in this area emphasised the lack of expertise in schools buildings construction. It was mentioned that because the communities lacked sufficient funds to hire competent architects, they used the locally available builders who either volunteered or demanded just a little amount of money. As a result, most of the school buildings did not meet the required standards set by the Ministry of Education and Vocational Trainings. According to the informant, however, identification of the problems which leads to sub-standard government buildings is a challenge in itself as sometimes even the government funded constructions in Tanzania lack the required standards or qualities. The informant's views on poor construction work were in tune with one of the inspection reports which I accessed on condition of anonymity. The report disclosed:

> We noted that most of the classrooms constructed under this programme are not up to the standards specified by the Ministry of Education. Most of the buildings have been constructed without ring beams, the sizes of windows are small; classrooms are not completed with the ceiling board as required. In addition, most of the classrooms constructed under funds distributed in year 2003 are yet to be completed due to lack of funds. The council distributed funds to enable construction of one classroom but due to external forces [political] the school committee were instructed to construct at least two classrooms using the same fund. This caused the problem of incompleteness and the problem of low quality (Source: Findings from MDC).

The quotation can imply that little attention has been given to the capacity of technical infrastructures and local manpower as well as the extremely poor state of finances in the peripheries. These policy oversights in design and implementation explain in part the huge gaps that exist between reform ideas and the poor attainment of the decentralisation goals of primary education (Buchert, 2002; Geo-Jaja, 2004). Other several reasons for poor quality school buildings cited by the studies done in Tanzania include: increased costs of construction materials; insufficient funds released from the allocated budget; late disbursement of funds and famine which affected the community participation in the construction activities (Mlaki, 2005; Sumra & Scholl, 2007; URT, 2006).

5.2.4.5 Unequal Access to Education Opportunities

Inequality is one of the challenges which can face education decentralisation. This sub-theme reflects the views of MCC treasurers about how the financial gap between communities affected individual accessibility to educational opportunities. The inequality in education opportunities became more pronounced in cities than in rural areas. The findings revealed that primary school financing became a big problem in cities where most of the communities were economically unequal. The informants argued that the gap between rich and poor posed a challenge in implementing decentralisation policies. It was really difficult to mobilise contributions in financially unequal communities. The informants explained that it was a little simpler to organise poor people living in the same community, facing more or less the same socio-economic problems than a community with different levels of economic backgrounds. While the poor people were motivated to build public schools so that their children could get an opportunity for better education, those well-to-do people had another option of taking their children to private schools. With this regard, one of the City Council Treasurer (CCT) had this to comment:

> *Mjini pengo kati ya maskini na matajiri ni kubwa kiasi kwamba kama jamii haikujenga shule ya pamoja sio watu wote wanaoathirika. Watu wenye hela zao watawapeleka watoto wao kwenye shule mbadala, za binafsi. Kama mtoto wa tajiri hakuandikishwa shule A basi*

atapelekwa shule B au C. Lakini wenzangu na mie, kapuku, hao hawana cha shule mbadala au nini, ukikosa umekosa. Kwa hiyo, watu wanaoishi mjini ni vigumu sana kuwahamasisha kujenga shule ya jumuiya.

Author's translation:

> In urban areas, the financial gap between the poor and rich is so big that if the public [community] school is not built, it is not a problem to all. Those with money will just take their kids to private schools. If a child of a rich person is not enrolled in school A, he/she would go to school B or C. But, those friends of mine, the poor, have no choice at all. Because of that, it is too difficult to organise people living in cities to build a community school.

This informant seemed to mean that the Local Governments were facing challenges on how to motivate both rich and poor people in cities to have a common interest in building community schools. This was due to the fact that education decentralisation in Tanzania was accompanied by the government devolving the authority to private sectors to run primary schools. Since then, private primary schools have been increasing in number. It was claimed that most of the private primary schools seemed physically and probably qualitatively attractive. Unfortunately, the accessibility to private schools mainly depended on the parent's capability to pay school fees. In most cases, the school fees in private schools were so high that very few individuals could afford them. Usually, the financially well-off people can afford private schools' costs. The very poor people, the majority in Tanzania, can hardly afford them. Thus, according to the quotation, it was difficult to make the two groups with different economic backgrounds have the same interest in building community schools. The rich people were not worried if the community schools were not built because they could alternatively opt for private schools. In contrast, the poor people did not have any other alternative than public schools. According to the education decentralisation policies, ideally, all the community members were supposed to build the community schools. In practice however, parents with children at specific schools focused most on particular schools in which their sons and daughters studied. This was a challenge to decentralisation on how to mobilise different people with different interests, capabilities and aspirations to focus on building a single community schools.

Other informants gave slightly different views on the gap between the rich and poor in cities. The informants' views this time were on how the gap between the rich and the poor led the Tanzanian community towards the society with different classes. The informants referred to

the classes of the haves and haves not. Related to this point, one of the political leaders in MCC had this to say:

> *Haya ndio mambo tuliyokataa wakati wa ujamaa. Tanzania tulikataa matabaka. Ujamaa wetu ulitufundisha kuishi kama ndugu, kuishi kwa furaha kwenye nchi isiyo na ubaguzi. Kwa bahati nzuri au mbaya, taratibu tumeanza kuwa na shule nzuri kwa ajiri ya matajiri na shule mbaya kwa ajiri ya maskini kama mimi. Lakini kumbuka sisi ni wamoja.*

Author's translation:

> This is what we rejected during ujamaa [socialism]. We rejected classes in Tanzania. Our ujamaa taught us to be brothers and sisters, to live happily in a country without discrimination. We are now slowly; fortunately or unfortunately, having good schools for rich people and bad schools for poor people like me. But, just remember we are one.

According to this informant, with the current socio-economic development policies in the country, gaps between poor and rich people within the council were now more visible than ever. The decentralisation policy among other things aimed at individual communities financing primary schools in their localities. Because most people with a certain amount of income often lived closer in Mbeya City Council, it resulted in people with high incomes having well built school buildings and poor income people with poorly built schools. Most of the teachers competed using varied techniques to be posted to 'good' schools so that they could live and work in good school environment. As a result, well built schools had many teachers and obviously a good delivery of education. On the contrary, the poorly built schools especially in rural areas had few teachers and hence an inefficient delivery of education. In this case, poverty leads a social exclusion as it deprives pupil access to education opportunities (Mulengeki, 2004; Sumra, 2003).

The findings concerning the inaccessibility of education is in line with Brock-Utne (2006) who argued that the cost sharing processes in Tanzania meant that poor parents had to bear unequal share of the burden of their children's education. Usually, parents would not be able to do so and greater inequality would occur both being that children would not be able to attend and the resources available in schools would differ depending on local community economic levels.

The situations noted with regards to the community incapability to finance primary education due to extreme poverty relate with arguments of certain scholars. For instance, it has been noted that education decentralisation in developing countries is often associated with a desire to shift financial burdens away from Central Government and the desire to

satisfy local demands for greater autonomy (McGinn & Welsh, 1999; Michael, 1997; Rondinelli, 1983). Similarly, Brock-Utne (2006:28) writing on Tanzania, argues that "delegation of responsibility for funding to the communities, so called "decentralisation" will often mean that poor communities won't be able to fund much education for their children". In addition, the findings that "we have bad schools for poor and good schools for rich people" agree with Carnoy (1999) who observed that decentralisation with reduced financial assistance to locally run schools may achieve financial goals but tends to increase inequality in educational performance between richer communities and poorer ones. Likewise, Graham-Brown (1991: 271) after having analysed case-studies from several developing countries on funding of primary education for all, concludes, "if equity of provision in basic education is to be an important consideration, community financing cannot be regarded as a simple panacea for the problems of funding education". In this case, suffice it to say that the implementation of decentralisation policies through community financing is likely to face many challenges in a poor country like Tanzania.

Other studies have generated similar findings that concur with the current study. In his analysis of primary education in Tanzania, Sumra (1994) discusses how the delegation of responsibilities for primary education had created serious problems. Sumra argued that most of the District Councils lacked resources to adequately deal with the rapid expanding demands for primary education in the country. Based on his research findings, Sumra draws the conclusion that the responsibility of provision of quality education should rest with the Central Government. This can imply that although it is a good idea to involve communities on the day-to-day running of schools, the Central Government should not detach itself from the responsibility of funding primary education.

5.3 Conclusion

To sum up, this chapter has discussed the successes and challenges to the process of education decentralisation in Tanzania. The findings were categorised into four major themes namely access and equity, quality, management issues and extreme poverty. These findings indicated that there were some visible improvements in the provision of primary education, particularly in the area of increased pupil enrolment. On the other hand, it was found that although the power to run schools was said to have been delegated to the lower levels, most of the communities were said to be incapable of running schools due to extreme poverty and the lack of both relevant skills and experience.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter of the thesis presents in summary a detailed discussion of the major research findings and the key conclusions of the study. The chapter is divided into three parts: the summary; conclusion and recommendation for further research.

The present study explored the successes as well as challenges of the contemporary decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania. The study was guided by the following research question: What are the views of the society at large on the successes and challenges of the on-going decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania?

The study was guided by the Education for Self-Reliance (ESR) and the decentralisation theories. Through ESR, Nyerere argued that primary education was supposed to be decentralised so as to cater to the interests and aspiration of the local community. Decentralisation in education was discussed under three typologies: deconcentration, delegation and devolution. It was moreover argued that for the successful decentralisation, certain preconditions have to be taken into consideration. The preconditions include lower level financial and management capabilities, clear role distribution, and the need to merge decentralisation with education access, equity and quality. In education, decentralisation becomes meaningful if the access and quality of education are affected positively.

This study employed a qualitative approach in the collection, presentation, interpretation and discussion of the data. The data-collection methods used were interviews, focus group discussion, documentary reviews and informal observation. In order to gather information, the study included a total number of 46 informants where seven were policy-makers in the ministries concerned with primary education. The district level involved 20 informants, while the school level involved 17 informants of whom four were Head Teachers and 13 were members of the school committees. The study also involved two officers from HakiElimu (NGO). The data collected was assembled under four specific themes namely access and equity, quality, extreme poverty and management issues.

The findings showed that, since the beginning of the contemporary education decentralisation, there were some improvement on access and equity, quality, and management of the primary education. The pupils' enrolment in primary schools had grown drastically. At the national level for example the NER and GER attained in 2007 were 97.3 and 114.4 respectively. At the same time, Mbeya District Council was able to enrol 97.7 percent in the 2007. The Book Pupils Ratio showed a slight increase from 1:3 in 1999 to 1: 2 in 2007 in Mbeya District Council. New classrooms, teacher houses and toilets were built through community involvement. It was due to the community involvement that development and capitation grants both were said to be utilised efficiently and managed in a transparent way. As a result, communities' sense of owning schools in their respective areas was said to have increased.

Despite the above mentioned successes, the present study has identified some challenges facing the contemporary decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania. It was for example found that due to high enrolment rate, the available resources in primary schools do not match with the number of pupils registered. As such, primary schools experience shortages of teachers particularly in rural areas, and facilities such as classrooms, desks, tables, teaching and learning materials, teacher houses, toilets to mention but a few.

Similarly, the number of teachers was not only insufficient but also their teaching qualifications were said to be below the stipulated national standards. For instance MCC and MDC had 326 and 275 teacher grade B/C respectively. This is almost one fourth of all teachers in each council. It was also found that the primary school curriculum was too theoretical and formal examination oriented. The decentralisation aspects were only visible in material and monetary contributions. However, the local communities' interests were not given room to influence the formal curriculum. As such, the vocational skill subjects which the communities thought were of paramount importance for the well-being of the school leavers and their respective communities were given little or no attention by the curriculum developers. It was also found that there was less effort to incorporate indigenous knowledge into the formal schooling. Instead, foreign values influenced by organisations such as donors, World Bank and IMF were said to be embraced in the Tanzanian formal primary school curriculum.

The present study also found that the decentralisation process gave rise to a number of education management challenges. The majority of the Members of the School Committees in primary schools, for example, lacked relevant knowledge and experience to efficiently manage the primary schools. It was also found that most of the plans at the Local Government and school levels could not be implemented simply because the donors had not provided funds to the Central Government. Sometimes, the funds from the Central Government were delayed in reaching the lower levels. It was also pointed out that, even if the funds reached the local levels on time, the actual funds allocated for education did not match the needs. Lastly, it was also found that some contradictions existed between ministries involved with primary education on one hand, and contradictions between central and Local Governments on the other.

The study also found extreme poverty to be a stumbling block to the decentralisation of primary education in Tanzania. People particularly those who lived in the rural areas were pointed out as an example of individuals who suffered much from community financing practices. People who could not afford were mistreated to make sure that they contributed for school development. Nevertheless, most of the people at the lower levels were said to be frustrated not only due to their incapacity to pay but the number of contributions. Thus, due to the community's incapacity to pay, frequent contribution demands, plus lack of cheap but competent architectures at the lower level all these resulted in most of the buildings funded by the communities being of low quality. Moreover, decentralisation seemed to promote inequality among communities. Due to the prevailing liberalisation policy and consequently private schools, the poor people were indirectly denied access to education as they could not afford to enrol their children in private schools.

Generally, the number and complexities of the challenges facing the contemporary decentralisation of primary education seem to outweigh the successes so far gained. One of the reasons is that most of the current policies including decentralisation emanated from conditionalities imposed by the World Bank, IMF and others. Thus, most of the powers delegated to the lower levels are connected with the need for the communities to finance schools. However, due to the extreme poverty which prevails, most of the communities are incapable of funding primary education. As a result, if no measures are taken, the inequality can prevail between richer communities and poorer ones.

6.2 Recommendation for Further Studies

This study recommends a comparative research involving two or more regions with different economic and academic status about the contemporary successes and challenges of decentralising primary education in Tanzania. Similarly, since the present study employed a qualitative research approach whereby a small sample of informants was involved, it is recommended that further research would be required in order to cover a large sample size.

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APPENDIX 1 Policy-Makers (English)

**<u>Interview Guide for Policy-makers (Ministry of Education and Vocational Training &
Prime Minister's Office Regional Administration and Local Government)</u>**

Background Information

Male or female; Academic qualifications; Designation

For how long have you been working in this office?

General/Specific Views

1. What do you understand by primary education decentralisation in Tanzania?

2. What are the key documents that set out the education decentralisation policy?

3. What is the nature of the relationships between the various actors (e.g PMORLG, MoF, MoEVT, local authorities, education offices, communities and school staff), whose involvement in school is being promoted by the decentralisation policies? How well are these relationships working?

4. How are the lower levels involved in improving the quality of primary education e.g. curriculum and the management of Standard Seven National Examination?

5. How do the donors influence the current primary education decentralisation in Tanzania?

6. What are there major successes in decentralising primary education at the national/ district/ school level?

7. Are there any challenges in decentralising primary education at the national/ district/ school levels?

8. What are the plans of the Central Government in maintaining the successes and overcoming the challenges we have discussed earlier?

9. Do you have anything (comment, suggestions) which can help the better understanding of the current successes and challenges in decentralising primary education in Tanzania?

Thank you for your participation.

KIAMBATISHO 1 WATUNGA SERA (Kiswahili)

Mwongozo wa usaili kwa Watunga Sera (Wizara ya Elimu na Mafunzo ya Ufundi na Ofisi ya Waziri Mkuu Tawala za Mikoa na Serikali za Mitaa)

Taarifa Binafsi

Me/Ke

Kiwango cha taaluma

Cheo

Je, ni kwa muda gani umefanya kazi katika ofisi hii?

Taarifa za Jumla/Maalum

1. Je, unaelewa nini kuhusu uhamishaji wa madaraka ya kielimu toka serikali Kuu kwenda ngazi za chini za elimu?

2. Je, zipo nyaraka zinazoonesha uanzishaji na utekelezaji wa sera hii?

3. Nini kiini cha mahusiano kati ya watendaji wa vyombo vifuatavyo (mf. PMORALG,MoF, MoEVT, Serikali za Mitaa, Ofisi za Elimu, jamii na wafanyakazi shuleni), je, ni yupi ananufaika na sera ya kuhamisha madaraka? Mahusiano ya vyombo hivi yapo hai?

4. Ni kwa namna gani ngazi za chini za serikali hushiriki katika kuboresha taaluma kwa mfano, mtaala na usimamizi wa Mtihani wa Taifa wa darasa la saba?

5. Ni kwa namna gani wafadhili huathiri zoezi la kuhamisha madaraka toka serikali kuu kwenda ngazi za chini za serikali?

6. Ni mafanikio yapi kitaifa/kiwilaya/ngazi ya shule yanayotokana na uhamishaji wa madaraka ya kielimu kutoka serikali kuu kwenda ngazi za chini za serikali?

7. Ni changamoto zipi kitaifa/kiwilaya/ngazi ya shule mnazokumbana nazo katika uhamishaji wa madaraka ya kielimu toka serikali kuu kwenda ngazi za chini?

8. Je, serikali kuu ina mipango gani katika kuimarisha mafanikio na kukabili changamoto tulizojadili hapo awali?

9. Una maoni gani yanayoweza kusaidia kuelewa mafanikio na changamoto za sasa katika kuhamisha madaraka ya elimu toka ngazi ya Taifa hadi ngazi za chini?

Asante kwa ushirikiano wako

APPENDIX 2 District Level (English)

<u>Interview Guide for District /City Council Officer(s)</u>

Background Information

Male or female

Academic qualification

How long have you been working in this office?

What is your current experience in primary education decentralisation?

General/Specific

1. In which ways has the decentralisation strategy improved the school teaching and learning environment in this council?

2. Which strategies are employed by the district/city council to manage the financing of primary education?

3. To what extent does the funding of primary education constrain decentralisation?

4. Apart from the funds which you receive from the Central Government and the District Councils, what are other sources of funds for financing primary education in the district?

5. What are the in kind contributions from the community? Is in kind an addition to the finance or instead of finance?

6. What do you think are the advantages/problems behind the use of community contributions as a source of revenue for financing primary education?

7. How does your office do to make sure that the school fund is managed properly by the school committees?

8. What other factors do you think enhance/ hinder primary education decentralisation?

9. What can be done to maintain the successes and overcome the challenges we have discussed?

Thank you for your participation.

KIAMBATISHO 2 NGAZI YA WILAYA (Kiswahili)

Mwongozo wa Usaili kwa Maofisa wa Halmashauri ya Wilaya/Jiji

Taarifa za Awali

Me/ke

Kiwango cha taaluma

Uzoefu

Je, una uzoefu gani katika suala la kuhamisha madaraka toka ngazi ya Taifa kwenda ngazi za chini?

Taarifa za Jumla/ Maalum

1. Ni kwa vipi uhamishaji wa madaraka ya kielimu kwenda ngazi za chini za utendaji umeboresha mazingira ya kufundisha na kujifunza?

2. Je, halmashauri hii inatumia mikakati ipi kufadhili elimu ya msingi?

3. Je, ni kwa kiasi gani uchangiaji wa gharama za elimu ya msingi ni kikwazo katika machakato wa kuhamisha madaraka ya kielimu kwenda ngazi za chini?

4. Licha ya fedha unazopata kutoka Serikali Kuu na halmashauri, kuna vyanzo gani vya fedha vya kufadhili elimu ya msingi katika halmashauri/jiji hii/hili

5. Licha ya michango ya fedha taslimu, ni michango ipi zaidi hutolewa na wananchi?

6. Je, unadhani kuna faida/matatizo gani katika kutumia michango ya fedha kutoka kwa wananchi kama chanzo cha mapato ya kufadhili elimu ya msingi?

7. Ni kwa vipi ofisi yako inahakikisha kamati za shule zinasimamia fedha za shule ipasavyo?

8. Ni mambo gani zaidi huathiri uhamishaji wa madaraka kwenda ngazi za chini?

9. Je, unadhani ni nini kifanyike kudumisha mazuri na kukabiliana na changamoto tulizojadili?

Asante kwa ushirikiano

APPENDIX 3 SCHOOL LEVEL (English)

<u>Interview Guide for School Committee/Head Teacher</u>

Background Information

1.   When were you selected as a member of the school committee?

2.   What are your responsibilities as a member of the school committee?

General/specific views

1. To what extent is the power of decision-making of your school centralised or decentralised? Can you provide specific examples of the certain activities which are decentralised?

2. To what extent is the school committee involved in making decisions on various issues concerning the development of the school?

3. From your experience, to what extent are you able to efficiently manage schools in your areas of jurisdiction?

4. Is there any academic achievement due to the involvement of the community in managing the school funds? (Head Teacher)

5. To what extent does your school has enough facilities to cater to the pupils and teachers use? (Head Teacher)

6. In which ways do the on-going decentralisation processes make the primary education provided relevant to your communities?

7. What is your experience with funding from the Central Government? How often does your school get funds from the Central Government?

8. Is community financing viable as a source of revenue for primary education financing? (If yes, why? If no, why?)

9. What do you think are the major problems related to the use of community contributions as a source of revenue for financing primary education?

10. Do you have any suggestions/ recommendations?

Thank you for your participation.

KIAMBATISHO 3 NGAZI YA SHULE (Kiswahili)

Mwongozo wa Usaili kwa Wanakamati wa Shule/Walimu Wakuu

Maelezo ya Awali

1. Je, ni tangu lini mlichaguliwa kuwa wajumbe wa kamati ya shule?

2. Je, majukumu yenu hasa ni yapi kama wajumbe wa kamatiya shule?

Taarifa za Jumla/Maalum

1. Je, ni mipango ipi huamuliwa na kamati ya shule/serikali kuu katika shule hii?

2. Ni kwa kiasi gani kamati ya shule inashirikishwa katika kutoa maamuzi kuhusu mambo mbalimbali yanayohusiana na maendeleo ya shule?

3. Kutokana na uzoefu wenu, ni kwa vipi mnaweza kusimamia maendeleo ya shule yenu kikamilifu?

4. Je, kuna mafanikio yoyote ya kitaaluma kutokana na kushirikisha jamii katika usimamizi wa fedha za shule?

5. Je, ni kwa kiasi gani shule yako ina vifaa vya kutosheleza kwa matumizi ya walimu na wanafunzi?

6. Ni kwa vipi mchakato wa uhamishaji wa madaraka unafanya elimu ya msingi inayotolewa iwe ya manufaa kwa jamii zenu?

7. Ni mara ngapi shule hii hupata fedha toka serikalini?

8. Je, fedha zinazochangwa na jamii ni chanzo cha mapato cha kuaminika katika kufadhili elimu ya msingi? (Kama jibu ndiyo, kwanini? Kama hapana, kwanini?

9. Je, unadhani kuna matatizo gani makubwa katika kutumia michango ya fedha kutoka kwa wananchi kama chanzo cha mapato ya kufadhili wa elimu ya msingi?

10. Je mna maoni/mapendekezo yoyote uhamishaji wa madaraka toka serikali kuu kwenda ngazi za chini?

Asante kwa ushirikiano.

APPENDIX 4 HakiElimu (English/Kiswahili)

Interview Guide for HakiElimu Officials

1. Introduction (male/male/female; academic qualifications; designation; experience)
2. Currently, there are on-going possesses of decentralising primary education in Tanzania. Do you have any examples of certain aspects which have been decentralised?
3. One of the rationales of decentralisation (through PEDP) is to increase the pupils' enrolment and improve education quality at the same time. In your views how possible do you think it is to achieve this simultaneously?
4. How much do you think donors influence the contemporary primary education decentralisation processes in Tanzania?
5. What do you think are the possible challenges likely to be faced when implementing decentralisation policy in primary education? With regard to the challenges as you have explained, what do you think are the best ways of dealing with them?

Thank you for your participation

KIAMBATISHO 4 HAKIELIMU

Mwongozo wa Usaili kwa Maafisa wa HakiElimu
1. (Me/Ke, Sifa za taaluma, cheo, uzoefu)

2. Kwa sasa, madaraka ya kielimu yanahamihishiwa ngazi za chini hapa Tanzania. Je una ni majukumu yapi yaliyo hamishiwa ngazi za chini?
3. Mojawapo ya sababu ya kuanzisha sera ya kuamisha madaraka toka taifa kwenda ngazi za chini ni kuongeza idadi ya wanafunzi na kuboresha taaluma. Kwa maoni yako, ni kwa vipi hili limeweza kufanikiwa.
4. Ni kwa kiasi gani unadhani wafadhili wana sauti katika suala zima la kuhamisha madaraka ya kielimu kwenda ngazi za chini?
5. Je unadhani kuna mafanikio/changamoto zipi katika kutekeleza sera ya kuhamisha madaraka ya kielimu toka taifa kwenda ngazi za chini?

Asante sana

APPENDIX 5 PERMISSION

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO
DET UTDANNINGSVITENSKAPELIGE FAKULTET

To whom it may concern

Institute for Educational Research
P.O. Box 1092 Blindern
N-0317 Oslo

Date: 2007-06-12
Your ref.:
Our ref.:

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Fax: +47 22 85 42 50
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ASSISTANCE IN THE CONDUCTION OF FIELD-WORK

This is to confirm that the student from Tanzania, Elpidius Baganda, (   ), is a
second year student in the Master programme in Comparative and International Education at the
Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo, Norway.

In the second year our students are required to write a Master thesis of 80 to 110 pages. This
thesis should preferably be based on field studies conducted in the student's country of origin.
The field-work may incorporate interviews with educational practitioners and decision-makers,
class-room observation and documentary analysis. The type of data gathered should of course
be discussed with the relevant authorities. It is our hope that the work produced by the student
will not only benefit him in his academic career but also be of use to the future of his home
country.

We kindly ask you to give Mr Baganda all possible assistance during his field-work in
Tanzania.

Yours sincerely

Berit Karseth
Dep. Head of Department

Mette Oftebro
Senior Executive Officer

Rett kopi bevitnes
UNIVERSITETET I OSLO
Pedagogisk forskningsinstitutt

sign.

APPENDIX 6 PERMISSION

THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

MBEYA REGION
TELEGRAM: "REGCOM"
Telephone No: 025-2504045
Fax No.025-2504243
Email: *ktm-mby@iwayafrica.com*

In reply please quote:

Ref. No.
MBY/E.10/66/Vol.IV/106

REGIONAL COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
P.O. Box 754,
MBEYA.

1st August, 2007

District Executive Director,
Mbeya District Council,
MBEYA.

City Director,
Mbeya City Council,
MBEYA.

Regional Education Officer,
MBEYA.

Re: ASSISTANCE IN THE CONDUCTION OF RESEARCH

The above heading is highly concerned.

Kindly be informed that, Elpidius Baganda is employed as a District Academic Officer in Mbeya District Council and a student in the Master Programme in Comparative and International Education at the Institute for Educational Research at the University of Oslo, Norway. He has been granted a permission to conduct research in Mbeya Region.

The field work may incorporate interviews with educational practitioners and decision - makers, class-room observation and documentary analysis.

Kindly we request you to give him your assistance to make his research work succeeds for the benefit of mankind.

Best regards.

N.J. Lyafwila
For: REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
MBEYA